**Zeitschrift:** Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft =

Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft

**Band:** 70 (2016)

Heft: 2

**Artikel:** A note on the analysis of two early Rjasthn Ddpanth manuscripts

Autor: Strnad, Jaroslav

**DOI:** https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-696844

#### Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Mehr erfahren

#### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. En savoir plus

#### Terms of use

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. Find out more

**Download PDF:** 19.11.2025

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, https://www.e-periodica.ch

Jaroslav Strnad\*

# A Note on the Analysis of Two Early Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī Manuscripts

DOI 10.1515/asia-2015-0069

**Abstract:** The study of literary traditions of medieval India is, to a large extent, dependent on the analysis of extant manuscripts as primary sources of information. Knowledge of their absolute and relative chronology, together with the development of their internal structure and format, can throw more light on their uses and roles in the process of the formation of the communities that produced them. Possible methodological approaches and tools for acquiring and evaluating the desired sets of data are here demonstrated on a small sample of text, a collection of sākhīs or couplets attributed to the sant Kabīr (ca. 1440–1518) and included in manuscript textual corpora compiled by members of the communtity of Dādūpanth in seventeenth century Rājasthān. A comparison of the internal structure of two kindred sākhī collections, namely a so far unedited Dādūpanthī manuscript and the existing edition of the Kabīr granthāvalī of Śyāmasundaradāsa¹ (1928), combined with data in the colophons of the former, and along with other circumstantial information, allows us to postulate their relationship to other preexisting models that bring us to the very beginnings of the scriptural traditions of Dādūpanth. The gradual accumulation and internal rearrangement of the material that is evident in the manuscript copy under study reveals the emergence of the idea of a pañc-vāṇī, or a compendium of texts by the five most revered sants, in the later history of Dādūpanth considered to be canonical.

**Keywords:** Rajasthan, Sant literature, Dādūpanth, Kabīr, manuscripts, textual transmission

<sup>1</sup> A note on the transliteration of Devanāgarī: the IAST system of transliteration has been used throughout, with two exceptions: vocalic r is transliterated (in the absence of the letter r with subscript ring in the Unicode) with cedilla, to distinguish it from the retroflex r, where the subscript dot properly belongs. Superscript dot used indiscriminately in the old Hindī manuscripts for both vowel nasalizations and homorganic nasals has been transliterated in all its occurrences by m with superscript dot.

<sup>\*</sup>Corresponding author: Jaroslav Strnad, AS CR – Department of South Asia, Oriental Institute, Pod vodárenskou věží 4, Praha 8 - Libeň 182 08, Czech Republic, E-mail: strnad@orient.cas.cz.

In an earlier paper<sup>2</sup> I argued that the central task of textual criticism, defined as the reconstruction of a text as close as possible to the original version of the author, annot be successfully implemented in the study of  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$ , medieval Indian collections of songs and sayings attributed to widely revered mystics, thinkers and poets generally termed as sants ("the virtuous ones").4 The method works well in cases where the material under study consists of a relatively small number of manuscripts and the way of transmission of the text concerned is known to have been exclusively scribal. Medieval manuscripts which originated in monastic scriptoria as copies of older archetypes are ideally suited for this type of analysis. In the case of the Indian material, the feasibility of such a task appears to be problematic not only in view of the complex intermingling of scribal and oral traditions and the related feature of vāṇīs as gradually built collections of texts acquired from several different sources; in the case of some sants at least, one has to assume that the original transmission was exclusively oral and no autograph ever existed.<sup>5</sup> However, this does not mean that all the fine tools developed by the discipline of textual criticism should be thrown overboard – apart from the reconstruction of the autograph there are other important questions that can be asked and the answers extracted can throw fresh light on the development of this genre and its wider societal context.

Sooner or later, a scholar working with texts produced in the past by scribes of, for example, the Dādūpanth, (and most probably other *panths* and *sampradāyas* as well) will face the problem of assigning a fixed date of origin to the manuscript material with which s/he is working. The task is particularly urgent if the text under study is to be set in the context of the historical development of a tradition – a tradition that had given rise to a particular collection which it subsequently continued to copy – and possibly also to modify, reformulate and reform. In order to identify the sometimes subtle changes in wording, the significant omission of certain passages from the text and the insertion of others, the researcher requires access to a greater number of manuscript originals, which can be ordered in an appropriate time sequence and which can allow their variant

<sup>2</sup> Strnad forthcoming.

**<sup>3</sup>** See e. g. the definition given by Paul Maas: "Aufgabe der Textkritik ist Herstellung eines dem Autograph (Original) möglichst nahekommenden Textes (constitutio textus)" (Maas 1950: 5).

**<sup>4</sup>** For a good introduction to various aspects concerning the activities of *sants* and problems of the origin, and the broader context of traditions they established, see Schomer/McLeod 1987. On Kabīr of the western, Rājasthānī tradition, Vaudeville 1974 and Vaudeville 1993 are still indispensable as general introductions as well as the translations of Kabīr's *sākh*īs and *pads*.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that Kabīr's message was originally in oral form is emphasized, along with other scholars, by Vaudeville 1974: 49–50, Vaudeville 1993: 131, Hess/Singh 1986: 3–4. An excellent study on the oral genre of the  $doh\bar{a}/s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}$  is provided by Schomer 1987: 61–90.

readings to be scrutinized within this broader context. The relevant question is: are the observed changes just simple language variants which occur quite naturally in a text composed in dialectal mix and modified more or less spontaneously during live performances – or is there some bias at work that relates to the content of the message and gradually removes passages considered as inappropriate and uncomfortable? In one and the same text, the researcher can expect to find both types of change and should be particularly alert to the latter, especially when dealing with works which include sharply critical statements directed at political, religious or ideological establishments.

Often, perhaps in the majority of cases, the problem of ordering manuscripts into a chronological sequence is solved by the existence of  $puspik\bar{a}s$ , colophons appended to the text which may contain information on the scribe, the date and place of origin of the manuscript and the commissioner, if there was one. However, not infrequently such valuable information is missing – the text of the  $puspik\bar{a}$  may have been located on a page that was subsequently lost or destroyed; or the text may have been damaged and is now illegible. In such circumstances the researcher should look for other evidence which might help order the manuscript in question within its proper temporal and spatial context.

A closer look at the structure of the Kabīrian collections reveals that the current research into these traditions has so far not exhausted all the possibilities of analysis which the texts in question offer. Collections of poems and sayings attributed to particular sants contain not only songs or poems (pads), but also a great number of couplets or  $doh\bar{a}s$ , known in the sant literary tradition as  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$ ; their quantity and internal structuring presents a mass of data that can be used for comparison and analysis.  $S\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  attributed to a particular author and extant in different manuscripts can be compared in relation to their parallel occurrence, sequential ordering and internal sorting into thematic groups. The present study attempts to show the possibilities of this approach through reference to an example of a relatively old and so far unedited Dādūpanthī manuscript, brought to light in the 1990s by Winand Callewaert. The manuscript, dated by its present owner to between 1614–1621 C. E. (further referred to by its call number, MS3190) is a  $poth\bar{t}^6$  of 692 numbered folios that includes a great

**<sup>6</sup>** Manuscript no. 3190, housed in Sañjaya Śarmā Pustakālaya evam Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur, owned by Śrī Rām Kripālu Śarmā, and photographed in 1991–1993 by Winand Callewaert. At present, the microfilm of the greater part of the manuscript is held by the Südasien Institut, Heidelberg University.  $Poth\bar{i}$ , in the sense of a sacred book containing scriptural texts by spiritual masters, so called  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ s, here appears to be a more appropriate designation than the broader and, in the present instance formally also correct term, codex. A detailed description of its whole content will be possible only after the close inspection of all of its extant parts, and preferably of the original  $poth\bar{i}$  itself.

number of texts attributed to various authors belonging to the medieval Hindī  $jog\bar{\imath}$  and  $n\bar{a}th$  groupings (possibly organized in an already emerging panth), as well as the so-called nirguna and saguna spiritual traditions. For example, Gorakhnāth and Sūrdās are both represented in this huge textual corpus. As can be expected with a Dādūpanthī collection, apart from the  $v\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$  of Dādū himself, works attributed to Kabīr, together with the pads of Nāmdev, Raidās and Haridās, the other most revered sants of this  $samprad\bar{a}ya$ , are also included.

The collection of Kabīr's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$ , which forms a separate part of the whole corpus of texts traditionally attributed to him, follows the section which includes his pads and  $ramain\bar{i}s$ , and is relatively large – it includes a total of 813 different units (with repetitions, the number is 817) and is divided, probably for the user's convenience, into 57 thematically arranged sections called amgas, each with its own heading that highlights the main topic of the couplets. The number of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  in these sections is very uneven: the richest,  $cit\bar{a}van\bar{i}$  kau amga, includes 74  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$ , whereas the shortest ones consist of only a single couplet. The author(s) of the compilation obviously did not consider this  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  collection (and that of the pads too) as a completed work – in the manuscript each subsection is followed by an empty space of a quarter to a half page, reserved for the possible future incorporation of new, thematically related material. On closer inspection, several instances of later additions by different scribal hands can easily be identified.

As part of the work on the critical edition of Kabīr's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}$ s included in the manuscript briefly described above, the present author has compared the content of each subsection with its counterpart in the edition published originally by Śyāmasundaradāsa in 1928 under the title  $Kab\bar{n}ra$   $Granth\bar{a}val\bar{n}$  (further abbreviated as ŚSD). Apart from belonging to the western, Rājasthānī tradition, both texts share another, more special feature: in their original manuscript form neither is currently freely accessible for inspection. In both instances there are problems with dating. The photographed part of the manuscript under study contains more than one  $puṣpik\bar{a}$ , each giving a different date. The information supplied by the creator of the microfilm suggests that the section of Dādū's  $v\bar{a}n\bar{n}$  included  $puṣpik\bar{a}$ , providing us with a date that, after conversion from the Indian era then currently in use ( $vikram\ samvat$ , abbreviated as V.S.) should be read as

<sup>7</sup> If Mallinson's dating of the origin of the organized *Nāthpanth* to the beginning of the seventeenth century is correct, the collection of texts attributed to various *nāth*s acquired by the Dādūpanthī compiler Rāmdās, and extant in his *pothī*, may reflect the first stage of a more systematic process of collecting and redacting on the part of this group. Cf. Mallinson 2011: 409, 417.

**<sup>8</sup>** *Bījak*, the collection representing the eastern tradition of Kabīr's sayings, also contains a section of *sākhī*s which, when compared to the Dādūpanthī versions, is shorter – in the modern edition it comprises just 353 couplets – and not divided into smaller thematic units. Another early source of Kabīr's *sākhī*s is the *Gurū Granth* of the Sikhs which includes 237 couplets by Kabīr.

1614 C. E.; however, the relevant part of the microfilm reel is currently missing. The manuscript on which Śyāmasundaradāsa based his edition contains the *puṣpikā* year of 1561, but the interpretation of this date has been contested. The editor claims that the year refers to the Vikramī era so that the date corresponds to the year 1504 C. E. On the other hand, Pārasanātha Tivārī in his own edition of the *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, based on the collation of a large selection of manuscripts and printed editions, was of the opinion that the correct date is probably 1561 of the Śaka era, which is equal to the year 1639 C. E. Mātāprasāda Gupta, in his own edition of *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, calls into question the actual date 1561–he notes that it was not written by the original scribe but by a different hand and that apart from this single figure the *puṣpikā* does not include any other information. To Reportedly, this manuscript is also, at present, inaccessible.

With the incomplete microfilm of one manuscript and printed editions<sup>11</sup> of the other one as the only material available for study, the potential for determining their mutual relationship is somewhat limited. However, there may yet be a way to at least determine their relative chronology and possible common archetype. Valuable information that may throw some light on this question may be hidden in the  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}$  part of the  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$ . In both collections this part is relatively extensive, with an elaborated internal structure. Comparison and analysis can focus on two levels: first, the number, sequence and names of the amgas included in each  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  part of the two  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$ ; and second, the numbers and sequence of individual  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  within the respective amgas. Of particular interest will be the occurrence and location of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  common to both collections.

## 1 The amgas

One of the formal features which sets apart the Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī manuscripts from their counterparts in the Gurū Granth of the Sikhs and the Bījak of the Kabīrpanth is the division of the vast majority of *sākh*īs (*dohā*s or couplets) into thematic units, referred to as *aṅŋas* ("parts", also "parts of the body"). This

<sup>9</sup> Tivārī 1961: 11-12.

**<sup>10</sup>** Gupta 1969: 29–30. Similar reservations were expressed already by Barthwal 1978 [1936]: 276 (with reference to an observation made by Jules Bloch in 1929) and subsequently by Vaudeville 1974: 19 and fn. 3. Dvivedī 1955: 19–20, places the probable origin of the SSD manuscript to the beginning or middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>11</sup> The present comparison includes  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}$  sections of the 6th Sabhā ed. of V.S. 2013, Vaudeville 1982: 3–53 (marked by the editor as KG1), and Gupta 1969: 1–139. The latest edition of Kabīr's texts, Callewaert/Sharma/Taillieu 2000, contains only *pads*.

feature appears to go back to the oldest layer of Dādūpanthī literary and scribal activity – we can observe the *amga* system already being applied to the *sākh*īs attributed to Dādū himself: in the edition of his *vān*ī, the large collection of 2,407 *sākh*īs is divided into 37 *amgas*, whose titles capture the main theme or idea common to all or most of the *sākh*īs included in them. On a larger scale, the same *amga* system was utilised as the basic principle behind the organization of *sarvāmg*īs, extensive anthologies of texts attributed to a great number of *sants* held in esteem in the Dādūpanth. The older of the two important specimens of this literature, the *sarvāmg*ī of Rajab, which was compiled around 1620 C. E. and partly edited and translated by W. Callewaert, includes 144 *amgas*, and the *sarvāmg*ī of Gopāldās, compiled in 1627 and edited by the same author, if lists 126 *amgas*.

Although it is neither organized strictly as pañc-vāṇī, i. e. a collection limited to the works of the five most revered sants, nor as sarvāmgī, with its peculiar mix of sākhīs, pads, kavittas, ślokas, baits and caupāīs assembled together in the same thematical unit, in its sākhī section the Jaipur MS3190 manuscript adopts the same amga system. Interestingly, the ordering, the names, and the individual units of the amgas in the sākhī parts of the MS3190 and the SSD editions of the Kabīra granthāvalī are nearly identical.15 Moreover, when arranged for the sake of comparison in tabular form, the system used in the MS3190 and the SSD editions is revealed to be an expanded variant of the amga ordering found in the vāṇī of Dādū. This striking fact strongly suggests that, in the sākhī parts at least, the Dādū vāṇī served as a model for the vāṇī of Kabīr and that the sākhī part of the MS3190 and SSD editions is based on an archetypal Dādūpanthī system of ordering. A closer look at their mutual similarities and differences may reveal further details of this relationship. The systems used in the sarvāmgīs are much more elaborate but a comparison shows that some of the more popular amga headings are shared by all Dādūpanthī collections.

**<sup>12</sup>** For the *amga* division I have consulted the edition of Dādū *vāṇī* published in Callewaert/Beeck 1991: 132–199, which is said to be a reproduction taken from the critical edition by Paraśurāma Caturvedī, *Dādūdayāla granthāvalī*. Vārāṇasī 1966 (Callewaert/Beeck 1991: 13).

<sup>13</sup> Callewaert 1978: 73. The date of the text has been taken from Callewaert et al. 2000: 22.

**<sup>14</sup>** Callewaert 1993: 14–17 includes a comparative table of the different  $a\dot{m}ga$  ordering of the  $sarv\bar{a}\dot{m}g\bar{s}$  of Rajab and Gopāldās.

<sup>15</sup> This feature is less prominent in the section of Kabīr's *pads*, where the Śyāmasundaradāsa's edition and MS3190 differ not only in the number of *pads* (403 in ŚSD against 370 in MS3190), but also in the ordering of *rāgas*. Although the number of *rāgas* is the same in both collections (16), some of those included in the former are missing in the latter and vice versa. A clearer picture of the differences in the overall organization and different readings of the *pads* will emerge only after a more detailed comparative study has been completed. For variant readings of one hundred selected *pads*, see Strnad 2013: 25–133.

MS3190 Sañjaya Śarmā			<i>Śyāmasundaradāsa</i> ed.			Dādū vāņī		
no. of aṁga	name of the aṁga	number of sākhīs <sup>16</sup>	no. of aṁga	name of the aṁga	number of sākhīs <sup>17</sup>		name of the aṁga	number of sākhīs
1	*†Gurudeva	37	1	Gurudeva	35	1	Gurudevajī	148
	*†Sumiraņa	28	2	Sumiraņa	32	2	Sumiraņa	123
	*†Biraha	43	. 3	Biraha	45	3	Viraha	149
3	Jñāna biraha	9	4	Gyāna biraha	10			
	*†Paracai <sup>18</sup>	45	5	Paracā	48	4	Paracā	324
	*Rasa	8	6	Rasa	8			
7	*Lāṁba	4	7	Lāṁbi	4			
8	*†Jarṇā	5	8	Jarṇāṁ	5	5	Jaraṇā	30
9	*†Hairāṁna	2	9	Hairāna	2	6	Hairāṁna	26
10	Laiya	3	10	Lai	3	7	Lai	41
11	Nihikramī	18	11	Nihikarmī	18	8	Niha kramī	87
	*†patibratā			patibratā			pativratā	4.0
12	*†Citāṁvanī	75	12	Citāvaņī	62	9	Citāvaņī	13
	*†Maṁna	32	13	Mana	30	10	Mana	124
14	Sūṣima māraga	12	14	Sūṣima māraga	10	11	Cūsima ianama	7
15	*†Sūṣima jaṁna(ma)	1	15	Sūşima janma	2	11	Sūṣima janama	7
16	Māyā	29	16	Māyā	32	12	Māyā	165
17	*†Cāṁṇaka <sup>19</sup>	33	17	Cāṁṇaka	22			
		0	18	*†Karaṇīṁ binā	5			
		2		kathaṇīṁ				
		0	19		4			
			- 20	binā karaņīm	27			
20	Sahaja	0	20	Kāmīṁ nara	27			
21	*†Sāca	14	21 22	Sahaja Sāṁca	4 17	12	Sāca	119
22	*†Bhraṁma	14	23	Bharma	17	13	Saca	115
22	bidhāṁsaṁṇa <sup>20</sup>	14	25	bidhauṁsaṇa	11			
23	*†Bhekha	26	24		26	14	Bheşa	46
	Kāṁmī nara	26		Бисуц	0		Бисуц	
23	*†Kusaṁgati	8	25	Kusaṁgati	7			
	*†Saṁgati	5	26	Samgati	8			
	*†Asādha	1	27	Asādha	3			
	*†Sādha	15	28	Sādha	13	15	Sādha	124
27	Sādha	21	29	Sādha	21			
	sāṣībhūta <sup>21</sup>			sāṣībhūta				
28	*†Sādha	11	30		11			
	mahātma			mahimāṁ				
29	*†Madhi	12	31	Madhi	11	16		69
30	*†Sāragrāhī	1	32	Sāragrāhī	4	17	Sāragrāhī	23
31	Vicāra	10	33	Bicāra	9	18	Vicāra	47

(continued)

<sup>16</sup> The actual number of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  does not necessarily agree with their numbering in the manuscript: apart from errors in assigning appropriate serial numbers to individual  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$ , there are several instances of second hand additions without a number reference. The statistical overview includes the actual number of units in each section.

<sup>17</sup> Only  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  from the ( $\bar{a}$ ) manuscript of the SSD ed. are included in this number.

<sup>18</sup> Between the  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{s}$  numbered 40 and 41 are three which are not numbered – two incomplete ones, representing parts of SSD 5.44 and 5.45, and one corresponding to SSD 5.46.

<sup>19</sup> No. 2 is entered twice, marking two different sākhīs.

<sup>20</sup> No. 10 is missing, with no. 9 being followed by sākhī no. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Between Nos. 10 and 11 two sākhīs have been inserted with the wrong numbers, i. e. 19 and 10.

#### (continued)

32	*Upadesa	7	34	Upadesa	10			
33	*†Besāsa	22	35	Besāsa	21	19	Besāsa	52
34	*†Pīva	4	36	Pīva	4	20	Pīva	37
	pichāṁṇaṇī			pichāṁṇana			pichāṁṇaṇa	
35	†Bikaratāī	11	37	Birkatāī	10	)		
36	*†Sammrathāī <sup>22</sup>	11	38	Samrathāī	12	21	Sammrathāī	42
37	Kusabada	4	39	Kusabada	4			
38	†Sabada	6	40	Sabada	8	22	Sabada	29
39	Jīvatā mraṁtaka <sup>23</sup>	16	41	Jīvana mŗtaka	14	23	Jīvata mŗtaka	53
40	Cita kapaţī	3	42	Cita kapaţī	3			
41	Gurasișa herā	16	43	Gurusișa herā	13	1		
42	Heta prīti saneha	4	44	Heta prīti	4			
				saneha				
43	*†Surātana	40	45	Sūrātana	41	24	Sūrātana	80
	*†Kāla <sup>24</sup>	47	46	Kāla	32	25	Kāla	87
	*†Saṁjīvani	7	47	Sajivani	7	26	Sajīvani	49
46	*†Apār(ş)a	10	48	Apāriṣa	5			
47	*Pārṣa	4	49	Pāriṣa	3	27	Pāriși	39
	Upajaṁṇa	8	50	Upajaņi	12	28	Upajaņi	20
[49]	*†[Dayā	0	51	Dayā	3	29	Dayā nṛvairatā	47
	nirabairatā]			nirabairatā				
[50]	Sumdari <sup>25</sup>	1	52	Sumdari	5	30	Sumdari	33
51	†Kistūriyā mrigha	9	53	Kastūriyā mṛga	9	31	Kisatūriyā mṛga	13
52	*†Niṁdyā	6	54	Niṁdyā	9	32	Niṁndyā	16
53	Niguṁṇāṁ	12	55	Niguṇāṁ	12	33	Niguṇā	25
54	†Bīratī	6	56	Bīnatī	7	34	Bīnatī	74
55	*†Sāṣībhūta	- 3	57	Sāṣībhūta	3	35	Sāṣībhūta	15
56	*Belī	6	58	Belī	6	36		20
57	Abihara	1	59	Abihara	3	37	Abihaḍa	11
	TOTAL OF SĀKHĪS	816		TOTAL OF	809	)	TOTAL OF	2407
				SĀKHĪS			SĀKHĪS	

<sup>\*</sup> aṁga with an identical or similar name included in the Sarvāṁgī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab (ca. 1620 C. E.).

In MS 3190 and ŠSD, *amgas* 1 to 17 run exactly parallel as far as their names and contents are concerned. The first deviation from the common ordering appears in numbers 18 and 19 of the ŚSD – two short *amgas* (including 5 and 4 *sākhīs* respectively) with the headings *Karaṇīm binā kathaṇīm* and *Kathaṇīm binā karaṇīm* are absent in MS3190. Interestingly, *Sahaja*, the next *amga* in MS3190, is not marked by the expected number 18 but with 20 (fol. 271a). Not all *sākhīs* of the two additional ŚSD *amgas* are missing in MS3190, however: *sākhīs* 18.1, 18.4

<sup>†</sup> amga with an identical or similar name included in the Sarvāmgī of Gopāldās (1627 C. E.).

<sup>22</sup> No. 3 is followed by no. 7, nos. 4, 5, and 6 are missing.

<sup>23</sup> No. 12 is followed by no. 14, no. 13 is missing,

**<sup>24</sup>** Numbers 5, 18, and 22 were left out by the scribe. No. 9 is there, but the text, unusually short for a whole  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}$ , is illegible.

**<sup>25</sup>** In the three sections of *upajamna*, *dayā nirabairatā* and *sumdari* ca. 11 *sākhīs* are missing as the fol. 288ab is not included on the microfilm. A comparison with the parallel text of the ŚSD edition identifies the missing numbers as *upajamna* 9–12, *dayā nirabairatā* 1–3, and *sumdari* 1–4.

and 18.5 of the SSD can be identified as numbers 17.27, 17.29 and 17.30 of MS3190—they are included in the immediately preceding *Cāmṇaka* chapter, and the four *sākhīs* of SSD *amga* 19 are found as a block with numbers 11 to 14 in the *Bhramma bidhāmsaṇa kau amga* of MS3190 with the inscribed serial number 22 (in the actual ordering, i.e. without the above-mentioned shift apparent in the numbering of *Sahaja*, the number would be 20).

It seems that the scribe of MS3190 used a master copy that lacked the Karanım bina kathanım and Kathanım bina karanım sections – these were formed at a later date and included material originally found in the Cāmṇaka and Bhramma bidhāmsana amgas. Another feature of the master copy might be the absence of headings or at least of numbers assigned to them. In MS3190 the headings are written in different (probably red) ink and appear to have been added to the already written text within the empty space left for this particular purpose by the scribe at the beginning of the first line of each amga. The scribe who used the red ink<sup>26</sup> might have had at his disposal another, more recent copy of the sākhī section from which he copied the headings – mechanically, including their numbers, realizing his mistake only later, after he had added new Kāmmī nara after Bhekha kau amga, which still retains the incorrect numbering 23. Realising the problem, he left the space for the number marked by two double dandas empty. The next Kusamgati amga already has the correct number 23; in the next three amgas we find the space between the double dandas empty again (a sign of uncertainty or hesitation?) and then, starting from number 27 Sādha sāṣībhūta, the correct numbering was resumed. The fact that the pothī includes three puspikās with two different dates, albeit in its middle parts and not related to Kabīr  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  – V.S. 1671 and V.S. 1678–may serve as another indication of two chronologically distinct redactions of the corpus.

The above explanation of the confused numbering appears to be more natural than the assumption that the scribe decided to delete two <code>amgas</code> already extant in his master copy (<code>Karanim binā kathanim and Kathanim binā karanim</code>) and failed, again due to oversight, to change the numbering of the following <code>amgas</code>. It should be noted that <code>sākhis</code> from the supposedly deleted <code>amgas</code> 17 and 18 appear in MS3190 towards the end of <code>Sahaja</code> and <code>Bhramma bidhāmsana</code> <code>amgas</code> respectively (as would be expected in later additions) but in each case their block is followed by yet another <code>sākhi</code> which corresponds to the last item of the SSD <code>Cāmṇaka</code> and <code>Bhramma bidhāmsana</code> (17.22 and 23.11 respectively). The

**<sup>26</sup>** Perhaps a different person from the first and second hand recognizable in the manuscript: the red inscription Bhekha contains the sole example of the letter kha in the whole  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}$  part of the MS3190  $Kab\bar{i}r\ v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ . An alternative explanation might be that the first scribe copied the headings from a different source, one which manifested differing writing conventions.

extraction of items from an originally single body of text with the intention of creating new thematic chapters appears to be more probable than the deletion of existing sections and the incorporation of their material into others. Moreover, the SSD sākhīs 18.2 and 18.3 that are missing in MS3190 can be best understood as later additions to the newly formed amga. A comparison between the amga structure of the vāṇī of Dādū and that of Kabīr, and also with the sarvāmgīs of Rajab and Gopāldās, reveals a process of gradual proliferation of chapters (the names of the two new amgas in SSD can be found in the sarvāmgī of Rajab and one of them also appears in the sarvāmgī of Gopāldās).<sup>27</sup> Despite the much higher number of sākhīs collected in the Dādū vāṇī (three times as many as those attributed to Kabīr) the number of amgas is 37, compared with 57 in the sākhī sections of MS3190 and the 59 of SSD. Similarities and differences in amga numbering seem to suggest that SSD and MS3190 both had a common ancestor or archetype which they modified and expanded in slightly different ways. MS3190 appears to conform more closely to the older arrangement of the assumed master copy.

Apart from the *Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ* sections that are missing in MS3190, the *aṁga* inscribed as *Kāṁmī nara* is the only instance where both collections differ in their ordering of the *aṁgas*. In ŚSD it follows directly after the two additional sections as no.20, whereas MS3190 places it lower down, after the *Bhekha* (without a number, which should correctly be 22).

The fact that thematic headings tend to proliferate in later collections and that the ordering of a particular  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}$  into this or that  $a\dot{m}ga$  may be somewhat arbitrary should not surprise us. In textual corpora that did not undergo a process of strict canonization and did not resist the incorporation of new material, a certain degree of variability appears to be quite natural. Only a comparison between a greater number of manuscripts compiled in, for example, the Dādūpanthī environment over a longer time span will show us whether the basic pattern undergoes significant changes, shows particular biases or, on the

<sup>27</sup> The question of the origin of the  $a\dot{m}ga$  system (the thematic division of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}$  collections), typical for the Dādūpanthī  $pa\bar{n}c$ - $v\bar{a}n\bar{\iota}$ s and  $sarv\bar{a}m\bar{g}\bar{\imath}$ s, cannot be answered with any degree of certainty at present. Its authorship is sometimes attributed to Rajab who is supposed to have used it in his anthology of  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$   $v\bar{a}n\bar{\iota}$  (the so called Amgabandhu) and in his own  $sarv\bar{a}m\bar{g}\bar{\imath}$ . However, the dating of both, and particularly of the former, is uncertain and contested. For a criticism of the suggested early date ("at least ten years before the writing of the Granth Sahib") introduced into scholarly literature from traditional accounts by Sen 1929: 104 and 111, see Callewaert 1978: 67 and 71–75, with a synoptic table demonstrating convincingly two different systems of ordering, that of  $sarv\bar{a}m\bar{g}\bar{\imath}$  and  $v\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$  of Rajab on the one hand, and  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$   $v\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$  and  $Kab\bar{\imath}ra$   $Granth\bar{a}val\bar{\imath}$ , on the other.

contrary, tends to keep a more or less stabilized content and form. On the other hand, the possibility of tracing the evolution of Kabīrian tradition by comparing the Rājasthānī  $Kab\bar{\imath}r$   $v\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$  with Bījak and the verses attributed to Kabīr in the Ādigranth are strongly limited. These most important sources of Kabīrian verses differ greatly not only in their formal arrangement but also in terms of content – for example, Kabīr's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  which are common to all three collections are only 16 in number.<sup>28</sup>

## 2 The sākhīs

A comparison of the total numbers of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  in both collections reveals that they are more or less equal. Differences are due to an error in turning the pages during the photographing of the original MS3190, which resulted in pages 288a and 288b being omitted from the microfilm. It is impossible to fully reconstruct the exact content of these pages but if we assume that the generally close parallelism between the collections applies to the missing part as well, we can make an informed guess that there are ca. 12 missing  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$ : 5 in Upajamna, 3 in  $Day\bar{a}$   $nirabairat\bar{a}$ , and 4 in Sumdari kau amga. If we subtract from the extant total of 817 the three repetitions, illegible no. 44.9 (it is not at all certain as to whether this is  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$ ) and the 14  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  which are obvious later additions written by a different hand, we reach a final total of 805  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$ . With the addition of those missing items we are back at the total of ca. 817  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  in the MS3190  $Kab\bar{n}s$   $v\bar{n}s$ , compared with 809 edited from the (ka) manuscript of the SSD edition of the  $Kab\bar{n}s$   $ranthaval\bar{n}s$ .

Close parallels between the  $a\dot{m}ga$  ordering in the two collections are to a great extent matched by a similar arrangement of the identical or nearly identical  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  within the respective sections. Particularly striking is the exact match of the first five to ten  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  at the beginning of each  $a\dot{m}ga$ : specific data are summarised in the following table. The series of mutually matching numbers is often interrupted by the insertion of only one or two  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$ ; in the table the continuation of the now shifted but still parallel series is marked in italics.

<sup>28</sup> The exact number of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}s$  in each of the three collections may vary slightly in different scholarly accounts, depending on each author's reference to a particular recension (in the case of the Bījak) or the attribution of some saloks to Kabīr or another author (in the case of the Gurū Granth). Thus, Singh 2003: 83, calculates 235  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}s$  by Kabīr with several doublets included within this number; the so-called Dānāpur recension of the Bījak includes a total of 353  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}s$ : Siṃha 1972: 149–176. See also Hess 1987: 114–115.

identical sākhīs in identical or shifted ordei MS3190/SSD	number of sākhīs in aṁgaMS3190/ ŚSD	name of aṁga (transl.)	name of aṁga (MS3190)	aṁga no. MS3190/ ŚSD
1-5; <i>7-25/8-26</i> ; 27; 29/28	37/35	Guru the Lord	Gurudeva	1/1
1-2	28/32	Remembrance (Prayer)	Sumiraņa	[?]/2
1-2; <i>4-9/5-10</i> ; 11-19; 33-38	43/45	[Pangs of love in] separation	Biraha	<b>-/3</b>
1; 2-3/3-2; 4-8; 9/10	9/10	[Pangs of love in] separation [arisen] from knowledge	Jñāna biraha	3/4
1; 2-3/3-4	45/48	Experience	Paracai	<b>-/5</b>
1-3; 5; 7-8	8/8	Nectar	Rasa	-/6
1-4	4/4	Depth	Lāṁba	7/7
1-5	5/5	Own experience; Patience	Jarņā	8/8
1-2	2/2	Bewildered	Hairāṁna	9/9
1-3	3/3	Absorption	Laiya	10/10
1-2; 4-17/5-18	18/18	Faithful to Lord and free of desire [for another]	Nihikramī patibratā	11/11
1-6; 8-11/7-10; 12-13	75/62	Warnings	Citāṁvanī	12/12
1-8; 13-22/10-19	32/30	The mind	Maṁna	-/13
1-2; 4-11/3-10	12/10	The subtle path	Sūşima māraga	14/14
1	1/2	The subtle [way of] birth	Sūşima jaṁn[m]a	15/15
1-4; 5-8/6-9; 10-15	29/32	Māyā	Māyā	16/16
1; 2-10	33/22	Truth and hypocrisy <sup>29</sup>	Cāṁṇaka	17/17
	5	Karaṇīm binā kathaṇīm: Doing without speaking (only SSD)		18
	4	Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ: Speaking without doing (only ŚSD)		19
	27	Lustful man	Kāmīṁ nara (ŚSD)	20
1-2; 3-4/4-3	4/4	The state of sahaja	Sahaja	20/21
1-10; 11-12/12-11	14/17	Truth	Sāca	21/22
1-7; 8-9/9-8	14/11	Dispelling error	Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṁṇa	22/23
1-5; <i>7</i> -10/6-9 12-19/10-17; 22-26	26/26	Habit <sup>30</sup>	Bhekha	23/24
1-11; 12-17/13-18	26	Lustful man	Kāmī nara (MS3190)	-
1-5; 7-8/6-7	8/7	Bad company	Kusaṁgati	23/25

(continued)

**<sup>29</sup>** Following Callewaert 1978: 432, whose description captures well the actual topic of  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{t}s$  included in this  $a\dot{m}ga$ . The possible alternative "The wisdom of Cāṇakya [on the worldly deception]" is a bit too long for use as a heading.

**<sup>30</sup>** "External appearance", according to Callewaert 1978: 432. "Habit" in the sense of "costume", "garment".

(cor	tini	ued)
(COI	LIIIL	ieu)

	3		ALCO STATE	
-/26	Saṁgati	Good company	5/8	1-5/2-6
-/27	Asādha	The unworthy	1/3	-9
-/28	Sādha	The sādhs (sants)	15/13	1-11; 13/12
27/29	Sādha sāṣībhūta	Witness of the <i>sādhs</i> ( <i>sants</i> )	21/21	1-10; 11-16/13-18
28/30	Sādha mahātma	Praise of the sādhs (sants)	11/11	1-11
29/31	Madhi	The middle	12/11	1-5; 7-12/6-11
30/32	Sāragrāhī	Grasping the essence	1/4	1/2
31/33	Vicāra	Reflection	10/9	1-7; 9-10/8-9
32/34	Upadesa	Instruction	7/10	1-2; 4-5/5-6
33/35	Besāsa	Faith	22/21	1-7; 9-16; 18-22/17-21
34/36	Pīva pichāmņaņī	Recognition of the beloved	4/4	1-4
35/37	Bikaratāī	Detachment	11/10	1-5; 7-11/6-10
36/38	Sammrathāī	Power (of God)	11/12	1-3; 7-14/4-11
37/39	Kusabada	Evil words	4/4	1-2; 3-4/4-3
38/40	Sabada	The Word	6/8	
39/41	Jīvatā mramtaka	The living dead	16/14	1
40/42	Cita kapaţī	Insincere	3/3	2-3/1-2
41/43	Gurasișa herā	Disciple's search for the	16/13	1-5; 7-8/6-7; 9;
	•	guru		12-13/11-12
42/44	Heta prīti saneha	Love, affection, attachment	4/4	
43/45	Surātana	Heroism	40/41	
				16-17/15-16;
				18-40/19-41
-/46	Kāla	Death	47/32	
[?]/47	Saṁjīvani	The root of immortality	7/7	
46/48	Apāra	The non-discerning	10/5	
47/49	Pārṣa	The discerning,	4/3	
		connoisseur		
<b>-/50</b>	Upajaṁṇa	Arising (?)	8/12	1-6; 8/7
[49]/51	[Dayā	Mercy and non-enmity	0/3	
-	nirabairatā]			
[50]/52	Suṁdari	Beautiful woman	1/5	5
51/53	Kistūriyā mrigha	Musk deer	9/9	
52/54	Niṁdyā	Slander	6/9	
53/55	Niguṁṇāṁ	Worthless	12/12	
54/56	Bīratī	Entreaty	6/7	
55/57	Sāṣībhūta	Witness	3/3	
	Belī	The creeper	6/6	
56/58	Dell	THE CIEEDEL		

The total number of exactly matching  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  is 285; with the inclusion of the 169 shifted ones they constitute 454  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$ , which means that 55.4% of all  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\imath}s$  are included in MS3190. This high proportion again suggests that both collections are related to a common ancestor, perhaps a smaller  $v\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ , serving as a core to which later scribes and editors added new material and occasionally reordered the sequence of individual items to form more compact blocks within the already established amgas. The arrangement of the text on the pages of the

MS3190 clearly shows that the collection was expected to grow by the addition of new *sākhī*s, which would be added from time to time to existing material: each *amga* is followed by an empty space that covers a quarter or even half a page reserved for new entries – in several instances these additions, written in a different hand, are clearly visible.

Another peculiar feature of the arrangement is the grouping of sākhīs which contain a particular word or phrase. Thus, for example, sākhīs 1 to 4 in the Citāmvanī kau amga refer to a musical instrument, a drum (naubati), and use the verb "to play" (bajānā). In Māyā kau amga the epithets of māyā are neatly arranged in groups: māyā pāpaṇī in sākhīs 2 to 4, māyā mohanī in nos. 5 to 8, māyā dākanī – pāpanī in 9, and māyā dāsī in 10. In addition to these phrases, these  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{l}s$  also share the same structure:  $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  always introduces the verse which continues with an explanation of her malign activities. A more extreme example of this clustering can be seen in the short sahaja kau amga which includes little more than four variants of one single sākhī beginning with the locution sahaja sahaja saba ko kahai, sahaja na cīnhai koi; in sākhīs 1 to 3 only the third carana carries a variation while the fourth ends the couplet with sahaja kahījai soi. Examples of such groupings can be multiplied – if a good sākhī was found in different master copies but in slightly differing forms, or circulated among people in several variant readings, diligent scribes would collect and arrange them all in neat bundles.

Thematic arrangement, combined with more or less systematic groupings of structurally similar sentences and phrases, was particularly suitable for the preparation of sermons and homilies that formed a standard part of spiritual instruction imparted to lay followers by monks and heads of Dādūpanthī religious establishments during religious festivals and the caumāsā period (the rainy season, during which itinerant sādhus stay indoors, often in one place). Sermons were regularly enlivened by the inclusion of couplets expressing in a brief and terse manner the most important ideas, recommendations or warnings. These were followed by exempla and a more detailed commentary in prose. Clearly organized strings of sākhīs attributed to sants and other authoritative figures were able to serve as a useful tools in relation to this particular purpose. Apart from these more formal occasions, memorised sākhīs were (and still are, according to recent testimony) recited during contests between young sādhus aspiring to become future preachers - one can imagine these impromptu recitations as providing an ideal milieu for the production of lexical, stylistic and syntactic variants of one and the same model couplet.<sup>31</sup>

**<sup>31</sup>** Horstmann 2015: 35–37; on *sādhu* contests, 37, fn. 12.

It should be added, however, that despite all these similarities in organization, content and even the wording of distichs, there are still numerous variant readings that address not only phonetic (nasalizations, retroflex versus dental nasals) or morphological features (forms of endings) but use different words (often synonyms) and sometimes modify whole phrases. Clearly the two collections are not simple duplicates, i. e. exact transcripts from one common source. Variations observable on the phonological, morphological and lexical planes thus contrast with the relative uniformity of the overall organization, thus giving rise to questions about the freedom of action enjoyed by scribes when using forms and idioms that were closest to their hearts – the admissible limits of variance.<sup>32</sup>

## 3 Some observations on MS3190

In the previous sections we established the probable existence of two distinct phases when the redacting of the corpus took place, as well as the existence of two separate master copies as sources for MS3190 *pothī*. These insights were arrived at by an analysis of the ordering of the *amga* and the occurrence of two different dates in the *puṣpikās*. We are now in a position to relate these findings to the additional evidence, albeit fragmentary, that is supplied by the poorly preserved microfilm copy. Indirect but important evidence on the date and place of origin as well as the name of the scribe, is typewritten on the catalogue card found on the same microfilm reel, together with other pages from the MS3190 that were photographed by Winand Callewaert in Jaipur during his "manuscript hunting trips" in 1991–93. The text reads as follows (original Devanāgarī transliterated in italics, abbreviations explicated):

<sup>32</sup> To be one hundred per cent correct and reliable it would be necessary for the collation of both collections to reference the original SSD manuscript. Each printed edition of this valuable text brings with it its own set of printing errors – the present author has been able to observe differences between the Syāmasuṃdaradāsa V.S. 2013 [=1956 C. E.] 6<sup>th</sup> Sabhā edition, Vaudeville 1982, and Gupta 1969. Generally, Vaudeville's text appears to be free of obvious errors but in a number of instances a clear-cut decision is not possible. Similar discrepancies were observed by Callewaert in Tivārī's edition and its reprint by Vaudeville: "For the reprint of the Rājasthānī versions she did not do any editing, but we found the Pondicherry reprint often quite different from the Tivārī text." Callewaert/Beeck 1991: vol. I, 24. Such findings should alert scholars to the necessity of working with original manuscripts or their high-quality photocopies, with printed editions serving as sources of valuable additional information.

kra.[ma] saṁ.[khyā] 3190 śrī saṁjaya śarmā saṁgrahālaya evaṁ śodha saṁsthāna jayapura, rājasthāna

vāṇī saṁgraha saṁvat 1971 se 1678 patra saṁkhyā 692

lipikāra: rāmadāsa dādūpamthī

lipisthāna : kaḍelā

After the obvious typing error in the first date has been corrected to 1671, and assuming that the *samvat* is meant to be of the Vikram era, we arrive at the dates 1614 to 1621 C. E., i. e. the years during which the *pothī* took its final shape. Apart from this piece of information, we have on the same microfilm reel two frames which include the contents of the *pothī*, handwritten on two sheets of paper. The list is inscribed as *hindīsāhitya kā mahatvapūrṇa gramtha* and includes a more detailed description:

samvat – 1671 se 1678

patra sam.[khyā] 692

lipikartā – rāmadāsa dādūpamthī

lipisthāna – īḍavāgrāma (dūjaṇadāsa āśrama mem)

tathā kaḍelā grāma mem/

Another piece of information is included on a slip of paper, with notes probably written by Winand Callewaert and overlaid on several photographed pages of the manuscript, usually at the beginning of a section and with the text of an important author. In the space reserved for the header we read:

VS 1671→ in DADU-VANI starts folio 66–188 end of dādū-vāṇī 188b paramānanda 189 kabīra etc.

On the microfilmed pages available at present this information is only partly confirmed. The first frame of the reel contains the *pads* of Paramānand on the left page (188 *verso*) and the first *pads* of the *rāga gaurī* of Kabīr on the right page, numbered 189. The pages containing  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$   $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  are missing, although the photocopies of them were made at the time when the *pothī* was photographed.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> In the detailed typewritten list of microfilms compiled by Callewaert, the last item, listed as Film No. 42, includes the note: "with songs of: 66–188 Dādū (incomplete), 188b Paramānand, 189–373 [sic!] Kabīr, 273 Nāmdev, 313 Raidās, 326 Hardās, 347 Sojhā, 352 Pīpā, 355 Paras, 356 Dhannā..., Caturbhuj, Trilochan etc., till folio 403. More copying has to be done from this precious manuscript."

From the note on the slip mentioned above we can infer that the date V.S. 1671 is included in the first, i. e. missing, part of the microfilm and relates to the  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ vāṇī. This information can be compared with the dates given in three puṣpikās scattered in the latter sections of the textual corpus. The later date occurring on the catalogue card and the handwritten list can be found on two pages of the extant microfilm: first on fol. 502 verso (frame 503a) where the date given is 1677 with the last digit crossed out and corrected to 1678; the month āsau is āśvin (see Figure 1):

samvatu 16778 varșe āsau māse tīthau 8 lişate rāmadāsa

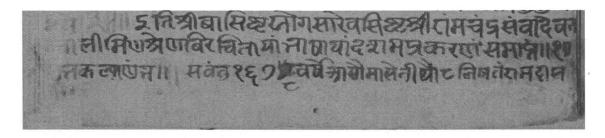


Figure 1: Fol. 503a (502 verso), bottom of the page: puṣpikā with the corrected date of samvat 1678.

and on fol. 512 recto (frame 512b) where the legible part of the page contains additional information about the author, Rāmdās, who made a copy for his own reading or study during his stay with Gharsīdās in the village of Kadail:

// //samvat 1678/varṣe āsau 'rdha[?] tithau 15/mamgalavāra [...] rāṇasyā pratim likhitam rāmadāsa/āpa paṭhanārthe// /kaḍail [...] potā siks[?] gharasīdāsajī gura tina kā sisa [...].34

**34** The date in this and the preceding  $puspik\bar{a}$  appears to be problematic. The correction of the year from 1677 to 1678 seems to indicate that the author was not sure whether to use current (vartamāna), or expired (atīta) years; in either case the date and month do not match with the day in the week which is given in the second puspikā as mangalavāra, or Tuesday. In the expired years the first date corresponds either to Thursday, 23.9.1621 (if the fortnight is śukla), or Thursday, 9.9.1621 (kṛṣṇa); the second date is either Thursday, 30.9.1621 (śukla), or Wednesday, 15.9.1621 (kṛṣṇa, the closest match). For the calculations I have used the Pancanga programme (v. 3.14), a data converter developed by M. Yano and M. Fushimi: http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac. jp/~yanom/pancanga/(25.11.2015). For more on the intricate problem of interpreting the Vikrama year as current or expired, beginning with either the month of caitra or kārttika, and its months being understood as either amanta or purnimanta in different parts of India and by different communities, see Sewell/Dikshit 1896: 40-41. "Literary texts of the Dādūpanthī tradition use the pūrṇīmānta system with the year beginning with the śukla half of caitra." Monika Horstmann, personal communication.

Contrary to expectation, the earlier date corresponding to the year 1615 C. E. occurs further down on folio 646 recto (frame 646b), under the concluding formula of the Prithīnātha's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{\iota}s$ . The date is preceded by more detailed information: the book was compiled by Rāmdās Dādūpanthī from Jaṭ lineage, pupil of Ghaṛsīdās, in the village of Īḍvā in the āśram of Dūjaṇdās, in the company of the sādhu. The  $puṣpik\bar{a}$  concludes with a standard formula, apologising for possible mistakes and conferring blessings upon both the scribe and reader (see Figure 2):

‡īḍavāgrāmamaḍye//dūjaṇadāsa āśraṁmai//sādhvaḥ smāgme/kṛṣṇapakṣye/ādī tavāre 9 ghaṛasīdāsa śichyaṁ likṣyat rāṁmadāsa dādūpaṁthī jaṭādviku le utpano śuddhaṁ vā aśuddhaṁ vā mi[?] mama doṣo na dīyate//leṣka pāṭhaka yau//śuṁbhaṁ bhavatu///śrī//śrī//rāmāya nmaḥ/// saṁvata 1671 varkhe phāguna sudi 5³5

What do we know about the persons named in the *puṣpikā*s found in different parts of the *pothī*? All three persons mentioned in them – Rāmdās, Dūjaṇdās and Ghaṛsīdās – belonged to the first generation of followers of Dādū and their names appear in contemporary accounts of the activities of the emerging Dādūpanth. Rāmdās is mentioned on nine occasions in the biographical account of Dādū written by one of his early disciples, Jan Gopāl.<sup>36</sup> He is remembered as having participated in various religious festivals and celebrations, of which at least one he helped to organize. He was also present at Dādū's month-long funerary celebrations, presided by Dādū's son and successor, Garīb Dās, in 1603. Rāmdās' name also appears in the versified correspondence between Sundardās and Mohandās, two disciples of Dādū. To the

<sup>35</sup> If the year is understood as expired and the dating is in the *pūrnimānta* system, Pancanga (v. 3.14) interprets the first date, given as *kṛṣṇapakṣye ādītavāre* 9, as Sunday, February 22 (i. e. February 12, Julian), 1615, which also gives the correct day of the week. In the same system, the second date, *saṃvata* 1671 varkhe phāguṇa sudi 5, at the end of the *puṣpikā* corresponds to Wednesday, March 4, 1615 C. E. The two small crosses at the beginning of the first line, the so-called *kākapādas*, indicate a place for inserting letters and words inadvertently omitted in the process of composing the main body of text and added later in the margin of the folio. In the present instance the text to be inserted is probably the date jotted down in small letters on the last line just above the bottom margin of the folio.

**<sup>36</sup>** Callewaert 1988, verses 13.3, 13.29–30, 14.10, 14.12, 14.16, 14.21, 14.31–33, 15.3 and 16.10. A convenient overview of the early activities and peregrinations of Dādū and his followers has been presented by Horstmann 2000 in the Appendix: 567–580, where Rām Dās is marked as "C", i.e. one of the "disciples of his [Dādū's] accompanying entourage (abbr. C for "companion")"

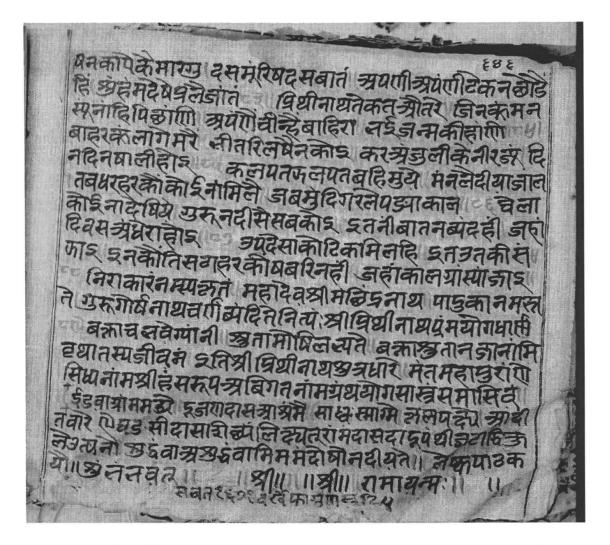


Figure 2: Fol. 646b (646 recto), bottom of the page: puṣpikā with the date of samvat 1671.

modern editor, the exact meaning of the verse in question is not entirely clear; in the letter Mohandās seems to be saying that Rāmdās was particularly favoured by Dādū and therefore had the best opportunity to record his utterances for the benefit of other members of the community.<sup>37</sup> Dūjaṇdās, also

<sup>37</sup> Śarmā 1993 [1936]: 67–69; on the pilgrimage to Banāras, more on p. 57. I am grateful to Monika Horstmann who pointed me to this valuable source of information on the early history of Dādūpanth. The verses which the editor interprets as meaning that Rāmdās perhaps composed or collected his own  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  read as follows:

śrī rāmadāsa rasa milana maiṁ amilaṇi maiṁ rasa jāya/milyau na mārai siṁgha hūṁ amilī mārai gāya //17//

<sup>&</sup>quot;yaha mana bahu vakavāda sūm, vāya $\times \times \times /d\bar{a}d\bar{u}$  bahuta na boliye, sahajaim rahai samāi" //18//

karī āpa kirapā sadā rāmadāsajī mūli/so aba adhikī adhika hai kade na jāmhīm bhūli //19//

spelled Dūjan Sādh, is mentioned by Jan Gopāl as being the "essence of virtue", residing in the village of Īdvā, and as the person who "always took charge of the meals for his guru."38 The name of the locality Idva identifies him as the person in whose āśram Rāmdās spent some time when putting together his pothī. As rasoīdār, cook or perhaps steward, 39 Dūjandās also might have profited from the closeness to his guru and, over time, recorded a valuable collection of his utterances. Gharsīdās is also mentioned by Jan Gopāl as a person with the spiritual qualities of a vairāgī, living in the village of Kārū/Kālū, where together with his family he organized a great feast on which they spent all they possessed. 40 Śarmā adds further information collected from other Dādūpanthī works: Gharsīdās was a Jāt from the village of Cāmpāsar in Mārvār; in Fatehpur he became a disciple of Dādū, later settled down in the village Karel in Mārvār and established there his own āśram (thābhā). Two of the brightest pupils of this learned man were the Dādūpanthī Nārāyandās and Sundardās, who in 1606 C. E. accompanied him on a tour to Banāras. The group of pilgrims included Jagjīvandās and Rajab, with several of his pupils accompanying them.41

Banāras and the surrounding area was the region where Kabīr, one of the *sants* most revered in the Dādūpanth, lived and preached, and one would expect that the sādhus would have taken the opportunity to look for oral and written traditions connected with him. However, a comparison of the  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{n}s$  included in the MS3190 and the  $B\bar{i}jak$  does not bear out the assumption of any massive influence and seems to suggest that if the sādhus looked here for inspiration, they might have been rather selective. Of course, we do not know what  $B\bar{i}jak$  or other collections of Kabīr's  $\dot{s}abdas$  and  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  circulating in and around Banāras at the beginning of the seventeenth century might have looked like; the fact is that of the total of 353  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  currently included in  $B\bar{i}jak$ , we find just 51 in the

<sup>38</sup> Callewaert 1988, verse 13.19:

dūjaņa sādha īḍavā māṁhī nikaţi sarovara hari kī chāṁhī/gura kau sadā rasoīdāra bairāgī dūjaṇa guṇasāra //19//

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nārāyaṇdās schreibt auch, dass er [Dūjandās] ein eigenes Oeuvre verfasst habe." Monika Horstmann, personal communication.

<sup>39</sup> Horstmann 2000: 575.

<sup>40</sup> Callewaert 1988, verse 13.10:

kārū maim ghaḍasī bairāgī māyā moha rahyau saba tyāgī/tā ke kuṭamba mahochau kīnaum tehu apanaum srabasu dīnaum //10//

<sup>41</sup> Śarmā 1993 [1936]: 71-74.

MS3190. In Banāras, Nārāyaṇdās and Sundardās reportedly studied yoga and underwent spiritual training.<sup>42</sup>

Both villages mentioned in the  $puṣpik\bar{a}s$  can be found on more detailed maps of Rājasthān. Īḍ(a)vā (in English spelling Edwa), to the present day seat of a Dādūpanthī Rāmdvārā, lies in the tehsīl of Degānā, approximately 60 km north-east of Ajmer. Karel (English spelling Kadel), without doubt identical to the locality of Karelā in the  $puṣpik\bar{a}$ , is a village in the tehsīl of Pīsāmgan, about 10 km north of Puṣkar and 18 km from Ajmer.

Putting all these pieces of data together we are in a position to reconstruct, at least in part, the genesis of the pothi. Its author, Rāmdās, began the compilation, perhaps with the input of older material collected during the lifetime of Dādū, in 1614 or 1615 C. E. in Īdvāgrāma in the āśram of Dūjandās and used Dūjandās's own collection either as the master copy, or as an additional source for his own book. The close correspondence between the order of *sākhī*s at the beginning of almost all amgas included in both the MS3190 and SSD editions suggests that a smaller collection of thematically ordered sākhīs may already have been in existence and circulation at a time when the larger textual corpora began to take their final shape. If the date written in the puṣpikā in its Dādū vāṇī part also relates to the following *Kabīr vānī*, we are able to infer that the Kabīr sākhī section of this master copy probably did not include the Karaṇīm binā kathanīm and Kathanīm binā karanīm amgas but contained several sākhīs that were in other (later?) collections extracted and grouped into the two separate amgas, mentioned above which appear in the SSD Kabīra granthāvalī variant. Later, at some time between the two terminal dates 1614/1615 and 1621, Rāmdās moved into the village of Kadela, the seat of another Dadupanthi guru, Ghaṛsīdās, and continued to add new material to his pothī, which he had brought from Idvagrama. As the master copy and/or source of additional material, he might have used Gharsīdās' own collection, which perhaps included the Karaṇīm binā kathaṇīm and Kathaṇīm binā karaṇīm sections. While collating this new variant with the text of *Kabīr vāṇī* that he had copied in Īdvāgrāma, he found differences between both versions. As we have seen, attempts to merge them in a single consistent framework were not met with complete success.

How do we explain the fact that the three *puṣpikā*s scattered in the text do not follow each other in strictly chronological order, with the earliest date appearing as the last? The colophon with the date of V.S. 1671 closes a large block of text inscribed as *Mamtamahāpurāna* by Prithīnātha sūtradhāra which contains 27 numbered chapters dealing with different aspects of *nāthyogī* doctrine and each one bears in its title the words *jogagramtha* or *gramthajoga* 

<sup>42</sup> Śarmā 1993 [1936]: 72.

( $s\bar{a}stra$ ). Rāmdās may have come across this text for the first time during his sojourn in  $\bar{l}$ dvāgrāma and later copied it together with the original  $puspik\bar{a}$  into his growing corpus. Folios with this text received page numbers that continued the pagination of the immediately preceding part of the  $poth\bar{i}$ .

Upon a closer inspection, the pagination supplies additional testimony to the fact that Rāmdās' pothī only gradually acquired its final shape. Page numbers were written in the upper right-hand corner of the right folio (recto) of the open book. Before the ink could dry, the book was closed so that a mirror image of the number appeared in the upper left-hand corner on the opposite, i. e. left, page. 43 However, a more detailed review of the upper right-hand corner of many folios enables us to see not one but two different page numbers, the one more or less successfully erased and the other either superimposed onto it or, in cases where the attempt to erase damaged the paper, written in the free space to the left or right of it. This double pagination feature runs throughout the whole Kabīr vāṇī part of the pothī and continues further down through the vāṇīs of other authors. It ceases somewhere between the fols. 370 and 402, which are missing in the digital copy. Starting from fol. 403 we can see only one series of numbers, without any signs of deletion or overwriting. Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs is often not good enough to decipher every number of the original pagination, but by making a comparison of the more legible fragments we can reconstruct two parallel series of page numbers – a fact that throws some additional light on the genesis of the present form of this huge *pothī*.

The earlier but erased page numbers indicate that originally the  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$  of Dādū and Kabīr did not immediately follow each other but were separated by 48 pages of a different text. Later, the Kabīr's corpus was shifted: first, the pages 237–288, containing the section of pads, were renumbered as 189-240;  $ramain\bar{i}s$  were assigned pages 241-252 and  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  were transferred to pages 253-292 from their original location on pages 293-332.  $Ramain\bar{i}s$  and  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  thus replaced the pads of Nāmdev, Ravidās and Hardās, which had to be moved from their original place on pages 241-292 further down to pages 293-344, changing places with Kabīr's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$ . The transfer down of a large block of text by 52 folio numbers can be verified on fols. 312, 313 and 314, where the original numbers 260, 261 and 262 are clearly visible (See Figure 3). The point of this rearrangement was probably to bring together the  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$  of the five most revered sants in this order,  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ ,  $Kab\bar{i}r$ ,  $N\bar{a}mdev$ ,  $Ravid\bar{a}s$  and  $Hard\bar{a}s$ , into a coherent corpus of a  $panc-v\bar{a}n\bar{i}-a$  format

**<sup>43</sup>** This peculiar feature and the fact that the two opposing pages occur always on the same frame of the microfilm led the present author to mark the two opposite pages as *fol.* a and b of the same number – a practice that deviates from the customary marking of two sides of the same leaf as r(ecto) and v(erso).

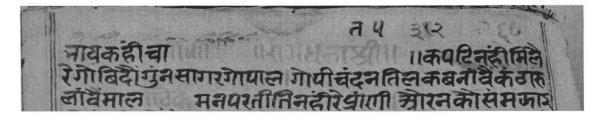


Figure 3: Fol. 312b (312 recto), upper right corner: new page number 312 with the old, but still visible page 260 to the right.

that probably began to crystallize only after the first Dādūpanthī collections had been put together. Some inconsistencies remained, e. g. between the  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ s of Dādū and Kabīr, one folio of pads by Paramānand still intervenes, possibly because originally it followed on the verso page immediately at the end of  $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$   $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  and so could not be moved. Another problem occurs at the end of Kabīr's  $s\bar{a}kh\bar{i}s$  on page 291, where on the photograph we find an incongruent mix of different page fragments while, in the next frame, we observe the beginning of Nāmdev on the right page numbered 293 and some unidentified text not belonging to either  $v\bar{a}n\bar{i}s$  on the left page. An inspection of the original  $poth\bar{i}s$  in the future may clarify some uncertain points of this tentative reconstruction.

The changing character of the script presents another testimony to the composite character of the codex. Most probably Rāmdās was not the sole scribe working on the text. Apart from the clearly later additions scribbled by less experienced hands in the free space at the end of *amgas* of *sākh*īs and *rāga* sections of *pads*, we can easily distinguish at least two hands working in shifts on the text. The first hand produced relatively big, rectangular, static, unruffled letters without serifs; the second style is more dynamic and elegant; letters are somewhat slanted and their perpendicular strokes are a bit wavy, partly serifed. Most of the writing was done by Hand 1, with Hand 2 visible in shorter sections. In most cases, the change of hands occurs at the end of a folio, at the end of an *amga*, or both. Interestingly, two *amgas*, *mamna* and *samgati*, are inscribed with the added note *kathitam*, "told". As both belong to the group of *amgas* that are not marked by a serial number, one can speculate that the compiler did not copy them directly from an existing collection, but either received them as dictation, or had memorised their oral presentation by his guru.

## 4 Conclusion

The above survey has dealt in some detail, as far as the quality and state of preservation of the microfilm copy allows, with only a small portion of a huge

textual corpus which contains more than six hundred folios and includes dozens of authors and works composed in dialects of Old Hindī as well as in Sanskrit. The corpus only gradually took on its final shape, in several stages, and the work probably involved the collaboration of several scribes and perhaps even editors, who may have built upon the original efforts of Rāmdās. A close inspection of the page margins has revealed the existence of at least two series of page numbers, a later one written over an erased older sequence, which indicates the shifting of large blocks of texts. It appears that the main motivation behind this rearrangements was the intention to bring together texts by the five most venerated sants in the Dādūpanth – it almost seems as if the structure of the later and extremely popular format of the pañc-vānī emerges gradually, before our very eyes. Moreover, when combined with information included in the colophons inserted in three different parts of the manuscript, these findings point to the probable existence of at least two other, earlier collections that may have served our compiler, Rāmdās, as sources of Kabīr's sākhīs and also provided a model for their thematic organization. The latter was obviously derived from the already existing sākhī collection of Dādū. In addition, the presumed existence of earlier or parallel vāṇīs may explain the similarities and differences between the text analysed in the present article and the Śyāmasundaradāsa's Kabīra granthāvalī collection of uncertain or contested date. Further findings may follow, once a closer analysis of other texts included in this huge textual corpus has been undertaken – and, of course, following the eventual accessibility of the precious original itself.

**Acknowledgements:** For helpful comments on an earlier draft I offer my thanks to Monika Horstmann, Linda Hess, and Jack Hawley. I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their useful suggestions.

# **Bibliography**

Barthwal, Pitambar Dutt (1978) [first ed. 1936]: *Traditions of Indian Mysticism Based upon Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*. New Delhi: Heritage Publishers.

Callewaert, Winand (1978): *The Sarvāngī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab*. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, Katholieke Universiteit.

Callewaert, Winand (1988): The Hindī Biography of Dādū Dayāl. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Callewaert, Winand/Beeck, Bart Oop de (1991): Nirguṇa-bhakti-sāgara: Devotional Hindī Literature. A Critical Edition of the Pañc-vāṇī or Five Works of Dādū, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Raidās, Hardās, with the Hindī Songs of Gorakhnāth and Sundardās, and a Complete Word-index. 2 vols. New Delhi: Manohar.

Callewaert, Winand (1993): The Sarvāmgī of Gopāldās. A 17th Century Anthology of Bhakti Literature. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Callewaert, Winand/Sharma, Swapna/Taillieu, Dieter (2000): The Millennium Kabīr vāṇī: A Collection of Pad-s. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Dvivedī, Hazārī Prasāda (1955): Kabīra. Bambaī: Hindī-grantha-ratnākara.
- Gupta, Mātāprasāda (1969): Kabīra-graṃthāvalī. Āgarā: Prāmāṇika prakāśana.
- Hess, Linda/Singh, Shukdev (1986): The Bījak of Kabir. Delhi etc.: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hess, Linda (1987): "Three Kabir Collections: A Comparative Study". In: *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Traditions of India*. Edited by Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 111–141.
- Horstmann, Monika (2000): "The Flow of Grace: Food and Feast in the Hagiography and History of the Dādūpanth". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 150: 513–580.
- Horstmann, Monika (2015): "The Example of Dadupanthi Homiletics". In: *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature and Performance in North India*. Edited by Francesca Orsini and
  Katherine Butler Schofield. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 31–59.
- Maas, Paul (1950): Textkritik. 2. ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Mallinson, James (2011): "Nāth Sampradāya". In: *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, vol. III, 409–428.
- Sewell, Robert/Dikshit, Śankara Bālakrishṇa (1896): The Indian Calendar, with Tables for the Conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. Dates, and Vice Versā. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
- Schomer, Karine/McLeod, W.H., eds. (1987): *The Sants. Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*. Delhi etc.: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Schomer, Karine (1987): "The Dohā as a Vehicle of Sant Teachings". In: *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Traditions of India*. Edited by Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 61–90.
- Sen, Kshitimohan (1929): Medieval Mysticism of India. London: Luzac & Co.
- Siṃha, Śukadeva (1972): Kabīra Bījaka. Ilāhābāda: Nīlabha Prakāśana.
- Singh, Pashaura (2003): The Bhagats of the Guru Granth Sahib: Sikh Self-definition and the Bhagat Bani. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Strnad, Jaroslav (2013): Morphology and Syntax of Old Hindī: Edition and Analysis of One Hundred Kabīr vānī Poems from Rājasthān. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Strnad, Jaroslav (forthcoming): "Searching for the Source or Mapping the Stream? Some Text-critical Issues in the Study of Medieval Bhakti". In: *Texts and Traditions in Early Modern North India*. Edited by John S. Hawley, Anshu Malhotra and Tyler Williams. Delhi/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Śarmā, Harinārāyaṇa (ed.) (V.S.1993 [=1936 C. E.]): Sundara-granthāvalī: Sundaradāsajī racita samasta granthoṃ kā saṅgraha. Prathama khaṇḍa. Kalakattā: Rājasthāna Risarca Sosāiṭī.
- Śyāmasuṃdaradāsa (ed.) (V.S. 2013 [=1956 C. E.]): *Kabīra-graṃthāvalī*. Kāśī: Nāgarī pracāriņī sabhā.
- Tivārī, Pārasanātha (1961): *Kabīra-graṃthāvalī*. Prayāga: Hindī pariṣad, Prayāga viśvavidyālaya. Vaudeville, Charlotte (1974): *Kabīr*. Volume I. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Vaudeville, Charlotte (1982): *Kabīr-vāṇī: Recension Occidentale/Western Recension*. Pondichéry: Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 64).
- Vaudeville, Charlotte (1993): A Weaver Named Kabir. Selected Verses With a Detailed Biographical and Historical Introduction. Delhi: Oxford University Press.