Remote survey of two Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī manuscripts

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1. The purpose of the short report I shall present here is to demonstrate some methods and approaches scholars can use when dealing with old texts which are often accessible only indirectly through imperfect photocopies or editions. Here I shall concentrate on comparison of two highly interesting manuscripts, important for the study of early phases of Dādūpanthī literary traditions. To the interested researcher, both are accessible only indirectly.

SLIDE 1 2. The first is a partly digitized microfilm of a *pothī* / codex including large collection of texts written in dialects of Old Hindī and Sanskrit; the microfilming was made by prof. Winand Callewaert back in the 1990s with the permission of the owner of the original, Shri Rām Kripālu Sharma, Jaipur. The ms. is part of his large collection of mss. housed in his private institution and museum, Sañjay Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur. The microfilm is now in the ownwership of the Südasien Institut, University of Heidelberg, digital copy in the Oriental Institute, Prague, and with me. Among other interesting texts the *pothī* includes the oldest securely datable collection of *sākhīs*, *pads* and *ramainīs* attributed to *sant* Kabīr. *Puṣpikās* found in three diferent parts of the *pothī* allow us to date its genesis to the period of 1615 CE to 1621 CE.

3. The second text, selected for comparison with the Kabīr´s *sākhī* part of his *vāṇī* included in the *pothī*, is the now famous *Kabīra Granthāvavalī*, discovered and first edited by Śyāmasundaradāsa in 1928. The original

manuscript, which is currently unavailable (probably lost), contained a *puṣpikā* corresponding to the year 1561 CE (if interpreted as *Vikrama*), or 1639 CE (if read as *Śaka*). The authenticity of the *puṣpikā* has been thrown in doubt by several scholars, but no definitive answer on this matter is available, as far as I am aware.

4. What sense does it make to compare two texts, when the original ms. of either of them is not currently available for scholarly inspection? First, the contents of the study, the Kabīr *vāṇī*, is itself of such interest and importance for religious and literary history of North India, that it warrants the attention. Second, the text of both these *vānīs* originated in the Dādūpanthī community, and reflects some characteristic Dādūpanthī approaches to structuring of the text. Here, both *vānīs* show close similarity in the content as well as its organization. But we can also discern differences, which – when studied more closely – may yield clues about possible relationship of both, and throw some light on the beginnings of the Dādūpanthī literary tradition.

5. For the limited purposes of the present paper, I have selected the part consisting of the so-called *sākhīs* (two-lined couplets expressing a particular idea or standpoint, in several respects comparable to the *nīti ślokas* of Sanskrit literature). In the *sant* communities *sākhī* was a very popular form and collections of texts attributed to Kabīr invariably include a number of them: the Sikh collection of Kabīr´s sayings numbers 235 *salokus* / *sākhīs* (including some doublets), the Dānāpur edition of Bījak includes 353 *sākhīs*. These numbers are dwarfed by the western, Rājasthānī tradition: the Jaipur ms. includes 816 *sākhīs* and the Śyāmasundaradāsa edition of Kabīra Granthāvalī 809. But the richness of the *sākhī* parts of both Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī collections is not the

only feature that sets them off against the Bījak and Ādigranth versions. Both the Jaipur and Granthāvalī *sākhī* collections are divided into *aṅgas*, or thematic units, which under separate headings collect groups of couplets sharing the same or similar topic. The Jaipur ms. includes 57 and Granthāvalī 59 *aṅgas* of unequal size: in the Jaipur ms. the shortest *aṅga* contains just single *sākhī*, the longest 75.

6. The division of the *sākhī* corpus into *aṅgas* is a special feature of the Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī tradition: we find it neither in the Bījak of the Kabīrpanth, nor in the collection of *Kabīr bānī* in the Ādigranth of the Sikhs. In the Dādūpanth, on the other hand, this feature appears to go back to the oldest layer of its literary and scribal activity – the *aṅga* system was already applied to the *sākhīs* attributed to Dādū himself: in the edition of his *vāṇī*, the large collection of 2,407 *sākhīs* is divided into 37 *aṅgas*, whose titles capture the main theme or idea common to all or most of the *sākhīs* included in them. Interestingly, the system used in both the Jaipur ms. and the Granthāvalī appears to be nothing else but an expanded variant of the *aṅga* ordering found in the *vāṇī* of Dādū. The *aṅga* names of both these collections include all 37 *aṅga* names of the Dādū *sākhī* corpus, and further elaborate this system by introduction of new headings, which also imply more detailed thematic division. 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 both the Jaipur ms. and the Granthāvalī is based on an archetypal Dādūpanthī system of ordering. This ordering, the names, and also the contents of the individual units of the *aṅgas* in the *sākhī* parts of the Jaipur ms. and the Kabīra granthāvalī are nearly identical.

7. This point is important: the structuring of the *sākhī* corpus into *aṅgas* as well as their numbering in both collections is similar, but not identical; and the differences call for an explanation. We have two parallel, densely structured and quantitatively remarkable corpora, which present a potentially rewarding material for mutual comparison. First, let us look more closely at the ordering of the *aṅgas*. In both collections, *aṅgas* 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 Granthāvalī edition – the two short *aṅgas*, *Karāṇī binā kathāṇī* and *Kathāṇī binā karāṇī*, including 5 and 4 *sākhīs* respectively, are absent in the Jaipur ms. But interestingly, in the Jaipur ms. the number following immediately after 17 is not 18, but 20. Moreover, the *sākhīs* included in the two supernumerary *aṅgas* of the Granthāvalī are not all missing in the Jaipur ms.: some of them can be found at the end of the *aṅga* 17, and others in the following *aṅgas* inscribed with the number 22.

8. How to explain the apparent disorder in the *aṅga* numbering of the Jaipur ms.? One possible explanation is that the scribe used as his master copy a text, which lacked the two above mentioned *aṅgas* – with the respective *sākhīs* still being included in two other *aṅgas*. The headings written in red inkat the beginning of the first line of each *aṅga* might be copied from a separate list of numbered *aṅga* names copied from a diferent manuscript, or added at some later time by another scribe. These headings might be copied from another mastercopy; during this more or less mechanical process the numbering was copied too. Later the scribe and/or compiler realized his mistake: after *aṅga* 17 he saw *aṅga* with the number 20. Some hesitation as to what to do, followed: several following *aṅgas* are left without numbers. Finally, starting from the *aṅga* number 27, the correct numbering was resumed.

9. On the basis of the foregoing observations we may form a hypothesis, that the compiler of the Jaipur corpus used two different master-copies: the one without the two above mentioned *aṅgas*, and another, where the content was partly re-organized and two new *aṅgas* were added. This latter master-copy, from which the compiler extracted the names of the *aṅgas*, or its clon, also served as a model for the Granthāvalī manuscript, which also included these two *aṅgas*. If this reasoning is correct, we can assume the existence of two different, but closely related master-copies existing at the time of compilation of the Jaipur corpus.

10. The mutual closeness of the Jaipur and Granthāvalī versions is further corroborated by the almost complete identity of *sākhīs* included in these two collections, and also by striking correspondence in their ordering within the *aṅgas*. Particularly striking is the exact match of the first five to ten *sākhīs* at the beginning of each *aṅga*. SLIDE 3 and 4 The total number of exactly matching *sākhīs* in both collections is 285; with the inclusion of another 169 that were shifted by one or two positions lower in the order due to insertion of new material, they constitute 454 exactly or partly matching *sākhīs*, which makes 55.4% of all *sākhīs* as far as the Jaipur ms. is concerned. 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 *aṅgas*. The arrangement of the text on the pages of the Jaipur ms. 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 *aṅga* 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.

SLIDE 5 and 6

11. The analysis of the order of sequence of *aṅgas* and *sākhīs* can be supplemented by the information we have about the person of the compiler. All three *puṣpikās* found in the *pothī*, although not in the *sākhī* portion of Kabīr´s *vāṇī*, give the name of the compiler Rāmdās Dādūpanthī. In the *puṣpikā* on fol. 512 recto, he adds the purpose of his collecting activity as „*āpa paṭhanārthe*", „for my own reading". Two *puṣpikās* identify the place, where the work was compiled, as the āśram of another Dādūpanthī Dūjandās in the village of Īḍvāgrāma, and the date 1615 CE (1671 Vikrama). The third *puṣpikā* gives the date 1621 CE (1678 Vikrama) and location the āśram of another Dādūpanthī guru Ghaṛsīdās in the village of Kaḍelā. It appears that Rāmdās began his compilation at some time in 1614 or 1615 CE in Īḍvāgrāma and used Dūjandās´s own collection either as a master-copy, or additional source for his own compilation. Later, at some time before the terminal date 1621 CE, Rāmdās moved into the āśram of Ghaṛsīdās in Kaḍelā and continued to add new material to his *pothī* from this guru´s collection, which may have included the two above mentioned *aṅgas*. The otherwise close correspondence in the ordering of *aṅgas*, as well as the ordering of *sākhīs* within the *aṅgas* in the Jaipur and Granthāvalī collections, suggests that they did not originate independently of each other, but were based on one common archetype. This may well have been the Dūjandās´s collection; and when we bear in mind that the first guru Dādū Dayāl died in 1604 CE, and that the contemporary hagiographical literature mentions both Rāmdās and Dūjandās as two

persons particularly favoured by Dādū, we may see in the Jaipur *pothī*
and in the Granthāvalī model the reflection of activities of the first
generation of Dādūpanthī literary and scribal tradition.

12. Another testimony to the fact that Rāmdās´s *pothī* acquired its final
shape only gradually, is supplied by the pagination of the ms. Detailed
inspection of upper-right-hand corners, where the folio numbers are
located, shows that in large sections of the book original page numbers
had been erased and other digits superimposed on them. **SLIDE 7** The
earlier, erased page numbers indicate that originally the *vāṇīs* of Dādū
and Kabīr did not immediately followed each other, but were separated
by 48 pages of a different text. The observed erasings and following
shifts of pages resulted in creation of one coherent corpus of the so-
called *pañc-vāṇī*, ie. block of *vāṇīs* of the five most revered *sants* of the
Dādūpanthī community – Dādū himself, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Ravidās and
Hardās, in this order of sequence. When we follow these page
manipulations, it almost seems as if the structure of the later and
extremely popular format of the *pañc-vāṇī* emerges gradually, before our
very eyes. Schematically, the process can be visualized by means of a
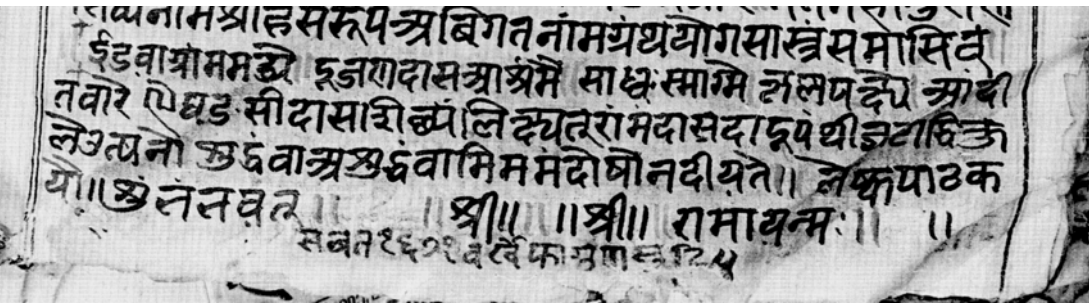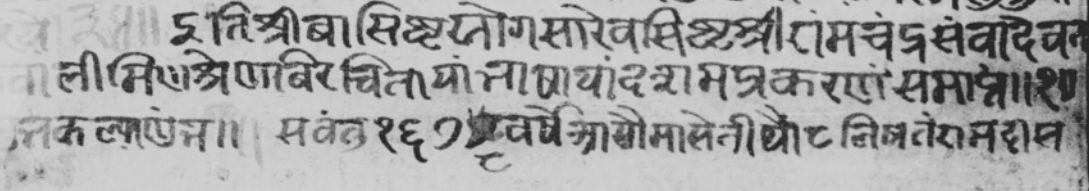preliminary stemma. **SLIDE 8**

13. Let me end this short presentation with a lament from the pen of
eminent French linguist Jules Bloch. It was published 87 years ago in an
article called *Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology: Forlong Lectures
for the year 1929* and his criticism referred to the unsatisfactory
procedures of establishing the authenticity of mss. of texts attributed to
the Marāṭhi *sant* Tukārām:
„[W]hat I know is that there is no historical palaeography of Marathi
which would allow anyone to be convinced of it. Unfortunately, such

palaeographical studies are absent in other parts of India too; I may be allowed to recall the necessity of giving the history of the texts as a frame to the history of the works, and consequently of the languages; I suppose there are in each province a sufficient number of dated MSS. to help in fixing the time of undated ones with a certain amount of probability: but scholars are wanting to pursue that study."

Today, we may say, perhaps with some degree of confidence, that at least the last sentence is no longer true.

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Manuscript no. 3190, Sañjaya Śarmā Pustakālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur. Owner : Śrī Rām Kripālu Śarmā (Partly ?) photographed in 1991–1993 by Winand Callewaert Owner of the microfilm : Südasien Institut, Heidelberg Digitized copy of the microfilm : Oriental Institute, Prague On the microfilm : parts of 692 numbered folios Date and place of origin: 1671 Vi. = 1615 CE Īḍvā; 1678 Vi. = 1621 CE Kaḍelā	*Kabīra Granthāvalī* ed. by Śyāmasundaradāsa in 1928 Date: 1561 (if Vi. = 1504 CE; if Śaka = 1639 CE) Bloch, Some Problems, *BSOS*, vol. V,4 (1930) : 749 Barthwal, *The Nirguṇa School*, 1936 (1978 : 276) Tivārī, *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, 1961 : 11–12 Gupta, *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, 1969 : 29–30. Vaudeville, *Kabīr*, vol. I, 1974 : 19

Full version:

Jaroslav Strnad, A Note on the Analysis of Two Early Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī Manuscripts.
Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques 2016; 70(2): 545–569.

INSCRIBED AṄGAS WITH NUMBER : CÃṆAKA KAU AṄGA //17//

INSCRIBED AṄGAS WITHOUT NUMBER : KÃMĪ NARA KAU AṄGA //   //

JAIPUR MS 3190 AND KABĪR GRANTHĀVALĪ - CONCORDANCE OF AṄGA 1

fol.	MS 3190	ŚSD=KG1	MPG	Jodhpur 1710	Tiv=KG2	AG	BI
fol. 253b HAND 1	01,01	01,01	01,01	01,01	01,02		
	01,02	01,02	01,02	01,02	01,19		
	01,03	01,03	01,03	01,03	01,13		
	01,04	01,04	01,04	01,04	01,01		
	01,05	01,05	01,05	01,05	01,20		
	01,06	01,07	01,07		01,09	157&194	
	01,07	01,08	01,08	01,08	01,23		
	01,08	01,09	01,09	01,09	01,22		
	01,09	01,10	01,10	01,10	01,12	193	
	01,10	01,11	01,11	01,11	01,14		
	01,11	01,12	01,12	01,12	01,15		
fol. 254a	01,12	01,13	01,13	01,13	01,16		
	01,13	01,14	01,14	01,14	01,24		
	01,14	01,15	01,15	01,15	01,06		154
	01,15	01,16	01,16	01,16	01,17		
	01,16	01,17	01,17		01,03		
	01,17	01,18	01,18		01,04		
	01,18	01,19	01,19		01,25		
	01,19	01,20	01,20		01,26		
	01,20	01,21	01,21		01,05	158	321
	01,21	01,22	01,22		01,07		88
	01,22	01,23	01,23		01,27		
	01,23	01,24	01,24		01,18		
	01,24	01,25	01,25		01,10	67	
fol. 254b	01,25	01,26	01,26		01,28		
	01,26	01,26fn	-		-		
	01,27	01,27	01,27		01,29		
	01,28	01,27fn	-		-		
	01,29	01,28	01,28		01,30		
in ŚSD 01,06 correctly after 01,05	01,30	01,06	01,06	01,06	01,21		
	01,31	01,29	01,29		01,11	161	
	01,32	01,30	01,30		01,31		
	01,33	01,31	01,31		01,32		
	01,34	01,32	01,32		01,33		
END HAND 1	01,35	01,33	01,33		01,34		
different hand, non numbered	01,36	01,34	01,34		-		
different hand, non numbered	01,37	01,35	01,35		-		

JAIPUR MS 3190 AND KABĪR GRANTHĀVALĪ - CONCORDANCE OF AṄGA 17

ãga	fol.	MS 3190	ŚSD=KG1	M P GUPTA	TIVARI=KG2	AG	BIJAK
cãṇaka kau ãga //17//		17,01	17,01	17,01	02,37		
		17,02	17,02	17,02	21,24		
		17,03	17,03	17,03	-		
		17,04	17,04	17,04	21,17		
		17,05	17,05	17,05	21,25		
	fol. 270a	17,06	17,06	17,06	21,18		
		17,07	17,07	17,07	21,19		
		17,08	17,08	17,08	21,26		
		17,09	17,09	17,09	-		
		17,10	17,10	17,10	21,04	237	
		17,11	17,11fn	-	21,20		
		17,12	17,12fn	-	21,21		
		17,13	17,16fn	-	04,39		
		17,14	17,11	17,11	-		
		17,15	17,14fn	-	25,09		155
		17,16	17,15fn	-	21,12	143	
		17,17	17,12	17,12	-		
		17,18	17,13	17,13	21,33		
		17,19	17,14	17,14	-		
	270b	17,20	17,15	17,15	21,01	98	311
		17,21	17,21fn	-	-		
		17,22	17,16	17,16	-		
		17,23	17,17	17,17	21,27		
		17,24	17,18	17,18	21,16		215
		17,25	17,19	17,19	21,08	54	
		17,26	17,20	17,20	21,28		
		17,27	18,04	18,04	33,05		
		17,28	17,21	17,21	21,29		
		17,29	18,01	18,01	33,04		
		17,30	18,05	18,05	33,08		
		17,31	17,22	17,22	21,32		
	different hand, unnumbered	17,32	20,25fn	-	-		

कबीरनवली नव्या तौ कान्या चि
...हा यारधिया... नवे ...घा ठक... कबीरत
...नहा कयरका हेत झाले क णीकणी र की तन
...मनसेते कबीरसंसारी सार्थ... लो कवारी कैराइ दुरा
चारि बेऔ दरिबनजाइ ॥

कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मिले मोकंदे...
...नोसागरेमबडतो करा दिकादै केस कबीर ऐसा
कोई ना मिले हंसकुले दपिछांणी अपणाकरि रूपाकरे लेउ
...मेंदंनि कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मिले रामगति का मीत त
नमनसोपैमघडा श्रोवधिक का गीत कबीर ऐसा कोई ना
मिले अपणाघर दे इदराइ यो चूं उलरिका पर किकरि रहेरामल्यो

लाइ कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मिले जास्यर हिय लाड...
...ले ... अपणी अपणी आंगि कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मि
ले बऐसैन सुजोण डोलबंतो नौष्णी श्रुतिबिछुण का न
कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मिले जास्यंकढू निसंक जास्यर हदाकी
कढू सीफिरिमाडेकक कबीर ऐसा कोई ना मिले सबबि
धिदैऊ बताइ छुनिमंडलमें पुरिएणक ताहिर हैल्या लाइ
कबीरती निसंनेहो बड़ मिले चौथै मिलेनको इ सबेपियारेरा
मक बेग्रबासिहाइ कबीरहेमदेघतजगजाते दि जगदेष
तहेमजाइ ऐसा कोई ना मिले यकाइ छुडावै बाइ कबीर
हंमघरज्याल्या आपणा लीयामुराडाहाथि औरैकानी डालसं
जोफिरसीम्दोरैसाधि कबीरसारासराबाजमिले घाइलामि
लेनको इ जाबघाइल ही घाइलमिले तबरां मरगति दिठहोड
कबीर येमी हंउत मेफिरौ प्रमी मिलेन को इ जबधे मीही प्रमी
मिले सबसब बिच्छ्रमतहोइ कबीर माया हेठलाबक्रमि
ले कूडे अर्थबैला ऐसा कोई ना मिले सांई हंदासोगा कबीर तु
लीदाबेऊरान ही बृकिन की दागवन चूलेकूंचूलामिले पंथबता
वेकोंन कबीर अबजांणीदाबूढिया तबमारगदिया बताइ चलच
ता चलतातहा गया ज हलनि रंजन राइ

कबीर कमादनी डलमेंबसे
दाबसैं प्रकासिजी जाही कैमनिबसै सोताहि कैपासि

॥ ... रेती डिकाहिइरहे ताहिमिलेसगवान कबीरसौढ
नेत्रोनिकालया ...ने नथी कंदुषदेइ हरिनत्रैसाचाहिये त्रि
सीडमीकीषद्ध ॥१५॥ कबीरमेह चरतौकान्रया ॥ उडिरत्नागैञुगि ॥ हरि
जनसहा चाही ॥ पाली कैसे रंगि ॥१६॥ कबीरपाएै ञयातौकाञया ॥ तातासी
लाहार ॥ हरिजनये साचाहिये ॥ हरिञजिनिमलहोइ ॥ १७

॥ चेतकद ... कीञ ... ॥ कबीरनवलोनव्यांतौकान्या चि
मनसखौजोह याराधियाद्णा ॥ नवे त्रिघांठक तोह ॥ कबीर
... झाइये जहांकयरकादेत झालेकणीकाणिरकी तन
दोतौ मनसेत ॥ कबीरसंसारीसाथेरे लो कवारीकैसाइ डरा
चारी बैठ्यो हरिहनजाइ ॥

॥ ... सियदराको ञ ... ॥५५॥ कबीरत्रैसाकोइनामिले मोकुंदेइ
ञयदेस लोसागरैमबूडतो कराहिकाढैकेस ॥ कबीरत्रैसा
कोइनामिले हंमकुलेरपिछांणी ञपणाकरि रूपाकरे लेउ
तरुमेंदोनि ॥ कबीरत्रैसाकोइनामिले रामञगतिका मीत त
नमनसौयेमघडंञ श्रौबधिककागीत कबीरत्रैसाकोइनां
मिले ञपणांघरदेइडराइ पाचूंलरिकापरकिकरि रहेरामल्यो

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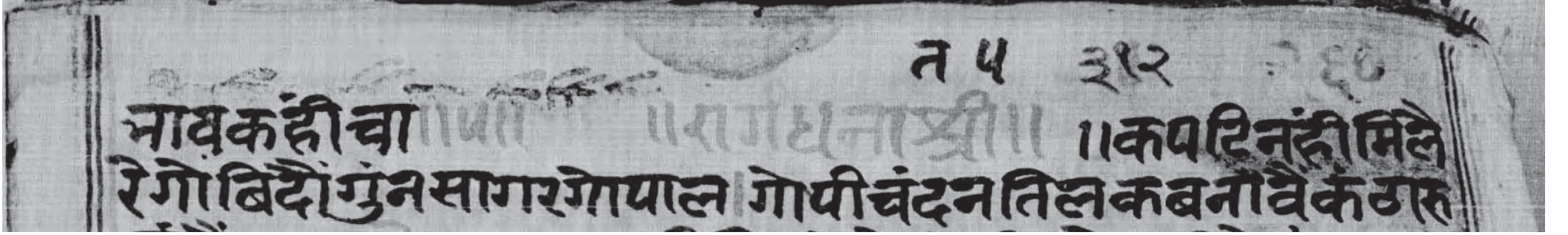
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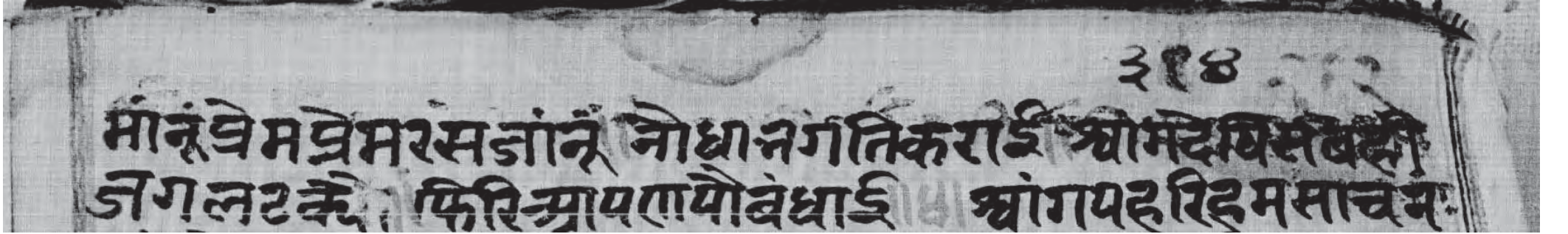
Stemma of early Dādūpanthī manuscripts : first attempt