## SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

## TWO STANZAS ATTRIBUTED TO BHARTRHARI

Rajah Indrajit of Orchā, son of the Bundelā ruler Madhukar Śāh, wrote between the years 1592 and 1605 a commentary in Brajbhāṣā called Vivekadīpikā or Bhartrharitīkā which with certainty included the Nīti- as well as the Vairāgyaśataka and probably also contained (and explained) the Sringāraśataka of Bhartrahri. Indrajit's work is of considerable importance to our knowledge of older Hindi dialects, since it represents one of the earliest texts in Brajbhāṣā prose. A part of his Vivekadīpikā, the commentary on the Nītiśataka, has been commendably edited by Dr. R.S. McGregor 1. It follows the Northern Recension quoting and commenting on 106 stanzas altogether. Though this tīkā, which apparently makes frequent use of another commentary written in Sanskrit2, is in fact of secondary importance as regards its purely interpretative merits, some of Indrajit's observations are very interesting and are definitely worth consulting by readers trying to explore not so much early Braj prose, but the poetry composed by or attributed to Bhartrhari. Such is the case with stanzas 86 and 102 in McGregor's edition in each of which, as is demonstrated by Indrajit, the poet has made use of the figure paronomasia (ślesa). Both poems exemplify a widely used form of, or, to be more precise, two variants of a very popular type of the śleṣālaṃkāra. For, as we shall see presently, its application in stanza 86 differs in one respect from that in 102. We shall start by discussing the latter, written in Mandākrāntā metre. It runs as follows:

dūrād artham ghaṭayati navam dūrataś cāpaśabdam tyaktvā bhūyo bhavati niratah satsabhāpādaneṣu / mandam mandam racayati padam lokacittānuvrttyā kāmam mantrī kavir iva sadā khedabhārair ayuktah //

The Language of Indrajit of Orchā, Cambridge, 1968.
See R. S. McGregor, op. cit., p. 14.

In this poem, the author says that a (good) prime minister of a king is like a (good) poet: mantrī kavir iva, or, as Indrajit explains in his tīkā: (mantrī) ³ rāja kau mantrī (kavir iva) bhale kavi samāna hai. For ju kachū bhale kavi kī gati soī bhale mantrī kī gati, « As is the procedure of a good poet, so is the procedure of a good minister ».

To assist the reader to grasp the entire contents of the stanza, our Braj commentator continues:  $tah\bar{a}m$  slesa racanā kari mantrī ke aru kavi ke ekaī dharama kahata haim, « Here (Bhartrhari), while producing a slesa, states the same quality (or better: qualities) of (both) the minister and the writer ». Needless to say Indrajit's advice is correct. What is further said in our stanza has clearly a double meaning, each statement referring — in two different senses — to both the minister and the classical poet, the kavi. When reading the poem, we have thus to interpret most of the words in two ways:

- « A prime minister, making the sound of his bow (travel) far, produces (constantly) new wealth from afar; he takes much delight in arranging meetings with clever men; he appropriates step by step (new) territory, while paying attention to the will of the people; and thus always remains like the (good) poet free from the burden of (utter) distress ».
- 2. «A poet produces new (poetical) matter from afar <sup>4</sup>, leaving aside vulgar (and/or ungrammatical) expressions; he takes much delight in arranging meetings with connoisseurs; he carefully forms words (or: verse-lines), giving attention to what is liked by the readers <sup>5</sup>; and thus always remains like the (good) primeminister free from the burden of (excessive) labour ».

It does not seem to me necessary to enter into details as far as the Braj paraphrase is concerned. The reader is referred to the appendix attached to this article which reproduces Indrajit's commentary, together with an English translation of both this and the following stanza. We can see from the relevant extract that Indrajit interprets the double meanings quite well. A problem in the Sanskrit text as well as the commentary in Brajbhāṣā is posed by the phrase dūratas cāpasabdam tyaktvā which, when applied to the minister, appears to mean « letting the sound of his bow(-string) go far ». Indrajit comments on this passage by explaining cāpu, caḍhāī cāpa kī, jihiṃ ko śabda karikai, dūri dūri ke bhūmīyāṃni ḍarapāikai, which may be tentatively translated as « the

<sup>3.</sup> In order to differentiate clearly between the Sanskrit portions and those in Brajbhāṣā, Sanskrit words, etc. followed by a translation or paraphrase in Brajbhāṣā are here put within brackets.

<sup>4.</sup> That means, probably,  $\alpha$  from his imagination  $\alpha$ , from the Epics and Purāṇas or events of the past.

<sup>5.</sup> Literally, « people ».

bow, (i.e.) when (he) has made an attack with his bow(-men), letting the bow(-string) sound far (and thus) threatening far-off rulers ». Here the relative pronoun jihim (ko) refers clearly to  $c\bar{a}pu$ , while the words  $cadh\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$   $c\bar{a}pa$   $k\bar{\imath}$  most probably form a short sentence which the author inserts to explain the word  $c\bar{a}pu$ . The same passage, when applied to the poet, is to be read as « (a poet) produces new (poetical) matter from afar, leaving aside vulgar (or/and ungrammatical) expressions ». It is evident that in this case  $c\bar{a}pasabdam$ , as is rightly pointed out by our Braj commentator, must be understood as consisting of the two words ca and apasabda.

We turn now to the second stanza, number 86 in R. S. McGregor's edition, which, in appearance, is simpler, but in reality has a much more complicated structure than stanza 102. It reads as follows:

ekenāpi hi śūreņa pādākrāntam kṣamātalam / kriyate bhāskareṇaiva sphuradvisphāratejasā //

The poem is composed in Sloka metre and can be translated as firstly: « A single hero, luminous and (full of the) dazzling, wide-spreading (radiance of his) majesty, subdues with his feet the (entire) surface of the earth ». The subject of this poem is, as we see, a powerful king, perhaps a universal ruler, a cakravartin, who, single-handed, conquers the earth. Indrajit begins his commentary on this stanza by saying that aba Bhartrhari ślesa racanā kari śūrapurusa kī sarāhanā karata haim, « Now Bhartrhari, while producing a slesa, eulogizes the hero ». He discovers a second meaning in the word pāda, which, of course, can mean « foot » as well as « ray » (of the sun or moon), but, strangely enough, does not see that the word tejas, too, is here used ambiguously. The poet employs the word to denote not only the bright « (radiance of) majesty » of the sovereign, but also the dazzling « light (of the sun) ». Indrajit has made another mistake. He does not read bhāskarenaiva, which is the reading given in the mūla and which, naturally, is to be separated into bhāskarena and eva, but adopts the variant bhāskareneva which in the commentary is correctly split up into bhāskarena and iva. bhāskara, too, possesses two meanings, the first being «luminuos», the second being « sun ». Indrajit, not knowing the proper reading or not recognizing the ambivalence of the word, takes bhāskareneva to mean « like the sun ». bhāskara, the « sun », is thus made the upamāna, i.e. the object with which the heroic king is compared, the whole stanza being understood as « A single hero, luminous and (full of) dazzling, wide-spreading splendour, subdues with his feet the (entire) surface of the earth — (just) like the sun, who, (too), with his rays reaches the (entire) surface of the earth ». The proper reading is undoubtedly bhä-

<sup>6.</sup> McGrecor, op. cit., p. 105, renders the same passage as: « an attack by bow(men), by threatening distant kings or landholders with the mention of which...».

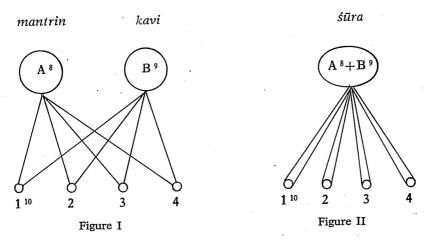
skareṇaiva where bhāskareṇa, an adjective referring to śūreṇa and followed by the emphatic particle eva, means — almost exclusively — « shining », « radiant » or « luminous ». Its second meaning, « sun », is, however, not wholly forgotten. As classical poets often do, the author has purposely chosen an equivocal expression in order to bewilder the reader. At first sight, the meaning « sun » tends to suggest itself as the most suitable sense; it is, however, slowly rejected, when the lines are re-read and gradually the subtle relations of each part with the other parts of the poem are detected. The poet has laid a trap in which to ensnare his listeners or readers, and Indrajit, as we see, has promptly walked into it.

What allows us now to declare with assurance that the correct reading at the end of the third  $p\bar{a}da$  is  $bh\bar{a}skarenaiva$  and not  $bh\bar{a}skareneva$ ? Both readings are permissible as far as metre is concerned. The answer is easy. The poet is, in fact, comparing the heroic king with the sun, but he does not state the compared object in the expression  $bh\bar{a}skareneva$  or  $bh\bar{a}skareneva$ , which, as we have seen, is used as a trap. The author hides skilfully the object of comparison by means of the figure paronomasia. He employs the lexeme  $s\bar{a}ra$  to mean in the first place « the hero », but denotes under the disguise of the word also the  $upam\bar{a}na$ , namely  $s\bar{u}ra$  or  $s\bar{u}ra^{7}$ , « the sun ». Thus, when trying to translate the whole stanza, we have to render the poem in two versions:

- « A single hero, luminous and (full of the) dazzling, wide-spreading (radiance of his) majesty, subdues with his feet the (entire) surface of the earth », and
- 2. « The sun alone, luminous and (having) dazzling, wide-spreading sunlight, reaches with her rays the (entire) surface of the earth ».

Although the  $N\bar{\imath}ti$  genre of the *muktaka* did not yield so easily to highly artistic creation, the two poems we discussed may be regarded as good examples of a more elaborate and imaginative poetry belonging to  $N\bar{\imath}ti$ . The two poems make use, as I said at the very beginning,

<sup>7.</sup> In his commentary on the Amarakośa Bhānuji Dīkṣita gives for sūra also the variant śūra; cf. The Nāmalingānuśāsana (Amarakosha) of Amarasimha. With the Commentary (Vyākhyāsudhā or Rāmāśramī) of Bhānuji Dīkshit, edited by Pt. Śivadatta, revised by W. L. Sh. Paṇṣīkar, Bombay, 1915, p. 40 (sub sūreti). It is generally assumed that Bhartṛhari was a native of the North. There is, unfortunately, no evidence that our stanza really was written by him. If, however, it was, the bringing together of śūra, « hero », and sūra/śūra, « sun » in one śleṣa-expression would possibly prompt the conclusion that our poet descendend from an Eastern area, probably Bihar or Bengal. We find several instances in Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, which we know was composed in Bengal, where ś and s are indiscriminately used in one and the same rhyme.



of two very characteristic types of the ślesālaṃkāra. While in the first stanza both the *upameya* and *upamāna* are mentioned (*mantrī kavir iva*) and the statements made by the poet refer to the one as well as the other (fig. I), the latter poem, too, contains sentence parts endowed with ambiguous meaning, but, by employing the figure paronomasia, fuses the *upameya*, the subject to be compared, and the *upamāna*, the object compared, into one single expression, namely śūrena (fig. II).

It seems unlikely that either of the two poems was composed by Bhartrhari himself. They are not contained in D. D. Kosambi's edition "and are probably the work of a much later poet than the famous author

of the Satakatraya.

## APPENDIX

Indrajit's commentary with an English translation

Stanza 102 12:

(1) MAMTRĪ <sup>13</sup>: rājā kau maṃtrī KAVIR IVA: bhale kavi samāna hai. (2) ju kachū bhale kavi kī gati soī bhale maṃtrī kī gati. (3) tahāṃ śleṣa

<sup>8.</sup> А: иратеуа.

<sup>9.</sup> B: upamāna.

<sup>10. 1 (2, 3, 4):</sup> statements referring to A as well as B.

<sup>11.</sup> Satakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṃgraha: The Epigrams attributed to Bhartrhari, Bombay, 1948.

<sup>12.</sup> R. S. McGregor, op. cit., p. 73. My arrangement of the text differs, however, considerably from that made by McGregor.

<sup>13.</sup> The portions of the text in Sanskrit are here in capital letters, while the parts in Brajbhāṣā are in italics. Explanations in Brajbhāṣā of a Sanskrit word or passage are preceded by a colon as, for example, in GHATAYATI: banāvatu haim, where GHATAYATI is a Sanskrit expression explained by banāvatu haim in Brajbhāṣā.

racanā kari mamtrī ke aru kavi ke ekaī dharama kahata haim. (4) mamtrī kahā karatu hai. (5) CĀPASABDAM TYAKTVĀ: cāpu cadhāī cāpa kī, jihim ko śabda karikai, dūri dūri ke bhūmīvāmni darapāikai, taba. (6) DŪRĀD: dūri dūri ke (7) NAVAM ARTHAM: naaim naaim dhanahim GHATAYATI: damdu mamgāvatu hai. (8) aba kavi kaim pakṣa inahīm padani kau yaha arthu jānivau. (9) kavi phuni CĀPASABDAM: CA āgaim APASABDA tā kau CĀPASABDA aiso bhayau. (10) su apasabdahim DÜRATAH TYAKTVĀ: lagatau nāmhī jātu. (11) aru apanaim kavitva visaim. (12) NAVAM AR-THAM: apūrva apūrva arathahim (13) GHATAYATI: banāvatu haim. (14) bahuri mamtrī kahā karatu hai? (15) BHŪYAH: vāram vāram SAT-SABHĀPĀDANESU NIRATAH: kacchū vicāru karive kahum bhale bhale mahāpurusa aru bade bade manusyani kī sabhā ioratu hai. (16) aru kavi phuni vāra vāra apanaum kavitva sunāive kahum (17) SATSABHĀPĀ-DANESU NIRATAH: bhale bhale śrotāni kī sabhā joratu haim. (18) bahuri mamtrī kahā karatu hai? (19) LOKACITTĀNUVŖTTYĀ: jaisau jaisau loka ke cit(t)ahim vasya karatu hai taisau taisau (20) MAMDAM MAMDAM: haraim hī haraim (21) PADAM RACAYATI: parāyau thauru apanyāutu haim. (22) aru kavi phuni (23) LOKACITTĀNUVŖTTYĀ: je pada loka ke cittahim nīke lagahim ese padani mamda mamda racatu haim. (24) bahuri mamtrī kaisai hai? (25) KHEDABHĀRAIH: duṣabhārani 14 kari (26) AYUKTAH: asamyukta rahatu haim. (27) kabahūm ședahim <sup>15</sup> nāmhī pāvatu. (28) aru bhalau kavi phuni kavitta hī anāyāsa hīm karatu haim, (29) sedahim 15 nāhīm pāvatu.

« (1) A minister, (i.e.), the minister of a king, is like a good poet. (2) (For) as is the procedure of a good poet, such is the procedure of a good minister. (3) By here creating a slesa, (Bhartrhari) ascribes one and the same nature to (both) the minister and the poet. (4) What does the minister do? (5) (When) making the bow resound, (i.e.), the bow of victory, (when) making it sound (and thus) frightening far-off rulers, then (6) from a far distance, (i.e.) from afar, (7) he produces (constantly) new wealth, (i.e.), demands the payment of tribute. (8) Now as regards the poet, the sense of these words is to be taken (like) this. (9) (What is) cāpaśabda in the case of the poet? apaśabda preceded by ca has become cāpaśabda. (10) (The poet) does not use, (i.e.), avoids, such vulgar (or: ungrammatical) expressions. (11) And in his own poetry (13) (he) produces, (i.e.), creates, (12) new (poetical) matter, (i.e.), ever new (poetical) matter 16. (14) And what does the minister do? (15) He often, (i.e.), again and again, takes delight in arranging meetings with the learned, (i.e.), arranges a meeting with great and eminent men to take counsel. (16) And the poet, on the other hand, for reciting his poetry, (17) often takes delight in arranging meetings with connoisseurs, (i.e.), arranges

<sup>14.</sup> For du(h)kha.

<sup>15.</sup> For kheda.

<sup>16.</sup> This is of course the  $ap\bar{u}rvavastu$  so often referred to in later works on Sanskrit poetics.

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a meeting with very good listeners. (18) And what does the minister do? (20) Slowly, (i.e.), gradually, (21) (he) appropriates, (i.e.), makes other people's territory his own, (19) while paying attention to the mind of the people, (i.e.), by subjugating the mind of the people. (22) And the poet, on the other hand (23), forms carefully words/verses by giving attention to the mind of the people, (i.e.), (uses) words that are liked by the people. (24) And what is the minister like? (26) (He) is free, (i.e.), remains free, (25) from the burden of (utter) distress, (i.e.), the burdens of sorrow. (27) He is never confronted with (utter) distress. (28) And the good poet, on the other hand, creates (his) poetry without (excessive) labour, (29) (i.e.), is never confronted with (excessive) labour ».

## Stanza 86 17:

- (1) aba bhartrhari ślesa racanā kari śūrapuruṣa kī sarāhanā karata haim. (2) SŪREŅĀ EKENĀPI: śūrapuruṣa jau akeloū hai tau (3) KṢĀ-MĀTALĀM: samasta bhūtalahim PĀDĀKRĀMTĀM KRIYĀTE: apanaim caraṇa kari ākramatu haim, sakala pṛthvīhim apanaim caraṇa tara haraī karatu hai. (4) BHĀSKĀRĒŅĀ IVĀ: jaisaim akelo sūrya saba bhūtalahim apanaim pādākrāṃta karatu hai. (5) PĀDĀšabda hī maham śleṣa hai. (6) PĀDĀ kahetaim caraṇa aru PĀDĀ kahetaim kiraṇa jānive. (7) su śūra kai pakṣa PĀDĀšabda kau arthu caraṇa jānivau. (8) tātaim aba yā kau yaha artha jānivau (9) ki jaisaim sūrya apanaim kiraṇani kari sakala bhūtalahim ākramatu hai (10) taisaim hī śūrapuruṣa sakala bhūtalahim apane caraṇani kari ākramatu hai. (11) tahām kaisai sūrapuruṣa hai aru kaisau sūrya hai? (12) SPHURĀDVISPHĀRITĒJĀSĀ. (13) SPHŪRĀT kahetaim dedīpyamāna hai (14) aru VISPHŪRĀT kahetaim jagadvidita hai, teja jā kau. (15) aisau śūrapuruṣa hai aru aisau sūryu phuni hai.
- « (1) Now Bhartrhari, while producing a śleṣa, euologizes the hero. (2) A single hero, (i.e.), a hero who is alone, (3) subdues with his feet the entire surface of the earth, (i.e.), conquers with his feet the whole earth, (4) like the sun, (i.e.), as the sun with his rays reaches the whole (surface of the) earth. (5) There is a slesa in the word pāda. (6) (For) one should know that (Sanskrit) pāda means "foot" as well as "ray (of the sun or moon)". (7) In the case of the hero the word  $p\bar{a}da$  is to be understood in the sense of "foot". (8) From this (follows that) the meaning of this (passage) is to be taken (thus): (9) (just) as the sun with his rays reaches the entire surface of the earth, (10) thus a single hero, (too), subdues with his feet the whole surface of the earth. (11) Now, what is the hero like and what is the sun like? (12) Luminous (and full of the) dazzling, wide-spreading (radiance of his) splendour. (13) sphurat means shining intensively (14) and visphurat means well-known in the world, (here referring to) (his) splendour. (15) Such is the hero, on the one hand, and such is the sun, on the other.

<sup>17.</sup> R. S. McGregor, op. cit., p. 64.