Jaroslav Strnad*

A Note on the Analysis of Two Early Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī Manuscripts

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 *sākhī*s 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 Śyāmasundaradāsa[1] (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

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1 A note on the transliteration of Devanāgarī: the IAST system of transliteration has been used throughout, with two exceptions: vocalic ṛ is transliterated (in the absence of the letter r with subscript ring in the Unicode) with cedilla, to distinguish it from the retroflex ṛ, 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 ṁ with superscript dot.

*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[2] 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,[3] cannot be successfully implemented in the study of *vāṇīs*, 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.[5] 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 *panth*s and *sampradāya*s 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

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2 Strnad forthcoming.

3 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).

4 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 *sākhī*s and *pad*s.

5 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 *dohā/sākhī* 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 *puṣpikās*, 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 *puṣpikā* 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 *sant*s contain not only songs or poems (*pad*s), but also a great number of couplets or *dohā*s, known in the *sant* literary tradition as *sākhī*s; their quantity and internal structuring presents a mass of data that can be used for comparison and analysis. *Sākhī*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 *pothī*[6] of 692 numbered folios that includes a great

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6 Manuscript no. 3190, housed in Sañjaya Śarmā Pustakālaya evaṃ 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. *Pothī*, in the sense of a sacred book containing scriptural texts by spiritual masters, so called *vāṇī*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 *pothī* itself.

number of texts attributed to various authors belonging to the medieval Hindī *jogī* and *nāth* groupings (possibly organized in an already emerging *panth*),[7] as well as the so-called *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* 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 *vāṇī* of Dādū himself, works attributed to Kabīr, together with the *pads* of Nāmdev, Raidās and Haridās, the other most revered *sants* of this *sampradāya*, are also included.

The collection of Kabīr's *sākhī*s, which forms a separate part of the whole corpus of texts traditionally attributed to him, follows the section which includes his *pads* and *ramainī*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 *aṁga*s, each with its own heading that highlights the main topic of the couplets.[8] The number of *sākhī*s in these sections is very uneven: the richest, *citāvanī kau aṁga*, includes 74 *sākhī*s, whereas the shortest ones consist of only a single couplet. The author(s) of the compilation obviously did not consider this *sākhī* 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 *sākhī*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 *Kabīra Granthāvalī* (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 *puṣpikā*, each giving a different date. The information supplied by the creator of the microfilm suggests that the section of Dādū's *vāṇī* included *puṣpikā*, providing us with a date that, after conversion from the Indian era then currently in use (*vikram saṃvat*, abbreviated as V.S.) should be read as

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7 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.

8 *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.[9] 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.[10] Reportedly, this manuscript is also, at present, inaccessible.

With the incomplete microfilm of one manuscript and printed editions[11] 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 *sākhī* part of the *vāṇī*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 *aṁga*s included in each *sākhī* part of the two *vāṇī*s; and second, the numbers and sequence of individual *sākhī*s within the respective *aṁga*s. Of particular interest will be the occurrence and location of *sākhī*s common to both collections.

1 The *aṁga*s

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 *sākhī*s (*dohā*s or couplets) into thematic units, referred to as *aṁga*s ("parts", also "parts of the body"). This

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9 Tivārī 1961: 11–12.

10 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 ŚSD manuscript to the beginning or middle of the eighteenth century.

11 The present comparison includes *sākhī* 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 *pad*s.

feature appears to go back to the oldest layer of Dādūpanthī literary and scribal activity – we can observe the *aṁga* system already being applied to the *sākhī*s attributed to Dādū himself: in the edition of his *vāṇī*, the large collection of 2,407 *sākhī*s is divided into 37 *aṁga*s, whose titles capture the main theme or idea common to all or most of the *sākhī*s included in them.[12] On a larger scale, the same *aṁga* system was utilised as the basic principle behind the organization of *sarvāṁgī*s, 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 *sarvāṁgī* of Rajab, which was compiled around 1620 C. E. and partly edited and translated by W. Callewaert,[13] includes 144 *aṁga*s, and the *sarvāṁgī* of Gopāldās, compiled in 1627 and edited by the same author,[14] lists 126 *aṁga*s.

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 *sarvāṁgī*, with its peculiar mix of *sākhī*s, *pad*s, *kavitta*s, *śloka*s, *bait*s and *caupāī*s assembled together in the same thematical unit, in its *sākhī* section the Jaipur MS3190 manuscript adopts the same *aṁga* system. Interestingly, the ordering, the names, and the individual units of the *aṁga*s in the *sākhī* parts of the MS3190 and the ŚSD 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 ŚSD editions is revealed to be an expanded variant of the *aṁga* 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 ŚSD 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 *sarvāṁgī*s are much more elaborate but a comparison shows that some of the more popular *aṁga* headings are shared by all Dādūpanthī collections.

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12 For the *aṁga* 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).

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

14 Callewaert 1993: 14–17 includes a comparative table of the different *aṁga* ordering of the *sarvāṁgī*s of Rajab and Gopāldās.

15 This feature is less prominent in the section of Kabīr's *pad*s, where the Śyāmasundaradāsa's edition and MS3190 differ not only in the number of *pad*s (403 in ŚSD against 370 in MS3190), but also in the ordering of *rāga*s. Although the number of *rāga*s 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 *pad*s will emerge only after a more detailed comparative study has been completed. For variant readings of one hundred selected *pad*s, see Strnad 2013: 25–133.

MS3190 Sañjaya Śarmā			*Śyāmasundaradāsa ed.*			*Dādū vāṇī*		
no. of aṁga	*name of the aṁga*	*number of sākhīs*[16]	*no. of aṁga*	*name of the aṁga*	*number of sākhīs*[17]	*no. of aṁga*	*name of the aṁga*	*number of sākhīs*
1	*†Gurudeva	37	1	Gurudeva	35	1	Gurudevajī	148
...	*†Sumiraṇa	28	2	Sumiraṇa	32	2	Sumiraṇa	123
	*†Biraha	43	3	Biraha	45	3	Viraha	149
3	Jñāna biraha	9	4	Gyāna biraha	10			
	*†Paracai[18]	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 *†patibratā	18	11	Nihikarmī patibratā	18	8	Niha kramī pativratā	87
12	*†Citāṁvanī	75	12	Citāvaṇī	62	9	Citāvaṇī	13
...	*†Maṁna	32	13	Mana	30	10	Mana	124
14	Sūṣima māraga	12	14	Sūṣima māraga	10			
15	*†Sūṣima jaṁna(ma)	1	15	Sūṣima janma	2	11	Sūṣima janama	7
16	Māyā	29	16	Māyā	32	12	Māyā	165
17	*†Cāṁnaka[19]	33	17	Cāṁnaka	22			
		0	18	*†Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ	5			
		0	19	*Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ	4			
		0	20	Kāmīṁ nara	27			
20	Sahaja	4	21	Sahaja	4			
21	*†Sāca	14	22	Sāṁca	17	13	Sāca	119
22	*†Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṁṇa[20]	14	23	Bharma bidhauṁsaṇa	11			
23	*†Bhekha	26	24	Bheṣa	26	14	Bheṣa	46
	Kāṁmī nara	26			0			
23	*†Kusaṁgati	8	25	Kusaṁgati	7			
	*†Saṁgati	5	26	Saṁgati	8			
	*†Asādha	1	27	Asādha	3			
	*†Sādha	15	28	Sādha	13	15	Sādha	124
27	Sādha sāṣībhūta[21]	21	29	Sādha sāṣībhūta	21			
28	*†Sādha mahātma	11	30	Sādha mahimāṁ	11			
29	*†Madhi	12	31	Madhi	11	16	Madhi	69
30	*†Sāragrāhī	1	32	Sāragrāhī	4	17	Sāragrāhī	23
31	Vicāra	10	33	Bicāra	9	18	Vicāra	47

(continued)

16 The actual number of *sākhī*s does not necessarily agree with their numbering in the manuscript: apart from errors in assigning appropriate serial numbers to individual *sākhī*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.

17 Only *sākhī*s from the (क) manuscript of the ŚSD ed. are included in this number.

18 Between the *sākhī*s numbered 40 and 41 are three which are not numbered – two incomplete ones, representing parts of ŚSD 5.44 and 5.45, and one corresponding to ŚSD 5.46.

19 No. 2 is entered twice, marking two different *sākhī*s.

20 No. 10 is missing, with no. 9 being followed by *sākhī* no. 11.

21 Between Nos. 10 and 11 two *sākhī*s 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 pichāṁṇaṇī	4	36	Pīva pichāṁṇana	4	20	Pīva pichāṁṇana	37
35	†Bikaratāī	11	37	Birkatāī	10			
36	*†Saṁmrathāī[22]	11	38	Samrathāī	12	21	Saṁmrathāī	42
37	Kusabada	4	39	Kusabada	4			
38	†Sabada	6	40	Sabada	8	22	Sabada	29
39	Jīvatā mraṁtaka[23]	16	41	Jīvana mṛtaka	14	23	Jīvata mṛtaka	53
40	Cita kapaṭī	3	42	Cita kapaṭī	3			
41	Gurasiṣa herā	16	43	Gurusiṣa herā	13			
42	Heta prīti saneha	4	44	Heta prīti saneha	4			
43	*†Surātana	40	45	Sūratana	41	24	Sūratana	80
	*†Kāla[24]	47	46	Kāla	32	25	Kāla	87
	*†Saṁjīvani	7	47	Sajivani	7	26	Sajīvani	49
46	*†Apār(ṣ)a	10	48	Apāriṣa	5			
47	*Pārṣa	4	49	Pāriṣa	3	27	Pāriṣi	39
	Upajaṁṇa	8	50	Upajaṇi	12	28	Upajaṇi	20
[49]	*†[Dayā nirabairatā]	0	51	Dayā nirabairatā	3	29	Dayā nṛvairatā	47
[50]	Suṁdari[25]	1	52	Suṁdari	5	30	Suṁdari	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	Belī	20
57	Abihaṛa	1	59	Abihaṛa	3	37	Abihaḍa	11
	TOTAL OF SĀKHĪS	816		TOTAL OF SĀKHĪS	809		TOTAL OF SĀKHĪS	2407

* *aṁga* with an identical or similar name included in the *Sarvāṁgī* of the *Dādūpanthī Rajab* (ca. 1620 C. E.).
† *aṁga* with an identical or similar name included in the *Sarvāṁgī* of *Gopāldās* (1627 C. E.).

In MS 3190 and ŚSD, *aṁgas* 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 *aṁgas* (including 5 and 4 *sākhīs* respectively) with the headings *Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ* are absent in MS3190. Interestingly, *Sahaja*, the next *aṁga* in MS3190, is not marked by the expected number 18 but with 20 (fol. 271a). Not all *sākhīs* of the two additional ŚSD *aṁgas* are missing in MS3190, however: *sākhīs* 18.1, 18.4

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22 No. 3 is followed by no. 7, nos. 4, 5, and 6 are missing.
23 No. 12 is followed by no. 14, no. 13 is missing,
24 Numbers 5, 18, and 22 were left out by the scribe. No. 9 is there, but the text, unusually short for a whole *sākhī*, is illegible.
25 In the three sections of *upajaṁṇa*, *dayā nirabairatā* and *suṁdari* 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 *upajaṁna* 9–12, *dayā nirabairatā* 1–3, and *suṁdari* 1–4.

and 18.5 of the ŚSD can be identified as numbers 17.27, 17.29 and 17.30 of MS3190–they are included in the immediately preceding *Cāṁnaka* chapter, and the four *sākhīs* of ŚSD *aṁga* 19 are found as a block with numbers 11 to 14 in the *Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṇa kau aṁga* 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 *Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ* sections – these were formed at a later date and included material originally found in the *Cāṁnaka* and *Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṇa aṁgas*. 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 *aṁga*. The scribe who used the red ink[26] 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 *Kāṁmī nara* after *Bhekha kau aṁga*, which still retains the incorrect numbering 23. Realising the problem, he left the space for the number marked by two double *daṇḍas* empty. The next *Kusaṁgati aṁga* already has the correct number 23; in the next three *aṁgas* we find the space between the double *daṇḍas* 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 *puṣpikās* with two different dates, albeit in its middle parts and not related to Kabīr *vāṇī* – 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 *aṁgas* already extant in his master copy (*Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ*) and failed, again due to oversight, to change the numbering of the following *aṁgas*. It should be noted that *sākhīs* from the supposedly deleted *aṁgas* 17 and 18 appear in MS3190 towards the end of *Sahaja* and *Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṇa aṁgas* respectively (as would be expected in later additions) but in each case their block is followed by yet another *sākhī* which corresponds to the last item of the ŚSD *Cāṁnaka* and *Bhraṁma bidhāṁsaṇa* (17.22 and 23.11 respectively). The

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26 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 *sākhī* part of the MS3190 *Kabīr vāṇī*. 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 ŚSD *sākhī*s 18.2 and 18.3 that are missing in MS3190 can be best understood as later additions to the newly formed *aṃga*. A comparison between the *aṃga* structure of the *vāṇī* of Dādū and that of Kabīr, and also with the *sarvāṃgī*s of Rajab and Gopāldās, reveals a process of gradual proliferation of chapters (the names of the two new *aṃga*s in ŚSD can be found in the *sarvāṃgī* of Rajab and one of them also appears in the *sarvāṃgī* of Gopāldās).[27] Despite the much higher number of *sākhī*s collected in the *Dādū vāṇī* (three times as many as those attributed to Kabīr) the number of *aṃga*s is 37, compared with 57 in the *sākhī* sections of MS3190 and the 59 of ŚSD. Similarities and differences in *aṃga* numbering seem to suggest that ŚSD 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 *Karaṇīṃ binā kathaṇīṃ* and *Kathaṇīṃ binā karaṇīṃ* sections that are missing in MS3190, the *aṃga* inscribed as *Kāṃmī nara* is the only instance where both collections differ in their ordering of the *aṃga*s. 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 *sākhī* into this or that *aṃga* 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

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27 The question of the origin of the *aṃga* system (the thematic division of *sākhī* collections), typical for the Dādūpanthī *pañc-vāṇī*s and *sarvāṃgī*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 *Dādū vāṇī* (the so called *Aṃgabandhu*) and in his own *sarvāṃgī*. 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 *sarvāṃgī* and *vāṇī* of Rajab on the one hand, and *Dādū vāṇī* and *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, 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 *Kabīr vāṇī* 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 *sākhī*s which are common to all three collections are only 16 in number.[28]

2 The *sākhī*s

A comparison of the total numbers of *sākhī*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 *sākhī*s: 5 in *Upajaṁṇa*, 3 in *Dayā nirabairatā*, and 4 in *Suṁdari kau aṁga*. 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 *sākhī*) and the 14 *sākhī*s which are obvious later additions written by a different hand, we reach a final total of 805 *sākhī*s. With the addition of those missing items we are back at the total of ca. 817 *sākhī*s in the MS3190 *Kabīra vāṇī*, compared with 809 edited from the (ka) manuscript of the ŚSD edition of the *Kabīra granthāvalī*.

Close parallels between the *aṁga* ordering in the two collections are to a great extent matched by a similar arrangement of the identical or nearly identical *sākhī*s within the respective sections. Particularly striking is the exact match of the first five to ten *sākhī*s at the beginning of each *aṁga*: 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 *sākhī*s; in the table the continuation of the now shifted but still parallel series is marked in italics.

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28 The exact number of *sākhī*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 *salok*s to Kabīr or another author (in the case of the Gurū Granth). Thus, Singh 2003: 83, calculates 235 *sākhī*s by Kabīr with several doublets included within this number; the so-called Dānāpur recension of the Bījak includes a total of 353 *sākhī*s: Siṃha 1972: 149–176. See also Hess 1987: 114–115.

amga no. MS3190/ ŚSD	name of amga (MS3190)	name of amga (transl.)	number of sākhīs in amgaMS3190/ ŚSD	identical sākhīs in identical or shifted order MS3190/ŚSD
1/1	Gurudeva	Guru the Lord	37/35	1–5; 7–25/8–26; 27; 29/28
[?]/2	Sumiraṇa	Remembrance (Prayer)	28/32	1–2
–/3	Biraha	[Pangs of love in] separation	43/45	1–2; 4–9/5–10; 11–19; 33–38
3/4	Jñāna biraha	[Pangs of love in] separation [arisen] from knowledge	9/10	1; 2–3/3–2; 4–8; 9/10
–/5	Paracai	Experience	45/48	1; 2–3/3–4
–/6	Rasa	Nectar	8/8	1–3; 5; 7–8
7/7	Lāmba	Depth	4/4	1–4
8/8	Jarṇā	Own experience; Patience	5/5	1–5
9/9	Hairāmna	Bewildered	2/2	1–2
10/10	Laiya	Absorption	3/3	1–3
11/11	Nihikramī patibratā	Faithful to Lord and free of desire [for another]	18/18	1–2; 4–17/5–18;
12/12	Citāmvanī	Warnings	75/62	1–6; 8–11/7–10; 12–13
–/13	Mamna	The mind	32/30	1–8; 13–22/10–19
14/14	Sūṣima māraga	The subtle path	12/10	1–2; 4–11/3–10;
15/15	Sūṣima jamn[m]a	The subtle [way of] birth	1/2	1
16/16	Māyā	Māyā	29/32	1–4; 5–8/6–9; 10–15
17/17	Cāmṇaka	Truth and hypocrisy[29]	33/22	1; 2–10;
18		Karaṇīm binā kathaṇīm: Doing without speaking (only ŚSD)	5	
19		Kathaṇīm binā karaṇīm: Speaking without doing (only ŚSD)	4	
20	Kāmīm nara (ŚSD)	Lustful man	27	
20/21	Sahaja	The state of sahaja	4/4	1–2; 3–4/4–3
21/22	Sāca	Truth	14/17	1–10; 11–12/12–11
22/23	Bhramma bidhāmsamṇa	Dispelling error	14/11	1–7; 8–9/9–8
23/24	Bhekha	Habit[30]	26/26	1–5; 7–10/6–9; 12–19/10–17; 22–26
–	Kāmī nara (MS3190)	Lustful man	26	1–11; 12–17/13–18
23/25	Kusamgati	Bad company	8/7	1–5; 7–8/6–7

(*continued*)

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29 Following Callewaert 1978: 432, whose description captures well the actual topic of *sākhīs* included in this *amga*. The possible alternative "The wisdom of Cāṇakya [on the worldly deception]" is a bit too long for use as a heading.

30 "External appearance", according to Callewaert 1978: 432. "Habit" in the sense of "costume", "garment".

(*continued*)

–/26	Saṃgati	Good company	5/8	*1–5/2–6*
–/27	Asādha	The unworthy	1/3	–
–/28	Sādha	The *sādh*s (sants)	15/13	1–11; *13/12*
27/29	Sādha sāṣībhūta	Witness of the *sādh*s (sants)	21/21	1–10; *11–16/13–18*
28/30	Sādha mahātma	Praise of the *sādh*s (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 pichāṃṇaṇī	Recognition of the beloved	4/4	1–4
35/37	Bikaratāī	Detachment	11/10	1–5; *7–11/6–10*
36/38	Saṃmrathāī	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	1–5
39/41	Jīvatā mraṃtaka	The living dead	16/14	1
40/42	Cita kapaṭī	Insincere	3/3	*2–3/1–2*
41/43	Gurasiṣa herā	Disciple's search for the guru	16/13	1–5; *7–8/6–7*; 9; *12–13/11–12*
42/44	Heta prīti saneha	Love, affection, attachment	4/4	1–4
43/45	Surātana	Heroism	40/41	1–10; *11–13/12–14*; *16–17/15–16*; *18–40/19–41*
–/46	Kāla	Death	47/32	1–8; *10/9*
[?]/47	Saṃjīvani	The root of immortality	7/7	1–7
46/48	Apāra	The non-discerning	10/5	–
47/49	Pārṣa	The discerning, connoisseur	4/3	1
–/50	*Upajaṃṇa*	Arising (?)	8/12	1–6; *8/7*
[49]/51	*[Dayā nirabairatā]*	Mercy and non-enmity	0/3	
[50]/52	*Suṃdari*	Beautiful woman	1/5	5
51/53	Kistūriyā mrigha	Musk deer	9/9	1–4; *5/6*; 7–9
52/54	Niṃdyā	Slander	6/9	1–2
53/55	Niguṃṇāṃ	Worthless	12/12	1–5; *8–11/9–12*
54/56	Bīratī	Entreaty	6/7	*1–6/2–7*
55/57	Sāṣībhūta	Witness	3/3	1–3
56/58	Belī	The creeper	6/6	1–6
57/59	Abihaṛa	Indivisible	1/3	1

The total number of exactly matching *sākhī*s is 285; with the inclusion of the 169 shifted ones they constitute 454 *sākhī*s, which means that 55.4 % of all *sākhī*s are included in MS3190. This high proportion again suggests that both collections are related to a common ancestor, perhaps a smaller *vāṇī*, 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 *aṃga*s. 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 *sākhīs*, which would be added from time to time to existing material: each *aṁga* 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 *Citāṁvanī kau aṁga* refer to a musical instrument, a drum (*naubati*), and use the verb "to play" (*bajānā*). In *Māyā kau aṁga* the epithets of *māyā* are neatly arranged in groups: *māyā pāpaṇī* in *sākhīs* 2 to 4, *māyā mohanī* in nos. 5 to 8, *māyā ḍākanī – pāpanī* in 9, and *māyā dāsī* in 10. In addition to these phrases, these *sākhīs* also share the same structure: *māyā* 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 aṁga* 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 *caraṇa* 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 *sant*s 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.[31]

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31 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.[32]

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 *aṃga* 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):

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32 To be one hundred per cent correct and reliable it would be necessary for the collation of both collections to reference the original ŚSD 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 Śyāmasuṃdaradāsa V.S. 2013 [= 1956 C. E.] 6th 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 dādūpaṁthī*
> *lipisthāna : kaḍelā*

After the obvious typing error in the first date has been corrected to 1671, and assuming that the *saṁvat* 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 graṁtha* and includes a more detailed description:

> *saṁvat – 1671 se 1678*
> *patra saṁ.[khyā] 692*
> *lipikartā – rāmadāsa dādūpaṁthī*
> *lipisthāna – īḍavāgrāma (dūjaṇadāsa āśrama meṁ)*
>   *tathā kaḍelā grāma meṁ/*

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 *pad*s of Paramānand on the left page (188 *verso*) and the first *pad*s of the *rāga gaurī* of Kabīr on the right page, numbered 189. The pages containing *Dādū vāṇī* are missing, although the photocopies of them were made at the time when the *pothī* was photographed.[33]

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33 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 *Dādū vāṇī*. This information can be compared with the dates given in three *puṣpikā*s 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):

> *saṁvatu 16778 varṣe āsau māse tīthau 8 liṣate rāmadāsa*
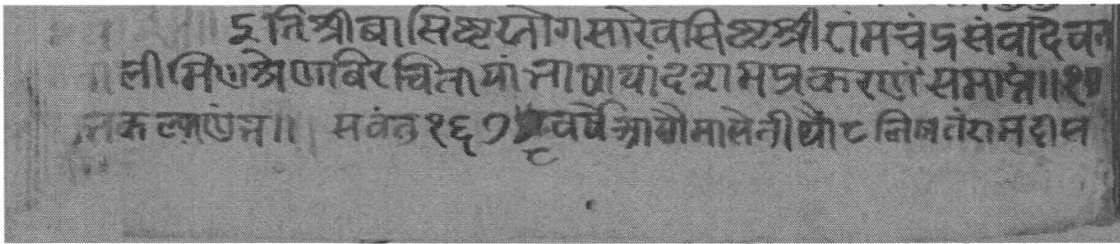
Figure 1: Fol. 503a (502 verso), bottom of the page: *puṣpikā* with the corrected date of *saṁvat* 1678.

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:

> // //saṁvat 1678/varṣe āsau 'rdha[?] tithau 15/maṁgalavāra [...]
> rāṇasyā pratiṁ likhitaṁ rāmadāsa/āpa paṭhanārthe// /kaḍail [...]
> potā sikṣ[?] gharasīdāsajī gura tina kā siṣa [...].[34]

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34 The date in this and the preceding *puṣpikā* 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 *puṣpikā* as *maṅgalavāra*, 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 *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in different parts of India and by different communities, see Sewell/Dikshit 1896: 40–41. "Literary texts of the Dādūpanthī tradition use the *pūrṇimānta* 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 *sākhīs*. The date is preceded by more detailed information: the book was compiled by Rāmdās Dādūpanthī from Jaṭ lineage, pupil of Gharsīdās, in the village of Īḍvā in the āśram of Dūjaṇḍās, in the company of the sādhu. The *puṣpikā* 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 gharasīdāsa 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 phāguṇa sudi 5[35]

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, Dūjaṇḍās and Gharsīdās – 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.[36] 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

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35 If the year is understood as expired and the dating is in the *pūrṇimānta* system, Pancanga (v. 3.14) interprets the first date, given as *kṛṣṇapakṣye āḍītavāre 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, *saṁvata 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.

36 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")"
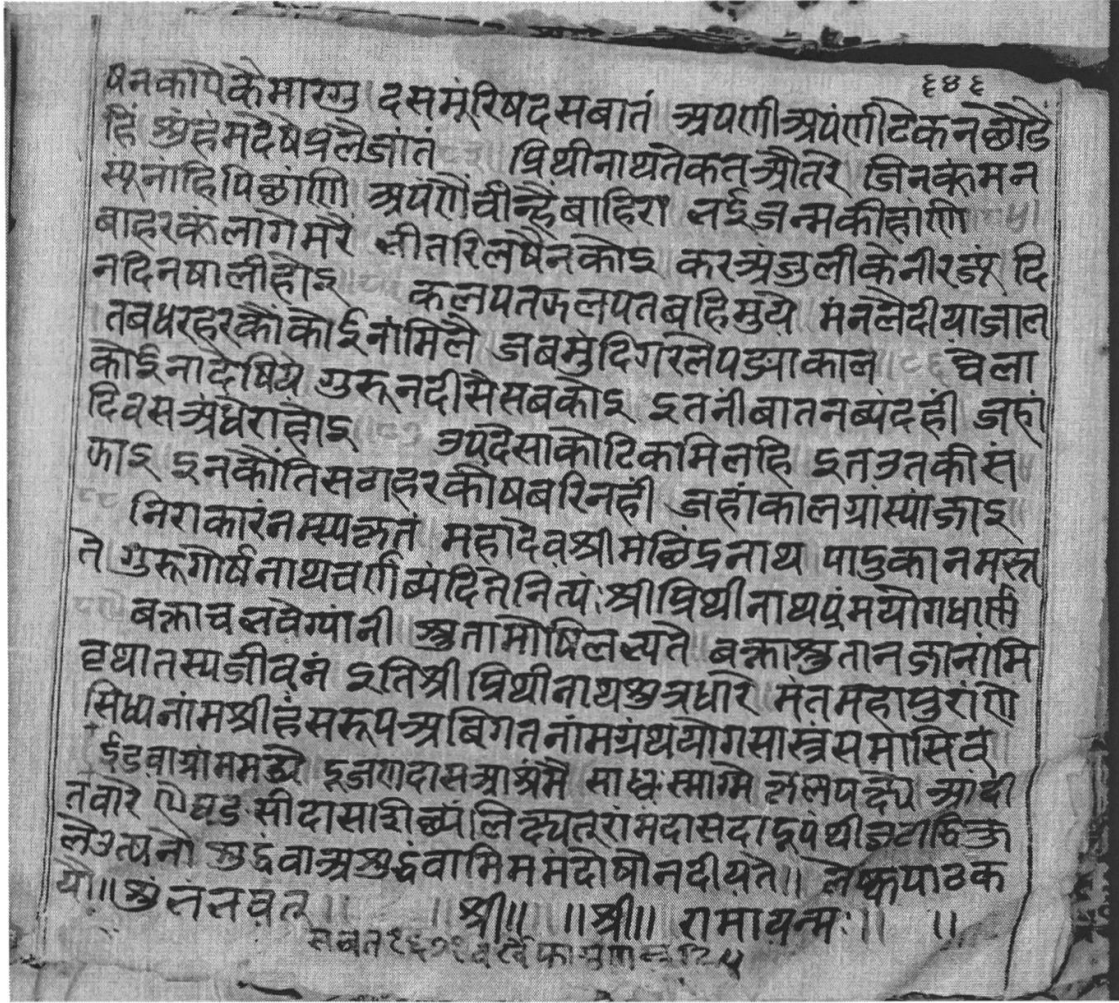
Figure 2: Fol. 646b (646 recto), bottom of the page: *puṣpikā* with the date of *saṁvat* 1671.

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.[37] Dūjaṇdās, also

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37 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 *vāṇī* read as follows:

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

"*yaha mana bahu vakavāda sūṁ, vāya×××/dādū bahuta na boliye, sahajaiṁ rahai samāi*" //18//

kari āpa kirapā sadā rāmadāsajī mūli/so aba adhikī adhika hai kade na jāṁhīṁ bhūli //19//

spelled Dūjaṇ Sādh, is mentioned by Jan Gopāl as being the "essence of virtue", residing in the village of Īḍvā, and as the person who "always took charge of the meals for his guru."[38] The name of the locality Īḍvā identifies him as the person in whose āśram Rāmdās spent some time when putting together his *pothī*. As *rasoīdār*, cook or perhaps steward,[39] Dūjaṇdās 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 Jāṭ from the village of Cāmpāsar in Mārvāṛ; in Fatehpur he became a disciple of Dādū, later settled down in the village Kaṛel in Mārvāṛ and established there his own āśram (*thābhā*). Two of the brightest pupils of this learned man were the Dādūpanthī Nārāyaṇdās 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 *sant*s 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 *sākhī*s included in the MS3190 and the *Bījak* 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 *Bījak* or other collections of Kabīr's *śabda*s and *sākhī*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 *sākhī*s currently included in *Bījak*, we find just 51 in the

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38 Callewaert 1988, verse 13.19:

> *dūjaṇa sādha īḍavā māṁhī nikaṭi sarovara hari kī chāṁhī/gura kau sadā rasoīdāra bairāgī dūjaṇa guṇasāra //19//*
>
> "Nārāyaṇdās schreibt auch, dass er [Dūjaṇdās] ein eigenes Oeuvre verfasst habe." Monika Horstmann, personal communication.

39 Horstmann 2000: 575.

40 Callewaert 1988, verse 13.10:

> *kārū maiṁ ghaḍasī bairāgī māyā moha rahyau saba tyāgī/tā ke kuṭaṁba mahochau kīnauṁ tehu apanauṁ srabasu dīnauṁ //10//*

41 Śarmā 1993 [1936]: 71–74.

MS3190. In Banāras, Nārāyaṇdās and Sundardās reportedly studied yoga and underwent spiritual training.[42]

Both villages mentioned in the *puṣpikā*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. Kaṛel (English spelling Kadel), without doubt identical to the locality of Kaṛelā in the *puṣpikā*, is a village in the tehsīl of Pīsāṁgan, 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 *pothī*. 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 Īḍvāgrāma in the āśram of Dūjaṇdās and used Dūjaṇdās'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 *aṁga*s included in both the MS3190 and ŚSD editions suggests that a smaller collection of thematically ordered *sākhī*s 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 vāṇī*, we are able to infer that the Kabīr *sākhī* section of this master copy probably did not include the *Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ aṁga*s but contained several *sākhī*s that were in other (later?) collections extracted and grouped into the two separate *aṁga*s, mentioned above which appear in the ŚSD *Kabīra granthāvalī* variant. Later, at some time between the two terminal dates 1614/1615 and 1621, Rāmdās moved into the village of Kaḍelā, the seat of another Dādūpanthī guru, Gharsīdās, and continued to add new material to his *pothī*, which he had brought from Īḍvāgrāma. As the master copy and/or source of additional material, he might have used Gharsīdās' own collection, which perhaps included the *Karaṇīṁ binā kathaṇīṁ* and *Kathaṇīṁ binā karaṇīṁ* sections. While collating this new variant with the text of *Kabīr vāṇī* that he had copied in Īḍvāgrāma, 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 *Maṁtamahāpurāṇa* by Prithīnātha sūtradhāra which contains 27 numbered chapters dealing with different aspects of *nāthyogī* doctrine and each one bears in its title the words *jogagraṁtha* or *graṁthajoga*

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42 Śarmā 1993 [1936]: 72.

(sāstra). Rāmdās may have come across this text for the first time during his sojourn in Īḍvāgrāma and later copied it together with the original *puṣpikā* into his growing corpus. Folios with this text received page numbers that continued the pagination of the immediately preceding part of the *pothī*.

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 *vāṇīs* 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 *pad*s, were renumbered as 189–240; *ramainī*s were assigned pages 241–252 and *sākhī*s were transferred to pages 253–292 from their original location on pages 293–332. *Ramainī*s and *sākhī*s thus replaced the *pad*s 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 *sākhī*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 *vāṇī*s of the five most revered *sant*s in this order, Dādū, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Ravidās and Hardās, into a coherent corpus of a *pañc-vāṇī* – a format

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43 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)*.
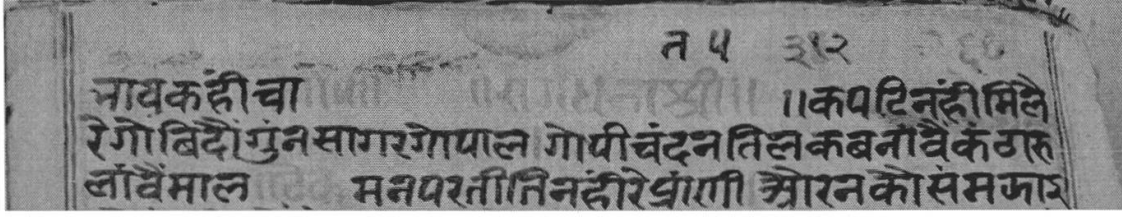
Figure 3: Fol. 312b (312 recto), upper right corner: new page number 312 with the old, but still visible page 260 to the right.

that probably began to crystallize only after the first Dādūpanthī collections had been put together. Some inconsistencies remained, e. g. between the *vāṇī*s of Dādū and Kabīr, one folio of *pad*s by Paramānand still intervenes, possibly because originally it followed on the *verso* page immediately at the end of *Dādū vāṇī* and so could not be moved. Another problem occurs at the end of Kabīr's *sākhī*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 *vāṇī* on the left page. An inspection of the original *pothī* 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 *aṁga*s of *sākhī*s and *rāga* sections of *pad*s, 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 *aṁga*, or both. Interestingly, two *aṁga*s, *maṁna* and *saṁgati*, are inscribed with the added note *kathitaṁ*, "told". As both belong to the group of *aṁga*s 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 *sant*s in the Dādūpanth – it almost seems as if the structure of the later and extremely popular format of the *pañc-vāṇī* 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 *sākhī*s 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 *vāṇī*s 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.

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