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THE
LANGUAGE OF INDRAJIT
OF ORCHĀ

A STUDY OF
EARLY BRAJ BHĀṢĀ PROSE

BY
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Lecturer in Hindi in the
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CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1968
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Reproductions of India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318, ff. 25b–26a, will be found on pp. 261–2. These are reproduced by courtesy of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs.

For photographs of f. 1b of India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318 and Jodhpur MS 10956a see ‘Some Bhartṛhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’. 
PREFACE

This study is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation approved by the University of London in 1965. The sections of the dissertation dealing with Indrajit’s life and the description and evaluation of MSS of his commentaries had already been published in article form, and have not been reprinted in full; their conclusions are incorporated in the Introduction and in an expanded first chapter.

I should like to record my gratitude to various persons who have assisted me in the course of the work. Professor J. Brough gave me valuable guidance as supervisor of the thesis; Mr K. R. Norman supplied information on various occasions about Middle Indo-Aryan analogues to forms in the text; Professor Sir Harold Bailey advised me on the interpretation of several Sanskrit readings, as did Professor J. C. Wright; Professor Sir Ralph Turner gave me his comments on the etymology of a number of forms; Professor T. W. Clark read and commented on a section of chapter 3; Dr Y. B. Kachru made suggestions about the interpretation of a number of forms. To all of these persons my thanks are due.

R. S. McG.
ABBREVIATIONS

Ap. Apabhraṃśa
Av. Avadhi
AZB Āgrā zíle kī bōli
BBhA Bundeli kā bhāṣāśāstrīya adhyayan
Bhoj. Bhojpuri
BrBh. Braj Bhāṣā
BSK Brajbhāṣā sūr-koś
BSOS, BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CDIAL A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages
EA The evolution of Avadhi
FHH Zur Funktion einiger Hilfsverben im modernen Hindi
FLM La formation de la langue marathe
GBB A grammar of the Braj Bhakha
GHL A grammar of the Hindī language
Guj. Gujarati
H. Hindi
HGA Historical grammar of Apabhraṃśa
HŚS Hindī śabdasāgar
JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JUPHS Journal of the U.P. Historical Society
K. Kosambi
KhB. Khaṛī Bōli
LB La langue braj
LSB A linguistic study of Bundeli
LSI Linguistic survey of India
Mar. Marathi
MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
mod. (st.) H. Modern (standard) Hindi
n. After folio and line reference, indicates existence of a note in ch. 1
ND A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language
Nep. Nepali
NIA New Indo-Aryan
OBD The origin and development of Bhojpuri
ODBL The origin and development of the Bengali language
OIA Old Indo-Aryan
OWR Old Western Rājasthānī, Notes on the grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani
P. Persian
par. Used alone, refers to paragraphs within the same chapter
ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Pkt.</th>
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<td>PSM</td>
<td>Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavो</td>
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<td>SB</td>
<td>Sūr kā bhāṣā</td>
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<td>SD</td>
<td><em>A Sanskrit–English dictionary</em></td>
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<td>Skt.</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
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<td>SPB</td>
<td>Sūrpaṇva brajbhāṣā aur uskā sāhitya</td>
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<td>SRB</td>
<td>Subhāṣītaratnabhaṇḍāgāra</td>
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<td>SRK</td>
<td>Subhāṣītaratnākara</td>
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<td>SS</td>
<td>Sūrsāgar</td>
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*Tempusgebrauch*  *Tempusgebrauch und Aktionsartenbildung in der modernen Hindi*

*Z.f.vgl.Spr.*  *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*

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PART I
INTRODUCTION

For centuries, until the consolidation of modern standard Hindi after 1900, the Hindi dialect known as Braj Bhāṣā enjoyed great prestige as the vehicle of the Kṛṣṇa cult literature of northern India, as well as for the brilliance of its secular literature. Most of this material was in verse, although since the beginning of this century we have had knowledge of the existence of texts in Sanskritised Braj Bhāṣā prose, chiefly sectarian chronicles and commentaries, from a relatively early date. We owe this knowledge above all to the efforts of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabha of Banāras, which in the year 1900 instituted its search project for Hindi manuscripts, and has published reports of its investigations; other societies, and private individuals, have carried out searches at later dates in different parts of the Hindi language area. Few of the prose texts which have thus been brought to light appear to date in any form from earlier than the seventeenth century A.D., and the vast majority are preserved only in late-eighteenth- or nineteenth-century manuscripts.

The present study originates in the fact that the India Office Library contains a manuscript of one of the earliest texts in Braj Bhāṣā prose (composed c. A.D. 1600) which are known to be extant. It consists essentially of an edition of this unpublished text, on which is based a descriptive study of its language. The chief aim of the latter is to throw some light on the types of language which will have underlain the literary Braj Bhāṣā of the medieval poets; it is hoped that it may also afford a comparative basis for further detailed investigations of medieval Braj Bhāṣā and other Hindi dialect prose.

1 Reports on Search; Khoj mein upalabdha hastalikhit hindt granthomin ke traivāṛṣik vivaraṇ.
2 Particularly in Rājasthān; for a summary of work done before 1942 see Rājasthān mein hindt ke hastalikhit granthomin kti khoj, Introd., pp. 5ff.
INTRODUCTION

Studies of literary and colloquial Braj Bhāṣā

A number of linguistic studies of literary and colloquial Braj Bhāṣā have been made, of which the more important are the following:

1. Mīrzā Khān’s introduction to his Persian Tuhfatul-l Hind, a handbook of Braj Bhāṣā prosody, rhetoric and allied topics compiled before A.D. 1675. The Tuhfatul-l Hind is unpublished, but the section of the introduction dealing with the morphology of Braj Bhāṣā has been edited from three MSS (more are extant) and translated into English by M. Ziauddin. This deals with a contemporary form of spoken language, but, except in some particulars, in a rather summary way.

2. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies: leaving aside elementary handbooks prepared for East India Company officers, various remarks on Braj Bhāṣā are to be found in the scholarly works of Garcin de Tassy, Hoernle, and Tessitori; an article by Beames on the grammar of the bardic Prthvījarāśi is the earliest study noted which deals specifically with an aspect of Braj Bhāṣā. The chief advance at this time was made by Kellogg, who in his Grammar of the Hindi language gave a detailed descriptive and historical account of the morphology of Braj Bhāṣā as it was known, as well as of the other principal Hindi dialects; this was based chiefly on the prose texts prepared for the East India Company at Fort William College by Lallūjī Lāl and others at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rather than on medieval texts. In the early twentieth century Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India presented specimens of the modern sub-dialects of the Braj Bhāṣā area and those of neighbouring areas, with analyses of their grammar and interrelationships.

3. More recent studies: The first of these is Dhīrendra Varmā’s La langue braj, which deals fairly concisely with the phonology and morphology of both the modern spoken sub-dialects and the medieval language, drawing its material for the earlier period almost exclusively from poetic texts. Some examples from the prose Caurāśī vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā are, however, included. A later, more specialised work is Premnārāyaṇ Tāṇḍan’s Sūr kī bhāṣā; this includes among other material a valuable descriptive account of the range of grammatical forms found in the Sūrsāgar (based on

¹ For a fuller list see Simha, pp. 10ff.
three published editions; there is no definitive text) as well as chapters on phonology, vocabulary and literary style. Specialised in a different sense is Śivprasad Simha’s Sūrpūrva braj bhāsa. This work is based on the discovery in recent years of poetic texts going back to A.D. 1354, and demonstrates that Sūrdās was not the inaugurator of the Braj Bhāsa literary tradition, but to a large extent the product of a pre-existing tradition. It connects the language of these early texts with Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa on the one hand and the language of Sūr and his successors on the other, and gives an analysis of the literary language of c. A.D. 1350–1550 based on thirteen of the texts, including, for want of any other authentic specimens of the prose of the period, a series of very short prose passages of one to three sentences found in a MS of the Prthvirājarāso. Finally, Rámśvarūp Čaturvedi’s Āgrā xile ki bōli is a pioneer attempt to apply some of the techniques of modern descriptive linguistics to a modern sub-dialect of Braj Bhāsa.

Early Braj Bhāsa prose texts: Indrajit’s prose and its significance

What detailed knowledge of medieval Braj Bhāsa we have is thus confined almost entirely to Braj Bhāsa verse. Of most of the prose texts, including all those whose date of composition can be clearly put before A.D. 1600, little more than the short extracts printed in the notices of their discovery are readily accessible. In the absence of editions or lengthy published extracts from most of these texts, successive writers on pre-nineteenth-century prose in Hindi dialects have frequently resorted to citing the same meagre illustrative quotations from the material as their predecessors, more often than not without giving any information on MSS or their whereabouts. For instance, one and the same passage from the Gorakhasaṅra, an apparently very early work reported by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabha in 1903, is cited not only in two of the standard histories of Hindi literature, published in 1929 and 1938 respectively, but also in a study of medieval Hindi prose published

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1 Pp. 239 and 371–3, where a selection is given. Their language certainly seems old in most respects. But it is noteworthy that they show the use of the agentive postposition nai, ne, a form very uncommon in medieval BrBh. verse, but normal in KhB. and later BrBh. Simha expresses some doubt as to the authenticity of these forms, while accepting the language of the passages as authentic in general.
as recently as 1959. And there are minor, but disturbing, differences in the versions given by these three works, which are quite unaccounted for by any reference to the MS (or MSS?). It is clear that the texts have tended to be considered primarily as general evidence of the existence of a pre-nineteenth-century Sanskritised prose tradition in northern India, rather than as literary and linguistic monuments worthy of detailed investigation in their own right.

Caution is necessary in attempting to evaluate the language of the texts, many of which appear to be of uncertain, possibly composite authorship, and if indeed fully authentic to have been exposed to the possibility of inaccurate transmission over a long period. The few Braj Bhāṣā texts which are completely in prose, and for which a date of composition prior to A.D. 1600 has not been questioned in studies of Hindi literature, are all apparently preserved either in undated MSS or in MSS of later date than A.D. 1750. The authenticity of the language of most of the extant pre-seventeenth-century monuments of Sanskritised prose is thus open to serious question at the present time.

It therefore seemed certain that the two extant prose commentaries of Indrajit of Orchā on the Nitiśataka and Vairāgyaśataka of Bhartṛhari would reward detailed investigation from a linguistic point of view. We know from historical and literary sources that Indrajit was a son of the Bundelā rajah of Orchā, Madhukar Śāh (d. A.D. 1592), and a poet and patron of literature. The balance of the historical evidence and that afforded by the introduction to his Nitiśataka commentary suggests that the commentaries were composed after the death of Madhukar but before Indrajit’s political eclipse on the death of Akbar in A.D. 1605. Thus although their age cannot remotely rival that of the earliest extant specimen of

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1 Hindi sāhitya kā itihās, p. 370; Hindi sāhitya kā älocanātmak itihās, p. 111; Madhyakālīn hindi gadyā, p. 69.
2 The only such works seem to be: (a) Gorakhasāra and Gorakhanātha ki bānt, believed to date from about A.D. 1350 (Report on Search, 1903) and (b) Śrıṅgāra-rasamanyana, Yamunāśataka and Navaratna sāttika, attributed to Viṭhālanāth (A.D. 1515–85) (Reports on Search, 1909–11, 1912–14). (The age of a Nāśiketupurāṇa bhāṣā, possibly by the poet Nandās, c. A.D. 1560, seems to be in doubt, see Nandās granthāvali, p. 35, and Report on Search, 1909–11. The Caurāst and Do tav bāvana vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā, frequently attributed to Gokulānāth (A.D. 1551–1647), may represent rather a compilation of spoken utterances of Gokulānāth’s by his disciple Harirāy in the last days of Gokulānāth’s life, see Asṭachāp paricay, p. 78; but also Vārtā-sāhitya, pp. 124ff., arguing earlier compilation.)
INTRODUCTION

Kosali (Avadhi) prose, they are still among the oldest prose texts in a Hindi dialect whose period of composition can be determined with any precision.

Orchā, in Bundelkhand, is outside the modern Braj Bhāṣā area proper, but the general features of Indrajit’s language in these commentaries are so closely identifiable with forms which are attested as standard, or at least as standard variants, in medieval Braj Bhāṣā verse that it seems quite appropriate to describe it as ‘Braj Bhāṣā’. It admittedly reflects influences whose character is Bundeli (in terms of modern dialects), but these do not preponderate, and in the present state of our knowledge it would therefore seem wrong to think of it without further grounds as representing directly a little-known ‘medieval Bundeli’ co-extensive with the modern Bundeli area as designated by Grierson. It seemed almost certain in any case that the language of such texts as Indrajit’s commentaries would not represent the truly colloquial level of language of the area where they were composed, but an educated style, which would inevitably have undergone some influence from Braj Bhāṣā. That Indrajit should call such a style his svabhāṣā in the Sanskrit introduction to his commentary need cause no surprise. Even if the true colloquial of Orchā in Indrajit’s time was as distinct from Braj Bhāṣā as is modern Bundeli from modern Braj Bhāṣā (and this cannot be certain, see p. 9 below), this description would have been as natural as a reference by an educated native Braj Bhāṣā speaker of present-day Āgrā, say, to modern standard Hindi as his mātyābhāṣā.

Any prose text of authentic early date, such as these commentaries, could be expected to throw light on the scope and character

1 The twelfth-century Uktivyaktipracarana of Dāmodara (Bibliography, no. 6), a manual of Sanskrit composition with parallel Old Kosali illustrations. There is also a prose passage (loosely rhymed for the most part) in the eleventh-century Rāulavela of composite Apabhraṃśa–New Indo-aryan character (Bibliography, no. 37). Since the present study was completed a study of the language of the Uktivyaktipracarana by V. Miltner has appeared (Bibliography, no. 13).

2 For details of these commentaries, MSS preserving them, and their probable date of composition see my article ‘Some Bhartṛhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’.

3 By his references to the tradition and extent of Bundeli literature (except those to the Aīhā and Údal epic cycle) it is certain that Grierson meant only literature produced in Bundelkhand, not composed specifically in a local dialect: see LSI, vol. ix, pt 1, p. 89, also LSB, pp. 14–16, where the scanty evidence for medieval Bundeli is discussed.
of early literary activity in prose, while if shown to have been carefully transmitted it would represent a genuinely early stage of language as used for non-poetic purposes. Its language would not have been liable to distortion by the demands of rhyme or metre, and while it might be Sanskritised in vocabulary would certainly have been less exposed than that of the Braj Bhāṣā poetic texts to influence from a standard literary style. One might hope to learn from it how many of the apparently equivalent grammatical forms which co-exist in medieval Braj Bhāṣā poetry taken as a whole were in fact equivalent in the educated usage of one time and place, and how far other forms were current in that usage; and a bridgehead might be established from which further investigations could be launched into forms of language underlying the relatively little differentiated verse standard of Braj Bhāṣā.

Scope of the present study

Since no detailed study of the language of a Braj Bhāṣā prose text has yet been made, what was required in the first instance was a descriptive study of the language of Indrajjit, based on the best text of one of his commentaries available, and supported by whatever textual study and annotation seemed necessary. It was clear fairly quickly that of the known extant texts that of India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318, the only one to contain the Nitisataka commentary, is the best transmitted.¹ This text contains many fewer non-Bhartṛhari verses than either of the other MSS, and has obviously been copied by a more careful scribe, who was concerned to preserve the readings of his antecedent text in detail. Its period of transmission is perhaps 130–40 years, but there seems little doubt that it may be taken as a sound basis for the study of the language of Indrajjit.

As far as has been practicable the language of the text selected

¹ The MSS considered were: IO 3318, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 350, and Jodhpur 10956a. For further details of them and an estimate of their respective value as specimens of Indrajjit’s language, see ‘Some Bhartṛhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’. A MS of a prose Vairāgyasatāka commentary called Vītekadīpikā is listed in the Hastalikhit hindi pusṭhakān kā sankṣipt vivāraya (1964), dated sv 1747 and attributed doubtfully to Keśavdhās; this proved on inspection to be of Indrajjit’s Vairāgyasatāka commentary. It is more carelessly written than IO 3318, perhaps representing the usage of a scribe more frequently than that of Indrajjit.
INTRODUCTION

has been analysed in its own terms, with the aim of avoiding false equations between its grammar and that of the standard poetic language or other extraneous forms of speech. Forms adduced from other texts have usually been cited for comparative purposes, or to confirm, rather than to establish, the function of their analogues in this text. In some cases, the mode of analysis adopted has led to a different presentation of aspects of the material from that which has been customary, but it is thought that this has not greatly obscured any grammatical feature, and may have brought certain features into clearer relief. The work has not been envisaged as a historical study, since broadly acceptable derivations of most of the grammatical forms have been worked out, although it was clear that the material had to be approached from a historical as well as a descriptive point of view to some extent. The determination of historical sources for the contents of the commentary seemed to be an almost entirely separate study, and has not been undertaken here.

As was expected, the information contained in the grammatical surveys mentioned above does not by any means account fully for the forms used by Indrajit. But while the discrepancies between Indrajit’s language and that of ‘classical’ Braj Bhāṣā can be stated, it should be noted that they often cannot be explained with confidence in the light of present knowledge. To take one instance, the postpositional forms kahun, kahan are extremely common in the language of Indrajit but rare, though attested, in medieval Braj Bhāṣā verse texts; they occur more commonly in medieval Avadhī texts. In the modern dialects, they appear to be represented pre-eminently by Bundelī and Bagheli (E. Hindi) forms, although they can also be related to khū of some W. Pahārī dialects, which may represent an original Rājasthānī influence. Are we to explain the forms at what would seem to be their face value, as specifically local, Bundelī elements in Indrajit’s language, or should we rather assume, in view of the relative freedom of Indrajit’s language from unambiguously Bundelī traits, that these forms were earlier current over a wider area than are their modern descendants, and were genuine features of a non-poetic style of Braj Bhāṣā proper? The former explanation seems the more probable, but in default of further evidence it is impossible to be sure.

Again, we find a few apparent Bundelī forms in the text which are of isolated occurrence only; we must reckon with the
probability that these, if genuine Bundelī features, may be scribal only rather than Indrajit’s own.

Similarly, we may feel certain that other grammatical forms than those of the text here studied (including Khaṛī Bolī forms) were used in the Braj Bhāṣā area and Bundelkhanḍ in Indrajit’s time, but without further evidence it is impossible to tell how wide a currency any such forms will have enjoyed. The fact that the best text of Indrajit’s prose contains rather fewer traces of Khaṛī Bolī influence than the more indifferently transmitted ones probably implies that at the time in question a Sanskritised prose style of Braj Bhāṣā was resistant to Khaṛī Bolī influences in grammar and vocabulary to some extent. This might in turn suggest that a tradition of its use was already of some standing in Orchā. We should also bear in mind the likelihood that such a style will have been used outside Orchā as well, serving as a means of communication between Hindu courts, and educated Hindu speakers of different local Western Hindi dialects, in much the same way as modern standard Hindi now unites educated speakers of all the regional dialects of Hindi. But analyses of a series of prose texts of whose composition and history something is known with certainty will require to be made before clear answers to such questions as these can begin to be given.

1 See App. 1, p. 239.
2 For some confirmatory evidence of this see ch. 1, p. 15.
INDRAJIT’S ‘NĪTIŚATAKA’ COMMENTARY

The MS and its transmission

The only MS which is known to preserve the text is India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318. This contains only the work in question, viz. the Nītiśataka of Bhartṛhari, with Indrajit’s Braj Bhāṣā prose commentary, which is part of a larger work called Vivekadīpikā. Keith’s catalogue gives the name of the Nītiśataka commentary itself as Vivekadīpikā, but the conclusion of the text implies that it is in fact only one part of the Vivekadīpikā, which is a ‘Bhartṛhari ūkā’; Iti śrīmatsakalapatiṣṭimavanmanī-śrīmadhukarasāhinrpatitanāśrīmadināndrajīdviracitāyāṁ vivekadi- pikāyāṁ bhartṛharīṭkāyāṁ nītiśataṁ samāptam, 26a 5f. There is little doubt that this ūkā will have embraced all three of the Centuries of Bhartṛhari. The MS is well preserved, carefully written in one hand which is very clear and regular throughout, and complete in 26 folios. It is dated 1792 Vikram. (A.D. 1735) in the scribe’s colophon.

It is probable from two pieces of internal evidence that the text was copied at least once between its date of composition about A.D. 1600 and the MS date. The evidence consists of apparent errors by a first scribe retained and compounded by a second. There is no evidence regarding the date at which this presumed earlier copying will have taken place. Given the length of the period of transmission it may seem likely that the scribe of MSIO3318 was copying a MS some decades old at least, and in view of the minor nature of the two errors which suggest the earlier copying it is probable that the readings of this MS were not very different from those of Indrajit’s autograph.

As for the scribe of MSIO3318, it is clear that he was usually at pains to transmit the forms of his text accurately, and the extant text may thus be given more authority as a record of

1 Keith 7210. For details of the history of the MS see ‘Some Bhartṛhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’, p. 315.
2 F. 26b is ruled with side lines, entitled, and numbered, but the text itself is clearly complete half-way down f. 26a.
3 Quoted by Keith, together with other information on the MS not given here.
4 See notes to 11a7, 18a15.
Indrajit’s language than its separation from him in time might seem to make probable. In particular we may note the efforts made by the scribe to preserve previous MS readings of final -i by correcting inadvertently written -a; also the apparent effort in the earlier part of the MS not to write -u, which was probably a conventional spelling, for presumed -a of the previous MS in certain nominal forms. Final -i and -u had clearly been progressively weakened during the period of transmission of the text, perhaps to the point where they were scarcely realised at all in the scribe’s speech. These efforts at correct transmission were not uniformly successful, but that they were made at all indicates the scribe’s generally responsible attitude to the material he was copying. Other corrections in the MS, apparently in the scribe’s hand, suggest the same conclusion.¹

There are, as would be expected, some obvious errors in the text as it stands which are no doubt scribal.² We also find a few forms of possible Bundelī origin which seem on balance more likely to proceed from a local scribe than to reflect Indrajit’s usage.³ The total number of such forms is small, however, and they can hardly be held to detract from one’s impression of a predominantly reliably transmitted text.

The Sanskrit text

The text quotes and explains 106 numbered verses. There are three minor dislocations in the sequence of numbering, viz. verse 27 is wrongly numbered 26, verses 98–106 are wrongly numbered 97–105, and a verse of Bhāravi, sahasā vidadhitā na kriyām, is given, numbered 1, between verses 52 and 53. Verse 65, yasyāsti vittam, is given also as verse 23, with almost identical commentary. Verse 64, kesāṁcin nījavesmanī, is the only one recorded by Kosambi as occurring in this Bharṭṛhari text alone.

The commentary to these three verses (intercalary 1, 23 and 64) is introduced by the words yā śloka kau yaha artha (arthu), which are not used to introduce any other of the verses in the MS. These verses were thus all known to Indrajit, or a scribe, as intruders in the Nitiśataka text; it seems likely on balance that they go back to

¹ On scribal corrections of inadvertently written -a to -i see the textual and other notes, especially that to 48a1; also to 10b15, 14b7. On final -u and -a in a-stem subs., see ch. 3, par. 12.
² See, for example, notes to 22a4, 20a14, 23a9, 15a8, 16a13.
³ See notes to 6a12, 9a4; ch. 3, par. 169; also note to 22b8f.
THE Sanskrit Text

Indrajit’s original commentary, since one of them, verse 64, is introduced by the final sentences of the commentary to verse 63, about whose standing in the MS there is no doubt. Indrajit’s use of the words yā śloka kau yaha arthu may depend on his text’s not having agreed with another text in its numbering at these points, perhaps one containing a Sanskrit commentary which he was using as a contributory source for his own commentary.

A comparison for number and order of the serially numbered verses of Indrajit’s text with the pratīka listings of Bhartrhari’s verses in Kosambi’s synoptic chart places the text clearly within his Northern Recension of śatakāraya MSS, and closest to his version D. There is some evidence of influence from his versions C, I and text F.4; influence of the Southern Recension seems restricted to individual textual variants, with the exception of verse 1, dīkkālādī, which is regularly Vairāgyasataka verse 1 in the Northern.1

It is clear that the Vivekādīpikā was not composed from a complete śatakāraya text, but that Indrajit’s Nitiśataka text, at least, was separate from his Vairāgyasataka text, since the known texts of the Vairāgyasataka commentary are very different in the number and order of their verses from Kosambi’s version D, and contain many more interpolated verses.

The nature of the commentary

Indrajit describes himself as śastrarthavicāravān in his Sanskrit introduction to the commentary, but this epithet is probably not to be taken too seriously. He was certainly far from an expert Sanskritist, as his grammatically confused phrase sādhubhis tat sahaṃtām in the fourth verse of the introduction, and his incorrect metre in the first verse, show, and he anticipates (though in a routine formula) the possibility that there may be occasional lapses in his commentary (yad iha bhavati . . . skhalitam anava-bodhāt). These do occur. Sometimes they are due to confusions in his Sanskrit text which he was unable to resolve,2 sometimes perhaps to gaps in a commentary which he was using as a source which he did not try to fill.3 And there is an occasional very indifferent

1 For further detail on the affiliations of the text see ‘Some Bhartrhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’, p. 320.
2 See notes to 19a11, 16a9.
3 See note to 9b12.
INDRAJIT’S ‘NITIŚATAKA’ COMMENTARY

The style of the commentary is for the most part relatively fluent and self-consistent. The material is also extensive enough and in general independent enough of the Sanskrit text to make it probable that it represents a genuine sample of a Sanskritised, educated style of language current in Orchā in Indrajit’s time. Dialectally this may not have corresponded in detail to the true colloquial of Orchā, which is outside the modern Braj Bhāṣā area proper, but it was certainly close enough to it to allow Indrajit to describe it as his svabhāṣā in his Sanskrit introduction. Almost at the end of his commentary Indrajit makes an allusion to this Sanskritised style which confirms its currency in Orchā, and is probably of considerable importance for the general history of

1 See, for example, notes to 23a5, 25b2.
2 See, for example, notes to 3a14, 11b12.
3 See note to 25b14, also p. 13, top.
4 11b14.
5 For details see ‘Some Bhartṛhari commentaries in early Braj Bhāṣā prose’, pp. 323f.

14
prose in Hindi dialects. This is his incorrect gloss on vānī... samalāmkaroti... yā sanskrītā dhāryate, which he renders as ju vānī sanskrītahīm līnai haim...alāmkṛta karati haim 25b12f. ‘speech embellished with Sanskrit is an ornament’ (to man). This gloss seems to be clear evidence that a Sanskritised style of speech of high prestige existed and was well recognised in his time.

**Editorial treatment of the MS**

The following points bear chiefly on the transliteration of bhāṣā forms:

1. The inherent vowel is represented in all cases, for reasons discussed in Chapter 2, pars. 2, 3.
2. All anuvārās are represented with the graph m, whether they represent apparent vowel nasality or homorganic nasal consonants.
3. Syllabic -i following the inherent vowel is separated from it by an apostrophe. (Syllabic -u does not occur.)
4. Variant graphs for the same phoneme are represented (note especially š, kh for /kh/), except that ṣ and ś are both transliterated ą. See Chapter 2, par. 17.

Double and single dantaś are represented by full stops, except those in Sanskrit verses, none of which are given, and those which do not correspond to natural sentence pauses and breaks in the sense of the bhāṣā text. Suppression of the latter, which has to some extent been arbitrary, is indicated by superscript 4 in the text. Some other dantaś have been removed merely to allow the syntax of a bhāṣā sentence interspersed awkwardly with lemmata to be followed more easily. A few small gaps in the sequence of aksaras are indicated by superscript 8. Capital letters are used for the first aksaras of words following dantaś admitted to the text, and in the first aksaras, only, of Sanskrit verses. Additional punctuation is supplied where it seems helpful in the bhāṣā text, again in a somewhat arbitrary way. Semi-colons and commas are used to separate bhāṣā text from lemmata of Sanskrit words, except after aru. Hyphens are used where vowel junctions occur in compounds, and in deandva compounds, in the bhāṣā text.

Lemmatas, and Sanskrit words occurring together with them but which are not found in the verses, are italicised. (Lemmatas may occur exactly as in their verses, or with sandhi variations, or in root form where they clearly do not represent tatsama borrowings,
since a bhāṣā gloss follows; or with minor variations of form, e.g. mṛgatṛṣṇāsu 2a11. Forms preceding the alternative conj. kahā or its equivalent kahetāṁ, etc., are lemmata, except occasionally where they are directly involved in the grammar of a bhāṣā sentence.)

The main variations of verse readings and lemmata from Kosambi’s Bhartṛhari text are given. Textual variants have occasionally been of value in the interpretation of MS readings (see for example nimdyā 3a14n.), and their citation, like that of the minor details of punctuation, may assist with study of any other MS of the text which is eventually found.
THE TEXT

.Śrīrāmāya namaḥ. Śrīparamātmane namaḥ. Atha nitiśataṁ f. 1b likhyate.

Nṛharipadasarjadvamḍvasevaiṣṭakāṇaḥ sakaladitija'rāja<2>dhvastarūḍhāḥbhimānaḥ
nṛpatimatdhubhakarāśāḥ putratulyaḥ kṛpaḍhyo
viditavarabumḍvelavaṃśāmaulir babhūva. (1)
Akhilamadaprahārī <3> puṇyakīrttiprarcāri
dviṣaṇaparipārī duḥkhatapaṁ nivārī
satataḥdhanavītārī yācatāṁ taṣya putraḥ
paramavīnayakārī śrīmāṇjinnāmā<4>dhāri. (2)
Karoti śāstrārthavicāravān api
svabhāṣayaḥ bhāṛṭhāreḥ sa tiṇparaṁ
paropakārāya vivekādīpiṅkāṁ
vivekināṁ śrotām<5>nāḥsukhapradāṁ. (3)
Yad iha bhavati kīṃcic chadbato vārthato2 vā
skhalitam anavabohāt sādhubhis tat sahaṁtāṁ
paragunaparamānumaṁ śailayantah sva<6>vāgbhir
girisamaparadọṣaṁ naṁtarālokaṁyantah. (4)

Prathama hi bhāṛṭhāri yā gramtha ki nirvighna para samāpti
kauṁ paraṁśvara kauṁ namaskā<7>rāṛupamāṃgalācaraṇa karatu
haṁ.

Ślokaḥ. Dikkālādyanavacchinnānaṁtacinmātramūrttaye
svānuḥbūtyaikamāṇya namaḥ śāṃtāya teja<8>se. (1)

Ṭīkā. Bhāṛṭhāri kahata hai ki etāḍhra īśvara kahā namaskāru.
Xaisai hai īśvaru. Sakala diśāṁ aru samasta kāla ityā<9>dika kari
avacchinna3 nāṁḥi āhi. Kiṁtu saba hi diśāṁni viśai haṁ.
Aru saba hi kāla viśaiṁ haṁ. Yā hi tāṁ naṁta hai.
Bhuri kaisai <10> hai īśvaru: cinmātra, kahaite caitanya mātra hai mūrtti jina
kī; aise īśvaru4 haṁ. Bhuri kaisai haiṁ īśvaru. Sva, kahetāṁ

1 ditijā: The third aṅkṣara is corrected by the scribe from what appears to be
dittographed ta.
2 The aṅkṣara va is omitted from the text, but supplied in the original hand and
ink in the margin.
3 Corrected by the scribe from anavacchinnā.
apanoī, ju; anubhūti, kahā anubhavaḥ; soī eka muṣya hai
pramaṇa jini visai; aise haim. Īśvara visaiṃ pramāṇu netra nāmhi
aru śravana nāṃhi kimtu ake(12)lo apanau1 anubhava pramāṇa
hai. Bahuri kaisai hai īśvaru. Śāmtāya; paramasāṃta hai. Aru
tejase; tejorūpa hai. Aise īśvara kahum na(13)maskāra. Ihiṃ
prakāra bhartṛhari māṃgaḷacarana karikai prathama hīṃ nītīsata
kari tatva loka kauṃ kahata hai.

Ślokaḥ. Ajñāḥ sukha(14)m ārādhyaḥ sukhataram ārādhyaṃ
viṣeṣajñaḥ
jñānalavadurvvidadgadhāṃ vrahmāpi naraṃ na ramJayati.

(2)

Tīkā. Ajñāḥ; mahāmūrkha. Sukhaṃ. Su(15)ṣa hīṃ; ārādhyaḥ;
ārādhijatu hai. Aru viṣeṣajñaḥ; viṣeṣa kau jānanahāra, ju haid paramacatura;
sukhataram. Vīna hīṃ jatanaḥīṃ suṣa hīṃ;
ā(1)ārāhdyate. Ārādhijatu hai. E douṃ suṣa hīṃ vasi haumāhīṃ2
paṃ; jñānalavadvidadgadhāṃ. Gyaṇa ke lava kari ju durvidagdha
hai, kahā mahādūrgrahī(2) hai, su etādṛśa; nara;3 manu-
ṣyaḥīṃ. Vrahmāū; na ramJayati. Nāṃhi anuraṃji sakatu. Aura kī
kahā calatu hai. Bahuri bhartṛhari dvai ślo(3)ka kari durāgrahī kī
prakṛti kahata haim.

Ślokaḥ. Prasahya manim uddharen makaravaktradām-
strāṃtartat4
samudram api saṃtaret prcaladūrmmi(4)mālakulaṃ
bhujamgam api kopītam śirasa puṣpavad dhārayen
na tu pratiniviṣṭamūrkhajanacittam ārāhdayet.

(3)

Tīkā. Manuṣya jau ja(5)tana karai, tau makara ke vaktra ji
damśtrā hai, su tina hū madhya taṃ; prasahya; varavaṭa hīṃ.
Manim. Maniḥim; uddhareṭ. Kāḍhi leī. Magara kī(6) dāḍhāni
madhya mani rahata hai. Yaha saba hīṃ prasidhi hai. Aru prcalat
kahetaim vaḍi vaḍi utthaṭi5 ju hīṃ; uṛmmi, kahetaim taramga; tina kī

1 The form of the aksara pa is unusual though not unique for the text; the
bottom half of the vertical has been written first, and the top half left incom-
plete.
2 The anusvāra taken as belonging to the syllable -hi is equidistant between it
and the following syllable paṁ, but this bears a separate anusvāra to the right
of the vowel strokes.
3 Corrected by the scribe from nṛṛa by blotting out r.
4 dāṃstrāṃtartat in S MS versions only.
5 MS utthati.
mālā<sup>7</sup>ni kari ativyākula ju samudra<sup>8</sup>, tā samudra hū muku. Samtaret; pairi pāra hoi. Aru kopitaṁ bhujāmga api. Kupita bhujāmga hū muku. Śī<sup>8</sup>rasī; apanaṁ śīra para; pūspa<sup>8</sup>vat. Puhapani kī śī nāmhi; dhārayet. Dharai. Pratinivīṣṭa, kahaitaṁ atidurāgrāhi ju mūrsa janu; tā ke citahiṁ ka<sup>9</sup>ba hūṁ na ārādhyā sakai.

Ślokaḥ. Labheta sikatāsu tailam api yatnataḥ pīdayan pibec ca mṛgaṭṛṣnikāsu salilaṁ pipāśardditaḥ kadā<sup>10</sup>cid api paryātanaśaśaviśānam āśādayen na tu pratinivīṣṭamūrkhajanacittam ārādhyayet. (4)


Ślokaḥ. Saśī divisadhūsaro galitayauvanā kā<sup>14</sup>minī saro vigatavārijaṁ mukham anakṣaram svākrteḥ prabhur dhanaparāyanaḥ satatadurgataḥ sajjano nṛpaṁgaṅagataḥ khalo manasi sapta <sup>15</sup>śālyāni me. (5)

Tiṅkā. Bhārtrhari kahata haim ki<sup>d</sup>; me manasi. Mere mana viṣai. Sapta śālyāni. Sāta śalya hai. Te sāta salya<sup>1</sup> kaumna kaumna <sup>1</sup>hai. Saśī divisadhūsarāḥ. Eka śalya tau yaha haim<sup>d</sup>, ju; saśī, caṃdramā, divasa viṣaiṁ dhūsaraavaran hotu haid, kahā atimalina hvai jāta hai. <sup>2</sup>Aru dūsarau sali yaha hai ju kāminī galitayauvana hvai jāti hai. Aru tīsarau salya yaha haid, ju; sarah. Sarovarau. Vigatavārijaṁ. Ka<sup>3</sup>malani vinu hota hai. Aru cauthau salya yaha hai ju<sup>d</sup>; svākrteḥ; suṁdara puruṣa kau; mukham. Muśu<sup>d</sup>; anakṣaram,<sup>2</sup> akṣarani kari hīna hota hai. A<sup>4</sup>ru paṃcama salya yaha hai ju<sup>d</sup>; prabhuh dhanaparāyanaḥ. Vādau prabhu hvaikari lobhī hota hai. Aru chaṭṭhau salya yaha hai ju sajjana jana; satatadu<sup>5</sup>rgaṇaḥ; sarvadā daridri desijatu hai. Aru sātāṃ salya yaha hai ju; khalah; nīca jana<sup>3</sup> nṛpati ke āṃgani madhya jāi thādhau hotu hai.

<sup>1</sup> MS salyā.  
<sup>2</sup> MS akṣaram.  
<sup>3</sup> MS janaḥ.
Ślo(6)kah. Maniḥ sānolīḍhaḥ samaraviyaiḥ hetinihato
madaksino nāgaḥ śaradi saritaḥ śyānapulinaḥ
kalāśeṣaḥ caṃḍraḥ sūraḥ(7)tamṛditā bālavanitā
tanimnaḥ sobhānte galitavibhavās cārthiṣu narāḥ. (6)

Tīkā. Bhartṛhari khata haim ki e sātaū vastu yadyapi (8) vaḍe
taim laghu hoti haim, tadapi ati sohāte haim.\(^1\) Tahāṃ kaumna
kauna sohāte hai, te kahijatu hai. Prathama hi tau; \(\text{maniḥ sānol-}\
lidhaḥ; \) pahailaṃ ma(9)ṇi vaḍi hoti hai. Ta pichai śarasāṃna sūm
saṃvāri tanaka rāṣijati hai. Paim taū sohāte hai. Aru dūsaraṁ,
samaraviyaiḥ; jhiṁ aneka vā(10)ra samara viṣai jityau hai. Aisau
vaḍau hai. Aru vahai kadācīt; \(\text{hetinihataḥ}.\) Jaisem koū
nāṃnhau\(^2\) mārijatu hai, taisāim hi muṣa madhya hathyā(11)ra kari
saṃgrāma viṣai māryau; tau vaha ati hīṃ sohāte hai. Vā ki laghutā
na jānīvī. Aru tīsarai, nāgāḥ;\(^3\) ju hai hāṭhi; su mada kari jaba cchi(12)-
nā hvai jātu hai, taba hūṃ sohata hai. Aru\(^d\) caouthāim; \(\text{śaradi}; \)
saḍadhāla viṣai saritāni ke pulina yadyapi jala kari cchīnu hvai
jātu haim,\(^d\) (13) taū sohata hai. Aru pāṃcace; sampūraṇa taṁ
kalāśeṣaḥ mātra rahi jātu hai\(^d\) jaba caṃḍramā, taba hūṃ sohata hai.
Aru chaṭṭhaiṃ, bālavanitā; ja(14)ba surata viṣai maradijata\(^4\) hai,
taba hūṃ sohata hai. Aru sātaaim, nara; manusya jaba apani
sampati sarva-arthī janani kahuṃ daikari kṣī(15)nā hvai jāta
haim,\(^d\) taū adhikta sohata haim. Su e sātaum; \(\text{tanimnā}; \)
skiṇatā hū madhya, ati sohata hai. Aba bhartṛhari āgile śloka (1)
viṣaiṃ yaha khata haim ki daridratā kau aru sampati kau kacchū
niyama nāṃthi.

Ślokāḥ. Parikṣiṇāḥ kaścit sprhayati yavānāṃ prasṛtaye
sa (2) paścit sampūraṇā kalayati dhāritrim trṇasamāṃ
ataś cānekāṃtā gurulaghutayārtheṣu dhanināṃ
avasthā vastūnī prathayati ca saṃkocaya(3)ti ca. (7)

Tīkā. \(\text{Kaścit parikṣiṇāḥ}; \) joi daridru pahilai; yavānāṃ prasṛtaye.
Yavani hīṃ ke pasāra kīd; \(\text{sprhayati}.\) Sprāh karatu hai ki (4)
merai yaha vaḍau bahuta haṃmhid; \(\text{paścit}.\) Pāchhai kari. \(\text{Sa eva}.\)
Vahai jaba; \(\text{sampūraṇa}.\) Sampati kari sampūrna hotu, tabad;
**TEXT**

dharitrîm. Sampûrana prthvihî; <5> trnasamâm kalayati. Tinûkâ kari mânatu hai. Aтаh; yâ kâraṇa tairî; dhaninâm avasthäuser; dhanavâṃtani kî avasthäuser; <6> vaṣṭûni prathâyati ca; vaḍhâva vati hai aru ghatâvati hai. Avasthäuser pâikai vastu ghatâi aru vaḍhayai. Avasthäuser phuni kaisî hai. Arthesu. Dravyani ke; guralaghutâyâ; vaḍhâva ve aru ghatâi he kahum. Anekâmâ. Anitya hai avasthäuser; kaba hûm ku vaḍhâvatu hai aru kaba hûm ku ghatâvatu hai.

Ślokaḥ. Śâstropaskr<8> tâshabdasumdaragirâ śisyapradeyâgâma vikhyâtâh kâvayo vasaṃṭi visaye yasya prabhôr nirddhânâh

taj jâdyâm vasudhâdhipasya sudhiyas tv<2> a<9> rthâm vinâpiśvaṛâh
kutsyâs te parikṣakâ hi<3> maṇyaio yair arghataḥ pâtitâḥ.

(8)

Sudhiyas tu, ve paramasubuddhi kavi tau<4>; arthâm vinâpi. Dhana vina hûm<4>; īśvarâḥ; īśvaru hai. Vidyâ hai tau dhanâ bahuta hai.
Jaisalīm; maṇayaḥ; <14> bhalī bhali maniyaim jina hîm; arghataḥ; Āgha tair<4>; pâtitâḥ. Anajâna ghatâm kî<4>; ta eva<4> kutsyâhâ; teî nîmûda haim aru teî kutsita <15> parikṣaka jânive. Mani kau āghhu tau bhale ñhorani vahai hai.

Ślokaḥ. Vipadi dhaîryam athâbhûdaye kṣamâ sadasî vâkpaṭutâ yudhi vikra<1> maḥ
yasasî cîbhiratir vyasanâm śrutau prakṛtisiddham idam hi mahâtmanâm.

f. 3b


1 MS prathayami.
2 sudhiyas tv in S versions and version C.
3 parikṣakâ hi: version W gives kparikṣakâ hi (the only one to read hi).
4 Corrected from jana.

21

Ślokāḥ. Nimdaṃtu nītinipuṇā yadi vā stuvamṭu lakṣmīḥ samāviṣatu gacchatu vā yatheṣṭaṃ a<sup>6</sup>dyaiva vā maraṇam astu yugāṇtare vā nyāyyāt pathah pravicalaṃṭi padam na dhīrāḥ. (10)

Tīkā. Ye dhīrāḥ. Je dhīra hai, te<sup>d</sup>; nyāyyāt pathaḥ; nyāyamā<sup>7</sup>-rga taṃd<sup>4</sup>; padam. Eko paimḍu; na pravicalaṃṭi. Nāmphī vicalata. Kimṭu nyāyamārāγa him calata hai. Su nyāyamārāγa calata jau koū nimdata hai, <sup>8</sup> tau<sup>d</sup>; nimdaṃṭu. Nimdaḥu. Aru nītinipuṇāḥ. Nyāyamārāγa viṣai je atinipuṇa hai<sup>d</sup>, te saba suṣu pāikai jau stutī karata hai, tau<sup>d</sup>; stuvamṭu. <sup>9</sup> Stuti karahu. Aru<sup>d</sup> lakṣmīḥ samāviṣatu. Saṃpatisuṣu pāikai grha viṣai āvati hai, tau<sup>d</sup>; samāviṣatu. Ābhahu; vā. Athavā<sup>d</sup> duṣa <sup>10</sup> pāikai jo cchodi gayau<sup>d</sup>; cāhai, tau<sup>d</sup>; yatheṣṭaṃ. Apanī icchā; gacchatu. Jáu. Aru nyāya-mārga calata jau maraṇa hotu hai, tau<sup>d</sup>; adyaiva. Āju hi; <sup>11</sup> maraṇam astu. maraṇa hou. Vā; athavā<sup>d</sup>; yugāṇtare. Eka jugu vitaiṃ maraṇa hou. Pai<sup>2</sup> je dhīra hai te nyāya-mārga cchāḍikai eka paimḍu nāmphī calata. <sup>12</sup>

Ślokāḥ. Harttur yāti na gocaraṃ kim api śaṃ puṣṇāti yat sarvadā- pyt arthihbhyah pratipadyamānam<sup>3</sup> aniśam prāpnoti vṛddhiḥ parāṃ kalpaṃteṣv api na <sup>13</sup> prayāti nidhanam vidyākhyam amṛtarddhanam yeṣāṃ tān prati mānam ujjhata nṛpāḥ kas taḥ saha sparuddhate. (11)

Tīkā. Bhartṛhari aura rājani saum ka<sup>14</sup> hata haim: he nṛpāḥ; are rājāhau. Yeṣāṃ; jīni ka<sup>d</sup>; vidyākhyam amṛtarddhanam. Vidyāī gopya dhanu hai<sup>d</sup>; tān prati. Tina saum; mānam<sup>d</sup> ujjhata. Abhima-

1 MS nidahu.
2 A daṇḍa has been erased in the MS after this word.
3 apy arthibhyah pratipadyamānam: these readings together in MSS E3, 5.
4 MS māṃna.

Ślokā. Adhigataparamārthān paṃḍitān mā〈8〉vamanṣṭhās
trāṇam iva laghu lakṣmīr naiva tān samṛuṇaddhi
abhinavamadalekhaḥṣyāmagaṃḍasthalānāṃ
na bhavati viṣatāṃtur2 vāraṇāṃ vāraṇā〈9〉nāṃ. (12)

Ṭikā. Bahuri bhāṛhārhi dhanamadāṃdhā saum kahata hai4: Are dhanamadāṃdha. Adhigata, kahetaṃm nikṁkai kari jānyau hai paramārtha jini 〈10〉 esai paṃḍitani; māvamṣṭhāḥ. Lakṣmī-

1 Corrected from cora by the scribe.
2 biṣa- in versions A, E, H, I and B, Y MSS.
3 bhāṛī, lakṣmī: The MS shows a small vertical stroke, possibly to be taken as a punctuation mark, above the line after bhāṛī.

23
Ślo<1>kaḥ.  Kṣutkṣāmo 'pi jārākṛśo 'pi śīthilaprāṇo 'pi kāṣṭāṁ
dāsāṁ
dāpano 'pi vipannadīhitir api prāṇeṣu gacchatsv
api
unmattebhā<2>vibhinnakumbhakavala-
grāsaikabaddhasphṛhaḥ
kiṁ jīrṇaṁ tṛṇam atti mānamahatāṁ agresaraḥ
kesarī.

(13)

Tīkā.  Je vaibhavadāśa viśai <3> vaḍe vaḍe karama karata hai, te
āpadā viśai lālacikari kacchū hīna karamu nāṁhi karata. Jaisaim;
mānamahatāṁ agresaraḥ; sakala a<4>bhimāṇīna kau agresaru, ju
hai kesarī, su yau; kṣutkṣāmahd, kṣudhā kari cchini, hvai gayau
hoo. Aru jau; jāraṁvīto 'pi;d jāra kari grā<5>syauū hoo. Aru jau;
śīthilaprāṇo 'pi;d; sakala ṁdriya śīthila hvai gai haumhi. Aru jau;
kāṣṭāṁ dāsāṁ āpanno 'pi; aura hūṁ kāṣṭaḍa<6>śāhi prāpata
bhaya hoo. Aru jau; vipannadīhitīr api;d; dipati kari rahita
bhaya hoo. Bahuta kahāṁ laum kahijai. Prāṇeṣu api <7> gacchatsu.
Śimha ke prāṇaum nikesata haumhi, tau;d; kiṁ jīrṇam tṛṇam atti.
Kaba hūṁ bhūli hū süše tinūkahiṁ śai nahīṁ. Kiṁtu koṭi
<8>padā parahim tau süše tṛṇa kaba hūṁ na śai. Kaisau hai vaha
kesarī. Unmatta ju; ibha, hāthī, tā ke; vibhīnna, kahetaim vidāre,
ju kuṁbha; tina ke <9> māṁsa kau ju; kavaḷa, kahā kairu; tā kau
ju; grāsa, kahā śavauē; tā hī viśaiṁ; eka, kahetaim musya,
bāṃḍhi hai spṛḥāḥ;5 esau vaha siha hai. Tā taim <10> āpadāū
madhya śimha kai yaha spṛḥā hoti hai ki<4> kaba matta hāthīhiṁ
māraum, kaba vā ke kuṁbha vidārikai māṁsa śaṃmuṁ.

Ślokaḥ.  Pri<11>yā nyāyyā vr̥ttir malinam asubhamge6 'py
asukaraṁ
tv<7> asaṁtō nābhyanthyāḥ suhrd api na yācyāḥ
kṛṣadhanah

1 MS kī vā kitka vāta. The phrase occurs correctly at 6 a12.  
2 MS ja.
3 -prāṇo 'pi in S versions and MSS F1, 4.
4 This reading in S versions and MSS F1, 2, 4.
5 A faint mark high to the left of the last akṣara here probably belongs to the
hākāra of kahetaĩ, l. 8.
6 MS asubhaṁge.
7 This reading is characteristically Southern, but also occurs in versions D, J, 
and MS F3.
TEXT

vipady uccaiḥstheyam padam anu<12>vidheyam ca
mahatāṃ
satāṃ kenādiṣṭaṃ¹ viṣamam asidhārāvratam idaṃ. (14)


Ślokaḥ. Manasi vacasi kāye punyapīyuṣapūrṇās
tribhuvanam upakāra<6>śreṇibhiḥ prīṇayamtaḥ
paraguṇaparamāṇaḥ parvatikṛtya nityaṃ
nijahrḍi vikasamtaḥ saṃti samtaḥ kiyamtaḥ. (15)

Ṭīkā. Samtaḥ kiyamtaḥ <7> saṃti. Yā loka viṣai eseṃ saṃta virale hai. Kaise saṃta, te kahijata hai. Manasi. Mana viṣai. Aru vacasi. Vacana viṣai. Aru kāye. Sa<8>ṛira hūṃ viṣai. Punya ju; pīyuṣa, amṛta, tihiṃ kari je saṃta pūrna hai⁴; aru je saṃta⁴; upakārāśreṇibhiḥ. Aneka upakārani kari⁴; tri<9>bhuvanam. Tīṅihūṃ lokani⁴d; prīṇayamaḥ, saṃtoṣa deta hai⁴; aru je parāye gunaim, ju⁴; paramāṇu, kahā paramāṇu samāna atisvalpa: jau pa<10>ṛaye guna deśahim, tau⁴; parvaṭiṅkṛtya nityaṃ. Nita hi parvata samāna vade kari mānata hai⁴d; aru suṣu pāi pāi⁴; hṛdi⁴; apanāṁ hṛdaya vi<11>śai; vikasamtaḥ, praphulita hota hai⁴d; ese sādhu saṃsāra madhya virale hai.

¹ K. gives only kenoddīṣṭam.
² MS asadhani.
³ MS suhradau.
⁴ MS suhradau.
⁵ MS it.
TEXT

Ślokāh. Itāḥ svapiti keśavaḥ kulaṁ itas1 tadiyaḍviśām2 i(12)taś ca saraṇārthiṇaḥ sikhariṇiṇaḥ śīkharipatriṇaḥ śerate ito 'pi vaḍavānalaḥ saha samastasaṃvarttakair aho vitatam āurjjitaṁ bharasaḥaṁ ca śimdh nor va(13)-puḥ.

(16)


f. 5b


Ślokāh. (4) Kvacic bhūmiḥ6 śayā kvacic api ca paryamkaśayanām
kvacic chākāhāraḥ kvacic api ca śālyaṉaṅarucih
kvacic kaṁthādhārī kvaci(5)d api ca
divyāṁbaradharo
manasvī kārīyārthī gaṇayati na duṅkhamaṁ na ca
sukhaṁ.

(17)


1 A daṇḍa written after the akṣara mi has been partly erased.
2 An anuvṛata written over the last akṣara has been partly erased.
3 MS pataṛī.
4 The trace of an anuvṛata is visible over the akṣara ha.
5 MS ja.
6 This reading not noted by K.
7 Marginal addition by the scribe.
8 MS pāijā.

Ślokaḥ. Namasyā<11>mo devān nanu hatavidhes te 'pi vaśagāḥ² vidhir vāṃdhyah so 'pi pratiniyatakarmaikaphaladaḥ phalaṁ karmāyattam yadi kim amaraṁ kim ca vidhi<12>nā namas tat karmabhya vidhir api na yeḥhyaḥ prabhavati.

(18)


Ślokaḥ. Ye saṁtoṣasukhapra<6>modamuditās teṣāṁ na bhinnā mudo ye 'py anye⁴ dhanalobhaśamkulaḥdhivas teṣāṁ na trṣṇā hatā³

¹ MS ka, influenced by the following aksara. ² -ḥ in MS Y2 only. ³ MS bhavati.
⁴ 'py anye in MSS Fr, 4.
⁵ -lobha- in version A and MSS Fr, 2.

27
itthaṃ kasya kṛte kṛtaḥ sa vidhinā tādṛśpadam
saṃpa(<7>)dāṃ
svātmay eva samāptahemamahimā meru na me
rocate.

(19)

Ṭikā. Bhartṛhari kahata hai ki haum vicārātu rahatu haum ki
sumeru kāhū ke kāma (<8>) kau nāṃhi. Yā saṃsāra viṣai jiva dvai
prakāra ke hai. Eka saṃtoṣī hai. Eka lobhī hai. Tini dhuṇī
madhya<4> ye purūṣa saṃtoṣasaṃbāṃdhī sukha kari <9> aru
pramodu, ju hai parama ānāṃdu, tihīṃ kari mudita rahata hai<3>,
tēṣāṃ. Tini kai<2>; mudaḥ; sakala ānāṃda<3>; bhinnā na. Dūri nāṃhi.
Tā tem ve tau saṃto<10>śasukha kari sarvadā ānāṃdamagna
rahata hai. Su unī kahum kacchī sumeru pāyem hī ānāṃdu na
hvaīhai. Kiṃtu<3> ve to saṃtoṣasaṃbāṃdhī suṣu kari pu<11>rana
rahivoī karatu hai. Tā taim aise saṃtoṣīni ke kāma kau sumeru
nāṃhi. Aru je aura dhana ke lobha kari vyākula budhi hai<3>;
tēṣāṃ. Tīna (<12>) kī<2>; trṣṇā na hatā. Trṣṇaī nāṃhi dūri bhai. Aise lobhīni
ti trṣṇaī koṭiṣa sumera na dūri kari<2> sakahim. Eka sumera kī
kitika vāta. (<13>) Tā taim aise lobhī hū kī bhalāī kaham sumeru<3>
nāṃhi. Ittham. Yā taim haum vicārātu rahatu haum<3> kī;
vidhinā. Vidhātād; saḥ; vaha sumeru<3>; kasya kṛte. (<14>) Kauna
ke kāmā kahaṃ<3>; kṛtaḥ; kinau hai. Mere jēna kāhū ke kāma
kau nāṃhi. Tā taim; merur na me rocate. Sumeru mohi nāṃhi
rucaṭu. Hai kaisau su<15>meru. Saṃpadāṃ tādṛśpadam. Sakala
saṃpadāni kau atiprasiddha sthānu<4> yadyapi hai, tau<2> sumeru
ke hema kī mahimā sumera hī madhyā vilāṇī (<1) kāhū ke kāma
ki na bhai.

Ślokaḥ. Daurmaṃtryāṇ nṛpatir vinaśyatī yatīḥ saṃgāt suto
lālanaṅ
vipro 'nadhyanāṇāt kulaṃ kutanayāc chilaṃ kha<2>-lopāsanāt
strī madyād<4> anavekṣaṇād aπi kṛṣiḥ snehaḥ
pravāsāśrayān
maitrī cāpranaṇayāt samṛddhir anayāt tyāgāt pramādād
dhanāṃ.

(20)

Ṭī(<3>)kā. Nṛpatīḥ. Rājā<2>; daurmaṃtryāṭ. Duṣṭa maṃtra taim;
vinaśyati. Avasya vinasi. Aru yatīḥ. Virakta saṃnyāśi<4>; saṃgāt
vinaśyati. Dūsrāi (<4>) ki saṃgati taim avasya vinasi. Aru sutāḥ.

1 MS kai.
2 MS saru (rather than maru).
3 MS rahauṃ.
4 strī madyād in versions C, I, and B and F MSS.

Ślokaḥ. (9) Jādyaṃ hṛimati ganyate vratarucau dāṃbhaḥ sucau kaitavaṃ
śūre nirgrṛṇatā rjau vimātī dainyaṃ priyālāpini
tejasvini avaliptatā mu(10)kharatā vaktary asaktiḥ sthire
tat ko nāma guṇo bhavet sa guṇināṃ yo durjjanaīr
nāṃkitaḥ. (21)

Ṭikā. Yaha loka aisau durārādhya hai, ju bha(11)le hū viśāim

1 The amuvāra is extremely close to the aksara vi.
2 The word vrata has been erased after the aksara e, leaving a gap between it and the end of the line.
3 MS sucau.

Ślokāḥ. Jātir yātu rasātalam guṇagaṇas tasyāpy adho gacchatāc2 chilam sailataṭīt patatv abhijanaḥ samādahya〈8〉tāṁ vahninā saurye vairini vajram āśu nipatatv artho 'stu naḥ kevalam yenaikena vinā guṇās tṛṇalavaprāyāḥ samastā ime. (22)


Ślokāḥ. 〈2〉 Yasyāsti vittam sa naraḥ kulīṇaḥ sa paṃditaḥ sa śrutavān guṇajñaḥ sa eva vaktā sa ca darśanīyaḥ sarve guṇāḥ kāṃcanaṃ āśrayaṁti. (23)

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1 MS *sumu*.  
2 This reading in versions H, J and various S MSS.  
3 MS *yāti* (occurs in MS Y7 only).  
4 MS *śīlām*.
〈3〉Ҭիկա. Յա ենկա կայ ըահ արթա. Իենէ իերտա հաէd; սա նարահ կունէահ. Սօի մէր կունէւ. Սա 〈4〉էրտաքուա. Սօի բհալաւ ժրու. Սա կունայէահ. Սօի վադաւ կունայժա. Սա էվա վաքտա. Սօի վադաւ վաքտա. Սա էվա դարէանիէահ. Սօի պարսամէնդաւ. Թա 〈5〉թամ իհւմ գուրակաd; սարէ գունä. Սաբ գունä; կամենամ ըարայմեն. Ակել կամենա կե աէրտա հաէ.

Տետա. Բհաննէասայա կարամդափիտտա〈6〉նոרגיש mlաէնմէդրիյասաy կուդհա
cուրտաքհ վիվարամ սվայամ նապէտո նակէտմ մուքե
բհօգինահ
tրպտաս տատպիսիտենա սատվարամ ասաւ տենավա ըանաh
պաթա〈7〉
sաստհաէ3 տիշհա4 դաիվամ էվա հի նիւն æռդհăւ կէայէ
cարանամ.5

(24)

թիկ. Բհարջռահարի կահատա հաի կե է լոգահաd; սաստհա տիշհա.4
Tゥマ նի〈8〉սչինտա եվայ զա թահաd; ու. Թա թաինd; նիւն æռդհăւ կէայէ
cա. Մաւսըանի կե æռդխի կիվե կահուր, արւ կայա կիվե կահուրd;
դաիվամ էվա կարանահ. Ակելաu〈9〉 ադրժա կարանու հաի. Ադրժա հի թաին
ճիա, արւ ադրժա հի թաին մարիայ. Ժասայմ եկա սարէւ կահու տիպարիէå
մադխա բամդհի ռայաւ հատաd, սւ վահա սa〈10〉ռպու կամսաւ հաی. Bhagna-
sasya. Bhagna, կահետայան գաի հաі; ասա, մանուռահ, ջա կաւ. Էսաւ վահ
սարպա բհայաւ. Բահուրի կամաւ բհայաւ սարպա. Karanḍa, ջւ հի ʧ〈11〉-
պարիճå, տա մամիհա թահա ատիպիչտա բհայաւ հաі թանա ջա կաւ. Ասաւ
վահ սարպա բհայաւ. Բահուրի կամաւ հաի սարպա. Ƙșudhă; ատիբււա
Ժու լագի, սւ թա〈12〉 թամ մլաէ թահա հաի իմդրիյա ջա կի; ասի ապադå
սում տիպարիէå մադխա վահ սարպա բամդհայաւ. Թաбаd; էքհուh. Եկա կամւշարամd; նակէտå.
Ռաթi վիշայm; վիվարամ կր〈13〉տու. Տիպարիէå
cատi կար iκե չիդրու կէնավ; տիհiմ չիդրա հվամå ճâ, վա ըապէ կե 
մւå մադխա պարյաւ. Թաբ ասաւ վահ սարպd; տատպիսիտենå; վå
〈14〉 կուշårե կե մամբսա կարid տրպտa բհայաւ, արւ բալi æռd բհայաւ. Թա
պաչայm; սատվարանå. Վեգi հիմ դէd; տենավա պաթå. Վա հi չիդրa կե 
մարգa հվaiд; ըատå. Նիկասа բha〈15〉գյաւ. Թա թամ ադրժա ասաւ
վալi հաիm, վիհiմ սարպå կահուm7 վահ կինid,8 արւ կաւասարå կահoւ
վահ կինå.

1 -ptide- in several MS versions, including D, and in individual MSS.
2 mlă- in S versions and in versions H, J and isolated MSS.
3 This reading in MS F5 only.
4 MS tištata.
5 This reading in S versions and in C, D, F, J.
6 MS bala.
7 A danša written after ka in this word has been erased.
8 Corrected from knau.
f. 8a Ślokaḥ. Pātito ’pi karāghātair u(1)tpataty eva kamḍukaḥ prāyenā hi suvrṭṭānām1 asthāyinyo vipattayaḥ. (25)

Ṭīkā. Prāyena. Hama yaha bahuta ṭhaurani deṣī hai, ju2; suvrṭṭā(2)ṇām. Su, kahetaṁ bhale hai; vṛtta, kahā ācaraṇa, jini ke3; aise puruṣani kī; vipati, jā2 āpada4, asthāyinyah5; sthira nāṃhi. Kiṃtu bha(3)leni jaba āpada parata hai, taba ve āpada vegi hi de jāti hai. Jaisaim6 kara3 ke āghāta kari; pātito ’pi. Nicī mārī ju; kamḍuka, ka(4)hā gaimda, su jaisaim6 taba hi; upataty eva. Ūmci uṭhata4 hai6, ese ju dharmātāmā hota hai, su āpada madhya paryau, aru vegi him uṭhi ṭhāḍhau hotu hai. (5)

Ślokaḥ. Daivāt5 kamḍukapātenotpataṭy āryaḥ patatye6 api tathā tv anāryaḥ patati mṛtņipdaṇapatanam yathā. (26)

Ṭīkā. Āryaḥ; bhalau ma6ṃnuṣya7; daivā. Adṛṣṭa taim āpada madhya; kamḍukapātena. Gaimda kī si nāṃhi7; pataṭy api. Paratau hai; arud utpataty api; uṭhatau hai. Anāryaḥ (7); pāpi manusya4; tathā pataṭi. Āpada madhya tīhīm prakāra paratu hai; yathā mṛtņipdaṇapatanam. Jaisaim mṛttīkā kau ju dīmu paratu hai. Bahuri na (8) ūmcau uṭhai, yaha tātparyu.

Ślokaḥ. Prīṇaṭi yaḥ sucariṭaiḥ pitaram sa putro yad bharttur eva hitam icchatii tat kalatram tan mitram āpadi su(9)ṃhe ca samakriyam yad etat trayam jagati punyakṛto labhamte. (37)7


1 This reading in version H and MSS E2, Fr1–4.
2 The MS shows a break between the headstroke of ja and the following vertical stroke, which is unexempled elsewhere in the text.
3 MS kari. 4 MS uṭhata.
4 This reading in MSS Fr1, Y3, 7, G2.
5 K’s reading for all MSS is patannapi.
6 MS 26.
7 MS vāṃchita, altered in the text to vāṃchiti.

32
Śloka. Sampatsu 〈13〉 mahatāma cittam bhavaty uptalakomalam āpatsu ca mahāśailamṝtī śilāsāṁghātakarkaśaṃ. (28)


Śloka. Durjjanah parihattavyo vidyayālaṃkṛto 'pi san Maṇinā bhūṣitaḥ sarpaḥ kim asau na bhayamkaraḥ. (29)


Ślo〈5〉kaḥ. Kṣireṇātmagatodakāya nikhilāṃ dattāḥ purā sve guṇāḥ4 kṣire tāpam aveksya tena payasā svātmā kṛśānau hutaḥ gamtum pāva〈6〉kam unmanas tad abhavad dṛṣṭvā tu mitrāpadaṃ yuktam tena jalena śāmyati satām maitrī punas tādṛṣī.5 (30)


1 This form (with anusvāra) only in MSS Fr, 2.
2 MS pari.
3 nikhilā not listed by K.
4 MS Gr1 and version M read purā sve(khilāḥ).
5 This reading in versions A, C, W and MS E 2.
6 MS samāna.
jaba oṣijatu hai, taba
d; kṣīre. Apanem mitra dūḍha kahum. Tāpaṁ aveksya. Saṅṭa<10>pu desikai
d, uhi jala
d; svātmā; apanapau.
Kṛśānaṃ hutaḥ. Āgi madhya hauṃmyau. Dugdhahīṃ, auṭtāta jala,
' sausyū jāta <11> hai. Tā pāchaim
d; tat. Vaha dūḍha, mitra-
padaṃ dṛṣṭvā. Apanaim mitra jala kahum āpadā desikai, taba; pāvakam gaṃtaṃ. Īphanive kai misa pāvaka <12> madhya parive kahum
d; unmanah; utkaṃṭhita. Abhavat. Hota bhayau. Tā pāchaim
d; tena jaleṇa. Jala hīṃ kai sīṃcai
d; sāmyati. Īpha-
nata dūḍha <13> sāṃta hota hai, su yaha jugatu āhi. Mitraḥim vinu desaim marijatu hai. Aru mitraḥi deṣata hīṃ jāiijatu hai. Su bhaleni kī mitra<14>tā aisī hai.

Ślokaḥ. Yā sādhūṃś ca khalān karotī viduṣo mūrkhān hitān
dveśīnāḥ
pratyakṣam kurute parokṣam amṛtāṃ hāḷāha<15>laṃ
tatksaṇāt
tāṃ ārādhaya ca kriyāṃ bhagavatīṃ bhoktum phalam
vāṃchitam
he sādho vyasanair guṇeṣu viphalesv āsthāṃ vrthā mā
krthāḥ.

f. 9a Tīkā. Aba bhāṛṭhari yaha kahata haim ki saba taim kriyā vādī. 
Gumānaḥiṃ. Mā kṛthaḥ; jani ka<3>rahu. Kiṃtu; vāṃchitam
phalam bhoktum. Vāṃchita phala jau bhogayau cāhata hau, tau
d; tāṃ kriyāṃ ārādhaya; tā kriyāhi karahau. Yā; ju kriyā. Sādhū<4>n
khalān karoti. Sādhuni duṣṭa karati hai. Karttavyatā hi taim sādhu
taim duṣṭa hvai jaiyatu hai. Bahuri kriyā kaisi hai. Vīduṣāḥ;
pamāditani. Mū<5>ykhān karoti; pamāditā taim mūraṣa kari ḍārata hai. Aru hitān dveśīnāḥ. Hitakārīni dveṣ kari ḍārati hai. Aru pratyakṣam parokṣam kurute; <6> ju vastu pratyakṣa hai
d; tāhi parokṣa kari ḍārati hai. Aru tatksaṇāt. Taim hī kṣaṇa. Amṛtāṃ
hāḷāḥalam kurute. Amṛtaḥim viṣa kari ḍāratu <7> hai. Phuni
kriyā kaisi hai. Bhagavatīṃ. Karttum anyathā karttum; asamartha
hai.

1 A final ukāra has been partially erased.
2 This reading in version J, MSS F3, 4 and several S versions and MSS.
3 MS tā.
Ślokāḥ. Kṛmikulacitaṁ lālāklinnaṁ vigamḍhi jugupṣitaṁ
nīrupamaraṁāṁ pṛtyā khādāṇa narāṣṭhi nīrāṃṣaṁ
surapatim api śvā2 pārśvasthāṁ vilokya na saṃkate3
na hi gaṇayati kṣudro jaṃṭuḥ parigraha(9) pḥalguṭāṁ.

(32)

Ṭīkā. Kṣudro jaṃṭuḥ; cchudra jīva ju hota hai, su; parigraha-
phalguṭāṁ. Gayāra vāta kau saṃgrahu kari4; na hi gaṇayati. Na
apunu (10) sakucatu āhi. Aru na5 aura kāhū ki saṃkā karatu āhi,
Nīrupamaraṁāṁ. (11) Nīrupamarasa budhi kari kari; pṛtyā.
Atipritipūrvaka. Khādāṇa; śāṭa jāta hai. Aru pārśvasthāṁ4 surapatim
api. Dḥiga ṭhāḍhe surapati hu; (12) vilokya. Deṣikari; na saṃkate.4
Nāṃḥi saṃkatu. Yaha nāṃḥi sakucatu ki mohi īṃdra deṣatu hai.
Hauṃ yā kai desṭa yaha karaṇa na karaum. Tāḥāṁ jau (13) koū
yaha kahai ki manusya kau hāḍu aisau atimīṣṭa āhi, jāhi śāṭa
kūkara īṃdra hū taim nāṃḥi sakucatu hai, tā mānasa kau hā-
(14)ḍa phuni jaśau hai, taisau sunahu. Kṛmikulacitaṁ. Kṛmi-
samūha kari bharyau hai. Aru6 lālāklinnaṁ. Kūkara ki lāra bhījya
hai. A(15)ru ativigamḍha hai. Aru jugupṣitaṁ. Aṭi hīm nīṃdita
Aisau manusya kau hāḍu ga(1)yāru hai; tāḥi śāṭa kūkara, īṃdra
hotaṁ, nāṃḥi sakucatā5 ki hauṃ yaha kauṃṇa karaṇa karatu
hauṃ. Tā taim nīcā kau svabhāva hai ju nīṃdita va(2)stu kau
saṃgrahu karatu vai haiṅ, aru aurahi sakucatu phuni nāṃḥi.

Ślokāḥ. Svalpaṁ6 snāyuvasāvaśesamalinaṁ7 nīṃmāṇsaṁ apy
asthi goḥ8 (3).
śvā labdhvā paritoṣam eti na ca tat tasya kṣudhā
śaṃṭaye
siṁho jaṃbukam aṅkam āgatam api tyaktvā nihaṃṭi
dvipaṁ
sarvāḥ krchragato 'pi vāṃcchati (4) janaḥ
satvānurūpaṁ phalam.

(33)

1 This reading, with anusvāra, in version D, MS F3, etc.
2 This word is omitted from the text, but supplied by the scribe in the margin.
3 MS saṃkate.
4 MS saṃkate.
5 MS sakucita.
6 This reading (with anusvāra) in version D, MSS F3–5, and other N and S
versions and MSS.
7 MS -vaśā-, as in a few N MSS.
8 apy asthi goḥ in MS C, J, MSS F1–2 and various S MSS.


TEXT

밐ਕਾ। 


Śloka. 

Pāpān nivārayati yojaya<14>te hitāya doṣaṁ ca gūhati<6> guṇān prakāṭikaroṭi āpadgatam ca na jahāṭi dadvātī kāle sanmitralakṣaṇam idam pravadaṁti samṭaḥ. <15> (34)


1 MS -vaśā-. 2 MS vasa. 3 MS juvaśaṣa. 4 Two dots similar to a visarga, but slightly more widely spaced, have been partially erased after this word. 5 MS niramāṁsam. 6 doṣaṁ ca gūhati in version D only.
TEXT

Ṣlokāḥ. Mrgaminasajjanānāṃ trṇajalasamṣtosavihitavṛttināṃ lubdhakadhivarapiśunā nilkāraṇavairīṇoṣ jagati. (35)


Ṣlokāḥ. Saṃtaptāyasi sansthitasya payaso nāmāpi na <12> jnāye
muktaṅkāratayā tad eva nalinīpatrasthitam rājate
svātāu sāgaraśuktimadhyaipyataṁ? taj jāyate mautikam
prāyenādhama <13> madhyamottamayuṣāṁ evam vidhā
vṛttayah.⁸ (36)

Ṭīkā. Deṣahū. Prāyena. Bahuta ṭhaurani. Adhamamadhya-
mottamayuṣāṁ. Adhama kī saṃgati a <14>ru madhya kī saṃgati
aru uttama kī saṃgati. Evam vidhā vṛttayah. Aisi avasthāh hai,
jaisaim; sanstaptāyasi. Saṃtaptā loha pa <15>ra. Sansthitasya
payasaḥ. Jalū jau diāri dijatu hai,⁹ tau; nāmāpi na jnāyate. Jalū
aisai jari <10> jātū hai ju jala kau nāmu nāmhi raha <11>tu. Adhama kī f. rob

¹ nihkāraṇa- in various N MSS, including F3 and version I.
² The scribe first wrote vyādhi, then erased -i, leaving the gap thus created in the text.
³ MS hai kī.
⁴ MS aisi.
⁵ MS soṁ; but the tail of of a hakāra from the line above meets the headstroke at exactly the point where the first superscript would have been written.
⁶ MS ra(l.11)hai.
⁷ This reading in versions C, D, F, I, and elsewhere.
⁸ This reading (with -jusāṁ) for the line in version J, and S versions and MSS.
⁹ MS ha.
¹⁰ MS aisai hvai jari.

37

Ślokaḥ. Vrahmā yena kulālavan niyamito vrahmāṃḍa-bhāmḍo(5)dare
viṃṣur yena daśāvatāragahane kṣipto mahāsamkate
rudro yena kapālapāṇipuṭake bhikṣāṭanam kāritaḥ
sūryo bhṛāmyati nitya(6)m eva gagane tasmai namah
darmmane. (37)

Karma aissau vaḍau hai; *yena*. Jihīṃ ⟨7⟩ karma vrahmāū; *kulā-lavat*. Kumhāra ki si nāṃhi viṃṣur vrahmāṃḍu vai, ju bhāmḍo, tā ke kīve kahun; *niyamitaḥ*; bāṃdhī rāṣyau hai. Jaisaiṃ ku⟨8⟩mharu apameṃ karama saum bāṃdhikai rāti dina bhāṃḍe gaḍhatu rahatu hai, aisem hī vrahmāū phuni apanaṃ karama saum bāṃdhaya hai. Yā hī taim rā⟨9⟩ti dinu vrahmāṃḍahi gaḍhatu rahatu hai. Aru *viṣṇuḥ*. Viṣṇu phuni2 jihīṃ karama kari daśa hūṃ avatāra kau ju dharivau, tihīṃ kari a⟨10⟩tisāṃkata viśai gahi dāri dae haim.3 Já taim daśāvatāra karata hī játu hai, tā taim viṣṇu phuni apameṃ karama saum bāṃdhē hai. Aru jihīṃ ⟨11⟩ karama mahādeva paham ūropari kau daṃmnā hātha daid; *bhikṣāṭanam kāritaḥ*. Bhīṣa maṃgāive kahun ghara ghara phirāai haiṃ, mahādeva phuni apa⟨12⟩naim yā hī karama saum bāṃdhē haim. Aru sūrya gagana viśaṃ nitya hī bhramatu rahatu hai. Tā taim sūrya phuni apanaiṃ yā hī karama saum bāṃdhaya hai. ⟨13⟩ Su karama aissau vaḍo hai, tā taim karama kahun namasakāru.

Ślokaḥ. Kusumastabakasyeva dvyai vṛttir manasvinaiḥ
mūrddhiṃ vā sarvai ⟨14⟩lokasya viṣīryeta vane ’thavā.3 (38)

1 The verse reads svātāu; svātyām in versions D, F, and some S versions and MSS.
3 viṣīryeta vane ’thavā in MSS F4, J2, W1.

Ślokaḥ. 2Maunā(2)n mūkaḥ pravacanapātār vātutro vā kṣāḿtyā bhīrur yadi na sahate prāyaśo nābhijātaḥ dhṛṣṭāḥ pārsve vasati ca4 tathā dūrataḥ cā(3)pragalbhaḥ5 sevādharmaḥ paramagahanā yojinām apy agamyaḥ.

(39)

Yaha vaḍau kāyaru hai, ju lagatau nāṁ(14)hī. Āi sakatu, dūri hīṁ ḍāryau rahatu haim. Tā taim desahū, parāī sevā aisi duhakara hai ju kaim hū uvāru nāṁhī.

Ślokaḥ. Namratvenonna(15)maṁtaḥ paraguṇakathanaiḥ1 svān 


guṇān khyāpayamtaḥ 

tvārtham2 sampādayamto vitatapṛthutarān 

rambhayaṁtaḥ parārthān3 

kāṁtyaivākṣeṇarū(1)kākṣaṁramukharamukhān 

dūmmukhān dūṣayamtaḥ 

sāṁtaḥ sāscaryacaryā jagati bahumatāḥ kasya 

nābhyanarcaniyyāḥ. (40) 

Tīkā. Sāṁtaḥ; (2) aise sādhu. Jagati; yā loka viṣai; kasya na 

abhyanarcaniyyāḥ. Kauṁṇa kahūṁ pūjya nāṁhī. Kiṁtu saba hīṁ ke 
māṁnata haim. Bahuri kaise haim4 ve sādhu. Sāscaryacaryāḥ. 

Āscaryakāri haim saba bācaraṇa jini ke; aise (4) haim. Te ācaraṇa 

kahijati hai. Namratvena unnamamtaḥ. Ve sādhu saba hīṁ kahūṁ 
namra ju hota hai, su ihiṁ5 namratai kari6 unnati hoti hai. (5) 

Nāṁtaru eka asādhu aise hota hai, ju aurahi deṣata hīṁ ūṃce 

cāḍhi vaṭhata hai. Sādhu aise hai ju para kahūṁ namratā hīṁ kari 

ūṃce ṣvai baiṭha(6)tu haim. Arū sādhu aisi haim ju apanēm 

guṇani apanē muṣa kari5 nāṁhī kahata. Kiṁtu4; paraguṇaka-
thanaīḥ; parāye guṇa ju kahata rahata haim5, (7) su emoī kari4; 

svān guṇān. Apanēm guṇani4; khyāpayamtaḥ; pragāṭata hai. Arū 
apanaum svārathu apunu6 kari kaba hūṁ nāṁhī karata, (8) 

kiṁtu4; vitatapṛthutarān4 parārthān. Ātī vaḍe vaḍe ju parāe 

svārthani karata hai5, su ihiṁ kari4; svārthān sampādayamtaḥ. 

Apanaim hī (9) svārthani karata haim. Arū duṣṭa jaba sādhuni ki 

nīmdā karana lagata haim5, taba sādhu apanēmuṣa kari kacchū 

uni saum duravacana nāṁhī (10) bolata. Kiṁtu4; kāṁtyā. 

Kṣaṁa ju kari rahata haim, su ihiṁ kṣaṁmā hīṁ kari uni duṣṭani 

mānahum aneka doṣa lagāvata hai. Tā taim jina (11) sādhuni ke 

aise aisi ācaraṇu haim, te sādhu kauṁṇa7 ke pūjī nāṁhī.

1 MS -kathane, not cited by K. The lemma is -kathanaiḥ, 11 b 6.
2 This reading in versions H, I only.
3 This reading in version I only.
4 Corrected by the scribe from iyam.
5 MS kara.
6 There has been an erasure, probably of a danda, after the aksara pu; the result-
ing gap has been left.
7 MS kauṁṇi.
TEXT

Ślokaḥ. Lobhaḥ cea agunena kim piṣunata yady asti kim (12) pātakaḥ
satyaṁ cet tapasa ca kim suci mano yady asti tirthena kim
saujanyaṁ yadi kim janaih1 sumahimā yady asti kim mamḍanaḥ
sadvidyā (13) yadi kim dhanair apayaṣo yady asti kim mṛtyunā.

(41)

Tīkā. Cet lobhaḥ; jau akelo lobha hai, tau2 agunena kim. Aura
doṣa kahā (14) lai kīvai. Sahasra doṣa kau doṣu akeloī lobha hai.
Yaha aura hū graṃtha viśai kahī hai: lobhamūlāni pāpāṇi. Aru
piṣunata (15) yadi asti. Piṣunata, ju hai parai cări kīvau, su jau hai,
tau3; pātakaḥ kim. Aura vaḍe vaḍe pātaka kahā laum kīvai. Aru
satyaṁ (1) cet. Satya vacana ju hai, tau2; tapasā kim. Tapasyā
saum kahā kāmna hai. Vaḍi tapasyā satya vacanu hai. Aru4 suci
mano yadi asti. Manu jau (2) nirmala hai, tau2; tirthena kim.
Tirtha-sāna saum kahā kāma hai. Aru yadi saujaṃyaṁ. Jau
sujanatā hai, tau3; kim janaih. Jana, ju hai sevakani, kahā laum (3)
kīvai. Saujanya taini sabo kō jana hota hai. Aru yadi sumahimā
asti. Jau loka viśai bhalī mahimā hai4, tau; mamḍanaḥ kim.
Aalamkāra kahā (4) laim kīvai4, vaḍo alamkāra mahimāj hai ju hai.
Aru sadvidyā yadi. Jau bhalī vidya hai, tau3; kim dhanaīh. Tau
dhana kahā laim kīvau. Aru yadi apaya(5)śaḥ; jau apayaṣa hai,
tau; mṛtyunā kim. Maraim kahā bhayaui.

Ślokaḥ. Āmbhojiniṇvananivāsavilāsam3 eva
hamśasya haṃṭi nitarāṁ kupito (6) vidhātā
na tv asya dugdhajalabhedavidhau prasiddhām
vaidagyakīrttim apaharttum asau samarthaḥ.

(42)

Tīkā. Aba bhartṛhari yaha kahata haim ki (7) kaisōū vaḍo hai, jau
kāhū para kopa karihai, tau ati karihai, tau tā ki jīvikā meṭihai.
Yaha tau nāṃhi ju vā ki kīrti meṭi jāi. Jaisaiṁ (8) vidhātā, jau4;
hamśasya nitarāṁ kupitā. Hamśa para jau atyaṁta kopa karatu
hai, tau4; ambhjini, ju hai kamalini, tini ke vana viśaṃ ju hamśa
(9) kau nivāsu aru vilāsu, su tā hi paṁ4; haṃti. Meṭatu haim.
Kumārahim preratu hai; prerikari kamaliniṁ3 jāri4 dārata hai.
Su ihiṃ prakāra vidhā(10)tā hamśa ke nivāsuhiṃ aru vilāsahīṁ

1 MS njaih.
2 -nīvāsavilāsam in many versions and MSS, including B, C, D, E, I, F 1–3.
3 Corrected by the scribe from kamalānti.
4 MS jāra.
paśa metatā haim. Yaha nāṁhi ju dūḍha aru jala kau ju bhinna karivau, tā ki cāturī kari haṁsa ki ki(11)rtti vadha rahi hai, tā kiratiṁ meṭivai kahüm vidhātāṁ samartha nāṁhi.

Ślokaḥ. Khalvāṭo divaseśvarasya kiraṇaiḥ saṃtāpito
mastake (12)
vāmcchan deśam anātapaṁ vidhivasād bilvasya mūlaṁ
gataḥ
tatrāpy asya mahāphalena patatā bhagnaṁ saṣabdaṁ
śiraḥ
prāyo gacchati yatra bhāgyara(13)hitas tatraiva yāṁty
āpadaḥ.

Ṭīkā. Prāyaḥ; yaha hama bahuta ṭhaurani deśi hai, ju bhāgya-
hina puruṣaṁ; yatra gacchati. Jāhāṁ jātu hai. Tatrāiva. (14)
Tahāṁi. Āpado yāṁti. Sakala āpadā pahilaim hi jāti haim. Jaisaim;
khālavātāḥ. Eku cāndilā hatau, su mārga madhya calyau jāta
hatau; su; dī(15)vasēśvarasya kiraṇaiḥ. Jeṭha māṣa ke sūrya ke
atyānta kiraṇani kariṁ; mastake sāṃtāpitaḥ. Cāṃdi madhya
saṃtāpyau. Taba; anātapaṁ deśam. (1) Chāyāvaṁta sthalahimṁ;
vāmchana laygau. Tabaṁ; vidhivasāt. Adṛṣṭavasa taim. Eka bilva
kau vrksaṁ deśyau, taba daurikai vā velavrksa kaim mūla jāi (2)
ṭhāḍhau bhayau. Taba; tatrāpi. Vā vela ke mūla hū viṣaiṁ;
mahāphalena patatā. Īpara taim ativaḍau vela kau phala giri
paryau; su vā phala ki coṭa (3) cāṃdi madhya lagi; su aisi lagi ju
mahāśabadaṁ bhayau. Su tā taim bhāgyahīnu jahīṁ jāi, tahāṁi
sakala āpadā jāti hai.

Ślokaḥ. Naivākṛtiḥ (4) phalati naiva kulaṁ na śilaṁ
vidyāpi naiva na ca yatnakṛtāpi sevā
bhāgyāni pūrvatapasā kila saṃcitāni
kāle phalaṁti puruṣasya ya(5)thaiva vrksāḥ.

Ṭīkā. Puruṣasya ākṛtiḥ. Puruṣa kī uttama ākṛti; naiva phalati.
Kabā hūṁ na phalai. Aru naiva kulaṁ phalati. Na u(6)ttama kula
phalatu āhi. Aru na śilaṁ. Uttama sila phuni nāṁhi phalatu. Aru
na eva vidyāpi. Vidyāū nāṁhi phalatu. Kiṁtu; pūrvata(7)pasā.

1 MS vr̥ṣya.
2 The okja ra da, which the scribe omitted from the line, is written in in his own
hand above it.
3 Corrected by the scribe from tahīṁ, where takāra probably anticipates the
form tahāṁi; the correction is identical in form with that at 1 b 1.

Ślokāḥ. Aiśvaryasya vibhūṣaṇaṁ sujanatā śauryasya vāksamyaṁo jñānasyopasamaḥ śamasya vinayo vitta(9)sya pātre vyayaḥ akrodhas tapasaḥ kṣamā prabhavitur ddharmmasya nirvāyajatā sarveṣaṁ api sarvakāraṇaṁ idaṁ śilaṁ param bhūṣaṇaṁ. (45)


Ślokāḥ. Eke satpuru(2)sāḥ parārthaghaṭakāḥ svārtham parityajya ye sāmānyās tu parārtham udāmabhṛtaḥ svārthā-virodhena² ye te 'mī mānuśarākṣasāḥ parahitaṁ svārthāya (3) nighnaṁti ye ye tu ghnāṁti nirarthaṁ parahitaṁ te ke na jānīmahe. (46)

¹ MS nihāṃkapaṭa. ² MS svārthāvarodhena.

Ślokā. Vāco hi satyam paramaṃ vibhusanam lajjāṃga-nā(9)yās⁸ tapasāḥ kṛṣatvam dvijasya vidyeva punas tathā kṣamā śilam hi sarvasya narasya bhūṣanam.

(47)


Ślokā. Jādyam dhiyo haratiśrīmatī vāci satyam mānannotim disati pāpam apākaroti (14) cetaḥ prasādayati dikṣu tanoti kṛttim satsamgatiḥ kathaya kim na karoti puṃsām.

(48)

TİKĂ. Jā kai asatasaṃgati sauṃ anurāgu hai, tā sauṃ (15) bhārtṛhari kahata hai ki⁹ are mūrṣa. Kathaya. Kahī dhaum.

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1 The anuvāra is very close to the following erasure of an ikāra; see n. 2.
2 MS je, corrected from ji by erasure; the vowel of ji is based on the preceding danda.
3 MS svārthaśvarodhena.
4 The anuvāra is very indistinct, and may be accidental.
5 This verse in version C only (no. 46).
6 K. reads lajjāṃganāṇāṃ.
TEXT


Ślokaḥ. Vāmčchā sajjanasaṃgatau3 paraguṇe prītir gurau namratā
vidyāyām vyasanama svayosi(8)ti ratir lokāpavādād
bhayam
bhaktiś cakrini4 šaktir ātmadamanem saṃsargamukti
khole
hy5 ete yeṣu vasaṃti nirmalaguṇās tair eva bhūr
bhū(9)śitā.6

(49)

Tair eva. Tīna hīm puruṣāni kari. Iyāṃ bhūḥ. Yaha sakala (1o)
bhūmi. Bhūṣitā. Alamkṛta haiṃ. Yā bhūmiloka kahum veī
alamkārarūpa haiṃd, jini viṣai itanem guṇa vasata hai. Kauṃna
kaumna guṇa. Sajja(11)nasamgatau. Sādhusamgatī viṣai; vāmčchā.
Aru paraguṇe. Parīye guṇani viṣaim; prīti. Gurau. Guru viṣaim;
namratā. Aru vidyāyāṃ vyasanama. Vidyā (12) viṣai visanu. Aru
svayoṣiti ratīḥ. Apanī strī saum rati.7 Aru lokāpavādād bhayam.
Lokaniṃdā taim bhaya. Aru cakrini bhaktiḥ; (13) cakradhāri
viṣṇu viṣaim bhakti.8 Ātmadamanem śaktiḥ. Mana ke nigrahā kive

1 MS saṃmāna.
2 MS praṣṭa, or possibly prabla, with vertically written conjunct.
3 This reading in MS J3 and a few S MSS.
4 This reading in MS J3 and a few S MSS.
5 This reading in version X and MSS Y1, 2.
6 tair eva bhūr bhūṣitā in MSS J1, 2, T1.
7 MS ratīḥ.
8 MS bhaktiḥ.
kahum ṣakti.¹ Aru khale samsargamukti. Duṣṭa janani ke (१४) samsarga kau tyāgu. Itane guṇa jini² viṣaiṁ vasatu hai³, tei bhūmiloka kahum ālaṃkāraṇūpa hai.

Ślokaḥ. Durgrāhyaṁ hṛdayaṁ yathaiva vadanam ya(१५)d-darpāṇāṁtaratam bhāvaḥ parvatasūkṣmamārgaviṣamah strīnāṁ na vijñāyate cittaṁ puşkarapatrotayataralam vidvadbhir āśaṃśitaṁ³ nārī nāma (१) viṣaṃkuraiṁ iva latā doṣaiḥ samaṁ varddhitā. (५०)


Ślokaḥ. Trṣṇāṁ cchimdhī bhaja kṣamāṁ tyaja⁵ madam (८) pāpe ratim mā krṭhāḥ satyaṁ vrūhy anuyāhi sādhupadavīṁ sevasva vidvaj-janān mānyān mānaya vidviṣo 'py anunaya pracchādaya svān gunān (९) kirttiṁ pālaya duṛkhite kuru dayāṁ etat satāṁ ceṣṭitaṁ. (५१)


¹ MS ākṣāṁ. ² MS jā. ³ This reading in MS E. ⁴ MS darppaṇāṁtaratagataṁ. ⁵ This reading in version B and MSS Fr, 4.

Ślokāḥ. Guṇavad aguṇavad vā kurvatā kāryam ādau2 pariṇatiṁ avadhārīya ya(15)tnataḥ paṃḍitena atirabhaskaṛtānāṁ karmmaṇāṁ āvīpatter bhavati hrdayadāhi sālayatulyo vipākaḥ. (52)

Ṭīkā. Paṃḍitena; viveki pu(1)ruṣa. Guṇavat aguṇavat vā f. r4b kāryam kurvatā. Guṇavamta kāryahim kimvā doṣavamta kāryahim jaha karai, taba4; yatnataḥ; yatna kari; ādau; pahi(2)laim hi; pariṇatiḥ.4 Tihim karma kau anṭū vicaṛaiḥ, ki bhāi, yaha kārya jau kīvau, tau yā kau phalu āgaṁ yaha hvaihai. Atirabhaskaṛtā(3)nāṁ karmanāṁ vipākaḥ. Vinu vicāraim je karma kijati hai, tini karamani kau phalu; āvīpatteḥ. Maranaparyamta laṁ. Sālayatulyaḥ. Sāla (4) samāṇaṁ hrdayahim dāhivau karatu hai. Yaha aura hū graṃtha viśām kahi hai.

Ślokāḥ. Sahasā vidadhīta na kriyāṁ avivekah paramāpadaṁ pa(5)dam vrṇute hi vimṛṣyakārīṇaṁ guṇalubdhāḥ svayam eva sampadaḥ. (1)


1 MS pālaya.
2 kāryam ādau in versions C, W, and a few N MSS including F5.
3 MS paraṇatīr; cf. n. 4.
4 MS paraṇatiṁ.
5 MS kṛyā. 6 MS vicaṛa.
Ślokaḥ. Eko devaḥ keśavo vā śīvo vā caikā (9) bhāryā sumdari vā dari vā
ekaṁ mitraṁ bhūpatir vā yatir vā caiko vāsāḥ pattane vā vane vā.

(53)


Ślokaḥ. Sthālyāṁ vaiḍūrya(14)mayyāṁ pacati tilakhalaṁ
cāṃdananair īmdhanaughaṁ
sauvarṇair lāṅgalāgraṁ vilikhati vasudhāṁ arkatūlaśya 5
hetōṁ
cchitvā karppūrakhamḍān (15) vrśtim iva kurute
ekodravaṁ namamṝtā
cpyr̄pyemāṁ karmabhūmiṁ na carati manujo yas tapo
maṃdabhaṁyaṁ.

(54)

f. 15a Ṭīkā. Yo; maṃdabhaṁya puru(1)ṣa. Karmabhūmiṁ. Yā bharaṭa-
śaṁḍa si karmabhūmiṁ paikai; tapo na carati. Tapasyā nāṁhi
karatu. Su puruṣa. Vaiḍūryamayyāṁ sthālyāṁ. Nilama(2)ṁini ki
haṃdiyā mājha; cāṃdanaiṁ īmdhanaughaṁ; caṃdana ke īmdhana d;
tilakhalaṁ. Tila ki śarīhīṁ, 6 pacati. Rāmdhato hai. Nātaru
nilamanina ki hāṁ(3)diyā māṁjha, aru caṃdana ke īmdhana,
kaḥā śari rámdhyajati 7 hai; Aru ju maṇuṣya yā karmabhūmiṁ
paikai tapu nāṁhi karatu d, su maṇuṣya d; sauva(4)ṁnaṁ lāṅgalā-
graṁ. Suvarṇa kai hara d; arkatūlaśya hetōṁ. Āka ke rūi ke upaśa
kahuṁ d; vasudhāṁ vilikhati. Bhūmihim jotatu hai. Nāṁta(5)ru
sonai kā hara kaḥā iva ke viṣa veiṭṭa 8 hai; Aru cchitvā karppūra-
khandaṁ. Kapūra ki vaṭḍi vaṭḍi śarasani cūraṇu kari, taba umhi
kapū(6)ra kaiṁ cūraṇu d; kodravaṁ namamṝtā. 9 Kodauṁni ki rāśi

1 The usual half-line order is acbd; this order in two E MSS only.
2 MS kesavo.
3 MS keśavaḥ.
4 MS śivaḥ.
5 -tulasya in versions D, J, T, G, M, MSS F 1, 2, and other N and S MSS.
6 MS sarahīṁ.
7 MS rādhyajati.
8 MS vaśyata.
9 MS vrśtim.

48
ःसापःसा चचःपा करातु है। नातरु कपुःरा कः तृग्ना कहः कादुःमि चचःपानाःजःति है?।

श्लोकः। वाने राने शत्रुजालांगीन।(<8)मध्ये महारःनवे।

"परवतामस्तके वाः चुप्तम प्रमात्ता विशामस्थितम वाः रक्षामूं पुन्याणी।

पुर्णा क्रत्ता इ।"

(55)

तिकः। वाने; वाने विशाय। राने; सांग्रामा (<9) विशाय। शत्रुनि

"मध्या। जः मध्या। अग्नि मध्या। महारःनवे।" । नामुड्रा

"मध्या परायम्। अथावा परवता के सांकःता मध्या, पुरुशाहिंदः; पुर्णा क्रत्ता पुन्याणी।<१०> पुर्वा जःन्मा के पुन्या; रक्षामूं। रक्षामा

है। नातरु ताणे तहाणे तैकः अपाणे सक्ती ताइम नामः

"वारसा। तस्वा पुरुशाहिं; पुराँ (<११) ताणा पुन्या रासामा है। ताणा प्रमात्ता। असावधाणा पुरुशाहिं; पुराताणा

"पुन्यं रासामा है। ताणा विशामस्थितम वाः। विषाम मार्गा मध्या

(56)

श्लोकः। भहिमः वानम प्रणवती तास्या पुराम प्रदाहाना

"सर्वो जानारु सुजानतामः उपायती तास्या

सरवा च भुःर भवाति सन्निधिरत्ता (१३) पुर्णा

यस्यांस्य पुरवसुक्रताम विपुलम नरस्या।"

तिकः। यास्या नारस्या। जः मानुश्या कः; पुर्ववसुक्रताम विपुलम

"अस्ति। पुर्वा जःन्मा कृ पुन्या (<१४) बाहुता है। तास्या नारस्या। ताः मानुश्या कः

"भहिमः वानम। भहिधाना वनु। प्रदाहाना पुराम

"भवाति; महानागारप्राया होतु है। ताः तास्या, ताः मानुश्या काँम;<१५> सर्वो जानारु; सातृ, मित्रा, सावारी जाना; सुजानताम उपायती।

"साइजा हवाई जःती है। ताः सरवा च भुः; सावारी बहुमी रत्ना कृि

पारिपुर्णा होतु है।<१>"

श्लोकः। याणा नागः माधवार्यिभीनकारातास तिषामतिः निद्राला

"स्वाय हेमाविभुिस्ताः कृ तुरागः वलग्म्यति यद दारप्पिताः"

5 An aksara ra has been erased and superscript r substituted, in a different ink and possibly a different hand; the aksara ve, omitted in the text, is added in the margin by the scribe.

3 su- in versions B, C, MSS E2, 3 and S versions and MSS.

4 This reading not cited by K.

5 MS तिषामतिः.

6 hema- in version B and text F 5.
vīnāvenumṛdamgaśaṃkha(2)pañavaiḥ suptaś ca yad bodhyate
tat sarvaṃ suralokabhūtisadṛśaṃ¹ punyasya²
visphūrtjjitam. (57)

Ṭikā. Madavārī, ju hai madajalu, tihiṃ kari; bhinna, (3)
kahaitaṁ sravata haiṁ, karāta, kahetaṁ kapola jini ke; ese ju;
nāga, kahā matta hastī;³ dvāre; dvāra viśaṁ. Niḍrālasā. Netraṇi
mūmde ju ṭhāḍhe (4) ghūmata hai. Aru darppitāḥ. Mahāgaraba
bhared⁴; aru hema ke bhūṣaṇaṁ kari alaṃkṛta ese bhale bhale
turaṃga dvāra bāhira ṭhāḍhaim ju hīṃsa⁵ta hai. Aru jaba rājā
sovatu hai, tava vaḍe prātakāla viśaṁ māṃgita jana āikai, darbāra
madhya ṭhāḍhe hvaikari, vīna vajāi, venu vajāi, mṛdamga (6) vajāi,
samṣa vajāi, gāi gāi ju rājāhi jagāvata hai⁶; tat sarvaṁ. Su yaha
saba, suralokasampati samāna⁷, punya kau phalū āhi.

Ślokaḥ.⁴(7) Majjatv aṃbhasi yātu meruśikhare⁵ satrūn jayatv
āhave
vānijyaṁ kṛṣiṇeṣvāṇādi sakala⁶ vidyākalāḥ⁷ śikṣatu
ākāśaṁ vipulaṁ (8) prayātu khagavat kṛtvā
prayatnam param
nābhāvaṁ bhavatiha karmavaśato bhāvyasya nāśaḥ
cutaḥ. (58)

Ṭikā. Manuṣya jau itani vātaiṁ karai, ta(9)ūd; iha. Yā saṃśāra
viṣai. Abhāvyayāṁ na bhavati. Ju haumṇahāra nāṃhī, su kaba hūṃ
da hoi. Aru karmavaśato bhāvyasya. Karamavaśaṁ tāṁ ju ka(10)-
ccū haumṇahāra hai, tā kaud⁸; nāśaḥ cutaḥ. Nāśa kāhū paiṁ na
hoi. Su kāhū pahaṁ meti na jāi. Aṃbhasi majjatu. Jala madhya jau
būḍi vacai. Aru me(11)ruśikhare yātu. Sumeru ke śiśai jau bhāgi
Aru vānijyaṁ śikṣatu. Va(12)niyu karana jau śiśai. Aru kṛṣiṇivedya⁸
kī sakala kalā jau śiśai. Aru parāi sevā ke sakala aṃga jau śiṇe. Aru
inahiṁ ādi (13) dekari auraū duhakara karama jau karai, tau
anahaumṇahāra kaba hūṃ na hoi.

¹ -bṛti- not cited by K.
³ This reading not cited by K.
⁵ MS hastmīni.
⁴ MS śloka.
⁶ -śikhare in versions A, C and MS F₂.
⁷ This reading (rather than vidyāḥ kalāḥ) in versions C, I, and MSS F₄, Y₂.
⁸ An erasure has left a gap after kṣi; the aksara erased is almost certainly kṛ.
Ślokaḥ. Varaṁ prañacchē(14)daḥ samadamaghavanmukta-kuliśa-
prahārair udgacchadvahalarudhirodgāragurubhiḥ¹
tuṣārādreḥ sūnor ahaha pitari klesavivase
na cāsaṁ(15)pātaḥ payasi payasāṁ patyur ucitaḥ.

(59)

Ṭīkā. Ḍava bhartṛhari yaha kahata haiṁ ki apanau mātā-pitā,
kimvā aurū koū vaḍau, (1) jau duśī hoi, tau vāhi cchādikai apunu
kahūṁ bhāgikai sūsu na kivau. Dhiṅkāra vā suṣa kahūṁ. Muku
pitā-mātā kai sātha duṣa deśivo bha(2)lau hai. Pai mātā-pitā kau
cchāṃḍivo bhalaṇī nāṁhī. Jaisai maināka² parvata kīnī. Ju kacchū
maināka² parvata kīnī, su pragāṭikāri kahata hai. Deṣahu. (3)
Samada, kahaitem aśvayamada kari matta, ju; magha, vā īmdru;
tīhiṁ; mukta, kahetem calāyau, ju; kuliśa, kahā vajru; tā ke
prahāra kari muku⁴; tuṣārā(4)dreḥ sūnok; hīmācala parvata ke
putra maināka parvata kau⁴; prañacchēdo varaṁ. Prāṇa nikasi
jaivau bhalau hatau. Paim⁴; pitari. Pītā hīmācalahīṁ; (5) klesa-
vivaye sati. Tusāra ke kleśa taim vivaśa bhaya cchāḍikai⁴;
payasāṁ patyuh. Samudra ke⁴; payasi; jala madhya, maināka
parvata kau⁴; asau sampā(6)taḥ. Yaha bhāgī vaceivau; na ucitaḥ.
Bhalau nāṁhī. Yā kau yaha arthu. Īmdra jaba maināka parvata ki
pāṁṣaṁ vajra kari kāṭana laygau⁴, taba mainā(7)ka parvata bhāgī
samudra madhya jāi dukyaǔ; su yaha maināka parvata gayārā kīnī.
Ju pitā hīmācalahīṁ tusāra ke kleśa hī madhya chāḍi (8) āyau, su
muku īmdra ke vajra kai māraṁ mari jaivau bhalau hato, pai yaha
bhāgī vaceivau bhalau nāṁhī.

Ślokaḥ. Netā yasaṛa vrhaspatiḥ praharaṇaṁ (9) vajraṁ surāḥ
sainikāḥ
svargaṁ yasaṛa grhaṁ tathaṁ khalu harer airāvano
vāraṇāḥ
ity āścaryabalaṁvito 'pi balibhir⁴ bhagnāḥ paraih
sangare
 tad yu(10)ktam nanu daivam eva saraṇaṁ dhig dhig
vrthā paurośaṁ. (60)

¹ -bahala- in versions C, H, MSS F4 and others; -rudhirodgāra- in versions D, X, and MSS F2, 3, Yv.
² MS mainaka.
³ The nearest parallel to this corrupt reading listed by K. is G4’s svargaṁ durgam anugraham.
⁴ This reading in version A and MSS E2, W2–4.

\(\text{Ślokāḥ. Karmāyattāṃ phalaṃ puṁsāṃ buddhiḥ karmānu-}^{f.16b}
\text{sāriṇī;}
\text{tathāpi sudhiyā bhāvyaṃ}^{(1)} \text{suvicāryyaiva kurvata. (61)}\)

\(\text{Ṭikā. \textit{Phalaṃ karmāyattāṃ.} Phalu yadyapi karmu-ādhīna haid, aru; \textit{buddhiḥ karmānuśāriṇī.} Buddhi karamahiṃ anusara\langle2\rangle tī hai. Jaisōi karma kīnau hoi, taiṣiyaim budhi hoti hai. Yadyapi iha sati hai, tadapi; sudhiyā. Ju subuddhi hoi, su; \textit{vicāryaiva kurvata bhā}^{(3)}\text{vyām. Āgyau vicāri}^{3} \text{hi kari karmu kari, vinu vicārāiṃ karma kaba hūṁ na karai.}

\(\text{Ślokāḥ. Varaṃ parvatadurgeśu bhrāṃtam vanacaraīḥ saha na mūrkhaja}^{(4)}\text{nasamsargāt}^{5} \text{sureṃdrabhavanesv api. (62)}\)

\(\text{Ṭikā. \textit{Vanacaraīḥ saha.} Vanacara ju hai gauṇḍa-bhīla, athavā vanacara ju hai vānara, tina hūṁ kai saṃga; parva\langle5\rangle tadurgani madhya. \textit{Bhrāṃtam varaṇ}^{4} \text{d}; bhramivau nikau hai. Paim; \text{sureṃ-}^{5} \text{drabhavanesv api.} \text{Iṃdra ke bhavana māṁjha rahata mūrṣajana-saṃsargu bhalau nāṁhi.}

\(\text{Ślokāḥ.}^{(6)} \text{Ālayasyaṃ hi manusyāṇāṃ sarīrastho mahāripuḥ nāṣty udynamasamo baṃḍhuḥ kṛtvā yaṃ nāvasidati. (63)}\)

\(^1\text{MS aīrēvati.}\)
\(^3\text{MS baliṣṭa.}\)
\(^3\text{Corrected by the scribe from vicāra; a following daṇḍa has been erased.}\)
\(^4\text{MS -janah sansaragha; sansaragha in E and F MSS, sansarga in version D.}\)
\(^5\text{MS bhuvanesv api.}\)
The text is in Marathi and contains a unfolds the description of an event or situation. The text is a poetic or philosophical discourse that may be used for recitation or study. The text is written in a clear and concise manner, with each sentence or verse building on the previous one to create a coherent whole. The text may be used for educational purposes, as a source for historical or cultural information, or as a means of understanding the language and culture of the people who wrote it. The text may be read aloud or studied silently, and it may be accompanied by music or other forms of artistic expression. Overall, the text is a valuable resource for anyone interested in learning more about the language and culture of the Marathi people.
TEXT


Ślokaḥ. Dānaṁ bhogo nāśas tisro gatayo (7) bhavaṁti vittasya yo na2 dadāti na bhūmkte tasya tṛṭiyā gatir bhavati.

(66)


Ślokaḥ. Ratnair mahā(10)rghais3 tutuṣur na devā na bhejire bhimaviṣeṇa bhītiṁ sukham vinā na prayayur virāmaṇaṁ na niscitārthād viramaṇti dhīrāḥ.

(67)


1 Corrected by the scribe from inadvertently written āśrayanti.
2 MS yo dadāti.
3 MS maharghais; there is ample space before the margin for the ākāra.
4 MS ratanani.
5 An inadvertently begun ākāra has been erased after the akṣara bhit, and the resulting gap left.

f. 17b

54
Ślokaḥ. Saṃty anye 'pi vrhaspatiprabhṛtayaḥ sambhāvītāḥ pāṃcaśās
tān praty eṣa viśeṣavikramarucih rāhur na vairāyate
dvāv eva (2) grasate dīnēvaranīśāprāṇēśvarau bhāskarau
tāhāḥ parvanī paśya dānava vapih sīrśāvaśeśikṛtāḥ.

(68)


Ślokaḥ. Śrotṛam śrutenaiva na kumḍalena dānena pānir na tu
(8) kaṃkanena
vibhāti kāyaḥ karunāparāṇām paropakārena na
cāmānena.

(69)

Ṭīkā. Śrotṛam; śravaṇa. Śrutenaiva. Sunive hī kari; sūbhāme.
lagāyaim sārīru nāṃhi sōbhata.

1 K. notes only the reading -ruct.
2 This reading in version C, MSS F2, 5, and other N and S MSS.
3 A short vertical line appears between the akṣaras ṣa and ṣa, above the headstrokes.
4 Possibly inī should be read; the mark below the akṣara na looks like a correction, but is usually paired with an identical mark above the headstroke. In this case what appears to be an anuvāra is written above the headstroke.
TEXT

Ślokaḥ. Jayamtu¹ tu sukṛtino rasasiddhāḥ kaviśvarāḥ
nāsti yeṣāṁ yaśahkāye jaraḥ(12)marañjaṁ bhayaṁ.²

(70)

Ṭikā. Sukṛtīnāḥ; paramapunyavaṁta; aru rasasiddhāḥ; navarasa
ke varṇavai viṣai atiprasisddha hai³ ese ju kaviśva(13)ra; te jayamtu.
Sarvadā utkaraśa sahita rahivau karahu. Hai kaise ve kaviśvara.
Yeṣāṁ yaśahkāye. Jini kaviśvarani ke yaśarūpa³ 〈14〉śarīra viṣai⁴
jara aru marāṇa, ina duhūni kau bhai nāṁhi, na unī ke yaśahiṁ
jarā na vyāpai⁴, aru marāṇa na vyāpai. Kiṁtu unī kau sa(15)rīru
yaśarūpa hai. Tā taim nitya navīna rahatu hai. Nātaru yā paṃca
mahābhūtaracita śarīrāhiṁ jaraṁ vyāpati hai, aru marana phuni
f. z8a vyā(1)patu hai.

Ślokaḥ. Yad dhātraṁ nibhālaphatīdhiṁ stokaṁ mahad vā
dhanāṁ
tat prāṇotī marusthale 'pi nitarāṁ merau tato
nādhiṁkāṁ⁴
tad dhīro bhava vitta(2)vatsu kṛpāṁ viṛtāṁ viṛthā mā
kṛṭhāḥ
tūpe paśya payonidhāv api ghaṭo gṛhṇāti tulyāṁ jalam.

(71)

bahuta. Yat. Ju⁴; nibhālaphatīdhiṁ. Jiva kau ju bhālu,
kahaitaim līlā, soj ju paṭṭa, kahetem paṭonā mājha, līśya dinau
hai⁴; 〈4〉tat. Titanem hīṁ vastuhiṁ. Marusthale 'pi. Nirjalaṁ
Avasya hīṁ. Prāṇotī. Pāvatu 〈5〉hai. Paṁ; tataḥ; utanai taim⁴;
adhiṁkāṁ na. Adhiku na pāvai. Tat. Tā taim⁴; dhīro bhava. Dhairya
Dīna(6)tāhi. Viṛthā; ve hi kāmahim⁴; mā kṛṭhāḥ. Janī karahu.
mājha dārijai⁴; payonidhā(7)v api. Kiṁvā jau samudra mājha
dārijai, tau⁴; tulyāṁ payaḥ;⁵ apuna samātoj jaluhid; gṛhṇāti; lai
uṭhati hai.

¹ This reading in MS A only.
² MS -janmabhāḥ; -jaṁ bhayaṁ in versions C, D, MSS F₁, 2, 4, J₁, 3, and S
versions.
³ An erasure after this word seems to have been of the word šārīra.
⁴ tato nādhikāṁ in versions I, W, and MS F₅.
⁵ payaḥ (rather than jalam as in the verse) in MS W₃ (text).
TEXT

Ślokāḥ. Lāṃgūlācālanam a(8)dhaś caraṇāvapātam bhūmau nipatya vadanodaradarśanam ca śvā pimḍadasya kurute gajapumgavas tu dhīraṁ vilokayati cāṭusatena¹ bhūṁkte.

(72)


Ślokāḥ. Rājan dudhukṣasi yadi kṣitidhenum enāṁ tenā(15)dya vatsam iva lokam imaṁ puṣāṇa tasmin ca saṃyaganiśaṁ³ pariposyamāne nānāphalaiḥ phalati puṣpaphaleva⁴ bhūmiḥ.

(73)


¹ -satena in MS J2 only (bāhusatena).
² MS hāṭhi.
³ MS -atisam, not cited by K.; the normal reading is -aniśaṁ.
⁴ MS puṣpaphaleva. This reading is clearly corrupt and is not cited by K.; the normal reading is kalpalatava.
⁵ MS Aṭi (l. 3) nikaim sampariposyamāne. -puṣya- in MSS A3, J1, version T, and S MSS.
⁶ MS cchimḍāi.
Ślokaḥ. Satyāṇṛtā ca paruṣā priyavādīnī ca
hiṃśrā dayālur api cārthaparā kṛtajñā
tītyavyayā pracuramitra(6) saṃgāmā
cārāṃganeva nṛpanitir anekākṛtyā.


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1 This reading not cited by K.
2 -mitra- in MS F 4 only (-mitradhanāgama).
3 -kṛtyā not cited by K.
4 MS kāhūṃ.
5 MS bolijata.  6 MS cāhatu.  7 MS hoti.
8 Corrected by the scribe from nata.
9 Corrected by the scribe by erasure from šaracūna.
Ślokaḥ. Na ko 'pi caṃḍakopānām ātmīyo nāma bhūbhujāṁ hotāram api juhvaṃtaṁ sprṣṭo dahati pāvakāh. (75)

d; (७) aise haim. Jaba rājā kopu karata haim, taba parāyeni hīṁ para kopu karata hai
d, apanaṁni para nāṁhi karata. Su yaha rājāni kai nāmhi. Rājā(८)ni kai jaisoī apanau, taisoī parāyau. Jaisaim; pāvaka, ju hai agni, su
d; juhvaṃtām api hotāram. Homa kau karanahāri yadyapi ghṛtu homatu hai, taū (९) vāhi
d; sprṛṭaḥ; nāṁka hī kai chhuvata hīṁ
d; dahati. Jārati hai. Kacchū agni kai yaha vicāru nāṁhi ki bhāi, yaha tau mo māṁjha ghṛta homatu hai, hauṁ (१०) yāhi kaisaim jāraum. Tā taiṁ agni java praṇvalita
de bhai, taba kāhi na jārai?

Ślokaḥ. Virama viramāyāsād asmād duradhyavasāyato
vipadi ma(११)hatām dhairyadhvamsam yaḍikṣitum
ihase
api
d jalanidheh
d kalpāpāye vyapetanijakramaḥ
d kulaśikharinah kṣudrā naita na vā jalarāsayaḥ.(१२) (७६)

Ṭīkā. Aba bhartṛhari samśārini siṣa deta haim. Are samśārīhau; āyāśāt. Ati-āyāṣa sādhya ju yaha duradhyavasāyaya, kahaitaim (१३)
bahiramuṣa udyma, tina taiṁ
d; virama virama. Rahita hou. Aba e duṣṭa udyma jani karahu. Vipadi. Āpadā paraṁ. Mahatām
dhairyadhvamsam. Vade(१४)ni ke dhairyā kau ju dhvamsu hotu hai
d, tāhī
d; yati. Jau
d; iksitum
d ihase. Desyau cāhata hau
d; desahu, rāṭi dinu jau karama karata rahijai, tau vipati (१५) parai, bahuri
dhairyā nāṁhi rahatu; maryādā cchūṭi jāti hai. Jaisaim
d; jalanidher
api; samudra hū sāriye vaḍeni kid
d; kalpāpāye. Kalpa kai aṁta (१) jaba pralaya hotu hai, taba
d; vyapetanijakramaḥ. Maryādā kau kramu aisau hvai jātu hai
d, ju na maryādā ke parvata rahata āhi, aru na samudrani (२) kī maryādā rahati
de āhi, kiṃtu sabani vorikai eka āṛṇava kari dāratu hai.

1 MS 'ṭya. ko 'ṭi in MS F 2 only.
2 Corrected by the scribe from praṇvalata.
3 Clearly not ayi, the correct form; api in versions D, F, and E, Y MSS.
4 This reading in MS F 4 only.
5 -kramaḥ only in version X.
6 MS rahita.


**TEXT**

**Ślokaḥ.** Akaruṇatvam akāranaṇavigrahaḥ paradhanāpahṛtiḥ 〈3〉
parayoṣītaḥ
svaparabāṃdhujaneḥ 'py asasihṣṇutā prakṛtisiddham
idaṃ hi durātmanāṁ.

(77)


〈7〉 Apane aru parāye bāṃdhujanani ki asasihṣṇūtā, utkaraśa kau anasahivau, phuni duṣṭāni kau subhāvai hai.

**Ślokaḥ.** Kāṁtākatāksavi〈8〉śikhā na khanāṃtī yasya
citāṃ na nirddahati kopakṛṣāṇutāpaḥ
karṣāṃtī bhūrīvīṣayāś ca na lobhapāśā
lokatrayāṃ jayati kṛtσna〈9〉m idaṃ sa dhīraḥ.

(78)

**Ṭīkā.** Yasya citāṃ. Jā puruṣa ke cittaḥim;d; kāmtime, ju hai paramaṃdara kāminī, tina ke ju kaṭāksabānā; na khanāṃtī; 〈10〉 nāṃhi vidārata. Aru jā ke cittaḥim;d kopa-agni kau saṃtāpu;d; na nirddhati. Nāṃhi dhatu. Aru jā ke cittaḥim;d; bhūrīvīṣayāḥ. Aneka 〈11〉 viṣaya aru lobhapāśa; na karṣāṃtī. Nāṃhi ākarṣāta;d; sa dhīraḥ. Soī dhīra puruṣa. Aru soī puruṣa;d; idaṃ kṛtσnaṃ lokatrayāṃ; yā sakala 〈12〉 tinalokhaḥ; jayati; jītatu hai.

**Ślokaḥ.** Ārāmhāgurvvī kṣayinī krāmeṇa laghvi purā
vṛddhitati ca paścāt
dinasya pūrvārddhapārārddhadbaḥ〈13〉gāś cchāyeva
maitrī khalasaṣajjanānām.

(79)

**Ṭīkā.** Khalaṣajjanānām; khala, ju hai duṣṭa jana, aru sajjana, ju hai sādhu jana, ini duhūṃnī kī; 〈14〉 maitrī, ju hai pṛiti, su etādrṣa hai. Kaisi hai. Dina kau ju pūrvārdhā, kahā pahile doī pahara, aru parārrdha bhāga, ju hai pāchile pahara, tina kī 〈15〉 jaisī cchāyā.3 Tahām yaha pragaṭa kari kahijati hai;d; kaisī duṣṭa kī

1 svapara- not listed by K. -jane 'pi in version C and MSS W2, 3.
2 MS -bhāga; -bhāga in MS Y2 only.
3 The MS has no dāṇḍa; a slight gap in the sequence of akṣaras corresponds to the end of the sentence.

Ślokaḥ. Pradānāṃ pracchannāṃ grham upagate saṃbhroma-vidhiḥ
priyāṃ kṛtvā maunaṃ sadasi kathanaṃ cāpy\(^3\) upaṅṛteḥ
anuteško lakṣmyā nirabhibha〈8〉vasārā\(^4\) parakathā\(^5\)
satāṃ kenoddīṣṭaṃ\(^6\) viśamam asidhārāvratam idaṃ.

(80)

Ṭīkā. Bhāi, mohi vaḍau yaha āścarya hai ju; satām. Sādhului〈9〉
kahuṃ. Asidhārāvratam. Śāṃde kī dhārā samāna atiduhakara
yaha vratu. Kena uddiṣṭam. Kaumnumahīṃ siṣayau hai, kaumnu
asidhārāvratu ā〈10〉hi, su kahijatu hai. Pradānāṃ pracchannāṃ.
Iku, bahuta demhi aru dukāi demhi. Aru grham upagate\(^7\) sati.
Grha viśaṃ jaba satpātro āvatu〈11〉 hai, taba; saṃbhrama vidhiḥ.
Ativyākula hvai jātu hai\(^4\), ju kaba hūṃ āsana maṃgāuta hai\(^4\), kaba
hūṃ jalu maṃgāvata hai, kaba hūṃ pūjāsāmagri〈12〉 maṃgāvata
hai. Esai vyākula hvai jāta hai. Aru priyāṃ kṛtvā maunaṃ. Aura
kau priya kāryu karikai apunu maunu kari rahata hai; kahūṃ
ka〈13〉hata nāṃhi phirata kī hama amukā kahāṃ yaha bhalāi kīni.

1 A danda following this word has been erased.
2 MS saba hiṃ ati-.
3 MS nāpy; this reading in versions C, W, text F₄, and S texts.
4 Corrected from nirbhī-, the aṣṭara -bhi- being written in the margin; -sārā in
MS E₁, 5, G₃.
5 -kathā in version I and MSS E₁, G₃.
6 MS kenoddīṣṭaṃ, as in MS J₁ also.
7 MS upāgata.
Aru upakṛteḥ. Apanu kahūṃ jau koū upakāra karatu hai,² tau⁴; sadasī; (14) vaḍe vaḍeni ki sabhā viśai³ baīthikai⁴; kathanam ca; kaḥata haiṃ⁵ ki deṣahu, amukā hama kahiṃ⁶ yaha upakāra kinauṃ. Aru lakṣmyā anutsekaḥ. La(15)cchimī kau garva nāṃhi karata. Aru parakathā. Parāi kathā jaba calavata hai, taba⁷;

f. 20b nirabhībhavasārā. Anādara saum nāṃhi kaḥata, kiṃtu (1) parāī vāta aiśem ādara saum kaḥata haiṃ, ju sārabhūta kari diśavata haiṃ. Su yā prakāra kau yaha asidhārāsamāna vratu sādhuni kauṃnaim (2) siśayau hai.

Ślokaḥ. Cchinnu ’pi rohati taruḥ kṣiṇo ’py upacīyate punaś camdraḥ

iti vimṛṣśaṃtaḥ saṃtaḥ saṃtapyamte na te vipadi.⁴ (81) Ŕīkā. (3) Vipadī; āpada paramā taṃ; saṃtaḥ; je sāduh dhīra haiṃ;⁵ te;⁶ iti vimṛṣśaṃtaḥ. Yaha vāta vicāri⁷ vicārikai⁴; na saṃtapyamte; nāṃhi⁸ saṃtāpahiṃ pā(4)uta; kauna vāta vicārata haiṃ. Taruḥ cchinnu ’pi. Are bhāi, vrccchu jaba kāṭi dārijatu haiṃ⁴, taba; punaḥ. Bahuri hūṃ⁴; rohatī. Uṭhatu hai. Aru (5) kṣiṇo ’pi camdraḥ. Camdrāmā jaba kṣīṇa hvai jātu hai, taba⁴; punar api. Bahuri vega hiṃ de⁴; upacīyate. Vaḍhatu calatu haiṃ. Tā taim āpada kahā (6) sarvaḍa rahiṭi hai. Yaha vicārikai dhīra puruṣa āpada paramā duṣu nāṃhi pāvatu.

Ślokaḥ. Bhavaṃti namrās taravāḥ phalodgamair navāṃbu(7)bhir bhūmivilambino⁹ ghanāḥ

anuddhatāḥ satpuruṣāḥ samṛddhibhiḥ svabhāva evaiṣa paropakārināṃ. (82) Ŕīkā. Taravāḥ; vrksa; phalodga(8)mahiḥ; phala-phūlani ke bhāra kari. Namrā bhavaṃti. Nai rahata haiṃ. Vṛksa yaha vicāri-
kaiṃ¹⁰ namra hvai rahata haiṃ ki bhāi, hamāri yaha phala-phūla ki (9) samṛddhi hamāre kāmma ki nāṃhi. Kiṃtu aurani ke kāma ki haiṃ. Su hama jau namra na haumhige, tau saba koū hamāre phala-phūla torata a(10)tiduṣi hvaihaiṃ. Tā taim hama jau namra

¹ MS ha.
² MS bīsai, with first akṣara corrected by the scribe from ba.
³ MS amukāhāṃ.
⁴ This reading in MS W1 only; vipadā in versions C, D, I, and E, W MSS.
⁵ MS hem.
⁶ MS tem.
⁷ Corrected by the scribe from vicāra.
⁸ MS nāṃhi.
⁹ bhūmi- in versions A, B, D, X, and E, F, Y MSS.
¹⁰ Corrected by the scribe from vicāra-.
hvaī rahaiṃ, tau saba koù hamāre phala-phūla torata suṣi hvai-
haim. Yaha vicārikai vrksa phala-phūlanī ke 〈11〉 bhāra ke misa
kari namra hvai rahata haim. Aru ghanāḥ; megha; navāṁbubhiḥ;
varaśākāla sambāmdhi navīna jalani ke bhāra kariḥ; bhūmi-viśaṃbri-
〈12〉nah. Bhūmi kai lagataim avalaṃvikari varaṣata haim, ati-
utuṇce hvai nāṃhiṃ varaṣati. Aru satpurusāḥ. Je sādhū puruṣa
haim, teḥ; samṛddhiḥ〈13〉ḥ. Samṛddhini taim. Anuddhatāḥ.
Udhhata nāṃhi hota, kiṃtu atinamra hota haim. Tā taimd; esā;
yaha. Paropakārīṇām. Paropakārīnī kau. Sva〈14〉bhāvaḥ; subhāva
hai.

Ślokaḥ. Kadarthitasyāpi hi dhairyavṛtter na śakyate
dhayyaṃguntam pramārṣṭum
adhomukhasyāpi kṛtasya vahner nādhah 〈15〉 śikhā
yāṃti2 kadācid eva.

(83)

Jau atidusu dījai, tāu dhīra puruṣa ke; 〈1〉 dhayyaṃguntam pramār-
ṣṭum. Dhīrayahi dūri karive kahum3; na śakyate. Kahū kaiṃ sakti
nāṃhi. Jaisaim; vahneḥ adhomukhasyāpi kṛtasya. Āgi jau a〈2〉-
Kaba hūm; adho na yāṃti. Adhomukha nāṃhi calati, kiṃtu
ūpara3 haṃdi u〈3〉ṭhati hai.

Ślokaḥ. Apriyavacananāraiddhī ṣa Ṣaivacananāḍhyaḥ
svadārasaṃtūṣṭaiḥ4
paraparivādanivruttaiḥ kvacic kvacin maṃḍitā vasudhā.

(84)

〈4〉Ṭīkā. Ese manusyani kari vasudhā; kvacic kvacic. Kahūm
kahūm; maṃḍitā; alaṃkṛta hai. Vasudhā kahūm alaṃkārarupā ese
manusya vi〈5〉rale hai. Kaise manusya, te kahijati hai. Āpriya-
vacananāraiddhī. Jina kaiṃ apriyavacananāi kau daridru hai. Arud
priyavacananāḍhyaḥ. Priyava〈6〉canani kari ye sampanna haim. Aru
svadārasaṃtūṣṭaiḥ. Apanī stī ke sambhoga hi kari yai saṃtuṣṭa
rahatā haim. Arud paraparivādanivruttaiḥ. Parāi〈7〉 ju; parivāda,
kahā nimḍā, tihiṃ taim je nivrṛta haim, kahā paraī nimḍā ju
nāṃhi karata, te manusya vasudhā kauṃ laṃkārarūpa hai, aru
virale haim.〈8〉

1 -guntam in versions B, I, X, and many MSS.
2 This reading in many versions, including C, D, I, J, and MSS.
3 MS upara.
Ślokaḥ.  Padmākaram dinakaro vikacām karoti
camdho viśāsayati kairavacakravālam
nābhyaarthito jadalharaḥ salilāṁ1 dadāti
samtaḥ sva(9)yam parahiteṣu kṛtābhiyogāḥ. (85)

Ṭīkā.  Samtaḥ; je vaḍe haim. Te; parahiteṣu. Parāya vu hitu kīve
kahum; svayaṃ. Vinu kahaim, apanaim hīm taimd; kṛtā(10)-
bhiyogāḥ. Udyamu karata haim. Jaisaimd; dinakaraḥ; sūrya.2
Padmākaram. Kamalani ke vanahimd kamalani kī vinu hīm
prārthanāhīṁd; vikacām karoti; (11) praphulita karatu haim. Aru
camdraḥ; camdramā; kairava, ju haim gadahula ke phula, tina
kau ju cakravāla, kahaitaṁ samūha, tāhid vinu hī prārthanāhīṁ;
(12) viśāsayati. Praphulita karatu hai. Aru jadalharaḥ; megha.
Nābhyaarthītaḥ. Vinu aura kī prārthanāhīṁd; salilāṁ dadāti.
Jalaiṁ varaṣaṭu (13) haim.

Ślokaḥ. Ekenāpi hi śūreṇa pādākṛāntaṁ kṣamātalāṁ3
kriyate bhāskareṇaiva sphuradvīṣphāratejasā.4 (86)

Ṭīkā. Aba bhartihari (14) śleṣa racaṇā kari śūra puruṣa kī
sarāhaṁ karata haim. Śūreṇa ekenāpi. Śūrapuruṣa jau akeloī hai,
taud; kṣamātalāṁ. Samasta bhūta(15)lahim; pādākṛāntaṁ kriyate.
Apanaim caraṇa kari ākramatu haim. Sakala prāthvīhīṁ apanaim
caraṇa tara harai5 karatu hai. Bhāskareṇa iva. Jaisaim (1) akelo
sūrya saba bhūtalahiṁ apanaim pādākṛāmta karatu hai. Pāda6
śabda hī mahām śleṣa hai. Pāda, kahetaim caraṇa, aru pāda,
kahetaim kiraṇa, (2) jānie. Su śūra kai pakṣa pāda śabda kau
arthu caraṇa jānivau. Tā taim abā yā kau yaha arthā jānivau ki ṭi
jaisaim sūrya apanaim kiraṇa(3) ni kari sakala bhūtalahiṁ7
ākramatu hai, taisaim hī śūrapuruṣu sakala bhūtalahiṁ apane
caraṇani kari ākramatu hai. Tahāṁ kaisai sūra (4) puruṣa hai,8
aru kaisau sūrya hai. Sphuradvīṣphāratejasā. Spurut, kahetaim
dedipyamāna hai, aru visphurat, kahetaim jagadvidita hai teja (5)
jā kau. Aisau śūrapuruṣa hai, aru aisau sūryu phuni hai.

1 This reading in versions C, H, I, A (salilam) and MS E₃, with subject
jaladāḥ.
2 MS sūryaḥ.
3 kṣamā- in versions B, C, and E, F, H, J MSS.
4 sphurat- in E, F, J MSS; -visphāra- not cited by K.
5 MS hari.
6 MS pāda.
7 The aksara la is omitted, but supplied by the scribe in the margin.
Ślokaḥ. Varam śṛṅgotsamgādṛ guruṣikharināḥ kūpi viṣame patitvāyaṁ kā(6)yaḥ kathinādṛṣadhāntarvīnalāḥ varam nyasto hastaḥ phanapatimukhe tikṣpadaśāne varam vahnaṁ pātas tad api na kṛtah śilavilayah.

(87) (7)


Ślokaḥ. Agnis5 tasya jalāyate jalanidhiṁ kulyāyate tatkṣanān meruḥ svalpasāyate mṛgapatiḥ sadyaḥ ku(13)-
ramgāyate vyālo mālyagunāyate viṣarasah pīyuśavarṣāyate yasyāṁge kil6 lokavallabhataram7 sīlaṁ samunmilati.

(88)

śāyate. Amṛtavrṣṭi samāna hotu hai.

1 This reading in MSS F₁, 2, 4, version X, and S MSS.
2 The variants given by K. all presuppose the reading -dṛṣadāntar-.
3 The anuvāra is just discernible, on the margin line.
4 This reading in A, B, E MSS.
5 Only the reading vaṁhis is given by K.
6 This reading not given by K.; two S MSS read khoālu.
7 -taram in Y, T, G MSS only.
Ślokaḥ. Yad acetano ’pi pādaiḥ sprṣṭaḥ jvalati raviṃtapaśaṇaḥ
tat tejasves puruṣaḥ parakṛtani(4)kṛtiṃ katham sahate.

(89)


Ślokaḥ. Ājña kirttiḥ pālanāṃ vrāhma(7)ṇānāṃ dānaṃ bhogo
mitrasaṃrakṣanāṃ ca
yesāṃ ete šadgunaḥ na pravṛttāṃ teśāṃ ko ’rthaḥ
pārthivopāsanena.

(90)

Tīkā. Je manusya rājāni kī (8) sevā karata himd, aru un i kī āgyā nāṃhi calati; aru kīrati nāṃhi hotid; aru vrāhmanani kī pratipālanā nāṃhi karatu; aru je (9) dāṃnu nahi detud; aru je bhoga nāṃhiṃ karata; aru je apanem īṣṭa mitra kī raksā nāṃhi karata; tīni kahum rājāni kī sevā taim kaumnu kā(10)ruyu bhayau. Kintu un i kahum rājāni kī sevā taim kacchhū kāryu na bhayau. Rājāni kī sevā kau phalu yaha āhi, jud āgyā calaim, kirtti hoi, (11) vrāhmaṇani kī pratipālanā kijaid, dāṃna dījai, bhoga kijai, īṣṭa mitrani kī raksā6 kijai; e saba şataguna haumhi. Su rājāni kī sevā (12) karata jini kai itane şataguna nāṃhi upajata, tina kaum rājasevā taim kacchhū kārya nāṃhi bhayau.

Ślokaḥ. Vyālām vālamṛṇālataṃtubhi(13)r asau roddhum
samujjṛmbhate
bhetum vajramanin śirṣakusumāprāṃtena saṃnahyati
mādhuryaṃ madhubiṃdunā racayitum kṣārāṃbudher ihate
netum (14) vāṃchati yaḥ satāṃ pathi khalān sūktaiḥ
sudhāsyaṃdibhiḥ.

(91)

Tīkā. Yaḥ; ju manusya; sudhāsyaṃdibhiḥ sūktaiḥ. Amṛtasrāvī7 madhura vaca(15)na kaḥi kahid; khalān. Duṣṭa jananid; satāṃ

1 This reading not given by K.
4 MS -krānti-.
6 MS rasūḍa.
3 MS -kṛti-.
5 This reading in version I only.
7 MS -srāvī.

Ślokaḥ. Svāyattam ekāṃṭhahitam vidhātṛā vinirmitaṁ cchādanam ajñatayāḥ
viṃśatāḥ sarvavidām samāje vibhūṣaṇāṁ maunam
a〈11〉paṃḍitānām. (92)


1 The anuvāra is unusually close to the headstroke and well to the left of the akṣara.
2 MS rahai.
3 Corrected from hīrān by the scribe.
Şlo(15)kaḥ. Udbhāsitākhilakhalasya viśṛṃsālasya praṣṭavistṛṭanijādhamakarmavṛttteḥ¹ daivād avāptavibhavasya guṇadviṣo 'syā nī(1)casya gocaragataḥ sukham āsyate² kaḥ. (93)


Ślokāḥ. Vidyā nāma narasya rūpam adhikaṁ prachannaguptaṁ dhananām vidyā bhogakari yaśaḥsukhakari vidyā gurūnāṁ guruḥ vidyā (8) bāṃdhuḥjano videśagamanē vidyā paraṁ daivatām³ vidyā rājasu pūjyate na hi dhanaṁ vidyāvihīnah paśuḥ. (94)


¹ praṣṭava- not given by K.; -vistṛta- in MS J 2 and S MSS.
² MS āṣate.
³ This is the general N reading, also that of version W and MSS Y 1, 3.
⁴ An aksara lā has been partially erased after this word, leaving the second vertical as a daṇḍa.
⁵ MS aṁtaraśdhananē.
⁶ The anusvāra is clearly attached to the second aksara.

68
vidyāvihīnah paśuḥ. Vidyā kari rahita ju (13) hai, su sākṣāt paśu jāmnivau.

Ślokaḥ. Dākṣīnyāṃ sujane1 dayā pari�ane2 śāṭhyaṃsadā3 durjjane prīthiḥsādhujane sāmaḥ4 kulajane5 vidva(14)jjane cārjjavam6 sauryaṃ satrjane7 kṣamā gurujane nārijane dhūrttatā ye tv8 evam puruṣaḥ kalāsu kuśalās teṣv eva lokasthitiḥ.

(95)


Ślokaḥ. Kare śālghyas tyāgaḥ śīrasi gurupādaṇaḥatraṇata10 mukhe satyā vāṇi vijaiy bhujayor vīryam atu(6)xlaṃ ḫṛdī svacchā vrṭtīḥ śrutī adhigata11 ca śravānyor vināpy aṅsvaryena sphpurati12 mahātaṃ maṃḍanaṃ idaṃ.

(96)

Tīkā. Mahatāṃ; vadeṇi kaiṃ4; aṅśva(7)xryeṇa vināpi. Vinu hi saṃpatid; idaṃ maṃḍanam. Itanem alaṃkāra8; sphpurati. Virājata haim. Kaumña kaumña alaṃkāra, te kahiṣṭa haim. Kare; ka(8x)ra

1 This reading in MS F 1 only.
2 pari- in versions C, I, MSS F 1–4, J 1, 2 and S versions and MSS.
3 This reading in versions H, J, MSS B 2, F 2, 5, and S versions and MSS.
4 This reading in MS E 2 only.
5 This reading not given by K.
6 This reading in versions A, E, I, X, and S MSS.
7 MS satru-.
8 This reading in MS F 1 only.
9 MS śāṭhyaṃ.
10 11 12 These readings not given by K.

Ślokā. Vahati bhuvanaśreṇim śesaḥ phañāphalake3 sthitam ka(12)māthapatinā madhyeprṣṭham4 sadā sa ca dhāryate

tam api kurute krodādhinam payodhir anādarād

ahaha mahatāṃ niśīṃnās caritravibhūtayāḥ. (97)

<Tīkā> Ahaha śabda āścaryu viṣaṁ varatatu haim. Tā taṁ

ahaha śabda kau yaha arthu jānīvau. Bhāṛṭhari kahata hai ki
desāhu na;5 <14> yaha vādau āścaryu haimd ju; mahatāṃ. Vaḍени

ke; caritravibhūtayāḥ. Ācaraṇa; niśīṃnānā. Amarajāda haim. Eka
taṁ eka kau ācaraṇu <15> adhika. Jaisaim; śesaḥ. Šeṣanāgu;

phañāphalake sthitam. Phaṇa ṣūra6 dhārīkaimd; bhuvanaśreṇim.

Sakala prthvīhimd vahatu hai. Aru sacad, <1> sakala prthvī sahita

vaha ṣeṣanāgu; kamaṭhapatinā. Kūrma kari; madhyeprṣṭham.7

Apanī pithi māṃjha; dhāryate; dharijatu hai. Yā kau yaha arthu.

Saba prthvī <2> sameta ṣeṣanāgahim kūrama apanī pithi para
dharaṇa hai. Su aurani taṁ ṣeṣanāga kau bahuta prākramu, ju

apanaim phana para sabha prthvīhim vahatu hai, <3> aru ṣeṣanāga
taṁ kūrama kau prākramu adhika6, ju prthvī sameta ṣeṣanā-
gahim apanī pithī para vahatu hai. Abad; <16> va kurma hūm.
Payo<4>dhiḥ; samudra. Anādarāt. Anāyāsa hīm; krodādāhīnām

kurute. Apanaim utsarnga māṃjha vahatu hai. Su kūrama hūm

taṁ samudra kau prākramu bahuta haim.8

Ślokā. Spṛhayati bhujayor aṁtaram āyatakaravāla-

kararuhavidirṇā9

vijayaśrī vīrāṇām utpannā10 prauḍhavaniteva. (98)11

1 A vertical stroke, probably the beginning of an ikāra, after the akṣara ra has been partly erased.
3 MS alamkāru haim. 4 MS prṣṭam. 5 MS nāmiḥ. 6 MS ṣūra.
7 MS prṣṭam.
8 The MS has no daṇḍa.
9 MS kararuhair bhinnā; this reading is not given by K., who gives vidṛṇam as usual, vidṛṇa in MSS B1, F5 (with kararaha-).
10 vyutpannā (rather than vyutpanna-) in MSS E5, 3. 11 MS 97.
TEXT

Tiṅkā. Vijaya(6)sṛh; vijayasaṃbāṃdhini ju śrī, su; vīrāṇāṁ; sūra-vīrani ke; bhujayor anṭaraṇ. Bhujāṇi kām madhya vakṣasthalahīṃ; sṛpaḥayati. Vāṃchchati hai. Prauḍhavanītā (7) iva. Jaisaim prauḍhā nāyikā suratasamgrāmasūra ke bhujāṇi madhya laṭaṇṭāya rahive kī sṛpha karati hai; taisaim hi vijayasaṃbāṃdhini śrī phu(8)ni vīrani ke bhuja madhya rahive kāhāṃ sṛpha karati hai. Kaisi hai vijayaśṛi aru kaisi hai prauḍhā nāīkā. Ayata, kahetaim ativaḍe, ju; ka(9)ravāla, kahā śādaga; tei ju; kararuha, kahā tiksṇa naa, tini kari vidirṇa ju bhai hai, aisi vijayaśṛi hai, aru prauḍhā1 vanitāu haiṃ.

Ślokaḥ. Lajjām (10) guṇauḥgananāṁjanāṁ ṛvāryāṁ atyamṭasuddahṛdayāṁ anuvarttamāṇāḥ2 tejasvināḥ sukham asūn api saṃtyajaṃti satyavratavyasanino na punah (11) pratijñām. (99)3


1 Omitted from the text, but supplied by the scribe in the margin.
2 -ḥrdayaṁ anuvart(t)amāṇāḥ in versions B, I, MSS F1, 2, J1, and S versions and other N and S MSS.
3 MS 98.
4 MS hāyana.
5 MS Lajjā māṃjha ya tāu kahā bhala hai ju nāmhiṃ cchāḍaṭa. Jau ko(1)u yaha kahai ki. Tahām kahyau. Lajjā kaisi hai etc.
Ślokaḥ.  Kiṃ kūrmasya bharavyathā na vapuṣi kṣmāṃ na
kṣipaty eṣa yat
kiṃ vā nāsti pariśramo dinapater āste na yan niścalah
kiṃ tv aṃgī(4)kṛtam utsṛjan svamanasā ślāghyo jano
lajjate
nirvāhah pratipannavastuni satām etad hi gotravratam.

(100)

Ṭīkā.  Eṣāḥ; yaha kūrmu. Yat; ju ⟨5⟩ apanī pīṭhi para taim;
kṣmāṃ na kṣipati. Pṛthvīhīṃ nāṃhi ḍāri detu, su koū yaha jani
jānahum ki; kūrmasya. Kūrama ke; vapuṣi. Śarīra vi(6)ṣaṅīṃ;
bharavyathā na. Pṛthvī ke bhāra kī vithā nāṃhi. Kiṃtu vithā
bahuta hoti hai. Aru dinapati, ju hai sūrya, sum; niścalo yat nāste.
Niścala ⟨7⟩ hvai ju nāṃhi bāṭhi rahatu, su koū yaha janya jāna-
hum ki; dinapateḥ. Sūrāja kai; pariśramo nāsti. Rāti dinu
phirivai kau śramu nāṃhi ⟨8⟩. Śramu tau ati hotu haim. Kiṃ tu.
Paiṃ, eka hai jū; ślāghyo janaḥ. Vaḍau ju hotu hai, su; aṃgikṛ-
tam utsṛjan. Apanaṁ aṃgikṛtahi cchāṃḍata. Svama⟨9⟩nasā.
Apanaṁ mana visai; lajjate. Lajyaṭu hai, ki bhāi, aba tau maiṁ
yā vāta kau aṃgikāru kīnau. Aba jau koṭika duṣu pāūm, tau
cchāṃḍaum ⟨10⟩ nāṃhīm. Tā taim; pratipannavastuni nirvāhah;
apanaṁ aṃgikṛta kau nirvāhivau ju hai, su yaha; satāṁ. Vaḍeni
ke; gotravratam. Kula kau vratu hai. ⟨11⟩

Ślokaḥ.  Diggajakamathakulācalakahapāṇipatividhṛtāpi calati
vasudheyaṁ
pratipannam amalamanasāṃ na calati puṃsāṁ
yugāṃte ’pi.

(101)

⟨12⟩ Ṭīkā.  Diggaja hai diśāni ke dharaṇahāra hāṭhi. Aru kamaṭha,
ju hai kūrama; aru kulācalaka kahāvata hai dvīpāṇi ke aru śaṃ⟨13⟩-
dani ke dharaṇahāra parvata. Aru paṇipati, ju hai śeṣanāga; ina
hūṃ ki dhari yaha vasudhā muku calati hai. Paiṃ; amalamanasāṁ
puṃsāṁ; ⟨14⟩nirāmala hai mana jina ke, ese mahāpurusāni kau;
pratipannam. Aṃgikāru; yugāṃte ’pi. Yuga vīte hūṃ; na calati.
Nāṃhi calatu.

1 MS niścalom; niścalam in MS J3.
2 This reading in versions B, D, F, J.
3 This reading in MS Y3.
4 MS etaddhi.
5 MS 99.
6 MS kūramasya.
7 The scribe began this word with the aṅkara pra, but erased it partially before completing it and continued correctly with pa.
8 MS 100.
Ślo(15)kaḥ. Dūrād arthaṃ ghaṭayati navam dhūrataś
cāpasābdam
tyaktvāḥ bhūyo bhavati nirataḥ satsabhāpādāneṣu
maṃḍaṃ maṃḍaṃ racayati padam loka(1)-
cītānūrvrttyā
kāmaṃ maṃṭri kavir iva sadā khedabhārair
ayuktaḥ.

(102)²

Ṭīkā. Maṃṭri; rājā kau maṃṭri; kavir iva. Bhaṇe kavi samāna
hai. Ju <2> kachū bhale kavi ki gati, soi bhale maṃṭri ki gati.
Tahāṃ śleṣa racanā kari maṃṭri ke aru kavī ke ekaī dharama
kahata haim. Maṃṭri kaḥā <3> karatu hai. Cāpasābdam tyaktvā.
Cāpu, caḍhāiṃ caṇa kī, jihiṃ ko śabda karikai, dūri dūri ke bhūmi-
yāṃni ḍarapāikai, taba; dūrāt. Dūri dūri ke; <4> navam arthaṃ.
Naaini naaiṃ dhanahiṃ; ghaṭayati. Daṃḍu maṃgaṇvatu hai. Aha
kavi kaim paksā ina hīṃ padani kau yaha arthu jāṇivau. Kavi
phuni; cāpaṣa(5)bdam. Ca, āgaik apasaṣadā, tā kau cāpasābdā
also bhayau. Su apasaṣadāhiṃ; dūrataḥ tyaktvā. Lagatau nāṃhi,
jātu. Aro apanaṇa kavitva viṣaiṃ; na(6)vaṃ arthaṃ. Apūrva
apūrva arathahīṃ; ghaṭayati. Vanāvatu haim. Bahurī maṃṭri kahā
karatu hai. Bhūyaḥ; vāraṃ vāraṃ. Satsabhāpādāneṣu nirataḥ.
Ka(7)cchū vicāru karive kahuṃ bhale bhale mahāpuruṣa aru vāde
vaḍe manuṣyaṇi ki sabhā joratu haim. Aro kavi phuni vāra vāra
apanaṇa kavitva <8> sunāive kahuṃ; satsabhāpādāneṣu nirataḥ.
Bhale bhale śrotāṇi ki sabhā joratu haim. Bahuri maṃṭri kahā
karatu hai. Lokacittānūrvṛtyā.(9)Jaisau jaisau loka ke citahīṃ
vasya karatu hai, taisau taisau; maṃḍam maṃḍam. Haraiṃ hi
haraiṃ; padam racayati. Parāyau ḍhauro apanyātu haim. Aro
kavi <10> phuni; lokacittānūrvṛtyā. Je pada loka ke cittahīṃ nīke
lagahīṃ, esse padani maṃḍa maṃḍa racatu haim. Bahuri maṃṭri
kaisai hai. Khedabhāraihā; duṣabhā(11)rani kari; ayuktaḥ;
Asaṃyukta rahatu haim. Kaba hūṃ ṣedahīṃ nāṃhī pāvatu.
Aro bhalau kavi phuni kavitta hī añāyāsa hīṃ karatu haim.
Se(12)dahīṃ nāḥīṃ pāvatu.

Ślokaḥ. Daivena prabhuṇā svayaṃ jagati yad yasya
pramāṇikṛtaṃ
tat tasyopanayen manāg api mahān nopāśrayaḥ⁴ kāraṇaṃ

1 MS tyaktoā.  
2 MS 101.  
3 The anusvāra is clearly part of the second aṣaṇara.  
4 This reading not given by K.
sarvāḥ śāparipūrakeḥ jaladhare varṣatye api
pratyahāṁ
sūksmā eva patanṭi cātakamukhe dvitrāḥ
payobimdavāḥ.

(103)


Ślokaḥ. Abhimukhanihatsayaḥ satas tiṣṭhatuḥ tāvaj jayo 'thavā svargah
ubhayaku(5)lasādhuhvādah śravaṇasukhasyaiva cātyarthāḥ.

(104)


Ślokaḥ. Keyūrā (8) na vibhuṣayaṃti puruṣam hārā na
caṃdroidjvalā
na snānaṁ na vilepanaṁ na kusumaṁ nālāṅkṛtā
mūrddhajāḥ

1 MS -āsā-. 3 MS varṣamti. 5 MS diśānya.
2 MS 102. 4 MS upāyaḥ. 8 MS tiṣṭatu.
6 MS nipatati. 7 MS -nihaṃtasya. 9 -kula- in MS F1 only.
9 -sukhasyaiva in version B, MSS F1-3, 5; -sukhashyeva in version D, MSS F4, J1, 3.
10 MS 103. 11 MS mumhāṁ.

74
vān̄y ekā samalamkaroti puruṣaṁ yā (9) saṃskṛtā dhāryate
hrīyamete khalu bhūṣāṇāni satatāṁ vāgbhuṣāṇaṁ
bhūṣāṇaṁ.

(105)


Ślokā. Simhaḥ śiśur api nipaṭati madama(1)linakapolaḥbh提ṣu f. 26a
gajeṣu
prakṛtir iyaṁ satvavatāṁ na khalu vayas tejaso hetuḥ.

(106)Ś

Tīkā. Simhaḥ śiśur api; simhu yadyapi vāla(2)kau6 hoi, taud;
madamalinakapolaḥbhīṣisu gajeṣu. Mada kī dhārani kari malina haim kapola ḷiṇi ke, aise mahāmatta hāthīni hīṁ para dauri (3) paratu haim. Yaha nāṃhi ju jaṃbuka para dauri paraṁ. Tā taimd; satvavatāṁ. Tejasvīṇi kīd; iyaṁ prakṛtī. Yahai subhāva haim. Tahāṁ jau koū yaha kahai ki (4) vaha simha kau bālaku tau thore dinani kau hai,7 tau su vā visāim teja kahāṁ taim āyau, tahāṁ kahyu ki; tejaso hetuḥ. Teja kau kāranu; na khalu va(5)yah; vayakramu nāṃhi. Kimtu tājāti kau taisau subhāvai hotu hai. (106)Ś

Iti śrīmatsakalanpatimaulimaṇḍanaṃaṇiśrīmadhukarasāhi(6)-nrpatitanuṣjaśrīmadhājīvidviracitāyāṁ vivekaḍipikāyāṁ bharṭ-

1 This reading not given by K.
2 MS 104.
3 MS alamkṛtahiṁ.
4 MS saṃskṛte.
5 MS 105.
6 The second of the superscript strokes in the last aksara is not joined to the headstroke.
7 MS ha.

75
hariṭikāyāṃ nitiṣatam samāptaṃ. Śrīr astu. Śrīḥ. Śubham bhūyā-
(7)t. Śrīḥ.
Saṃvata 1792 varṣe, śāke 1657 pravarttamāne vaiśāṣamāse krṣṇa-
pakṣe aśtamyaṃ tithau bhṛguvāsarānvitāyāṃ¹ likhiteyaṃ tī(8)kā.
Vācyamānā ciraṃ tiṣṭhatu.² Śreyo 'stu lekhakapāthakayoḥ. Śrīḥ.

¹ Corrected from bhugu- by the scribe, without erasure of the ukāra.
² MS tiṣṭatu.
NOTES

i. -dītija-. The Mughals are equated with the Daityas of Hindu mythology.

2. nrpati-. The line of verse is metrically incorrect, containing an extra syllable in the first foot. To emend to nṛpmadhukara- would restore the metre, but is hardly justified since Indrajit uses the longer form nṛpati in ceremonious style elsewhere in the text, in referring to himself as nṛpatimaulimaṇḍanamaṇiṣīrimadmukarasāhinrpatitanāja, f. 26a. Furthermore the following line also contains an irregularity of metre, suggesting carelessness on the part of the author throughout the couplet rather than corruption of his text.

putratulyah, 'like a son'. The sense is unclear. The interpretation 'like his son' would square well with the bombastic tone of Indrajit's following references to himself; possibly it may be adopted in the light of his deficient grammar and metre elsewhere.

-bumdelā-. The line of verse is metrically incorrect, containing a long syllable in the second foot; see note on nṛpati- above.

4. api. The translation is 'even though versed in the meaning of the śāstras', unless api is being used merely as a verse filler.

sa tiπpaṇī. The words tiṅkā and tiπpaṇī are not clearly separate in meaning in either Sanskrit or Hindi, although a distinction between tiṅkā (commentary) and tiπpaṇī (sub-commentary) is sometimes made in editions of texts. A priori, therefore, it is probable that the word tiπpaṇī should be applied to the Vivekādīpikā in the same way as the word tiṅkā; cf. the apposition vivekādīpikāyam bhartyhariṅkāyam 26a6. The word division adopted allows this, placing the form vivekādīpikām in apposition to tiπpaṇī, l. 11, and providing a subject pronoun sa for karoti, l. 9.

Keith reads sa tiπpaṇī (taking putraḥ, three lines above, as the subject of karoti). The difficulty then is that the tiπpaṇī is made to represent a non-existent sub-commentary to the Vivekādīpikā.

vivekādīpikām. On the scope of the work see p. 11.

5. sādhubhis tat sahaṃtām. The form sahaṃtām is perhaps due to a confusion with a construction based on a nom. rather than instr. pl. form, but since the phrase is correct in metre it is doubtless Indrajit's own.

6. yā graṃtha. Indrajit refers here to Bhartṛhari's Nitiśataka, which is mentioned in the Sanskrit preamble to his verse introduction, 1b1, rather than to the three Centuries which together form the basis of the Vivekādīpikā. Cf. his remark at 1b13, bhartyhari maṅgalācaraṇa harikai prathama hiṃ nitiśata kari tateva...kahata hai, although the adverb prathama hiṃ suggests that he is here also thinking of the Nitiśataka as the first of a sequence of the Centuries, of which the others are to follow.

9. MS anavacchīma. The negative nāṃhi, following, of course makes the Sanskrit negative prefix superfluous in the bhāṣā text.
11. *anubhavaḥ*. A *bhāsā* form explanatory of *anubhūti* would be expected; cf. *anubhava*, in association with *pramāna*, in the following line. The punctuation of the text is deficient here, but except perhaps at 9b12n. there is no support elsewhere in it for an assumption that the apparent *visarga* of the form *anubhavaḥ* is in reality a punctuation device analogous to the colon, rather the reverse; cf. use of *visarga* and *daṇḍa* together at 2b5, etc. soī eka mūsya hai *pramāṇa* jini *visai*, ‘concerning whom there exists that one means of knowledge’ (i.e. *apānoī anubhava*).

The sense of the compound *svāmundhiṭyaikamāṇaya* requires the phrase *jini visai* to be interpreted as meaning ‘concerning whom’ rather than ‘in whom’; the postposition *visai(m)* normally means ‘in’ in the language of the text, but with the sense here and in the following phrase *īśvara viṣaini*, cf. mod. st. H. *ke viṣay mein*, ‘in the matter of, concerning’.


*loka kaun kahata hai*. On the syntax of this expression see ch. 3, par. 174.

f. 2a

2. *nara; manusyahim*. The form *nara* is taken as lemma of *naraṃ* rather than a *bhāsā* form qualified by the adjective *etāḍṛśa*, since it then could be expected to show the -hi(ṃ) suffix seen in *manusyahim*.

5. *varavata hiṃ*. HŚS gives this form as a variant in medieval H. of *barbas* (*<bala-+vata-*>), ‘by force; in vain’, and accordingly the reading is retained. The second element perhaps represents *ṭṛtti*-.

6. *uṭhati*. With MS *uṭhati*, preceding lemma *ūrmni*, cf. the same reading at 8a4 immediately following the form *ūnīt*. The neighbouring *ūkāras* are presumed to be responsible for these spellings, which are taken as probably scribal rather than as proceeding from Indrajit, and perhaps to show a tendency for *u* and *ū* to approximate in the language of the text, cf. ch. 2, par. 14. The MS shows five other examples of forms of the verb *uṭh-* with *ū*, including one immediately preceded by the form *ūncau* where the error has not been made, 8a8.


15. MS *salyā*. This is an improbable pl. masc. form in Braj Bhāṣā. The *ākāra* is probably not due to influence of the lemma *salyāni* six words before it, since this is first glossed correctly by *salya*. It is perhaps explainable as a scribal miscopying of *salya* from a MS of different length of line, in which the citation of the word in the verse may have stood directly or nearly above *salya*.

f. 2b

3. MS *aṅkṣaram*. It is clear from the gloss that the negative prefix should be restored.

4. *saṭjana jana*. Probably a collocation of *saṭjana*, adjectively used, with pl. subst. *jana*, rather than a dittography of the syllables *jana*. Similar collocations are *duṣṭa jana*, *sādhuv jana* 10a6, etc. (the latter used at 10a6 as a synonym for the pl. subst. *sādhv*). The text shows no example of a tadbhava subst. with following *jana*, and there is no need to think of
these collocations as collective pls. of tatsama subs. saijana, sādhū, similar in formation to mod. H. expressions such as hindū log, etc.

5. daridrī, ‘poor’. A local form of the adj. daridra, see HSS s.v. daridra. Cf. Guj. daridrī, adj. Derivation from daridrita-, CDIAL.

jana. The visarga of the MS reading has been dittographed from that of the lemma khalah, preceding.

8. ati. In the transliterated text this form is written separately where prefixed to verbs, as here; where prefixed to nominal forms (including verbal nouns) and adverbs it is written with them as one word, unless a reduplicated form is involved. E.g. ati hīṃ sohau hai 2b11; atisunivau 23b11; atibahuta 20a3; atipṛitiṃpravaka 9a11; ati vaṅge vaṅge 11b8.

9. saṃvāri, trans., ‘in being polished, trimmed’; unrelated absolutive in passive construction, as commonly in this text and in mod. st. H. See ch. 3, par. 162. There is no need to assume intrans. *saṃvār-, unattested HSS, on the model of intrans. vāḍh- alongside usual vaḍh-, etc.

10. nāṃnhau, ‘a child’; substantival use of the adj. The contexts in which the word occurs in this text make it clear that the homonym nānhau ‘warrior, Nānakpanthī’ is nowhere intended; see 9b4, 22b2.

11. māRYau. Perfective participle adjectivaly used.

MS tisarat ju hai hāthī. Each of the enumerations in this section of the commentary, except the present one, shows a lemma or a bhāṣā word or phrase representing a lemma immediately after an obl. sg. masc. ordinal numeral; it is therefore probable that a lemma is omitted here, rather than that tisarau, dir. sg. masc., should be read.

f. 3a

5. prathayati. The MS reading has probably been influenced by the immediately preceding pl. vastūni. If so there is a double confusion in the text, as Sanskrit vastūni also serves as an obj. for the bhāṣā verbs vaḍhā-, ghaṭā-.

9. parikṣ册ā. The prefix ku- is required by the metre, but it is not certain that it stood in Indrajit’s text; no emendation is made.

14. niṃḍya. This gloss occurs as the verse reading in K.’s MS E1. The coincidence may be fortuitous, but more probably Indrajit was familiar with a number of variant readings of the Bhṛṭhari text, either through comparison of MSS or study of existing commentaries. Cf. p. 24, n. 4, and note to 25b14.

f. 3b

8. nyāyamārga viśai je atinipuṇa hai. The wording of the gloss is illogically influenced by that of the gloss to nyāyyāt pathah.

9. saṃpatisuṣu pāikai…duṣa pāikai, ‘finding conditions favourable to wealth…unfavourable to it’.

10. cchoḍi gayau, m. The personified fem. subject has been lost sight of and the gender of, possibly, masc. dhana substituted.

13. rājani. The same spelling occurs at 18b1, where the form is also to be referred to subst. rājā. This spelling may be due to a confusion with
the subst. rāja ‘kingdom, rule’ analogous to that occasionally found between rājā and rāj in mod. H., cf. HŚS s.v. rājā; or perhaps to confusion with a shortened compound form of subst. rājā, to be compared with Sanskrit mahārājah, though mod. H., at least, has usually mahārājā.

f. 4a
1. cori letu hai. The correction of final -a to -i here points to general careful transmission of the received text by the scribe (as well as to a weakened or whispered pronunciation of final -i in his own speech). This is the necessary interpretation, since spelling inconsistencies in the language of the extant text are too many for this correction to be considered the work of a normalising scribe.

It is not possible to assume that the form cora is in fact correct here and represents the subst. of this form, perhaps under the influence of the wording of the Sanskrit text, hārtur yāti... , since this would imply that the rel. pron. ju had been understood as associated with the hiṃ- extended sentence object vidyādhanaḥ; according to the normal grammar of this text, however, the obl. case form of the pronoun, jā, would be required in this case. The phrase vā vātahi deśatuh hai, 4a2, shows the corresponding usage of the corre! pron. vah. We must therefore assume verbal stem cora- here, used as the basis of a compound verb; it recurs in the following line, vastu jau corijatu hai, 4a2. This stem is not normal in mod. st. H., which has curānā and corī karnā.

rahati. For the fem. form here and for hoti, 1, 6, see ch. 3, par. 124.
3. je... jācita hai. The participle is used in an active sense: ‘those who ask for...’. This type of expression is characteristic of the usage of certain Sanskrit participles; cf. Macdonell, Sanskrit Grammar, par. 208 b. The usage is found in mod. st. H., where it is restricted to self-consciously scholarly style, e.g. maine ise prāpta hūṁ for more normal yah mujhe prāpta hai. With this example cf. similar instances of use of the participle prāpta in an active sense at 4a5–6, 4b5, always with suffixed object.
8. visatamṛtur. The gloss at 1. 12 shows that Indrajit understood the form correctly, but since several MSS and versions give biṣataṃtur, with ś, emendation here and in 1. 12 is not made.
15. su mṛṇālataṃtu ki kitika vāta, ‘then what of a lotus tendril?’ (lit. how much is to be said of it). The same phrase occurs at 6a5, 12. For kitika see ch. 3, par. 44.

f. 4b
3. lālacikāri. HŚS does not list a *lālacnā; it is posited here tentatively on the analogy of the many verbs in this text which are based on nominal roots and uncommon in mod. st. H., being usually replaced by nominal-verbal expressions with karnā. The alternative reading would be lālacī kari, i.e. a similar expression showing sporadic final -i for final -a, either as an unmotivated error, which would be almost unique in this text, or as a palatalisation of final -a, of which there is only one clear example in the text; see ch. 2, par. 4.
4. jarānvito 'pi. See note to 3 a14.
6. Bahuta kahāṇ laun kahijai, 'how far, to what extent can it be said that (the light) is great', i.e. 'there is little light at all'. The locution kahāṇ(m) laun/lai(m) occurs frequently in such rhetorical questions, e.g. 7 a11, 12, 11 b13, 15, 12 a2, 3, 4.
9. kairu. No trace has been found in medieval BrBh. or mod. H. of a variant with ai of kaur, kaul<kaival-. The reading may represent a scribe’s faulty ai for au, but a development kaival->*kayala-*kaila/kaira is possible, and it has therefore been retained.
sīha. This tadbhava denasalised form is regular in WAp., cf. HGA par. 35, FLM par. 71, but occurs only here in this text; elsewhere sīmha is regular except for one occurrence of sīṃghu, 9 b9n.
11. asubhaṅge. The incorrect MS reading is emended on the basis of the lemma at 4 b15 and of its absence from K.’s variants.
12. kenādiṣṭaṃ. This form, re-cited in the commentary, is clearly a genuine variant.

asidhārāsaṃāṇa. Adjectival locutions involving tāṣṭama forms whose final element is -samāṇa are taken as compounds when in association with following substs., 4 b12, 13, 14, 5 a4, 20 b1. Elsewhere in the text the form samāṇa is interpreted as a postposition, see ch. 3, par. 193.
14. svabhāva hi haiṁ. Sense and grammar, if not palaeography, support the emendation.
sādhuni kau...vratā kaumṇa kaumṇa haiʿ, ‘what is the nature, scope, of the good man’s vow’. The construction is loose; repetition of the interrogative lends it a general distributive force, but the subject, preceded by kau, is sg. Cf. ch. 3, par. 8.
15. nyāyamārgaṁ aniṣṭā hari, ‘follow the path of justice’. Intrans. construction of the verb aniṣṭa- is implied. This verb is usually trans., e.g. in Sūr, where the form aniṣṭa occurs in concord with a fem. subst. in a perfective-agentive construction, BSK, s.v.; but BSK also cites one clear example of intrans. construction. It is not clear whether the other examples of the verb in this text (16 b1, 24 a14) should be interpreted as intrans. or trans. See ch. 4, par. 41.

f. 5 a
2. asādhuni. The correct spellings sādhuni elsewhere in this section of the commentary support the emendation.
3. suhrdau. The cons. stem suhrd, which was given correctly in the bhāṣā text in the preceding line and whose y is therefore restored here, has been treated as a vocalic stem suhrda, and suffixed with the emphatic particle -u, gl. api. Cf. adṛṣṭau, gl. (vidhir)...so 'pi 6 a2; vālakau, gl. tiṣur api 26 a1; emphatic uṭhatau hai, gl. utpataty api 8 a6. These forms may be less mistakes than illustrations of the unnaturalness of final consonants in the language of the text, see ch. 4, par. 2.

tina. The plural correlative is clearly required; an arbitrary choice between the alternative forms tina, tini has been made.

rahijai, impersonal passive. The construction is analogous to that of mod. st. H. mujh se na raḥā gaya, etc.
9. *je parāye guṇain...* The anacoluthon of the text is retained: ‘The virtues of others which are infinitesimally small—if they consider these, then...’ Indrajit has used the rel. pron. thrice in this section of the commentary, and automatically repeats it with *parāye guṇain*, where it is out of place. The dislocation of the sentence probably accounts for the absence of *hai* after *atistvalpa*, though a parallel is found at 7b12n.

11. MS *kulami*. *Taś*. The *daṇḍa* here may be due to the scribe’s having used a MS in which this *aḍṣara* stood at the end of a line.

15. *śaraṇa*. The word is regularly fem. in mod. st. H., but both here and in its only other occurrence in this text, 16a11, is clearly masc. This doubtless reflects its neut. gender in Sanskrit, and is probably to be thought of as a feature of contemporary scholarly style rather than an idiosyncrasy of Indrajit’s. For other discrepancies between the Sanskrit gender of tatsama words and their gender in this text, see notes to 12a15, 19a9, 24a7. *śaraṇa* is given as fem. in *Śūr* (though without verifiable examples), BSK, s.v.

15f. *siḥkari...patri*. The compound *siḥkaripatriṇaḥ* is interpreted as a *devandva* of two -in stems by Indrajit; SD takes it as ‘a winged mountain’, which accords with the general tenor of l. 3 of the verse. Since the form -patriṇaḥ is given correctly in the verse it is unlikely that the misspelling of the lemma goes back to Indrajit.

f. 5b

4. *bhūmiḥ*. The reading is re-cited in the text, and therefore retained.


7. *pāijai*. Since the passive is regularly formed with the theme -ija- in this text the suggested emendation seems marginally better than a reading pāi jāi, representing the periphrastic formation common, for instance, in the Av. Rāmcaritmānas; furthermore the only such formation clearly represented elsewhere in the text is that based on the perfective participle, see ch. 3, par. 131. The syllable jā, if indeed not proceeding from Indrajit, would suggest that a scribe was conscious of the existence of a periphrastic passive for his own language.


11. *vaśagāḥ*. This incorrect form, with *visarga*, is re-cited in the text and therefore retained.

14. *kṣaṇaka madhya*, ‘momentarily’; an extended form of *kṣaṇa* is not cited by HSS, but is confirmed for Indrajit’s language by the readings kṣaṇa eka, khaṇa eka, kṣaṇaka, MS Jodh. 10956a ff. 37b–38a.

15. *daiva, hata-adṛśta hai vasa*. The compound *hata-adṛṣṭa*, a synonym for *hatavidhi* of verse and lemma, is in apposition to *daiva*, the original gloss.

15f. *devatāḍu jāḥi deta hai...* ‘it is really one’s destiny which dispenses whatever even a god ordains for one’. For *vai*, interpreted as an emphatic particle, see note to 10b7. Both here and at 10b7 the consonant of the form read as *vai* is slightly different from the scribe’s usual *v*, showing the loop of the character written low, and the lower section of the upright stroke no more than a short hair line turning away towards the
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right. It might have been impossible to admit these graphs as v, had not several characters in the same line as each of them shown a similar modification of the lower section of their upright strokes, which may thus be taken as a sporadic tendency, at least, of the scribe’s hand.

f. 6a

4. satkarmabhyo. The reading sat- is not given by K., but is supported as Indrajit’s lemma by the gloss; it is not clear whether the verse reading should be emended or the lemma regarded as an influence from another MS or commentary. Cf. note to 13a7.

5. prabhavati. The gloss makes it clear that the prefix should be restored.

12. kari sakahiṃ. The most likely basis for the suggested emendation is an equation of the forms kai, kari by a scribe, probably an E.H. or Bundeli speaker; mod. Av. normally has kai as the absolutive form of the verb kar- (EA par. 336 (2)), and a similar weakening of medial r appears in modern Bundeli (BBhA p. 50). For a possible parallel confusion between the possessive postposition kai and kari see ch. 3, par. 169.

13. sumeru. Cf. the parallel phrasing of this sentence and that in l. 11, containing the word sumeru. The MS reading represents a haplography of the syllable me, graphically almost identical with su in its consonantal element.

rahatu haṃ. The same verb occurs at 6a7, supporting the emendation, which in any case is necessary on grounds of sense.

14. mere jāna, ‘to my knowledge’. Hindi jān, ‘knowledge’ (<Sanskrit jñāna-), is usually fem., cf. late Sanskrit jñānā; but variation in gender is noted by HŚS, s.v., which cites an example from Tulsiḍās of the expression mere jān in the present sense.

f. 6b

3. duṣṭa maṇtra taiṃ, ‘by an evil incantation’. Indrajit confuses maṇtra and maṇtri.

12. tā sauṃ kahata hai ki yahavaḍau jaḍu hai, ‘tells him that he is a fool’. Indirect speech has often been said to be a mode of expression not native to Hindi, but must always have been required in certain cases to avoid ambiguities; its use in other cases, as here, may represent an extension at the expense of the direct speech construction. The dem. pron. of near reference takes up tā sauṃ of the principal clause. Cf. ll. 13, 14, 7a1ff.

14. MS sucau. Since sa is normally retained in the verses and lemmata it seems improbable that this spelling goes back to Indrajit. Similar emendations of MS sa are made at 7a11, 9a12.

f. 7a

2. atisūḍhā. HŚS cites sūḍhā, sūḍho as BrBh. forms of this adj. (<Sanskrit śuddha-). The final vowel here may possibly represent the diminutive-pejorative suffix seen in mod. H. buddhā, budhā ‘stupid person’, or it may be simply a scribal misspelling under influence of the preceding ūkāra.

4. su, correl. pron., dir. sg. masc.
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6. guṇa. The emendation is simple palaeographically, and required by the sense.

11. MS sīlam. See note to 6b14.

14. dhamu...ju: yena ekena vinā. īyā eka dhana vinu, ‘wealth...without which alone’. Introduction of the instrumental phrase causes the anacolouthon.

navā, gl. samastā; ‘nine’ in the sense of ‘the complete range of’, as implied in the Sanskrit locutions navaratna, navagraha, navadurgā; see SD, s.vv.

15. jāti tana...koū nāṃhi citavatu, ‘no one looks at, considers, caste’. For tana, postposition, see ch. 3, par. 192.

f. 7b

1. saba guna, akele...kacchā kāṇma hau nāṃhi. The subject is clearly pl., and accordingly the postposition kau is taken as gen. obl., rather than possessive. The example at 4b14 showing absence of concord in an expression involving possessive kau is not strictly parallel, since there the subject subst. is formally either sg. or pl. For kau(ṇ) as obl. case marker see ch. 3, par. 175.

2. yasyāsti vittam, etc. On the place of this verse in the text, see p. 12.

8. hvai jāi rahau. Absolutive of compound verb + finite verb; the only example of such a collocation noted in the text. Such collocations are very uncommon in mod. st. H. also, if indeed they occur naturally at all.

jā taiṁ, ‘because of the fact that’. taiṁ inherits the functions of the Sanskrit ablative, see ch. 3, par. 176.

9. tiṇariyā. Perhaps a specifically Bundelī form. Cf. mod. Bundelī tiπārī ‘basket’ (LSB p. 173), with metathesis; mod. H. has piṭārī. Sūr has the latter form only, BSK, s.vv.

bāndhi rāṣyau hatau, ‘was shut in’. See ch. 3, par. 162.

10. āśā. This word is taken as part of the bhāṣā text since the preceding fem. verb gai hai is clearly in concord with it; its masc. synonym mano-ratha determines the form of the following possessive jā kau.


c-auṃṣaraṇī, etc. No cognates to this word, whose one occurrence in dir. sg. form is peculiar as showing nasality in a non-nasal consonantal environment (see ch. 2, par. 45), have been found. It is perhaps not quite certain that it is Indrajit’s own rendering of ākhuḥ; MS Jodh. 10956a shows ākhuḥ glossed w. mūsau, 4a5. It may represent a *cauṣkara- ‘four-handed’, i.e. ‘quadruped’, MIA *caukhara-; cf. MIA caukkara-, PSM s.v.

13. hvaiṁ, ‘by way of’; verbal absolutive, with this sense again at 7b14. Mod. st. H. hokar is used in the same sense.

14. balt. MS balā may be construed as a subst. without emendation, but an adj. or perfective participle would seem to give a better construction here, balancing trpta in the preceding clause. The adopted reading balt has some support in the occurrence of the adj. vāli at 7b15, qualifying a different subst.

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MS bhagyau. The form is doubtful, as this verb shows normal ā in this text, e.g. at 16a1. But HSS lists bhagnā, s.v., as a local variant of bhāgnā. The scribe's leaving a gap which would have accommodated an ākāra hardly implies any doubt on his part as to the form (and correspondingly thoughtful copying), since the gap is not large enough to have taken his following syllable gyau in any case.

15. adṛṣṭa... jihīṁ sarpa kahum vaha kīnī... ‘fate, which treated the snake thus,...’. The scribe's alterations show him to have been uncertain of Indrajit's grammar here. The fem. perfective verb forms imply association of a fem. subst., such as vāta, with the dem. prons. vaha, as in frequent colloquial expressions in mod. H.; the scribe's first form kīnau would be in normal concord with the pronoun vaha.

f. 8a

3. kara. The MS reading is probably influenced by the following postposition hari, there being little probability that -i should occur for final -a otherwise; cf. ch. 4, par. 4.

4. su āpādā madhya paryau, aru... ‘if, when, he falls into distress, the...’. The perfective aspect of the verb indicates that the action of the first co-ordinate clause precedes that of the second; a conditional or temporal relationship between the clauses may be inferred according to context, as in mod. st. H.: (agar) un se mulāqāt huī, to...

6. paratau... uṭhatau hai. Cf. ch. 3, par. 229.

10. MS (corr.) vāṇchiti. The medial vowel could show palatalisation (cf. lacchimī 20a14 etc., and ch. 2, par. 4). But it seems more likely that i was originally simply written in the wrong syllable; cf. a similar case at 19b2. Sinha, par. 289, cites a form parichati (=parikṣita) from a text of c. A.D. 1435, showing the reverse transposition of i and a.

12. te, ye; intrusive Sanskrit subject prons., rather than bhāṣā subjects, since bhāṣā subject and agent forms follow the lemma directly.

f. 8b

4. kahauṁ dhaun bhayāmkaru nāṁhi? ‘Say then, is it not fearsome?’ For dhaun see ch. 3, par. 217.

phana para. The MS reading anticipates the final ikāra of the following word. The phrase is given correctly in the preceding line.

7. jala dūdra kī. Not a dvandva compound; the two words associate separately with the possessive postposition.

8. jala saum aisi priti kīnī ju apuna saṁmāna kīnaum, ‘felt the same affection for the water as esteem for himself’. Emendation of MS saṁmāna, which if correct would imply a very confused postpositional construction, is easy and is supported by the need to supply a masc. concord pattern for the final verb kīnaum. Cf. MS saṁmāna, 13b3, where emendation is also necessary. It is uncertain whether this should be to saṁmāna in both cases, or to san(a)māna (sanamāna occurs at 13b4, one line after one of the forms in question; cf. sanamuṣa at 25b5, where sanamuṣa or saṁmuṣa is clearly meant). The simpler emendation to a possible spelling is adopted in both cases.

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10. dugdhahim, auṭata jala, sauṣyu jāta hai, ‘the milk is unhappy at the water’s boiling’. See ch. 4, par. 46.

12. hota bhayau, ‘was’; continuous state, with reference to the inception of the state. See ch. 3, par. 105.

13. su yaha jugatu ēhi, ‘and so a means is found’ (of restoring their union). The word jugata, < Sanskrit yukti-, is normally used in Hindi in the sense of ‘means, method’, rather than ‘union’; its use here is influenced by the past participle of the verse yuktaṁ ‘joined’.

marijatu hai, jīājatu hai. Impers. passives.

f. 9a

2. āpadāni parai, gl. vyasanair, ‘when one has fallen into difficulties’. Independent participial construction, see ch. 4, par. 44.

ji, pl. rel. pron., with which a subject guṇa, deduced from guṇani in the correl. clause, requires to be understood.

4. hvoi jaiyatu hai. Impersonal passive of the compound verb hvoi jā-; for shortening of ā before i in verbal forms cf. jaiavau, saīvau, ch. 3, par. 164. Passives in -iya- (not the usual -ija- of this text) are noted for mod. Bundelī, see BBhA p. 122, where this very form jaiyatu is instanced. This form may then be evidence for the existence of an alternative passive theme in the language of Indrajit, or a scribe; on the other hand it can always be explained without this assumption, as an inverted spelling for regular -ija-. -iya- spellings are noted only rarely elsewhere: pūjyatu 23a12 twice; deṣyai 6b6.

6. MS tā. As correlative to ju either su or the suffixed obl. stem tāhi would be expected, rather than the obl. base alone. Cf. obl. dem. pron. tāhi as sentence object, 9b1, 13b4.

taiṁ hi kṣaṇa, ‘at that very moment’. For taiṁ see ch. 3, par. 80.

11. budhi, adv. obl. (?). A conjunct verb *buddhi kar-, ‘think, realise’, could perhaps be involved here.

12. MS samkhate. See note to 6b14.

tahāṁ jau koū yaha kahai ki... jaisau hai, taisau sunahu, ‘In this connection if anyone says that... then let him hear what a human bone is like’.

f. 9b

1. imāra hotaim, ‘in a king’s presence’.

sakucata. The imperfective participle forms of this verb used regularly elsewhere in this section of the commentary support the emendation.

2. vai. The MS reading here, unlike the other two apparent instances of this form, is perfectly clear. See notes to 5b15f., 10b7; also Appendix 1, p. 236, for instances of vai following an imperfective participle.

-vasā-. Emendation here and in l. 11 is made on the basis of the lemma vasā at 9b12. See note to 9b12.

8. cchudhāsāṃti hota hai. The compound subst. assorts poorly with the colloquial tenor of this gloss, even though its initial consonant is appropriate to a semitatsama form. Emendation is probably not justified, but it may be wondered whether the original reading was not cchudhā tāmat hoti hai, from which the MS reading would derive by a scribal confusion
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of the final syllables of adj. and participle; this would moreover give the gloss a correct subst.-verb concord.

9. singhā. This spelling, representing a semitatsama based on Sanskrit singha, occurs only here in the text. For tadbhava siha see note to 4b9. hāthīhi paiṁ māratahu hai, ‘is intent on killing an elephant’. See note to 12a9 for a similar use of postposition paiṁ with the verb meś.-

12. gūḍu. This form, glossing snāyu-, should represent MIA *gūḍda-, as MIA -d>-r- almost always in this text (see ch. 2, par. 21). No appropriate meaning is given by Turner, CDIAL s.v., for a root of this form. It seems unlikely that gūḍu represents MIA gūḍa-, mod. H. gur ‘molasses’, on grounds of sense and phonology; as to the latter, long ū would be unaccounted for, and ō would imply that the form is a borrowing in the language of the text (though borrowings of -r- forms of this word do occur, CDIAL, s.v. gūḍa-). Long ū could possibly be referred to MIA *gūḍda-, cf. mod. H. gūḍa ‘marrow, pith, kernel’; this might be a plausible sense for Indrajit to have given to snāyu- in the context of asthi, etc. But the conjunction of ū and ō remains to be explained.

vasā...avaśeṣa. The MS reading vaśeṣa suggests that the original reading for the first lemma must have been vasā; meaningless vaśeṣa can hardly be Indrajit’s form, however, since the gloss is correct and he therefore understood this section of the compound. The absence of a gloss to vasā, on the other hand, and the peculiar gūḍu gl. snāyu-, suggest that Indrajit was in confusion over snāyuvasā-. Absence of a gloss to vasā would have aided its corruption to vasa.

para. The erasure is presumably of what was intended as a punctuation mark by the scribe.

f. 10a

6. itanaiṁni ke; niḥkaraṇavairiṇaḥ. The pl. possesive postposition anticipates a pl. subst., glossing the Sanskrit subst., but the latter is glossed by a verbal phrase, leaving a break in the construction of the bhaḍā text.

vairu karata hai. With this phrase this section of the gloss is complete. The following ki of the MS is therefore probably a thoughtless addition by the scribe in anticipation of a following clause which the commentary did not provide.

7. e tinvaum...kini hai apani; vṛtti, kahā jīvika, jini ki; aise hai, ‘they are such as whose vṛtti, or subsistence, is made up of these three’. Kinī, perfective participle adjectivally used in concord with jīvika, to which e tinvaum...serves as complement. The MS reading aisi has assumed the fem. concord of the preceding words; emended to aise, it balances the interrogative kaiṣe at the beginning of the line.


10. apani saṁtasāvṛtti hiṁ rahata hai, ‘they live in their own contented way’. Emendation of the MS reading is preferred to obtain a parallel form of expression with those with rahata hai in ll. 8 and 9, which would seem to have been Indrajit’s intention. See note to 22b3.

13. samgati, adv. obl.; again at 10a14 and 10b1, 4.
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15. MS ha. Since the correlative tau is clearly to be read here a reading hatau is impossible, and emendation is necessary.

jalu aisai jari jatu hai. The emendation gives a better construction for the rel. pron. ju, enabling it to be connected with the dem. adj. aisai. (For ju similarly with a preceding dem. pron., see ch. 3, par. 59.) The intrusive hva may be due to the scribe’s eye having fallen on hva in l. 14, almost immediately above in this MS; a similar miscopying occurs a few lines later, see note to robo.

f. 10b

2. ākṛti, adv. obl.

4. su uttama kī saṃgati aisi hai, ‘such is its state in association with that which is best’. aisi f., in concord with muktā.

7. vrahamāṇdu vai, ju bhāṅgo..., ‘the vessel of Brahmap’s egg itself’. For the reading vai, see note to 5b15f.; also note to 9b2 for another occurrence of the form. vai (<< Sanskrit vai) is an emphatic particle; HŚc cites one example of this form appended to a subst., from Kesavādās, Indrajit’s protégé. For other examples, see Appendix 1, p. 236; and for vai in Sūr, BSK, s.v.

9. jihin karama kari..., ‘that karma by which the ten avatars are maintained’.

10. MS viśnuḥ. Repetition of the lemma is suspect, as it breaks up the sense of the gloss without adding anything to it in clarity, the bhāṣā subject viśnu already figuring twice in this section of the text. The repeated lemma, occurring almost directly below its first citation in l. 9, may be a miscopying from a MS of similar length of line.

gahi dāri dae hain, ‘has been seized and thrown down’; absolutive + finite verb (compound).

jihin karama..., ‘that karma which has given a skull for a leaf-basked bowl into Mahādeva’s hand and sent him round from house to house begging’.

15. sūsi-pāsi jāi, ‘withers away’. The form pāsi, here a conventional extension of the stem sūsi, can clearly be referred to the OIA nominal roots pāsi- ‘dry cowdung’; pānsu-, pānsu- ‘crumbling soil, dust, sand’, CDIAL s.vv. The graph s is probably influenced by the s occurring as an inverted spelling in the preceding verb sūsi-, rather than representing a Sanskritising spelling, since the attested OIA forms show predominantly s. Cf. mod. H. local pānsnā, tr. ‘manure’. On the implications of the scribe’s correction see note to 4a1.

f. 11a

7. siyavatu rahai, ‘keeps instructing’. The emendation from MS siyavatu is palaeographically simple and clearly required by the sense; since the scribe clearly distinguishes the graphs ya and pa/ṣa, the MS reading implies his having copied from a MS in which the word was already wrongly written with pa for ṣa, and in which the graphs pa and ya could be confused. In this one instance he has resolved the confusion wrongly, doubtless through inattention; that he has done so nowhere else is testimony to his knowledge of the language he is copying, and reinforces one’s respect for his readings in general.
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9. saba hī kī sahatu hai, ‘endures everyone’s insults, ill-treatment’. The grammatical association of the possessive pron. is with an implied fem. subst., e.g. vāṭa; see note to 7b15.

11. jau paiṁ..., ‘if, on the other hand...’. The force of paiṁ in non-initial sentence position here, as of non-initial to in mod. st. H., is to introduce a contrastive idea to what has gone before.

13. ju lagatāu nāṁhi, ‘and we disapprove of him’. lagatāu, emphasised form; see ch. 3, par. 229.

14. dāri hīṁ dāryau rahatu haiṁ, ‘he remains in isolation’.
    kaisen hū...nāṁhi, ‘by no manner of means’.

f. 1xb

3. jinīhiṁ bahutaka māṁnata haiṁ, ‘whom many respect’; not the sense of the adj. bahumataṁ.

5. eka asāḍhu, ‘only wicked men’.

6. apanem muṣa kari. The phrase is repeated in this form at 11b9, which supports the emendation. The scribe has not shown the same care here as he usually does in retaining final -i of verb stems; cf. notes to 4a1, 10b15.

7. apunu kari, ‘by himself, directly’. In spite of the scribe’s evident confusion here, it does not seem necessary to postulate omission of a subst. No subst. is expressed or implied in the corresponding section of the verse.

12. janaṁ. This form, which is well attested by K., is found both as lemma and in the commentary, 12a2, and the MS reading is emended accordingly, although it is not certain that it was not in Indrajit’s text; it is a common variant and a discrepancy between it and janaṁ might have been overlooked by Indrajit if he were working from an earlier commentary based on a different reading at this point. The same uncertainty attends emendations made on these grounds at 16b4, 17b12.

14. lobhamālāṁ pāpāni. The Sanskrit phrase depends on the preceding reference to another unnamed Sanskrit work for its inclusion. There is no reason to think that it does not go back to Indrajit.

f. 12a

2. jana, ju hai sevakani, kahā lauṁ kīvai. The obl. pl. form sevakani, which perhaps reflects the case ending of the lemma janaṁ, is here used in apposition to the dir. pl. form jana, with which kīvai is in gender concord.

4. vaḍo alamkāra mahimāṁ ju hai, ‘since greatness itself is a splendid ornament’.

5. maraim kahā bhayau, ‘what (does it matter) if one should die?’ maraim, non-finite perfective participle.

7. kaisoũ vaḍo hai, jau..., ‘however mighty one is, if...’. kaisoũ, emphasised interr. pron.; cf. mod. st. H. kaisā bhī. Scribal omission of such a subject as manusya at the beginning of the line is probable: it seems unlikely that this sentence, introducing the verse commentary proper (which begins at jaisaṁ vidhātā), would be left with an impersonal subject.

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9. nivāsu aru vilāsu...tā hi paim metatu haiṁ, ‘aims at the destruction of, begrudges them, their living place and pleasure’ (7). Cf. the expression nivāsuhiṁ aru vilāsahin paim metatu haiṁ, l. 10. The verb met- is used elsewhere in this text as a trans. verb taking an expressed sentence object in the obl. or dir. case, or in the passive, 12a7 (2), 11; 13a6, 7; 15b10. The construction with postposition paim shown by these two examples is exceptional, and unsupported by HSS. It may be semantically distinct from that with expressed sentence obj., in the sense suggested; each of the other examples of the verb in this text bears the different sense ‘achieve the destruction of’. Cf. note to 9b9 for a similar construction with the verb mār-.

kamaliṁini, obl. pl. The correction from kamalaniṁi might seem at first to be due to scribal care, cf. notes to 4a1, 10b15, but seems rather to be due to the scribe’s eye happening to have fallen on the form kamalini, glossing ambhojini, almost immediately above in the preceding line; a probable error in the following word remains uncorrected.

MS jāra, verb stem. This form could possibly be retained as showing a tendency for final -i>-a, cf. verb stem nikasa 7b14, but the writing of incorrect a for i in the immediately preceding word suggests that the same error may have been made here. Elsewhere (except at 7b14 and 14b7), the scribe corrects his occasional final -a in verb stems; see note to 14b7.

kumārahiṁ preratu hai; prerihari kamaliniṁi jāri dāratu hai, ‘he sends his servant and thus (by sending him) burns the lotuses’. For the trans. verb jār- see ch. 3, par. 98.

10. yaha nāṁhi... ‘this is not to say that even Brahmā can destroy the long-standing renown of the swan for its skill at separating milk and water’. The loose bhāṣā construction, with double negative, is perhaps accounted for by the concision of expression of the verse. A rel. pron. ju may have been omitted before kirtti. vaḍhi rahi hai, absolutive + perfective verb.

15. kirāṇi, masc. here, and regularly in this text (cf. 21b1, 2; 22a5); cf. its Sanskrit neut. gender. In mod. st. H. kirāṇa is usually fem. See note to 5a15.

f. 12b

1. MS ṛṣya. This spelling depends on the scribal practice of using the inverted spelling ś for [kh], and may be influenced by the presence of the graph ṛy in the following word of the text. It is improbable that it goes back to Indrajit, since the semitatsama form vyccaḥ occurs twice elsewhere in the text, 18b9, 20b4, while the frequency of the graph kṣa in the text suggests that if a tatsama form is intended here, as seems probable, Indrajit would be likely to have used the correct form vykṣa. The MS reading rasṛyā 22a11 is similarly emended. See ch. 2, par. 40.

13. hai vaḍau prabhū, aru...; a conditional clause.

kaupna kāma, adv. phrase. Other constructions involving final possessive or general obl. postposition express the same idea; cf. 6a11, 14; 7b1.

14. nihakapāṭa hvai ju dharmu kījai, ‘if one’s dharma is performed
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without deceit...'. The construction, showing absolutive with passive verb, is common in mod. st. H.

eku eku bhūsana kahyau, 'each individual adornment has been described'. Cf. a similar use of perfective participle varanyau, suffixed, 18b9.

f. 13a

2. svārthāvirodhena. The correct reading with negative prefix is required by the sense of both verse and commentary.

3. eka satpurūṣa, 'only the good'.

je. This pron. is to be linked syntactically with the following dem. prons. te ve, not preceding aisaiṁ, as the altered punctuation of the MS might suggest; cf. the following parallel sentences, showing initial je. The scribe first copied a danḍa correctly after aisaiṁ haim, then confused the syntax of the sentence by using the danḍa to alter his form ja, with which he was probably dissatisfied (see ch. 3, par. 67), to ji. The MS reading represents a further alteration.

4. te ve. The interpretation of the duplicated pronominal forms in this section of the commentary is uncertain. They occur also in ll. 5, 6, and 8, and in spite of the scribe's initial confusion over the punctuation of the first section of the commentary (cf. 13a3n.) seem unlikely to be due to scribal error. They probably reflect a temporary but genuine hesitation on Indrajit's part as to the correct correlative, which is te elsewhere (see ch. 3, par. 65). Or the first instance of ve, which is regularly a dem. pron. in this text, may refer to the words of the lemma or the Sanskrit text, and the pronom. pair te ve could perhaps have been repeated automatically at ll. 6, 8.

7. parahitam. This reading is not noted by K., but is supported for Indrajit's text by the gloss and accordingly accepted. It is uncertain whether the verse reading parahitam should be emended in turn; see note to 6a4.

12. prama. This misspelling may reflect weakness of a in initial syllable where a in medial syllable is preceded by r; cf. appearance of epenthetic a after r in semitatsamas, with loss of preceding a, ch. 2, par. 3.

f. 13b

2. siṁci siṁci. Mod. H. si(m)cna has some currency as a trans. verb alongside usual siṁcnā, and the forms with i are therefore retained. Platts, s.v. siṁnā.

tharaḥa, 'hollow, enclosure for a plant'? The context requires some such sense; cf. mod. H. thālā with this sense, HSS, s.v. A derivation for the present form is available in *sthagha- 'resting-place, base', with -a-extension (CDIAL, s.v.), and ensuing metathesis of h and r. Cf. BrBh. thāhrā 'shallow' (BSK, s.v.), deriving rather with mod. H. thāh from sthāgha-; and for metathesis of consonants elsewhere in this text, tipariyā, Glossary s.v.

3. sammāna. See note to 8b9.

6. prábala. The emendation, which is made tentatively, may correct
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a false equation made by a scribe between the tatsama form prabala and such semitatsama forms as sarapa, karama, etc.; a form prabila could have been set up if these were known to represent sarpa, karma. But MS prabila could equally reflect weakening of -a-, see ch. 2, par. 3.

11. vāṇčchā; priti; namratā. Three tatsama glosses unprovided with lemmata, rather than the reverse; this is clear from the form of the word priti, without final visarga. It is not certain that the lemmata were ever present in the text, since the bhāṣā-Sanskrit correspondences are self-evident without them. In the following two lines the scribe's transmission of the glosses rati, bhakti, śakti with final visarga shows that he also felt that the Sanskrit text hardly required bhāṣā comment.

13. mana ke. ke, obl. sg., is in concord with the obl. verbal noun kēve, not with nigraha.

14. MS jā visāim. Cf. jini viśām glossing yeṣu, 13 b9. The MS reading probably depends on Indrajit's form, as emended, having been taken wrongly as an honorific pl. by a scribe and by a further error downgraded to sg. number.

15. āṣāṃṣitam. The incorrect spelling of verse form and lemma, 14 a2, is provisionally retained as it is attested by K.

f. 14a

4. nāṃhi jāṇyau paratu, 'does not become revealed'. Adjectival use of perfective participle with par-, used as a synonym of ho- here; cf. mod. st. H. mālum pārṇā, a synonym of mālum honā.

7. vāḍhi, intr. Cf. vāḍhati, intr., 20 a4, alongside intr. forms with short vowel, 13 b2, 4 a5. HSS cites bārhnā intr. as a local form alongside usual bāṛhnā. See ch. 3, par. 98.

9. aurahīṃ siṣavata hai, 'gives further instruction'. Cf. the expression siṣa de- 'give a lesson', introducing sections of commentary at 18 b1, 19 a12.

f. 14b

2. yaha kārya jau kīvau, 'if one determines to do this action'.

3. maranaparyayamta lauṃ, 'until the brink of death'. A compound maranaparyayamta seems awkward in the rather simple context of the bhāṣā sentence, but śravānaparyayamta lauṃ occurs in MS Jodh. 10956a (17 a6), and it must therefore be accepted as Indrajit's form. See also Appendix 1, p. 236.

4. Sahasā vidadhita, etc. On the place of this verse in the text, see p. 12.

5. vrṣute. This reading, rather than usual vrṣate, occurs in some editions of the Kirāṭārjunīya and is therefore retained.

jau sahasā hiṃ karmu kījai, tau... 'if a task is done on the spur of the moment, then one may act ill, not well'. The impersonal subject of the principal clause is not expressed. kari ā-, 'to do something which has continuing consequences'; cf. mod. st. H. kar āṇā, and ch. 4, par. 15. vuroū, adj.+emphatic enclitic.

6. kadācita. This adv. occurs at 2 b10 with virāma, correctly; omission of virāma here may be less a mistake than an indication of the un-
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naturalness of final consonants in the language of the text. Cf. note to 5a3.

7. MS vicāra. This reading might have been retained on the analogy of absolute form nikasa 7b14, but is emended on the basis of the expression vicārikai kārya kīhai 14b8, with absolutive, and the scribe’s own emendations of vicāra to vicārī at 16b3, 20b3, 8. Genuine conjunct verbs are rare in the language of the text, see ch. 4, pars. 25–7.

ghari, loc.

9. devatā eken ārādhijai, ‘it is one single deity which is to be worshipped’. eken, emphatic form of eka/eku.

11. ekai bhāryā sevivā, ‘(a man is) to have only one wife’. Other prescriptive statements based on verbal nouns occur in this section of the commentary at ll. 12, 13.

15. yo. This is probably the Sanskrit rel. pron., not a bhāṣā form, despite the fact that the relative idea which it expresses is required by the bhāṣā text. In this text a form jo of the rel. pron. occurs only once unsuffixed with -i, see ch. 3, par. 59.

f. 15a

2. hāṃḍi-vā. The long root vowel in the extended (diminutive) form can be compared with that of H. ḍāṃḍi alongside hamāyi, ḍāṃḍi alongside ḍaṃḍi. ke imdhana, adv. phrase; again in l. 3.

MS ṣarāhiṁ, f., ‘oil-cake’. Platts cites khal, m., in this sense, but mod. H. normally uses the form khalī, f. (HSS, s.v.). Since the form shows fem. gender (being preceded by the postposition kī) it seems likely that it represents either kharī or khari. The reading is emended to ṣarīhiṁ, which is supported by ṣari in l. 3 (also probably in fem. concord); cf. the occasional tendency for final -i not to be written in this text (ch. 2, par. 9).

4. kai hara, adv. phrase.

ruī, m. H. ruī, ruī is regularly fem.; the preceding masc. lemma -tūlasya perhaps accounts for the gender here.

5. sonai kā hara kahā āka ke vija vejjata hai, ‘is a golden plough dishonoured (does one allow it to be dishonoured) by (using it to cultivate) āk seeds?’. vejjata, Urdu be-‘izzat, ‘disgraced’. A scribe has completely failed to recognise the word, probably confusing it with the verb bava-, bo- ‘plant’, which does not fit the sense or grammar of the sentence. Emendation to a correct Nāgarī spelling is made, though the scribal confusion may have begun with a form vejjata, with single ja, where the three final syllables are reminiscent of the gen. present passive inflection of verbs in this text. vejjata as Indrajit’s form could show influence of normal Persian spelling without tashdīd, or influence of a form analogous to Nep. baijāt ‘mean’, etc. (ND, s.v., derived <be-ijjat).

ṣarasani, ‘pieces’ (?). Does this word represent khaṇḍa-, with early vocalisation of ŋ and a regular development for the language of the text of MIA -d- > -r-, with loss of nasality on addition of a suffix (OIA -sa-? ODBL ii, par. 450)? But vocalisation of ŋ in such a way as to interfere with the normal development of MIA -ṇ- is quite exceptional for the text, see ch. 2, par. 17.

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6. kaiṁ cūranu, kai cūrna, adv. phrases.

chāpa karatu hai, ‘covers over, protects’, taken as a conjunct verb. A
subst. of the sense ‘covering, protection’ here posited for chāpa would
probably have collocated with the verb vanā-, not kar-, when used inde-
pendently as sentence object. With this sense cf. mod. H. chipnā ‘be
hidden’, chipnā ‘hide’, and especially Nep. chāpo, ‘dry leaves and twigs
spread over young sugar-cane’, ND, s.v.

kahā hauḍaunmi cchāpanājajati hai, ‘is (a heap of) millet covered over,
piled round…’; impers. pass. of an extended verb, cchāpanā-, <*chā-
pana- ‘covering’.

8. mahārnave. If indeed the substitution of r for ra is by a different
hand, and this cannot be certain, the correction is a chance one only and
does not imply a systematic revision of the MS after it had left the scribe;
very many similar ‘incorrect’ Sanskrit spellings remain, including the
lemma of this word itself, and others at 14a3, 23a9, etc. These are
emended, it being assumed that Indrajit would have used correct forms
as lemmas, since these would have been likely to be before him in texts.
Cf. note to 23a9.

10. rakṣā karata hai, conjunct verb; see ch. 4, pars. 25–7.
11. viṣama mārga mādhya calaiṁ, ‘while treading a difficult path’;
independent participial construction, rather than protasis of conditional
sentence with both conjunctions, jau and tau, unexpressed; see ch. 3,
par. 249.

f. 15b

2. -bhūti-. There is no reason to assume that this form, which may be
synonymous with the usual reading -ṛddhi-, was not in Indrajit’s text.
puṣyasya. The commentary supports the reading for Indrajit’s text.

3. netrani mūnde ju ṭhādhe ghūmata hai, ‘stand and move slowly about
with closed eyes’; an expansion of tiṣṭhaṃti nidrālasā.

4. mahāgaraba, adv. obl.
bhūra, postposition.

5. maṅgita jana, ‘suppiants’. A participial form maṅgata (attested
within this text: maṅgata 4a4, and used nominally as in mod. H. maṅgta
‘beggar’) may possibly have been written maṅgita by the scribe; but
since most examples of -i- for -a- occur in the neighbourhood of a
palatal consonant (cf. ch. 2, par. 4) and there is no clear example of this
change in a participial form (see note to 8a10), this interpretation is
improbable. It is possible that the form represents a false Sanskritisation
of the verb maṅg-, producing a hybrid form maṅgita of past participial
force on the model of jācita, which is used actively in this text, 4a3 and
n. Elsewhere in the text the form yācata is used thrice in conjunction
with the verb māṅg-, 10a8ff.

9. karamavaṣya taṁ, ‘due to the power of karma’. For the spelling
-vaṣya see ch. 3, par. 15, and cf. the correct spelling in adṛṣṭavaṣya taṁ 12b1.

10. kāhū paṁ, pahaṁ, na, ‘by no means’. The verb meṣṭja na jai implies
that su and the rel. pron. ju in l. 9 are fem. (a fem. subst. being under-
stood).
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11. ṣiṣari. Taken as inflected loc. of ṣikhara rather than a spelling variant or mistake for ṣikhari.

13. dekarī, ‘apart from’; again in this sense at 17b4. Mod. st. H. uses the absolutive choraṛkar, but not dekar, in this sense.

15. vaḍau, ‘senior relative’.

f. 16a

1. apunu kahūṁ bhāgikai susu na kēvau, ‘one must not take flight somewhere oneself and live in happiness’.

4. hatau, ‘would have been’; past tense (imperfective) of the substantive verb. Use of the imperfective aspect to describe hypothetical actions depends on the fact that the non-realisation of an action may be viewed simply as a mode of non-completion. In mod. st. H. hypothetical actions are expressed by use of the imperfective participle, including that of the subst. verb, hotā, etc., but the imperfective past tense of the subst. verb, thā, etc., is used with the same force in certain constructions, e.g. mujhe jānā cāhie thā ‘I ought to have gone’ (less commonly ‘I used to have to go’).

5. vivaśa bhayaū echādikai, ‘leaving him in distress, subjected to...’. The perfective participle bhayaū answers to satī of the Sanskrit text, and has no standing in the grammar of the sentence. Cf. note to 18b3.

7. su yaha, ‘in so doing’; an introductory phrase. The pronoun yaha is not part of the agent associated with the trans. verb kīnī.

8. hato, ‘would have been’. See note to 16a4.

9. svargaṁ yasya graṁ tathā... Clearly this, rather than the correct reading svargaṁ durgam anugrahaḥ..., is Indrajit’s text, since the lemma yasya hareḥ is given in the commentary; that this is glossed as jā īndra kaim shows that Indrajit was alive to the difficulty of connecting Brahmaiti and Airāvaṇa with Viṣṇu, rather than Indra, and suggests that he was working from a commentary based on a better version of the Sanskrit text than that of his own MS.

12. MS airāvati. This spelling probably represents airāvati, f., rather than a modification of the final vowel of airāvata, which would be peculiar in the text, see ch. 2, par. 4. The particle sau, m., with hāthī, suggests that airāvata should be read.

14. su tā taim īndra kahā páruṣa na kīnau hatau?, ‘so does it follow that the king did not fight manfully?’, kīnau hatau, perfective verb + auxiliary. Pai hoi kahā, jītivai kau bhāgya nāṁhī, ‘but (if he did) what could it avail him? It was not his fate to conquer’. The conj. pai ‘but’ expresses the commentator’s objection to an imagined contradiction of the preceding statement; this is expanded by the argument of the rest of the sentence, in which the subj. verb hoi is used, rather than hatau (proper to the unrealised condition). hoi may occur once elsewhere in an unrealised condition, 11a11.

f. 16b

1f. yadyapi... The principal clause is introduced with tadapi, l. 2, before which the concessive conj. is repeated. The sequence of the bhāṣā
clauses is too involved for their relationship to be clarified much by extra punctuation.

1. karmu-ādhīna. The form ādhīna occurs already in Sanskrit alongside adhīna, thus may not depend here only on false resolutions of sandhi in bhāṣā texts.

4. -bhavanesu. The MS reading is emended on the basis of lemma and gloss, l. 5; for the degree of doubt attending this emendation and similar ones, see note to 11b12.

9. sidamāna na hvai jāi, ‘will not become discouraged’. Interpretation of the MS reading s. na jāi as ‘will not go off discouraged’ is questionable unless Indrajit was conscious here of the verbal, as distinct from the adjectival, component of the force of the Sanskrit participle.

10. phalitā. This emendation is adopted by K., p. 153, and is supported by the general sense of the bhāṣā text at l. 14.


13. kai kaisai ve, ‘how many and what sort of people are they?’. Cf. note to 16b15f.

15. ju rāmādhī sāhi, ‘which they can cook and eat’; absolutive of trans. verb+finite verb, 3 pl. subj.-fut.

15f. kai kaisai kaisai. That this reading overlaps the end of a folio makes scribal dittography in its first two syllables very plausible, but the reading is retained entire on the basis of kai kaisai 16b13.

f. 17a

1. jihājana, adv. obl.

2. mukātai leṃ leṃ sudāvatu hai, ‘they dig out (cause to be dug out) a mine of precious stones with mukātaś’ (7).

7. na dadāti. The MS reading is emended on the basis of lemma and gloss with negative, l. 8.

10. ye, bhāṣā relative. The Sanskrit text shows no relative, and interpreting this as one would mean the introduction of a bhāṣā relative after dhīrāḥ.

11. vīca hī, ‘in the interim, uncompleted’.

12. jāi rahata hain, ‘they go off’ (cease their efforts) ‘and remain’ (in peace); absolutive+finite verb.

ratana nikāse. Assumption of scribal dittography accounts for the MS reading; the alternative emendation would be to ratanani nikāse, ‘brought forth jewels’, but this is more difficult palaeographically as well as involving a suspect perfective-agentive construction: see ch. 4, par. 49.

13. na. The context illustrates that this negatives the verb cchāṇḍi dayau, not the absolutive hvai.

14. jaba jāya parama susa pāyau, ‘when by persisting they obtained supreme happiness’ (?). jāya, absolutive of jā-. Emendation of the sentence to jaba parama susa pāyau, taba jāya... cchāṇḍi dayau would give a parallel form of expression in the principal clause to jāi rahata hain three lines before: ‘they go off and abandon the churning’.

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f. r7b

3. yadyapi dvai śaṃḍa kare..., ‘although he had been beheaded, and ...
   ...’; kare, obl. sg. masc., adverbially used in conjunction with an un-
   expressed obl. case form.

4. dekari. Cf. note to r5b13.

7. āravāṇi. Indrajit’s gloss amāvasyā aru pūrnamāśi gives a meaning
   for parva which is common in mod. H., but which is not the one required
   here, viz. ‘eclipse’.

12. -jaṃ bhayaṃ. This reading is well attested by K. and is required by
   the commentary, though not supported by any lemma in the text. See
   further note to r1b12.

13f. śārīra. A dittoaph of this word would be under influence of
   the form śārīru, which is at the same position in the next line in this MS.

14. na(1). Perhaps an intrusion in the text due to a scribe’s having
   mistakenly anticipated a na...na construction.

f. r8a

3. soī ju..., subject of liṣya dīnau hai.

6. gāgari. Fem. subst. with destressed or whispered final vowel, as in
   āṃṣi, pūhi, etc. Cf. mod. H. gāgar, f., alongside gāgri, etc.

7. apuna samātoī jalūhi, ‘its own volume of water’ (?). The context
   virtually guarantees that a verb samā- ‘be contained’ (cf. mod. st. H.
   samānā) is to be seen here, and samātoī would then appear to be a stressed
   participial form. But such a form would be exceptional for the language
   of the text, since on the one hand a *samāto (for samāta-u, with emphatic
   enclitic hū, etc.) would be unlikely to be further stressed with the enclitic
   hū, etc., whose force is normally complementary to that of hū, not equiva-
   lent to it; while a BrBh. unemphatic participial form *samātau (corre-
   sponding to mod. st. H. -tā in imperfective participles) is not clearly
   instanced elsewhere in the text (see note to r5a5), and an obl. sg. form
   *samāte etc. would in any case be expected here, in concord withobl.
   jalūhi. MS Jodh. 10956a gives a normal reading for this participle in the
   language of the text: samātu r5b15.

It is perhaps conceivable that the variant payāḥ representing jalam of
the verse (from another commentary?) may have occasioned a separate
gloss toī (= toya), after which the reading of the verse itself was glossed
as jalūhi. One could then read samā(ta) toī, jalūhi, restoring ta to give
the regular BrBh. participial form. But a spelling for toya with long i seems
unlikely in this text.

9. hāthīhi. Emendation is made on the basin of the preceding suffixed
forms in the sentence, with which this is clearly parallel. A suffixed
-hi could tend to be phonetically obscured after final ī.

soī vṛttānta..., ‘the following story is told in illustration’.

13. ju śavātu jātu hai, tā tana atigava saṃ varyāikai citavatu hai,
   ‘looks very arrogantly at the person feeding him’. For the formation
   of the verb varyā- see ch. 3, par. 99(d). It is not attested in HSS. Cf. Platts’s
   entry for bariyā, boastfulness, etc., and his comment ‘the noun argues
   a verbal form bariyānā, which I have not however met with’.

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15. MS -atisam. Scribal confusion of ta and na (and sa and ša) is assumed; if imagined to have taken place before the MS came into the hands of the present scribe it will account for the confused MS reading at 18b2f. also. If the original text at this point became corrupted to samyak. Nikaim atisam paripusyamāne (for -posyamāne)..., the present scribe, not understanding atisam and finding no punctuation between it and nikaim, could have assumed that it was an error for atinikaim and written it so, leaving the syllable sam an apparent verbal prefix.

f. 18b

1. aura rājani siṣa detu hai, 'instructs the rajahs further'. aura, adv. For the form rājani see note to 3b13.

2. vatsarāprāya, 'like a calf'. The form vatsarā with ts represents a semi-Sanskritisation of tadbhava *va(c)harā in the language of this text; cf. vacchā in this section of the commentary, mod. st. H. bachrā (<vatsa+-rā suffix), also vaccha (representing unextended vatsa-).

3. poṣai saṃtai, 'by continuously fostering'. An independent participial construction, perhaps partly a calque on the Sanskrit (tasmin) anīṣam pariposyamāne, using the obl. sg. perfective participle form of the verb poṣ- and an obl. sg. form based on the participial stem sant-, sat-; this stem does not occur elsewhere in the text and is assumed to be obsolescent. Cf. the glossing of Sanskrit sati by bhayau 16a5, rather than a form based on this stem. MS Jodh. 10956a shows occasional similar constructions: jīvata saṃtai...una kāṁ suṣa nānhī 4a10; etc. They are very common in OWR, see Tessitori, OWR par. 122.

5. MS cchimūdāi jāī. Emendation of this reading is necessary unless it is taken to represent a periphrastic passive based on a stem form, or an unrelated absolutive in an active construction, neither of which is clearly exemplified elsewhere in the text, see ch. 3, pars. 131, 162. A periphrastic passive form cchimūdāi jāī might have been wrongly under influence of the preceding compound verb mari jāī.

12. MS bolijata. In conjunction with sentence subject vesyāū, this is clearly an error, echoing the preceding passive verbs.

13. MS cāhatu. Another clear error of concord, assumed to be scribal.

14. rājā kahun rājanīti ju karmu...kahati hai, 'the action which policy enjoins on a king'. A directive is implied; cf. the usual similar force of kīś ko...kahnā in mod. st. H.

15. rājanīti viṣaiṁ parā kīṅī bhalāī mānana kahī hai, 'in conducting policy one is told to interpret other persons' actions as (done out of) goodwill'. With the verb kahī hai, implying association of an unexpressed fem. subst., see note to 7b15; cf. also use of masc. perfective form in an identical grammatical context at 19a3.

f. 19a

1. hoti hai. The subject of this verb is rājā, understood from 18b14; cf. the following parallel expression with subject vesyāū, in this line. The concord is perhaps disturbed by that of the neighbouring verbs, all with fem. subjects.
NOTES

3. rājāṇi kaiṃ, dependent on sentence subj. mitra. Cf. similar construction in the following line.

4. gae āe rahata haiṃ, ‘keep coming and going one after the other’. The perfective participles express the sequence of individual actions.

7. su yaha rājāṇi kai nāṃhi, ‘for relatives he has none’. The pl. pronoun yaha represents apanaɪṇi, the nearest preceding subst.

8. su...vāhi, naiṃka hī kai cehuvaṭa hīṃ, jārati hai, ‘it...burns him, good though he be, as soon as he touches it’. The adj. naiṃka, in apposition to the sentence obj. pron. vāhi, is involved also in the following nominal construction of the participle. This has an exact parallel in mod. st. H.: nek hī ke chūte hī jālāṭi hai.

The pronoun su represents agni, f., here; its gender (and that of the tadbhava āgi 7a12, etc.) is confirmed for the language of the text at 21b15.

11. api jalanidheḥ...kramah. The text is clearly corrupt, but the lemmata and the occurrence of the emphatic particle hū (representing api) at 19a15 show that Indrajit did not have the correct text ayi jādaudhe...-kramah. This has led to inevitable confusion in the gloss; cf. note to 19b1.

15. vaḍeni kī. The possessive postposition is in concord with maryāḍa, 19b1.

f. 19b

1. maryāḍa ke parvata, ‘mountains of decorum, righteousness’. Indrajit adopts a wrong translation of the compound kula-sikharinah, ‘noble mountains, chief ranges (of India)’; the common collocation kula-maryāḍa may have been in his mind here, as well as the preceding gloss to vyapetaṇijakramaḥ, where the word is first introduced. His negative construction na maryāḍa ke...na samudrani kī as well as the sense of his final clause show further the extent of his misunderstanding of the verse.

2. rahatī. The MS reading breaks the parallelism of construction between the two clauses and is assumed to be a scribal error. Cf. a similar case at 8a10.

dāratu hai. Subject, pralaya, 19b1.

4ff. sidhai; svabhāvai, etc. Emphatic forms; see ch. 3, par. 223. Each of the four examples here immediately precedes hai, haiṃ, which opens up the possibility that they depend on a casual dittography in the first example being repeated mechanically in all of the next three possible places for such a dittography. However, a form subhāvai which cannot be so explained occurs at 26a5, and suffixation of emphatic -i is well attested elsewhere in the text. Siddha- here is a simplification of siddha, possibly scribal only; but cf. Nep. sidho, with dh and unlengthened vowel, CDIAL s.v. siddha-.

15. pragaṭa kari. Absolutive of kar- rather than of verb pragaṭ-, for which a spelling pragaṭikari would be expected in this text.

f. 20a

1. kari diśavatu haiṃ, ‘displays’. Absolutive+finite verb; again at 20b1.
NOTES

2. *krama krama*, ‘gradually’; again at 20a5.

3. *diśāṇmi*. An obl. sg. or pl. subst. is evidently wanting to complete the adverbiaal phrase; the addition here made tentatively is supported by *saba hi diśāṇmi* 1b9. Other possibilities are *koda, kodani* (cf. *cauṃhū* *koda taṁ 19a3*), *ṭhaura, ṭhaurani*.


MS *upāgate*; certainly a mistake since the form given in the verse is metrically correct.

12. *kari rahata hai*, absolutive + finite verb.

13. *apanu hahūn*, ‘to oneself’. The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the principal clause, not to that of the conditional clause immediately following. For the spelling *kahūn* rather than *kahuṇ*, etc., see ch. 3, par. 174.

14. *viśai*. An original MS spelling *biśai* might have been accepted as Indrajit’s, even though *b* occurs nowhere else in this word; but so bad a spelling as *basi* is surely scribal, and accordingly its entire first syllable is normalised.

MS *anukāhaṇi*. For *ha of hama* the scribe copied *hāni* of *kahāṇi*, three *akṣaras* ahead.

f. 20b

1. *ju sārahūta kari diśāvata haiṇ*, ‘which makes it appear distinguished’, i.e. presents its object in a good light; *sārahūta* in concord with *vāta*. See note to 20a1.

3. *āpada paraṇaṁ taim*, ‘in time of misfortune’; the perfective participle *paraṇaḥ* has nominal force, being associated with a following postposition.

MS *heṇi; teṇi*, a pair of connected misspellings. The graphs for *ai, e* are not confused elsewhere in this text in subst. verb forms, nor is the dem. pl. pron. written elsewhere with *amaṇḍāra*.

MS *nāmhi*. This spelling, with final short vowel, is possibly due to anticipation of the final syllable -*hiṇ* of the following word; all other sporadic variants of *nāmhi* have final long vowel.


8. *nai rahata haiṇ*, ‘are bowed down’; cf. medieval H. intr. navat-, *be bowed*, etc., HSS, s.v. The expressions *jāi rahata haiṇ, 17a12n.*, and *nāmra hvoi rahata haiṇ* in this section of the commentary, 20b11, offer syntactic parallels, and *nai* is therefore interpreted as an absolutive representing *nave* rather than a perfective participle representing *nave, navai*.

11. *varaṇkāla sambhandaṇhi*. The adj. compound has been divided in accordance with mod. st. H. practice, the expression not depending on a compound in the verse. Cf. the form *santoṣasambhaṇḍhī* adopted at 6a8,10.

12. *bhūmi kai lagataiṇ avamavikari*, ‘resting very close to the earth’. *lagataiṇ*, probably emphasised form (= *lagata* + -*iṇ*); otherwise a KhB.-influenced dir. pl. imperfective participle, for which the only support elsewhere in the text is in the form *kahetaiṇ* etc. (ch. 3, par. 126); but this form, though common, has a very restricted function in the text and is thus hardly a good parallel.

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varaṣata. It is uncertain whether this spelling attests a verb stem barakh- for the language of this text, or is merely a Sanskritising spelling variant of a *varaṣata (mod. st. H. barasna), perhaps here especially influenced by the preceding subst. varaṣa-. (At 21a12 in the present text, the spelling varaṣatu occurs quite independently of the root varṣ-.) MS Jodh. 10956a has a reading varaṣatu 18a10, showing the tadbhava development š>s (Pkt. vassaī, varisai).

f. 2ra

2. MS upara. u here is most probably due to the influence of ukāras immediately preceding, and closely following; ū (the normal BrBh. spelling) occurs elsewhere in this text, 12b2, 23b15. upara, attested for Sūr (BSK, s.v.) alongside usual ūparal, may be only a metrical variant, and given the evidence supporting ū for this text it seems unnecessary to look to Ap. upari alongside uppārī (see HGA par. 153(B)(3)) for support for the MS reading.

haṃḍī uthati hai, ‘turns upwards’. The sense of the verb haṃḍ-, ‘move, wander’, etc., makes it improbable that the verb uth- is here functioning as a dependent auxiliary; uth- is not usual with verbs of motion in mod. st. H. It occurs as a dependent auxiliary in the expression vari uthatu hai, 22a5, ‘bursts into flame’. The form haṃḍī is interpreted as a participial participle associating with a verb of motion in the same way as is seen in mod. st. H. calā jānā, in preference to taking it as an absolute exceptionally showing final -ī for -i; see ch. 4, par. 22.

4. vasudhā kahūm. For the spelling with ū here, see ch. 3, par. 175.

5. jina kaim apriyāvacanani kau daridru hai, ‘those who are poor in harsh words’. daridru is here a masc. subst., ‘poverty’, parallel to dāridra, dāridraya. Cf. mod. H. local daliddar, subst. (e.g. in Godān, Sarasvatī Press ed., Banāras, 1958, p. 135); Guj. daridra ‘poverty’. Derivation from *daridr(i)ya-, CDIAL.

14. racanā hari. Absolute of conjunct verb, with object śleṣa; again at 25a2.

15. apanaiṃ caraṇa tara haraī karatu hai, ‘humbles beneath his foot’; collocation with the verb kar- makes interpretation of MS hari as a verbal absolute impossible here, hence the apparent similarity of expression between this example and rasātala hū kai tara hari jāv 7a11 must be disregarded. The collocation hari ke kar- occurs at 4a10 with the same sense as that posited here, supporting this tentative emendation; also the form haraī alone at 4a10, 12, 15. Against the emendation must be set the fact that in the latter supporting instances the fem. adj. is written correctly; but this perhaps incriminates the scribe here as much as the emendation. Cf. the spelling haraīm 25a9; but haraaim etc. correctly, 20a1.

bhāskareṇa iva. The sandhi has been wrongly resolved by Indrajit, unless a verse reading bhāskareṇeva (as in version C and MSS F2-4, and so plausibly in this text) has been later miscopied in this text under influence of the usual reading, or unless the lemma has been borrowed from a commentary on another MS.
NOTES

f. 21b

1. apanainī pādākrānta, ‘in subjection’. The nominal use of Sanskrit past participles which is the basis of many mod. st. H. postpositions is well illustrated here. Cf. with this example mod. st. H. ke vāśihūt, of similar sense and grammatical composition. The restricted application of the compound pādākrānta means that a postposition ke pādākrānta cannot have had much currency; it is doubtless an ad hoc formation by Indrajit for this particular context. This illustrates the extent to which the use of highly Sanskritised BrBh. must have been familiar to a small educated circle, at least, at the beginning of the 17th cent. A.D. Cf. note to 25b13.

2. jānive. Masc. pl. concord here almost certainly implies the masc. gender of kīrāṇa; see note to 12a15.

4. visphurat. This reading is assumed to be due to influence of a text or commentary giving the normal reading of the verse at this point: sphārasphuritatejasā. The final vowel of the element -sphurita- could easily have been lost by analogy with sphurad- of Indrajit’s MS, or with the number of syllables of the corresponding element of the compound, -visphāri-.

6. -ārṣadā-. Cf. citation of the form with -ā, l. 9.

7. muku itani vātaim kari, bhalī, ‘even if these many things are done they may turn out well’; the clause, with perfective verb, refers to a preceding event, the adj. in concord to its consequence.


9. tāku tāku muku hväi gayau, bhalau, ‘even if it is shattered, it does not matter’. Cf. note to 21b7.

f. 22a

1. taṃ hī kṣaṇa, ‘at that very moment’. See ch. 3, par. 80.

3. MS paraśkritinikṣiṇ. Cf. the correctly cited lemma, l. 6.

4. MS -kāṃti-, krāṃti-. A scribe has misunderstood the compound raviṅkāṃtapādaṇah, probably confusing the second member with -krāṃti-, and modified lemma and gloss in different degrees. He writes -kāṃta- correctly at 22a5.

pāmi, adv. obl. pl.

6. kare, perfective participle qualifying obl. sg. anādarahīṃ.

11. MS rasyā. For the emendation, see note to a similar emendation at 12b1.

14. MS amṛtaśrāvī. The mistake is presumed to be scribal.

f. 22b

1. duśṭahīṃ, obl.sg. This sg. form is taken up again at ll. 7, 9; Indrajit loses sight of the pl. number of khalān after his first gloss, duśṭa janani, 22a15.

3. tāntu kau rokyau rahai, ‘is checked by a fibre’; nominal use of the perfective participle. Similar expressions occur at l. 4, and 23a4.

rahaṭa. The emendation makes the composite verbs in the parallel co-ordinate clauses themselves formally parallel. The similar wording of this sentence to that of the preceding sentence containing rahai, and
the tendency towards semantic equivalence of the forms rahai, rahatu hai in the language of the text, account for the MS reading; this tendency must have persisted into the period of transmission of the MS. See also note to 10a10.

5. saṃnāhu pahiratu hai, ‘puts on armour’; the obj. is deduced unwarrantedly from the verb saṃnāhyati, which is used with an infinitive in the sense ‘prepare to’.


8f. madu. Such a spelling for madhu ‘honey’, which is the necessary sense, is unparalleled in this text and not cited in the H. dictionaries. But mada is attested in the sense ‘honey’ in Sanskrit (SD, s.v.), and the MS reading is therefore retained as perhaps dependent on this usage in a Sanskrit commentary. (It is possible, however, that a form madu may reflect the tendency to loss of aspiration which is noted as a characteristic of mod. Bundel, BBhA p. 35. In this case it would perhaps be to be emended as a scribal error, there being very few if any parallel examples of despiration of consonants in the MS (dīmu 8a7 (?); muku 2a7 etc., perhaps a special case).)

12. akelo, dir. sg. masc., in concord with maunu, not with agentive obl. vidhātā. The preceding phrase mūṛṣatā kau cchāpāwanahāru is also in concord with maunu.

mūraśani kahun...kinau hai, ‘has created silence as a great adornment for the benefit of fools’; kahun, gen. obl. case marker.

13. apanaiṁ hīṁ hātha...kijai, ‘in one’s own control, to be used when required’. For karyau cāhijai, ‘one wishes, it is wished to act’, see ch. 3, par. 136.

14. mūraṣa kaun. kaun is taken as gen. obl. postposition in the same construction as kahun in the preceding sentence, and kahun, l. 12. It may, however, be a possessive postposition; cf. the phrase mūṛṣani hīṁmūṛṣatā opening this section of the commentary, 22b11, and ch. 3, par. 169.

f. 23a

1. ese nīca kaiṁ...rahatu hai, ‘what man is happy at being in the sight of such a person?’. In the similar construction at 23a6 the postposition taiṁ is omitted, the usage of bhaem being that of a non-finite participle.

3. nīca, ‘scoundrels’; grammatical subject, not grammatically a ‘definite object’ showing suffixed -ni. See ch. 4, par. 49. aura saba nīca, ‘all the other scoundrels’.

4. kāhū kau rokyau nāṃhi rukata, ‘is checked by no one’s efforts, obstruction’. Cf. note to 22b3.

saba kahun jāmnai, ‘known to absolutely everyone’; jāmnai, masc. pl., qualifies karma.

5. -nijā-, wrongly glossed; Indrajit may have been influenced by the sense of the preceding adj. -vistṛta-.

kaunma hūṁ, apanaiṁ aḍṛṣṭa taiṁ pāyau hai vaibhava jihīṁ, ‘who has attained to glory through—whom? His destiny’. The postposition taiṁ associates with the emphasised interrogative as well as the subst. aḍṛṣṭa. kahā, l. 6, conj. introducing the gloss pāyau hai.
NOTES

9. MS aṃtaradhanam. This replacement of the verse reading guptam dhanam is not cited by K. It is uncertain that it is not Indrajit's own variant, possibly borrowed from a gloss in another MS; the spelling is assumed to be scribal.

10. yaśaḥī. . . karati hai, gl. yaśaḥsukhakari. Use of the verb kar- is due to a mechanical glossing of the compound; deti hai would have been a much more natural completion of the bhāṣā sentence.

11. apanaṃ bāṇdhujana, 'one's friend, kinsman'. Indrajit does not follow the most natural division of the quarter-verse here, breaking the sense between bāṇdhujano and videsagamanе.

taiṁ. The postposition is retained in the text although its use in the sense 'in the case of' is unexampled elsewhere in it, and unnoted in HSS. See ch. 3, par. 176.

f. 23b

1. sādhu jana viśaṁ, gl. sādhujane. Resolution of the compound into adj. + subst. seems most likely to have been Indrajit's intention. This is suggested by the form of the following gloss kulina jana viśaṁ on kulajane, l. 1; had Indrajit had a compound subst. in mind here he would not have needed to go past the form kulajana itself for his gloss.

5. rahi jānata hain, 'know how to live'. rahi here represents historically not an absolutive but a MIA infinitive in -iṁ; cf. the morphologically parallel mod. st. H. usage: rahnā jānte hain.

11. paramēvra ke guṇānuvād atisunivau, 'listening well to the tale of God's qualities'.

13. desahu na, 'just consider'. See ch. 3, par. 219(g).

15. MS upari. This spelling may be a scribal mistake for āparā under influence of Sanskrit upari, or of the next syllable but one, ri; cf. āparā 12b2, MS upara 21a2n.

saca, 'truly'.

f. 24a

1. sesanāgu kūrma kari apani pithi māṇija dharijatu hai, 'Ś. is held by the tortoise on his back'. The reflexive adj. apanī refers to the preceding subst., not the sentence subject.

2. aurani taiṁ... bahuta, ‘more than others’ (lit. ‘than others’; the object of the comparison is expressed as in mod. st. H., only once in the sentence). Similar expressions occur at ll. 3, 4.

5. -vidīrṇa. The commentary has vidīrṇa, l. 9.

7. prauḍhā, here and in l. 8, Sanskritised spellings, or else mistakes for prauḍha (as in l. 9).

bhujaṁ, m. The gender of bhujā, m., which occurs in the next line, has here influenced that of the properly fem. bhuja.

tāṣaṭṭāya rahive, absolutive + verbal noun.

7f. sprhe karati hai; this expression is used in two different constructions within the space of one line. The first clearly shows s. kar- as a nominal-verbal expression, preceded by kī; it is not necessary to assume that the second involves a conjunct verb, see ch. 4, par. 26.

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12. *tyajamti*. There seems no need to assume scribal omission of the prefix *sam*.

13. *ite huba pratijñā mahāṃ kaha hai, jā kaim laaim...*, 'is there such value in a promise that (which would lead one to)...'? The context apparently requires MS *ite hubhana* to be an expression of worth or value. A possible basis for this might be H. *hūn, hun* 'gold coin', cf. Sanskrit *huba* of the same sense, also Sūr's *humna* in the sense of both 'gold coin' and 'gold', BSK, s.v. Confusion as to the class of nasal consonant involved could have produced the MS reading.

It is difficult to see how P. *hunar* ('virtue', etc.) could be the basis of the MS reading.

14. *anusaṃ haiṃ*, probably an independent participial construction; cf. ch. 4, par. 41, and note to 4b15.

15. *Tahāṃ*, etc. The order of the clauses has clearly been dislocated; the text as emended shows a parallel form of expression to that at ll. 12f., 9a12 and 26a4. *Tahāṃ* is used in these expressions in a loose demonstrative sense: 'with respect to that'. The example at 26a4 shows *tahāṃ* preceding *kahyau* as well as introducing the conditional clause, and this is taken as justifying its retention before *kahyau* here.

f. 24b
1. *guṇani*, adv. obl.
2. *ati*, predicatively used here, on the analogy of its occurrence elsewhere prefixed to subs., e.g. atiprīti 3b4, ati-āyāsa 19a12.
   *apanaiṃ amgiṃtahi cchāṃdata...lajyatu hai, ki...*, 'is ashamed in his heart to fail in his promise, and (says)...'.

12f. *dharanaḥāra*. The spelling with retroflex nasal consonant probably represents a Sanskritisation of a genuine *bhāṣā* form based on the verbal root *dha*-r-, though it could be due to Rājasthāni or Guj. influence, cf. OWR par. 132, and entries such as *palaṇahāra* in Dave's index, *Gujarāti Language*, p. 161, etc. Cf. *paripūraṇahāru* 25b2n., where the tatsama prefix points rather in the direction of Sanskrit influence.

f. 25a
1. *ju kachā...*, 'much as is...'. The indefinite pron. attenuates the force of the expression.
   ekai, 'one and the same'.
3. *cāpu, caḍhāi...*, 'an attack by bow(men), by threatening distant kings or landholders with the mention of which...'. *bhūmiyāṃ* occurs in Cand Bardāi; Beames translates 'rulers of the land', p. 183.
5. *ca, āga∩i apasābda, tā kau...*, 'ca plus apasābda makes cāpa-śābda'.
   *su apasābadahim lagatau nāṃhi, jātu*, 'he does not deal in abuse, but avoids it'. *lagatau*, probably an emphatic form, as at 11a13, otherwise a KhB.-influenced form showing -tau instead of usual -ta; see note to 20b12 discussing the possibility of an analogous dir. pl. form.
NOTES

12. nopāśrayah. The reading is retained on the basis of lemma and gloss, ll. 15f.

14. pramāna kari rāśī hai, ‘has meted out’. Absolutive of conjunct verb + finite verb.

15. adṛśtu pahuṇcāī hīṁ rahatu hain, ‘fate brings it and remains (omnipotent)’. pahuṇcāī, absolutive.

f. 25b

1. adṛśta hi, dei ju rahyau hai, ‘it is rather fate (which is the cause), granting (the thing) in its everlastingness’. dei, absolutive, associating with verb rah- in a parallel construction to that at 25a15; other instances of rah- with preceding absolutive occur in the text, 7b8, 10a9, 17a12.

dārāya rahaiṁ, pājatu nāṃhī, ‘living under patronage it is still not attained’. rahaiṁ, independent participle; cf. a similar locution at 15a11n. The adv. construction of dārāya is paralleled at 14b8. pājatu is probably to be connected with vastu, two sentences previously; for the absence of concord which this would seem to imply see ch. 3, par. 128.

2. paripūrahāhāru. Cf. note to 24b12f. Sanskritisation has been carried further in this example with the addition of a tatsama prefix to the bhāṣā verbal root pūr-.

dina hīṁ. An indifferent rendering of the sense ‘daily’.

3. patamī. The MS reading nipatati, which is not cited by K., is assumed to be due to scribal confusion at the relatively unusual form of the compound verb āni parati hain immediately following.

āni parati haiṁ, ‘find their way’. An absolutive based on the verb ān-, ‘bring, come bringing’, is difficult to fit into the context here; jala-
dhara 25b2 could serve as its subject, but subject-verb concord would be incorrect. Interpretation of āni as an alternative stem of the verb ā-, ‘come’, gives an acceptable sense. A stem āni for this verb is unusual (the expected form āi occurs elsewhere in this text) but is attested in MS Jodh. 1095a (with following verb par-), f. 16b1, and Kesāvdās, Indrajit’s protégé; also in Sūr, cf. BSK, s.v., and Cand Bardās, Beames, p. 179, in contexts where it cannot represent a concealed use of the trans. verb ān-. The derivation of the imperfective forms of the intrans. verb ā- ‘come’ from the trans. āpayati ‘causes to reach’ seems to underly this usage; at an earlier stage of language some confusion between āpayati and ānayati ‘brings’ would have been understandable.

cātaka kahā jaladhara...karai kahā? ‘Does the cātaka not hope for much from the cloud? But what can it do?’

5. rahai, perfective participle in concord with jāhi, obl. sg.

6. tau jani haumhīṁ, ‘then no matter’ (let them not be attained to).

The next sentence repeats this idea; rahahu, 3 pl. imp.

7. kula ki ju; sādhuvāda. The kula are the opposing armies, see Bōht-
ingk, Indische Sprüche, St Petersburg, 1863, I.33.

tā ke sunaim hī kau...nāṃhī, ‘but there is still the great happiness of hearing it. This cannot be destroyed’. sunaim, perfective participle used nominally.

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9. vijāithe. For an au-stem *vijāithau, cf. mod. H. bijāyath, bijaunthā (Platts); HSS cites only bijāyath, m.

11. kaun, gen. obl. postposition, not possessive pron.; it is not in concord with the following subst.

12. païm. The conjunction introduces the restriction contained in the Sanskrit relative clause, to the effect that vānī is to be saṃskṛtā.

13. saṃskṛtaṁ līnai, ‘embellished with Sanskrit’. līnai, independently used perfective participle of le- ‘take’. Indrajit’s mistranslation of yā saṃskṛtā dhāryate confirms the existence in his time of a recognised Sanskritised style of speech of high prestige. See p. 15.

14. kahūṁ ku yaha dūsarau pāthu hai... This is the only occasion on which Indrajit comments on a MS reading. His kahūṁ ku doubtless refers to another text or texts which he consulted in connection with his commentary, and from collation of which he also noted the irregularities of the verse order of his MS; see p. 14. That he nowhere else explicitly notes variant readings probably implies that his own text was also provided with a commentary, which he was content to rely on most of the time.

f. 26a

1. vālakau, emphatic form; see ch. 3, par. 229.

5. subhāvai, see note to 19b4ff.
PART II
2

PHONOLOGY

1. It is clear that in its broad outlines the phonology of this text is typical of that of medieval Braj Bhāṣā in general, as known chiefly from its poetic texts. The evidence of a prose text as to the phonology of a medieval Hindi dialect is of particular interest, since in poetic texts the value of vowels, in particular, is always likely to be distorted in the interests of metre, and evidence as to the attenuation or loss of unstressed short vowels in a colloquial form of the dialect must be almost completely lacking. The MS spellings allow various assumptions to be made concerning realisation of phonemes in particular phonological contexts, but doubt of course remains as to many features of phonology, including the realisation of Sanskrit and Persian phonemes in borrowings and the range of distribution of certain phonemes.

UNSTRESSED VOWELS

a

2. The spellings vahai 3a4, 15; vahaī 2b10; sabaī 11b3 etc.; subhāvai 26a5; svabhāvai 19b4 etc.; paratau 8a6; yogiśvarau 11a4 etc., showing suffixed emphatic enclitic -ī, -u, and kahaṃ, always written with anusvāra, alongside kahuṃ, imply some realisation of a final [ɔ] after single consonants. Similarly perhaps kadaṇita, without virāma, 14b6n.; and perhaps suhṛdau 5a3n. An analogous final [ɔ] is attributed to the Persian borrowings gumāna-(him) 9a2; jihāja(na) 17a1; there is further support for this in the spelling saracu 19a2, showing final -u (< Ap. -u, Pkt. -o), which clearly has some syllabic value suffixed to a Persian borrowing.

On the other hand such spellings as salī 2b2 (alongside šalya, salya); madhi 9b15 (alongside frequent madhya); vasi 2a1 (for

1 Cf. Varmā’s inventory and summary discussion of the normal phonemes of BrBh., based for the medieval language on a composite analysis chiefly of poetic texts, LB p. 48; also that of Taṇḍan, SB p. 62.

2 madhi could perhaps be by analogy from its tadbhava synonym māṃjha|māṃjhi, where there is a possibility of palatal influence on the final vowel; see par. 4.
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vasya, adj.), which show reductions of tatsama consonant groups due to adaptation of the borrowings to the phonological system of contemporary BrBh., would not have been possible had final [ə] been any longer fully realised in the language of the text by the MS date at latest. Similarly vasya 6a3, -vaṣya 15b9 etc. for vasi, subst.; kāryanya 18b7 for kāryani; upāu 22b2, 8 for upāya etc. imply weakened final [ə].

3. Medially it is clear that [ə] was often retained, cf. the spelling cittuhī 2a13 confirming medial [ə] for citahim 2a8; also abahu 3b9, where complete elision of [ə] might have induced a spelling with conjunct or voiced aspirate graph. But some elision of medial [ə] was possible, witness the occasional representation of the verbal theme -va- as -u- after long a: pāuta 20b3; māngāuta 20a11 etc. In view of this, interpretation of the medial [ə] often implied by spellings of borrowed words is difficult. Frequently two fashions of spelling such words are current in the text, both regularly enough for it to be impossible to ascribe one to casual scribal error, e.g. mūrṣa/mūraṣa 22b1ff.; mārga/māraga 3b6ff. The ‘incorrect’ spellings of this type perhaps represent both spellings dependent on a scribe’s feeling that medial and final [ə] tend towards zero in the language of the text, and genuinely pronounced central vowels, which have arisen medially as a result of simplification of tatsama consonant clusters in semitatsamas. In the first category, if they are not taken over from verse, may fall forms such as vasatuhiṃ 25a15; namasakāru 10b13; perhaps asatasamgati 13a14; saṭaguna 22a11, where the consonant cluster would less easily have generated an epenthetic vowel. In the second would probably fall the greater number of spellings where the consonant cluster involves markedly different articulations, which could have tended to give rise to such a vowel, e.g. mahāsabada 12b3; prāpata 4b6; sanātaku 6b14; nyāyamāraga 3b7 etc.; sampūrana 3a4; dhūsaravaranas 2b1; niradhana 3a10; kārāja 14b10; sarapu 7b12; śrapu 7b13; śrapu 22b2; and the Persian saracu 19a2. It is noticeable that the overwhelming majority of such examples show r initially in the consonant cluster, and this clearly suggests a phonetic rather than a casual scribal basis for these spellings; similarly the clear epenthetic -i- in lacchimī 20a14 etc. Dissociation of r from an immediately following consonant seems to have been less common before long vowels: cf. paramārthī 4a11 (2); arthī 2b14; but amarajāda 23b14. Such spellings as śrapu; pravatu 8a15; krama-
him 6a2 could reflect a lowering of stress on the tonic syllable caused by an epenthetic vowel, and may be compared generically with prākramu 24a2; prākrama 24a4 (but parākramu correctly, 24a3), where the tonic syllable has attracted extra stress at the expense of the pretonic.

4. Occasional spellings in i where medial or final a is normal are usually found to be in a palatal consonantal environment, if not accountable for otherwise, and indicate fronting and raising of [ə]: jihājana 17a1; sūrīja 22a5; lacchimī 20a14 etc.; māṃjhi 13b2; jini (for jani) 4a7; iha (for yaha) 16b2; harie (<*haraye) 4a10; possibly lālaci 4b3n.; but lilāṭa 18a3 (cf. local mod. H. lilāṭ);¹ kahi 13a15 (if not an Ap. spelling, see ch. 3, par. 153); uttima palikā 5b7 (but cf. HGA par. 22, and OIA palyaṅka-). In lilāṭa, clear articulation of [l] might be a phonetic factor favouring sporadic modification of an intervening vowel. It seems clear, at least, that the majority of these examples are not due to Rājasthānī scribal influence.²

u

Other than in tatsama u-stems final -u occurs chiefly in:

1. a-stem subs. and adjs.

5. These are tadbhavas and tatsamas, where u represents Ap. -u, Pkt. -o, and contrasts with forms in final -a. The distribution of u in the subs.³ appears to have been influenced by a variety of factors, morphological, phonetic and scribal, and for convenience is described at one place (ch. 3, par. 12), although the spellings are relevant to the phonology as much as to the morphology of the text. It is probable from the evidence of the -u and -a spellings that final [u] was weakened, though still perceptibly distinct from final [ə] at the time of composition, if not later, and that it had weakened further (no doubt in the direction of the common whispered pronunciation of mod. BrBh.)⁴ by the time the MS was written at least.

2. The verbal suffix -tu

6. This suffix occurs in association almost always with masc. sentence subjects, predominantly sg.; it alternates fairly freely

¹ HSS s.v. i may be organic here, however; see Glossary.
² i for a is common in Rājasthānī MSS; see Tessitori, OWR par. 2.
³ With which that in the adjs. is taken to agree broadly; see ch. 3, par. 29.
⁴ LB par. 91.
with the ending -\textit{ta} in these circumstances;\textsuperscript{1} suggesting a similar weakened pronunciation of final [\textit{u}] here to that inferred from the \textit{a}-stem nominal forms.

\[ \ddot{u} (?) \]

\textbf{7.} It is uncertain whether an unstressed [\textit{u}] will have occurred. Examples are rare; \textit{i\textacute{p}hanive} 8b11; \textit{i\textacute{p}hanata} 8b12; \textit{tin\textacute{u}k\textacute{a}} 3a5 and \textit{tin\textacute{u}k\textacute{a}\textacute{h\textacute{a}m}} 4b7 (alongside \textit{tin\textacute{u}k\textacute{a}} 4a14, showing the expected short \textit{u}) may be simply graphic variants, possible because of the very absence of unstressed [\textit{u}] from the language of the text.

\textit{i}

\textbf{8.} Final -\textit{i} occurs most commonly in the verbal suffix -\textit{ti}, which is extremely regular in association with fem. sentence subjects in active constructions.\textsuperscript{2} This regularity implies that final [\textit{i}] was realised to some extent in the language of the text, and also probably that as a front vowel it remained more differentiated from central [\textit{a}] and back [\textit{u}] than these two vowels from each other (hence continuing to be more useful as a distinctive grammatical sign). Other supporting evidence points to some retention of unstressed [\textit{i}] in general, viz. its occurrence finally in fem. tadbhava subssts., some of which show final whispered vowel in certain modern dialects: \textit{pi\textacute{t}hi} 24a1 etc.; \textit{\textacute{s}ani} 17a2; \textit{g\textacute{a}g\textacute{a}ri} 18a6, its frequent occurrence for \textit{a} in a palatal consonantal environment, where existence of a sound [\textit{i}] in the language of the text would give point to such spellings,\textsuperscript{3} and the unique loc. form \textit{bh\textacute{u}m\textacute{i}y\textacute{e}m} 5b6, if derived as suggested elsewhere.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{9.} A usually weakened or whispered pronunciation of final [\textit{i}] is clear for the scribe’s speech, however, both from his occasional negligently written forms with -\textit{a} for \textit{i}, e.g. \textit{k\textacute{a}ra} 11b4, 11b6n.; \textit{vic\textacute{a}ra} 14b7n., and from a few corrections of such mistakes, e.g. \textit{cori letu hai} 4a1n.; \textit{ih\textacute{im}} 11b4. Other spellings corroborating this weakening are the equivalent pronominal forms \textit{jini/jina}; \textit{tini/tina}, and, given a tendency to weakened realisation of the inherent vowel, the use of a conjunct character in the verb stems \textit{\textacute{\textacute{a}r\textacute{a}d\textacute{h}ya}} 2a9; \textit{s\textacute{a}dh\textacute{y}a} 19a12; also for medial \textit{ti} in \textit{pratyag\textacute{a}hi} 24a12. The spellings \textit{\textacute{j\textacute{a}ya} 17a14}, \textit{\textacute{\textacute{a}t\textacute{a}p\textacute{a}\textacute{t\textacute{a}}\textacute{y}a} 24a7} similarly represent a ten-

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ch. 3, pars. 120–2.
\item Ch. 3, pars. 123–4.
\item These words are attested with final whispered -\textit{i} for Bhoj. and Av. respectively; cf. ODB par. 99, EA par. 116. Final whispered -\textit{i} is common in Br\textsuperscript{b} Bh. itself, cf. LB par. 91.
\item Par. 4.
\item Ch. 3, par. 223.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
dency to destressing of final [i] after stressed long vowel. But the fact that the verbal suffix -iti is rarely spelt ta (given the frequency of its occurrence) suggests that the weakening of final [i] may have proceeded at two separate levels, and that throughout the period of transmission of the text it may have remained clearly perceptible at least as an exponent of fem. concord.

\( \tilde{i} (?) \)

10. It is uncertain whether an unstressed [i:] will have occurred: bhūmīyāmni 25 a 3 could perhaps show such a vowel (bhūmi- + -īyā), but \( \tilde{i} \) may be here simply a graphic variant, possible because of the very absence of unstressed [i:] from the language of the text; similarly the causative form jātijatu hai 8 b 13, influenced probably by non-causative jī-.

ai and au, e and o

11. That final ai and au were normally realised as diphthongs can be verified in general for this text from the emphatic forms vahai 3 a 4, 15; subhāvai 26 a 5; paratau 8 a 6; prāṇauṃ 4 b 7 etc., where the graphs ai, au represent final -a plus -i, -u. However, e frequently occurs for ai (almost always finally), e.g. in obl. sg. and pl. and dir. pl. masc. adj., and possessive postposition endings; in obl. sg. masc. au-stem endings; in dir. pl. fem. ā-stem subst. endings; in the impersonal forms kahetaim, kahaitaim, kahetem. Similarly o occurs for au finally, e.g. in dir. sg. adj., and occasionally subst., au-stems; ko 5 a 1 for possessive postposition kau; to (rare) for conj. tau; hato 16 a 8 for 3 sg. imperfective past hatau. But o-variants are relatively infrequent except before an emphatic enclitic, where simplification of triphthongs would be a natural tendency.\(^1\) This would suggest some approximation of the phonetic values of [əi] and [e] in particular, and possibly of [əu] and [ə]; a tendency to monophthongisation of [əi] and [əu] is probable, perhaps in conjunction with a lowering of the point of articulation of the monophthongs. Certain regional forms of modern BrBh. show monophthongs as reflexes of [əi] and [əu],\(^2\) and their monophthongal pronunciation is common in mod. Bundel.\(^3\)

12. Unstressed ai and e, though interchangeable over such a wide range of grammatical forms, are not so everywhere, e.g. 3rd pers.

\(^1\) Examples are given in ch. 3, pars. 224, 230. \(^2\) LB par. 93. \(^3\) See BBhA pp. 30f.
subject-pers. verb forms with unstressed final syllable only once show -e² (ṣīṣe 15b12); likewise obl. possessive postposition kai, rarely ke when not in concord with a following subst. (10a6, 11); hem occurs only once for haiṃ, and is emended 20b3.

STRESSED VOWELS

a + h in forms based on kah-

13. Notable for their spellings are the verb forms kahaitaṁ, kahetaim, kahetem, used without auxiliary in impersonal constructions and contrasting with finite kahata hai, kahata haiṃ. The invariable representation of a front vowel or diphthong in the second syllable of these forms, which all show final front vowel also, may possibly be explained as reflecting a tendency to fronting and raising on the part of the initial stressed syllable vowel analogous to that of some cases of stressed [ə] in mod. st. H., when followed by voiced [ɦ] plus further consonant, or finally; cf. the pronunciation [kəfite] of the corresponding form in mod. st. H. Modern BrBH., however, does not apparently show a similar fronting and raising.² Tessitori, OWR par. 3, mentions a rare change of a > aï, mostly where two or more syllables containing [ə] follow each other; in five of his eight examples (including kaimhatam showing root kah-) medial -h- is involved.

u and ū (post-Indrajit)

14. Two MS spellings of the verb uth- with ū in the neighbourhood of other ūkāras, and one of ūpara with u following an ukāra, if not merely graphic confusions, suggest a tendency for [u] and [uː] to converge in the language of the scribe; cf. notes to 2a6, 21a2. But the rarity of the examples makes it improbable that the confusion, whether graphic or phonetic, goes back to Indrajit. A phonetic confusion between [u] and [uː] is not noted for modern BrBH., but occurs further east, e.g. in Bhoj., where the sounds may be mutually indistinguishable.³

¹ There may be a phonetic explanation for their regularity in forms with final stressed syllable, see par. 15. The aï spellings could then have been generalised from the latter forms to every case, especially since e spellings would have confused the subj.-pres. forms with perfective pl. forms.
² LB par. 92.
³ ODB par. 46.
STRESSED VOWELS
ai and au, e and o

15. Such spellings as jaivau 16a4 etc.; saivau 4b9 etc., where ai represents an exceptional reduction from -āi-, imply the existence of a diphthongal pronunciation for stressed ai. It is possible that this showed a tendency to monophthongisation parallel to that of unstressed ai: cf. the spellings esau 3b15; ese aisai (kavi) 3a10; but these spellings are rare. No instances of spellings tesau, jesau of the complementary pronominal adjs. are found; and 3rd pers. subj.-pres. verb forms showing short root syllables (and hence, one would assume on the basis of the stress pattern of mod. st. H., a tendency to level stress at least)\(^1\) never show -e (ganaīm 5b6 etc., vinasai 6b3 etc.). It seems that the tonic accent may have been an inhibiting factor on any tendency of stressed [ai] towards monophthongisation.

16. au, for which the existence of a diphthongal pronunciation parallel to that of ai is assumed, appears to show some tendency to a similar monophthongisation in stressed position, cf. the spellings autata 8b10; oṭijatu hai 8b9.

The regular spelling haumnhāra 15b9 etc., with au and m, representing ho-+-na-+-hāra, perhaps reflects not only the nasality of the theme -na- but also a sporadic tendency for the back monophthong to be lowered in nasal environment, similar to that shown by [ə] in mod. st. H. Cf. the parallel spellings haumhin, haumhige, also for the verb root hom- the alternative spelling haumn- at 8b10.

CONSONANTS

A. In tadbhava and semitatsama words
\( \dd; r < \dd \)

17. The graphs ḍ and ṭ both occur initially, where they clearly represent the voiced retroflex stop [d] common to all Hindi dialects in this position.\(^2\) Non-initially their distribution has been examined at three points in the text.\(^3\) Except before final short vowels non-initial ḍ and ṭ (representing MIA -ḍḍ-, -ṇḍ- in

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\(^1\) Chatterji gives root syllable stress for such disyllabic forms in twelfth-cent. A.D. Kosall, Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa, par. 13. But this is very much earlier than the present text; and the forms he discusses show generally complete disappearance of final -i, see also op. cit. par. 71.

\(^2\) They are thus used in quite a different way from that noted by Grierson, LSI vol. IX, pt r, p. 20 for the writing of Mārvārī, where ḍ is for ḍ, ṭ for r only.

\(^3\) ff. 1b–4a; 8b–11a; 23a–25b.
almost every case) occur with almost the same frequency throughout the material examined, but before final short vowels \( \ddash \) occurs only once, compared with 13 occurrences of \( \ddash \). This variation in distribution of \( \ddash \) and \( \ddash \) suggests that before final short vowels, which had all suffered some erosion, the retroflex flap [c], only, occurs as a development of MIA -\( dd- \), and that in other non-initial positions either a flap was not so freely articulated as to be fully identified as such, or the stop [d] had to some extent maintained itself. Where MIA -\( nd- \) is involved it is assumed that complete vocalisation of -\( n- \) occurs in conjunction with the shift -\( d- \rightarrow r- \) before final short vowels (e.g. cch\( \ddash \)m\( \ddash \)i 17a13), and an unverifiable amount (ranging down to zero) in other positions (e.g. h\( \ddash \)m\( \ddash \)iy\( \ddash \) 15a2; cch\( \ddash \)ndik\( \ddash \)i 13a4). Cf. mod. H. h\( \ddash \)m\( \ddash \)i alongside h\( \ddash \)nd\( \ddash \) etc.

\( dh; rh < dh \)

18. These consonants, in so far as they derive from MIA -\( d\ddash h- \) (e.g. th\( \ddash \)dha\( \ddash \)u 2b5 etc.), are assumed to be parallel in their distribution to \( d, r; \) there is no graphic evidence to assist in distinguishing a flap from a stop here, the graph \( \ddash \) being used unmodified throughout. It seems probable that [\( dh \)], [\( rh \)] are also the developments of MIA -\( dh- \), being in this not parallel with unaspirated [d] < MIA -\( d- \), which develops through [\( r \)] to [\( r \)] in this text. Cf. mod. BrBh. examples of [\( rh \)], which do not appear to be based on [\( dh \)], [\( rh \)], but rather on metathesis, and the fact that [\( rh \)] does not occur finally; but it would be expected frequently in this position were \( dh > rh > [rh] \) a genuine development for BrBh. parallel to \( d > r > [r] \).

19. Medial [\( r \)] is common for historical \( l \), as in mod. BrBh., e.g. n\( \ddash \)re 21b15; j\( \ddash \)r- 12a9 etc.; \( \ddash \)r- regularly (unless from an OIA *\( d\ddash r- \), CDIAL s.v. \( d\ddash l- \)); har\( \ddash \)ai 4a10 etc. [<\( l\ddash g\ddash h- \)); a\( \ddash \)tak\( \ddash \)a 9b13; t\( \ddash \)ra 7a11 etc. But it does not of course occur for [\( l \)] < MIA -\( ll- \) (\( a\ddash k\ddash l\ddash e \) 1 etc.; c\( \ddash \)nd\( \ddash l\ddash a \) 12a14(?)), and in some

1 6:7 in ff. 1b–4a; 6:5 in ff. 8b–11a; 12:11 in ff. 23a–25 b.\( \ddash \) does not represent MIA -\( d\ddash d- \), -\( n\ddash d- \) in ech\( \ddash \)di 3b10, Pkt. cho\( \ddash \)de\( \ddash \), -\( al \) (see par. 21); the derivation of g\( \ddash \)du 9b12a.n. is not clear.

2 LB par. 107.

3 The only example of a derivative of MIA -\( dh- \) which I have noted in Grierson's specimens of mod. BrBh. and Bundelt is gar\( \ddash \)ha, gar\( \ddash \)hu (Aligarh), <g\( \ddash \)d\( \ddash \)ha-, LSI vol. IX, pt 1, p. 289; but these same specimens show frequent \( r \) for MIA -\( d- \), e.g. p\( \ddash \)ray\( \ddash \)u, op. cit. p. 285 etc.

4 LB par. 109.
common words [r] < MIA -l- maintains itself regularly. Cf. phalu 15b6 etc.; phula 22b5 etc.; balu 16a13, bal(i) 7b14. It is possible that the influence of tatsama spellings with l could account for these forms, but unlikely that such a common word as phala should not have been written occasionally as phara were there any basis for this spelling in its pronunciation. In semitatsamas as in tatsamas the change l>r is not represented, e.g. nihphala 9a2; gamdasthala 4a13 etc.; nirmola 17a13 etc. (The only possible exception is manyāru 8b4, if this < manyi- + -ālu, etc.; see Glossary, s.v.)

20. This change appears to be less restricted in the tadbhava forms of this text than in the somewhat earlier language of Sūr, where it is said to occur almost exclusively in final syllables.¹ On the other hand semitatsamas showing r for l occur, at least occasionally, in Sūr;² is their absence in this text then to be considered a feature of learned style?

21. Medial [r] also usually replaces [r] < MIA -d- (as contrasted with [r] < MIA -dd-, see par. 17), e.g. cāri 11b15; thorau 25a15 etc.; joratu 25a8; torata 20b10; par- regularly. This replacement of the retroflex flap of this origin which is usual in BrBh. and a marked feature of Bundeli, the present dialect of Orchā,³ must have occurred before [d] derived from MIA -dd- had moved significantly in the direction of flapped articulation, so that the latter was not involved in this further shift. It seems regular in the text, except in paiṃdu 3b7, 11, and eckoṭi (i.e. [kōṭi], see par. 17) 3b10, exemplifying the trans. root chōd-, Pkt. chodei; this is the only occurrence of this root in the text, and here r is assumed to have been replaced by d on the analogy of the synonymous root chā(t)d-, Pkt. chaddēi, chaddāi etc. or else on the analogy of the KhB. form (mod. st. H. chornā).

y

22. The sound [j] is rare; such spellings as jatana 2a11, jugu 3b11, jā 8a2 (the Urdu conj. yā) confirm its general loss in stressed syllables of tadbhava and semitatsama words. Spellings showing the graph ṛ in this position (where a semi-vocalic front glide is not intended) are usually inverted, e.g. yau 4b4; yai 21a6, or

¹ SB p. 75.
² Loc. cit., where one example is cited: bikarāra (⟨vikrāla-⟩).
³ LSI vol. ix, pt i, p. 91; LB par. 108.
perhaps influenced by Sanskrit spellings, e.g. yācata 10a8 etc. (but cf. the spelling jācita 4a3, suggesting that this example also is rather an inverted spelling). dhīrayahi 21a1 shows a similar inverted spelling in unstressed position. No use is made in the text of the graph य for [j].

23. The complete absence of j spellings in the dem. pron. implies regular occurrence of [j] rather than [d3] in these forms, however, as often in mod. BrBh.¹ (Mod. Bundelī has [d3] in these forms.)²

24. Elsewhere, in stressed and unstressed syllables, the graph य denotes a semi-vocalic front glide, e.g. in all 3rd sg. masc. perfective forms in -yau; hathyāra 2b10; maniyāṁ 3a14; bhūmi-yāṁni 25a3 etc.; possibly in jaityatu 9a4n. That the character of such a glide was strongly vocalic is illustrated by such spellings as ghatiṁ 3a14; nāikā 24a8 (alongside nāyikā), and especially by haraṁ 25a9 (cf. haraṁ harayem elsewhere), which suggests a possibility of complete elision of the medial syllable in this word. The masc. pl. adj. hari 4a10 reflects a reduction of *haraye.

v

25. The graph b for historical v in stressed syllables of tadbhava and semitatsama words is extremely rare; examples are parabata 4a11, 5b1, contrasting with numerous examples of par(a)yata 4a14, 16a2 etc.; MS biṣai 20a14n., doubtless a scribe’s error. But this does not mean that an old continuant, v, regularly maintained itself in this position, but rather that there was an approximation between it and the stop [b] in pronunciation, as a result of which v and b become graphic equivalents for the language of the text, with the former graph being heavily favoured in practice.

26. It is uncertain how complete such an approximation will have become. Such spellings as vahuri 4a2; ve (for P. be-) 9a2 etc.; vuroū 14b6; valī 7b15 etc.; vrahmāū 10b8 etc., where the graph v represents original [b], may be taken as inverted spellings suggesting a complete identification of an earlier continuant, v, with [b] for the language of the text; and with them could then be classed forms like vedhyau 22b6; visamu 3b4 etc., where the initial graph represents original v. Alternatively v may have tended to become an increasingly stopped bilabial fricative, which would

¹ LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 80; LB par. 174. ² LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 93.
have been also readily identifiable with the stop [b]. Support for this assumption is found in mod. BrBh. where, although the graph \(v\) is often pronounced as [b], its ‘true sound is really something between the two letters’.\(^1\)

27. Such an assumption fits in well with the spellings found in unaccented syllables (though there is no reason why developments of \(v\) in stressed and unstressed syllables should necessarily be the same). Spellings like \(pāuta\ 20b\ 3\) alongside \(pāvatu\ 20b\ 6\); \(mangāuta\ 20a\ 11\) alongside \(mangāvata\ 20a\ 11\, 12\); also common \(subhāva\ 19b\ 6\) etc. for \(svabhāva\) would illustrate the potentiality of fricative [β] > semivocalic unrounded [w] on weakening or loss of a medial vowel.\(^2\) The spellings \(pāmcae\ 2b\ 13\); \(sātaum\ 2b\ 5\); \(sātaaim\ 2b\ 14\) may conceal a similar tendency in the final syllable of ordinal numerals, see ch. 3, pars. 259f. It is likely that the spellings \(ābahu\ 3b\ 9\); \(pābai\) (the only ones noted showing graph \(b\) in the theme -\(va\)-) imply pronunciations with fricative or stop [β], [b]; cf. mod. BrBh. \(ābatu\) alongside \(āntu\) (<\(āvatu\)).\(^3\) But it may also be that they are inverted spellings, concealing a movement of pronunciation of [b] towards [β] in stressed syllables which is probably not paralleled fully in stressed syllables; cf. the spellings \(jau\ 17a\ 15\) etc.; \(java\ 16b\ 11, 19a\ 10\); \(tava\ 15b\ 5, 18\ a\ 14\) for usual MS \(jaha, taba\) (unless these <\(yatah\), etc.).

28. The form \(pīvai\ 2a\ 12\), with theme -\(va\)-, is presumably by analogy with \(pāvai, āvai\), etc., where this theme is in MIA terms justified (Pkt. \(pāvei, pāvai, āvei, āvai\)); Pkt. \(piai\) should give *\(pīya\).

29. In the light of the above, little can be said with certainty about the pronunciation implied by the graph \(v\) in dem. pron. forms, where it is regular. Possibly it was a fricative, as often in mod. BrBh., and very probably in accented syllables in the language of this text.\(^4\) It seems improbable that it was a completely stopped consonant, as a parallel phonetic realisation to that of \(y\) in the complementary dem. pron., which clearly did not show a stop, would be expected. No use is made in the text of the graph \(ṃ\) for \(ṁ\), which might have assisted in resolving the ambiguity of the evidence.

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\(^1\) LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 76.
\(^2\) For the latter see par. 3.
\(^3\) LB par. 102; LSI loc. cit. cites \(āmatu\) but not \(ābatu\).
\(^4\) See par. 26.
h

30. The chief feature of the pronunciation of [h] which is deducible from the spellings is its tendency to weaken or disappear between vowels. Many spelling variants pointing to this are mentioned in ch. 3, e.g. kahum/kauṃ/kum; pahaṃ/paṅ; taisiyain for taiś hī; haṃhi, demhi, jāṃhi for *jāihī etc. The regular spelling of the compound postposition kī nāṃhī (representing Sanskrit nyāyena) is probably an inverted spelling dependent on a weakening of [h] in the negative adv. nāṃhī, although there is just a possibility that it represents a conventional replacement of nāṃ < nyāyena with nāṃhī.¹ Such evidence for the weakening of [h] rather suggests that it established itself first after long vowels, which would be phonetically reasonable. It must have been of limited scope after short vowels in the stage of language reflected by the text, however, as it is not usual wherever a consonant [h] is of vital importance for the identification of grammatical signs, e.g. in the subst. and verbal suffix -hi(m) and the verbal suffix -hu. It is somewhat more common in emphatic enclitics. The isolated form desahau 16a11, <*desau <desahu,² suggests that weakening of [h] must have begun after short vowels before final [u] had weakened to the point of being frequently confused with final [a]. See also the discussion of the spelling māṃgahī 5a2, ch. 3, par. 147.

31. This weakening of [h] can be compared with frequent despiration and some loss of the sound in different parts of the mod. BrBh. area;³ but given the provenance of the MS it perhaps directly anticipates its regular loss in mod. Bundeli.⁴

32. It is likely that though occasionally written, e.g. in nihphala 9a2, [h] denoted by visarga was not retained, but was replaced by voiced [ɦ], cf. spellings duhakara 5a4 etc.; nihakapāṭātā 12b14,

¹ Confusion between a form nāṁ<na- (the negative adverb) and nāṁ<nyāyena 'like' is noted for MIA by L. A. Schwartzschild, 'Some aspects of the history of modern Hindi nahin "no", "not'”, J.R. A.S., 1959, pp. 44ff. Use of the negatives jāni, jaṅu in the sense 'like' underlines the equivalence of the MIA forms. It is implied that the negative form nāhī, with medial aspirate, was too distinctive to be confused with nāṁ<nyāyena, however. It seems best to regard kī nāṃhī in this text as illustrating a degree of weakening of -h- which would allow the phonetic equation between nāṁ(h)īm, nāṁ.

² Ch. 3, par. 154.
³ LB par. 114.
⁴ LSI vol. ix, pt r, p. 91; Grierson's specimens show an exception to the tendency in the gen. obl. postposition variant form khōṁ, representing kahum of this text.
CONSONANTS

to be connected with duṣkara- etc., and parallel to that of puḥapani 2a8 with undoubted [h]. This being so it is unlikely that the first elements of the compounds prātakāla 15b5; vayakramu 26a5 should represent the tatsama forms prātaḥ-, vayah- as used in composition (cf. mod. st. H. prātakkāl); more probable is re-composition with semitatsamas prāta, vaya (cf. mod. H. prāt, vay).

33. The Sanskrit phoneme [jñ] is regularly realised as [g] in semitatsamas, e.g. gyāna 2a1; āgyā 22a8 etc.; pratyagyāhi 24a12; pratigyāhi 24a15. Spellings with the graph jñ (guṇajñā 17a5; pratijñā 24a13) are Sanskritisations within the BrBh. text, both relatable to similar spellings in the Sanskrit verses.

34. The Sanskrit phoneme [kṣ] is regularly realised as [ch] in semitatsamas, e.g. cchīnu 2b12; vṛccchu 20b4; cchamikari 11a8; cchetu 15a7. The last example is taken as falling under this heading despite its reduction of the final consonant group, rather than exemplifying a development of initial kṣ > ch in original tadbhayas for the language of the text; this is not usual in Hindi dialects and is contradicted for the same root within the text by the form seti 6b6. (ch forms are attested in WAp. from A.D. 600, but are interpreted by Tagare as most probably loanwords, HGA par. 11 (6) (2).)

35. This phoneme entirely absorbs Sanskrit [ṣ], such forms as vinasatu hai 6b4 (contrasting with frequent vinatasai) being Sanskritised spellings only; the inverted spellings śrāpa 7b13; śrāpu 22b2, showing ś for what can only have been dental [s], illustrate the absence of a phoneme /ś/ from the language of the text.

36. This phoneme probably entirely absorbs Sanskrit [ṇ]; such forms as ganijai 7a9; varnavai 17b12 (the former contrasting with ganijai; with the latter cf. varanyakau 18b9 etc.) are interpreted as Sanskritised spellings only. For other similar spellings see notes to 24b12f., 25b2.

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37. Medially the bilabial nasal apparently showed some tendency to be vocalised as unrounded [ʍ] in an environment already nasal; but with the one clear example of such a tendency, namu 10a15, cf. the spellings kāma 7a12 etc., and others where such a movement has not taken place. Anusvāra in kāmna 6a14, 7b1 etc. could represent either vocalisation of [m], disguised by use of the 'correct' graph m also, or simply vowel nasality induced from the following syllable.

B. In tatsama words

38. The forms discussed here are distinguished somewhat arbitrarily from the semitatsamas as those borrowings from Sanskrit which have undergone only minimal alteration in pronunciation. The extent of these alterations will have been variable, and it is possible that all the Sanskrit phonemes noted could have been distinguished in some circumstances (as is happening increasingly in mod. st. H.), but this is unlikely. The probable extent of their divergence from their 'correct' Sanskrit pronunciations is discussed below.

39. This phoneme was realised as [ɾi], as witness the spellings kṛyā 14b5 (for kriyā); rjūtā 23b2 (for rjutā; but this spelling could be interpreted as showing a semitatsama adaptation of [ɾ], which could in theory at least have been realised otherwise than [ɾi] in tatsamas).

kṣ

40. The MS spellings raṣyā 22a11, vrṣya 12b1n., which may not go back to Indrajit, appear to confirm that /kṣ/ in tatsamas was realised as stop plus sibilant; the use of graph y in conjunction with s (for [kh]) suggests that the articulation of the sibilant had been retracted from retroflex to palatal, as in most realisations of kṣ in mod. st. H.

ś

41. Since the graph ś characteristically represents [kh] as an inverted spelling, there is no means of telling how far an original retroflex sibilant in tatsamas (which could only have been represented by the same graph) might have been retained in such words.
CONSONANTS

In general the existence of a double representation of Sanskrit /k$\$/ in loanwords (semitatsama [ch]; tatsama [k$\$] or [k$\$]?) makes a similar double representation of Sanskrit /$\$/ probable (semitatsama [kh]; tatsama [s] or [j]?). If Sanskrit /$\$/ was in fact not realised as a retroflex but as a palatal sibilant in the consonant group k$\$s, it is likely that it would have been realised in the same way in other palatal and velar consonantal environments, at least. In such words as du$\$ta, where it precedes a retroflex stop, it would of course have retained its retroflex character.

η, $\$

42. It seems improbable that these Sanskrit phonemes can have been much represented, cf. alongside sampûrna the spelling pûrna 5a8; alongside upadesa 22b3, 7 the spellings upadesu, upadesa 22b4, 6 etc.

C. In Persian words

43. There is no internal evidence that Persian sounds not already occurring in the language of the text were not equated with native ones; the evidence bears on Persian z and kh in the words vei$\$jata (MS va'iyata) 15a5; jihâjana 17a1; saracu 19a2, all written without subscripts. Grierson's specimens show that these sounds are realised normally as [d$\$]), [kh] in modern varieties of BrBh.1

NASALITY

44. Anusvâra, where not representing a homorganic nasal consonant, and in some cases where it may conceal vocalisation of such a consonant (see par. 17), represents an indeterminate degree of vowel nasality. (Candrabindu does not occur in this text.)

1. In conjunction with nasal consonants

45. Anusvâra frequently appears in conjunction with a syllable containing or less frequently preceding a nasal consonant, e.g. di$\$âmni 1b9; apana$\$m 2a8; ka$\$mna (contrasting with immediately following ka$\$na 2b8); its appearance in these circumstances is accounted for by the assumption that nasal consonants induce

1 LSI vol. ix, pt 1, pp. 271ff.

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marked nasality in neighbouring vowels.¹ For vocalisation of \( m \) expressed with *anusvāra* see par. 37.

2. *In conjunction with final vowels*

46. In some forms showing no nasal consonant final vowels with and without *anusvāra* alternate, apparently freely, e.g. in the postpositions *visai(m)*, *tai(m)*; the emphatic enclitic *hi(m)*; the subst. suffix *-hi(m)*; some sg. masc. forms ending in *-e(m)/-ai(m)*; the postposition *ke/kai(m)*; the conjunction *pai(m)*.  

47. Elsewhere nasality appears to be morphemically distinctive to some extent, e.g. in the pl. form *haim̄*, both used independently and as auxiliary; but *hai* and *haim̄* are to some extent interchangeable in sg. number, for the scribe at least.² Similarly nasality has some morphemic significance in subj.-fut. forms but is not a regular pl. marker,³ while its appearance is also uncertain in fem. subst. pl. forms.⁴

48. These facts would suggest that nasalised final vowels in a non-nasal consonantal environment can often have been distinguished only slightly from the corresponding non-nasalised vowels, even where the distinction could be morphologically significant; confusion in these latter cases may have aggravated spelling confusion in the other cases where the distinction could have had no significance.

¹ Similarly in pre-Sūr verse; see SPB par. 270. Grierson, LSI vol. IX, pt 1, p. 72, describes the nasality of such mod. BrBh. forms as *apanauṁ* and the infinitive in *-naun̄*, etc., as archaic survivals of a neuter gender. It is noteworthy that each of his examples is in a nasal consonantal environment; this could equally be the reason for the vowel nasality, as assumed for this text. See ch. 3, par. 41 on *apanauṁ(m)*. The only example in this text of a dir. sg. in *-auṁ* not open to influence of a nasal consonant is in the word *cauṁsaraun̄*; its possible derivation suggests that it may indeed be a case giving limited support for Grierson’s argument, see note to 7b12.

² Ch. 3, pars. 111, 112, 116(e).
³ Ch. 3, par. 147.
⁴ Ch. 3, pars. 16, 17.
MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

1. The morphological system of the language of the text as a whole, which is relatively homogeneous, can be deduced in outline from a close analysis of a portion of it. This chapter is based initially on a detailed analysis of a section of the material, within which most commonly occurring members of inflexional patterns can be identified, and initial deductions drawn as to the relative frequency of the chief morphologically equivalent forms; this analysis is supplemented and modified as necessary by reference to all forms of interest occurring elsewhere in the text. Since it is the detail of the morphology, rather than its broadest outlines, which is of prime importance in this study, various grammatical terms and categories usually considered valid for Hindi are used in their accepted sense without definition, but formal grammatical categories are none the less verified in various cases on the basis of internal evidence from the text. This evidence is usually syntactic in character, as is that by which morphological equivalence is determined, and many of the chief syntactic features of the language of the text have therefore been described in association with morphological features to which they are closely linked. An exhaustive syntactic analysis has not been attempted. Certain important aspects of syntax are treated separately in ch. 4, and various minor points of syntax discussed in the notes to the text.

SUBSTANTIVES

2. Together with substantives proper, the morphology of adjectives used substantivally and also aspects of the morphology of verbal nouns are discussed in this section. Participial constructs on verbal stems with the suffixed morpheme groups -au, -ta, which may also sometimes be classed as nominals on formal grounds,

1 ff. 1b–4a.
2 Varying numbers of examples of different grammatical phenomena have been given, depending on their particular interest, reliability or the complexity of the phenomenon; in some cases where full or extensive lists are given this has been done for their relevance to mod. st. H. grammatical problems.
are discussed in pars. 167, 203 of this chapter; cf. also ch. 4, pars. 40–6.

A. Components of structure

1. Root

3. Roots end in consonants, or in vowels other than the inherent vowel. Neither composite roots of tatsama borrowings, e.g. **hita-kār-ī** ṛaṁ, nor MIA developments of primary root+ affixes are dealt with systematically in this study. The morphology of the borrowings represents an independent sub-system in the language of the text, while the MIA composite roots either become indistinguishable morphologically from primary tadbhavas, e.g. **tinukā, tinūkā < tṛṇa-** (+MIA -akka-, with later lengthened final vowel), or show a use of affixes not sufficiently distinct from that already described for general H. grammar to warrant particular description here, e.g. *va(c)charā* ṛaṁ. The root **haṁḍ-** shows an equivalent lengthened form **hāṁḍ-**, ṛaṁ.

2. Termination

4. Terminations are attached to roots, forming subst. stems, which may in turn show following suffix. Terminations of tatsama borrowings, unlike the detail of the structure of tatsama roots, are noted systematically, since they determine to which declensional pattern borrowings are assigned.

The following terminations are found in direct case sg. forms: the inherent vowel, the diphthong -au, the vowels -ā, -i, -ī, -u, the disyllable -iṅā. Substantives are groupable in formal classes according to termination, viz. a-stems, au-stems, etc.

3. Suffix

5. Nominal stems are found both unsuffixed, and in association with the suffixes -hi(m) (before which au-stems are modified), -ni, -ai(m)/-em and -i (before which an inherent stem vowel is lost), -hau, and -m (morphemically significant nasality); the sense of these is discussed in section C below.

B. Inflectional patterns

6. These are given at this point for convenience of reference. As au-stems are classed unsuffixed subs. showing oblique sg.
variant -e/-ai and pl. forms in -e showing masc. gender concord. With the a-stems are classed frequent forms showing final -u < Ap. -u < Pkt. -o, which had largely fallen together with the inherent vowel in pronunciation; see ch. 2, par. 5. Missing members of an inflectional pattern are not supplied on the analogy of other patterns, or of mod. st. H. grammar. Rare forms, some of which may have little standing, are given in brackets. Two cases are distinguished for each pattern, a direct and an oblique, in singular and plural number. The patterns are grouped with reference to the grammatical category of gender; masc. patterns are further grouped with respect to the range of variation shown by their constituent members.

Masculine

1. a-stems, e.g. jana, āscaryu
   Sg. Dir. root + a/u
   Obl. root + a/u
   Pl. Dir. root + a/u
   Obl. root + ni

2. au-stems, e.g. māthau
   root + au (o, ā)
   root + e/ai (ā)
   root + e (ā)
   root + e (ā) + ni

3a. i-stems, e.g. hāthī, saṁsārī
    Sg. Dir. root + i
    Obl. root + i
    Pl. Dir. root + i
    Obl. root + i + ni

3b. i-stems, e.g. kavi, pāi
    root + i
    root + i
    root + i
    root + i + ni

3c. ā-stems, e.g. rājā
    Sg. Dir. root + ā
    Obl. root + ā
    Pl. Dir. root + ā
    Obl. root + ā + ni

3d. u-stems, e.g. sādhu
    root + u
    root + u
    root + u
    root + u + ni

3e. iyā-stems: bhūmiyā
    Pl. Obl. root + iyā + ni

1 Vocative usages are discussed in par. 20.
2 Substs. generally show the same gender as in mod. st. H.; the relatively few exceptions are discussed in the notes to the text. See notes to 5 a15, etc.
3 Such a subgrouping of the fem. patterns is not made; one is incomplete in its critical form, the dir. pl., while the dir. pl. forms of another appear to show variants.
4 -u<Ap. -u<Pkt. -o.
**Feminine**

1. *a*-stems, e.g. *dāḍha*
   - Sg. Dir. root + a
   - Obl. root + a
   - Pl. Dir. root + ai(m)/em
   - Obl. root + a + ni

2. *i*-stems, e.g. *mani, rati*
   - root + i
   - root + i
   - root + i + (y)aim
   - root + i + ni

3. *ā*-stems, e.g. *saritā*
   - Sg. Dir. root + ā
   - Obl. root + ā
   - Pl. Dir. root + ā (ām)
   - Obl. root + ā (ām) + ni

4. *ī*-stems, e.g. *vā(m)ni, kamālinī*
   - root + ī

5. *u*-stems, e.g. *vastu*
   - Sg. Dir. root + u
   - Obl. root + u
   - Pl. Dir. root + u

6. *iyā*-stems, e.g. *hamdiyā, tipariyā*
   - root + iyā

**C. Analysis of the material**

The forms found comprise stems occurring unsuffixed and suffixed.

**I. UNSUFFIXED STEMS**

Words of all formal classes; those showing final *u < Ap. -u < Pkt. -o* are separately described in section (e) because of their unique pattern of distribution of *-u*.

(a) As sentence subject or nominal complement

7. The majority of the examples are of subs. of sg. number. The only ones whose form requires special comment are *hīrā 22b6; vacchā 18b4; cāṃdīlā 12a14*, showing final *-ā* rather than *-au; bābā 18a14* in the vocative phrase *merau bābā*; and occasional *o*-finals, e.g. *bhāṃdo 10b7, see ch. 2, par. 11*. The first three of these forms, if accepted as Indrajit’s, suggest that the masc. *ā*-forms noted by Grierson for sg. dir. cases in central, N. and E. forms of mod. BrBh. were already current in Indrajit’s time, if not before; *hīrā* is attested in Sūr.1 *Mīrzā Khān* mentions the existence of subs. in *-ā* for the BrBh. of *c. A.D. 1670*, p. 47. These forms are best interpreted as KhB. influences. The form *bābā* is also attested in Sūr, but its final vowel may be developed by reduplication, or influenced by the P. borrowing of identical form.

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1 LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 76; BSK, s.v.
8. Frequently, usually with quantitive or distributive paired adjectives, substs. which are formally sg. have collective force, e.g. kaumna kaumna vāta 19b4; ubhaya kula ki 25b6; vīrani ke bhujā madhya 24a8; kitika vāta 6a5 etc.; sakala indriya 4b5. It seems clear that there may be a semantic difference between this usage and that of the pl., but that it is slight; cf. with the above examples kaumna kaumna vātaiṁ āhi, te... 21b7 (with slightly heightened emphasis); suratasamgrāmasūra ke bhujāni madhya 24a7; itanī vātaiṁ 5a4, etc. (resuming what has gone before). But such an example as bhale bhale mahāpuruṣa aru vaḍe vaḍe manusyani kī sabhā 25a7, illustrating both usages, shows that there need be no semantic distinction whatever between them.

9. Clear examples of pl. forms occur for substs. of each masc. formal class, except 3e, and for fem. classes 3 and 4; an example for fem. class 5 is very probable. pulina 2b12, associated with preceding pl. saritāni, and the pl. possessive postposition ke; similarly numerous other examples showing final inherent vowel after one or more consonants; vijāthe 25b9, gl. keyūrāh; jānive 3a13 etc. (verbal nouns associated with pl. sentence subjects); hāthi 4a13, 14, the former instance resuming an earlier pl. hāthinī 4a12, gl. vāraṇānāṁ, the latter associated with pl. pron. ve; kavi 3a10, etc., gl. kavayo, and associated with pl. verb forms, which the context suggests are not honorifics; rājā 19a6, associated with pl. verb and adj. forms; sādhu 5a1, associated with preceding obl. pl. sādhuni and the apparently pl. verb karahim; dhārā 4a13, kamalini 12a8, both associated with following obl. pl. tini; vastu 2b7, possibly a collective sg., but more probably pl., since preceded by pl. dem. pron. e as well as the collective numeral sātaū. It is possible that dir. pl. hirā is to be assumed from the form hirāni 22b5. Such a pl. would be relatable to occasional mod. BrBh. pls. in -ā (LSI vol. IX, pt I, p. 80) or to the obl. sgs. in -ā noted in par. 11, also to dir. pls. in -ā in the early NIA Rāulavela.

(b) As sentence object

10. Examples occur of substs. of most of the formal classes unsuffixed as sentence object. The great majority are of sg. substs.,

1 The phrase ane ka gati 18b7 is not individualised in the same way by a preceding pronoun, and is taken as showing collective use of the sg. subst. rather than existence of an unsuffixed pl. for fem. i-stems, which is not attested elsewhere.

2 Clear examples at ll. 32, 34 (see p. 57).
often of abstract nouns followed immediately by a verbal form, which is commonly a part of the verb kar-. tīnukā 3a5, etc.; daumā 10b11 show the same -ā form as discussed for hīrā etc. as sentence subject, par. 7. There are a dozen odd examples of unsuffixed pl. subs. as sentence object, e.g. kumbha 4b10, associated with preceding possessive sign ke and the transitive verb vidār-; bhāmde 10b8, associated with the transitive verb gadh-; parāye guṇa deśahinī 5a9. The syntax of these forms is discussed in ch. 4.

(c) In association with postpositions

Examples occur of subs. of all the formal classes except 3e unsuffixed with following postpositions. Substs. ending in -au (including verbal nouns) here normally show the variants -el-ai, e.g. sase (ke śṛṃga) 2a12; śāmde (kī dhārā) 20a9; nāre (samāṇa) 21b15; ghaṭāive (kahum) 3a7. The variant -ai is noted twice: vādai (kau citta) 8a15; sonai (kā hara) 15a5. The forms tharahā (māmīhi) 13b2n.; paṭonā (māja) 18a3; pālikā (para) 5b7; tīnukā (samāṇa) 4a10 could represent the later BrBh. obl. sing. masc. ending in -ā, which is now characteristic of S. BrBh. but also found sporadically further north, and may be a Rājasthāni influence: but it could equally be referred to the older language, obl. sg. -ā occurring in the early NIA Rāulavela, and in the early BrBh. of Cand Bardāi.²

Other subs. are unchanged in form. All examples are of sg. subs., such expressions as dvai śloka kari 2a2; bhālti bhālti vāta kau 13a1, etc.; daśa hūṃ avatāra kau 10b9; sahasra doṣa kau 11b14 being taken to show collectively used sg. forms.³

(d) In adverbial expressions

For examples see under the discussion of adverbs, par. 210.

(e) Forms in final -u (< Ap. -u < Pkt. -o)

These forms, which are both tadbhavas and tatsamas and all referable to Sanskrit a-stems, occur in contrast with tadbhava and tatsama forms in -a. Their rate of incidence and range of grammatical function varies at different points in the text; it has been examined for ff. 1b–4a, 8b–11a, and 23a–25b. -u of this derivation is common in medieval BrBh. verse.⁴

¹ LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 76. ² See Rāula vela, l. 39 and p. 59; Beames, p. 178. ³ See par. 8. ⁴ In Sūr, for instance; see SB p. 141.
(i) In ff. 1b–4a all the examples but one\(^1\) are of subs. showing one consonant before final -u, or a lengthened consonant, e.g. cittuhī 2a13; janu 2a8; āghu 3a15; sītu 4a12; pramānu 1b11; namaskāru 1b8; sarovaru 2b2 etc. This tendency not to write final -u after conjunct consonants, i.e. in words of which a preponderating number can be expected to be tautos, suggests that final -u was still recognised as a feature of the (tadbhava) phonology of the language of the time of composition, or later, and was not yet fully equated with final unstressed -a. The examples occur characteristically as sentence subject, sg., or as nominal complements, and number in these positions slightly more than half the total possible in the material analysed (29:24). Sixteen, however, are of the one word īśvaru. Several words occur with and without the ending, occasionally in identical sentence contexts; this illustrates that the weakening of final short vowels referred to above was certainly in progress at the time the text was copied, or before, see ch. 4, pars. 2, 5, 9.

Two examples occur of a sentence object showing final -u: suṣu pāikai 3b8, 9. Final -u of this derivation is thus proportionately very much rarer in sentence object forms than in sentence subject forms, occurring in only two of 19 possible cases. However, there is no historical reason why it should not occur with sentence objects; the inference can only be that the scribe, or Indrajit, was trying to maintain a convention at this point in the text that final -u < Ap. -u is expressed normally in sentence subject forms only.

The form īśvaru is clearly pl. once, occurring as complement to the pl. subject havi 3a13, gl. īśvarāh and supported by the pl. pron. ve. This isolated instance of a pl. in -u, which has no historical justification, may of course be an automatic repetition of the common sg. form in -u. The form suṣu occurs once in the text as a pl. object, 5a13. There are two occurrences of the form paimūd̄, 3b7, 3b11 in adverbial expressions.

(ii) In ff. 8b–11a a very different distribution of u-forms is found. As sg. sentence subject they are three times as frequent as in ff. 1b–4a (34:11), and within this category u-forms for

\(^1\) The adjective daridr̄u 3a3, nominally used. There are 10 other possible instances where -u could have occurred in this phonetic context; cf. manusyā 2b14 etc.; salyā 2b2 etc.; samudrā 2a7, with -ā. (Amavāra in paimūd̄ 3b7, 11 represents nasality rather than homorganic η; cf. mod. H. pair, Bhoj. pari, payar, derived from extended *pada-ra-, *pada-da-.)
tatsamas showing a final consonant group are much more frequent (five examples); they occur frequently also as sg. sentence object (14:5). In six examples of pl. subjects they are not attested. There are two examples of adv. expressions.

(iii) In ff. 23a–25b the distribution is again different. u-forms are here on the retreat, occurring not much more frequently than a-forms as sg. sentence subject (32:24), though still frequently in tatsamas showing a final consonantal group; as sg. sentence object they occur only ten times, to eight a-forms, as pl. not at all, and in adverbial expressions again twice.

The most probable interpretation of the above data is that the forms found in the opening folios represent Indrajit’s, or at least an earlier scribe’s, usage reasonably closely, and that the scribe of the present MS at first follows this, but then increasingly adopts a conventional final -u for a-stems as sg. subj. and object, in so doing reflecting a further, perhaps almost complete, reduction of an earlier phonetic distinction between final -u and final -a; towards the end of the text he again endeavours to follow his source more accurately in respect of this spelling feature.

2. SUFFIXED STEMS

Words of all formal classes.

(a) *With the suffix -hi(m)*

13. Words of all formal classes except iya- stems: the two examples of au-stems show suffixation once to the obl. sg. form and once to a shortened form in -a: vaḍehi aru niḍahi itanau antaru hai 18a9; tinukahiṃ 4b7. They occur characteristically as sg. sentence object.\(^1\)

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1 The obl. sg. in -e/-ai of au-stems itself may show not a development involving the theme -aka- but a development from -hi(m) (as evolved in loc. and other non-subj. and -obj. cases) and stem form, cf. GHL par. 190a, ODBL II, par. 499; tinukahiṃ would then preserve an early stage of this development and vaḍehi show a resuffixation of -hi, which could perhaps be due to its use with an a-stem later in the sentence. It is uncertain what form would have been shown by au-stems normally as ‘definite objects’ (see ch. 4, par. 28) in the language of the text; if the above origin of obl. sg. -e/-ai is correct unextended forms showing this ending would be expected, but the prevalence of -hi(m) as a ‘definite object’ marker might well have led either to general resuffixation on the pattern of vaḍehi (which is here not a sentence object), or to extensions with kahūṃ, etc., analogous to mod. st. H. forms with ko.

2 The example sabahīṃ pragaṭa karai 10a2 is taken to show a collective sg.; the pl. form sabani is attested several times, e.g. 12b15. Similarly titanem hīṃ vastuhīṃ 18a4.
In the great majority of cases in the material originally analysed the suffix shows nasality (15:5); the pair citahim, cittihi 2a8, 13 in identical sentence contexts illustrates the morphological equivalence of the differently derived forms -hiṃ and -hi as subst. object markers.

In a few instances -hiṃ serves as sg. indirect object or ‘other obl. case’ marker, e.g. ju...pitāhim suṣa dei 8a9; bhartṛharihim sudhi āī 5b14 etc.; dugdhahim...sauṣyu jāta hai 8b10; sakala guna akele kaṃcanahim āṣrita hai 17a6. But usually it has been displaced from these historical functions by the postposition kahum, etc.;\textsuperscript{1} with the first example above cf. dūḍha...jala kahūm...saba guna...dae 8b7. It never occurs, unlike the pl. suffix -ni, with subs. used agentively in perfective-agentive constructions. In isolated instances -hi(ṃ) occurs pleonastically before a postposition, and (more commonly) in inverted postpositional construction with vinu, vina, where it would represent an earlier instr. suffix; āpatkālahim visāṃ 9b9; hāthihi pain 9b9; vinu kramahim 6a2; etc. See pars. 182, 189.

(b) With the suffix -i

The few examples are of masc. a-stems; those not associated with postpositions are ghari rahatu hai 14b7; sumeru ke śisari jau bhāgi vacai 15b11; kai vasi 6a5; kai vasya 6a3; vegi 7a13 etc.; and clearly represent survivals of locative or instrumental case endings.\textsuperscript{2} The others, with postpositions, which strictly speaking would be redundant here, illustrate that remnants of the inflected cases were barely, if at all, a living feature of the morphology of the text during the period of its composition and transmission: āṃgani madhya 2b5; cāṃdi madhya 12a15, 12b3; karamavaśya taim 15b9.

Final -i in examples of fem. subs. adverbially used, viz. ratanani kī śāni 17a2; pīthi māṃjha 24a1 etc., represents the termination of these subs., not the locative morpheme -i; cf. mod. Av. khāni, mod. Bhoj. pīthi with final whispered -i.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} For the designation ‘other obl. case’ see par. 172, discussing the force of kahum, etc.

\textsuperscript{2} These forms in -i are not noted by Kellogg; nor by Taṇḍan for Sūr; Varmā, par. 154, cites one example from medieval BrBh. alongside examples in -e, -ai.

\textsuperscript{3} EA par. 116; ODB par. 99.
(c) With the suffix -ai(m)/-em

16. Fem. a-stems, e.g. vātai 3b2; vātem 3b4; pāṃśaiṁ 16a6; būmdai 25b3; and one example of a fem. i-stem: maniyaiṁ 3a14. The examples occur as both sentence subject, and object;\footnote{\textit{pāṃśaiṁ}; maniyaiṁ, while a ‘logical object’ in the context of the gloss in which it occurs, is grammatically in sentence subject position in a perfective-agentive construction: \textit{bhālt bhalt maniyaiṁ jina htm.} \textit{...āgha tain.} ...\textit{anajānata ghaṭān} \textit{kt 3a14.}} pl. number is established for all of them on the basis of concord or context (e.g. vātai 3b2, vātem 3b4) or of the Sanskrit form glossed (maniyaiṁ 3a14, gl. maṇayāḥ; the form contrasts with maṇi in the following line). In maniyaiṁ a front glide consonant appears between final -i and vocalic suffix; cf. mod. st. H. maṇiyān. The form -em represents a monophthongisation of -aiṁ < Sanskrit -āni,\footnote{GHL par. 191a.} transferred to fem. gender.

The pattern of distribution of this suffix as a pl. marker is distinctly different from that in mod. st. H., in which the ending -ām, never -em, is found with i-stems. Varmā gives -aem as the BrBh. pl. of fem. a-stems only in the medieval language.\footnote{LB par. 148.}

(d) With morphemically significant nasality

17. Apparently three examples of ā-stems, each of which is on the evidence of its context probably pl.: aneka prakārani sampadāṁ desijati hai 16b12n.; aneka sāśāṁ-praśāśāṁni sahita 16b14; aneka sāśāṁ-praśāśā 16b14. (diśām 1b8 may be a further example, but is taken as more probably a collective sg., with its anusvāra due either to scribal error or to influence of the following obl. pl. diśāmni.) It is uncertain how much weight should be given to the above three examples. They occur in one very restricted section of the text, and must be compared with unambiguous examples of unsuffixed pls. of ā-stems; further, two of them may be accounted for otherwise than by assuming a variant pl. in -ām for ā-stems. Thus, the spelling of the second could have been influenced by that of the obl. pl. form with which it is compounded, and which may reflect nasality of the following syllable; the third, in the same compound (though here not obl. pl.), could reflect the spelling of the second. On the other hand, there is no clear example elsewhere in the text of a sg. ā-stem showing an incorrect anusvāra, which seems a fairly strong argument for accepting the forms as variant pls.; cf. also the existence of a fem. pl. form in
-iyāṁ for adjs. based on the suffix -iyā, which would tend to support an assumption of subst. fem. pl. forms in -āṁ as well as -iyāṁ. Such forms could reflect Rājasthānī influence on the language of the text.\(^1\)

(e) With the suffix -ni

18. Words of all formal classes except fem. u-stems and iyā-stems. The examples are obl. pl. forms. There are very occasional variant spellings in -na, -nya, e.g. nilamanina 15a2; abhimānīna 4b3; kāryanya 18b7, and one with anusvāra reflecting merely the nasality of the syllable: gunanīm 10a2. The nasality of the syllable is assumed to be liable to be reflected in preceding syllables also, e.g. disān̄mi 1b9; bhūmiyān̄mi 25a3; but the first form perhaps reflects dir. pls. in -āṁ, -iyāṁ, see par. 17. Examples showing long -i preceding the suffix, such as hāthīni 4a12 etc., and the example cited above, do not show the shortening of this stem vowel said by Varmā to be general in medieval BrBh. verse; note also that the suffix -ni, said by him to occur 'occasionally' in BrBh. as an obl. pl. sign, is regular in this prose text.\(^2\) The examples of au-stems show regular suffixation to the dir. pl. or obl. sg. form, e.g. vadēni 3b1; bhāleni 8a2 etc.; hirāni 22b5. The type illustrated by the first two of these examples may perhaps represent remodellings of an earlier obl. pl. *badāni etc. under influence of the already existing formal distinction between au-stems and masc. a-stems in the other three paradigmatic constituents. hirāni reflects a separate (Rājasthānī?) influence; see pars. 9, 11.

19. The great majority of the examples occur associated with postpositions, e.g. vātani kari 14a13; yogīsvarani kahūm 11a4. There are also common occurrences of examples unassociated with postpositions as pl. sentence objects, e.g. paṇḍitani...mānahu 4a10; paṇḍitani...nāṃhi tiraskāra kari sakati 4a11; ju kriyā sādhuni duṣṭa karati hai 9a3 etc. and a few examples showing -ni as general obl. (including agentive and indirect object) marker,\(^3\) e.g. tīmihiṃ lokani samtoṣa deta hai 5a9; bhāleni jaba āpādā parata hai 8a2; gunu kaunu nāṃhi ju durajanani dosu lagāi āṃkī nahiṃ chādyau 7a6; daityani sangrāma viśai māri bhagāyau 16a14. The postposition kahum, etc., occurs once with a sentence object: hāthīni kahum...rokive kahum 4a12; and regularly with indirect objects.

\(^1\) Cf. GHL par. 169(e).
\(^2\) LB par. 150.
\(^3\) For adverbial usages of obl. pl. forms see par. 210.

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(f) *With the suffix* -hau

20. Substs. of several formal classes, preceded by the interjection are, and functioning as vocatives, e.g. logahau 7b7; rājāhau 3b14; sādhuhau 9a1; sansārīhau 19a12. The contexts of these examples show that they are all pl. Contrasting with them are at least two instances of vocatives not showing suffixed -hau, and clearly sg.; are dhānamadāmḍha 4a9, following use of this word in obl. sg. case; (18b1); other unsuffixed vocatives are accordingly taken as sg. also.

ADJECTIVES

A. Components of structure

I. ROOT

21. Roots underlying adjectives end in consonants, or vowels other than the inherent vowel. Neither MIA developments of primary root+affixes, nor the morphology of tatsama borrowings are normally analysed further in this study. The MIA composite roots become morphologically indistinguishable from primary tadbhavas (e.g. akelau, akelo < eka-+MIA -illa-) or show a similar use of affixes to that already described by Kellogg for general H. grammar, while the morphology of the borrowings represents an independent sub-system in the language of the text.

2. TERMINATION

22. Terminations are attached to roots, forming adj. stems. The following terminations are found in adjs. in dir. sg. masc. concord: -au/-o; -a/-u; -i; -ī; -ū; *-īyā. They are discussed in section C below.

B. Inflected and other stems

23. These are given at this point for convenience of reference. au-stems show variant forms in concord of case, number and gender with subsst., and their inflexional pattern is arranged with respect to the same grammatical categories as those of subsst. Other stems are invariable (apart from occasional gender inflexions in tatsama borrowings).
3.23-6] ADJECTIVES

1. au-stems, e.g. vaḍau
   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Dir. root + au/o</td>
<td>root + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. root + e(m)/ai(m)</td>
<td>root + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Dir. root + e/ai(m)</td>
<td>root + i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. root + e/ai</td>
<td>root + i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Other stems, e.g. dhīra/dhīru; bhārī; dūrī; sūdhū; *ghāṭiyā. These are invariable.

C. Analysis of the material

24. The morphology of the adj. is much simpler than that of the subst. and shares many common features with it; the grammatical evidence for these features is not given again here. The evidence bearing on the function of au-stem variant endings is given first, followed by that for the endings of the invariable stems, an inventory of the pronominal adjs., and the particle sau.

I. PARADIGMATIC ENDINGS

au-stems

Dir. sg. masc.

25. The ending -au occurs eleven times in the material initially analysed, -o once only: akelo 1b11. (One example of -o with following emphatic enclitic is not included here, as presence of the enclitic seems to favour the monophthong in general; see par. 224.) Elsewhere in the text -o occurs sporadically, -au regularly in non-nasal environments. For one occurrence of nānhaum 9b4, and apanaum 11b7, etc., see par. 41. Several words occur with both -au and -o, e.g. aisau 10b13, aiso 25a5; akelo 1b11, 7a13, etc., akelau 7b8, etc. These, and such a collocation as aisau vado 10b13, show the functional equivalence of the endings. The fact that the -o spellings not followed by an enclitic (or motivated by other -o spellings, as at 16a2) are restricted to a very few words (akelo, aiso, vado, baithyo, rahivo, ko) suggests that they could reflect scribal habit only, but for a possible phonetic interpretation see ch. 2, par. 11.

Obl. sg. masc.

26. The ending -e occurs twice in the material initially analysed, -ai also twice, apart from a cluster of adverbially used ordinals on
f. 2, showing -aim usually, also -ai, -e. On the nasality in the example apanaim 2a8 see par. 41. Both -e and -ai endings occur in roughly equal proportions in the rest of the text, and are clearly equivalent functionally; for a probable phonetic interpretation of this equivalence see ch. 2, par. 11. These endings also both occur nasalised in non-nasal environments, e.g. in adverbially used jaisaim, which is common throughout the text; haraaim harayem 20a1, haraaim 25a9 twice; akelem 5b12; naaim 25a4 twice, unless nasality of the root syllable is responsible for this form; the nasalised forms are included as obl. sg. masc. variants. jaisaim and other obliques in -aim, -en used adverbially could reflect regular derivation from MIA -ahim, with nasality; the other examples are few.

Dir. pl. masc.

27. The ending -e occurs ten times in the material initially analysed, -ai six times; almost all the examples are of pronominal adjectives. The endings are clearly equivalent functionally throughout the text, cf. ese aisai kavi 3a10; aise aisai acararu 11b11. -e is regular in the other dir. pl. masc. adjs.; -aim is noted in thadhaim 15b4, and itanem, showing the ending in a nasal consonantal environment, 23b7.

Obl. pl. masc.

28. The ending -e occurs ten times in the material initially analysed, no variants in non-nasal consonantal environments being noted in this material, and only one elsewhere in the text, in pachhilai duhüm pahara kī 20a5. Here, although the subst. is clearly sg. (collective), the adj. may be pl.; cf. the clear pl. concord of pachile, dir. case, in the same expression at 19b14.

a-stems

29. With these are classed adjs. showing final -u, which in every case noted in the text except possibly one represents historically a dir. sg. masc. ending derived from Ap. -u, Pkt. -o. Such a final -u may be justified historically, e.g. in chīnu dir. sg. masc. 4b4, but also appears by analogy in pl. semitatsamas, e.g. chīnu dir. pl. masc. 2b12, and even in tatsamas, e.g. bhūsitu 8b3; mahābhayaṅkaru 8b4. It has not been noted in an obl. sg. form, but the

1 manyaru 8b4; see ch. 2, par. 19, and Glossary, s.v.
ADJECTIVES

evidence of the subs. suggests that it must occur there also in the language of the text. Its distribution has not been specifically examined for adjectival, as opposed to subst., a-stems.

i-stems

30. The only example is düri, which occasionally is clearly adjectival, e.g. ānaṁḍa düri nāṁḥi, gl. mudāḥ bhinnā na 6a9; also in constructs with kar-, 13b5, 21a1. düri (<OIA dūra-) is the regular form in this text; final -i, if not an instance of sporadic a>i, may represent an original locative, transferred from adverbial use of *dūra, as seen in düri düri ke bhūmiyāṇṇi 25a3.1 In
the constructs with kar- it would also be directly explainable as a reduction from -i- of the root düriki-.

ū-stems

31. The only example is atisūḍhū 7a2; see note to 7a2.

*iyā-stems

32. The assumption of stems of this form depends on the one form ghāṭīāṁ, in maniyayāṁ jina hīṁ āgha taim anajānata ghāṭīāṁ kī 3a14, which is taken as showing nasality in pl. concord; cf. mod. H. ghāṭiyā (invariable), also the probable existence of a pl. in -āṁ for a-stem subs. in the language of the text.

2. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

au-stems

The following are found:2

33. aisau, esau ‘this sort of’; the former spelling is much the more common.
34. jaisau ‘of the sort, in the way which’; see par. 35.
35. taisau ‘that sort of, in that way’. This is the regular correlative to jaisau (esau also occurs, 8a4, and the phrase tihiṁ prakāra 8a7). Like certain other adjectives in this text, the pair jaisau–taisau is commonly used adjectivally in contexts where English

1 düri is noted for Av. as an adv., EA par. 361, dūra, düri as adverbs in Sūr, SB pp. 344f.
1 Instances of pronominal adj. used adverbially or followed by enclitics are not noted here; see pars. 204, 223, 224, 230, 233.

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would show adverbial expressions, but is also found used adverbially without any difference of sense; cf. the example jaisau jaisau sūrya caḍhatu āvatu hai, taisī chāyā ghaṭati calati hai 20a3 with jaisaināṃ sūrya apanaināṃ kirāṇāhi kari sakala bhūtalahim ākramatuhai, taisaināhi hi sūrapuruṣu...ākramatuhai 21b2.

36. kaisau 'what sort of'.

37. itanau 'as much as this'. The form itau also occurs, e.g. ite para 9b11; ite hūna 24a13. This could be taken as an Av. form, but a similar short pronominal stem presumably underlies kitika of this text, and jitau; it seems clear that such short stems are genuine BrBh. forms. Sūr has itau, and kitau beside ketika; cf. mod. BrBh. itto.4

38. jitau 'however much'. This correlates with itanau 16b7, titanau 25b4. The short stem is taken as a genuine BrBh. form; cf. par. 37, and jitau in Sūr.5

39. titanau 'as much as that'. The two occurrences of this form, at 18a4, 25b4, can be related to mod. BrBh. titt-, which is implied by Varmā to be the normal correlative; a form tita, cited for BrBh. without further comment by Kellogg as a synonym of the dem. adv. tahim, is further support for the existence of this stem in BrBh. Cf. tani etc. in Sūr, BSK, s.v.

40. utanau 'as much as that'. This form, which is not cited by Varmā, occurs once as a demonstrative (rather than a correlative): utanaι taim adhiku na pāvai 18a5.

41. apanaunu(m) 'one’s own’. This possessive form occurs commonly used adjectivally, and a few times pronominally, e.g. apanaunu vārathu 11b7; koũ apanaunu nāmhi 19a6, etc. It very frequently shows final nasal syllable, e.g. apanaim, apanem, apanim, apanainini, apart from the dir. sg. masc. forms already cited; this nasality depends clearly on the nasal consonantal environment, nasality being only sporadic in au-stems not containing nasal consonants, and with a single exception only occurring there in obl. sgs.; see pars. 25, 26 and ch. 2, par. 45, note.

42. Parallel to apanau(m) there occurs the indeclinable form apuna 8b9, etc.; this is used adjectivally only, and not as commonly as

1 Similar usages in this text are seen in: merai yaha vaažau bahuta haumhi 3a4; samudra hau vapan...vaažau vistirnu hai 5b2; astādhuh aise hota hai, ju...ūmice caḍhī vaiṣṭhatu hai 11b5 (dir. pl. masc. concord); gaimda...ūmice uṭhata hai 8a4; ādhu...ūmice uṭhaie 8a7. The usage is normal in mod. st. H.

2 Cf. GHL, Table XXIV. 3 SB p. 295. 4 LB par. 198. 5 BSK, s.v. 6 LB par. 198. 7 Table XXIV.
ADJECTIVES

apanau(m). Possibly it derives from ātmanām, as compared with \( apanau(m) < ātmanaka \). Kellogg does not mention \( apana \) etc. for W. H., but it is cited (BSK, s.v.) for Sūr. The variant forms found are \( apuna, apunu, apanu \); the \( apun- \) and \( apan- \) spellings are about equally common.

Other pronominal adjectives

43. kai 'how many'. This invariable form \( (<kati) \) is used adjectivally twice: kai kaisai ve \( 16b \, 13; \) kai kaisai kaisai udyama karata hai \( 16b \, 15n \).

44. kitika 'how many, much'. This invariable form occurs three times with the same sg. subst.: ...\( kí \) kitika vāta \( 4a \, 15; \) 6a 12, 'what (is there to be said) of...?'. Kellogg describes kitika as a Mārvārī form, deriving it from kitane eka\(^1\); but derivation of its first element from a short stem kit- is easier, and existence of such a stem in BrBh. is supported by itau, jītau in this text, and by kitau in Sūr.\(^2\) -\( í- \) in this word is hard to account for; derivation from kitī-, f., +unstressed -i\( kā \) would be satisfactory for all the forms found in this text, but would hardly account for masc. concord forms, if these occur.

45. aura 'other, another'. This form, bearing sentence stress, is used both adjectivally and pronominally, being equated with a-stem subs. in the latter case, e.g. aurahi sakucatu \( 9b \, 2; \) aurani tāin \( 24a \, 2 \), etc. aura occurs also as an adverb; see par. \( 213. \)

46. saba 'all'. This form is also used both adjectivally and pronominally, and like aura is equated with a-stem subs. when pronominally used, e.g. sabahiṃ pragaṭa karai \( 10a \, 2; \) \( 12b \, 15 \). Its common tatsama synonym sakala is not used as a pron.

47. amukā 'someone or other'. Two occurrences as obl. sg., \( 20a \, 13; \, 14 \) (the latter emended). This form, with final \( -ā \), has not been found elsewhere in BrBh., except in MS Jodh. \( 1095a \, 13b \, 14 \), which suggests its genuineness for the language of Indrajit. Final \( -ā \) in conjunction with the tatsama form amuka must represent the obl. sg. in \( -ā \) of au-stems, which occurs occasionally in the text, not a KhB. influence, since the KhB. tadbhava \( -ā \) ending is dir. case only.

47a. bahuta 'much, many'; bahutaka \( 11b \, 3 \), dir. pl., with pleonastic suffix. Is this to be related directly to tatsama \( -ka \), as

\(^1\) Par. \( 338. \)

\(^2\) SB p. \( 295. \)
instanced in ityādiṇa 1b 8 of this text, or to derivatives through MIA, as in Bhoj. baṛakī, choṭakī, etc.? See ODB par. 290.

3. THE PARTICLE SAU; SĀRIṢAU

48. This adjectival particle, meaning ‘like’ or ‘somewhat like’, depending on context, occurs several times suffixed to subs. or nominal phrases, and in concord with immediately following subs., e.g. vr̥haspati sau mantrī 16a 11; svarga sau grhu 16a 12; bhārataṣaṃda sī karamabhūmiḥiṃ 15a 1; manusya kai sī ākṛti 13a 7; puhapani kī sī nāṃhi 2a 8. The last example, featuring a postposition which itself means ‘like’, clearly illustrates use of the particle to express reduced degree of a quality.

49. sau is also noted once following an adj. adverbially used, and in concord with it: jahū...kacchūka bhale se diśāijatu hai 10b 2 ‘appears somewhat attractively’.

50. Kellogg derives mod. st. H. sā<sama-, ‘through the intermediate Braj form saum’.1 This form, with anusvāra, is not attested in this text, perhaps because of the analogy which could have been strongly felt with the inflectional pattern of au-stems. Sūr has both saum and sau.2

51. The adj. sāriṣau, < Pkt. sārīkha-, occurs once used in the same fashion as sau, and once used pronominally without following subst.: samudra hū sāriṣe vaḍeni kī 19a 15; vr̥haspati sāriṣena saum vaiρa nāṃhi karata 17b 6.

PRONOUNS

52. The majority of the forms discussed in this section are represented in both adjectival and purely pronominal contexts, but the morphology of the forms is treated here alone. For words which may be classified as pronominal adj.s., but whose inflectional patterns show nothing to distinguish them from adj.s. or subs., see pars. 33–47a above.

A. Components of structure

I. BASE

53. The term base is used, rather than root, for the distinctive elements of pronominal forms, since more than one such element

1 Par. 203a.
2 BSK, s.vv.

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is represented within pronominal patterns. (A few forms are invariable.) Certain bases occur unextended as paradigmatic constituents, others extended with suffixes, while some fall into both these categories. The bases found are: yaha, yā, i, e (dem. of near reference); vaha, vā, u, ve (dem. of distant reference); su, tā, ti, te (dem.-correl.); ju, jā, ji, je (relative); haum, mo, maihm, hama (1st pers.); mer, hamār (1st pers. possessive); tūm, tuma (2nd pers.); ko, kau, kaumna etc.; kā, kahā (interrogative); ko, kā (indefinite).

2. SUFFIX

54. Suffixes occur in association with certain bases. The forms found, whose sense is discussed in section C below, are: -hi(m); -ni; -au, etc.; -ū; -hū; -he.

B. Inflectional patterns

55. These are given at this point for convenience of reference. Missing members of inflectional patterns have not been supplied on the analogy of other patterns, or of mod. st. H. grammar. Rare forms, some of which may have little standing, are given in brackets. Two cases are distinguished for each pattern, a direct and oblique, in sg. and pl. number; object forms based on obl. cases, agentive forms, and the possessive forms of 1st and 2nd pers. prons. are also given. None of the pronominal inflectional patterns shows any distinction of gender except in the case of the adjectively formed possessives.

I. DEMONSTRATIVE OF NEAR REFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Dir.</th>
<th>yaha, (iha)</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>e, (yaha)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>yā, ihim</td>
<td></td>
<td>ini, ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td>yāhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>inahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>iha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. DEMONSTRATIVE OF DISTANT REFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Dir.</th>
<th>vaha</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>ve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obl.</td>
<td>vā, umhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>uni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag.</td>
<td>uhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

3. DEMONSTRATIVE-CORRELATIVE

Sg. Dir. su, (sum)  
Obl. tā, tihim, (taim)  
Obj. tāhi  
Ag. tihim  

Pl. te  
tini, tina

4. RELATIVE

Sg. Dir. ju, (jo)  
Obl. jā, jihim  
Obj. jāhi  
Ag. jihim  

Pl. ju, ji, je  
jini, jina  
jinihihm  
jini, jina

5. PERSONAL

(a) Sg. Dir. hauhm  
Obl. mo  
Obj. mohi  
Poss. merau, mero  
Ag. maihm  

Pl. hama  
(hama)  
hamārAU  
hama

(b) Sg. Dir. tūm  

Pl. tuma

6. INTERROGATIVE

(a) Sg. Dir. ko, kau, kaunu  
Obl. kau(m)na  
Obj. kāhi  
Ag. kauhmahim, kaumnaim  

Pl. ko, kau(m)na  
kau(m)na

(b) Sg. Dir. kahā  
Obl. kāhe  
Obj. kahā  

Pl. kahā kahā

7. INDEFINITE

Sg. Dir. koū  
Obl. kāhū  
Obj. kāhū  
Ag. kāhū

C. Analysis of the material

The forms found comprise bases occurring unsuffixed and suffixed, and invariables.

I. UNSUFFIXED BASES

All except i, u, ti, mer, kā, and ko (indefinite).

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(a) As sentence subject or nominal complement

56. yaha, vaha, su, ju, haum, tum, ko, kau, kaunu, kahā in sg. concord; e, yaha, ve, te, je, ju, ji, hama, tuma, ko, kau(m)na in pl. concord. These are discussed below in this order, except that haum and hama, tum and tuma are discussed together under haum, tum respectively.

57. yaha in sg. concord is normal. There is one occurrence of iha: yadyapi iha sati hai 16b2. This form, which is attested by Śimha from pre-Sūr verse⁴ and also by Beames for Cand Bardāi,³ represents yaha, unstressed and perhaps influenced by a front vowel environment; on the probable implications of this spelling for the pronunciation of yaha, see ch. 2, par. 4.

58. su (spelt once sum 24b6) occurs as a correlative both to rel. pronouns and adverbs (e.g. ju lakṣmī, su 4a10; jaisaim...su 17a12), and to entire clauses (e.g. jala ki aru dūdha ki pṛiti kaiśi hai, su kahijata hai 8b7); and also as a non-correlative conjunctive particle, introducing a sentence or clause. In these cases it often happens that su is in close association with a subst., or even another form from within its own paradigm, which does correlate with ju, e.g. ...ju durvidaghā hai...su etādṛśa manusyahiṃ vrahmāī nāṃhi anuraṃji sakatu 2a1; atibhūṣa ju lagi, su tā taim mlāna... 7b11. Here su may be a colloquialism, introduced by analogy with the frequent cases where it occurs correctly as a correlative to preceding ju. Elsewhere, however, perhaps by further extension from such examples, non-correlative su is independent of ju: ve mahāmatta hāthī parvatahīṃ tinukā kari leṣata hai; su mṛṇalataṃtu ki kitika vāta 4a14, etc.

The stressed form so, which is the only one noted by Kellogg for W. H. dialects, does not occur in this text at all, except with following enclitic as soī, 7b3 etc.³

59. ju occurs usually in association with a correl. pron., but not invariably, as is the case with jo in mod. st. H. colloquial usage, e.g. vācālu kahāvai ju vurau bolai 7a5. Loose correlation with the dem. aisau is seen in aisī lagi ju mahāsabada bhayau 12b3. Occasionally when used without correlative ju has a derivative

⁴ P. 303.
³ P. 171.
³ Cf. SB p. 208, where su is cited as the exceptional form in Sūr, so being regular. A different distribution of stressed and unstressed pronom. forms might of course be expected in verse and prose.
causal sense, e.g. vaḍo alaṇkāra mahimāju hai 124a4n. Once the
cligation ju...su represents jaba...taba, or, very possibly,
jau...tau or a causal conjunction+correlative: ve sādhu saba
hiṃ kahum namraju hota hai, su...11b4. Occasionally ju intro-
duces a clause which recapitulates a preceding dem. pron. or adj.,
e.g. yaha nāṁhīju jambuka para dauri paraīṃ 26a3 (22a10,
10a15, 8b9). But ki is usually used for this purpose, as in mod. st.
H., e.g. yaha kahata haiṃki...3a1.

The stressed form jo, which is the only one noted by Kellogg
for W. H. dialects, and by Simha for pre-Sūr verse, occurs
unsuffixed in this text only once, 17a8 (immediately following
Sanskrit rel. yo, which may account for it). With following en-
clitic, jo is common. (The form jo 9b4, 14b11, 18b4 represents
the conj. usually spelt jau in this text, for which the spelling ju,
representing an unstressed variant, also occurs. See par. 249.)

60. hauṃ occurs commonly as 1st sg. pron., e.g. 6a7, 9a12, but
hama, which is usually 1st pl., e.g. 8a1, 20a13 referring to sādhuni,
can probably be used as its equivalent: cf. tā taim devatānī
kahaṃ hama namaskāra karat hai 5b13 and yā taim hauṃ
vīcārata rahatu hauṃ 6a13, where the different pronouns prob-
ably both refer to the proper noun bharrṭhṛhari. maĩṃ (sg.), hama
(pl.) occur in perfective-agentive constructions: maĩṃ yā vāta
kau amgikāra kīnau 24b9; hama...yaha bhālāi kīnī 20a13.
hama, obl., occurs once in an emendation, 20a14.

61. The 2nd sg. form tūṃ occurs in conjunction with the impera-
tive posahu 18b2, gl. 2nd sg. puṣāna, and closely follows the sg.
vocative (aro) rājā, gl. (he) rājan; synonymous with it is one occur-
rence of tuma 18a6, dependent on paṣya and no doubt sg. How-
ever, tuma shows a different concord pattern at 7b7, occurring
there with subj.-pres. rahau, gl. 2nd pl. tiṣṭhata, and immediately
following the pl. voc. (aro) logahau. Neither form occurs elsewhere
in the text, but tū(m) is to be assumed as subject pron. in are
mana, bhūlatu kāhe haiṃ 5b14, where the general grammar of
Hindi would preclude the association of tuma with hain. These
facts, though scanty, suggest that the range of the pron. tuma has
been extended at the expense of tūṃ in the language of the text,
as in BrBh. verse,\(^1\) and this is confirmed from the study of imperative forms, the historically derived 2nd pers. sg. form being clearly less favoured than the pl. form in sg. contexts. It is uncertain from the evidence, but probable, that *tūṁ* is restricted as in mod. st. H. to derogatory or intimate reference (including a possibility of use in addressing gods, kings, etc.); the use of *tūṁ* in addressing a rajah would square with such an assumption. Neither is it quite certain that the scope of *tuma*, pl., is not itself restricted by an unattested honorific pron. of the type of mod. st. H. āp; the existence of such a pron. for the language of the text would be in conformity with the apparent honorific (but 3rd pers.) reference of the collocations *ōvaru...haim,\(^2\) bhartyhari...hai(m),\(^3\) viṣṇu... baṁdhe hai 10b10; rājā kaise haim 19a6, while an honorific 3rd pers. pronominal grade is also implied by the character of the scribal error at 13b14.\(^4\) The existence of an honorific imperative to match such a pron. is very uncertain, however.\(^5\)

62. *ko* (interrogative, sg.) occurs twice (23a1, 6); *kau* once, 3b15; *kaunu* once, 7a6, bearing particular rhetorical emphasis: **gunīni kaunā gunu kaunu nāmhi ju... 7a6.**

63. *kaha* used adjectivally with a sentence subject immediately precedes it: tapasyā saum kahā kāmma hai 12a1; tīrtha-snāna saum kahā kāma hai 12a2. The phrase kahā adṛśta saum kāmmu 6a4 is interpreted as showing introductory question-marking conj. (in spite of the fact that it glosses *kim ca vidhinā*); see par. 244. Used pronominally as sentence subject kahā immediately precedes the verb, e.g. kahā bhayau 8b4, or immediately follows it in an intensified question: **hoi kahā 16a14.**

64. *e* in pl. concord is noted at 2a1. *yaha* occurs clearly twice, at 19a7 and 19a12; probably also at 19b3. Its occurrence suggests that the tendency to use sg. for pl. dem. pron. forms which is so strong in mod. st. H. is minimally present in the language of the text, either as an importation from KhB. or as an independent development. Kellogg’s citation of identical sg. and pl. direct case forms for ‘High Hindi’ only might suggest the former alternative; but a phonetic weakening of *ye*, pl., or *e* could independently produce a pl. form very close to or identical with the sg. form represented by *iha*, 16b2. Cf. *ji* for *je*, pl., par. 67.

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\(^1\) In Sūr, for example; SB p. 194.
\(^2\) See note 2 to par. 111.
\(^3\) See note 1 to par. 116.
\(^4\) See note.
\(^5\) See par. 146.
65. *ve* occurs regularly as a demonstrative, but its occurrence paired with correlative *te* several times in the commentary to verse 46 probably implies that the dem. pron. is beginning to encroach on the function of the correlative: *je...parāye kāryahīm karata hai, te ve satpurūṣa kahāvai, etc.*, 13a3f. This tendency is noted by Varmā for modern BrBh., but not for the medieval language.

66. *te* occurs as a correlative both to rel. pronouns, and to entire clauses, e.g. *kaumnā kaunna sohatu hai, te kahijatu hai 2b8*. It is noted once as a non-correlative, synonymous with *ve*; cf. *te sāta salya kaumnā kaumnna hai 2a15 with ve kavi na mūṛṣa jānive 3a12.*

67. *je* (not noted by Kellogg for W. H.) is the usual rel. pl. form. A few examples showing the graph *ya* for *ja* are taken as inverted spellings: *ye 6a8, 21a6, 23a15, etc.; yai 21a6.* The few occurrences of *ju*, e.g. *4a13, 4b8, 15b3*, are taken as representing unstressed variants, although the second perhaps shows some influence from immediately preceding and following *ju*, sg.: *unmatta ju hāthī, tā ke vidāre ju kumbha; tina ke māmsa kau ju kairu.*

68. *ji* occurs three times, *2a5, 9a2, 12b7*, and has not been emended, although the spelling is not noted by Kellogg, Varmā, or Ṭanḍan; equally with *ju*, it could represent an unstressed variant, with vowel modification. The form *ja*, which occurs once at *4a15*, has been taken as a miswriting of *je*; it seems improbable that three separate unstressed forms *ju, ji, ja* should all have had standing in the language of the text, and the miswriting is simple palaeographically.

69. *ko* (interrogative) occurs twice as pl. nominal complement: *te ve ko kahāvai; ve ko hai, 13a8.* Elsewhere *kau(m)na*, reduplicated with distributive sense, is regular, e.g. *kaumnna kaumnna, te kahijatim hai 3b2.*

(b) As sentence object

69. *yaha* (*3a1, etc.); *kahā* (*25b4, etc.*) in sg. concord; *e* (*19a13*); *kahā* (*13a15*, reduplicated) in pl. concord. Used pronominally as sentence object *kahā* immediately precedes the verb, e.g. *kahā karatu hai 9b5*, or immediately follows it in an intensified question: *karai kahā? 25b3.*

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1 See note to 13a3.
2 LB par. 185.
PRONOUNS

70. It is assumed on the basis of these few forms that most bases which occur independently as sentence subjects may occur freely in obj. as well as subj. position. The probable exceptions would be those having personal reference, i.e. bearing an element of semantic stress which would involve suffixation of -hi in object position. See ch. 4, pars. 28ff.

(c) In association with postpositions

71. yā, vā, tā, jā, mo, kaumna. These bases serve as obl. sg. forms of their respective inflectional patterns. They do not occur in association with the postposition kari or in other adv. expressions of instrumental force (ihiṃ prakāra, etc.).

The MS reading ja 5b3 is emended to jā, not being supported in this grammatical context elsewhere, and immediately following a mispunctuation in the text. On the MS sequence jā viṣaim... teī, with apparent non-concord of number, see note to 13b14.

72. Several occurrences of the base kau(m)na answer to Sanskrit kasya: 6a14, 11b2, 11b11. The MS spelling kaumni of the last of these is taken as an error motivated by the following spelling pūji (an alternative for pūjya): te sādhu kaumni ke pūji nāmhi. The context rules out interpretation of kaumni here as a fem. pron. analogous to Av. kavani.1

73. The enclitic hī regularly intervenes between these pronominal forms and associated postpositions: tā hī viṣaim 4b9; yā hī taim 1b9, etc.

(d) In adverbial expressions

74. kaumna: kaumna bhānti 6b11; prabhatā kaumna kāma 12b13.

2. SUFFIXED BASES

yā, i; vā, u; tā, ti; jā, ji; mo, mer, hamār; kaumna, kā (interrog.); ko, kā (indef.).

(a) with -hi(m)

75. All except mer, hamār, ko, kā (indef.). The forms are divisible into two groups. The first group, in which the suffix does not show nasality, includes predominantly dir. obj. forms, with some indir. obj. or 'other obl. case' forms,2 while the second group is found

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1 See GHL par. 297.
2 For the designation 'other obl. case' see par. 172, discussing the force of the postposition kahum, etc.
to include ‘other obl. case’ forms only, and to show nasalised suffix in the great majority of cases. This points to a consistent derivation of dir. obj. forms and probably indir. obj. forms from OIA -sya, without participation of OIA -ena, -smin, and suggests a possibility of derivation of ‘other obl. case’ forms from -sya also. Cf. the different position in subst. flexion, where -him preponderates as dir. obj. marker, par. 13. (With the pronom. forms can be compared jasu, kāsu < yasya, kasya, functioning as ‘other obl. case’ forms in the early NIA Rāulavela, ll. 3, 14, 41.)

I.

76. yāhi 19a10 dir. obj. sg.
   tāhi 13b4, etc., dir. obj. sg. At 14b8 tāhi occurs as an adverbial expression of destination: ājā madhya bhale bhale guṇa deśati hai, tāhi jāī āśraya rahati hai. The context suggests that we have here not a variant pronunciation or spelling with long ā, but an emphatic form with suffixed enclitic hī(ṃ), etc.
   jāhi 6b12, etc., dir. obj. sg.; 25b5 indir. obj. sg.
   mohi 9a12, etc., dir. obj. sg.; 6a14, 20a8 indir. obj. sg.
   kāhi 19a10 dir. obj. sg. It is clear from the context of the preceding sentence, if not that of the sentence in which this form occurs, that it is to be assigned to the inflectional pattern of kauṭṭa rather than of kahā: yaha tau mo māṃjha gṛṭṭa homatu hai, hauṇ yāhi kaisaiṃ jāraun. Tā tain agni java prajvalita bhai, taba kāhi na jāraī?

2. The suffixed forms falling under this heading function as obl. and agentive sg. forms. The examples are analysed in detail with the aim of showing the extent to which they are synonymous with the unsuffixed bases yā, vā, jā, tā of similar function (see par. 71).

77. ihim occurs as obl. sg. in a variety of adv. expressions, e.g.
   ihim prakāra 5b10, etc.; ihim kari 11b8; ihim namrāti kari 11b4.

78. iha occurs once as the agentive form associated with yaha:
   iha kacchū daṃbhu thānyau hai 6b13. Final -a for -i (cf. uhi) is assumed to be an unstressed development, perhaps by compensation for a strongly stressed first syllable, which would be a possibility in the context.

79. A form unghī, which illustrates the possibility of regression of suffix nasality to the base, if it is not merely a scribal idiosyncrasy, occurs twice, in adv. and possessive expressions: unghī
taim 8b3; umhi kapura kaim 15a5. From the context of the first of these it is clear that the base vā and the suffixed base umhi are, at least in some cases, synonymous in the language of the text: vaha durjjanu...vā kau saṃsarga na karivau. Umhi taim ċarapata rahivau. There is little likelihood that umhi is an emphatic form here. On the extent of the interchangeability of vā and umhi see further the discussion in par. 81.

uhi occurs once as the agentive sg. form associated with vaha: uhi jala apanapau āgi madhya haummyau 8b10.

80. tihim very frequently, and once tihi, occur in adv. and possessive expressions, e.g. tihim prakāra 8a7; tihim kari 5a8, etc.; tihim taim 21a7, etc., tihi taim, 6b8; tihim karma kau 14b2. Twice the form taim occurs in an adv. expression: taim hi kṣaṇa 9a6, 22a1; this form is interpreted as an unstressed development of tihim, with centralisation of the initial vowel and loss of intervocalic -h-.

81. Comparison of some of the examples above, viz. tihim taim, tihim karma kau and taim hi kṣaṇa, with the parallel common collocations tā taim, tā kau, and tā hi viśaim 4b9, suggests that the suffixed base tihim and the base tā are freely interchangeable in the language of the text, except, probably, before the postposition kari and in other expressions of instrumental and agentive force, where tā does not occur. This is assumed to apply mutatis mutandis to the other suffixed bases of the second group, which are formally parallel to tihim, but attested in a less wide range of constructions. Of the modern W. H. dialects this state of affairs is most closely paralleled in Kanauji, which has ihi alongside yā; uhi alongside vā, bāhi; jehi alongside jā; tehi alongside tā.1

82. tihim occurs once as the agentive sg. form associated with su: tihim...calāyau, ju...vajru 16a3.

83. jihim occurs twice in adv. and possessive expressions: jihim taim 24b2; jihim ko 25a3, and several times as the agentive sg. form associated with ju, e.g. jihim aneka vāra samara viṣai jityau hai 2b9.

84. kaumnaḥim occurs twice as the agentive sg. form associated with kaumna, e.g. su sādhuni kaham kaumnaḥim siṣayau hai 4b12; a single occurrence of kaumnaḥim 20b1 with the same function is interpreted in the same way as taim for tihim, par. 80.

1 LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 86; BrBh. yāhi alongside yā, etc. are cited p. 80. Bundeli has eh, t (jihim?) alongside yā, is; oh, ū (uhi?) alongside bā, us; etc., see BBHA p. 96, LSB pp. 74f.
(b) With -ni/-na

85. i; u; ti; ji. The suffixed forms occur both unextended, and extended with the further suffix -hi(m), as obl. and agentive pls. 86. ini, ina. ini is noted four times, e.g. ini tinihũmni 8a12; ini sabani kau 12b15. ina is noted five times, thrice from one half-folio (17b). Each of the occurrences of ini is supported by a nominal form itself suffixed by -ni. But ina is also twice followed by such a form: ina parvani višaim 17b7; ina duhũni kau 17b14. The varying form of the suffix thus almost certainly depends on random variations in the scribe's practice, or a predecessor's, reflecting a weakened or whispered pronunciation of the final vowel.

87. uni occurs frequently. *una is not found.

88. tini and tina both occur frequently; the former is noted four times in ff. 1b–4a, the latter five times. The distribution of tini is not the same as that of ini, noted in par. 86; of the occurrences of tini, only two are followed by nominal forms suffixed by -ni. The spellings tini saum 4a7; tina saum 3b14 show the pair in free variation.

89. jini and jina both occur frequently, both being noted four times in ff. 1b–4a. No instances are noted of jini followed by nominal forms suffixed by -ni. The spellings jini kai 3b14; jina kai 4a7 show the pair in free variation.

jini/jina also occurs three times as an agentive pl. form associated with ju: ... jānyau hai paramārtha jini 4a9; jini punya kare haim 8a12; maniyaim jina him... ghaiṭām kī 3a14.

90. The extended forms are inaḥi(m), jiniḥiṃ. These serve as pronominal (not adjectival) dir. obj. forms. Their contexts are: inaḥiṃ ādi dekari 15b12; inahi duhũni... grasatu hai 17b6; jiniḥiṃ bahutaka māṁnata haim 11b3n.

The extension with -hi(m) of forms analogous to these in other medieval dialects is usually taken to represent a pleonastic use of the obl. sg. suffix, or possibly of a derivative of a Sanskrit pl. suffix;¹ a reason for such an extension could be found in the probability that the stems ina, una, etc., would not have seemed sufficiently 'weighty' to function naturally as 'definite object' forms, even though they fulfil the basic requirement for such forms (of

¹ GHL pars. 372, 373; 360, where the pronominal dat. pl. -bhyām is cited; -biḥ, -bhyāḥ could also have contributed. EA pars. 242; 209.

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substs., at least) of being distinguishable, without extension, from their respective dir. case forms.  

(c) With -au, etc.

91. mer, hamār. These underlie 1st sg. and pl. possessive forms of adjectival type. The forms found are: mero, merau 18a13 dir. sg. masc.;mere 2a15, 6a14, merai 3a4 obl. sg. masc.; hamārī 20b8 dir. sg. fem.; hamāraiṃ 7a13, hamāre 20b9 obl. sg. masc.; hamare 20b9, 10 dir. pl. masc. (dir. obj.).

(d) With -ū

92. ko (indefinite). This forms the dir. sg. of an indef. pron. and adj., koū ‘someone, some’ (exemplified as a pron., 3b7, etc.; as an adj., 2b10, etc.). koū is assumed to be normally sg., as in mod. st. H.; Taṇḍan’s citations suggest that it is regularly sg. in Sūr. Varmā quotes a pl. form also, but without comment. A distributive pair of the type of mod. st. H. koī koī is not attested.
saba koū ‘everyone’, 11a6, etc.

(e) With -ū

93. kā (indefinite). This forms an obl. sg., kāhū, of koū, which occurs frequently both as pron., e.g. 15b10, and adj., e.g. 7b9. koū/kāhū refers only to persons when pronominally used; used adjectivally it refers also to things. Cf. sumeru kāhū ke kāma kau nāṃhi 6a7, resumed later as sumeru kauna ke kāmma kahaṅ kinau hai 6a13, with the adjectival use of the pron. in sarpu kāhū tipariyā madhya bāṃdhi rāṣyau hatau 7b9.

kāhū occurs as an agentive form: yaha...vrata sādhuni kāhū nāṃhi siṣayau 4b13; and as sentence obj.: kāhū ḍahakyau cāḥatu hai 6b15. MS kāhūṃ 18b11, preceding saṃ with anusvāra, is taken as a slip.

(f) With -he

94. kā (interrogative). This forms an obl. sg., kāhe, of kahā, attested twice with the sense ‘why’: bhūlatu kāhe haiṃ 5b14; devatāni saṃ kāhe kāmu 6a3.

1 See ch. 4, pars. 36ff.  
2 SB pp. 26ff.  
3 LB par. 191.
3. INVARIABLES

95. kac(c)hū 'something, some', an indef. adj. (e.g. 3a1), with a general partitive sense which distinguishes it from koū. kac(c)hū is not noted used pronominally, but is presumed to have this use also in the language of the text.

ju kachū 'whatever', 25a1, etc.

96. para 'someone else'; obl. sg., 11b5.

97. āpuna, apunu 'oneself'. These forms are noted four times as dir. and obl. case reflexives: sampadā āpuna hi āi ghari rahatu hai 14b7; na apunu sakucatu āhi 9a9; apunu...bhāgikai susu na kivau 16a1; apunu kari 11b7. Āpuna is a direct antecedent form of usual BrBh. āpu, āpa < ātman; apunu with short vowel appears to show some influence from the possessive adj. apuna, apunu, apanaun, of the same ultimate derivation. Mod. Bundelī has āpunu, which is no doubt to be connected with this 3rd pers. usage of āpuna, apunu, as honorific 2nd pers. pron. Sūr has āpuna, but not apparently apunu, as honorific 2nd pers. pron., alongside āpu, āpa.

VERBS

A. Components of structure

The following are distinguished:

1. ROOT

98. Non-derivative roots end in consonants or vowels (except -a). Several pairs of synonymous roots occur: vadh-/vādh-; lag-/lāg-; māng-/māṅg-; simc-/sīmc-; chod-/chā(m)d-. Some roots, for which similar pairs are not attested, show a different form from the usual corresponding mod. H. roots: lālac-, probably, rather than *lalac- (mod. st. H. lalacnā only); cor-, rather than *curā- (mod. st. H. curānā only); jār- (mod. st. H. jalā-); phāt- (mod. st. H. phāt-). Ki-<kr- occurs alongside or replacing kar- in certain paradigmatic forms, also dī-, li- replacing de-, le-; ga-, bha- replacing jā-, ho-. In this study verbs are referred to by their root forms, not by a morphological equivalent of the mod. st. H. -nā form.

7 See par. 41. 2 LSB p. 73. 3 SB p. 270.

4 Borrowed participial forms, e.g. jācīta 4a3, and the use of tattvām roots as bases for bhaśā verbs in learned style, e.g. ākramatu 21a15, ākarṣata 19b11, anusārī hai 4b15, are not noted except in cases of particular interest, which are mentioned in the notes to ch. 1, and in the Index and Glossary.
VERBS

2. THEME

99. Several themes occur in conjunction with individual roots, forming stems, which may in turn be extended with suffixes:

(a) -i. Attached to any root this theme forms its verb stem, with which other verbs may associate as dependent auxiliaries or otherwise; it may occur alone also as an absolutive, or be extended with suffixes. The root ho- regularly shows stem hvai.

(b) -a-. Attached to any root not ending in a vowel, this theme forms its active stem; active stems of roots ending in a vowel are identical with the roots themselves.

(c) -ṭja-; -iya-. Attached to any root, this theme forms its passive stem. A passive stem *karṭja- does not occur, being replaced regularly by kīja-, based on ki-. On the very occasional instances of -iya- in the MS see note to 9a4.

(d) -(v)ā-. Attached to any root (including non-verbal roots), this theme forms the root and active stem of a derivative verb, which is usually transitive. Where the theme shows initial v the verb may be a ‘true causative’, as in mod. st. H., representing the action as performed by an intermediary agent, e.g. divā-; but ṣavā-, the other example showing initial v, is not such a ‘true causative’, while karā-, without v, is. Certain extended forms appear to be synonymous, at least potentially, with non-extended forms: śudā-, maṁgā-. Compensatory vowel shortening or modification of long vowels is usual in derivative roots, as follows: e > i (diśā-, etc.); i > i (siśa-); u > u (durā-); a > a (manā-, etc.); o > u (śudā-). (Similar alternations occur between pairs of trans. and intrans. verbs not extended by -(v)ā-, e.g. rok-, ruk-; mār-, mar-.)

The verbs siśa-, cita-, bhoga- regularly show short thematic vowels, e.g. siśavatu 5a5; siśayau 4b13, etc.; siśaaim 3b5.¹

Where the theme appears in composition with certain roots it is seen to take the form -yā-.² There are five examples in the text: ladēye 6b4; lajyātu 24b9; 25b13; apanyātu 25a9; varyākai 18a13. Both with non-verbal and verbal roots, e.g. cchāpanājati 15a6n.; durāvai 10a2; laṭapāṭāya 24a7; samātoī 18a7n.(?), -ā- is more common, however.

¹ This vowel derives from a variant -apaya- of the causative affix -āpaya-; Dave, Gujarati Language, p. 48, cites two of the three verbs showing it in this text from Guj. of the late fifteenth century.

² The forms in -yā- reflect antecedents in -ya-, on which -āpaya- forms are then constructed.
(e) -va-. This theme is found regularly as an extension of -(v)â-extended stems and other stems ending in a vowel (ă-, pă-, pî-, so-, chu-, siṣa-, etc.) before the suffixes -i, -ta, and -na.\(^1\) It occasionally shows attenuation to -u-, e.g. pâuta 17a12 etc.; karâuti 23a10.

(f) -na(-). This theme is found as an extension of active stems before the suffix -hāra, or in association with a restricted number of following verbs.\(^2\)

3. SUFFIX

100. Suffixes occur attached to one or more of the stems of a verb. Those which are found in members of inflectional patterns and bear aspectual, temporal or non-indicative modal force are listed under the respective pattern in section B below; the others are:

(a) The equivalent suffixes -kai(m), -kari(m), which suffixed to verb stems form verbal absolutes (with which force verb stems themselves also occur).

(b) The morpheme group -vau, whose variant forms (deducible from sg. subst. au-stems) are suffixed to verb stems to form verbal nouns.

(c) The suffix -hāra, which suffixed to stems extended with the theme -na forms nominal constructs of agentive force, e.g. jānanahāra ‘a knower’; haumnahāra ‘(something) about to happen’.

B. Inflectional patterns

101. These, with notes on their function, are given at this point for convenience of reference. Except in the case of the present and past tenses of the substantive verb missing members of inflectional patterns are not supplied on the analogy of other patterns, or of mod. H. grammar; in most cases there is little doubt as to the forms which would occur, and to have supplied them would have encumbered the statement of the attested forms needlessly. Very rare variants of individual forms are not cited (but are noted in section C). The patterns are described with respect to the grammatical categories of aspect, tense, mood, number, person, and, where appropriate, gender; the possibility of occurrence of auxiliaries and their function is also indicated.

102. Arrangement of inflectional patterns is on a strictly formal basis, even though this may seem to be sometimes misleading as

\(^1\) echapāuanahāru 22b11 is the only example showing -na.  \(^2\) See ch. 4, par. 24.
to their function and history, and to obscure the fact that forms occurring within different patterns may in certain contexts have been functionally equivalent in the language of the text, or may be historically cognate, while forms occurring within the same pattern may have different functions. Thus 3rd sg. *calahu is not connected with the pattern of 3rd sg. *calai, despite the fact that these forms in all probability overlapped functionally (as subjunctives in mod. st. H. terms) in the language of the text; while *calai may function as an indicative form also, as well as a subjunctive, in the language of the text. These facts are clarified by naming the patterns of *calahu and *calai imperative-subjunctive and subjunctive-present respectively. Similarly, it is preferred to set up as a separate pattern those forms with future or subjunctive force which show final -hi(m), rather than to apportion individual forms in -hi(m) to subjunctive-present or future patterns on contextual or derivational grounds.

**I. PATTERNS UNIQUE TO THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Imperfective past tense</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>hauṁ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hai²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hai; āhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>haim, hai²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hau²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>haim, hai; āhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2. OTHER INFL ECTIONAL PATTERNS**

103. These are divided into two formally distinct groups:

(1) Those based on imperfective and perfective participles, i.e. active⁴ or passive stems suffixed with variants of the morpheme group -ta,⁵ and verb stems suffixed with variants of the morpheme group -au,⁵ respectively; they very commonly take forms of the substantive verb as auxiliaries.

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¹ This excludes participial and other forms analysable in terms of stem and suffix, viz. hota, bhayau, hoi, haumphi, hou, hvaihai, with their paradigmatic variants.
² Inferred forms; cf. forms of the substantive verb attested as auxiliaries, and, for haim 1st pl., the usual identity of 1st and 3rd pl. verbal forms in H.
³ Inferred forms; see par. 115.
⁴ On the occasional extensions of active stems with the theme -ta- see par. 99(e).
⁵ See pars. 119, 132.
(2) Those based on other combinations of stems and suffixes, and having primarily temporal or modal, rather than aspectual, force.

1. Participial patterns

(a) General present

104. The imperfective participle + auxiliary hai, etc., forms a present indicative tense comparable with the general present of mod. st. H., though of wider scope, as it covers the function of the mod. st. H. present continuous tense also. (On the absence of a separate present continuous tense from the language of this text see par. 161.)

General present active and passive forms are analysed separately, in pars. 119–25 and 127–31 respectively, with the aim of establishing the extent of any differences in concord pattern.

sg. 1 active or passive stem + tu m. + haum
2 "" + "" + hai
3 "" + tu, ta m., ti f. + hai, ahi
pl. 1 "" + ta m.2
2 "" + "" + hau
3 "" + ta, tu m., ti f. + haim, hai, ahi

(b) Imperfective past

105. The imperfective participle + auxiliaries, either hatau or bhayau, forms an imperfective past tense characterising the action as either incompletely, or inceptive. There is one example only of each sub-category of this tense: (calyau) jāta hatau 12a14; hota bhayau 8b12n., gl. abhavat.

sg. 3 active stem + ta m. + hatau, bhayau m.

(c) Perfective

106. The perfective participle without auxiliary, or with hai(m), hoi, haumhi or hatau, functions as a finite verb; use of the perfective participle + auxiliary hai(m) tends often, as in mod. st. H., to stress the continuance of the effect of a completed action into present time, e.g. nīmkai kari jānyau hai paramārtha jini 4a9, ‘those who have well understood reality’; (24a9, etc.). There is one instance of auxiliary hatau, where the completion of the per-

1 The auxiliary is usually dropped in negative sentences.
2 Exemplified in negative sentence without auxiliary, 13a8.
3 See GHL par. 491.
fective action in past time is stressed, 16a14. The subjunctive-
present form hoi occurs several times.

The perfective forms of transitive verbs, which function in an
agentive construction, are 3rd sg. and pl. only; see ch. 4, pars. 47–9.

A few verbs show exceptional perfective forms.

- sg. 3 verb stem + au m., i f. (+) hai, hoi, hatau m.
- pl. 3 ,, ,, + e m., i f. (+) hain, haunhi

2. Temporal and modal patterns

(a) Subjunctive-present

107. Members of this pattern occur frequently with clear sub-
jective force, or with imperative or indicative force; often their
modal value cannot be determined with certainty. Subjunctive-
present passive forms are analysed below separately from active
forms, with the aim of determining whether an honorific imperative
has emerged in the language of the text; see pars. 144–6.

- sg. 1 active stem + um
- 3 active or passive stem + i
- pl. 2 active stem + u
- 3 active or passive stem + i

(b) Subjunctive-future

108. Members of this pattern can usually be equated functionally
with subj.-pres. 3rd pl. forms; they express clear futurity only
rarely, unless suffixed by variants of a morpheme group *-gau
(ge, m. pl., is the only one attested).

- sg. 3 active or passive stem + hi
- pl. 1 active stem + him + ge
- 3 active stem + him

(c) Imperative-subjunctive

109. 2nd person members of this pattern bear imperative, 3rd
person members imperative and subjunctive force.

- sg. 2 active stem (+ hu)
- 3 ,, ,, + hu
- pl. 2 ,, ,, + hu
- 3 ,, ,, + hu
(d) Future

110. Members of this pattern regularly express futurity.

sg. 3 verb stem + hai
pl. 3 verb stem + haiṃ

C. Analysis of the material

The forms found comprise forms of the substantive verb, and other verbal forms.

I. FORMS UNIQUE TO THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

hai, haiṃ, āhi, hatau

These are discussed separately from the bulk of verbal forms, since they are not analysable in terms of stem and suffix as set out above.

(a) hai, haiṃ

111. Both forms occur with both 3rd sg. and pl. sentence subjects, but the data do not warrant the inference that they are freely interchangeable. In the material initially analysed, hai with sg. subjects occurs thirty-four times, with pl. subjects seven or eight times;² haiṃ occurs with pl. subjects six times, with sg. subjects perhaps only twice.² In one of these cases, aisaṃ vidyādhana jina kai haiṃ 4.17, the verb could show influence of the preceding possessive postposition, which is formally similar in obl. sg. masc. and pl. masc. This position is broadly borne out for the text as a whole by checks on the distribution of hai, haiṃ over comparable sections of text near the middle and at the end of the material;³ at the end of the text haiṃ seems to be slightly more common proportionately with sg. forms than earlier.

112. The best explanation of these facts is that nasality is morphemically distinctive for the language of the text, but that its

¹ In the clause sāta sālya hai 2.15 sg. concord is possible, the subst. being then taken as a sg. used collectively with a numeral; mod. st. H. usage allows both mere pās sāt rupayā hai and mere pās sāt rupae haiṃ. The extent to which each of the sāta sālya is individualised in text and commentary would tell against sālya being a collective sg., however.

² Five occurrences of haiṃ with the subst. tiṣṭaru are taken as implying honorific reference, and hence grammatically pl. (Seven others of hai with the same subst. may perhaps reflect the mode of reference to deities in sg. number which is common, alongside honorific reference, in mod. H.)

³ ff. 8b–11a; 23a–25b.
faint realisation in unstressed position was always liable to en-
courage confusion of hai and haim scribally, and the operation of
habit as a factor in making a choice between closely balanced
orthographic alternatives. (See ch. 2, pars. 46–8.)

(b) āhi

113. This form occurs alone six times as 3rd sg., once as 3rd pl.,
e.g. sevā kau phalu yaha āhi, ju . . . 22a10; su yaha jugatu āhi 8b13;
kauṁna kauṁna vātaiṁ āhi, te kahijati hai 21b8; īśvaru . . .
nāṁhi āhi 1b8. The contexts of the examples suggest that āhi may
occur at points of heightened interest, with a slightly greater de-
gree of emphasis than the vastly more common, unemphatic
hai; this possibility finds some formal support in the occurrence
of āhi once, but never hai, as auxiliary in general present forms with
preceding negative,¹ also perhaps in the characteristic use of āhi
as auxiliary in na . . . na constructions.² Kellogg and Varmā³ give
śāhi only as an Av. form, Varmā stating that its use in BrBh. de-

dpends on the requirements of metre; the above evidence seems to
call these judgements seriously in question.

(c) hatau

114. Five examples (one of hato 16a8) in 3rd sg. masc. concord.
One expresses hypothetical action or state: maināka parvata kau
prāṇa nikasi jaivau bhalaun hatau 16a4n. A second is correctly
classed here (rather than as an auxiliary in a perfective-agentive
construction of a transitive verb) in the absence of an agent subst.
or pronoun in its sentence or the neighbouring context: eka sarpu
kāhū īmparīyā madhya bāṁdhī rāśyau hatau 7b9.

115. hatau is presumed to have variants in accordance with
variants of the morpheme group -au in adjectival au-stems, viz.
hate, etc., hatī. Sūr has hato alongside hutau; Varmā states that
hatau occurs in the 252 vārtās, but is a later form.⁴

Occurring in conjunction with imperfective or
perfective participles

1. In general present forms

116. (a) haum 6a7 etc., 1st sg.
(b) hai 18b2, 2nd sg.; hau 19a14, 2nd pl.

¹ See par. 219 (f). ² See par. 116 (d).
³ GHL par. 472; LB par. 225.
⁴ BSK, s.v. (Ṭanḍan cites only hutau, pp. 322f.); LB par. 231.

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(c) hai, haim. These forms occur with 3rd sg. and pl. sentence subjects; confirmation of nasality as a marker of pl. concord in the language of the text is found in the material considered here. Instances of hai for haim in pl. concord in the material initially examined occur in roughly the same proportions when the words are auxiliaries as when they are finite verbs;¹ there is no clear instance of haim in sg. concord.² The distribution checks confirm this position broadly for the text as a whole, although the use of haim with sg. forms gains ground markedly at the end of the text, as in the case of the independent examples.

(d) ahi, seven times, once 3rd pl., otherwise sg. Six of the examples are in na...na negative constructions, e.g. na apunu sakucatu ahi aru na aura kakū kī sankā karatu ahi 9a9; the other is also associated with na, following kaba haim na, 12b5.

2. In imperfective past forms

117. (a) hatau 12a14, 3rd sg.
(b) bhayau 8b12n., 3rd sg.

3. In perfective forms

118. (a) hai, haim. In this context hai appears to be restricted to 3rd sg. forms, haim to 3rd pl. forms.
(b) hoi 4b4–6, 16b2, 3rd sg.; haimhi 4b5, 3rd pl.
(c) hatau, 16a14, 3rd sg.

2. OTHER VERBAL FORMS

These comprise combinations of stem and suffix, with or without auxiliaries.

*General present forms, active*

119. The examples considered in this sub-section are finite verbs, showing imperfective participles associating in concord with sentence subjects and (unless preceded by the negative adv. nāmhi) following auxiliaries. The auxiliaries which occur are noted in

¹ Both haim and hai occur twelve times in pl. concord. Among the twelve instances of haim are included five references to Bhartṛhari, taken to represent honorifics, and in accordance with this the three instances of hai referring to Bhartṛhari are taken to be in pl. concord also. The ambiguous example kahiṣattam hai is not included in the count either way; see par. 130. The example kauṇa kauṇa sohatu hai 2b8 is taken to show pl. concord on the basis of the following pron. te (kahiṣattu hai).

² The two possible examples are hvaı jāta haim and sohatu haim 2b15.
par. 116 above. The variants of the morpheme group -\textit{ta} are -\textit{tu}/-\textit{ta}, -\textit{ti} and exceptionally -\textit{te}; the distinction between them is sometimes obscured, but not in the way suggested by Varmā, par. 217 (where -\textit{tu} m. and -\textit{ti} f. are presented as free variants of -\textit{ta} m. and f.).

(a) \textit{Active stem} + -\textit{tu}/-\textit{ta}

The examples occur normally with masc. sentence subjects, sg. and pl. In the material initially analysed the -\textit{ta} ending occurs eight times with sg. subjects, seventeen times with pl. subjects, the -\textit{tu} ending nineteen times with sg. subjects, three times with pl. subjects.\textsuperscript{1} These examples illustrate a clear tendency for the -\textit{tu} ending to be preferred with sg. and the -\textit{ta} ending with pl. subjects respectively. The occurrence within single lines of text of both endings in association with the same sg. subst. emphasises that they are to some extent interchangeable, however: \textit{camārman} \ldots hotu hai \ldots hvai jāta hai 2b\textsuperscript{1}; hāthī \ldots hvai jātu hai \ldots sohata hai 2b\textsuperscript{11}. This position is confirmed for the text as a whole by checks on the distribution of -\textit{tu} and -\textit{ta} over comparable sections of text near the middle and at the end of the material;\textsuperscript{2} towards the end of the text, however, the evidence is that -\textit{tu} is increasingly favoured in sg. forms. Doubtless both endings were available at the time of composition of the text, or later, as scribal fashions of equal prestige; cf. the manner in which -\textit{tu} and -\textit{ta} endings with both sg. and pl. subjects seem to prevail alternately over successive short sections of text, ff. 2b–3a.

\textbf{121.} The -\textit{tu} ending occurs twice in ff. 1b–4a in association with a fem. subst.: \textit{avasthā} kaba hūm ku \textit{vāḍāvatu} hai aru kaba hūm ku \textit{ghaṭāvatu} hai 3a7. Shortly preceding this sentence is one showing the normal fem. forms in -\textit{ti} of the verbs here exemplified, \textit{vāḍā}- and \textit{ghaṭā}–, in concord with the same sentence subject \textit{avasthā}. It is improbable that \textit{avasthā} should have been taken momentarily for a masc. subst. by Indrajit or a scribe; the question then arises whether these examples attest -\textit{tu} endings as normal variants in fem. concord. In view of the regularity of the

\textsuperscript{1} The suffixed form \textit{vrahmā} 2a2, gl. \textit{vrahmāpi} \ldots (\textit{na ranjayati}), has been taken as a sg. subject, and all examples of the proper noun \textit{bhartyahari} as honorific plurals.

\textsuperscript{2} ff. 8b–11a, 23a–25b. Varmā, LB par. 217, suggests that -\textit{ta} is more common than -\textit{tu} with masc. subjects in medieval BrBh., which is contrary to the evidence of this text; he does not attempt to distinguish between -\textit{ta} and -\textit{tu} on the basis of their relative frequency in sg. and pl. concord. Tāndan, SB pp. 318ff., notes -\textit{tu} once as a 1st person form, not at all as 3rd person for Sūr.
-ti ending with fem. subs. (see below), and the fact that these two examples occur at one point in the text, it seems best to think of them as sporadic aberrations from the normal grammar of the text, possibly dependent on a weakened pronunciation of final vowels.

222. In one further example in ff. 1b–4a the -tu ending occurs in conjunction with a fem. possessive particle, the grammatical subject on which this depends being unexpressed: aura kī kahā calatu hai 2a2. In mod. st. H. similar expressions occur showing participles in fem. concord (e.g. terī ab paṭṭī hai?). This example might seem to support a possibility that the -tu ending may be a regular variant in fem. concord, although the nature of the examples adduced in this and the preceding paragraph leaves the case far from proven. The evidence from the distribution checks in the remainder of the text does not go very far to support it; -tu and -ta each occur twice in active forms in fem. concord, compared with 14 occurrences of -ti. Accordingly all these examples are viewed as sporadic replacements of -ti.

(b) Active stem + -ti

223. The examples occur normally with fem. sentence subjects, sg. and pl. There are seven examples in sg. concord, four in pl. in the material originally examined.

224. In one case the -ti ending occurs apparently in association with a masc. subst. (-dhana), and in another with the same subst. understood as sentence subject from its occurrence earlier in the text as suffixed sentence object: vidyādhana kaisau hai...nidhanam. Nāsahī; na prayāti. Nāmhi prāptu hoti 4a5; ju vidyā-dhanahim cori letu hai, tā cora kāim; gocaraṃ na yāti. Netrani kahāṃ gocara hum nahi rahati 4a1. It is unlikely that the present examples should be regarded as showing -ti endings in masc. concord with vidyādhana, since in both cases the fem. gender of the first component vidyā- may have influenced the expression of concord. Also both examples occur immediately after lemmata ending with the verb (pra)yāti; the final -i's, if not due to specific influence of the fem. subst. vidyā, could echo the final syllable of the Skt. verb. The evidence from the distribution checks in the remainder of the text supports the above, -ti not being noted there at all in masc. concord; it is noted with active verbs twice elsewhere, however (15a15, 12b7), and these cases are taken as
errors motivated by neighbouring forms showing final -i (one of the latter is again -yāti).

(c) Active stem + -te

125. One example in the entire text associating with a masc. pl. sentence subject: kavi...vasate āhīm 3a10. As was noted above the -ta concord variant, to some extent interchangeably with -tu, is normal in masc. pl. concord in this text, and in BrBh, as a whole. (The expected form vasaṭa āhīm occurs at 13b9.) Vārma notes the ending -e as occurring in participial forms used in conditional clauses in medieval and modern BrBh, but not elsewhere in the verb system, and Tānḍan's citations from Sūr agree with this.¹ One may possibly think of this example as pointing to a rare but legitimate variant form in the morphology of the text, but this seems unlikely, since had such a form had a genuine existence in any variety of BrBh, it would have been of service in poetry, being distinct metrically from the -ta/-tu forms, and could therefore hardly have escaped frequent enough usage for it to have been noted. This may mean that the present example represents an intrusion in the prose language from KhB, which had long had some currency in northern India both as a vehicle of sant poetry and as a lingua franca; there would be nothing inconsistent in a Hindu prince and patron of literature, such as Indrajit, being familiar with and using the form.

The active stem kaha- + -taim, etc.

126. The examples considered in this sub-section are distinct from the last example discussed, occurring without auxiliary in impersonal constructions. They all involve modified forms² of the stem kaha- and the concord variant -te, which shows -aim, -enm: kahetaim four times, kahaitaim once 2a8, kahetem once 2a13 in the material initially analysed, with frequent occurrences in the remainder of the text. Their regular function is to introduce glosses to Skt. forms. They clearly represent the type of construction found in mod. st. H. in, for example, isko...kahi te āhīm, "this is called, described as", in which the verb is regularly in the pl. -e form, and on this basis could perhaps have been taken as finite verbs and included in section 1 above. However, the regular

¹ LB par. 218; SB pp. 311, 317ff., 338.
² These modified forms seem likely to have specific phonological implications, see ch. 2, par. 13. kahaite without nasality occurs once in the text, 1b10.
absence of auxiliary in non-negative statement, to which the characteristic nasality of the suffix may be linked, warrants their discussion as a separate, though clearly connected, formal category. Support for this classification may be seen in the frequent occurrence of an apparent perfective form kahā (in which the -ā suffix would represent a feature of KhB. grammar in the same way as the suffix of kahetaim, etc., appears to do) in the sense ‘or’, rather than with finite verbal force; see par. 239.

General present forms, passive

127. The variant forms of the morpheme group -ta as exhibited in passive constructions are -tu/-ta, -ti, and possibly -tīm. There are thirteen examples in the material originally examined, and a proportionate number in the remainder of the text, associating with following auxiliary hai(n) to form passive finite verbs.

(a) Passive stem + -tu/-ta

128. The examples associate normally with masc. sentence subjects, sg. and pl. In the material originally examined the -ta variant occurs once with a subject of uncertain number, very probably pl., 3a11, the -tu variant seven times with sg. subjects, once with a pl. subject. This appears to indicate the same pattern of distribution of -tu and -ta in passive as in active forms; towards the end of the text, -tu increases in frequency at the expense of -ta, again as in the active forms. In one case in the material originally examined the -tu variant occurs in association with the subst. vastu: vastu jau corijatu hai 4a2. vastu exhibits masc. gender clearly at one point late in the text, titanem him vastuhim 18a4, and this example could be explained as showing similar masc. concord. However, since vastu is usually fem. (twice associated with -ti in the first three folios of the text; clearly fem. at 25a14) it is equally likely that the present form depends on a particular degree of uncertainty in the marking of concord relationships in passive forms. For another possible example, showing vastu, see note to 25b1; fourteen are noted in the text altogether, compared with ten examples of absence of concord in gen. pres. active forms, which are not so widely distributed through the text and may be correspondingly less representative of the concord patterning of these forms. Varmā does not give any indication of uncertainty of concord in passive constructions in
3.128-31] VERBS

BrBh., but it has been noted in Av. for the periphrastic passive employing forms of the verb jā-, which competes with and eventually replaces that formed on passive stems: see EA par. 294b.

(b) Passive stem + -ti

129. Two examples in the material originally examined, associating with fem. sg. sentence subjects; frequent examples in the remainder of the text, six of which are noted as showing lack of concord.

(c) Passive stem + -tīṁ (?)

130. One example, associating with fem. pl. sentence subject: kauṁṇa kauṁṇa, te kahijatīṁ hai 3b2. An apparent concord variant -tī is attested in medieval BrBh., but it is rare, and its standing suspect in that the attestations are from verse, in which a short vowel may be lengthened for metrical reasons. It does not occur elsewhere in this text. Modern Bundēlī has an honorific third and second fem. pl. in -tī(m), but it is difficult to see how this could be relevant to the present form. The nasality shown in the form kahijatīṁ hai, of which the subject te represents fem. pl. vātai, is also suspect, in that no other example of a variant of -ta, + hai, is found nasalised in the material examined. This is further supported by one case of -tī in fem. pl. concord in a negative sentence: vātem...nāṁhi hoti 3b4; any tendency towards occurrence of a nasalised suffix in pl. concord would presumably have been at its strongest in the absence of the auxiliary, as in mod. st. H. and in the impersonal forms kahetāṁ, etc., of this text. It is possible that the form represents a mispositioning of anusvāra by the scribe, but since the anusvāra stands to the left of the ākāra superscript in the MS this would have involved a considerable aberration on his part, which would equally bring the apparent fem. pl. -tī into question. Alternatively the form may be due to the same uncertainty about the expression of concord relationships of passive formations as was referred to in par. 128; this also would invalidate it as good evidence for -tī.

131. In four of the thirteen examples in ff. 1b-4a the passive theme appears as -īja- (representing the expected development

1 LB par. 217; Sūr appears to show only -tī(m) in imperfective part. forms, pp. 318ff.
2 LSB p. 148.
from MIA -ija- < OIA -ya-): rāṣṭijatu hai 4a4; ārādhijatu hai 1b15; maradijati hai 2b14; dijata hai 3a11. The more usual -ija- presupposes a shortening, or some interaction between this form, with ja, and a diphthongal -ia- < MIA -ia-
1 at an earlier stage of the language. These forms are clearly not to be related to any tendency for the synthetic passive to be replaced by a periphrastic passive based on the perfective participle, since in only one of the four examples would a fem. participle in -i, whose influence would have to be assumed, be in correct concord: bālavanitā...maradijati hai 2b13. Two of the others, moreover, show roots which are also extended with the short theme -ija- at other points in the text: cf. with the examples cited above rāṣṭijati hai 2b9; ārādhijatu hai 2a1. There are only three clear occurrences of the periphrastic passive in the entire text: hīrā vedhyau nāṃhi jātū 22b6; vā kī kīrtti meṭī jāi 12a7; su...meṭī na jāi 15b10. One other is probable: gāi cchimḍāi (MS cchimḍāi) jāi 18b5n. The only other evidence for any weakening in the position of the synthetic passive is the MS spelling pājā 5b7n. This is very different from the medieval BrBh. position as described by Varmā, par. 209.

**Perfective forms**

132. The variants of the morpheme group -au in perfective verb forms, which are exemplified abundantly in the text, are identical with those shown in adjectival au-stems. Before suffixed -au/-o regularly, and before -ai(m)/e(m) very occasionally when suffixed to roots in final -ā, the final vowel of a verb stem appears as a glide consonant, y; before suffixed -i it of course disappears; e.g. jityau 2b10; gayau 3b10 etc.; pāyaim 23a2 (but pāaim in the same line, phirāai 10b11, etc.; gaī 7b10.

133. The verb kar- shows two series of perfective forms based on alternative roots, viz. kar- and ki-<kr-. On kar- are formed karyau 18b13 etc., which, however, is only used nominally with the verb cāh-,
3 and kare, the normal masc. obl. sg. (22a6) and pl. form (8a12 etc.). On ki- is formed kī 3a14, in fem. pl. concord,
4 while with this root must also be connected the regular dir. sg.

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1 ODB par. 544; ODBL par. 653.
2 But for certain examples of the form kahyau, see par. 155.
3 See ch. 4, par. 21.
4 Nasality is not a regular feature of fem. pl. concord of participles except in the later period of the development of mod. st. H.; cf. GHL par. 390 (referring to the standard language of 1890).
verbs

masc. and fem. sg. kīnau(m), kīnī. BrBh. kīnhau, Av. kīnha do not occur in this text.²

134. The verb de- shows dayau 17a13 etc., dir. sg. masc., and dae 8b8 dir. pl. masc., representing original ā-forms, rather than destressed e-forms of the verb; ³ also dīnau 18a3, dir. sg. masc., parallel to kīnau in form and affiliations.

135. The verb le- shows a similar form līnai 25b13, obl. sg. masc.; perhaps a layau, etc., is to be deduced from the form of the postposition kaiṁ laaim 24a13.³ The verbs jā-, ho- show gayau, bhayau, etc., based on the roots ga-, bha-.

136. The nominal force of the perfective forms, which so clearly underlies the agentive construction of finite transitive verbs,⁴ is evident in various other aspects of their usage in this text. As nominals, they may show following postposition, e.g. drṣṭiṅocara bhae taim 23a1; videsa gaye taim 23 a11; they occur regularly with the verb cāh-, e.g. karyau cāhiṣai 22b14;⁵ and as masc. sg. obl. forms in non-finite constructions.⁶

SUBJUNCTIVE-PRESENT FORMS, ACTIVE

137. The forms found are chiefly 3rd sg., with suffixed -i; a very few 3rd pl. forms occur with the same ending, e.g. perhaps ghaṭai, vaḍhai 3a6; ve ko kahāvai 13a8. Nasality of the suffix, which is extremely rarely marked, is never associated with pl. number, e.g. calaiṁ 22a10; paraṁ 26a3, clearly sg. in context; ganaiṁ 5b6, 10 (very doubtful as an honorific pl., as it contrasts with several parallel forms in -ai, and in any case in nasal consonantal environment). There is only one example in the text of a simplification of final -ai to -e: sīše 15b12.

138. Of the examples of stems ending in vowels other than the inherent vowel, some show suffixation of -i direct to the stem: hoi 2a7, etc.; lei 2a5; jāi 12a7, etc. Others, viz. pīvai 2a12;

¹ GHL par. 489 (4); EA par. 295. Taṇḍan cites dīnau, kīnau, and also dīṅhauṁ, etc., for Sūr, pp. 322 ff., Sīṁha dīṅi, kīṅhi from a text of c. a.d. 1500 or earlier, par. 327. The forms are derived from extensions of the use of Skt. -na in the formation of parts, OWR par. 126 (3). (The variants showing h, which is unattested in corresponding MIA forms, seem to be due to the analogical extension of h from non-perfective forms of the verb ‘take’ (<labh-); cf. Ap. likha’a ‘taken’ (PSM, s.v.), BrBh. līhau, Av. līha, and GHL par. 509 discussing analogous Rājāstānī forms in -ddh-.)

² See GHL par. 489 (2); and for other probable descendants of ā-forms in this text, pars. 135, 159.

³ For BrBh. layau see GHL par. 489 (2).

⁴ See ch. 4, par. 47.

⁵ See ch. 4, par. 47.

⁶ See ch. 4, pars. 40ff.
pāvai 2a11, etc.; ēvai 11a5, and the verbs with ē-extended roots, e.g. kahāvai 13a8, stand outside the characteristic pattern of suffixation for these forms, as viewed synchronically, in showing roots extended with theme -va- before the suffix.¹ 1st sg. in -um occurs several times, e.g. 4b10, 24b9; sānum 4b10 shows anticipation in the stem syllable of the nasality of the suffix. -um is noted once with a verb whose stem ends in a vowel: pāum 24b9.

139. A 2nd pl. in -u (-um?) is exemplified twice: kahauṃ 8b4 (=kahau?); logahau...tuma niściṃta hvai īa raḥau 7b8. These forms clearly have imperative force; the second glosses imperative tiṣṭhata. They are historically developments of forms in -hu (deriving from OIA 2nd pl. present indicative forms), which are very largely retained in the language of the text and described as a separate formal pattern; see pars. 152–6.

140. There are sixteen examples in the material initially analysed, all but three either depending immediately or ultimately on 3rd sg. optative forms in the Sanskrit text, or occurring in conditional clauses in association with one of the linked conjunctions jau–tau. The forms, though reflexes of Sanskrit present indicative forms,² thus show a measure of functional correspondence with the subjunctive in -e of mod. st. H. The extent of this correspondence is difficult to determine, however; it appears that two of the forms may show their historical indicative force,³ and others are to some extent ambiguous. In the case of the examples in conditional clauses, for example, it does not at once follow that a verb in such a collocation as jau karai is necessarily ‘subjunctive’ in force because the verb in a functionally corresponding jo kare of mod. st. H. can be said to be so, since the timing of the sense shift from indicative to subjunctive of the reflexes of the old present indicative forms is an uncertain factor, which can only be ascertained, if at all, for a particular text by detailed examination of each of its examples in their context. The remainder of this section discusses the force of the subjunctive-present forms in the text as a whole as fully as seems practicable.

141. In many cases it is clear that they do bear non-indicative

¹ Occurrence of the theme is to be expected on the basis of the derivation of most of the words concerned. pūvai (Skt. pibati, Pkt. piai) would represent a development influenced by forms with historical -v-.
² GHL par. 601; cf. EA par. 303 for the corresponding forms in Av.
³ gaṭai, vaṭhai 3a6; see further par. 143.
force, e.g. yaha koū kulinu nāṃhi. tāu paim yaha kulīna hoi... 11a1, where the condition is unreal; pai hoi kahā, jītvai kau bhāgya nāṃhi 16a14n.; satruhim jau āpadāū pari hoi 17b2, where the unlikelihood of the condition is stressed by the use of the emphatic enclitic; kāhi na jārai 19a10, where an unreal proposition is put forward; sīnha kai yaha spīhā hoti hai ki kaha matta hāthīhi mārauṃ 4b10, expressive of an element of uncertainty in the matter; yaha tau nāṃhi ju vā kī kirtti meśī ājā 12a7, rejecting a proposition and contrasting it with real fact, as expressed in the preceding clause with a future verb meṭhai; sīnha yadyapi vālakau hoi... 26a2, stressing the irrelevance of a case to an argument; prānani ko ju bhangu hota hoi 5a1, gl. asubhamge 'pi and presenting an extreme case as unlikely; yogīśvara aisai vade hai, jini pahām kahā na hvai āvai 11a5, presenting a question as unreal. The possibility of clear contrast in sense between i-suffixed and tu-suffixed forms in the language of the text is illustrated within one sentence in the following example: cātaka kahā jaladhara kau āśraya thorau karatu hai, paim karai kahā? 25b3.

142. Sometimes, however, the non-indicative force of forms of this pattern is uncertain in the light of its historical development, though it may seem probable, e.g. sparddhā karai 3b15, gl. kas taih saha sparddhate; since this is a rhetorical question expecting the answer ‘no one’ it is likely that subjunctive force is present in the gloss to the indicative verb, sparddhate. Again, jaisōi karma kīnau hoi 16b2, expressing an indefinite idea; yaha na hoi... yaha hai 16b10, contrasting incorrect assumption with fact.

 Occasionally in cases where subj.-pres. forms are used generically it might likewise seem reasonable to regard them as bearing subjunctive force, e.g. vācātu kahāvai ju vurau bolai, aru bahuta bolai 7a5; ju uttama ācaraṇani hari pitāhiṃ suṣa dei, soī putru. Aru ju... vāṃchati rahai, etc. 8a9-12, gl. yah... pṛiṇāti... icchati, etc. Support for this interpretation in the latter example would be seen in the fact that the following sentence, making a modally indicative statement, switches to a general pres. verb for the first time in this section of commentary: teī pāvata haim, gl. te labhamte 8a12. In apparent contrast with these cases, however, is such an example as (ju) maṇḍabāgya puruṣa ya bharatāṃśaṃda si karamabhūmihiṃ pāikai tapasyā nāṃhi karatu, su puruṣa... śarīhiṃ rāṃdhatu hai 14b15, gl. na carati manujo yas tapo... pacati, showing a general pres. verb with negative
nāṃḥi in the relative clause;¹ this example suggests that the use of a generic subj. is at least to some extent restricted in the language of the text by comparison with mod. st. H.

143. In a restricted number of cases it seems clear that subj.-pres. forms have indicative force, since they are used as semantic equivalents of general presents:² e.g. in the corrupt MS reading na...rahai tau āhi, aru na...rukata āhi, 22b3n.; avasya vinasi 6b3 etc., gl. vinaṣyatī and varied once by vinasathā āhi 6b4 in an identical context; one other example with the emphatic adverb avasya (13b5), which is also found with a general pres. verb (18a4); in a number of cases following the negative na, which seems to favour their occurrence,³ e.g. jaisaṁ sirasa ke phūla ke prāmta kari hīrā vedhyau nāṃḥi jātu, taisaṁ hi...duṣṭa jana gayārī na chāmdai 22b6 (cf. reverse order of verbs and negatives in the parallel comparison three lines later); na uthaī 8a7 (cf. uthata hai 8a4); also ghaṭai, vaḍhai 3a6 (gl. Sanskrit present indicative forms). Grierson⁴ states that reflexes of the old present indicative forms are ‘quite commonly’ used as simple presents in mod. BrBh.

Subjunctive-present forms, passive

144. Two examples of the form kījai occur in the material originally examined. These, and the numerous other forms elsewhere in the text showing passive themes, are said to represent historically both the OIA passive in -ya- and the optative in -yā-.⁵ Their reflex in mod. st. H. is predominantly the honorific imperative in -(ṛ)jī, there being only a very restricted survival in the modern language of the synthetic passive as a productive grammatical category. The examples in this text show almost exclu-

¹ It may be doubted whether the qualifying adjective maṃdabhāgya lends the subject purusa such a degree of definiteness as would conflict with use of a subj.-pres. verb here; the whole tenor of verse and commentary is rather ‘such a (benighted) person is rare indeed, who...’.
² Note that the many occurrences of subj.-pres. verbs in the protasis of conditional clauses, parallel to occurrences of general pres. verbs (see pars. 250, 251), are not evidence for a general semantic equivalence of these inflectional patterns as indicatives, since here the general pres. forms may be morphological calques on an earlier indicative function of the subj.-pres. forms, from which the latter had become displaced by the date of this text.
³ As in modern BrBh.; cf. LB par. 212b.
⁴ LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 77.
⁵ ODBL par. 654; ODB pars. 540, 544; HGA par. 141. Grierson, however, thinks that the pass. and opt. (precative) forms have developed separately in NIA, ‘The modern Indo-aryan polite imperative’, JRAS, 1910, pp. 162–3.
sively the short form of the passive theme, but cf. deśīyai 6b6.¹ (kiṣai, diṣai represent ki-, di-+ -ṣai.)

145. All the examples have been examined with a view to determining whether the forms may bear both imperative and passive force in the language of this text, as is implied, for instance, by Tanḍan for the BrBh. verse of Sūr.²

146. There are numerous clear examples of passive forms, e.g. rāti dinu jau karama karata rahijai, tau vipati parai...19a14 'if one carries out one’s karma night and day, and disaster befalls...'; (5a3); but no example which has necessarily to be interpreted as an imperative. Many examples are of course ambiguous, e.g. jau thākurahīṃ sīṣavatu rahai ki yaha kiṣai, yaha na kiṣai...11a7 'if he keeps advising his master what should be done and what not' (or, ‘...to do one thing and not another’?); here the context is probably honorific, as are those in which the mod. st. H. -ī(ṣ)e imperative is found, but the construction can well be taken as passive. And this interpretation in this case is reinforced by the following example: are rājāhau, aisau vidyādhana jina kai haiṃ, tini saum abhīmāna jini karahu 4a7 ‘O rajahs, do not scorn those who possess the treasure of knowledge in such measure’, where a similar honorific context is associated with an imperative in -hu, not a form in -ṣai. The inference from these examples, which does not conflict with the rest of the evidence, is that an imperative in -ṣai is probably not current in the language of this text.

Subjunctive-future forms

147. The forms found appear to be almost all 3rd pl., the only clear exceptions among the non-extended examples being merai yaha vaḍau bahuta haumhi 3a4, and prajā yauṃ poṣijahīṃ 18b3, both 3rd sg. In one example -hi appears for -hi: māṃgahi 5a2; perhaps this spelling represents a resistance to the tendency of medial -h- to weaken, of which there are various indications in the language of the text.³ Nasality of this suffix is not a regular feature of the pl. forms, though it is common, nor, as is seen

¹ For -ṣ- in this form, see note to 9a4.
² He cites imperatives, p. 336, and rare use of -ṣai as a passive ending, pp. 314f. Kellogg mentions the -ṣai-, -ṣa- forms in both senses, pars. 486a, 493, accepting that their original modal force will have been passive; but he makes no estimate of the date at which they may have taken on general honorific imperative force.
³ See ch. 2, par. 30.
from the above examples, is it excluded from the sg. forms. It is probably more than an accidental feature, however, as all but one of the pl. examples in which it is not represented show roots ending in a vowel, which is itself regularly nasalised, e.g. haumhi 4b5 etc.; demhi 20a10 (twice); jāmhi 11a1; here nasality could have been attracted from the suffix, particularly following any tendency to devoicing or deaspiration of -h-.

**148.** The termination -hi, pl. -him, attached to active stems is attested in 3rd person subjunctive forms in medieval BrBh.; it also has some representation in future forms, although the usual futures are the extended forms in -go, etc. (mod. st. H. -gā, etc.), and the forms showing final -hai. Its derivation in the subjunctive forms of this text is discussed in the following paragraph; as a future suffix in BrBh. and Av. it probably represents MIA -ihi, if not simply an extension of the use of pres. tense forms with immediate future reference.

**149.** Forms in -hi are exemplified only twice in the material initially examined, and about thirty times altogether. The very great majority of the examples can be equated clearly in function with the subj.-presents in suffixed -i (usually those with subjunctive force but also those whose modal force is indicative or indeterminate), e.g. haumhi 4b5, 7, used in parallel with several examples of hoi; karahin 5a1; chāṃḍahi 24a12; pōsijahim, sg., 18b4: pōsijai 18b4 is an exact functional equivalent; haumhi 13a6 (following na). The fact that almost all the occurrences are pl., coupled with the rarity of subj.-pres. pls., shows that the formation in -hi(ṃ) is the regular pl. of that in -i in the language of the text. This continues the state of affairs shown in Ap. texts (where the modal shift to ‘non-indicative’, usual in this text,

1 *chāṃḍahi* 24a12.
2 Except in *sāhi* 16b15, 17a3.
3 Taṇḍan cites -him only, pp. 335f. Varma cites examples of both forms, but barely mentions the suffix in his discussion, see LB pars. 211, 225. Cf. Kellogg, par. 484, on the ‘Contingent Future’, where the suffix is fully recognised.
4 Taṇḍan cites one clear case in -ahi (though none in -ahi), p. 332. Varma makes no specific mention of unextended future forms in -hi, as opposed to extended forms in -hinge, -ahigt, etc., par. 213.
6 For this phenomenon in Ap. see HGA, par. 137.
7 Within the sphere of usage of one common verb, cf. the many occurrences of hoi, none of which is apparently pl., with the almost regular pl. function of haumhi(ṃ).
had however not been made). The later shape of the subj.-pres. inflectional pattern of BrBh. is foreshadowed by the existence of at least one and probably more pls. in -i, see par. 137. These were eventually largely to oust the old -hi(m) pls., if they had not already done so in the genuine colloquial language. Forms in -hi(m) have, however, not completely disappeared from modern BrBh.¹

150. In perhaps two cases, it is possible that the form haumhi may bear future tense, rather than exclusively modal, significance: e doum suṣa hīṁ vasi haumhiṁ 2a1, answering to Sanskrit indicative and participial, rather than optative, forms; e saba saṭagūṇa haumhi 22a11, a similar collocation with similar recapitulatory function in context, and just possibly reflecting the use of emphatic āhi in the preceding principal clause rather than the series of subj.-pres. verbs which follow āhi. But it is clear that the forms in -hi generally express contingency, rather than futurity.

151. This tendency for the language of the text is further borne out by the occurrence of other forms which are clearly future, viz. (a) one example of the extended future in -go, etc., which had become established relatively early in BrBh.:² haumhi ge, 1 pl., 20b9; and (b) the forms showing suffixed -hai, which are noted in pars. 157, 158.

Impressive-subjunctive forms

152. Eight examples are noted in the material initially examined, and a somewhat smaller number proportionately in the remainder of the text; the majority are 2nd sg. and pl. forms, the rest being 3rd sg. and pl. -hu is the regular form of the suffix, except after vowels other than the inherent vowel,³ where -u appears, e.g. jau 3b10; hou 3b11 etc., and in a few other cases, noted below.

153. The 2nd person forms, which are well attested in BrBh., show both sg. and pl. number, e.g. mānahu 4a10, resuming the sg. voc. are dhanamadāṃda; poṣahu 18b2, connected with sg. subject pron. tūṃ; karahu 14a10, 18a5, gl. Sanskrit imperatives; deṣahu 18a6, connected with subject pron. tuma, probably sg.,

¹ Grierson lists them as alternatives to the -aim pls., LSI vol. IX, pt 1, p. 81.
² As in Sūr, for instance; forms cited as futures in SB, pp. 329ff., suggest that the extended future had virtually ousted the unextended forms in so far as these had been used as futures and was in competition rather with the futures in -hai. (Sinpha, par. 339, states that futures in -g- were rare before A.D. 1600, although he cites one example from A.D. 1435.)
³ Only ā and o are found.
and gl. paśya; chādahu 3b15, gl. ujjhata with subject nṛpāh; hou 19a13, resuming the pl. voc. are saṃsārīhau 19a12, etc. The extension of the forms in -hu, which are historical pls., to the sg., which this evidence shows, is corroborated by a corresponding dearth of historical sg. forms; these are represented by the two examples dāru 14a9, gl. cchiṃdhi (which is followed by a sequence of imperatives in -hu answering to other Sanskrit sg. imperatives); and kahi 13a15 (where final -i is either an Ap. spelling, cf. HGA pars. 138, 138A, or a random spelling for -a, see ch. 4, par. 4). (The form is clearly not a ‘fem. imperative’ of the type described by Mīrzá Khān, p. 39.) Clearly a 2nd sg. imperative in -a/-u is obsolescent in the normal range of the language.1

154. The form desahau 16a11, which is synonymous with the frequently occurring desahu, e.g. 16a2, 17b2, is explainable as showing an analogical restoration of -h- to a form *desau < desahu; this might be possible at a time when -h- of the suffix was beginning to be lost after short vowels, as it had already largely been after long vowels. For other au-forms of imperative force, not showing -h- and treated as 2nd pl. subj.-pres. forms, see par. 139.

155. It is probable that several examples of the form kahyau in similar contexts are to be interpreted as 3rd person passive imp.-subj. forms, e.g. jau koū yaha kahai ki... tahāṃ kahyau ki... 26a4; (24a13, 24b1); these would represent an earlier formation, showing suffixation of imp. active ending to passive stem, of the type of an OIA *kathyatu. Cf. one instance of a 3rd person imp.-subj. active form in a similar context: jau koū yaha kahai ki... tau mānasa kau hāda phuni jaisau hai, taisau sunahu 9a12n.

156. Of the other 3rd person forms, five examples, sg. and pl., occur in the material initially examined, and a very much smaller number proportionately in the remainder of the text. These forms would seem to be rare in medieval BrBh. verse, not being noted at all by Varmā or Kellogg, though they are attested in the mixed language of Kabīr, and in Sūr.2 With their aspirate, they are presumably borrowings from the 2nd person (representing OIA 2nd pl. present forms).3 Some examples are: nīṃdahu gl.

1 See further the discussion of tūm, tuma, par. 61.
2 Cf. jāhu jali, Kabīr granthāvalī (doḥā) 53, 8; cira jtvahu SS x. 733, and other examples showing -au, -u after a long vowel with which they may be compared, SB p. 335.
Verbs

nimdaṃtu 3b8; (stuti) karahu, gl. stuvaṃtu 3b9; ābahu, gl. samāviśatu 3b9; jāu, gl. gacchatu 3b10; hou, gl. astu 3b11. Nasality of the suffix in jānahum 24b5, 7 reflects nasality of the preceding syllable (and further suggests weakening of -h- after inherent vowels). To these forms subjunctives in -e, -emi would correspond functionally in mod. st. H. It is improbable that these occurrences of hu-suffixed stems alongside the i-suffixed stems in this text which correspond formally to mod. st. H. subjunctives imply a close functional equation between the two types at this time, as they occur with characteristically imperative, rather than subjunctive, force; but one occurrence of the negative adverb jani (found characteristically with imp.-subj. forms) with a subj.-fut. form suggests that a tendency to confusion of forms of imperative and subjunctive force was present in the language of the text, see par. 221.

Future forms

157. The forms found number four 3rd sg., e.g. hvaihai 6a10, and four 3rd pl., e.g. hvaihaim 20b10. Three of the pl. forms and none of the sg. forms show nasality of the suffix, which feature may thus probably be taken as morphologically significant.

158. These forms, which derive from the Sanskrit future in -isyati, are functionally distinct from the subj.-fut. forms in -hi in regularly showing future force: e.g. su uni kahum kachū sumeru pāyem hī ānandu na hvaihai 6a10, where the negated verb contrasts with, for example, the subj.-pres. in na hoi, 16b10; yaha kārya jau kīvau, tau yā kau phalu āgaīm yaha hvaihai 14b2, clearly a future in context; hvaihaim (2) 20b10 similarly; metihai 12a7, hvaihaim (1) 20b10, māmgihai, pl., 5a2 in the apodosis of conditional clauses.

Verbal absolutives

159. There are eleven examples in ff. 1b–4a, three consisting of stems alone, six showing -kai, two showing -kari; and many others in the remainder of the text. Final -a is retained unemended once, nikasa 7b14, and -ya is noted three times as an orthographic variant of stem-final -i, doubtless expressing a weakening of the vowel:1 jāya 17a14; sādhyā 19a12; laṭapaṭāya 24a7.

1 See ch. 2, par. 9.

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There are occasional examples of random nasality in the suffix, e.g. dharikaim 23b15; varašakarin 10b3. In this text the verbs chā(m)ā- and vicār- are the only ones to show the full range of all three absolutive forms, e.g. chādi 16a7 etc., chāmādi 17a13; chāmdikari 13a4 (the only example); chādikai 3b11 etc. Some of the pairs of absolutes shown by other common verbs are as follows: kari and karikai, but not *karikari, perhaps for euphonic reasons: cf. the non-occurrence of a mod. st. H. *karkar; hvai and hvaikari, but not *hvaikai, perhaps for the same reasons; dei 25b1, with dai 10b11, 22b4, and daikari 22b1 etc. (these forms may sometimes represent -dāya with original ā, shortened before -i, rather than distressed developments of e-forms) but not *daikai. Of the verbs jā-, ā- the stem forms jāi, āi are regular, but jāikai, āikai occur once, 10b15, 15b5; āni also occurs, 25b3n. The verb pī- has pī 10a9; le- has len, 17a2 (twice).

Most common of the three forms is the stem form, which is regular in association with an immediately following finite verb. This is well illustrated in the use of absolutes in the following example: aura kau priya kāryu karikai apunu maunu kari rahata hai 20a12. There is thus no formal distinction available in the language of the text between collocations of stem and separate finite verb, and compound verbs, see ch. 4, par. 2. The stem form also occurs where sequences of actions are represented as part of one larger action, as in mod. st. H., e.g. at 15b5f.; also in the common reduplicated absolutive, where it always forms the first member of a pair, sometimes the second also, e.g. pāi pāi 5a10; vicāri vicārikai 20b3. The relative infrequency of the -kari forms in the text as a whole is in marked contrast with the pattern of distribution of the absolutive forms of mod. st. H., where -kar forms preponderate in the written language, stem forms and particularly -ke forms being relatively uncommon. The form vicāri hī kari 16b3, with emphatic enclitic intervening between stem and suffix -kari, shows that the kari-extended form of the absolutive was not fully consolidated in the language of the text. Varmā describes the -kari forms of BrBh. as late medieval

1 Varmā gives hvai, with rare hoi and ‘very rare’ hāken, for medieval BrBh., par. 221. hvai probably develops from a ā-form of the root ho-; cf. verbal noun hīrāu in this text, par. 164.

3 See GHL par. 489 (2) for BrBh. forms of the verbs ‘give’ and ‘take’ arising from original ā-forms; but the absolutive (conjunctive participle) is not mentioned. Cf. also len, with e, in this text.
importations from KhB.; they are, however, already represented in Sür.\textsuperscript{1}

161. Particularly common are the collocations of absolutes with the verb rah-, usually with imperfective participles as in the above example; but there are also examples showing the perfective participle of this verb + hai(\textit{m}) which are parallel formally to the composite present continuous tense of mod. st. H.: \textit{ālasya kai ati hīm vasi hvaɪm rahe haiṁ 16b13}, gl. \textit{ālasyavāśyātmanāṁ}; \textit{dei ju rahyau hai 25b1} (with intervening rel. pron.); \textit{tā ki cāturī kari haṁsa kī kīrtti vadhi raḥi hai 12a10}. However, on the basis of the contexts of these examples it does not seem that this verbal collocation has evolved into a genuine present continuous tense in the language of the text; the forms rahyau, raḥi, rahe hai(\textit{m}) are perfective verbs + auxiliary hai whose force is quite independent of that of the preceding absolutes.

162. The syntax of absolute constructions in the language of the text and in mod. st. H. is similar in that both show the use of unrelated absolutes with passive finite verbs, e.g. \textit{nīhakapāta hvaɪj ju dharmu kījai, su dharmu atinikau hai 12b14}; \textit{yaha pragāta kari kahijati hai 19b15}. Other examples taken as illustrating this point, rather than as showing compound verbs of verbal stem + dependent auxiliary, are: \textit{eka sarpu kāhū ṭipariyā maṁhyā bāmdhi rāsyau hatau 7b9}; \textit{vrcchu jaba kāṭi ḍārijatu haiṁ 20b4}; (10b10). There is no evidence, however, as to whether unrelated absolutes occur with active finite verbs, as occasionally in mod. st. H., unless kari in such an example as \textit{pūraba janma kī tapasyā kari hoti haiṁ ji bhāgi 12b7} is taken as an absolute, rather than as of derivative postpositional function.

163. Noteworthy are two absolute expressions involving the verb de-: (a) \textit{dekari}, used at 15b13, 17b4 in the special sense ‘apart from’\textsuperscript{2}. The only absolute expression used in this sense in mod. st. H. is \textit{chorkar}; (b) the adverbial expression \textit{vegi, vega (hi(\textit{m}))}, ‘quickly, suddenly’, extended with apparent stem absolute de (<\textit{dei}; a late or unstressed form?); this extension is not noted by HSS. The examples are: \textit{vega hi de 4a6}; \textit{vegi de 7a13}, gl. \textit{āśu}; \textit{vegi hīm de 7b14}, gl. \textit{satvaram}; \textit{vegi hi de 8a3}; \textit{vega hīm de 20b5}. \textit{vegi hīm} also occurs, 8a4. The reason for both extensions to the nominal form is probably the weakening of final

\textsuperscript{1} LB par. 221; SB p. 312.

\textsuperscript{2} It occurs also in its literal sense, spelt \textit{daikari}, 2b14, 22b1.
-i noted in ch. 2, par. 9, and suggested for this very locution by the
two spellings vega; such a weakening may have obscured the
adverbial force of the locution, which could then have seemed
often to require reinforcement. The emphatic enclitic hi(ŋ) is
available for this purpose; use of de may have begun with vegi/vega
alone and then been extended to the forms with hi(ŋ).

**Verbal nouns**

164. A few verbal nouns show stem vowel modification in
composition with the morpheme group -vaу, which is common in
BrBh. The verbs kha-, jå- regularly show shortening of ā before
i of an inflection: jaivaу 16а4 etc.; saivaу 4b9 etc. But this
shortening does not occur in the other examples (all of causative
verbs): vaḏhāive 3а6; ḡaṭāive 3а7; caḷāive 22а15, although
Kellogg implies that it occurs commonly in these also. The
verbs kar-, de- show karivaу 8b3; kīvaу 7а11, etc. (on ki-<kr-),
divaу 17а7, etc. No form for the verb le- is attested; on the analogy
of the similar perfective forms of these three verbs *kīvaу could
be posited safely. ho- shows hūvaу 12b11. The two negative
and emphatic prefixes ana-, ati- occasionally occur in composition
with verbal nouns, e.g. anakahivaу 12b11; atisunivaу 23b11.
In the unique spelling varṇavaу 17b12 the stem final vowel
weakens to -a.

165. These forms occur commonly in a gerundive construction,
showing adjectival concord, e.g. yaha kārya jau kīvaу 14b2;
ve kavi na mūrṣa jānive 3а12; ekai bhāryā seviṇ 14b11. In this
construction no finite verb is expressed in present tense, and the
only negative found is na, conformably with the prescriptive
force of the construction.

166. Elsewhere they are found as masc. sg. subs., chiefly in
constructions which require no comment, e.g. dīvaи kau kālu
10а3; ...bhūṣana satya bolivaу hai 13а10. In composition with the
verb kar- (sometimes suffixed with the emphatic enclitic -i) they
form expressions which stress the habitual nature of an action,
e.g. jau apanaiṁ svāṁi kai nīkaṭa hīṁ rahivo karai...11а11; ve to
saṁtoṣasaṁbāndhī susu kari pūrana rahivoi karatu hai 6а10.

1 E.g. in Sūr; SB pp. 308ff., 337ff.  
2 See GHL par. 480.  
3 Ibid.
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167. These, which associate with obl. case nominal or pronominal forms, may be divided formally into simple and compound postpositions, the former consisting of one member only, the latter showing as their first member the possessive elements ke, kai(m) or kī. The distinctive member of the attested compound postpositions is nominal (either an adj. or a perfective or imperfective participle used nominally), and in obl. sg. case. (Collocations of obl. sg. case subs. with preceding kai(m), kī are discussed in par. 210, as adverbial locutions.)

A. Simple postpositions

kau, etc.

168. This postposition, which is the possessive sign, differs syntactically from all others in the language of the text in associating with a second nominal form, with which, except in the construction noted in par. 170, it shows concord of number, case and gender as an au-stem adj. The forms found are:

Sg. Dir. kau/ko, kaum, (kā) m. kī f.
Obl. ke, kaim/kai  
Pl. Dir. ke, kai  
Obl. kai  

169. Dir. sg. masc.: kā occurs only once: sonai kā hara 15a5; it may therefore be thought of as an importation from KhB., the more so since the Persian-derived form veijjata occurs in the same sentence, 15a5n. kaum occurs clearly as possessive a few times, e.g. karaṇaṇamāntani kaum śarīru 17b10; guṇini kaum guṇu kaunu nāmāhī 7a6 (where there is perhaps a possibility of an analogy of introduction of nasality from the following interrogative). But elsewhere, kau (with variant ko 5a11) is regular, and forms showing nasality are usually to be interpreted as belonging to the general obl. pron. kahum, etc. This is in accordance with the probable derivation of the possessive and general obl. postpositions.2

One occurrence of the form kari is possibly also to be considered here: nitisāta kari tatva loka kaum kahata hai 1b13.

1 For the vowel alternation see par. 25.
2 From kṛta- and kākṣa- respectively; see GHL pars. 194, 195.
**MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX**

**kari** could perhaps represent an importation from Av., used out of concord (*kara* would be expected);\(^1\) but equally it may be due to a replacement of *kai*, the dir. pl. masc. form, by a Bundeli- or E.H.-speaking scribe in whose speech *kai* and *kari* might be expected to have sometimes fallen together, see note to 6a12.

170. Obl. sg. masc.: notable in its scope is the construction of subst. or pron. +*kai(m)*, *ke* as an invariable possessive in association with a subst., which is always abstract and may be of either gender, e.g. *vrata visai haim ruci jā kai 6b12; kūkara kaim itano hīṁ balu āhi 9b10; ekani kaim... saṃpadāṁ desijati hai 16b12.*

The variant *ke* occurs rarely in this construction: *jina ke matsaru hai 10a11* is noted. This construction occurs freely in cases where mod. st. H. would usually show either a possessive expression in concord (e.g. *manusya kai si ākṛti dharai haim 13a7;* mod. st. H. would have *manusya kī si ākṛti...*) or the postpositions *ko* or *ke pās* (as in the examples cited above). With it may be compared such mod. H. adverbial expressions as *mere coṭi laği,* etc.

171. *kai* or *ke* (never *kaim*) occurs in association with imperfective and perfective participles, in what are thus strictly nominal constructions: see par. 203.

**kahum**, etc.

172. This postposition occurs in a wide variety of grammatical contexts; its functions can be summarised as those of a general obl. case marker. The forms found are described under the headings (a) dir. obj. marker, (b) indir. obj. marker, and (c) ‘other obl. case’ marker.\(^2\) They are: *kaham, kaham, kauṁ, kahiṁ, kum, kau, kahā.* The disyllabic forms are not noted at all by Taṇḍan for Sūr, nor by Varmā or Kellogg except as belonging to E.H.; but Simha gives *kahum, kahaṁ* as dir. and indir. obj. variants for pre-Sūr verse,\(^3\) and Beames gives *kahum* for Cand Bardāi.\(^4\) The preponderance of the forms with *-h-* is perhaps to be taken as a southern influence; cf. the modern Bundeli forms *khom,* *khaun* cited by Grierson and Agravāl,\(^5\) and the fact that Simha's

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\(^{1}\) EA par. 275.

\(^{2}\) Differing from (b) only in that it expresses a less specifically ‘dative’ relationship between nominal forms, and rather a general connection in terms of context. The distinction is experimental, made to allow any differentiation of function in variants of *kahum* to emerge as clearly as possible; but any such is slight, see pars. 174-5.

\(^{3}\) Pars. 315, 317.

\(^{4}\) P. 173.

\(^{5}\) LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 92; BBhA p. 23.
citations of kahaṃ are both from a southern(Gwalior?)-based writer.¹ Simha’s kahum (dir. obj. marker) may possibly be a central BrBh. form, however,² and the existence of a form kha in W. Pahāri, probably of Rājasthāni origin, is a reminder that aspiration in the gen. obl. case marker may once have been much more current in the H. language area than now.³

(a) Dir. obj. marker

173. Sg. dir. objects not in dir. case regularly show suffixed -hi(m), never kahum, etc., in the language of the text. kahum occurs once with a pl. form: hāthīni kahum...rokive kaham 4a12. Pl. dir. objects not in dir. case otherwise regularly show suffixed -ni alone, unless two examples of kahum, kahaṃ in conjunction with transitive verbs, whose construction is ambiguous, are included: sādhuni kahaṃ (kahum) kauṃnahaṃ siṣayau hai 4b13, 20a9.

(b) Indir. obj. marker

174. kahum is noted eleven times, kahaṃ six times (three of these before the end of f. 5b). These are the most common forms. kahuṃ occurs once where influence of the adv. kahum cannot be assumed: dūdha...jala kahuṃ...guna...dae 8b8. apanu kahum jau koī upakāra karatu hai 20a13 and dhikkāra vā susa kahum 16a1 may show influence of the adv. homonym, which closely precedes in each case. In pauruṣa kahuṃ dhikkāru 16a11, kahuṃ may be due to influence of the example at 16a1, ten lines preceding and based on the same subst.

kum is noted four times, twice in the same context, and three times within only a few lines’ space: ādṛṣṭa hi kum namaskāru 6a1 (5b13, 5b12); bharttāra hi kum hita vāṃchati rahai 8a10. These are most probably minimally stressed variants of kahuṃ; with the first example cited cf. the use of kahum three lines later, in a similar context: karmani hiṃ kahuṃ namaskāru kījai 6a4.

kauṃ is noted four times: nitiṣata kari tatva loka kauṃ kahata hai 1b13; sādhru jana kauṃ daksāṇu karatu haim 23a15; guru-caraṇani kauṃ praṇāma 23b8; bhartṛhari...paramesvara kauṃ namaskārarūpamangalācaraṇa karatu haim 1b6. The first of these examples shows the gen. obl. postposition, rather than

¹ Par. 176. ² Par. 171. ³ LSI vol. ix, pt iv, pp. 373, 380. On the interpretation of the forms of this text see further Introduction, p. 9.
sauṃ, associated with the verb kah-; sauṃ is usual with both kah- and bol- in the language of the text, parallel to the mod. st. H. usage of se, except where a directive is implied. Perhaps the use of kauṃ is consistent with the sense ‘proclaim, declare to’ which the verb kah- bears here. The other examples are taken not to show rare kauṃ for the possessive form kau, on the analogy of an occurrence of unambiguous kaham with the subst. dānu, of similar sense, no doubt, to dakṣānu: satpāra kaham dānu 12b12; cf. also the occurrence of kauṃ, kaham with the subst. namaskāru at 5b14, 6a4, and the verbal expression bhalāi kar-, 13a15. kauṃ is interpreted as a distressed variant of kauṃ.

The form kahā occurs once: īśvara kahā namaskāru 1b8, where the gen. obl. postposition is intended; cf. the parallel expression with kum at 6a1, cited above. Presumably it is to be related to modern Bundeli khām, Kanauji kām, noted by Agravāl and Grierson.1

(c) Other obl. case marker

175. The most common forms are again kauṃ and kaham, occurring roughly in a proportion of 4:1.2 kahūṃ is noted five times where influence of adv. kahūṃ cannot be assumed, but three of these occurrences are within the space of one folio: e.g. strīni kahūṃ parama bhūṣanu lajjā hai 13a10 (13a6, 13b14, 22b14, 23a10). The example vasudhā kahūṃ alāmkaṇarūpa 21a4, however, is almost immediately preceded by reduplicated kahūṃ, while at least one other example shows emphatic kahūṃ, i.e. kauṃ, postposition, +hūṃ: yogīsvarani kauṃ mahā-agamya hai 11a4 (gl. yoginām api agamyaḥ); also perhaps kauṃna kauṃ pūjya nāṃhī 11b2.

kauṃ occurs clearly thrice near the end of the text: puruṣa kauṃ sobhā nāṃhī 25b11 (twice); manuṣya kauṃ vidyāi aneka bhogani karāuti hai 23a9. In this last example kauṃ is taken as other obl. case marker, rather than as dir. obj. marker, on the basis of mod. st. H. constructions involving karāṇā, which take only one dir. obj., expressing agency by means of the postposition se. In several other cases, again all near the end of the text, kauṃ is interpreted with some hesitation as general obl. case marker rather than as a possessive: e.g. tina kauṃ...kacchā kārya nāṃhī bhayau 22a12;

1 BBH, pp. 20ff.; LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 85.
2 Sixteen occurrences to five are noted, apart from the frequent examples after obl. infinitive forms in -ive, which have not been counted.
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(22b14, etc.). The difficulty of interpretation is that the linking of subs. in both obl. and possessive constructions is often possible; cf. the pair of examples prabhu kahum bhūṣana 12b13, parama bhūṣana vrāhmaṇa kau 13a11.

kau occurs clearly once: saba guna akele...kacchū kāmma kau nāṃhi 7b1n.; another possible instance, tā kau ati sanamānu hotu hai 13b4, is interpreted as a possessive in view of the regularity of kau, dir. masc., in this function, and in spite of the obl. construction following clearly in the same line: aru tā kahum ati-ucca padāvī hoti hai 13b4.

taiṃ, etc.

176. This postposition (representing a tatena?) almost invariably shows the form taiṃ; tem is noted twice, 6a9, 17b9, tai three times (twice immediately following a nasal syllable): svabhāva him tai 3b5; kahūm tai 9b8; kahā tai 4a5. taiṃ has a general 'ablative' sense, e.g. tā taiṃ 9b9 etc. 'from this (it follows that), for this reason'; putra ladyāye taiṃ vinaśatu hai 6b4 'a son is spoiled by coddling'; saujanya taiṃ saba koū jana hota hai 12a3 'through kindliness...'. The use of taiṃ seems to be unique for the text in videśa gaye taiṃ vidyā vaḍau devatā 23a11n., gl. videśagamanī vidyā param daivatam; perhaps an incipient tendency for some functions of taiṃ and saum to overlap accounts for taiṃ appearing here instead of saum, which unlike taiṃ commonly features in glosses to Sanskrit locatives.

taiṃ occurs in expressions of fear, apprehension, etc.: lokaniṃdā taiṃ bhaya 13b12; imdra hū taiṃ nāṃhi sakucata hai 9a13. It is regularly used in expressions of comparison, e.g. utanai taiṃ adhiku na pāvai 18a5; saba taiṃ kriyā vaḍī 9a1 expressing superlative degree as a comparison with saba, as in mod. st. H.

saum, etc.

177. This postposition, representing OIA sama-, almost invariably shows the form saum; sūm is noted three times: śarasāṃma sūm samvāri tanaka rāsijati hai 2b9; kahū sūm priya vacana bolati hai 18b12; aisi āpadā sīm...sarpu bāndhyau 7b12. The equivalence of sūm and saum is illustrated by a comparison of the

1 EA par. 280; but cf. old Kosalt tau, which should be connected; Uktivyakti-prakarana, par. 63.

2 As seen clearly in mod. st. H., where se subsumes the functions of taiṃ and saum as used in this text.
last two examples with sāba hi saum atidina vacana bolati hai 7a3, and kumhāru apanem karama saum bāmḍhikai...10b8. sum occurs once: kāhū sum rūkṣa vacana bolati hai 18b12. sum, which occurs occasionally in Sūrī but is not noted by Kellogg or Varmā, is interpreted as an unstressed variant; sūm could be a restressed form of this, or a borrowing from Mārvāri.2

178. saum occurs (a) in expressions describing the projection of feelings, e.g. love, steadfastness, hostility; also the act of speaking. Examples are: tā saum kahata hai 6b12; apanem mitra saum samānakarama rahai 8a11; hāda saum...rati 9b13; tejasvini saum parākramu 17b5; pāṃḍītani saum...rijūtā 23b2. saum here inherits the function of Sanskrit locatives, and it is noteworthy that viṣaiṃ, of loc. force, is an equivalent of saum in this type of expression: cf. jala saum...prīti 8b8; sādhu jana viṣaiṃ...prīti 23b1; (b) with instrumental force, e.g. tapasyā saum kahā kāṁma hai 12a1; atigārva saum varyāikai 18a13, and several of the examples cited in par. 177.

kari

179. This postposition appears as kari always, except for one occurrence of kara, which is emended, 11b6. It occurs (a) with instrumental force, much more commonly than saum, e.g. jihīṃ karama kari daśa hūṃ avatāra kau ju dharivau, tihiṃ kari...10b9; śravaṇa sunive hi kari sohata hai 17b8; (b) preceding adjs., with the general sense ‘with respect to’, e.g. ḍipati kari rahita 4b6; sukha kari...mudita 6a8. This force of kari is doubtless inherited from the Sanskrit instrumental, which can be used in the same way.

180. A number of occurrences of kari must be interpreted as verbal absolutes, e.g. vade kari mānata hai 5a10; na duṣu kari ganaīṃ aru na suṣu kari ganaīṃ 5b6. In para kahum namratā hīṃ kari ūṃce hvai baṭṭhatu haiṃ 11b5 interpretation as either absolute or postposition is possible, but in the context of the preceding sentence the former is more likely. There are other ambiguous examples, e.g. at 12b7. Postpositional use of kari, which is not mentioned by Varmā or Tāṇḍān, clearly derives from this absolute use.3

1 SB p. 160.
2 It is usually taken as a Rājasthāni form: GHL par. 172, LB par. 203. But Grierson gives stūṁ for mod. BrBh., LSI vol. ix, pt 1, p. 80.
3 Cf. the use of karke in mod. H. in similar senses; GHL par. 173(a).


This postposition, which has a much more limited use than any of those discussed above, appears usually as paham, e.g. asādhunī paham...māngahī 5a2; jihīm kārama mahādeva paham sopari kau daunmā hātha dai 10b1; tā hī paim metatu hain 12a9; jini paham kahā na hvai āvai? 11a5. The form paim is noted four times, once in close conjunction with an instance of paham: nāśa kāhū paim na hoi. Su kāhū paham meṭī na jāī 15b1. paham is not noted by Varmā, nor by Kellogg; Tanḍan cites it, with variants, for Sūr, and Saksena paham and other variant forms for the Av. of Tulṣī, suggesting derivation from pakṣa- or pārśva-. This fits the general sense of the postposition, ‘in or from the direction of’; the formal parallelism between paham and kaham <kakṣa- supports derivation from pakṣa-. paim is an unstressed form <pahim, pāhim, or possibly directly <paham in a period when final vowels were tending to become confused.

On the construction of the verbs meṭ- (exemplified above), mār- with subst. or pron. +paim, alongside their use as transitive verbs, see note to 12a9. The example hāthīhi paim māratu hai 9b9, together with one of the examples there mentioned, is also noteworthy in showing postposition in association with pleonastically suffixed subst.; the same peculiarity is shown again in the next phrase in āpatkālaṁhī visaim 9b9, also featuring a loc. postposition.

visai(m)

The variant with amusāra is outnumbered roughly three to one over ff. 1b–4a, but preponderates in the text taken as a whole. It usually bears the simple locative sense ‘in’, but may mean ‘concerning’, conformably with its presumed derivation from visaya-: īśvara visaim pramāṇu netra nāṁhī... 1b1; tā hī visaim... bāmdhī hai sprhāhī 4b9. Occasionally it is used synonymously with saṃ, see par. 178. visai(m) is not noted by Varmā, Kellogg (except in the sense ‘concerning’) or Tanḍan.

1 SB p. 168.
2 EA pars. 283, 285(b). Tessitori derives pāhim<pakṣa, OWR par. 33.
3 Unattested BSK, but common in Tulṣī. paim<pahim would be parallel to kaun<kahum, see pars. 174–5.
4 GHL par. 657.
madhya, etc.

184. This postposition is synonymous with viṣaim ‘in’, as is demonstrated by the example āpadā madhya...aru...sāmpati viṣai 3b2 (gl. vipadi...abhyudaye). It is very frequent. madhi 9b15 is a spelling variant dependent on weakening of the final inherent vowel. The tadbhava forms connected with madhya are: māṇjha (noted eight times); mājha (four times; thrice on f. 18a, the other instance being in close association with māṇjha 15a2; in nasal consonantal environment, these are clearly scribal variants only); māṇjhi 13b2; mahāṃ 24a13. All these forms have some currency in Sūr; they are usually said to be of eastern provenance. The form māṇjhi is noted by Śimha for the earliest of his pre-Sūr BrBh. texts, however.2

para ‘on’ (OIA *uppāri)

185. This is the only form of this postposition found in the text. pāi, given by Kellogg and Varmā as a BrBh. postpositional form, does not occur as a postposition in the text; pāiṃ as a postposition is referable always to pahāṃ, see pars. 181f. para occurs occasionally in conjunction with a following postposition, e.g. apani pūthi para taim 24b5 ‘from on top of’.

sameta ‘together with’

186. This form is noted four times: saba prthvī sameta 24a1; (5b2, 14a7, 24a3). Cf. par. 187.

sahita ‘together with’

187. Several occurrences are noted, e.g. sakala prthvī sahita 24a1; (14a7, 16b14). Cf. the exactly synonymous use of sameta, par. 186.

laum, etc. ‘up to, until’

188. This form is noted ten times, e.g. jau laum rahai, tau laum... 10b15; kahāṃ laum 4b6; lahum is noted once: tā ki kirtti diśāni lahum jāti hai 13b7. lai(m) occurs occasionally, e.g. 11b14, 12a4; lem 7a12, all in the same context as laum 4b6. The derivations usually given for laum, Av. lai, etc., are from laga- or labdha-;3

1 SB pp. 168f.; LB par. 201; GHL par. 181.
2 Par. 319.
3 GHL par. 198(c); EA par. 287. Turner, ND, s.v. lāi, suggests lābhe or lāgayati.
the second is supported by such a form as lahum in this text, with medial aspirate. Otherwise lahum could be a back-formation on laum < lāga- by analogy with such a pair as kahum/kaun.

vinu, etc. ‘without’

189. This form is regular. vina is noted at 3a13, 7a15, 10a11; vinā once, but in a gloss to Sanskrit sukham vinā, and in a sentence position where the lemma itself should have been written and might accordingly have influenced the form of a gloss: susu vinā 17a15. vinā is thus doubtful for the language of the text, even though it is mentioned by Tāṇḍan for Sūr’s language along with vinu, vina.¹

Only in three cases does vinu follow the word it is associated with, and each of these depends directly on a Sanskrit phrase with final vinā: dhana vinu 7a14, 7b1; dhanu vina 7a15, all gl. arhostu ... yenaikena vinā. Elsewhere vinu precedes, and is the only postposition to show this ‘inverted’ form in the language of the text. Used in this way, it associates with (a) nominally used obl. masc. perfective participles, which usually show the variant ending -aim. Six examples are noted, e.g. mitrahim vinu desaim 8b13; vinu gayāri karaim 17b3; vinu pādhai 6b5; (b) substs. Nine examples are noted, all sg.; six show the subst. suffixed with -hī(ṃ): e.g. vinu kāraṇa 10a8, 10; vinu hī sampati 23b7; vinu krama-mahiṃ 6a2; vinu kāraṇahim 10a11. For this suffixation see par. 14.

190. As calques on expressions showing vinu preceding suffixed subst. are interpreted three occurrences of the phrase ve hī kā(ṃ)mahi(ṃ) 10a6, 13a7, 18a6, with P. prefix be- for vinu.

pāchaim ‘after’

191. The form, representing an OIA *paśca-, is frequent, e.g. tā pāchaim 7b14, and always has temporal reference, contrasting with mod. st. H. (ke) piche, which has locational reference only. Varmā and Tāṇḍan cite ke pāchem, ke pāchaim only with locational reference (but the corresponding adv. pāche(m), pāchaim with both senses).²

tana ‘towards’

192. This word occurs as a postposition twice, at 7a15 and 18a13, both times in association with the verb form citavatu (hai)

‘looks at, considers’. It is clearly identifiable with a H. form
*tan* ‘in the direction of’; this form, cited by BSK, s.v., and for mod.
Av. by Grierson, is connected by him with Ap., Old Guj. genitive
postposition *taṇau*, Ap. instr. (dat.) *taṇem*, and derived from
Sanskrit -*tanah*. Dave² derives *taṇau* < *tanaya*-. PSM gives it as a
deti word, s.v. It occurs in Sūr, BSK, s.v.

samāna ‘like’

193. This postposition is noted twenty times, eleven times before
adjs. and nine times qualifying a subst. or pron., e.g. *ṭuṇa ke*
*ṭūka samāna harae 7a15; tā mārga samāna viṣamu hai 14a5;*
*vaccha samāna yā lokahīṃ 18b2; agani jala samāna hваi jāti hai*
*21b15; yaha saba, suralokasampati samāna 15b6. The first*
two examples show that the usage is genuinely postpositional, and
does not represent a compounding of *bhāśa* subs. with a tatusama
adjectival element, *samāna*. (On genuine adjectival compounds
with -*samāna* in the text see note to 4b12.)

tara ‘below’ (OIA *tala*-

194. One example: *apanainiṃ caraṇṇa tara 21a15.*

bāhira ‘outside’ (OIA *bāhira*-

195. One example: *dvāra bāhira 15b4.*

B. Compound postpositions

*kai(m) samā(m)na*, etc. ‘like’

196. Three examples are noted, twice before subs. and once
before an adj.: *bala kaiṃ samāna hīṃ phalu 9b10; udyama kai*
*samāmma...bamdhau 16b8; caṇḍramā kai samāmma ati-ujjvala*
*25b10. This evidence, taken in conjunction with that for samāna*
*above, shows that the simple and compound postpositions are*
*functionally equivalent in the language of the text, both being able*
to be used adjectivally and adverbially.

*kai(m) āgai(m) ‘ahead of, (out) in front of’ (OIA *agra*-

197. Three examples are noted, at 7a9, 25b13, 18a10. On the
basis of the first example and the sense of mod. st. H. *ke āge,*

1905, p. 484.                      ² Gujarātī Language, p. 58.
this postposition would be taken as expressing location of one point beyond, rather than opposite or in front of, another: dhana...jā kai āgaṁ na jāti ganijai...; but the last two suggest that it also answers to mod. st. H. ke sāmne ‘in front of, opposite’, e.g. ju śaive kahunḍ deta hai, tā kai āgai vāra vāra pūṁcha calāvatu hai 18a10.

kai anusāra ‘according to’

198. One example, 9b5.

kai(m) drśtigocara ‘visible to’

199. Two examples: nīca kaiṁ drśtigocara bhae taim ko...rahatu hai 23a1, gl. nīcasya gocaragataiḥ sukham āsyate kaiḥ; (23a6). The sense required in both examples makes it clear that drśtigocara is not to be taken as an adjectival complement to bhae (with the sense 'on a base person's being seen'), but in conjunction with preceding kai(m) (with the sense 'on becoming visible to a base person').

kai pāḍākrānta ‘in subjection to’

200. One example: see note to 21b1, where its significance is discussed.

kī nāṁhi ‘like’

201. Five examples are noted: puhapani kī śī nāṁhi 2a8, gl. puspavat; (8a6, 10b7, 13a12, 18b6). Kellogg, Varmā, and Ṭaṇḍan give only the form kī nāṁ;1 on the probable implication of the regular spellings with -h- see ch. 2, par. 30. MS Jodh. 1095a has kī śī nā̄ī 5b6 etc. The fem. gender of the possessive element kī reflects the apparent fem. gender of the derivative nāṁ, with final -īṁ, < nyāyena, instr. masc.

kaiṁ laaiṁ ‘for’;2 kaiṁ madhya ‘in’

202. One example is noted of each of these forms, 24a13; 24a6.

203. A number of other locutions show participial forms, both perfective and imperfective, used nominally with ke, kai: ke sīṣaaiṁ 3b5 ‘taught by’; kai bhāyem 4a15 ‘in the opinion of’; kai sīmcai 8b12 ‘watered, cooled by’; kai lagai 9b12 ‘through contact with’; kai deṣata 9a12 ‘in the presence, sight of’; kai lagataiṁ 20b12n. ‘very close to, in contact with’; kai echuvata 19a9n. ‘on being touched by’.

1 GHL par. 654a; LB par. 205; SB p. 276. 2 See par. 135.
ADVERBS

204. The adverbial locutions found in the text are classified and discussed under the following headings: (A) those based on pronominal elements; (B) those involving an obl. case form (apart from examples falling under (A) or showing participial forms used independently, or postpositions); (C) others, including negatives and emphatic enclitics, which are treated in separate sub-sections. All one-word adverbs, and examples of all significantly different types of adverbial locution, are noted; forms which show a following enclitic are noted usually under the sub-sections on enclitics.

A. Based on pronominal elements

aba 'now' ita 'here' aisaïm² 'in this way'
taba, tava¹ 'then' tahâm, uta 'there' taisaim² 'in that way'
jaba, java¹ 'when' jahâm 'where' jaisaim² 'just as'
kaba 'when?' kahâm 'where?' kaisaim² 'how?'
kacchû, kacchûka 'to some, any extent'

205. tahâm, synonymous with uta, occurs both as a correlative and quite commonly as an independent demonstrative, e.g. 4b 14, 8b 7 etc.; vahâm, uhâm, etc., formed on the base va-, do not occur. ita, uta occur once only, together: ita uta...tai'm 19a 3. There is no other possibility of occurrence of a demonstrative adv. of near reference in the text, hence a yahâm or hyâm, parallel to tahâm, is not ruled out for the language of the text; rather the relative frequency of tahâm and uta, and the attestation of hyâm, etc. for medieval BrBh.,³ make its existence probable.

206. jahâm is noted once, 12a 13, and kahâm (kahâ rarely, e.g. 4a 5) is common; alternatives jîta, kita, which would be parallel to the demonstratives ita, uta and are attested for medieval BrBh.,⁴ do not occur.

207. taisaim occurs regularly as a correlative, but is also noted as an independent demonstrative, cf. taise 4a 15. vaisaim, comparable to mod. H. vaise, does not occur.

208. jaisaim occurs commonly both as a relative, and independ-

¹ For the phonetic interpretation of sporadic tava, java in the second half of the MS, and of jau for jaba, see ch. 2, par. 27. For the syntax of sentences with jau lau'm see par. 254a.
² BSK, s.v.
³ For variant endings see par. 26.
⁴ LB par. 242.
ently in the sense 'just as', e.g. 13b2 (relative); 8b3 (independent). In one case jaisaim appears clearly from the context to mean 'as soon as', in which sense it occurs commonly in mod. st. H.: jaisaim devatāmi apaṇaim suṣa kahām samudra mathyau, su samudra mathata bhale bhale ratana nikase 17a12.

209. kacchū occurs occasionally, e.g. kacchū agni kai yaha vicāru nāṁhī 19a9; (15b10); kacchūka,\(^1\) with pleonastic suffix, at 10b2.

B. Involving oblique case forms

210. (a) Expressing time. pahilai(m)\(^2\) 20a2, etc., prathama hī 1b6 'first, first of all'; taim hī kṣaṇa 9a6 'at that very moment'; viṣa hī 17a11 'in the meanwhile'; rāti dinu 19a14, etc. 'night and day'; dīna hīm 25b2 'during the daytime'; vāra vāra 25a7, etc. 'time and again'; kai anma 19a15 'at the end of'; pāchaim 7b14, pāchaim(m) kari 3a4, 20a4 'afterwards'; āgaim 14b2 'henceforward'.

(b) Expressing place. niyaraṇm 11a12 'near'; nicaim 18a10 'low'; apaṇaim ghara hī 16b13 'in one's own house'; kaim mārga 22a15 'in the path of'; bahuta thawani 8a1, etc. 'in many places'; dhiga 9a11 'near'; kai tara 7a11 'below'.

(c) Others. mere jāna 6a14 'to my knowledge'; saca 23b15 'truly'; bhale (se) 10b2 'somewhat) well'; āṃsini 4a2, etc. 'with (one's own) eyes'; krama krama 20a2 'gradually'; haraaim harayem 20a1 'gradually'; apaṇi samatīsavṛtti hīm 10a10 'in their own contented way'; budhi 9a11n. 'mentally'(?); kī lār 9a14 'with saliva'; anega phalami 18b3 'with different fruit'; gunami 24b1 'with virtues'; kai misa 8b11, etc. 'on the pretext of'; kai pakṣan 21b2, etc. 'with respect to'; vegi hīṃ 8a4, etc. 'quickly'; kai sātha 16a1, kai saṅga 16b4 'together with'; nikai 4a4, nīṃkai kari 4a9 'well'; anāyāsa hīm 24a4, etc. 'easily'.

211. The superfluous suffixed kari of pāchaim(m) kari, nīṃkai kari is perhaps by analogy with its use in various adverbial expressions based on other parts of speech than adverbs, e.g. tinūkā kari 3a5.

212. dhiga is recorded by Tāṇḍan, and by Siṃha from a pre-Sūr text dated A.D. 1396.\(^4\) Varmā cites only dhīnga, without comment on inorganic m.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Varmā cites only kachuka, with short vowel, par. 246.
\(^2\) For other ordinals used adverbially see pars. 259, 260.
\(^3\) See par. 163.
\(^4\) SB p. 343; SPB par. 342.
\(^5\) Par. 242.
C. Others

2. INDIVIDUAL FORMS

213. vaḍau 3a4, etc. ‘very’; aura 3b13, etc. ‘further’; ika, iku 9b11, 20a10 ‘first’; āju 3b10 ‘today’; nita hī 5a10, nitya 17b15, nita hīṃ nitya 19a2 ‘always, continually’; sarvadā 6a10, etc. ‘always’; dhaum 8b4, etc. ‘really, indeed’; ati (hīṃ) 2b11, etc. ‘extremely’; kevala 18b15 ‘only’; adhika 2b15 ‘extremely’; mātra 1b10, etc. ‘only’; vāraṃ vāraṃ 25a6 ‘time and again’; kadācit(a) 14b6, etc. ‘perhaps’; -pūrvaka 9a11 ‘-ly’; avasya 6b3, etc. ‘certainly’; vai (emphatic particle, see note to 10b7); āsapāsa 15a6 ‘round about’; āpāra 12b2, etc. ‘above’.

214. vaḍau used in association with adjs. is assumed to bear adverbial, rather than co-ordinate adjectival force, as in mod. st. H., e.g. samudra kau vapu aisau vaḍau vistīrnu hai 5b2.

215. Unsuffixed, stressed aura is taken as an adv. in: aura rājani saum kahata haim 3b13; aura rājani siṣa detu hai 18b1, rather than as a pronominal dir. object. Cf. with the second example use of the suffixed pron. as object with the verb siṣa-: aurahīṃ siṣavata hai 14a9n.

216. ika, iku are unstressed forms showing the same vowel reduction as ji<j, mod. st. H. ikattīs, iktālis, etc.

217. dhaum occurs three times as an emphatic particle: kahauṃ dhaum bhayaṃkara nāṃhi? 8b4, gl. kim bhayaṃkaro nāsti; hama nāṃhi jānata dhaum ve ko hai 13a8, gl. te ke na jānīmahe; kahi dhaum sādhusaṃgati puruṣani kahum kahā kahā bhalāī nāṃhi karati 18b15, gl. kathaya saṃsaṃgatiḥ puṃsāṃ kim na karoti. It is noted by BSK, s.v., and by Varmā (only as a verse-filler); Taṇḍan notes it in combination with preceding ki, kai(ṃ).1 Simha cites dhuṃ for Nārāyaṇ Dās, c. A.D. 1500 or earlier. All these forms are probably to be referred to the Pkt. adj. dhauva-< dhruva-, ‘fixed, bound to happen, definite’.2 Saksena’s derivation of Av. dhuṃ, dhaum from the root dhyā- (through an exceptional *dhayā-, *dhaṇā- with vocalic shortening?) is less satisfactory phonetically.3

218. The tātsama element ati occurs initially in composition with subs., adjs. and adverbs, including tadbhava forms,

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1 LB par. 248; SB p. 354.
2 PSM s.v. No mention is made of an emphatic adverbial use of dhauva-, but it could clearly have developed from the adj. sense niṣcit cited; cf. the use of niṣcay, subst., in this way in Bengali (and to a lesser extent in mod. st. H.).
3 EA par. 373(d).
e.g. ati vade vade 11b8, showing reduplicated adj.; atisunivau 23b11; and also in conjunction with verbal forms, e.g. ati sohati haiñ 2b8; jau kāhū para kopa karihai, tau ati karihai...12a7. (On the treatment of compounds involving ati in the transliterated text, see note to 2b8.)

2. NEGATIVES

na

219. This negative occurs with the following verbal forms:

(a) Subjunctive-presents, e.g. na phalai 12b5; na hoi 15b9; na deśiyai 6b6. By far the greatest number of examples of na fall in this category, and the verbs they associate with usually have subjunctive, rather than indicative, force; in a number of cases, however, a verb negativized with na has clear indicative force, being in parallel construction with a general present verb: na ūmcau uṭhai 8a7; (22b7).

(b) Subjunctive-futures, e.g. na...kari sakahiñ 6a12; na haumhiye 20b9; na haumhi 13a6; kaba hūm na cchāṇḍahi 24a12.

(c) Perfectives, e.g. na bhai 6b1; na bhayau 22a10; na cchāṇḍi dayau 17a14.

(d) Absolutives, e.g. na saṁtuṣṭa hvai mathivau cchāṇḍi dayau 17a13n.

(e) Verbal nouns, e.g. vā kau saṁsarga na karivau 8b2; kahūm bhāgikai suṣu na kīvau 16a1.

(f) General presents. In the sense ‘nor’, following a negative, and in the colligation na...na ‘neither...nor’; the participle is almost always followed by the auxiliary āhi, never by hai. E.g. kaba hūm na phalai. Aru na utama kula phalatu āhi 12b5; na apūnu sakucatu āhi aru na aura kāhū kī saṁkā karatu āhi 9a9. Only one case of na with unsuffixed imperfective participle has been noted: koū na pūchatu 7a15.

(g) Imperative-subjunctives, as a following rhetorical particle; one example: deśahu na 23b13 (emended from d. nāṁhī on the basis of parallel mod. st. H. usages of the particle na, never nahīn, e.g. dekho na,...jo hai na, etc., which derive plausibly from a rhetorical use of the negative na). The MS reading would be due to a scribe’s thoughtless equation of nāṁhī with na; no confusion would have been possible in the spoken language, in which the rhetorical use would have been clearly marked by intonation.
nāmhi (MIA ṇāhi)

220. This negative (for which sporadic variants nahīm, nahī, nāhīm, nāmhi occurs, e.g. at 7a7, 4a1, 25a12, 24b10 respectively) occurs with the following verbal forms:

(a) General presents, e.g. koū nāmhi citavatu 7b1; nāmhi jānayau paratu 14a4n; nāmhi vacijatu 15a10; nāmhi sakucata hai 9a13; lagatau nāmhi 25a5n. An overwhelming proportion of the examples of nāmhi falls in this category. In almost every case the imperfective participle shows no auxiliary. Appearance of the auxiliary in the example at 9a13 cited above probably expresses a degree of emphasis, in the same way as its retention after nahīm in mod. st. H.

Under this heading may be noted the invariable omission of the present tense form hai after nāmhi; this is well illustrated in contrast with the syntax of the negated subj. form hoī in: ju haummahāra nāmhi, su kaba hūṃ na hoī 15b9. One occurrence of āhi after nāmhi is noted; this again may be taken as an emphatic statement: kaisai hai iśvaru...avacchinna nāmhi āhi 1b8.

(b) Perfectives. nāmhi bhayau 22a12; nahīm chādyau 7a7. The first of these examples, taken in conjunction with na bhayau in an identical context two lines above, illustrates the interchangeability of na and nāmhi with perfectives.

(c) Subjunctive-presents, active. Two occurrences are noted: jau kāhū ki sahai nahī 11a10; kaba hūṃ...sāī nahīm 4b7. Both are somewhat exceptional in showing sporadic short a in the negative, and that they are in fact to be included here is not quite certain. The inversion of the usual order of negative and verb which they also show means that they are probably emphatic statements, and it is thus unclear whether the negatives represent nāmhi, etc., used exceptionally in emphatic contexts with subj.-pres. verbs, or na+hī(m), reconstituted in the contemporary language of Indrajit as an emphatic negative.

jani (OIA yathā na hi?)

221. This negative, for which the variants jini, janya occur once each, 4a7, 24b7, occurs with the following verbal forms:

(a) Imperative-subjunctives, 2nd sg. and pl., e.g. jini karahu 4a7;

1 Also MS nāmhi, emended to nāmhi, 20b3n.
2 Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa, par. 27, note.
jani karahu 9a2, etc.; 3rd pers. sg.: jani, janyā jānahum 24b 5, 7. Several of the examples follow bhāṣā pl. vocatives, and are thus clearly pl.; those corresponding to Sanskrit sg. vocatives all show extension with -hu, see par. 153.

(b) Subjunctive-futures. One example: jani haumhiṃ 25b 6. This example probably does not indicate any weakening in the generally clear distinction between the uses of na and jani with subj.-fut. and imp.-subj. forms respectively, but rather a confusion between 3rd pers. subj.-fut. and imp.-subj. forms themselves in the language of the text; see par. 156. It is immediately followed by a phrase containing an imp.-subj. verb, which may have influenced the choice of negative in the preceding clause: e doīm rahahu.

3. THE EMPHATIC ENCLITICS

hī(ṃ), etc.

(a) General

222. This enclitic, representing OIA hi, evo,¹ has restrictive, rather than intensive, force, serving to concentrate attention on the specific sense of the word emphasised; cf. the force of the complementary enclitic hū(ṃ), etc. It normally immediately follows the word it emphasises, intervening between nominal forms and postpositions. The forms found are: hī(ṃ), -i(ṃ), -ī.

223. hī(ṃ) is usual, though not regular, with words in final short vowel, e.g. svabhāva hī 4b 14; saṃtāśvatī hīṃ 10a 10; but also subhāvai 26a 5, etc.; vahai 3a 15; guṇāṃ 5a 9 (?);² vahai 2b 10; sabaī 11b 3, etc.; soī 1b 11, etc. ( = su + hī); joī 3a 3 ( = ju + hī); emhī 11b 7 ( = Av. ehi + hīṃ?). The evidence does not show that hīṃ is preferred to hī in a nasal environment; use or non-use of anuṃsvara appears to depend entirely on chance. The form bhūmiṃ 5b 6 is taken to represent bhūmi + hīṃ, and to show a development parallel to that assumed for taisiyāṃ 16b 2, below.

224. -ī is common after words in final -ā(ṃ), -e, -au; a triphthong -auī is almost always simplified to -oī. E.g. namratāī 11b 4; tahāṃī 12a 14; teī 8a 12, etc.; rahivoī 6a 11; vadoī 6b 14; but also

¹ EA par. 380.
² This seems a better explanation for the language of the text than to assume a pl. inflection (au- or fem. a-stem?). Chatterji, Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa, par. 63, hesitates between this explanation of almost identical gunai, pl., and interpreting -ai as a pl. inflection for Kosall of c. A.D. 1100–50. -ai pls. are attested in Ap. for masc. a-stems, see HGA par. 76.
rājā hi kī 3a12; yā hi karama saṃ 1ob12; vaḍauī 6b12, etc.; itano hīṃ 9b10, etc. hī(m) seems to be regular with obl. case pronominal forms, including correlative adverbs; in the case of the latter their correlative function may have assisted the full form of an attached enclitic to maintain itself, e.g. taisaim hī 13b2, etc.; aiseṃ hī 1ob8; hīṃ seems also to underlie adjectively used taisiyaim 16b2; jaisoi karma kīnau hoi, taisiyaim budhi hoti hai. taisī + -ī would have produced taisī, but the assumption that the voiced aspirate of enclitic hī(m) was weakly realised, only sufficiently to save it from equation with vocalic -ī, might explain presence of front glide and following diphthong here: taisī+(h)i>m > taisī-y-i>m > taisiyaim. Cf. adjectively used taisia (= taisī+emphatic particle), Rāmacaritmānas 11, 65, 7; a similar example from the BrBh. of the Kavītāvāli is meriyai, 111, 61 (merī+hī). Such a weak realisation of the aspirate of the enclitic would also accord with the common occurrence of -ī, rather than hī(m), after long vowels and diphthongs. jahām+hī(m)>jahīm 12b3; comparison with the more regular formation tahāmī 12a14 (see above) and with mod. st. H. jahīm suggests that this form might represent a KhB. influence.

(b) Special forms involving hī(m), etc.

225. jaba hīṃ...taba hīṃ ‘as soon as’ 22a4; ‘whenever’ 22b14.

226. The direct case emphatic pronominal forms, which unlike the obl. case forms never show suffixation of the full form hī(m) of the enclitic, are grouped together here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Dir.</th>
<th>yahai</th>
<th>vahai, vahai</th>
<th>soī</th>
<th>joi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Dir.</td>
<td>veī</td>
<td>tēi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

227. Imperfective participle + hīm, in the sense ‘as soon as’: aurahi deṣata hīṃ ānce caḍhi vaiṭhatu hai 11b5; (19a9).

(a) General

228. This enclitic, representing OIA khalu (with api?),1 almost always has inclusive force, stressing the sense of the word emphasised as pre-eminent in the context, or additional to some other factor involved; cf. the force of the complementary enclitic hī(m). Very occasionally, however, it seems to be used as a synonym of hī(m): vana hū madhya 11a1; vela ke mūla hū viṣai 12b2 (here hū is probably a mechanical rendering of Sanskrit api, which it

1 EA par. 377; Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa, par. 89.
commonly represents with less distortion of its inclusive sense elsewhere in the text); (20b12). hū(m) normally immediately follows the word it emphasises, intervening between nominal forms and postpositions. The forms found are: hū(m), hu(m), -u(m), -ū.

229. hū(m) is usual, though not regular, with words in final short vowel, e.g. samudra hū 19a15; prāṇani hūm 24a13; aura hū 17b4; bhūti hū 4b7; but also yogīśvarau 11a4; paratau 8a6; prānaṃ 4b7; surāpati hu 9a11; gocara huṃ 4a1, etc. huṃ occurs rather more commonly than hū in a nasal environment, but hardly commonly enough to imply a direct correlation between nasality of environment and form of enclitic.

230. -ū is common after words in final -ā, -e, -au; a triphthong -auū is simplified to -ōū or -aū in all but one case noted. E.g. āpadāū 4b10, etc.; vrahmāū 6a4, etc.; teū 20b12; iteū 23a5; kaisōū 12a7; taiū 22a4, etc.; but also kṣīnatā hū madhya 2b15; ese hū 9b6; grāsyauū 4b4, etc. (MS tauū 24a15 is emended).

(b) Special forms involving hū(m), etc.

231. kaba hūm ‘sometimes’; kaba hūm na ‘never’. A form kaba hūm ku occurs four times, all within the space of two lines of text, 5b8f. It does not seem to bear particular emphasis. The negative kaba hūm na is used quite frequently with following subj.-pres. verb, e.g. 4b8, 12b5, also once with a subj.-fut. verb, 24a12; kaba hūm nāṃhī occurs twice, 11b7, 25a11.

232. kahūm ‘somewhere’; kahūm nāṃhī ‘nowhere’. A form kahūm ku occurs seven times, i.e. roughly as often as kahūm itself, but six of these occurrences are within one folio (5); the last is at 25b14. They do not seem to bear particular emphasis. kahūm nāṃhī is used, as its negative component would suggest, with a general present verb rather than a subj.-pres., e.g. 20a12. kahi (=kahām + -i) occurs once, perhaps as a borrowing from KhB. under influence of the following verbal form: bhartṛhāri

1 Apart from the instances of kaba hūm ku (ku once written ka, 5b9, and emended) and kahūm ku, the only other example of enclitic ku in this text is jītak ku...titanau 25b4; the use of ku after a dir. case form here disposes of any possibility that ku < postposition kahum, etc. The form is not noted by any grammar, but Ṭaṇḍan cites kabaḫum ka for Sūr, p. 345. The fact that all the examples but one are concentrated within one folio of text suggests that its use is a matter of style only. The forms with u are interpreted as phonetically conditioned variants of pleonastic ka; cf. baru-ku ‘rather, indeed’, Rāmcarit-mānas 11, 47, 8, where the form with u is preceded by a high back vowel as in every case of its occurrence in this text. See further App. 1, p. 237.
kahī āgainī kahī hai 7b1. Cf. mod. st. H. kahī. Once the form kahūm represents not the indefinite adv. of place ‘somewhere’, derived from and formally identical with the emphasised interrogative (kahām ‘where’ + hū), but this interrogative itself: hādu cātaiṃ kahūm tai cchudhāsāmti hota hai? 9b8. And once it clearly represents the postposition kahūm + hū: yogīvarāni kahūm mahā-agamya hai. yogīvarau...11a4.

233. kaisō ‘however, however much’ 12a7; kaiseṣ hū...nāṃhī ‘in no way’ 11a14.

CONJUNCTIONS

A. Co-ordinating conjunctions

234. aru ‘and’. This form is the only descendant of Sanskrit aparām which serves as a co-ordinating conjunction; cf. aura, derived without metathesis, pars. 45, 215. aru can also bear the illative sense ‘then’ of initial tau (par. 235): su āpadā madhya paryau, aru vegi hīṁ uṭhi thāḍhau hotu hai 8a4.

235. tau, to (the second form is rare). tau, representing OIA tatas, is frequent in non-initial sentence or clause position, and there bears the adversative sense ‘but, rather, in fact’, e.g. adṛṣṭa tau ju karma kījatu hai, tā hī karma ke phalaiṃ detu hai 6a2. Initially it is rare except as a correlative to a subordinating conjunction (see pars. 249, 253) and bears the sense ‘and’, or the illative sense ‘then’, e.g. jau kāhū para kopa karihai, tau ati karihai, tau...12a7;1 bharataśaṃḍa sī karamabhūmi pāikai tau kahā viśaya kījai? 15a7.

236. paiṭ(m) ‘but’. The form with nasalised vowel is less common. This conjunction normally occurs initially, but has been noted once in non-initial sentence position, doubtless as a syntactic calque on the use of tau: jau paiṭ yaha kulīna hoi...11a1. Cf. jaṃ pai similarly, Rāncaritamānas II, 74, 4. With paiṭ(m) cf. Pkt. pareṇa, OIA para-.

237. kiṃtu ‘but’. This common form, which only occurs initially, is used once pleonastically in conjunction with non-initial to: kiṃtu ve to samtośasamkāṃdhī susu kari...6a10. Its use in this way suggests its less firm standing in the language of the text than that of tadbhava tau.

238. nāṭaru, nāṃtaru (the second spelling is somewhat less

1 The context shows that only the second tau correlates with jau.
common) ‘but, however’. The form nataru noted for Sūrī does not occur. nā(t)m)taru occurs normally in initial sentence position, but is noted once following paim, again probably as a syntactic calque on the use of tau: manusya kai sī ākṛti dharai haim, paim nātaru ve rākṣasa 13a7. HSS suggests derivation from na+to+aru.

239. kahā ‘or’. This form, which is taken as connected with the verb kah-, 2 is common as a conjunction, e.g. dhūsaravarana hotu hai, kahā atimalina hvai jāta hai 2b1. It serves in the same way as the verbal form kahaitaim, etc., to introduce glosses or alternative explanations in the text.

240. jā ‘or’ (representing [jaː]). This form is noted only once: vipati, jā āpadā 8a2. An apparent scribal hesitation in writing it perhaps confirms its rarity for the language of the text, see footnote to 8a2.

241. athavā, kimvā, vā ‘or’. The first two of these tatsama forms are common; vā occurs at 16a3.

242. bahuri (exceptionally written vahuri 4a2) ‘further’, e.g. bahuri bharṭhṛhari...kahata haim 2a2. bahuri occurs as a correlative to jau at 19a15, probably as a stylistic variant to tau which shortly precedes it in a non-correlative sense: jau...karama karata rahijai, tau vipati parai, bahuri...(But cf. 12a7, where such a replacement of a repeated tau is not made.) The form is historically an absolutive; cf. mod. H. local bahurā, HSS, s.v.

243. phuni (puni is noted once, 13a12) ‘again, further’. phuni occurs usually non-initially, e.g. ...aru aurahi sakucatu phuni nāmhī 9b2, but also initially in the same sense, e.g. phuni lajjā aru janaṇī kaisi hain 24b1. Sūrī, 3 and BrBh. in general, have only puni, but Simha cites phuni from a text of A.D. fourteenth century. 4 No example of sporadic aspiration of a form derived from punar is cited by Bloch or Chatterji. 5 phuni is common in MS Jodh. 10956a, and, it therefore seems clear, is genuinely Indrajit’s form.

244. kahā, question marker. kahā regularly introduces questions which do not contain an interrogative, as does kyā in mod. st. H., e.g. ese matta hāthīni kau tiraskāra kahā mṛṇāla ke tāntu kari hotu hai? 4a14. Cf. the question-introducing function of Sanskrit katam. 6

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1 SB p. 354.
2 See par. 126.
3 SB p. 346.
4 SPB par. 342.
5 FLM par. 84; ODBL par. 236.
6 But Kellogg connects kahā, interrog. pron., with an extension of kasya, GHL par. 375.

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245. *muku*. This form is equated with *maku*, which is interpreted by HSS in the senses ‘even if, but, perhaps, possibly’;¹ the examples there cited are all from medieval Av., but *maku* occurs in Sūr also, BSK, s.v. The above senses seem to fit the contexts of *muku* in this text, e.g. samudra hū muku pairi pāra hoi 2a7, gl. samudram api santaret; hāthu nāyau muku, nīkau 21b10; ju...su muku...mari jaivau bhala hato 16a8; muku itani vātaīn karī bhalī 21b7; prānani hūṃ muku cchāṃdata hain 24a12, gl. asūn api tyajantī.

With *muku*, *maku* cf. Panjabi *makhu* ‘nay, but, moreover’, for which Turner suggests connection with mā (negative of prohibition) + khalu, CDIAL, s.v. This derivation for *muku*, *maku* would imply a special destressed development of khalu, whose aspiration is normally retained (cf. hū(ṃ) of this text); occasional kum of this text, representing kahum, furnishes a phonetic parallel, in so far as destressing of kahum will have proceeded via *khum* (cf. mod. Bundeli khom; but also kauṃ of this text showing disappearance of medial -h-). u in the first syllable of the forms of this text is perhaps a dialectally restricted (Bundeli?) labial influence from initial m, or the following syllable.

246. kai...kai; kai...kimvā; kimvā...kimvā ‘either...or’. Each of these colligations occurs within the lines 14b10-13, the last two also elsewhere in the text.

247. na...na ‘neither...nor’. See par. 219(f).

248. mānahum ‘as if’. One example, with following general present verb: unī duṣṭani mānahum aneka doṣa lagāvata hai 11b10. This form is an adaptation, as a conjunction, of an imp.-subj. form of mān- ‘consider, accept as’; cf. mod. st. H. māno(ṃ).

B. Subordinating conjunctions

*jau* ‘if’ (OIA yataḥ)

249. The equivalent spellings *yau(ṃ)* occur, 18b4, 4b4; *ju*, an unstressed variant, is noted twice, 5a1, 12a1, and *jo* several times, e.g. 3b10, 9b4, 14b11, 18b4. The regular correlative is

¹ S.v. Are Saksena’s adv. *maku* ‘a little’, par. 364n., and Simha’s *maku* ‘thorā’, from a text of A.D. mid-fourteenth century, the same word? The required sense of Saksena’s example cited at par. 275(b) seems in fact to correspond better with the HSS entry for *maku*.
CONJUNCTIONS

 tua (to toa3); tau occurs in emphasised contexts, e.g. jau āpadāū pari hoi, tua...17b3; (21a2).

 jau is often omitted from the protasis of a conditional sentence containing either general pres. or subj.-pres. verb, the character of the sentence then being marked only by illative tau, as very commonly in mod. H. E.g. aru jāti hai, dhanu nāmhi, tau jāti tana dhanu vina koū nāmhi citavatu 7a15 (cf. retention of jau in the immediately preceding sentence). tau does not occur, of course, where the usual clause order is inverted: kahā bhayau, jau phana para mani hai? 8b4. Otherwise it is doubtful whether tau is ever omitted from an apodosis; the two possible cases at 15a11 and 25b1 admit of another interpretation, see note to 15a11.

250. jau occurs most frequently with subj.-pres. verbs, though quite often also with general presents, and the present form hai; also three times with subj.-fut. verbs, and once with no finite verb, where hai or hoi is to be supplied: yaha kārya jau kīvau, tua...14b2.

251. Usually there is no semantic difference between jau+subj. and jau+general pres., both modes of expression serving to present the condition in a non-committal way: cf. mauna karaim jau sevā karai, tau vā sevaka sauṃ saba koū yaha kahai ki...11a6 with haṃsa para jau atyāmta kopa karatu hai, tau...tā hī paim meṭatu haim 12a8, etc. But occasionally, use of the general pres. appears from the context to express a more vivid, positive presentation of the condition, and use of the subj.-pres. a more tentative one; cf. kahā bhayau, jau phana para mani hai? 8b4 and jau karma kai vasya phalu hai, tau...6a3 with śatruhiṃ jau āpadāū pari hoi, tau...vinu gayāri karaim na rahai 17b2.

252. In two examples, showing jau+future or suffixed subj.-fut. verb, a future verb also occurs in the apodosis; this fact, and the contexts, would allow the assumption that use of the future or suffixed subj.-fut. in the protasis presents the condition as a more definite possibility than use of the subj.-pres. or general pres., and envisages its consequences more directly: hama jau namra na haṃhige, tau saba koū hamāre phala-phula torata atiduši hvaihaim 20b9; kaisōi vaḍo hai, jau kāhū para kopa karihai...tau tā ki jīvika meṭihai 12a7.
yadyāpi ‘although’

253. This conjunction correlates with tau, or taũ in emphasised contexts (e.g. 17b4, 19a8), and tadapi (2b8, 16b2). yadyāpi occurs usually with general presents or the present form hai, but once with hoi stressing the hypothetical nature of a case: simhu yadyāpi vālakau hoi, taũ...hāṭhīṁ hīṁ para dauri paratu haiṁ 26a1; also once with imperfective past hatau, 16a13.

ki ‘that’ (cf. P. ke)

254. This conjunction is used to introduce noun clauses, including direct speech, e.g. puruṣa...karma kau āntu vicārai, ki bhāṁ, yaha kārya jau kīvau, tau...14b2; bhartṛhari kahata hai ki haṁ vicāratu rahatu haṁ ki sumeru kāhū ke kāṁ kau nāṁhi 6a7.

jabā ‘when’ (cf. ODBL par. 602)

254a. jabā correlates with taba,¹ and taba hīṁ, taũ in emphasised contexts (e.g. 2b12, 15). The colligation jau laũm...tau laũm ‘as long as’ occurs three times, twice negated, with both na and nāṁhi: jau laũm suṣu na pāyau, tau laũm samudra kau mathivau na cchāḍi dayau 17a15; jau laũm sūrajā kau udaya nāṁhi hotu, tau laũm cchāyā...desijatu hai 20a2. Mod. st. H. makes restricted use of nahīṁ + general pres., most commonly showing na+subj., with its corresponding jab tak; Taṇḍan’s few citations give only na with jaba laũm, lagi, and jau laũm, lagi for Sūr.²

NUMERALS

A. Cardinals

eka, eku ‘one, a certain’  pāṁca ‘five’
dvāri ‘two’  chaha ‘six’
tīṇi ‘three’  sāta ‘seven’

255. eka is the usual form; eku is quite rare.³ Emphatic forms are eka hī, ekai, ekem, all occurring within a few lines on f. 14b, ekaś 25a2, and eko, contracted exceptionally from eka + -ū, 3b7. eka is used in pl. concord, e.g. eka asāḍhu aise hota hai, ju...11b5

¹ For variant forms see p. 194, table; for jaba hīṁ...taba hīṁ see par. 225.
² SB pp. 341f.
³ For ika, iku see pars. 213, 216.
NUMERALS

(‘only wicked men’); an obl. pl. ekani occurs, 16b12. eka...eka
‘some...others’, 6a8; eka eka kau eku eku bhūṣaṇa 12b14
‘each one’s respective ornament’.

256. dvai, a normal BrBh. form, occurs once, 2a2. The other
forms found all occur in likely emphatic contexts and are taken as
emphatic forms: dvaii 11a1; dvei 10b14 (these two glossing
Sanskrit aggregative dwayī), 25b3.1

257. tini is a normal BrBh. form. Its one occurrence is in conjunc-
tion with emphatic dvei 25 b 3 (which does not imply that it is itself
necessarily an emphatic form). Taṇḍan cites only tini, traya
(which is an aggregative).2 tina occurs once in an adj. compound:
tinalokahim 19b12.

B. Ordinals

pahilau; prathama
uddenau
śisara
cauthau
*pāmc(v)aum; pāncama 2b4
chatthau
sātaum

‘first’
‘second’
‘third’
‘fourth’
‘fifth’
‘sixth’
‘seventh’

258. A form pahilau is certain for the language of the text from
the adverbial use of obl. pahilai(m). Sūr has pahilau, pahilo,
pahilā.3

259. *pāmc(v)aum may be posited for the language of the text
from the adverbial use of pāmcae 2b13, in conjunction with
sātaaim 2b14. The spelling of the obl. sg. ending as a disyllable is
found only in these two forms in the text, and clearly represents a
form of the ordinal ending which appears in mod. st. H. as -vām.
Probably some degree of vocalisation of the consonant is implied,
see ch. 2, par. 27. Nasality of the ending seems probable; the
nasality of the root syllable of pāmcae may have militated against
its expression here.

260. The spelling sātaum 2b5 also shows absence of the conso-
nantal element v- of the nasalised ordinal ending. The spelling
sātaaim 2b14 suggests that as with *pāmc(v)aum it will have been
minimally present in pronunciation; Taṇḍan cites sātvenm for
Sūr.4

1 For doim, doun, dou see par. 262.
3 SB p. 290 (au-form); BSK, s.v. (o-, ā-forms).
2 SB p. 289.
4 SB p. 291.
C. Aggregatives

duhūṁ, doū, douṁ, doūṁ ‘both, the two’
tīnihūṁ, tīnyauṁ ‘the three’
caṁhū ‘the four’
sātaī, sātauṁ ‘the seven’
caudahūṁ ‘the fourteen’

261. The aggregative suffixes found in this text can either be derived from Sanskrit -yam (those in -auṁ) or represent the emphatic particle hū(ṁ) < khalu.2

262. duhūṁ occurs once, and pronominally used duhū(ṁ)ni several times: pāchilai duhūṁ pahara kī...20a5; tīni duhūṁ madhya 6a8, etc. doū, douṁ, doūṁ occur once each, and despite their alleged occurrence as cardinals in BrBh. are interpreted as aggregatives here. The latter two variants are prefixed by demonstratives in the same manner as is common with duhū(ṁ)ni, tīnihūṁni: e douṁ suṣa hīṁ vasi haṁ hitṁ 2a1; e douṁ rahahu 25b6, while the first occurs in a similar context to that of duhūṁ, cited above: pahile doū pahara 19b14.3

263. tīnihūṁ, and pronominally used obl. tīnihūṁni occur once each: tīnihūṁ lokani 5a9; ini tīnihūṁni...pāvata hain 8a12. tīnyauṁ occurs several times, e.g. e tīnyauṁ kaise hai 10a7, etc.

264. caṁhū, with nasality transferred to root syllable, occurs once: caṁhū koda taiṁ 19a3.

265. sātaī, sātauṁ occur once each: e sātaī vastu 2b7; e sātauṁ... sohata hai 2b15.

266. caudahūṁ occurs once: caudahūṁ lokani udara madhya rāśikai 5a13.

INTERJECTIONS

267. are, with following sg. and pl. subs., e.g. are mūrṣa, kahi dhauṁ...13a15; are rājāhau...4a7.

268. aho, gl. rhetorical nanu, 16a10.

1 GHL par. 250.
2 Cf. ODB par. 419, for cognate Bhoj. forms.
3 The forms have not been accounted for as cardinals; Kellogg cites doū as a BrBh. variant without comment, par. 214. Tāḍāṇ cites dou, doū for Sūr, p. 289 (as well as dou, doū as aggregatives, p. 291). It seems likely that these forms are historically aggregatives, since their final syllable can then be most easily accounted for.
VERBAL COMPOSITION

The frequent composite verbal forms which occur in the text are based chiefly on verbal elements, to which auxiliary verbs are added. There are a few examples based on nominal forms, showing these in close syntactic relationship with a very restricted number of following verbs. The following types of composite forms are noted:

A. Forms based on verbal stems

1. WITH INDEPENDENT AUXILIARY VERBS

These show auxiliaries which retain an independent meaning in the composite form.

(a) sak- ‘to be able’, e.g. hvai sakatu 6a5; nāmhi anuranjī sakatu 2a2; na ārādhi sakai 2a13.

(b) jān- ‘to know (how to)’. One example: veī rahī jānata haim 23b5n.

2. WITH DEPENDENT AUXILIARY VERBS

These are compound verbs, i.e. show an auxiliary verb whose independent meaning is not present or is only figuratively present in the composite form, where it indicates that the verbal idea present in the stem is specialised in a certain direction. A purely formal distinction of compound verbs, similar to that possible for mod. st. H., is impracticable for the language of this text; cf. ch. 3, par. 160. Seven dependent auxiliary verbs occur.

1 Parallel forms to those discussed in this section have been commonly described as compound verbs in English writing on mod. H. or Hindustani grammar, and their auxiliary elements as intensives. (J. Burton-Page, ‘Compound and conjunct verbs in Hindi’, BSOAS, xix, 3, 1957, uses the term ‘operator’ as a formal description of a much wider range of auxiliaries in mod. st. H. than the traditional intensives.) The aptness of the term ‘intensive’ has been queried, with some reason, for mod. st. H. by P. Hacker, FHH. The designation adopted for the similar forms of this text is possibly less misleading as to their general function.
FURTHER ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

jā-

3. Almost all the examples show intransitive verbs as first element, e.g. hvai jāta hai 2b1; hvai gayau hoi 4b4; hari jāu 7a11; hvai jāi rahau 7b8; nikasi jaivau 16a4; mari jāi 18b4; cchūṭi jāti hai 19a15.

4. The role of the dependent auxiliary can be illustrated from examples showing the stems hvai and rahi, as compared with examples of non-compound forms, e.g. camdramā divasa viṣaiṃ dhūsaravarana hotu hai, kahā atimalina hvai jāta hai. Aru diūsarau sali yaha hai ju kāmini galitayawana hvai jāti hai. Aru tiṣarau salyā yaha hai, ju sarovaru kamalani vinu hota hai. Aru cauthau salyā yaha hai ju sundara puruṣa kau muṣu aksarani kari hīna hota hai 2b1; sampūrana taim kalāṣeṣa mātra rahi jātu hai jaba camdramā, taba hūṃ sohatu hai 2b13; aisau vādau vistīrnu hai, jā para itane rahata hai 5b2. The second and third verbal forms of the first example here, which are compound, contrast with the non-compound fourth and fifth as bearing the sense ‘become’ rather than ‘be’; the compound verb in the second example contrasts with the non-compound in the third as bearing the sense ‘remain’ rather than ‘live’. These distinctions are the same as those between the corresponding compound and non-compound forms in mod. st. H. The occurrence of jā- with verbs of motion is also paralleled closely in mod. st. H.1

5. It is clear, however, that semantic distinction between compound and non-compound verbs cannot be too far pressed in the language of the text. Occasionally they appear to be interchangeable, cf. the first and second verbal forms hotu hai, hvai jata hai in the first example above, and the following example: agani jala samāṇa hvai jāti hai. Aru samudra alpa nāre samāṇa hvai jātu hai...Arū viṣamīrīta jalu amṛtavṛṣṭi samāṇa hotu hai 21b15. Cf. also such a pair of sentences as e sātaū vastu yadyāpi vāde taim laghu hoti haim, tadaṇi ati sohati haim 2b7 and su mada kari jaba cchīna hvai jātu hai, taba hūṃ sohata hai 2b11.

6. In mod. st. H. the choice of compound or non-compound

1 See FHH par. 30, where the dependent auxiliary jā- is interpreted for mod. st. H. as stressing the element of action inherent in such verbs as homā, rahaṇā, baṭhamā, which may also express non-active state. Its frequent use with other intransitive verbs, which necessarily refer to actions, not states, is explained as process-marking, rather than an expression of completeness or finality in the action.
verb is conditioned to some extent by feeling for sentence rhythm and (in prose literature) for the balance between sentences forming part of a connected passage; other things being equal, non-compound forms tend to be favoured medially and compound forms finally. This tendency is probably less clearly developed in the language of the text; cf. the last example quoted above.

7. Occurrence of the compound absolutive haï jāí 7b8 marks a clearer point of difference between the use of compound verbal forms in this text and in mod. st. H., where hokar only, not ho jākar, is found.

8. Only one clear example is noted of a transitive verb as first element of a compound verb with jā-: samudrahaṁ nāsi jāta haim 17a1. The force of the auxiliary here is the same as that of jānā in similar mod. st. H. compound verbs, where it expresses completeness or finality of the action.¹

**le-**

9. Two examples: ju vidyādhanahīm cori letu hai 4a1; varavāta hīm manihiṁ kāḍhī lei 2a5, gl. prasahya maṅiṁ uddharet. It is semantically improbable that the verb le- is independent in these examples, both of which are clearly shown by their contexts to refer to the actions of ‘stealing’ (cor-) and ‘pulling out’ (kāḍh-) rather than simply seizing (le-). The Sanskrit text to the second example, stressing the effort involved in the action, shows that le- as dependent auxiliary bears the same reflexive force as lenā in mod. st. H.²

**de-**

10. Seven examples, involving the transitive verbs chā(ṃ)d-, dār-, liś-, e.g. (vāṃchī vastu)…vīcā hī nāṁhi cchāḍi deta 17a11; samudra kau mathīvau na cchāḍi dayau 17a14; kūrmu…apanī pīṭhī para taim prthvīhiṁ nāṁhi dārī detu 24b4; soī ju…paṭonā mājha liśya dīnau hai 18a3. In all except the last cited here de- is clearly a dependent auxiliary with the ‘outward-directed’ force of mod. st. H. denā.³ It is further clear from these examples that the presence of a negative in a sentence is not a factor greatly influencing the use of compound verbs in the language of the text.

¹ FHH par. 37.
² Ibid. par. 20.
³ Ibid. par. 14.
FURTHER ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

*dār-

11. Nine examples, involving the transitive verbs *kar-* (five examples), *met-, jār-, kāt-, sūnd-, e.g. (*kriyā) paṇḍitani paṇḍita tain mūraśa kari dārata hai 9a5; parāye kāryahīṃ metī dārata haim 13a7; trṣṇāḥīṃ kāṭi dāru 14a9; kamalīnī jātī dāratu hai 12a9. The literal sense of the verb *dār-* ‘throw down’ (clear at 10a15, 18a6f. and 22b8) is perhaps present in the third and fourth examples cited, but hardly in the others, where *dār-* shows the same force as that commonly borne by *dālnā* in compound verbs in mod. st. H.,¹ expressing violence or decisiveness of action.

12. Two formally parallel collocations of transitive verb stem+*dār-* are interpreted as showing absolutives (unrelated to sentence subjects) in association with independent finite verbs, rather than compound verbs: *visṇu phumi...* atisamkaṭa visai gahi dāri dae haim 10b9n.; *vṛcchu jaba kāṭi dārijatu haim* 20b4. In both the literal sense of the verb *dār-* is present, and the finite verb is passive. See ch. 3, par. 162.

*par-

13. Several examples, involving the intransitive verbs *gīr-, daur-, e.g. phala giri paryau 12b2; kahūṃ mahāviṣama ṣhaura giri parikai 21b8; hāthīnī hīṃ para dauri paratu haim 26a2; (26a3). *par-* in collocation with its synonym *gīr-* is clearly a dependent auxiliary; in these examples, as in mod. st. H.,² it appears to be used in the same process-marking way as *jā-* with verbs of motion, but expressing in addition overtones of suddenness or conclusiveness in the action.

*uṭh-

14. One clear example: *sūrijakāṃtapāśānu vari uṭhatu hai* 22a5. It is clear from the context that suddenness is here expressed by *uṭh-.*³ The example *jvālā...hamḍi uṭhati hai* 21a2n. is discussed there and in par. 22. The example *gāgari...jaluhi lai uṭhati hai* 18a6 is interpreted most naturally as absolutive+independent finite verb.

¹ See FHH par. 60.
² Ibid. pars. 47f.
³ As often in mod. st. H.; but see FHH pars. 58f.
ē-

15. Two examples, involving the verb ho- in the same general context, e.g. yogiṣvaraṇau āva parāi svekā karana lāgahim, tau na hvai āvai 11a4; (11a5); and one involving the transitive verb kar-: jau sahasā him karmu kījai, tau kadācitā vuroḥ karamu kari āvai 14b6. These show ē- used in a complementary sense to that of jā- with the stem hvai, expressing the different perspective from which the action is considered.¹

B. Forms based on imperfective participles

16. Imperfective participles occur with forms of the verbs rah-, jā-, ē-, cal-, as auxiliaries; these serve to define more closely the character of the imperfective action.

raḥ-

17. Several examples, e.g. kumhāru...rati dina bhāmde gādhahu rahatu hai 10b7; sūrya gagana viśaṁ nitya hī bhramatu rahatu hai 10b12. The auxiliary emphasises the continuous character of the action.²

jā-

18. Several examples, e.g. jā taim daśāvatāra karata hi jātu hai, tā taim viṣṇu...bāmdhe hai 10b10; (chāyā) haraāṁh harayem ghaṭati jāti hai 20a1, gl. (chāyēva kṣayini kramaṇa); śvānu... hādah...sāta jāta hai. Aru dhīga ṭhāḍhe suraṇti hu deśikari nāmhi saṃkatu 9a10. The auxiliary tends to emphasise the progressive character of the action, presenting it not merely as continuous, but as going forward from its inception through a series of stages;³ the presence of the form kramaṇa in the lemma of the second example cited illustrates this well.

ē-

19. Two examples: jaisau jaisau sūrya caḍhatu āvatu hai...20a3; jaisī jaisī saṃdhyā hoti āvati hai 20a6. These show ē- used in a complementary sense to that of jā-, expressing the progression of the action towards its conclusion.⁴

¹ As often in mod. st. H.; FHH par. 43.
² As in mod. st. H.; see S. Lienhard, Tempusgebrauch, pp. 67ff.
³ As in mod. st. H.; ibid.
⁴ As in mod. st. H.; ibid.

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FURTHER ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

20. Five examples, all occurring within one folio of text, e.g. jaisau jaisau sūrya caḍhatu āvatu hai, taiṣī chāyā ghaṭati calati hai. Ghāmu vaḍhatu calatu hai 20a3; caṃdramā jaba kṣīna hvai jātu hai, taba bahuri vega hīm de vaḍhatu calatu haim 20b5; (20a5, 6). Comparison of the first example cited here with the second cited for jā- above suggests that cal- and jā- are equivalent as auxiliaries with imperfective participles, and the restricted distribution of the compounds with cal- in the text suggests that they may be relatively uncommon stylistic variants.

C. Forms based on perfective participles

With cāh-

21. Frequent examples, e.g. ju apanaiṃ kāryaiṃ sādhyau cāhai, su...5b10; veśyāū phuni kāhū kī hīṃsāī karyau cāhati hai 18b13; (rāhu) vade tejasvīni saum parākramu kīnau cāhata hai 17b5. These are, strictly, nominal usages of perfective participles as objects of cāh-; confirmation of this is seen in the fact that the participial form is always masculine, irrespective of the gender of the sentence subject. This is the only construction in which the verb cāh- occurs in the text; analogues to the mod. st. H. construction with -nā forms are not attested. In all the examples cāh- appears to bear its literal sense ‘wish (to)’, and never to have the force ‘be about to’, as in this construction in mod. H.

With jā-, uth-

22. Two examples appear to fall under this heading, both showing intransitive verbs: su mārga mādhyau caḷyau jāta hatau 12a14; agani kī jvālā kaba hīṃ adhomukha nāṃṭi calati, kintu ṛṣara haṃḍī uthati hai 21a2n. These again may be interpreted strictly as nominal (adjectival) usages of perfective participles + jā-, uth-.

1 The second example is tentatively included here rather than under section A2 above on formal grounds; see note to 21a2.

1 Probably with a degree of emphasis, though this may be taken to be conventional only in caḷyau jā-; in the second example the context allows a measure of emphasis on the verb in question. For analogous forms in mod. st. H. see FHH pars. 76, 78, 80.
VERBAL COMPOSITION

With rah-

23. Examples of a restricted number of verbs, e.g. āi sakatu, dūri hīm dāryau rahatu haim 11a14; baīṭhyo rahatu hai 11a13; veśyā haim ita uta taim bahuta mitra gae āe rahata haim 19a4. These again are adjectival usages, as is clear in the case of transitive verbs; the few perfective participles of the intransitive verbs which occur denote a state resulting from the completion of an action.

With par-

23a. One example: strīni kau tātparya nāṃhi jānyau paratu 14a4n., q.v.

D. Forms based on active stems + -na

24. Forms with -na, which are strictly verbal nouns, are found in composition with the verbs lag-/lāg-, nāś- (one example), sīś- (one example), kah- (three examples). lag-/lāg- (the lengthened form occurs only once) has inceptive force in these compounds, e.g. karana lagata haim 11b9; kāṭana lagyau 16a6; karana lāgahim 11a4. Examples of na- forms with the other three verbs, to each of which they show a different semantic relationship, are: vaniju karana jihājana baīṭhi vaiṭhi samudrahamā nāṣī jāta haim 17a1; vaniju karana jau sīśai 15b12; rājā kahum rājanīti ju karmu karana kahati hai...18b14; rājanīti viśai nita hīṃ nitya bahuta śaracu karana kahyau hai 19a2; (18b15).

E. Forms based on nominal forms

25. Occasional collocations of subs. with following verbs, almost always the verb kar-, occur, in which the subst. has no independent syntactic relationship with the verb but coalesces with it to form an enlarged verbal unit, e.g. paṇḍitani nāṃhi tiraskāra kari sakati 4a11; puruṣahim pūrva janma ke punya rakṣā karata hai 15a10. These are ‘conjunct verbs’.

Their frequency in the language of the text is restricted (more so than in mod. st. H.) by the use made of nominal-verbal expressions showing the verbs kar-, de-, ho-, in normal syntactic relationship with subs.; thus alongside the above examples of the conjunct

FURTHER ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

verbs tiraskāra kar-, raksā kar- we find: ese matta hāthiṇi kau tiraskāra kahā mṛñāla ke tāntu kari hotu hai 4a14 (intransitive, but a parallel transitive expression...kau tirāskara kar- can be assumed); je apanem īṣa mitra ki raksā nāṁhī karata 22a9; īṣa mitrani ki raksā kijāi 22a11.

26. The exact incidence of conjunct verbs in the text is impossible to determine, since certain collocations of subst. and verb are ambiguous in the absence of a further sentence object, e.g. stuti kar- in te saba suśu pāȋkai jau stuti karata hai, tau stuti karahu 3b8; dāna de- in dāna ḍivau 17a7, jo dāṁma nāṁhī detu 17a8; bhoga kar- in je bhoga nāṁhīṁ karata 22a9. It seems probable on the basis of mod. st. H. evidence that such collocations are usually simply nominal-verbal expressions, rather than genuine conjunct verbs, although dāna de- as a conjunct would be supported by mod. st. H. dāṁ denā.

27. Apart from the two examples cited above, the conjunct verbs which occur are: ruci kar- in tā kau odana ruci kari kari śāī 5b9; cchāpa kar- in kodaṃni ki rāsi āsapāsa cchāpa karatu hai 15a6; racanā kar-, probably, in bhāṛṭhāri śleṣa racanā kari... 21a13, 25a2; daṃḍu maṅgā- in naaṁn naaṁn dhanahāṁ daṃḍu maṅgāvatu hai 25a4; gahāi de- in vadanu...gahāi nāṁhī detu, etc., 14a3; perhaps budhi kar- in ḍaḍāḥi nīrupaṁarasa budhi kari kari...śāta jāta hai 9a11n. racanā kar- must be accepted as a conjunct unless a tatsama compound śleṣarakanā is to be read. gahāi de- can be compared with the mod. st. H. conjuncts sunāī, dikhāī denā, all with verbally derived base. See also 25a14n.

DIRECT OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

28. Direct objects may be expressed by both dir. and obl. cases, sg. and pl. The sg. obl. case forms are suffixed with -hi(m), while in one case a pl. obl. case form shows following postposition kahum. The sg. obl. and generally the pl. obl. case forms refer to ‘definite objects’ rather than ‘indefinite objects’, i.e. to objects bearing an element of semantic stress. The nature of this element of stress is discussed below.

A. Use of direct singular forms

29. These are found almost regularly in a large number of expressions showing the verb kar-, e.g. stuti kar- 3b8; ...ki
rakṣā kar- 22a9. Here the subs., which are characteristically abstract nouns, serve to define a verbal notion more precisely, but apart from exercising this function they do not usually have an individual semantic importance in the structure of the sentences in which they occur. They are ‘indefinite objects’. In other examples where the individuality of the object (abstract or concrete) is similarly not stressed, or where the object has a general partitive quality, dir. sg. forms are likewise normal, e.g. tīṁhūṁ lokāni sāṁtoṣa dēta āi 5a9; kaba huṁ ku kāṁthā pahirai...divyāṁbara pahirai 5b9; hāma jāti nāṁhī cāhātā 7a10; tīpāriyā kāṭi kāṭi 7b13; jītau ku divāvatu āi, titanau pāvatu āi 25b4; māṁsa śānum 4b10.

30. Occasionally the existence of the two modes of denoting object forms (i.e. dir. and obl. case) can be made use of to express differing degrees of importance attaching to objects in the same context, e.g. kahūṁ māṁsu jaba nāṁhī pāvatu taba gāi ke ese hū hāḍahi śvānu pāikai paramasukhāhini pāvatu āi 9b6. Here māṁsu represents an object whose interest is hypothetical, and of short duration, in contrast to hāḍahi, paramasukhāhini. But that māṁsu has a general partitive rather than a clearly individualised sense is also taken to be a factor influencing its use in dir. case here, as in the example cited above.

B. Use of oblique singular forms

31. These are found in general wherever the individuality of the object is stressed, i.e. as ‘definite objects’. Such stress may be purely conventional in character, reflecting only the fact that an object is animate, or it may reflect the importance of an object in its context, its previous mention, or a particular degree of emphasis in statement, e.g. mohi ēmḍra dēsaṭu āi 9a12; jāṁbuka-hini nāṁhī māraṭu 9b9; kopavaṃṭa śrapahīṁ...rokiye kahūṁ 22b1; vā śvāna kā chudhāhī sāṁta nāṁhī karatu 9b7; (vastu...) vā vātahi ēsaṭu āi 4a2; amṛtaṁhī viṣa kari āraṭu āi 9a6.

32. The examples of these forms which occur in ff. 1b–4a are discussed below in detail, in illustration of their force in a range of different contexts.

(a) etāḍṛśa...manuṣyaṁhī vrahmāū nāṁhī anuraṁjī sakatu 2a2. ‘Even Brahmā cannot please such a man’; one whose nature has already been described, who is the main object under consideration in the verse.
(b) manihiṃ...kāḍhi leī 2a5. ‘One may tear out such a gem...’
This describes the first of a series of actions represented as possible in the verse, but which have no intrinsic importance in the context. However, use of the compound verb kāḍhi leī, stressing the difficulty or importance of the action to its performers, heightens the measure of semantic stress falling on its object.

(c) citahiṃ...na ārādhya sakai 2a8; cittihi na ārādhi sakai 2a13, gl. na tu pratiniśṭamūrkṣhanacittam ārādhayet. The winning over of a man’s mind is presented as a much desired aim.

(d) tailaḥiṃ...pāvai 2a11, gl. (labheta sikatāsu) tailam api. These words describe the first of a series of actions represented as possible in the verse, and which is of the same low grade of importance in context as manihiṃ...kāḍhi leī above; the word tailam is specifically stressed within the limited context of its own clause, however, by following api.

(e) jalahi...pāvai 2a12, gl. pibec ca...salilam. This object seems to bear no particular semantic stress, and the partitive sense which it bears would suggest that it would be likely not to have been suffixed; but it is immediately preceded in the enumeration by tailaḥiṃ pāvai, and followed by śṛṃga hū muku pāvai, both bearing intensified stress; see (d) above. Extension of the use of -hi(m) to this object could have taken place on the analogy of tailaḥiṃ...pāvai.

(f) (sāmāṇa) prthvīḥ...tinukā kari mānatu hai 3a4, gl. sāmāṇh kalyati dharitrīṃ ṭraṇasamām. An element of semantic stress is implied on the object prthvī, here represented as compared absurdly with a blade of grass. It is possible that the substantively used adj. sāmāṇh, taken correctly by Indrajit as sentence subject, 3a4, has then been re-included inadvertently by him as qualifying the object prthvī; if this is so the stress borne by the object in this context will have been further intensified.

Exactly parallel to the force of suffixed prthvīḥ here is that of the object parvataḥiṃ in the expression parvataḥiṃ tinukā kari leṣata hai 4a14.

(g) avasthāḥi pākai 3a6, gl. dhanināṃ avasthā...vastūni prathayati ca... The Sanskrit statement is unemphatic, but the commentary to this verse shows avasthā suffixed with emphatic particle -ī in both its occurrences as sentence subject, between which the present form occurs; it may therefore fairly be taken as bearing intensified semantic stress here also. Cf. the unsuffixed
form shown by the other abstract objects with verbal absolutive pāikai in sūsu pāikai 3b8, 9; dusā pāikai 3b9.

(h) ju vidyādhanaṁ cori letu hai 4a1, gl. hattuḥ...; the object vidyādhana is presented as of supreme importance.

In the example je vidyādhanaṁ guru pahaṁ jācita hai 4a3n. the object has similar semantic force, but would in any case require to be suffixed in this particular construction: see note to 4a3.

(i) vā vātahi deṣatu hai 4a2; this resumes aura vastu jau corijatu hai in the same line, and the object is thus already individualised; in addition it is explicitly distinguished from the spiritual wealth (vidyādhana) referred to in the preceding line.

(j) anirvacanīya sūṣaṁ detu haiṁ 4a3. The adjective used illustrates the contextual importance of the object, but for which suṣa detu haiṁ would be the expected expression in the language of the text; cf. suṣa dei 8a10; suṣu pāain, etc., 23a2.

(k) vṛddhiṁ...prāpta hotu hai 4a5, gl. prāpnoti vṛddhiṁ; nāsahīṁ...nāṃhi prāptu hoti 4a6, gl. na prayāti nidhanam; vināsahīṁ prāpta hotu hai 4a6. These expressions are parallel in their construction to je vidyādhanaṁ guru pahaṁ jācita hai 4a3n.

33. The use of a suffixed object form in conjunction with compound verbs noted in examples (b) and (h) above, where the dependent auxiliary is le-, is paralleled by several other examples showing transitive verb stem+dār-, de-: trṣṇāḥīṁ kāṭi dāru, kṣamā karahū, madu jani karahū 14a9; parāye kāryāḥīṁ meṭi dārata haiṁ 13a7; bhūmiṁ...śūndi dārata hai 17a2; kūrmu... pṛthvīḥīṁ nāṃhī dāri detu 24b5; amṛtaṁ viṣa kari dāratu hai 9a6. The dir. case object form with such compound verbs is less common, occurring not at all for le- compounds, once for dār-comounds (sabani vorikai eka ārṇava kari dāratu hai 19b2) and in one expression involving a verbal noun, thrice repeated, for de- compounds (mathivau cchā(m)di dayau 17a13 ff.). There would seem to be a distinct tendency in the language of the text for use of a transitive compound verb, representing a specialisation of a general verbal idea, to be complemented by the use of a 'definite', rather than an 'indefinite', object form.

34. Suffixed object forms do not occur where an object, clearly bearing stress, is followed by the emphatic particle hū(m), e.g. śṛṇga hū muku pāvai 2a12, gl. kadačid api śaśaviśaṇam āsādayen; surāpati hu deṣikari 9a11, gl. surāpatim api vilokya.
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In such examples the force of the unaccented suffix is subsumed in that of the phonetically similar, stressed particle.

C. Use of direct plural forms

35. These, like the dir. sg. forms, are found where the individuality of the object is not stressed, e.g. koṭi āpāda parahim tav sīse ṭṝṇa kaba ḫīṃ na śāi 4b7; vā ke kumbha vidārikai 4b10; parāe susu kīyeṃ 5a13; jau parāye guṇa desahim 5a9; bhāṃde gadhathu rahatu hai 10b8; bhale bhale guṇa desati hai 14b7; parāi sevā ke sakala ḍṅgā jau sīse 15b12; īṇḍra jaba maināka parvata kī pāṃṣaim...kāṭana lagayau 16a6; aise aisaim priya vacana sunata hai 18a14; saba koū hamāre phala-phūla torata...20b10; amṛtasrāvī madhura vacana kahi kahi...22a14; rūkṣa vacana...priya vacana bolati hai 18b12.

It is noticeable that in almost every case where these examples occur (most are included in the above list) the plurality of the subst. is clearly expressed, either in the form of the subst. itself (bhāṃde, pāṃṣaim) or in that of associated adjectives. This seems to be a usual condition of the use of dir. pl. ‘indefinite’ object forms in the language of the text. Where the number of such an object would otherwise have been uncertain (as, for instance, in most cases of a-stem masc. substs. not associated with ā-stem adjectives), the need to express it unambiguously seems to have been felt as paramount, and the only morphological device available for this purpose, viz. the suffix -ni, has had to be employed; this has the effect of confusing to some extent the distinction between ‘definite’ and ‘indefinite’ pl. objects in the language of the text, since -ni is frequently used as a pl. ‘definite object’ marker, parallel to sg. -hu(m).

D. Use of oblique plural forms

1. UNEXTENDED

36. Usually, the obl. pl. object forms found refer to ‘definite’ objects, e.g. animate objects, as in: ju kriyā sādhuni duṣṭa karati

1 Occasionally plurality of an object can be deduced from other factors, as in the second to last example cited above, where the verb is reduplicated.


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Direct Object Constructions

hai 9a4; vivekī pumātani sevahu 14a11; ini tīnīhūṃni...tei pāvata haim, jini...8a12; or important or previously mentioned objects, as in: caudahām lokani udara madhya rāśikai 5a13; (ratana...) uni ratanani deṣata 17a13; (je pada...) ese padani... racatu haim 25a10. Such an example as the following shows a consistent distinction being made in the language of the text between two obl. pl. ‘definite objects’ and a dir. pl. ‘indefinite object’: sādhā...apanem guṇani apanem muṣa kari nāṃhi kahata ...parāye guṇa ju kahata rahata haim, su enhi kari apanem guṇani pragāṭata hai 11b6; the virtues of the sādhus are more important in this context than those of other people.

37. However, obl. pl. object forms have a wider semantic range than the corresponding sg. forms with suffixed -hi(m); as indicated in the preceding section, the absence of distinctive plural signs for many subs. in the language of the text leads to their use to express ‘indefinite’ as well as ‘definite’ objects, which otherwise would not be clearly plural. The following examples illustrate this usage: doṣani durāvai. Gunānim sabahim pragāta karai 10a2; netrani mūmde 15b3. In these examples -ni is a plural marker only.

38. It would be understandable, given this latter function of obl. pl. forms of expressing merely the plurality of an ‘indefinite’ object, if occasionally this function transferred itself to cases where -ni is strictly superfluous as a marker of plurality, and free to indicate a ‘definite object’. Such a transference of function seems to have occurred in the following example, where an object which is clearly plural, but can hardly be thought of in its context as bearing intensified semantic stress, is expressed by an obl. pl. form, contrasting with other ‘indefinite’ objects expressed by dir. case forms: kūkaru...vāra vāra pumcha calāvatu hai. Aru... āgile pāini vāra vāra calāvata hai. Aru bhūmi para parikai vāra vāra jibha pasārikai apanau muṃhu diśāvata hai. Aru peṭu diśāvatu hai 18a10. Aberrant uses of obl. pl. forms of this kind would inevitably accompany any convention that suffixed obl. pl. forms indicate ‘definite’ objects; on a likely consequence of such uses see par. 39.

2. Extended with kahum

39. One example, clearly indicating a ‘definite’ object: aise hāthīni kahum...rokhive kaham 4a12. This single form presumably represents an innovation in the language of the text; such an
innovation would be understandable, as reflecting a desire for clearer identification of ‘definite’ as opposed to ‘indefinite’ objects consequent on any possibility of the use of unextended obl. pl. forms for objects of both kinds.

INDEPENDENT PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

A. Involving perfective participles

40. The constructions discussed here are those where perfective participles are neither component parts of finite verbs, nor in adjectival concord with subs. or pronouns, nor associated with postpositions. Such participles represent adverbial uses of the obl. masc. form, not in any concord relationship; all show the ending -e or one of its obl. masc. variants. Both transitive and intransitive forms occur.

I. TRANSITIVE VERBS

41. The examples occur in conjunction with masc. sg. and pl. and fem. sg. dir. objects and active finite verbs. The great majority are ‘indefinite objects’; there are only one, or two, cases of sg. ‘definite objects’ with suffixed -hiṁ. (For the doubtful case see note to 4b15.) A fairly full list follows: te parāe suṣu kīyem āpanu mahādūṣu sahata hai 5a13; hasti...netrani mīṃde...ṭhāṅke ghūmata hai 15b3; ko puruṣa suṣu pāaim rahatu hai 23a1; uni kahūm kachū sumeru pāyem hi ānandu na hvaiaiā 6a10; ṭhūdū cātānān kahūm tai cchudhāsāṁtī hota hai 9b8; madu kē eka būnda dārai saba kṣāra samudra mīṭhau na hoi...22b9; satya vaktā lajjāṁhiṁ anusarai haiṁ 24a14; ju vānī saṃskṛtaṁ līnai haiṁ 25b13.

42. The first three of the above examples may be compared with sentences of similar construction showing absolutives rather than participles and where the absolutive appears to be semantically equivalent to the participle; with the first and the third, showing forms of kar-, pā-, cf. (mamṛi)...jiṁhiṁ ko śabda karikai... dhanāṁhiṁ dāmdu manṣāvatu hai 25a3; te saba suṣu pāikai jau stuti karata hai, tau...3b8. In each of the three examples in which it seems that an absolutive can be substituted for a participial construction in this way, the participle can be semantically related to the sentence subject, i.e. an absolutive, if substituted,
would not be ‘unrelated’. No instances have been noted of absolute constructions in similar contexts to the participial constructions in the remaining examples, where they would either be ‘unrelated’ or dependent on the substantive verb alone. Cf. with the sixth example cited above the preceding sentence in the text, which shows not the unrelated participle dārai, but the absolute dārikai, relatable to the sentence subject: su manusya... būnda dārikai... upāu karatu hai 22b7. The language of the text thus shows a clearer distinction between absolute and transitive participial constructions than mod. st. H., in which absolutes are not uncommonly unrelated to subjects of active finite verbs, where these are non-personal.

43. The essentially adverbial character of these participial constructions is well illustrated by the occurrence of a participial construction and a postpositional phrase with similar instrumental force in the same sentence: jaisaim madu ki eka būnda dārai saba kṣāra samudra mithau na hoi, taisaim hi bhale ke upadesa tain duṣṭa janu gayāri nāṃhi chāṇḍatu 22b9.

2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS

44. The examples occur with and without adverbial complements, and almost always with active finite verbs; as in the case of those of transitive verbs, some are relatable semantically to sentence subjects, but a majority not, e.g. yaha śarīru atikathora pāśāna para paraim ūku ūku muku hvai gayau, bhalau 21b9; dhīra puruṣu āpāda paraim duṣu nāṃhi pāvatu 20b6; sanēhu pravāśa gaye vinasaí 6b6; āpāda paraim vaḍeni ke dhairyā kau ju dhwaṃsu hotu hai...19a13; maraim kahā bhayau 12a5; ese mahāpuruṣanī kau aṃgīkāru yuga viṭe hūm nāṃhi calatu 24b14; āśraya rahaiṁ, pājjatu nāṃhi 25b1; (3b11, 24b14).

45. Cf. with the participial form in the first of the above examples the absolute of the same verb used in the immediately preceding section of the same sentence: kahūm mahāviṣama thaura girī parikai yaha śarīru...21b8. Although the form here is a dependent auxiliary, its occurrence here suggests that intransitive participial forms, like transitive, are generally interchangeable with absolutes where related to sentence subjects. But there is no evidence that this is the case otherwise. With intransitive verbs as with transitive, the language of the text thus shows a clearer distinction between absolute and participial constructions than does
mod. st. H., in which intransitive absolutes are occasionally unrelated to subjects of active finite verbs.\(^1\)

**B. Involving imperfective participles**

46. The restricted range of expression of concord in imperfective participles means that there is sometimes no formal criterion for establishing their syntactic relationships. But there are several clear examples of transitive and intransitive imperfective participles independently used, i.e. used neither as finite verbs, nor in adjectival concord, nor associated with postpositions; all but one associate with active finite verbs, e.g. kaṁḍaraṁ ṇū madhya raḥata paramasuṣu hai 14b12; īmḍra ke bhavana māṁjhī raḥata mūrṣa-janasamsargu bhalau nāṁhi 16b5; jaisaim devatāṁ apanaiṁ suśa kahaṁ samudra mathyau, su samudra mathata bhale bhale ratana nikase 17a12; dūḍḍaṁhiṁ, aṇṭa jala, sausyu jāta hai 8b10; rātī dinu jau karama karata raḥijai, tau...19a14. In none of these examples is the participle relatable to the sentence subject.

**PERFECTIVE-AGENTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS**

47. These constructions are normal in the language of the text, as elsewhere in NIA, where perfective participial forms of transitive verbs are used finitely. They show in this text a subject with which the verbal form (which may be extended by an auxiliary) is in concord, and a further nominal form of agentive force. When this further form is a subst. it appears in obl. case, when a pron. it also usually appears in an obl. case form (with or without slight modification); otherwise it is differentiated clearly from the obl. case.\(^2\)

48. The following examples illustrate the construction and the range of four concord patterns which it can show: iha kacchū daṁbhū thāṁyau hai 6b13; amukā hama kahaṁ yaha upakāra kīnaṁ 20a14; yaha bhartṭhāri kahī āgaṁ kahī hai 7b1;\(^3\) hama ...yaha bhalaṁ kīṇi 20a13; jini ṭuna kare haim 8a12; dūḍha

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\(^1\) Cf. such mod. st. H. colloquial examples as vaḥṁī baṭṭkhar bāṭeṇ hoṅgt, 'we'll sit down there and have a talk', showing unrelated absolute.


\(^3\) On the concealed fem. concord in this and similar examples see notes to 7b15, 15b10.
PERFECTIVE-AGENTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

apanaim mitra jala kahum apanaim saba guna...dae 8b7; bhalī
bhalī maniyaim jina hīm āgha tain anajānata ghatīm ki 3a14.1

49. It is noteworthy that there are no examples clearly parallel
to the common impersonal perfective-agentive construction of
mod. st. H., which shows obl. case nominal form + ko with per-
factive participle in ‘neutral’ form, rather than dir. case nominal
form and participle in concord, and which is found wherever a
‘definite object’ would have been semantically appropriate in
conjunction with a non-perfective verbal form.2 In such examples
as the following ‘definite objects’ would have been likely had
this construction existed for subs. in the language of the text:
maḥānicu hai, jihiṃ apanaim varaga ke aura saba nica mahāsukhi
kare hain 23a3, in which nica has animate reference; and sāmde
ki dhārā samāna atiduhakara yaha vratu ka umpahim śīsayau hai,
kaumnu asidhārāvratu ahi 20a9, in which yaha vrata bears
considerable emphasis. (jihiṃ karna vrahmāū...rāsyau hai
10b6 is ambiguous, since the form vrahmāū can represent either
vrahmā + hū or vrahmāhi + hū.)3

50. Sūr’s use of perfective-agentive constructions appears to
agree substantially with that of this text. His perfective forms
predominantly show concord with unsuffixed subs., even where
there would be scope for regarding these as ‘definite objects’
in terms of the mod. st. H. construction, e.g. brajabadhū bulātm;
however, obl. case nominal forms + kau also occur: ūkhala caḍhi
śīnkai kau linhau.4 But one instance of a ‘definite object’ subst.
showing suffixed -him is noted by Ṭaṇḍan: tuma...dāvānalāhim
piyau; also one instance of a subst. of agentive force with suffixed
-him, which contrasts with the unsuffixed obl. subs. found as
agentives in this text but is reminiscent of the pronominal agentive
forms: soī prahlādahiṃ kinhau.

1 The construction has not evolved as far as that of mod. st. H., with object
concord; perfective participles are not formally distinct from adjectives, see
ch. 3, pars. 132f., while it is uncertain that agent forms occur in sentence
subject position as regularly, and they are not systematically marked. The
text shows no examples of relevant forms of transitive verbs not in the
construction (cf. mod. st. H. lānā, etc.).
3 See pars. 28–39.
3 See par. 34. Personal pronouns are not exemplified; impersonal construction
for them is to be assumed. Note bāṇḍhī hai spṛṇhī 4b9, an isolated fore-
runner of the impersonal construction for substantives (unless -hi is by
influence of constructions earlier in the folio, see note to 4a3).
4 SB pp. 325ff.
SUMMARY: GENERAL FEATURES OF INDRAJIT’S LANGUAGE

The following is not a systematic summary of the contents of chs. 2-4, which could hardly have been made without distorting the material and would in any case not have been equally practicable for all of it. But it seemed that there would be some point in a selective summary of aspects of Indrajit’s language, which would set out many of its more interesting features concisely against the background of general BrBh. grammar. Adverbs, conjunctions, numerals and the contents of ch. 4 are given little space in this summary because of the difficulty of condensing the material sufficiently. For further details under all headings see chs. 2-4.

PHONOLOGY

Unstressed vowels

\( a, i, u \) are reduced, but perceptibly realised with distinct phonetic values. \((u, i, \) at least, weaken further by MS date.\)

\( a \rightarrow i \) occasionally, usually in palatal environment.

\( \ddot{u}, i : \) their existence, as distinct from \( u, i \), is uncertain.

\( ai, au \) graphs represent diphthongs; \( ai, au \) tend to be monophthongised, especially \( ai \). Cf. mod. Bundelī.

Stressed vowels

\( a \) tends to be fronted and raised when followed by \( h? \) But all examples are of one verb, \( kah-. \)

\((u, \ddot{u} \) tend to converge in the scribe’s language.\)

\( ai, au \) show less tendency to monophthongisation than when unstressed.

Consonants

IN TADBHAVAS AND SEMITATSAMAS

\( r < d < \text{MIA -}d\ddash-, -nd-: \) the flap \([r]\) is perhaps more freely articulated before final short vowels than elsewhere. Some retention of non-initial stop \( d \) possible?

\( dh: \) the graph represents both \([r\ddash]\) and \([d\ddash]\) non-initially.

\( r < l \) often, but not regularly; not in semitatsamas.

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GENERAL FEATURES OF INDRAJIT'S LANGUAGE

$r < \approx < \text{MIA} -\partial-\text{ regularly. Cf. mod. Bundeli.}$

$y$, front semi-vowel, rare except as glide, where it is strongly vocalic.

$\nu$: the graph probably represents an increasingly stopped bilabial fricative, rather than stop [b]; in unstressed position it may have tended towards semivocalic unrounded [w].

$b$ perhaps moves in the direction of a bilabial fricative when unstressed.

$h$ tends to weaken or disappear between vowels, first after long vowels. Cf. mod. Bundeli.

$ch$ represents Sanskrit $k\hat{s}$ in semitatsamas.

$s$ absorbs Sanskrit $s$ entirely.

$n$ probably absorbs Sanskrit $n$ entirely.

IN TATSAMAS AND PERSIAN WORDS

$\hat{s}$: the graph probably represents both [ʃ] (usually) and [s] (it normally represents [kh] in tadbhavas).

$\eta$, $\hat{s}$: the graphs probably rarely represent [ŋ], [ʃ], [z], [x]: there is no evidence for retention of these sounds.

NASALITY

Nasal consonants induce marked nasality in neighbouring vowels, chiefly in following vowels; vocalisation of nasal consonants is evident.

In non-nasal consonantal environment nasality seems to have been slight.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Substantives

$au$-stems: occasional dir. and obl. sg. forms in $-\hat{a}$, alongside $-au$, $-e/-ai$; probably KhB. and Rājasthāni influences.

Collective sg. usages: frequent examples.

$-u < \text{Pkt.} -o$ in $a$-stems: $-u$ is restricted to sg. sentence subjects in the opening folios, but given greater scope later in the MS. The usage of the opening folios is probably Indrajit’s, the later folios showing a conventional scribal $-u$ for $-a$ which reflects the increasing approximation of $u$ and $a$ finally.

$-hi(m)$: occurs characteristically as dir. obj. marker; much
SUMMARY

less often as indir. obj. or gen. obl. case marker (*kahuṃ etc. is normal in these functions); very occasionally before postpositions, more regularly in inverted postpositional construction with *vīnu; never with the agent in perfective-agentive constructions.

-i: as loc. suffix, barely a living feature of morphology.

-ai(ṃ)/-em: occurs once with a fem. i-stem; different distribution from the mod. st. H. suffix.

-āṃ: nasality in fem. ā-stems is probably a sporadic variant of the unchanged pl.; Rājasthāṇi provenance?

-ṇi: the regular obl. pl. suffix (-na hardly occurs). No shortening of -i before -ni. Occasionally as indir. obj. or gen. obl. case marker (but extension with kahuṃ etc. regular with indir. objects). Denotes agent in perfective-agentive constructions.

-hau: voc. pl. suffix.

Adjectives

au-stems: sporadic -o for -au, -em/-e for -ai/-ai, probably representing phonetic tendencies, not scribal habit. The examples of -em, -ai are predominantly used adverbially.

a-stems: final -u is found in both semitatsamas and tatsamas.

apuna etc. ‘one’s own’, alongside apanaun.

kitika ‘how many, much’, in fem. concord.


Pronouns

yaha: there is some evidence of its use for e, pl. Occasional pronunciation with fronted and raised vowel likely.

su: almost regular, to the exclusion of so.

ju: almost regular, to the exclusion of jo; occasionally used loosely in non-correlative constructions. Pl. je, ji, ju.

hama: there is some evidence of its use as 1st pers. sg. pron.

tūm: restricted in its field of reference by tuma, sg. and pl.

ve, pl. dem. pron.: beginning to encroach on correlative te.

ko, kaunu, etc., interr. sg.; kauṇa obl. sg. base; pl. ko, or kauṇa reduplicated.

kahā ‘what?’: the regular form.

-hi, -him: the former occurs characteristically with dir. and indir. obj. forms, the latter commonly with other obl. forms.

thīṃ, tā: interchangeable forms except in instr. and agentive expressions, which show only thīṃ. Mod. Kanauji shows almost
identical equivalent forms, mod. BrBh. and Bundelí less closely
similar ones. Similar pairs are jihinn, jā; uṁhi, vā.

inahim, jinahim: dir. obj. pronominal (not adjectival) forms.
honorific.

Verbs

Present continuous tense: no examples found.

hai|haim: haiam, strictly pl., encroaches on hai in sg. concord
towards the end of the text, both as finite verb and auxiliary;
faint realisation of morphemically distinctive nasality implied.

āhi: 3rd sg. and pl., appears to bear a greater degree of emphasis
than hai(m); regular in na...na constructions.

-tu/-ta: imperfective participle suffix, m. -tu is preferred in
general in sg. concord, especially towards the end of the text,
but often -tu, -ta are interchangeable. Scribal fashions of equal
prestige?

-te: imperfective participle suffix, m. pl. One occurrence only;
a KhB. form? Other evidence for an imperfective participle in
-tau, -te, etc., is very doubtful apart from kahetaim etc., a special
case; see 25a5n., 20b12n.

kahetaim, etc., kahā: KhB. imperfective and perfective participle
forms? Of restricted usage.

Concord in gen. pres. pass. forms: there is some possibility
that this is not maintained as consistently as in the corresponding
active forms.

Passive formation: synthetic with -fiya- (?Ya-? A few such forms
may be inverted spellings only, or Bundelisms, see 9a4n.) is
normal; only three clear examples are found of the periphrastic
passive based on the perfective participle.

Perfectives: note kīnau/(karyau), kīnī/kī; dayau/dīnau; *līnau,
for kara-, de-, le-.

Subj.-pres. forms: these can bear indicative force, but do so
relatively rarely, being usually replaced in this sense by the
general pres.

-tjai: third sg. pass. subj.-pres. ending, probably never to be
interpreted specifically as an honorific imperative.

Subj.-fut. forms: these (in -hi(m)) are the regular 3rd pl. forms
associated with 3rd sg. subj.-pres. forms in -i; very occasionally
they are used as sg. forms, also perhaps with specifically future
force. Extended subj.-fut. forms in \(-gau\) are also attested with future force.

Imp.-subj. forms: these (in \(-hu\)) occur as both 2nd sg. and pl. forms; also as 3rd pers. forms, sometimes probably synonymous with subj.-pres. forms. A few instances of \(kahu\) are pass. imp.-subj. forms, 3rd sg.

Future forms: these (in \(-ha\)) are the chief means of expressing future time; much more frequent than subj.-fut. forms.

Absolutives: the stem form is most common. Suffixed \(-kai(\text{m})\), \(-kari(\text{m})\) are also found. Unrelated absolutives are well attested with passive constructions.

Verbal nouns: these show \(-vau/-vo\). \(kar\)- has \(kari\), \(kiva\); \(de\)- \(diva\); \(ho\)- \(hiva\). Construction with \(kar\)- stresses the habitual nature of an action; cf. the different syntax of the corresponding mod. st. H. construction, involving perfective participles.

### Postpositions

The variant forms of the chief postpositions which occur are:

- **kau**, poss.  
  - kau, ko, kau, kā; kī (dir. sg.) (kari?)

- **kahun**, gen. obl.  
  - kahun, kaham, kaun, kahu, kahā

- **taim**  
  - taim, tem, te

- **saum**  
  - saum, sum, suṁ

- **paham**  
  - paham, paim

- **visaim**  
  - visaim, visai

- **madhya**  
  - madhya, madhi, mã(m)jha, mãnjhi, maham

- **laum**  
  - laum, lahum, lai(m), lem

\(kā\): one occurrence alongside normal kau etc. A KhB. form.  
\(kahun\), etc.: disyllabic forms of this postposition preponderate. These are probably Bundeli forms, but see further Introduction, p. 9. kahu occurs once and seems to represent a Bundelî or Kanaudi form.

- **taim, saum**: some functions of these postpositions are perhaps beginning to overlap in the language of the text.

- **paim**: used in conjunction with the verbs \(me\)-, \(mār\)- in a specialised sense.

- **kari**: used instrumentally, and in the derivative sense ‘with respect to’.

\(visai(m)\) ‘in, concerning’: the equivalent of saum in expressions describing the projection of feelings towards other persons.
GENERAL FEATURES OF INDRAJIT’S LANGUAGE

ve hī: a calque on vinu hī involving the P. prefix, and implying KhB. influence on the language of the text.
pachaim: has temporal reference only.

Adverbs

jaisaim: occurs once with sense ‘as soon as’.
dhaum: emphatic particle.
na...na: takes āhi, never hai(m).
dēsahu na (MS nāṃhi): attests use of na as a rhetorical particle.
nāṃhi sakucata hai: illustrates retention of the auxiliary in emphatic negative statement only.

jani, negative particle: usual with imp.-subj. forms.
hī(m), hū(m): usually convey restrictive and inclusive emphasis respectively, but occasionally hū(m) seems used for hī(m). -i,-ū common after long vowels and diphthongs.

ku: a phonetically conditioned variant of pleonastic ka.

kahī ‘somewhere’: a KhB. form.

Conjunctions

The chief forms are: aru, tau/(to), paim, kiṃtu, nā(m)taru,
kahā, athavā, kiṃvā, bahuri, phuni; jau, yadyapi, ki, jaba/java.

kahā (introducing glosses): a KhB. perfective form?


phuni: the spelling puni occurs only once.

kahā: occurs also as question marker.

muku: the regular spelling of this form, rather than maku.

jau: usually followed by subj.-pres. and gen. pres. verbs;
also by future or extended subj.-fut. verbs, probably with difference of sense.

Numerals

*pomc(v)aum, sātaum: -v- of ordinal suffix minimally present;
vocalised as [w]?


doū, doūm: aggregatives, rather than alternative cardinal forms?

Verbal composition

Stems associate with the independent auxiliaries sak-, jān-;
and with the dependent auxiliaries jā-, le-, de-, dār-, par-, uṭh-,
ā- to form compound verb.
SUMMARY

Imperfective participles associate with the verbs rah-, jā-, ā-, cal-.
Perfective participles associate with the verbs cāh-, jā-, uṭh-, rah-, par-.
na-suffixed stems associate with the verbs lag- / lāg-, etc.
Conjunct verbs: a number of these occur.

Direct object constructions

Sg. ‘indefinite objects’ show dir. sg. case, sg. ‘definite objects’ obl. case suffixed with -hi(m). Pl. ‘indefinite objects’ show dir. pl. case almost always where their grammatical number is clear, otherwise obl. pl. Pl. ‘definite objects’ also show obl. pl. case (once extended with kahum).

Independent participial constructions

Perfective participles of trans. and intrans. verbs show obl. sg. -e, etc.; they seem to be interchangeable with absolutive constructions where they can be related semantically to the sentence subject.
Imperfective participles show -ta.

Perfective-agentive constructions

Agentive subs. show obl. case, pronouns also usually an obl. case form. Concord is shown between grammatical subject and perfective participle. An impersonal construction involving suffixed forms and a masc. sg. participle (corresponding to the construction with ko of mod. st. H.) is not found.

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APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY
APPENDIX I: INDRAJIT’S ‘ŚRỊNGĀRAŚATAKA’ COMMENTARY

It would have been unlikely that Indrajit should have written commentaries on two of Bhartṛhari’s ‘Centuries’ to the neglect of the third, but no commentary on the Śrṅgārasataka has been found which is ascribed specifically to him, or called part of a Vivekādīpikā in the same way as those contained in MSS IO 3318, BORI 350 and Jodh. 10956a. However, in 1917 a MS, whose present whereabouts is unfortunately unknown, was reported by R. P. Dewhurst as containing a Śrṅgārasataka and commentary in Braj Bhāṣā prose, and a comparison of the language of this commentary with that of MS IO 3318 shows beyond reasonable doubt that it represents the missing portion of the Vivekādīpikā, although there are some differences of detail between its language and that of MS IO 3318. This MS is almost complete, and for the greater part easily legible, but seemingly quite carelessly written. It is said to be dated as of A.D. 1627 in the scribe’s colophon. The commentary is not identified as part of a larger work; the text begins after the invocation to Ganeśa simply śṅgāra satuka liṣyate, with the first Sanskrit verse immediately following. It ends abruptly following the last sentence of the commentary, without mention of the commentator’s name:

Bhartṛharikṛtaśṛṅgārasata samāptaṃ. Subhamastu.
Māṅgalyaṃ dadatu. Subhamastu.

The text, which Kosambi assigns to his pseudo-version F (subgroup 1–3), shows a main series of one hundred numbered verses

1 See ch. i, p. 11.
2 R. P. Dewhurst, ‘The Shṛṅgāra-shataka of Bhartṛhari with an old commentary in Hindi written early in the seventeenth century’, JUPHS (Calcutta), i, i, 1917, pp. 60–151, where the MS is described and the text printed, together with notes which deal mainly with the variant readings found in the Sanskrit verses; there are also eight pages of grammatical notes. These exemplify the main forms found in the text, but give no idea of their relative frequency or the contexts in which they occur. The summary account of the MS given above is drawn from Dewhurst’s article, efforts to trace the MS itself having so far proved unsuccessful.
3 Saṁbatu 1683 varṣe māgha badi 3 somvāre.
plus four additional verses not by Bhartṛhari, numbered 1; one of the verses in the series seems also not to be by Bhartṛhari.¹

Some similarities of phrasing, vocabulary and grammar between this text and MS IO 3318 are set out below.² It seems clear that despite certain differences shown by the grammar of the two texts (a representative selection of which is also given) the texts originally represent the work of one and the same commentator:

### 1. Similarities of phrasing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śrīgāraśataka</th>
<th>MS IO 3318</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) śravāṇaparyāṃta lauṃ 78 etc.</td>
<td>maraṇaparyāṃta lauṃ 14b3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) gadahūla ke phūla, gl. kuvalaya 82</td>
<td>gadahūla ke phūla 8a14, 21a11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) suratasamgrāma 84</td>
<td>suratasamgrāma- 24a7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) yā kau yaha arthu 92 etc.</td>
<td>yā kau yaha arthu 16a6, 22a15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(see also ch. 1, pp. 12f.)

| (e) ve hī kāmahiṇī 93 | ve hī kāmahiṇī 13a7 etc. |
| (f) sīnci sīnci baḍhāvatu hai 95 | sīnci sīnci vaḍhāvatī hai 13b2 |
| (g) bahuta kahā lauṃ kahijai 98 | bahuta kahāṃ lauṃ kahijai 4b6 |
| (h) eka śāpparu hātha dai nikase 101 | sopaṇī kau daunmā hātha dai 10b1 |
| (i) aura kī kitikā bāta 102 | aura kī kitikā vāta 6a5 etc. |

etc.

### 2. Lexical similarities

| (a) vai, emphatic particle; e.g. nikasi sakatu vai nāḥīṃ 121 | vai. See notes to 5b15f., 10b7 |
| vāsanāhi karata vai hai 118 | |
| kāhū tana citavati...mana madhya koū aurū vai haiṃ 105 | |
| viveku vai ju kalpalatā 97 | |

¹ *Svapāṃtu sukhaśrāṃtaṇkāṃta*, not listed by K. or in SRB or SRK. One other verse unidentified by Dewhurst, *śikhini kūjati*, appears in K.’s version D and his texts F1, 2 and 4.

² References to forms and citations from the text are to pages of Dewhurst’s article.

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(b) tiṃrau, tiṃriyā, gl. karaṃ-ḍaṃ 89

(c) gayāra 77

tiṃriyā, gl. karaṃḍa- 7b9 etc.
(mod. st. H. piṭārā)
gayāru, gayāra; gayāri 9a9 etc.

3. Grammatical similarities

(a) kadacitu 85

Cf. kadācita 14b6n. and ch. 2, par. 2

(b) na...āhi, na...āhi 87

Cf. ch. 3, par. 219 (f)

(c) āni par- 88; āni 87, 102, 106

āni par- 25b3n.

(d) Three periphrastic passives:

ju taryo na jāi 98

tari na jāi [sic] 98

na sahe gae 99

Three or four in IO 3318;

cf. ch. 3, par. 131

(e) kirana, m.
kirāṇa, m. See note to 12a 15

(f) ālimgita saṃte, gl. ālimgi-
tāyām āyatākṣyām 106

poṣai saṃtai 18b3n., gl.
tasmin anīṣam paripo-
ṣyamāne

ku; cf. ch. 3, pars. 231, 232

eetc.

(g) koū ku, gl. kaś ca 124

4. Grammatical differences

(a) Phonological

1. parāvaus 79.1 parāyaus regularly in MS IO 3318, with front semi-

vocalic glide.

2. ākau 89. Initial v of the dem. pron. obl. base never drops in MS IO

3318. (See 3 below.)

3. vojhila (mod. st. H. ojhal ‘disappeared’), voṣadhi 108. Prosthetic v

does not appear in MS IO 3318. (It is possible, however, that these forms,

with ākau, are merely spellings reflecting a sporadic tendency to vocalisation

of a bilabial fricative [ɣ] in accented positions, similar to that posited

for unaccented syllables in the language of Indrajit, ch. 2, par. 27.)

(b) Morphological

1. kaun̥a kaun̥a, ti kahiṭi haim 78. Cf. kaun̥na kaun̥na, te kahiṭīṃ

haı 3b2; te is the regular fem. pl. form of the correl. pron., whereas in

this Śṛṅgāraśataka ti is usual, although te also occurs, p. 87.

2. calatā madhura dhuni karata ju haim 80. calata would be normal in

the language of MS IO 3318; e.g. mārata daya nāṃḥī karatu 7a1.

3. karatī haim 80, fem. sg. karatī would be normal in the language of

MS IO 3318; for the doubtful standing of the form -ti, see ch. 3, par. 130.

1 Cf. mod. Bundelt parāo; LSB p. 82.

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APPENDIX I

4. kīnhau, kīnhā 94, 100. kīnau, kīnī only in MS IO 3318, see ch. 3, par. 133.

5. bānu lagemta 100 (= b. lagatem). If this interpretation of the MS reading is correct this expression is to be compared with examples showing -ta, not -tem, etc., in MS IO 3318; see ch. 4, par. 46.

6. apanape kahuṇ ṭhauru kareṇi rahatu hai 118. In the language of MS IO 3318 apanapēhi or apanapahi would be expected as masc. sg. au-stem ‘definite object’; see ch. 3, par. 13, ch. 4, pars. 31–4. kahuṇ does not occur with sg. objects.

(c) Syntactic

karana cāhati 101. The language of MS IO 3318 shows the perfective participles karyau, kīnau and those of other verbs, in composition with cāh-, never -na-extended stems; see ch. 4, par. 21.

5. Lexical differences

(a) chāṃdi in the sense ‘except’; this absolutive occurs thrice, e.g. bairāgya chāṃdi kachū auru na kijai 84; cf. mod. st. H. chorkar with this sense. But chāṃdi never bears this sense in MS IO 3318, though it occurs frequently in the text; the sense ‘except’ is rendered twice by the absolutive dekari. See ch. 3, par. 163.

(b) mānahu 114 appears to be used in the sense ‘the fact is’, and na+verb+mānahu to mean ‘it may be that...is not the case’. mānahun in MS IO 3318 means ‘as if’, as in mod. st. H. See ch. 3, par. 248.

The astonishingly early MS date which might make the ascription of this commentary to Indrajit doubly attractive is not entirely beyond doubt. R. C. Śukla\(^1\) quotes a passage from a Śṛṇgāraśataka commentary of the eighteenth-century Vikram., which agrees completely in its wording, though not in all details of its spelling, with a passage in Dewhurst’s text (101f.). The minor differences between the versions may indeed be taken as errors of transmission tending to confirm the greater age of Dewhurst’s missing MS, but in the light of the similarities and of the unprecendented age claimed for the MS it would be reassuring to be able to check the date given in the scribe’s colophon. However, it is theoretically possible that by accidents of transmission the title and the name of the author of a text should become lost from one MS only some 25 years after its presumed date of composition, yet be preserved in other MSS of related texts for vastly longer periods, as has been the case with MSS IO 3318, BORI 350 and Jodh. 10956a.

\(^1\) Hindī sāhitya kā itihās, p. 373.
INDRAJIT’S ‘ŚRÑGĀRAŚATAKA’ COMMENTARY

The similarities of language between this text and that of IO 3318 have the value that if the date given for it is accepted they enhance the authority of the readings of IO 3318. The differences are difficult to interpret. Again assuming that the MS date is correct, some of them suggest a degree of Khaṇī Boli influence on the language of the text which that of IO 3318 escaped; but others cannot be accounted for in that way. It is clear from this text that other grammatical forms than those of IO 3318 were used colloquially in the BrBh. cultural area (including Bundelkhaṇḍ) in Indrajit’s time, but impossible to tell how wide a currency any of these forms enjoyed. The tracing of the interrelationships of such forms must await the analysis of individual prose texts of whose composition and history something is known with certainty, and which are less likely than poetic texts to reflect the influence of a classical literary style. We must assume that the language of IO 3318, which is that of a scholar and patron of the arts, has undergone a degree of influence from such a style, even though the literary activity which he was carrying on may have been quite original in its scope. But the forms of this Śrṅgāraśataka commentary can only have a provisional and doubtful claim to represent the language of Indrajit where they differ from those shown by texts ascribed positively to him, since it is only by virtue of the similarities of its language to that of the authentic texts that this text has any standing in the matter at this moment.
APPENDIX II: INDEX TO GRAMMATICAL FORMS

All bhāṣā forms from MS IO 3318 which are discussed in the notes and the grammatical analysis (including Appendix I) are given, except those forms from the notes which are merely parsed or translated, or whose discussion bears only on a specific reading of the present text; comment on these is likely to be of value chiefly to a person working through the text itself. Frequent cross-references are given from variant forms of postpositions and paradigmatic variants of pronouns, which are entered under a dir. sg. masc. form. Substs. and verbs are entered under a dir. sg. or root form respectively, where these are discussed, otherwise under another form discussed; here again frequent cross-references from forms based on variant roots, and also between tatsama and tadbhava forms, are given.

āmpga 4: 35
kai āṃta 3: 210(a)
akeлу 2: 19; 3: 25; akelo 3: 25;
   akelm 3: 26
agni āṃga 3: 210
āṭakara 2: 19
at 268; 24288n.
atunivāra 3: 164
atūśūdū 7a2n.; 3: 31
ati hī(n) 3: 213
athavā 3: 241
āḍrṣṭau 5a3n.
adhika 3: 213
anakahivāv 3: 164
ānāyāsa hīn 3: 210(c)
anusarai 4: 41; anusarī hai 4: 158n.;
   3: 98 (preliminary paragraph)
kai anusāra 3: 198
apanau(m) 3: 25, 41; apanainm 2:
   45; 3: 26
apanyāτu 3: 99(d)
apuna, apunu, apanu, possessive
   pron. 3: 42
apunu, refl. pron. See āpuna
aba 3: 204
abhimānīna 3: 18
amarajāda 2: 3
amukā 3: 47
amṛtahīm 4: 31, 33
aru 3: 234
are 3: 267
arthi 2: 3
avatāra 3: 11
avasthāhi 4: 32
avasya 3: 143, 213
asatasamappati 2: 3
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APPENDIX III: SELECT GLOSSARY

The glossary is intended as an aid to the interpretation of the text; it is not a full lexicographical record. However, all unusual words and all verbs based on tatsama or semitatsama forms which are not represented in mod. st. H. are included. Other words are included on a more arbitrary basis. Some entries may assist with the interpretation of grammatical examples quoted out of context in chs. 2–4. A few are of tatsamas, taken over from Sanskrit verses. Occasional spellings which somewhat disguise the identity of a common word are also included. OIA etymological references are given for most non-tatsama forms; for these see CDIAL, s.vv.

Detailed references to individual forms are given where some ambiguity is possible (as with kahā) or where a word is obscure (e.g. caunṣaraun, gadahūla). Some cross-references are made from variant spellings. References immediately following glosses refer to head-words as printed; where the head-word itself does not occur a paradigmatic variant is cited before the reference. A very few head-words about whose form there is some doubt are starred. Initial cch, the usual spelling in the text for ch, is given as (c)ch under ch. Verbs are cited in their root form, and references are made to synonymous cognate verbal roots. References to transitivity and intransitivity imply construction with or without direct objects, rather than that a verb enters into, or does not enter into, perfective-agentive constructions; in practice there is little ambiguity on this score. a-stem subs. are cited as showing final -a, rather than -u, where this occurs. Genders of subs. are given where deductible from the text, otherwise are replaced by the description ‘subst.’. Where proof of gender depends on imperfective participle concord alone, a participle in -ti is taken as assuring fem. gender, but not a participle in -tu or -ta as assuring masc. gender.

amgīkāru, m., acceptance; undertaking; 24b9 etc.
akārya, m., wrongful action; 16b7.
akēlau, adj., alone; single; only; lonely; 7b8 etc. (eka-+MIA -illa-).
agresaru, m., leader; 4b4.
acetamu, adj., inert; without consciousness; 22a4.
SELECT GLOSSARY

aṭakara, m., estimate, opinion; kai aṭakara, in accordance with; 9 b13 (*aṭakkalā 'guess').
atisūdhā, adj., exceedingly simple, foolish; 7 a2 (śuddha-).
adṛṣṭa, m., fate; 5 b15 etc.
anajānata, imperf. part., unknowingly; 3 a14.
anāyāsa, adv., effortlessly; 24 a4 etc.
amuranj-, v.t., attract; 2 a2 (cf. raṇjayati).
amusar-, v.t. (i.), follow; act in accordance with; 4 b15 etc. (amusarati).
apanapau, m., one’s own nature; 8 b10 (ātmān- + -tva-).
apanyā-, v.t., monopolise, assimilate; 25 a9 (apana, one’s own; cf. mod.
st. H. āpānā and ch. 3, par. 99(d)).
aprayojaka, adj., irrelevant; 9 a1.
abhāu, m., absence; 12 b12 (abhāva-).
amarajāda, adj., limitless; 23 b14 (cf. maryādā).
amāvasyā, subst., the night of the new moon; the day immediately pre-
ceding or following; 17 b7.
alaṃkārarūpa, adj., of the nature of, consisting of an adornment; 13 b10
etc.
alpa, adj., small; 21 b15.
āmk-, v.t., estimate, judge; 7 a7 (anākayati).
āka, subst., swallow-wort; 15 a4 (arka-).
ākars-, v.t., attract; 19 b11.
ākram-, v.t., attack; 21 a15.
āgilau, adj., front, fore-; āgile 18 a11 (agra-).
āgyau, m., that which is ahead, the future; 16 b3 (agriya-?).
āgha, m., price; 3 a14 etc. (arga-).
ārādh-, v.t., conciliate, satisfy, 1 b15 etc.; worship, 14 b9.
iṃdhana, m., fuel; 15 a2.
ityādika, pronom. adj., ‘and suchlike’; 1 b8.
iṣṭa, adj., desired; iṣṭa mitra, dear friend, 22 a9 etc.
utkaraṇa, subst., excellence, distinction; 17 b13, 19 b7.
upaj-, v.i., be produced, come about; be acquired; 9 b13 etc. (upadaye).
upāu, subst., means, device, stratagem; 22 b2 etc. (upāya-).
ubhaya, adj., both; 25 b6.
uvāru, subst., release, way out of a difficulty; 11 a14 (cf. H. ubārnā;
*udvārayati ‘opens’).
ūphan-, v.i., foam, seethe; 8 b11 etc. (ut- + *phaṇati).
airāvata, subst., the elephant of Indra; 16 a12.
ōt-, v.t. and i., see auṭ-.
odana, m., cooked rice; 5 b8.
auṭ-, v.t. and i., boil, thicken; 8 b9 etc. (āvartayati).

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APPENDIX III

kaṃcana, m., gold; 7b5 etc.
kaṇḍarā, subst., cave; 14b12.
kapāra, subst., camphor; 15a5.
karakambhīmi, f., land of karma, religious action; 15a1 etc.
karā-, v.t., cause to be done; 23a10.
kaḥāḥ, conj., or; 1b11, 2b1, 3a10, 11, 4a13, 4b9(2), 5a9, 7a4, 8a2, 3, 15, 10a7, 15b3, 16a3, 13, 19b14, 21a7, 23a3, 4, 6, 24a9(2).
kaḥāḥ, interr. pron., what; 2a2, 8b4, 9b5, 11a5, 12a1, 2, 5, 13a15(2), 16a14, 24a15, 25b4.
kaḥāḥ, conj. introducing questions; 4a14, 6a4, 15a3, 5, 6, 7, 16a14, 20b5, 24a13, 25b3.
kaḥā, postposition, = kahum; 1b8.
kaḥā, adv., = kahāṃ; 4a5, 11b13, 15.
kaḥā-, v.i., to be said to be, be described as; 7a5 etc. (Pkt. kahāvei).
kājā, subst., purpose, reason; 19b5 (kārya-).
kāḍha-, v.t., pull; 2a5 (*kaḍhathi).
kāyaru, m., coward; 11a13 (kātara-).
kālakūṭa, subst., poison; the poison produced at the churning of the ocean; 17a14.
kumāba, m., upper forehead (of elephant); 4b8 etc.
kumāra, subst., servant; kumārahim 12a9.
kairu, subst., mouthful; 4b9 (kavala-).
koṭika, adj., ten millionfold; manifold; 24b9 (koṭi-).
kodā, subst., direction; 19a3.
*kodau, subst., millet; kodauṃni, etc.; 15a6 (kodrava-).
gadā-, v.t., form, fashion; 10b8 etc. (ghaṭate).
gadāhūla, subst., a flower; 8a14, 21a11. In this text gadāhūla glosses utpala-, kairava-; for its occurrence in an identical phrase glossing kuvalaya-, see App. 1, p. 236 (*gadda- 'mud' + *hūl- 'pierce').
gan-, v.t., count; 7a9 etc. (ganayati).
gayāra, adj., unclean, wrongful; 9a9 etc. (*grāmadāra-? Cf. H. gavār, gainvār; Bengali goyānīr).
gayārī, subst., baseness, wickedness; 17b3 etc.
gah-, v.t., seize; 10b10 (MIA *grahati).
gahāi de, v.i., be able to be seized; 14a3.
gāgari, f., vessel; 18a6 (gargari-).
gumāna, subst., conceit, pride; gumānahrīṃ 9a2 (P. gumān).
gūḍa, subst. (See note to 9b12.)
gainīda, subst., ball; 8a4 etc. (genduka-).
goda, subst., lap, embrace; 9b8 (kroḍa-).
gauṇḍa-bhila, subst., Gond and Bhil tribesmen; 16b4.
gras-, v.t., devour; 17b7 (grasati).
grās-, v.t., devour; 4b4 (grāsayati).
ghaṭ-, v.i., decrease; 20a3 etc. (*ghaṭṭati).
*ghaṭiyā, adj., small; ghaṭāṃ 3a14.
ghāḥ, subst., wound; 25b5 (ghāta-).
ghāmu, subst., heat (of the sun); sultriness; 20a3 (gharima-).
SELECT GLOSSARY

cadh-, v.i., rise, mount; 20a3 etc. (*cadhāti).
cānda, subst., crown of the head; cāndi 12a15 etc. (candra-).
cāndilā, m., bald person; 12a14.
cāt-, v.t., lick, taste; 9b8 (*caṭt-).
cātaka, subst., the pied cuckoo (said to live only on raindrops); 25b2.
cāpa, subst., bow; 25a3(2).
cārī, f., slander; 11b15 (cāṭu-; cf. H. cārī).
citā-, v.i., look at, consider; 7b1 (cf. cītta-).
cūraṇu, m., powder; 15a5 etc. (cūrṇa-).
cōṭa, f., blow; 12b2 (*cōṭt-).
cor-, v.t., steal; 4a1 etc. (corayati).
cauṇsaraṇu, m., rat (?); gl. ākhuḥi 7b12, cosare 7b14, causraai 7b15 (*catuskara-?).
(c)chāpā-, v.t., conceal; 22b11 (*chapp-).
(cham-, v.t., forgive; 11a8 (kṣamate).
(chāḍ(ṇ)i)d-, v.t., leave, abandon; 3b11 etc. Syn. (c)choḍ-, 3b10. (chardati, *cīnndati).
(ch)āpa, subst., covering; 15a6 (*chapp-).
(chāpānā, v.t., cover over; 15a6 (MIA chāpana-).
(chimndā-, v.t., take away, tear away; 18b5 (MIA chidda-+*chindati).
(ch)īnna, adj., thin, diminished; 2b11 etc. (kṣīna-).
(ch)u-, v.t., touch; 19a9 (chupati).
(chudra, adj., base; 9a9 (kṣudra-).
(chetu, m., field, area; 15a7 (kṣetra-).
(choḍ-, v.t., leave, abandon; 3b10. Syn. (c)chāḍ(ṇ)i)d-. (kṣotayati ‘throws’).

jaṃbuka, subst., jackal; 9b8 etc.
jaḍu, m., stupid, inert person; 6b12.
jaṛ-, v.t., burn; 12a9 etc. (jivālayati).
ji-, v.i., live; 7b9 (jīvati).
jiṛ-, v.t., bring to life, keep alive; 8b13 (jīvāpayati).
jībha, subst., tongue; 18a11.
jiot-, v.t., plough; 15a4 (yoktrayati).
jor-, v.t., set up, put together, contrive; 25a7 etc. (*yotayati).

tiṃariyā, subst., basket, box; 7b9 etc. (H. āḍārā; cf. Bundeli tiḍārī).
tūka, m., piece, fragment; 7a15 etc. (*tukka-).
tūt-, v.i., break; tūt-i-phāṭi 25b15 (trutayati).

thākura, subst., master; thākurāhin 11a7 (thakkura-).
thāḍhaou, adj., standing; 2b5 etc. (stabdha-; Pkt. thāḍha-).
thān-, v.t., resolve, determine on; 6b13 (*sthānya-).
thora, m., see thaura.
thaura, m., place; 21b8 etc. (sthāvara-).

ḍarap-, v.i., be afraid; 8b3 etc. (darati; Pkt. ḍaraṇ; ext. -pp-).
ḍarapā, v.t., frighten; 25a3.
ḍahak-, v.t., mislead, deceive; 6b15.

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APPENDIX III

dīmu, m., clod (?); 8a7 (*dīmma- ‘lump’; cf. H. dīṁ; but also dimba-).
dol-, v.i., move, be in movement; 2a12 (cf. dolāyate).

ḍhiṇa, adv., near; 9a11 (*ḍhigga-).

tanaka, adj., small, slight; 2b9, 22a1 (tanu-).
*tinukā, m., blade of grass; 3a5 etc. (tyṇa-).
tila, subst., oil-seed; 15a2.
turaṇga, m., horse; 15b4.
tusāra, subst., frost, snow; 16a5 (tusāra-).
teja, m., radiance, brilliance; courage; 21b4 etc.
tor-, v.t., break; 20b9 (troṭayati).

tharahā, subst., hollow, enclosure for a plant; 13b2 (*sthagha- + -da-)
thauru, adj., see thuauru; 20a4 etc.
thauru, adj., few, little (in quantity); 9b11 etc. (*stokaḍa-).

damḍu, subst., punishment; d. mamgā-, v.t., levy; extort; 25a4.
daksānu, subst., gl. daksīṇyaṁ, piety, kindliness; 23a15. (?) (An error
for or corruption of dakṣiṇā?)
dari, f., cave; valley; 14b11.
dah-, v.t., burn; 14b4 etc. (dahati).
dāḍha, f., (large) tooth, fang; dāḍhani 2a6 (*dānṣṭra-).
dīvā-, v.t., cause to be given; 6a1 etc. (cf. dadāti, dāpayati).
dīpti, subst., light; 4b6 (dīpti-).
duk-, v.i., hide; 16a7 etc. (connection w. *ḍhukyati ‘approaches’? Cf.
Nep. ḍhuknu ‘lie in wait for’). dūkā-, v.t., hide; 14a12 etc.
durā-, v.t., remove, make distant; 10a2 (cf. dūra-).
durārāḍhyā, adj., difficult to please, gain the good will of; 6b10 (cf.
ārāḍh-).
duh-, v.t., milk; 18b1 (*duhati).
duhakara, adj., difficult to perform; 11a5 etc. atiduhakara 20a9
(duṣkara-).
dedīpyamāṇa, adj., brilliant; 21b4.
dauṃnā, m., basket made of leaves (here used metaphorically); 10b11
(droṇa-).

dhar-, v.t., hold; assume; 13a7 etc. (dharati).
dhāra, f., stream; dhārani 26a2.
dhikkāra, subst., reproach; curse; 16a1.
dhīmara, subst., fisher; 10a5; dhīmara 10a9 (dhīvara-)

namaskārarūpamāṅgalācaranā, subst., māṅgalācaranā by way of greet-
ing; 1b6.
nav-, v.i., be bowed down; 20b8 (namati).
navarasa, subst., the nine rasas or qualities of emotion as distinguished
in literary criticism; 17b12.
SELECT GLOSSARY

nā(m)n̄hau, adj., small, slight; 2 b10 etc. atinānhe 22 b2 (ślaṅga-; cf. mod. H. nāṃhā(m)).

(ki) nāṃhī, postposition, like; 2 a8 etc. (nyāyena).

nā-, v.t., lower, insert; 21 b10 (nāmayati).

nārau, m., stream; nāre 21 b15 (MIA nāla-).

nā,-, v.t., cross; 17 a1 (cf. nakṣati ‘reaches’).

nīma-, v.t., criticise; 3 b7.

nīkas-, v.i., emerge; depart; 4 b7 etc. (*nīkhasati).

nirima, adj., precious; 17 a13 (cf. *nirmaulya-).

nirvīghna, subst., freedom from obstacles; n. para, successfully, 1 b6.

nivāh-, v.t., maintain, carry out; 24 b10 (nirvāhāyati).

nīkau, adj., good; 12 b12 etc. atinīkau 12 b10 etc. nīkai, nīnkai kari, adv., well (nikta- ‘washed, purified’; Pkt. nīkha- ‘clear’).

nāin̄ka, adj., good; 19 a9 (cf. P. nek).

pāñcamahābhūtaracita, adj., composed of the five primary elements; 17 b15.

pātunā, subst., flat surface (of forehead); 18 a3 (paṭṭa-).

pādavi, f., rank, position; 13 b4 etc.

pārākramu, m., courage; strength; 3 b3 etc.

pārāya, adj., belonging to another; 19 a6 etc.

pāripūr-, v.t., fulfil; 25 b2 (puṇrayati).

pāreṣa, subst., eclipse; period of the new or full moon; parvani 17 b7.

pālikā, subst., bed; 5 b7 (palyanka-).

pāsār-, v.t., extend, stretch out; 18 a11 (prasārayati).

pāsārā, m., a handful, as much as can be held in the cupped hands; 3 a3
(prasṛta-, > H. pasā, pasar; influenced by prec.?).

pahīr-, v.t., wear; 5 b9 etc. (paridadhāti).

pahīrā-, v.t., give to wear; 17 b9 (paridhāpayati).

pāṁna, m., leaf; 10 b1.

pāṁsa, f., wing; pāṁsaiṇī 16 a6 (pakṣa-).

pā, m., foot; pāmī 18 a11; etc. (pāda-).

pāta, m., leaf; 14 a6 (patra-).

pāṣ-, v.i., dry up, crumble; 10 b15 (cf. pāṣi-, pāṁsu-, pāmsu-; H. pāṃs ‘dust, dung’).

pāra’imi, subst., lotus; 10 b1 etc. (puṭakinī-).

puhaba, subst., flower; puhabani 2 a8 (puṣpa-).

puṇḍcha, subst., tail; 18 a10 (puccha-).

puṇṇamāsī, subst., the night of the full moon; the day immediately preceding or following; 17 b7.

peṭu, subst., stomach; 18 a12 (*peṭṭa-).

paimu, subst., step; 3 b7 etc. (*padaṭa-).

pair-, v.i., swim; 22 a7 (pratirati).

poṣ-, v.t., foster; 18 b3 (cf. poṣayati).

pragāt-, v.t., make known; 11 b7 etc. (cf. prakāta-).

pragāta, adj., manifest, visible; 14 a13 etc. (cf. prakāta-).

pratipāl-, v.t., foster, cultivate; 14 a13.

pratipālanā, f., support, maintenance; 22 a8 etc.
APPENDIX III

pramāṇa, subst., means of knowledge, 1 b 11 etc. pramāṇa kar-—bestow, meet out, 25a14.

pramāḍu, subst., drunkenness; stupidity; negligence; 6b8.

pravāsa, subst., residence away from one’s home district; pravāsa jā-, leave one’s home, 6b6.

prākramu, m., see parākramu, 24a2 etc.

prātakāla, subst., morning; 15b5 (prātaḥkāla-).

prer-, v.t., urge; send; 12a9 (cf. prerayati).

praudha, adj., mature; experienced in love; 24a9.

phal-, v.i., be fruitful, profitable; 12b5 etc. (phalati).

phāt-, v.i., burst; see tūt- (*phātāyate).

phīrā-, v.t., cause to move, go about; 10b11 (cf. *phirati, *pherayati).

phāla-agra, m., front (edge of petals, or stamens?) of a flower; 22b5.

bahiramusa, adj., ill-intentioned; ill-conceived; 19a13.

bābā, m., father; senior or respected person; 18a14 (*bābba-).

bīloa, subst., wood-apple tree; 12b1.

būḍ-, v.i., sink; 15b10 (*budyati).

bhagā-, v.t., put to flight; 16a14 (cf. bhagna-).

bharataśāṅḍa, subst., region of Bharata, India; 15a1.

bhālt-vurī, f., good and bad actions; 11a8 (bhalla-; *bura-).

bhala-, adj., good; 7b4 etc. (see prec.).

bhāṇḍo, m., vessel; 10b7 etc. (bhāṇḍa-).

bhāṇṭi, subst., manner; kaunna bhāṇṭi, how; 6b11 (bhakti-).

bhī-, v.i., be wet; 9a14 (*bhīyayate).

bhūṭala, subst., the earth; bhūtalaiḥ 21a14 etc.

bhūmiyā, m., land-holder; bhūmiyāni 25a3 (bhūmi- + -iyā).

bhoga-, v.t., enjoy; 9a3 etc. (cf. bhoga-).

bhram-, v.i., move; move on; 10b12 etc. (bhramati).

maṃ-, v.t., ask for; 4a4; (15b5?) Syn. maṃ-, 10a8 etc. (mārgati).

maṃg-, v.t., ask for; beg; 10b11 etc. Syn. maṃg-.

matsaru, subst., envy; wickedness; 10a11; matsari, adj. 10a5.

math-, v.t., churn; 17a12 etc. (mathnāti).

madhyapāna, subst., drinking of intoxicants; 6b5.

maṇā-, v.t., persuade; make see reason; obtain the good will of; 14a12 (cf. manyate).

maṇyāru, adj., possessing a jewel; 8b4 (maṇi- + -ālu-, -āla-; hardly -kāra? WAp. shows adjs. derived from subs. with -ālu-, -āla-; HGA par. 158 (7), (8)).

marad-, v.t., rub; grind; 2b14 (maradi).

maryāḍa, f., limit; correct behaviour; 19b1 etc.

mahādhītha, adj., very bold, impudent; 11a12 (dhrṣṭa-).

mahāduhakara, adj., cf. duhakara.

mahānagaraprāya, adj., like a large city; 15a14.

mātra, adv., only; 1b10.

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māthau, m., brow; māthai 10b15 etc. (masta-).
mit-, v.i., be reduced, lessened; 25b7 (mṛṣṭa-).
misa, m., pretext; 8b11 etc. (mṛṣā).
munḥa hi munḥa, adv., in the very face; 25b5.
mukāta, subst., a digging implement (?); mukātai 17a2 (?).
murāra, subst., lotus stem; 22b3 etc.
munḍa, m., head; 17b4 etc. (mūrdhan-; Pkt. muddha-, mudḍha-; + munḍa-
‘shaven’?).
munḍ-, v.t., cover, shade, close; 15b3 (mudrayati).
mef-, v.t., destroy, reduce; 5b13 etc. (cf. mṛṣṭa-).
maināka, m., a mountain said to be the son of Himavat and Menakā;
16a2 etc.

yasarūpa, adj., of splendid form, whose form is splendour; 17b13.
yāc-, v.t., beg, ask for; 10a8 etc. (yācyate).

rac-, v.t., create; 25a10 (cf. racayati).
rasātala, subst., lowest of the seven regions below the earth; 7a10.
rāṃdh-, v.t., cook; 15a2 etc. (randhayati).
raś-, v.t., put; keep; 4a4 etc. (rakṣati).
rāhu, subst., a dāitya said to cause eclipses by seizing and swallowing the
sun and the moon; 17b3 etc.
rijutā, subst., simplicity; accessibility; 23b2.
ruś, m., cotton; a cotton-like substance inside the seeds of swallow-wort;
15a4 (*rū-a-).
ruk-, v.i., stop; be stopped; 22b4 etc.
ruc-, v.i., be pleasing; 6a14 (rucyate).
rok-, v.t., stop, check; 22b2 etc. (*rokk-).
rosa, subst., anger; 22b2 (roṣa-).

lajyā-, v.i., be ashamed; 24b9 etc. (cf. lajjate; and ch. 3, par. 99(d)).
latapata-, v.i., lurch, lolł; 24b7 (cf. laṭaye ‘is shaken’).
ladyā-, v.i., caress, spoil; 6b4 (cf. laḍati; and ch. 3, par. 99(d)).
lava, m., fragment; 2a1.
lāra, f., saliva; 9a14 (lālā).
lālac-, v.t., covet; 4b3 (? cf. H. lālac, <lālitya-).
lilāṭa, subst., brow; 18a3 (lalāṭa-; niṭāla-).
lepa, m., smearing, anointing; 25b11.
leṣ-, v.t., estimate, consider; 4a14 (cf. lekhayati).
lobhapāsa, subst., snare of greed; 19b11 (pāṣa-).
loha, subst., iron; 10a14.

vamcakatā, subst., wickedness, deceitfulness; 23b1.
vac-, v.i., be safe; flee, escape; 15a10 etc. (vacyate).
vacchā, subst., calf; 18b4 (vatsa-).
vajā-, v.t., blow, play (musical instrument); 15b5 etc. (cf. vādyate).
vādh-, v.i., increase; 20a3 etc. (vārdhate).
vadana, subst., face; 14a2.
APPENDIX III

vanā-, v.t., make; 25a6 (cf. vanati).
vanijā, subst., trade; 15b11 etc. (vanijāyā, f.).
var-, v.i., burn; 7a12 etc. (jvalati).
varaj-, v.t., hinder, prevent; 10a1 (cf. *varjayati).
varat-, v.i., be used; 23b13 (cf. varate).
varan-, v.t., see varu-; 18b9 etc.
varavaṭa hīṃ, adv., violently; 2a5 (bala- + vytti-?).
varas-, v.i. and t., rain; rain down; 10b3 etc. (i.), 21a12 (t.) (varṣati).
varṇ-, v.t., describe; 17b12 etc. (cf. varṇayati).
varṣā-, v.i., be proud; 18a13 (cf. bala-; and ch. 3, par. 99(d)).
vasa, m., power, domination; kai vasa, in the power of; 5b15 etc. (vaśa-).
vasya, adj., controlled; vasi ho-, be controlled, 2a1; vasya kar-, control, dominate, 25a9 (vaśya-).
vah-, v.t., carry; 23b15 etc. (vahati).
vāṃch-, v.t., wish for; 8a10 etc. (vāṃchati).
vādavāgni, f., sea-fire; 5b2.
vādha-, v.i., increase; 14a7, 20a4. Syn. vaṭha-, 14a7 etc. (vardhate).
vāsa, m., dwelling-place; 14b13.
vical-, v.i., stray; 3b7 (cf. vicalati).
vicār-, v.t., thinking; 5b12 etc. (cf. vicāra-).
vijñāthau, m., bracelet; vijñāthe 25b9 (cf. mod. H. bijāyath, bijauṭhā).
vitark-, v.i., reason, argue; 5b13 etc. (cf. tarka-, tarkayati).
vīṭha, f., pain; 24b6(2) (vyathā).
vīḍār-, v.t., split; 4b8 etc. (cf. vīḍārayati).
vīnas-, v.i., be destroyed; 6b3 etc. (vīnasayati).
virālau, adj., uncommon; virale 5a7 etc. (virala-).
virāj-, v.i., be enconced, resplendent; 21b14 etc.
vilānau, adj., disappeared, lost; vilāṇi 6a15 (cf. H. bilāṇa, v.i.; vilīyate, Pkt. vilāi, v.i., ‘melts’).
visanu, m., application, diligence; 3b4 etc.; vyasanu 24a11.
visṭār-, v.t., spread; 13b6 (cf. visṭārayati).
viṣṭha, m., seed; 15a5; ke viṣṭha, adv., by a seed.
viṣ-, v.i., pass (of time); 3b11 etc. (vytta-?).
vṛcchu, subst., tree; 20b4 (vṛkṣa-).
vṛhaspati, subst., a Vedic deity; the planet Jupiter; 16a11 etc.
vejiṣṭha, adj., dishonoured; 15a5 (P. be-'izzat).
vṛdh-, v.t., split, pierce; 22b5 etc. (cf. viddha-).
vṛṇu, subst., (bamboo) flute, pipe; 15b5 (vṛṇu-).
vela, subst., wood-apple tree; 12b2; vela- 12b1 (bailva-).
vai, emph. part., 6a1, 10b7, 9b2 (vai; Pkt. vai).
vairu, subst., enmity; 10a6 etc.
vor-, v.t., immerse; 19b2 (*bodhayati).
vṛyabhicāru, subst., vice, misconduct; 19b6.
vīṣanu, m., see visanu.
vṛyāp-, v.t., embrace, overwhelm; 17b14 (cf. *vīyāpnoti).

śala, m., thorn; 2b1 etc. Cf. sāla.
śāli, subst., a kind of rice; 5b8.
śāsām-praśāsā, subst. pl., branches and offshoots; divisions and sub-divisions; 16b14.
śīra, m., head, summit; 21b8.
śobh-, v.i., be beautiful; 17b11. See soh-.
śvānu, subst., dog; 9a10 etc.

śaḍaga, subst., sword; 24a9 (khaḍga-).
śaraca, subst., expense; 19a3 etc. (P. kharca).
śarasa, subst., piece, fragment (?); śarasani 15a5 (khaṇḍa-?).
śarasāṃṇa, subst., grindstone; 2b9 (khara- + śaṇa-).
śavā, v.t., give to eat, feed; 18a13 (cf. khādati, khādayati).
śaṃḍau, m., sword; śaṃde 20a9 (*khaṇḍaka-; cf. H. khāmṛā).
śāni, f., mine; 17a2.
śudā-, v.t., dig out; 17a2 (cf. *khodd-, khudati?).
śūṃd-, v.t., kick; walk over; 17a2 (*kṣundati).
śoparī, subst., skull; 10b11 (*khoppaṇa-).

saṃk-, v.i., be afraid; 9a12 (saṅkate).
saṃtāp-, v.t., heat; 12a15 (cf. saṁtāpayati).
saṃmāhu, subst., armour; but see note to 22b5.
saṃbhaṇḍhī, adj., connected with; 20b11; -saṃbaṇḍhī, 6a8 etc.
saṃvār-, v.t., polish, trim; 2b9 (saṃvārayati).
saṃsvarga, m., company; association with; 8b3.
sakuc-, v.i., hesitate, hesitate to do something; 9a10 etc. (saṅkucaye).
sati, adj., = satya; 16b2.
satpātru, subst., person worthy of receiving alms; worthy person; 20a10.
saṇamuṣa, adj., facing, facing forwards; 25b5 (saṇmukha-).
saṃā-, v.i., be contained; 18a7 (saṃmāti).
saṅkhaṇā, f., praise; 21a14 etc. (cf. ślāghana-).
sarva-arthī, adj., seeking, in need of everything; 2b14.
sasau, m., hare; sace 2a12 (śaśa-).
sah-, v.t., endure, tolerate; 22a6 (sahate).
sahaja, subst., inborn nature; 5a5.
sahānasālatā, subst., tolerance; 3b2.
saṃcāu, adj., true; saṃcāṭi 18b8 (as subst.) (satya-).
sādh-, v.t., achieve; put into practice; 5b10 etc. (śādhnati).
sārāśāravivekā, adj., able to discern the nature of things; 14a1.
sārīṣau, adj., like; sāriṣe 19a15 etc. (Pkt. sārīkka-).
sāla, subst., thorn; 14b3. Cf. śālyā. (śālya-).
sīṃc-, v.t., water; 13b2. Cf. sīṃc-.
sīrasa, subst., the tree acacia (or mimosa) sīrīsa; 22b5 (sīrīṇa-).
sīṣa, subst., lesson; 18b1 (sikṣa-).
sīṣa-, v.t., teach; 4b13 etc. (Pkt. sīkkhaevi).
sīṃc-, v.t., water; 16b14. Cf. sīṃc-. (sīncaṭi).
sīpi, f., oyster; 10b3 (ND doubtfully śīpre, f. dual).
sudhī, f., recollection; 5b14 etc.
subhāva, m., nature; 19b4 etc. (svabhāva-).
surata, subst., love-making, sexual intercourse; 2b14.
suvarna, subst., gold; 15a4.
susa hīṁ, adv., easily; 1b14 etc. (sukham).
sūtu, m., tendril; 4a12 (sūtra-).
sūryakāṁtapāṭāṇa, subst., sun-stone, crystal; 22a4 etc. sev-, v.t., serve; 14a11 etc. (sevate).
soh-, v.i., be beautiful; 2b8 etc. (śobhate).
sauṣyu, subst., happiness; 8b10.
sprhā, f., desire; 3a3 etc.
syāru, subst., jackal; 11a9 (śṛgāla-).
srav-, v.i., flow; 15b3 (cf. sravati).

haṃḍ-, v.i., move; wander; 21a2 (*haṇḍ-).
haṃḍīyā, f., earthenware vessel; 15a2; hāṃḍīyā, 15a2 (haṇḍikā).
hata-adrṣṭa, subst., violent, ineluctable destiny; 5b15.
har-, v.i., go, move; 7a11 (*halati).
har-, v.t., steal; remove, alleviate; 13b1 etc. (harati).
hara, m., plough; 15a4 etc. (hala-).
*harayau, adj., light; slight, insignificant; harai, harie 4a10; etc. (laghu-).
hāda, m., bone; 9a13 etc. (haḍḍa-).
hāra, m., necklace; 25b10.
hiranyādika, adj., ‘comprising Hīranya and the others’; 5a14.
hīṃs-, v.i., neigh; 15b4 (heṣati).
hīrā, subst., diamond; 22b6 etc. (hīraka-).
hom-, v.t., perform the homa (q.v.) offering; 19a8 etc.
homa, subst., sacrificial offering of ghī; 19a8.
hauṃm-, v.t., see hom-.
Fig. 1: India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318, f. 25b
लिखित ग्रन्थ विद्वान विभाग के अन्तर्गत विद्वानों ने अनुवाद किया है। इसी कारण इसे किशोर और विद्वानों के लिए अनुवाद उपलब्ध कराया गया है।

Fig. 2: India Office Library Sanskrit MS 3318, f. 26a
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