

The *Vairāgyamañjarī* of Brajnidhi

Monika Horstmann¹

Translations from Sanskrit poetry into Braj Bhāṣā were produced plentifully. The term “translation” encompasses various profiles, ranging from straight word-by-word rendering over remoulding in commentaries to transcreation. The *Vairāgyamañjarī* of Braj’nidhi, a rendering of one of the recensions of the *Vairāgyaśataka* assigned to Bhartṛhari, represents one among these. Braj’nidhi was the pen-name of king Pratāp’simh of Jaipur, born in 1763 and ruler from 1778 to his death in 1803. Pratāp’simh was a renowned poet and patron of the arts, particularly of music (Bahura 1976: 77–83). His own compositions are longer poems and lyrics in the vein of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa bhakti. To him are also attributed collections of lyrics authored by himself or other poets and popular at his court, from which we get an inkling of the spirit of actual court performances (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 192–308). The king seems to have produced most if not all of his writings between 27 and 30 years of age (1792–1795). The last of his dated works was his adaptation of 1795 of Bhartṛhari’s *Śatakṛayī*, of which only his adaptation of the last of these will be considered here. Those three years of his life formed a lull in his otherwise turbulent rule, after which Jaipur was soon transformed into a British protectorate (Sarkar 1984: 259–314). He was not the only poet-king of his region and period. He may have had before him the model of king Sāvantsimh (Nāg’rīdās), of Kishangarh (1699–1764), whose own poetic activities were matched by those of a zenana inhabited by remarkable women poets and translators (Pauwels 2015, 2017, 2018; Horstmann 2018). These men and women were the product of the careful grooming befitting royalty by intellectual and religious gurus. The impact of these on their royal disciples’ works is a matter of some interest. For the case under review this will be pursued presently (p. 2–10).

As for the epigrams of Bhartṛhari, previous to Pratāp’simh a number of Braj Bhāṣā adaptations made by kings or commissioned by them come readily to mind: The commentary on the *Nītiśataka* and *Vairāgyaśataka* by

1 I wish to thank Tyler W. Williams for sharing with me his scans of MS Acc. No. 37973, Prācyā Vidyā Pratiṣṭhān, Jodhpur.

Indrajit of Orchā (fl. end of the 16th/beginning of the 17th c.; McGregor 1968); Nayan’siṃh’s commenting translation in the *savaiyā* metre of V.S. 1783, made on commission of Ānand’siṃh, a son of Mahārājā Anūp’siṃh of Bikaner (r. 1669–98; Rām’svarūp V.S. 2029: 495), or Bhagavān’dās Nirañjanī’s commentary of 1683 implying a complete reordering of these into a mirror for aspiring renouncers (Williams 2018). Pratāp’siṃh’s rendering was praised by a royal peer, Mahārājā Mān’siṃh of Jodhpur (1803–43): “Bhānudatta composed the *Rasamañjarī*, Mādhav wrote a treatise on the Veda, Braj’nidhi composed the *Śatakatraya* – oh, what creativitiy (*māyā*) resides in his throat!” (Śarmā VS 1990: 29 [pagination of the Introduction]). The lexicon of Pratāp’siṃh’s translation entered the *Hindī śabd’sāgar* (Śyām’sundar’dās 1973–86 [1st edn 1929]).

The text

As would be expected, Pratāp’siṃh bases his translation on the northern recension of the epigrams. Following the stemma worked out by Kosāmbī (1948), the Sanskrit text belongs to group H of its northern versions. This corresponds to the presence of this version in Paṭṭan (H2) and in a manuscript in a Bikaneri style of the Nagari script (H3).

The author departs from the original in so far as he occasionally invokes Hari, Govinda etc., the deity of his personal choice. Thereby, the *vairāgya* epigrams acquire in some places the tone of a supplication, while Bhartṛhari’s epigrams are rather not governed by a devotional sentiment.

Here follow the beginning and the concluding five stanzas of the *Vairāgyamañjarī* (exclusive of the colophon-like signature stanzas of Braj’nidhi himself):

Table: Synopsis of opening and concluding stanzas

No.	Braj’nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author’s translations)
1	<i>sarba disā saba kāla, pūri rah- yau caitanya-ghana/ sadā ekarasa cāla, baṃdana vā</i>	<i>dikkālādyanavacchinnānantacin- mātramūrtaye/ svānubhūtyekamānāya namaḥ</i>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	<p><i>parabrahma kau//</i> (Metre: <i>sor'thā</i>)</p> <p>As a cloud of consciousness it fills all directions and times, Its ways are forever unchanging—to this Supreme Self be obeisance.</p>	<p><i>śāntāya tejase//</i> (Metre: <i>anuṣṭubh</i>)</p> <p>Obeisance be to the peaceful light, which has the form of nothing but infinite consciousness, unlimited by space, time and so forth and with the experience of itself as its only measure.*</p>
2	<p><i>paṁḍita matsaratā bhare bhūpa bhare abhimāna/</i> <i>aura jīva yā jagata ke mūrakha mahā ajāna/</i> <i>mūrakha mahā ajāna dekhi kai saṁkaṭa sahiyai/</i> <i>chamda-prabaṁdha-kabitta-kāvya-rasa kā saum kahiyai/</i> <i>bṛddha bhī tana māhi madhura bānī guna-maṁḍita/</i> <i>apane mana kau māri mauna gahi baiṭhe paṁḍita//</i> (Metre: <i>kuṇḍaliyā</i>)</p> <p>Pandits are full of greed, kings are full of arrogance, The other creatures in this world are greatly ignorant fools. Seeing the greatly ignorant fools one is distressed, To whom can one speak with the flavour of poetry in versified lengthy compositions and kavitta metre? The sweet voice, equipped with</p>	<p><i>boddhāro matsaragrastāḥ prabhavaḥ smayadūṣitāḥ/</i> <i>abodhopahatās cānye jīrṇam aṁge subhāṣitam//</i> (Metre: <i>anuṣṭubh</i>)</p> <p>Wise men are consumed by greed, Kings are defiled by haughty ways, The people suffer from ignorance. Eloquence is withered from my tongue. (Miller 1967: 5, v. 4)</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	<p>the flavour of poetry in versified lengthy compositions and <i>kavitta</i> metre?</p> <p>The sweet voice, equipped with qualities, has grown old in the body, too, And so the pandit feels dejected and keeps quiet.</p>	
3	<p><i>yā jaga saum utapatya bhae je carita manohara/ te sabahī china-bhaṅga pragaṭa iha pūri rahyau ḍara/ jajñādika taim svarga ge teū bhaya mānata/ iṃdra ādi saba deva avadhi apanī kau jānata/ phala-bhoga karata je puya kau tina kau roga-viyoga-bhaya/ dukha-rūpa sakala sukha dekhi kai bhe samta jana jñānamaya//</i> (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</p> <p>The pleasant lives emerging in this world All reveal themselves as perishable in a moment; this is frightening. Those who went to heaven thanks to sacrifices and so forth feel fear. Indra and the other gods know about their limited span of life.</p>	<p><i>na saṃsārotpannam caritam anupaśyāmi kuśalaṃ, vipākaḥ puṇyānām janayati bhayaṃ me vimṛśataḥ/ mahadbhiḥ puṇyaughaiś cīrapariḡhītāś ca viṣayā, mahānto jāyante vyasanam iva dātum viṣayiṅām//</i> (Metre: <i>śikharinī</i>)</p> <p>I do not hold a life emerging from the cycle of rebirth beneficial, As I reflect, the consequences of meritorious deeds arouse fear in me, By huge amounts of meritorious deeds sense objects are indeed acquired for a long time, But they grow so huge that they bring about as it were the ruin of those holding on to the senses.*</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	<p>Those who enjoy the fruits of their meritorious deeds feel fear of disease and separation. Realizing that all happiness has the form of suffering, true devotees turn wise.</p>	
4	<p><i>bhaṭakyaṁ desa-videsa tahāṁ phala kachahu na pāyau/ nija kula kau abhimāna chāṁṛi sevā cita lāyau/ haṁsī gāri aru khīja hātha jhārata ghara āyau/ dūri karata hū dauri svāna jyaum para-ghara khāyau/ ihi bhāṁti nacāyau mohi kaim vaha yaum dai dai lobhadala/ abahūṁ na tohi samtoṣa kahum tṛṣṇā tū ḍāyani prabala//</i> (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</p> <p>I have roamed the regions near and far, but found no reward in these, I relinquished the pride in my own family and took to servitude, A butt of laughter, abuse, and teasing, I returned home empty-handed. I strayed far and ate like a dog at strangers' houses, In this fashion the army of greed incited me to dance with its</p>	<p><i>bhrāntvā deśam anekadurga- viśamaṁ prāptam na kiṁcit phalaṁ,</i> <i>tyaktvā jātikulābhimānam ucitaṁ sevā kṛtā niṣphalā/ bhuktaṁ mānavivarjitaṁ paraḅṛhe āśamkayā kākavat,</i> <i>tṛṣṇe jṛmbhaṇi pāpakarmanirate nādyāpi samtuṣyasi//</i> (Metre: <i>sārdūlavikrīḍita</i>)</p> <p>So I have roamed through lands fraught with peril In fruitless pursuit of reward, Relinquished my pride and my birthright To fawn in futile servitude, Shamelessly eaten in other men's homes, Cowering like a common crow. Greed, you increased gloating on my wretched deeds; Even now you will not rest content! (Miller 1967: 109, v. 148)</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	<p>“Give, give!”. Even now you are not satisfied, Thirst. Why are you such a powerful demoness?</p>	
5	<p><i>khodata ḍolyau bhūmi garī</i> <i>kahum pāvai sampati/</i> <i>ṭhomkata rahyau pakhāna kana-</i> <i>ka ke lobha lagī mati/</i> <i>gayau simḍhu ke pāsa tahām</i> <i>muktā nahiṃ pāe/</i> <i>kaurī kara nahiṃ lagī nrpana</i> <i>kau sīsa navāe/</i> <i>sādhe prayoga samasāna maim</i> <i>bhūta-preta-betāla laji/</i> <i>kitahūṃ na bhayau baṃchita</i> <i>kachū aba tṛṣṇā mohi taji//</i> (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</p> <p>He roamed digging up the earth for treasures to find wealth somewhere, He hit on rock because he was obsessed by greed for gold, He went to the sea, but there he found no pearls, He did not get a cowrie, but bent his head before kings. He performed rituals on crema- tion grounds, embarrassed by ghosts, spirits of the dead, and goblins. Nowhere was what he desired. Oh Thirst, give me now some reprieve!</p>	<p><i>utkhātaṃ nidhiśamkayā kṣititalaṃ</i> <i>dhmātā girer dhātavo,</i> <i>nistūrṇaḥ saritām patir nrpatayo</i> <i>yatnena samsevītāḥ/</i> <i>mantrārādhanatpareṇa manasā</i> <i>nītāḥ śmaśāne niśāḥ,</i> <i>prāptaḥ kāṇavarāṭako 'pi na mayā</i> <i>tṛṣṇe 'dhunā mā bhava//</i> (Metre: <i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>)</p> <p>I mined the earth in search of treasure, Smeltered iron mountains' rocky hoards, Crossed treacherous oceans' expanses, Placated kings with devoted care; Bent on evoking the powers occult, By night I roamed the burning grounds. Yet ne'er a broken cowry shell did I obtain— Cursed greed, grant me at least some reprieve. (Miller 1967: 109, v. 149)</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
96	<p><i>deta aura kau jñāna, taja dhana jobana athira kahi/ nija mana dharata na dhyāna, jagata rijhāvata phirata hama//</i> (Metre: <i>sor'thā</i>)</p> <p>We teach others: “Forsake your body, consider youth as fleeting!”, But in our own minds we do not abide by meditation, but roam about pleasing the world.</p>	<p><i>bhogās tuṅgataramgabhaṅgacapalāḥ prāṇāḥ kṣaṇadhvaṃsinah, stokāny eva dināni yauvana-sukhaṃ prītiḥ priyeṣv asthirā/ tat saṃsāram asāram eva nikhilam buddhvā budhā bodhakā, lokānugrahapeśalena manasā yatnaḥ samādhīyatām//</i> (Metre: <i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>)</p> <p>Enjoyments are unsteady as they break like high waves, life is destroyed within a moment. The happiness of youth lasts only a short time, love of the beloved ones is unstable, Wise are the insightful who have understood that the whole world has no substance. Your mind, which seeks the favour of the world, must make an effort to concentrate on meditation.*</p>
97	<p><i>parhi vidyā dṛḍha hota jaba, sabahī bhāṃti suchaṃda/ tabahī nara kau tana harata, baṛo bidhātā maṃda//</i> (Metre: <i>dohā</i>)</p> <p>Even if a man has studied the sciences and is composed, independent in every way,</p>	<p><i>ṣṛjati tāvad aśeṣaguṇākaraṃ puruṣaratnam alaṃkaraṇaṃ bhuvah/ tadapi tatkṣaṇabhaṅgi karoti ced aha ha kaṣṭam apaṇḍitatā vidheḥ//</i> (Metre: <i>drutavilambita</i>)</p> <p>Man indeed is a jewel adorning the earth, he is a treasury of all qualities,</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	His body is snatched away. The Creator is a great fool!	But if he makes this breakable within a moment, what a pity it is caused by the Creator's lack of wisdom!*
98	<p><i>hai vaha kacchapa dhanya dharī jihim dharani pīṭhi para/ dūjau dhruva hū dhanya sūra-sasi rākhata parikara/ br̥thā jagata maim janama jīva nija svāratha sīṃce/ paramāratha ke kāja nāhim ūṃce aru nīce/ ve jānata nāhīm hita-ahita kari prapaṃca peṭahi bharata/ gūlara-phala-brahmāṇḍa maim macchara se upajata marata// (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</i></p> <p>Praiseworthy is that tortoise that bore the earth on its back, Another praiseworthy one is also Dhruv, who belongs to the retinue of the moon and the sun. In the pursuit of the supreme goal there are neither high nor low. Those who make themselves comfortable in the world and fill their stomach do not know what is wholesome or unwholesome. They are midges born and dying in the fig-like cosmos.</p>	<p><i>jātaḥ kūrmaḥ sa ekaḥ pr̥thubhuvanabharāyārpitaṃ yena pr̥ṣṭhaṃ, ślāghyaṃ janma dhruvasya bhramati niyamitaṃ yatra tejasvi- cakram/ samjātavyarthapakṣāḥ parahita- karaṇe nopariṣṭān na cādho, brahmāṇḍodumbarāntar maśaka- vad apare jantavo jātanaṣṭāḥ// (Metre: <i>sragdharā</i>)</i></p> <p>He has become that single tortoise who has dedicated its back to bearing alone the expansive earth, Praiseworthy is the birth of the Polar Star which travels in a fixed manner in the orb of the brilliant (celestial bodies). For them partiality in connection with helping others is pointless, for in this high or low does not exist, The other creatures are born and die like midges in the fig-like cosmos.</p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
99	<p><i>china maiṃ bālaka hota hota china hī maiṃ jobana/ china hī maiṃ dhana hota hota china hī maiṃ niradhana/ hota chinaka maiṃ br̥ddha deha jarjaratā pāvata/ naṭa jyaum̐ palatata aṃga svāṃga nita nayau dikhāvata/ yaha jīva nāca nānā racata nicalau rahata na ekadama/ kari kai kanāta saṃsāra kī kautuka nirakhata rahata jaga//</i> (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</p> <p>For a moment one is a child, for a moment lasts the youth, For just a moment lasts the wealth, for a moment one is a pauper, For a moment the aged body becomes decrepit. Man performs dances of all kinds, he never comes to rest. Drawing the screen of the world, Death observes the spectacle.</p>	<p><i>kṣaṇam̐ bālo bhūtvā kṣaṇamapi yuvā kāmarasikah, kṣaṇam̐ vittair hīnaḥ kṣaṇam̐ apī ca sampūrṇavibhavaḥ/ jarājīrṇair aṃgair naṭa iva valīmaṇḍitatanur, naraḥ saṃsārāṃte viśati yama- dhānījavanikām//</i> (Metre: <i>śikharinī</i>)</p> <p>For a moment one is a child, for a moment also, one savours lust, For a moment one is devoid of riches, for a moment also one enjoys all wealth. When his body is worn out by age, he is like a dancer with a bent body. At the end of his worldly life man passes through the curtain of the stage into the city of Death.*</p>
100	<p><i>bahuta bhoga kau saṃga tahām̐ ina rogana kau ḍara/ dhana hū kau ḍara bhūpa agni aru tyaum̐hī taskara/ sevā maiṃ bhaya svāmi samara maiṃ satruna kau bhaya/</i></p>	<p><i>bhoge rogabhayaṃ kule cyuti- bhayaṃ vitte nṛpālād bhayaṃ, māne dainyabhayaṃ bale ripu- bhayaṃ rūpe jarāyā bhayaṃ/ śāstre vādibhayaṃ guṇe khala- bhayaṃ kāye kṛtāntād bhayaṃ,</i></p>

No.	Braj'nidhi: <i>Vairāgyamañjarī</i> (Braj Bhāṣā and English translation by the author)	Bhartṛhari: <i>Vairāgyaśataka</i> (Sanskrit and English; asterisks mark author's translations)
	<p><i>kula hū maiṃ bhaya nāri deha kau kāla karata chaya/ abhimāna ḍarata apamāna saumṃ guna ḍarapata suni khala-sabada/ saba girata parata bhaya saumṃ bhare abhaya eka vairāgya pada//</i> (Metre: <i>chappai</i>)</p> <p>Amidst the many enjoyments lingers fear of diseases, Kings fear for their wealth be- cause of fire and thieves, In servitude one fears the lord, in war one fears the enemies, A woman too has fear in her family, Time brings about the destruction of the body. Pride is afraid of disrespect, virtue is in fear when listening to the words of villains. All stumble along full of fear; only the state of indifference is free from fear.</p>	<p><i>sarvaṃ vastu bhayānviṭaṃ bhuvi nṛṇāṃ vairāgyam evābhayam//</i> (Metre: <i>śārdūlavikrīḍita</i>)</p> <p>If one has enjoyment, he fears disease; if he has a family, he fears humiliation; if he is wealthy, he fears the king, If he is proud, he fears disdain; if he is strong, he fears the enemy; if he is handsome, he fears age; If he is into scholastics, he fears the opponent; if he has virtue, he fears the villain; for the body, he fears death. All things are fraught with fear; for men on earth only indifference is free from fear.*</p>

Commentary

The Sanskrit original and its Braj Bhāṣā rendering are metrically quite different. The cause of this is, first of all, the dominance in Braj Bhāṣā of metres inherited from the Middle Indian tradition and absent in Sanskrit. The *Vairāgyamañjarī* features four mora-counting metres with end-rhyme between odd and even numbered verse lines, namely, the *dohā* and its reversal, the *sor'ṭhā*;

the *kuṇḍaliyā*, and the *chappai*, while the Sanskrit collection exhibits greater metrical variety. Secondly, there is no one-to-one relationship between the Sanskrit and Braj Bhāṣā metres. A Skt. *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, for example, is found rendered by any of the four metres enumerated (e.g., *dohā*, v. 14; *sor'thā*, v. 1; *kuṇḍaliyā*, v. 49; *chappai*, v. 4). Each of the four metres occurring in the *Vairāgyamañjarī* is ideally suited for epigrams. *Dohā* (in its basic structure, four times 6+4+3, 6+4+1 *mātrās*) and *sor'thā* (four times 6+4+1, 6+4+3 *mātrās*, with the rhyme in the middle) are the metres most commonly used in Braj Bhāṣā maxims or aphorisms. The composite metre *kuṇḍaliyā* has six verse lines and is composed of one *dohā* and one *rolā* (four times 11+13 *mātrās*). As its name suggests, it forms a coil: The first and the last word of a stanza in this metre are identical, which serves well an intention to summarize or emphasize. The last foot of its initial *dohā* is repeated as the first foot of the *rolā*. This produces emphasis. The *chappai*, a composite metre with a great many variants, has six verse lines and consists of a *rolā* followed by an *ullāla* (15 *mātrās* in the even, and 13 *mātrās* in the uneven *pādas*). Thereby the Braj Bhāṣā metres provided equal, less, or greater scope for the adaptation of the Sanskrit stanzas. The way in which the poet made use of the metrical structures can be explained on the basis of the above-quoted sample stanzas. These reveal certain principles which apply more or less to the text in general.

Metres of different length in the original and its adaptation promptly raise interest in the poetic means the translator considered serving his end. The beginning stanza does not give an example of this, for the Skt. *anuṣṭubh* is fairly compatible with its *sor'thā* metre. In v. 2, the reader notices for the first time a feature sustained throughout the text: The epigrammatic style with its short phrases not exceeding a verse line is never violated. This is, for that matter, quite characteristic of Pratāp'simh's lucid personal style. As was said before, he specialized in devotional poetry, and by his time the principle enunciated for this was that the rhetoric means should not overgrow the clear religious message (Rajpurohit 2021). Therefore, his poetry cannot be assessed by using the yard stick of *rīti*. The stanza is a *kuṇḍaliyā* whose timbre is set by the alliterations of *m* and *b*, respectively. The first two lines form a translation of the first three *pādas* of the corresponding Skt. *anuṣṭubh*. Four verse lines, against one *pāda* in the Sanskrit original, form the rest of the stanza describing the pandit's frustration by the fools. The man of the word has run out of words. In Braj Bhāṣā and related poetry one encounters quite often an ironic self-reflexivity of poets addressing the futility of sophisticated poetry, to the extent

that they may deny their obvious expertise in these (Williams 2018: 105–8). Likewise here, when the pandit declares all his rhetoric means blunt weapons in the face of idiocy. The stanza clearly focuses on the incongruity of the pandit and the fool, whereas the aspect of the pandit’s greedy colleagues and the haughty kings is dropped.

Held against the Sanskrit original, stanza 3 is seen to translate the first three *pādas* of the *sikhariṇī* and then introduces a new idea: the consciousness of the gods and the meritorious of their own finiteness and their awareness that worldly happiness breeds nothing but pain. This new turn supersedes the dilemma expressed in the last two *pādas* of the Sanskrit stanza and lying in great merit turning out to be the cause of rebirth. The rhetoric hinge of this is the word *mahad-*. One can only speculate why the poet introduced this turn. Maybe the inward-looking mood of bhakti with its scepticism against meritorious deeds and the fear of forlornness in the absence of God won he field.

In stanza 4, the end of *pāda* 2 of the Sanskrit original is slightly expanded to present in greater detail the humiliation of man straying in the world. It is interesting to see that the crow occurring in v. 4c is replaced by the dog. Did the translator wish to avoid compromising the crow, who feeds on the *bali* offered to the ancestors and thereby symbolizes the ancestor himself? This may, however, be an overinterpretation, for the sequence of pig, dog, and crow as straying creatures living on leftovers is common in the literature of the period (for example, Callewaert 1993, pass.).

As compared with the Sanskrit original, stanza 5 lays greater stress on the frenzy of a man digging up the earth for a hidden treasure. As for the final five stanzas, v. 96 sharpens the meaning of the Sanskrit original by blaming the hypocrites. This is indeed a common motif in the literature, especially bhakti literature, of the period.

Stanza 97 takes full advantage of the *dohā* allowing for epigrammatic terseness, while vv. 98–100 follow the Sanskrit quite closely. There is only one major exception to this in v. 100, where the scholar fearing his opponent is replaced by a woman fearing her family, probably rather fearing to violate the honour of the family. In a society sanctifying the principle of pure descentance by blood, women were perceived with ambivalence, both as guarantors of and risks to the purity of the lineage. This formed therefore a common literary topic.

The Pratāp'siṃh's gurus and his religious profile

While engaging with the king's poetic creativity, one can't help wondering who groomed him in poetry and poetics. Who, then, were his gurus? As a child Pratāp'siṃh had naturally no say in the choice of his gurus (Horstmann 2013: 26–46). From the regnal period of his father, the Jaipur court had been masterminded by the court of Mewar and become dominated by the Vallabha sect, which remained powerful at the court into the latter part of the nineteenth century (Clémentin-Ojha 1999). Numerous Brahmans from Mewar migrated to Jaipur, and one of these, an Audumbara Brahman named Sadāśiv Bhaṭṭ was made Pratāp'siṃh's *vidyāguru* in 1769. The other north Indian Vaishnava bhakti sects were also densely represented in Jaipur and well-connected with the court, notably the Bengali Vaishnavas of the Gauḍīya sect. The origin of the state icon Govinddevjī is in this sect. Pratāp'siṃh did justice to all his obligations ensuing from this. As for his private devotional and aesthetic preferences, however, these bore quite individual nuances. Scholarship was puzzled for some time by the issue of the character of Pratāp'siṃh's devotion, as was summarized by A.K. Roy (1978: 173):

...Pratap Singh's religion was emotional and his approach towards God was through poetry...

There are numerous lines in the writings of Pratap Singh where he has given an important place to Radha...

From such lines, it has been inferred that Pratap Singh's thinking was on the lines of the Radha Vallabhi sect. On the other hand, an affinity is traced to the Vallabha Sampradaya also.

Time and again, the poet-king expressly states that he worships the divine couple Rādhā-Govinda (or he may use synonymous terms for the couple Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa). His entire oeuvre exudes this devotion. Turning to the colophon verses 101–2 of the *Vairāgyamañjarī*, we encounter another expression of this:

*karī bharatharī sataka para, bhāṣā bhalī pratāpa/
nīti-mahala rasa-gokha maiṃ, bītarāga prabhu āpa//101//
śrī rādhā-gobinda ke, carana sarana bisrāma/
caṃdramahala cita cuhala maiṃ, jayapura nagara mukāma//102//*
Pratāp made a fine *bhāṣā* version of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas*,

The lord himself, whose passion has passed out, sits at the window of *rasa* in the palace of good conduct (*nīti*). (101)

He has found rest in the shelter provided by the feet of Śrī Rādhā-Govinda
In the Candramahal (central building of the Jaipur City Palace), the delight of his mind, located in the city of Jaipur. (102)

The key to our query may lie in Jagannāth Bhaṭṭ, the king's guru in religious and intellectual matters. Jagannāth was the disciple of Vaṃśī Alī (d. V.S. 1822/1765 C.E.), the propagator of the Lalit-sampradāya and resident of Vrindaban (Gosvāmī 1966:699–701). Vaṃśī Alī's intellectual profile prefigures that of his disciple Jagannāth Bhaṭṭ and may therefore be briefly sketched, also because it is so typical of masters of Krishnaite devotion who made an impact on the courts of Rajasthan in the period under review. We observe in those sectarian scholars, who were often renowned *kathāvacaks* of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Sanskrit learning, often also expressed in commentaries on Sanskrit works, and impressive productivity in the composition of Braj Bhāṣā lyrics. Directly or indirectly, we owe to these men the translation of numerous religious or other key texts in Sanskrit into Braj Bhāṣā. Here, it must quickly be added that also women literati excelled in compositions and translation work from Sanskrit into the vernacular literary idiom (Pauwels 2018, 2023; Horstmann 2018).

The Lalitā-sampradāya branched off from the Viṣṇu-sampradāya. Its emphasis was on the worship of the divine couple Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, especially on the service of Rādhā. This worship takes place in the mood of a female companion of the couple (*sakhībhāva*). The quotation also states that this devotion went hand in hand with musical performance, an aspect that would be critical to Pratāp'simh's own passion for music. The sect thereby emphasizes a mood cultivated in the Haridāsī-sampradāya and the Harivaṃśī-sampradāya.² The sect holds that the attitude of servitude to the couple, and particularly to Rādhā, finds its apogee in Lalitā, the supreme *sakhī*. It is therefore Lalitā who deserves worship and is the supreme guru of the sect.

Jagannāth Bhaṭṭa, son of Vrajanāth, was from Mathura. His name by initiation was Kiśorī Alī. He lived in Barsana and Vrindaban and, for an unknown period, in Jaipur. He is reported to have been married, but have

2 For musical performance of bhakti lyrics, notably *dhrupad* and *samāj-gāyan*, in Vrindaban and particularly in the Haridāsī- and Harivaṃśī-sampradāyas, see for example Snell 1991, Thielemann 2001, and Tanaka 2013.

become a sadhu after his wife's death. Jagannāth bore the title *kavirāy* (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 227, *Pad-saṃgrah*, pad 146.10). King Pratāp'siṃh acknowledges him as his guru, both by his name Jagannāth and, in a more hidden way, as Kīśorī (e.g., Śarmā V.S. 1990: 11, *Prītilatā*, v. 78). Pratāp'siṃh's aforementioned undated compilation *Haripad-saṃgrah* (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 249–308), which reflects probably compositions performed at court, opens with two *pads* of Kīśorī Alī which suggests that Pratāp'siṃh thereby makes obeisance to his guru. The collection contains numerous compositions as well of Kīśorī Alī as of his guru Vaṃśī Alī. Jagannāth alias Kīśorī Alī says about his own religious orientation (Gosvāmī 1966:699):

I consider my authority the words
of Harivaṃś and the lyrics of Haridās.
Like Vyās they are my *vyāses*, firmly pronouncing the *dhruvapadas*,
Feeling love at the secret play of Viṭṭhalavipula and Bihārinidāsī (Kṛṣṇa and
Rādhā),
Those who follow these, attain them easily.
Several doctrines have left this stream, which is beneficial by its truth, and
gone astray.
Kīśorī says: Embrace this unique doctrine, behold the couple in its bower!

The dates of Jagannāth's birth and death are unknown. There is, however, reported to exist a letter he wrote to his disciple Ratanlāl in V.S. 1831/1774/75 C.E.

The literary output of Jagannāth is substantial (Gosvāmī 1966: 700). As a poet, he signed as Kīśorī Alī and occurs many times in the *pad* collections of Pratāp'siṃh where there are also poems by Vaṃśī Alī. His works are represented in the manuscript holdings of the Jaipur City Palace. As the author of the Sanskrit *Rādhāpremāṣṭaka*, Jagannāth used his first given name (S.G. Gosvāmī 1966: 700), but so did he also do for some of his *pads*, and a collection of *kavittas* and *pads* in the Jaipur City Palace goes by the name of Jagannāth. One may speculate that the compositions bearing the signature "Jagannāth" preceded his initiation as a sadhu (Gosvāmī 1966: 700). The Braj Bhāṣā works preserved of him in the City Palace reflect his profile both as an original author and an adaptor or translator of passages or plots from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Bahura 1976: 292).

Saying this, we can, however, not conclude readily on Pratāp'siṃh's sectarian affiliation, let alone the fact that multiple religious initiations were common. Pratāp'siṃh describes the deity of his choice in *pad* 163 of *Haripad-saṃgrah* (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 296):

The deity of my choice is Govinda,
At his will he roams the forest with Rādhikā, who is the practitioner of happiness.
The couple, drenched in the colour of love, has a supremely beautiful form,
Splendid on the earth, as it were the lightning and a black new cloud united.
He sustains the mood of dwelling near the banks of the auspicious Yamuna;
May she and Nandalāla dwell forever in the heart of Braj'nidhi.

Pratāpsingh's devotional mood differs indeed slightly from that of Jagannāth in that he emphasizes his attachment to Govinda, very much in tune with the attitude one would readily ascribe to the king whose realm is visibly under the tutelage of this deity. That Pratāp'siṃh had got installed another icon of a *sakhī* of the couple of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā in the Govinddevjī temple in April 1803, the year of his death, points as much to his own *sakhī*-devotion as to the dynastic continuity of patronage, for the first *sakhī* icon named Lalitā had been donated by Savāi Jaisiṃh in 1727 (Bahura 1996: 206–7; Horstmann 1999: 326–9). As for images of Pratāp'siṃh, these show him with different Vaiṣṇava brow marks or even with none at all. Moreover, these are difficult to analyse because they show the king in profile. It is in any case quite evident how closely Pratāp'siṃh relied on the tutelage of Govinddevjī in the execution of his royal duties (Horstmann 2012). As for the Lalit-sampradāya, it was present in Jaipur since before the regnal period of Pratāp'siṃh, for the great temple of the sect, dedicated to Laḍlī Śrī Rādhā, was established in 1766 C.E. (Singh and Kanwar n.d.: 48). Jagannāth may have come to Jaipur in the wake of the expansion of his sect to the Jaipur kingdom.

In the field of literature and rhetorics, Pratāp'siṃh had another mentor, Gaṇ'pati, bearing the titles (Mahā-)Kavi and also Bhāratī, the last-mentioned one bestowed upon him by the king. For the king he composed a good number of Braj Bhāṣā adaptations of key Sanskrit texts, *kāvya*, *purāṇa*, *Bhagavadgītā* and rhetorics. Reportedly, the king showed him his own compositions for correction (Bahura 1976: 78). There is a slight possibility that in the opening verse of his *Prema-pantha*, the recollection of 'Gaṇapati-Sārada'

implies a double entendre (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 139, v. 1). Gaṇ'pati's life dates are unknown, and it is not necessary to assume that he was directly involved in the king's Bhartṛhari project. His intellectual profile testifies, however, to the king's sophisticated grooming in literature. The king's own creativity was intimately connected with music and the performance of it, and therefore his *ustād* (music teacher), the *kalāvāt* Cāmdkhām 'Dulahkhām', named by the king Buddhaprakāśa and the author of the musical treatise *Svarasāgara*, must be mentioned when speaking of the king's gurus (Śarmā V.S. 1990: 48).

The *Vairāgyamañjarī* as poetry

The *Mañjarī* triad differs from the rest of the Braj'nidhi corpus of poetry first of all by being a translation from Sanskrit, but also because it is not a work of devotion to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Braj'nidhi is also known for poetry in *rekhtā*, the poetic idiom aspiring to an 'imperial' flair. This, however, was of no relevance to the *Mañjarī* project. In thought, imagery and style, the translation owes almost everything to the Sanskrit original. On the basis of this, the translator made a true *bhāṣāntar*, a recreation of the original in a different language. To replicate the terseness of the original he consistently rephrased the individual epigrams in short phrases, each of these comprised in one verse line. He did not try to imitate intricate constructions as, for example, the one involving the huge merits superbly beneficial and for this very reason detrimental to the cause of liberation (v. 3). Additions he made served mostly emphasis of original phrases, but he took also liberty in adding new perspectives to the original (v. 3). He carefully teased out the popular rhetoric means, but kept these subdued to the clarity of the message. An example of this would be v. 98ab, in which the interior coherence of the lines is strengthened by alliteration. Care is applied to finding suitable lexical equivalents that would sustain the design of the verse. A case of this is v. 2. No doubt would it have been possible to render the words of the original derived from *bodh-* by some modern form of these, but a different word, *paṇḍita*, is chosen and put in sharp contrast to the fool, and the same word also serves to contrast the greedy paṇḍit with his frustrated wise peer. Slight changes may introduce modifying effects: In v. 99a–c, one finds the enumeration inverted in the second instance. The Sanskrit original follows a consecutive enumeration which creates the effect of rapid change in time. The effect of the translation is, however, that of life's stations and

the change of stage backdrops happening in a seesaw rhythm. The nuances or modifications introduced by the translator testify to his well-trained poetical mind.

Does a comparison of Braj'nidhi's recreation of the Sanskrit *vairāgya* epigrams with the version of these made by Bhagavāndās Nirañjanī in his *Vairāgyavṛnd* commentary shed light on the specific character of the *Vairāgyamañjarī*? Two of the above-quoted stanzas (vv. 3 and 99) may serve as a test case. The *Vairāgyavṛnd* has five chapters, of which the first bears the title "Nām-kām" (Desire for Fame) and the fifth that of "Atitar vairāgya" ("Supreme Renunciation"). In this the Sanskrit originals of the above-quoted vv. 3 and 99 correspond to 1.5 and 5.11. Bhagavāndās gave his treatise the form of a commentary on the Sanskrit epigrams, which are arranged in the sequence of the didactic steps he had in mind. He expressly states that he rendered all epigrams true to the original. For him this implies making the *bhāṣā* verses both pleasant reading and recognizable for educated readers, the pandits (Williams 2018: 108). This description allows for some scope to drive the meaning of the text into the desired didactic direction:

Each of the Sanskrit epigrams is followed by one or several Braj Bhāṣā stanzas. These are numbered consecutively, a new numbering beginning in each chapter.

(1) Quotation of the Sanskrit epigram *na saṁsārotpannaṁ caritam...* (1.5), which was translated in the *Vairāgyamañjarī* as v. 3. Bhagavāndās comments on this in a *chappai* (1.20) and a *dohā* (1.21):

*jau kachū upajata deṣiye, jagata jāle ke karama/
utimatā tā maiṁ nahī, sava grase bibharma/
mere puni paratāpa mohi, yaha ḍara upajāyau/
puni maiṁ kiyau vicāra, tava yaha nihacai āyau/
karai karama sava kāmmatā, lahaiṁ su viṣayana bhoga/
viṣai viyaugani tapata hai, trividhi tāpa kai joga// (1.20)
viṣayana kau sevana karai, kāmī kāmīni rūpa/
agani jhāla ghr̥ta jyūm vadhai, yaumhī kāmmani rūpa// (1.21)*

In nothing that is seen coming into existence from acts forming the net of the world

There is superiority. All are in the grip of confusion.

The effect of my meritorious deeds gave rise of this fear in me,
I reflected further, and then this certainty was reached:
Out of desire one performs all deeds, thereby obtaining enjoyment of sense
objects,
In separation from the sense objects, one suffers from being united with the
threefold pain. (1.20)
He who lusts indulges in the sense objects, which take form in a woman,
As the flame of the fire grows by ghee, so also if this takes the form of a wo-
man. (1.21)

Bhagavāndās drives his commentary totally in the direction of the topic of
temptation personified for sadhus by women. Thereby he sacrifices the broader
and more profound meaning of the epigram.

(2) Quotation of the Sanskrit epigram *kṣaṇaṃ bālo bhūtvā...* (5.11), which
was translated in the *Vairāgyamañjarī* as v. 99. Bhagavāndās comments on
this in a *kavitta* (5.31) and a *dohā* (5.32):

*bālakā kau rūpa karai yuvā rasa mata phirai, vṛddhabhāva bhāva dharai
bhayau bheṣadhārī hai/
kavahū daladrūrūpa dhanapati kabhuṃ bhūpa, yamanikā jagatarūpa sabhā
sau nihārī hai/
yamaloka jāvai aru āvai vahu svāṃga dhari, jathā tathā paṭe bhari jīvana
vicārī hai/
vājī mana rājī hoi kāṃmanā kaleśa ṣoi, bhagavāṃna lahai soi ānaṃdavihārī
hai// (5.31)
kapaṭā kī yamanikā, naṭa lyāvai bahu rūpa/
yaumhī jamapura jāi kaiṃ, vicarai jagata anūpa// (5.32)*

He takes the form of a child, as a youth he roams drunk by the juice (of sensua-
lity), when he realizes that he is old, he is afraid and dons a religious garb,
Sometimes one impersonates a pauper, sometimes a millionaire, sometimes a
king; a corresponding background is seen by the audience.
He goes to the world of Death, and returns here with much false show. When
he considers that life is exactly like drawing curtains
In a show, the mind loses desire and sorrow and becomes satisfied, obtains God
and abides in bliss. (5.31)
By way of the deceptive backdrop, the actor takes many forms,

After having gone in this way to the City of Death, he goes to a matchless world. (5.32)

For the Nirañjanī commentator, death cannot have the final word, and so he supplements the verse with a piece of bhakti catechesis.

The contrast between the *Vairāgyamañjarī* and the *Vairāgyavṛnd* is obvious. The author of the *Vairāgyamañjarī* aims at rendering poetry by poetry, while the *Vairāgyavṛnd* represents catechesis based on poetry. Being a text of instruction addressing primarily religious renunciators, the broader perspective of the *Vairāgyaśataka*, which addresses disillusionment and disaffection with the world as common to all human beings, is allowed to shrink to a narrower focus.

Bibliography

- Bahura, Gopal Narayan 1976. *Literary heritage of the rulers of Amber and Jaipur: With an index to the register of manuscripts in the Pothikhana of Jaipur, I, Khasmohor Collection*. (Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Memorial Series 2). Jaipur: Maharaja Man Singh II Museum.
- 1996. “Śrī Govinda Gāthā: Service rendered to Govinda by the rulers of Āmera and Jayapura”, in: Margaret H. Case (ed.): *Govindadeva: A dialogue in stone*. (Vraja Nāthadvārā Prakalpa 2). New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 195–213.
- Callewaert, Winand M. (ed.). *The Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās: A 17th century anthology of bhakti literature*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Clémentin-Ojha, Catherine 1999. *Le Trident sur le palais: Une cabale anti-vidhvanouite dans un royaume hindou à l'époque coloniale*. Monographies 186. Paris: Presses de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Gosvāmī, Śaraṇ'bihārī 1966. *Kṛṣṇabhakti-kāvya meṃ sakhībhāv*. Viyābhavan Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Granth'mālā 104. Vārāṇasī: Caukhambā Vidyābhavan.
- Horstmann, Monika 1999. *In favour of Govinddevjī: Historical documents relating to a deity of Vrindaban and Eastern Rajasthan*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Manohar.

- 2012. “The Emperor’s Emissary: Anūp Giri Rājā Himmat Bahādur Gusāmī in the Court Protocol of Jaipur (18th Century)”, in: Joerg Gengnagel & Gerald Schwedler (eds): *Ritualmacher hinter den Kulissen: Zur Rolle von Experten in historischer Ritualpraxis*. Berlin [etc.]: Lit Verlag, 121–43.
- 2013. *Jaipur 1778: The making of a king*. Khoj 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- 2018. “Three Brajbhāṣā versions of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa”. *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 22.1: 123–74.
- Kosāmbī, Dāmodar (ed.) 1948. *Mahākavi-Bharṭṛhari-viracita-śatakatrāyādi-subhāṣitasamgraha/ The epigrams attributed to Bharṭṛhari*. Singhi Jain Ser. 23. Bambaī: Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan.
- McGregor, R.S. 1968. *The language of Indrajit of Orchā: A study of early Braj Bhāṣā prose*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Barbara Stoler (tr.) 1967. *Bharṭṛhari: Poems. With the transliterated Sanskrit text of the Śatakatrāyam: Nīti, Śṛṅgāra, Vairāgya*. New York, London: Columbia University Press.
- Pauwels, Heidi Rika Maria 2015. *Cultural exchange in eighteenth-century India: Poetry and paintings from Kishangarh*. Berlin: EB-Verlag.
- 2017. *Mobilizing Krishna’s world: The writings of prince Sāvant Singh of Kishangarh*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press.
- 2018. “Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-purāṇa-vidhi-prakāśa: An early modern poetry workshop?”. *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 22.1: 45–69.
- 2023. *India’s Mona Lisa: Gender and culture in eighteenth-century Rajasthan*.
- Rajpurohit, Dalpat S. 2021. “*Bhakti* versus *rīti*? The Sants’ perspective”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 84: 95–113.
- Rām’svarūp V.S. 2029. “Nīti kāvyā kā svarūp”, in: Kamalāpati Tripāthī et al. (eds). *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, vol. 7, pt. 5. Vārāṇasī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 475–510.
- Roy, Ashim Kumar 1978. *History of the Jaipur city*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Sarkar, Jadunath 1984. *A history of Jaipur, c. 1503–1938*. Jaipur: Orient Longman.
- Śarmā, Harinārāyaṇ (ed.). V.S. 1990. *Braj’nidhi-graṁthāvalī*. Bāl’bakhś Rāj’pūt Cāraṇ Pustak’mālā 1). Benares; Prayāg: Kāśī-Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā and Iṅḍiyan Pres, Limited.

- Singh, Chandramani & Dharmendra Kanwar n.d. *Temples of Jaipur*. Photographs: Somendra Singh, Abhijit Singh Jhala and Robyn Beeche. Jaipur: Virasat Consultants.
- Snell, Rupert 1991. *The eighty-four Hymns of Hita Harivaṃśa: An edition of the Caurāsī Pada*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass and London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Śyām'sundar'dās (ed.) 1973–86. *Hindī śabd'sāgar*. 11 vols. 1st edn 1929, 2nd edn, partly reprinted. Vārāṇasī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā.
- Tanaka, Takako 2013. “*Śṛṅkhilā*: A system of musico-religious performance of the *samāj-gāyan* in Braj”, in: Imre Bangha (ed.). *Bhakti beyond the forest: Current research on early modern literatures in North India, 2003–2009*. New Delhi: Manohar, 367–82.
- Thielemann, Selina 2001. *Musical traditions in Vaiṣṇava temples in Vraja*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Sagar Printers and Publishers, distr. Associated Book Centre 2001.
- Williams, Tyler 2018. “Commentary as translation: The *Vairāgya Vṛnd* of Bhagvandas Niranjani”, in: Tyler Williams & Anshu Malhotra & John Stratton Hawley (eds.): *Text and translation in early modern India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 99–125.