



In the Shrine of the Heart

Sants of Rajasthan from the Sixteenth
and Seventeenth Centuries

**Monika Horstmann •
Dalpat Singh Rajpurohit**


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Cover illustration: A Muslim mace-bearer (third, white-capped person from the left) at the great annual festival of Naraina in the year 2007. © Y. Deutler

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For
Daniel Gold

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Hoping that the subject matter of the book would interest a wider international readership, we ventured into writing in English, for both of us a foreign language. Gita Dharampal kindly checked and improved the first part of the book. In the

second part of it, we offer English translations of poetry. Beyond providing philological correct renderings of the originals, this task could not have been accomplished by non-native speakers of English. Such renderings of poetry remain dead matter unless they are brought to life by an informed and talented native speaker. In our case, Daniel Richard Gold came readily forward to revise all our translations. He alone gave life to them. But for him this book would not be. There are no words to thank him.

Abbreviations

Calendrical terms

k.	<i>kṛṣṇa pakṣa</i> ; the waning phase of the lunar month
ś.	<i>śukla pakṣa</i> ; the waxing phase of the lunar month
vs	<i>Vikrama samvatsara</i> ; depending on the month of the corresponding year of the common era, 57 or 56 years ahead of this

Manuscripts

AMR 875	Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar
Bangha	Imre Bangha, Oxford, edition of manuscripts of the works of Bājīd (current project)
CSSJ 05894	Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, Caupāsni, Jodhpur
DM 2	Dādū Mahāvidyālay, Jaipur
NPS 2444/1408	Nāgarīpracārīnī Sabhā, Benares
Sharma 3190	Sanjay Sharma Museum and Research Institute (Śrī Sañjay Śarmā Saṅgrahālay evam Śodh Sansthān), Jaipur
VB12	Vidyābhūṣaṅ Collection, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur
VB 34	Vidyābhūṣaṅ Collection, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur

Dictionaries

HSS	Śyāmsundardās et al., <i>Hindī śabdsāgar</i> , 11 vols., 2nd edn, Vārānasī: Nāgarīpracārīnī Sabhā, 1965–75.
RSK	Lālas, Sītārāmm, <i>Rājasthāṁnī sabad kos</i> , Jodhpur: Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, Up samiti Rājasthānī Śabd Koś and Caupāsani śikṣā samiti, 2nd edn, 2013.

Literary works

BajG	<i>Samt Bājīd-granthāvalī</i> , vol. 1, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṁhal, Dillī: Dhārikā Pablikeśans, 2007.
BhG	<i>Bhagavadgītā, with the Commentary of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya</i> , critically ed. Dinkar Vishnu Gokhale, Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1931.

- BhP *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, with Hindi transl., 2 vols., 40th edn, Gorakhpur: Gita Press, vs 2057.
- BV *Baṣanām-vāṇī*, ed. Bhajandās Svāmī, commentary by Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, 1st ed. by Svāmī Maṅgaldās, Jaypur: Śrī Svāmī Lakṣmīrām Ṭrust, n.d.
- DJL Jangopāl, *The Hindī Biography of Dādū Dayāl [Dādū-janma-līlā]*, tr., ed., Winand M. Callewaert, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
- DV *Dādūvāṇī, Śrī Dādū girārth prakāśikā ṭikā sabit*, ed., comm. Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, 1st edn 1967, revd edn by Bhajandās Svāmī and Harinārāyaṇ Svāmī, 6th edn, Jaypur: Śrī Dādū Dayālu Mahāsabhā, n.d.
- GB *Gorakh-bānī*, ed. Pītāmbardatt Baṛthvāl, 4th edn, Prayāg: Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, 1971.
- GopS Gopāldās, *The Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās: A 17th Century Anthology of Bhakti Literature*, ed. Winand M. Callewaert, New Delhi: Manohar, 1993. (numbering of compositions in individual chapters not distinguished by *pads*, *sākhīs*, or other material)
- HG *Hardās-granthāvalī*, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Dillī: Dhārikā Publikeśans, 2007.
- NBhS Callewaert, Winand, and Bart Op de Beeck, eds., *Nirguṇ bhakti sāgar: Devotional Hindī Literature*, 2 vols., South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies, no. XXV, New Delhi: Manohar, 1991.
- RajS *Rajjab kī Sarbaṅgī*, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Rāygarh, Chattīsgarh: Brajmohan Sāmvaṛiyā, 2010.
- RV Rajjab, *Rajjab vāṇī*, ed., comm. Sv. Nārāyaṇdās, Ajmer: Nārāyaṇ Siṃh, n.d. [1967].
- SG Śarmā, Harinārāyaṇ, ed., *Sundar-granthāvalī*, 2 vols., Kolkata: Rajasthan Research Society, vs 1993.
- Thiel-Horstmann Thiel-Horstmann, Monika, ‘On the Dual Identity of Nāgās’, in *Devotion Divine/Dévoition Divine: Studies in Honour of Charlotte Vaudeville*, ed. Diana L. Eck and Françoise Mallison, Groningen and Paris: Egbert Forsten and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991, pp. 256–71.

Note on Editorial Principles and Transliteration

The sources of the texts in this collection are listed in Appendix I. Wherever possible, texts were edited by collating manuscripts from the seventeenth century with each other or with modern editions. The ancient manuscripts represent the then current phonemic rules, but also current scribal conventions. Some of the published texts were copied from standard printed editions. These tend to standardize orthography according to sanskritized Hindi. This however contravenes the phonemic rules of that earlier period. More particularly, it does not heed the then prevalent syllabic structure which disfavours conjunct consonants, as, for example, in *sidha*, which may represent *siddha*, ‘perfect’, and *siddhi*, ‘perfection’. The phonetic realization of this and similar words would depend on the Sanskrit or vernacular language key a speaker might choose.

Manuscripts of the period under review or a little later are related to speech rather like musical scores to musical performance. Not all that appears in performance is reflected by the script. This is particularly true when it comes to metre, which may look faulty on the written page but must have been correctly executed by the speaker or adapted to the the rhythmic cycle of music by the singer. Rajasthan’s regional languages typically feature suprasegmental nasals that are non-phonemic but distributed automatically according to vowel position. Historically old *ā* before a nasal consonant is always nasalized as, for example, in [rā:mə], ‘Rām’, or [jā:n-], verbal root *jān-*, ‘to know’. This phonetic feature spills over, on the one hand leading to spontaneous nasalization as, for example, in *nābīm* changing freely with *nāmbī*, or, on the other hand, causing the omission of morphologically distinctive nasals, such as in *jāmbi*, ‘you (will/may) go’, versus *jāmbīm*, ‘they (will/may) go’. The forms may change freely in writing, and it may not be easy to determine which form is actually meant. Certain unnasalized forms have become accepted, that is, lexically recorded variants of more common nasalized ones, such as *samidra*, varying with *samindara*, *samandara*, and the sanskritic *samudra*. There is no reason to tamper with such variety with a view to standardization. Scribal usage of the period allowed also for both ऌ and ॡ to represent the dental sibilant so that *sudra* and *shudrām*, ‘Shudra’, and *suṣa* and *shuṣa*, ‘happiness’, may stand side by side. In only two cases, the spelling of printed editions has been replaced by that of the earlier period. One is the *anunāsik*, which does not occur in early Sant manuscripts. In these and accordingly also in this book it is represented by the *anusvār*. The other is *kha*, representing in manuscripts both *kha* and *ṣa*. This usage has been retained.

As this volume addresses a wider readership, editorial decisions regarding variant readings have normally not been discussed. In so far, the texts published from manuscripts do not form critical editions.

As for transcription, the system followed for Hindi and related languages is in principle the one used by R.S. McGregor, *Hindi-English Dictionary*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Diacritics in the names of modern authors writing in Indian languages have been retained only in bibliographical references. Names of places and dynasties appear without diacritics unless they occur with these in quotations or in Indian language material.

In quotations from early modern works, in which the inherent syllable-final *-a* is still functional, this has been retained.

Terms established in both the Sanskrit and vernacular tradition have often, though not consistently, been transliterated like Sanskrit.

Preface

This volume presents seven Sant authors living in Rajasthan in the period from the first half of the sixteenth to the eighties of the seventeenth century. The Sant literature of this period consists overwhelmingly of metrical compositions. Its language is a regional literary idiom representing a variant of western Hindi. Linguistically and poetically it continues medieval traditions of the region. Sant poetry shares features with other literary traditions in the same region, notably with the poetry of the Cāraṅs, the bards attached to the Rajput clans, of whom they were panegyrists, genealogists and educators. The heroic stance of this poetry appears more often than not in Sant compositions.¹

The seven poets united in this volume are Hardās, Dādū, Bakhanām, Rajab, Santdās, Sundardās, and Bājīd. With the exception of Hardās from the first half of the sixteenth and Bājīd from the first half of the seventeenth century, all authors were members of the Dādūpanth, which started evolving around 1580. Hardās precedes the rise of the Dādūpanth, but his oeuvre is pivotal to this sect as well as to the Nirañjanī sect, which is intertwined with the Dādūpanth. Bakhanām, Rajab, Santdās, and Sundardās were Dādū's direct disciples. Although Bājīd is claimed by the Dādūpanth and has also been copiously represented in Dādūpanthī anthologies since 1628, nonetheless, he seems to have been more of a free spirit, non-partisan towards any particular sect.

All the seven authors were active in Rajasthan, all of them are historically traceable, and all of them figured in a network comprising sadhus and lay patrons. By their generic and cultural roots in Rajasthan they are distinguished from a number of other Sant authors, who originated in other regions but whose fame spread over North India, where their poetry first appeared in written form in manuscripts compiled in Panjab or Rajasthan. Prominent among these are Kabīr and Raidās of Banaras, and Nāmdev of Maharashtra.

The seven poets have been selected for the quality of their compositions and the contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous appreciation of both their personalities and literary production. This is revealed by reference to them in the works of their colleagues and by the fact that their compositions had become anthologized as early as 1628. To some authors this criterion does not, or only partially, apply, because the works of these partly or entirely postdate those early anthologies.² The vast majority of the compositions in this volume have not been translated before, and the original text of one of these is also being published for the first time.³

The authors have partly drawn on and revised published and unpublished material of their own.

For texts 9–28, see Monika Thiel-Horstmann, tr., *Dādū: Lieder*, Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, vol. 138, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991.

For text 60, see Monika Thiel-Horstmann, ‘On the Dual Identity of Nāgās,’ in *Devotion Divine/Dévotion Divine: Studies in Honour of Charlotte Vaudeville*, ed. Diana L. Eck and Françoise Mallison, Groningen and Paris: Egbert Forsten and École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1991, pp. 256–71.

For texts 61 and 66–9, see Dalpat Rajpurohit, ‘*Bhakti* versus *rīti*? The Sants’ Perspective’ in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 84, issue 1, 2021, pp. 95–113.

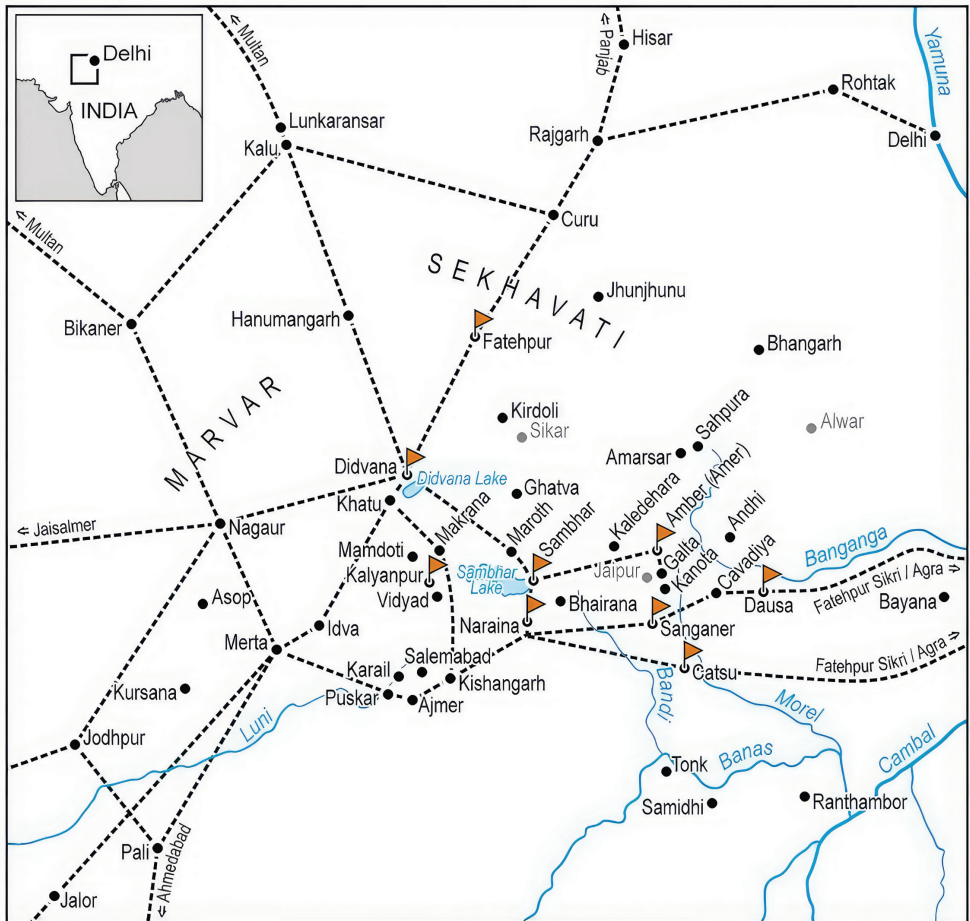
For texts 76–7, see Monika Horstmann, ‘Sant and Sufi in Sundardās’s Poetry’, in *Religious Interaction in Mughal India*, ed. Vasudha Dalmia and Munis D. Faruqi, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 233–63.

For text 81, see Monika Horstmann, ‘Als Reiseführer unbrauchbar,’ Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, 2009. <http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/331/>






Notes

- 1 See p. 41–2.
- 2 Appendix I shows the presence of the authors in the anthologies of Gopāldās and Rajab.
- 3 Sundardās’s *Gazal*, see text no. 79.

Part I

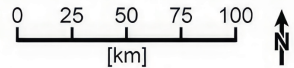


Sants of Rajasthan in their habitat

-  Sant settlement
-  Place (irrespective of size)
-  Regional capital (posterior to the seventeenth century)
-  Routes
-  River

© South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg 2022. Cartography: N. Harn
 The transliteration of place names corresponds to their spelling in the seventeenth century, but does not feature diacritics.

Note: The internal and external boundaries of India as shown in this map are neither correct nor authentic.



Chapter 1

Introduction to the Sants of Rajasthan

Around the fourteenth century, vernacular poetry of devotion to a formless, interior god became popular in North India. This devotion is bhakti, a term expressive of the direct relationship between god and man, a relationship of emotion (*bhāva*) and unconditional love (*prema* and similar terms). In this, bhakti becomes the end of religion, an eternal relationship of union, to the extent that it is even considered superior to liberation (*mukti*), for liberation would bring to an end any form of relationship between a subject and its object. This devotion to the formless god articulated in North Indian vernaculars spread over a vast expanse of land, from Maharashtra in the south, to Sindh, Panjab and Haryana in the north, and from Gujarat and Rajasthan in the west to the plains of the Ganges in the east. The adherents of this type of devotion spoke of themselves as Sants, the ‘truly being’, that is, ontologically valid and thereby distinct from the fleeting world (for which *samsār* or *prapañc* are common terms).

In the Rajasthan of the sixteenth century, the sectarian organisation of Sant bhakti was well underway. Rajasthan is now the name of a state constituted in 1950. The term itself—Rājasthān or Rāethān—appears at the latest in the seventeenth century, when it meant the capital of the Guhilot principality, the precursor of Mewar. From the early eighteenth century it meant more explicitly a land of numerous Rajput principalities with interior cultural and linguistic distinctions.¹ In the sixteenth century Rajasthan corresponded to the division of Ajmer in the Mughal Empire.² In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the strongholds of the Sants lay in three subdivisions of this huge division, namely, Marwar, Nagaur, and Ajmer. Within the subdivision of Ajmer, the region of Shekhavati came to form a hub of Sant activities. At that time, Shekhavati was under the rule of the Kyāmkhānīs, Rajputs of Chauhan descent who had converted to Islam in the period of Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Shekhavati is named after Rāo Śekhā, the ancestor of the Śekhāvāt clans. The Kyāmkhānīs ruled from Fatehpur, where the most important intellectual Sant centre of the period established itself at the beginning of the seventeenth century and among whose patrons they figured prominently.

Rajasthani culture shares features with other parts of North India and beyond, but its rather typical configurations suggest the idea of Rajasthan as a distinct region.³ The region was however culturally contiguous in all directions. Particularly with Gujarat it formed a densely woven continuum. The texts collected in this

volume illustrate that the various strands of Rajasthani literature may represent different text sorts underlying different modes of transmission. Rather than forming fragments scattered over a region, these are intertwined, mutually responsive, and cross-fertilizing. Sant literature sprang from the soil of a shared regional literary culture, however much it exhibits its particular religious notions and a vocabulary of its own.

Sant gurus attracted followers from amongst whom emerged groups of sadhus. Renunciation was not uniform but took a variety of forms. We find a broad range, from celibate sadhus to householder devotees, who were sadhus by attitude rather than social status. Celibate sadhus, who rallied around a guru, however, were the major force shaping Santism by their teaching and literary production. For this they depended on the patronage of their lay following, and so the lay following provided the material basis for Santism to take shape. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, the two most important emerging Sant sects were the Dādūpanthīs and the Nirañjanīs. The Dādūpanth is the sect of Dādū, who started becoming known as a religious teacher in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The Nirañjanīs can be related to Sant Hardās of the earlier part of the sixteenth century, but their sectarian profile emerged only around the turn of the seventeenth century and in interaction with the Dādūpanth. Santism figures also in the Rāmānandī sect with its centre in Galta in the principality of Amber (also: Amer, now part of Jaipur). This sect provided an umbrella for both the aniconic Sant and the idol-worshipping bhakti. While Sant literature denounces idol worship, the reality of religious life in a shared habitat was less rigid. An example of this is the Nimbārka sect, with its Rajasthani headquarters in Salemabad near Kishangarh and, thereby, within the orbit of Sant activities. This sect cultivated a bhakti of interior devotion to the name of God, side by side with its particular idol-worshipping cult of Krishna and Radha.

The lifestyle of Sant sadhus was accommodated to the mobility typical of Rajasthan and neighbouring regions. The country is criss-crossed by trade routes, its economic and cultural arteries. These connected the ports on the shores of the Arabian Sea with the North Indian political heartland around Delhi and Agra. The routes took Indian traders far into the Safavid Empire, Central Asia and farther afield.⁴ In Rajasthan important trade routes ran from west to east through the salt producing centres of Lunkaransar, Didvana and Sambhar, routes that converge with places of origin or settlements of sadhus, which reveals their link with trading communities. The trade routes are lined by urban settlements and forts.⁵ Long-distance trade in grain and bulk goods lay in the hands of the Bañjārās. Ceaselessly plying the routes, these gave rise to a special genre of compositions common in Sant poetry, the Bañjārā songs (text no. 10). In the company of the caravans came troupes of mimes, jugglers, musicians, story-tellers, and—robbers.⁶ Couriers carrying diplomatic messages covered long distances in great speed, partly on roads serving as

more direct communication channels than trade routes.⁷ Scholars were not deterred by the hardships of long-distance travel when seeking patrons and acquainting themselves with the latest intellectual trends. Governance itself took place on the move. Rulers and nobility travelled, if only to be seen, display and confirm their rank by their signs, flags, standards, caparisoned elephants and horses, and their retinue. The royal tent was a mobile palace. And so also did sadhus traverse the land. The rhythm of life was determined by the seasons. In the months of the rainy season, mobility slowed down. The country was, however, also prone to drought and famine, measured by the years of its duration and given names indicating the death toll it took.⁸ Therefore, life was patently vulnerable and water was the most critical factor in social organisation.⁹ Building stepwells and tanks was a meritorious act, which was remembered in inscriptions praising their patrons and the artisans who had constructed them.¹⁰ Nomadism and transhumance of herdsmen or of entire villages and their livestock was adapted to the vagaries of the climate. Families bonded also to build and sustain water bodies. Bride-giving and bride-taking villages was ordered in such a way that families related by marriage could fall back on their kinsmen in times of drought. War, too, was seasonal because the rainy season intercepted mobility. The military labour market drew men from Rajasthan to distant regions.¹¹ Time and again the mercenary serving some lord abroad is mentioned in Sant literature, both as a social reality and a religious metaphor. The popular literary genre of songs relating to the seasons or the months and representing the lament of the lovelorn wife watching the road for the return of her husband reflects a cultural reality, though the romantic imagination manifest in these compositions hardly corresponds to the dire social reality.¹² Survival on dangerous routes depended on trustworthy stable relays. Accordingly, information about the inhabited space, its geography, economy, and the socio-cultural norms that had to be reckoned with was essential. The culture was moored in the regional topography, and the knowledge of this was circulated by way of mouth, including story-telling and preaching. In the flow of all this, sadhus circulated as well.

Sant sadhus were semi-domesticated. They had ashrams in which their spiritual lineage was localized. Apart from the rainy season, however, they were peripatetic. They roved along a circuit, the halts on which were determined by the availability of local lay patronage. The circuits and the networks connecting sadhu lineages amongst each other and with their patrons were by and large inscribed in the pattern of the trade routes. During their sojourns, lay people fed the sadhus, gave them shelter, and made donations in money, kind, and land. Thanks to lay largess, sadhus could build permanent monastic settlements. These became the strongholds of their sects of which numerous have endured into this century. They represented sites for the circulation of goods. The sadhus were supposed to have no personal property beyond that by which their barest needs would be fulfilled, namely, a spare set of

clothing and, for lettered sadhus, a portable volume of sacred texts. The head of a local settlement might be reputed for not accepting any donations which, however, corresponded to reality in a very limited sense only. Donations of commodities or money were accepted to be eventually circulated to the needy or spent on religious feasts and festivals. The sadhus were expected to attend in recompense to their patrons' spiritual well-being. Religious festivals, communal feasts, congregational worship with singing, preaching by monks, and religious teaching featured in the continuous exchange between sadhus and their lay followers. Highpoints of this were the months of the rainy season, when gurus with their disciples could hope to be invited to reside with lay patrons whose houses would thereby become the site of the religious dispensation and for the patron family the cause of considerable enhancement of prestige. The complementarity governing all dealings between sadhus and laity is succinctly expressed in a popular distich, assigned to Dādū:¹³

Dādū, if you give food to the body, you get in return the peace of your mind,
If you feed a sadhu, you realize that your soul is identical with Rām.



Ill. 1: Congregational meal at Śrī Sukhrām Bābājī kī Poh. © Raj Prabha Singh 2019.

The peripatetic life-style of ascetics has been a common feature of Indian religions, and likewise the feeding of visitors by religious institutions. In Rajasthan, Jain monks and nuns are the most prominent homeless religious wanderers, though in the late

medieval and early modern period some of their branches settled down and their leaders, the *bhattāarakas*, became powerful figures.¹⁴ As a rule, however, the Jain ascetics spend the rainy season staying in halls built, entertained and frequented by lay Jains during the ascetics' seasonal sojourn. Sant rhetoric polemizes against the Jains, though the model of these is reflected in Sant monastic organization itself. This, however, converges also partly with that of the Sufis, who had impacted India since the eleventh or twelfth century. At the centre of their groups figured a saintly authority who was the spiritual guide of his followers and inspired congregational worship. The needs of followers were attended to in hospices (*jama'atkhāna*, *khānqah*).¹⁵ During the Tughlaq period of the North Indian sultanate, roughly the fourteenth century, Sufi *khānqahs* had achieved considerable promotion thanks to sultanate patronage so that these institutions came to serve as prestigious models for religious groups outside the Sufi orders. Conversely, the *khānqahs* owed much to a similar arrangement providing for Hindus and known as the *sadāvrat*. In this process of constant give and take, the institution termed in Persian *langar*, a resting place providing shelter for Muslim mendicants and a refectory, was adopted both by the Sikhs of Panjab and the Sants of Rajasthan. Though the term *langar* is also familiar to them, yet, with the Sants communal feeding is usually called *pañkti*, 'feeding of guests seated in lines'.¹⁶

Sant Principles

Sant bhakti forms part of the broad spectrum of Vaishnava bhakti.¹⁷ In this branch of monotheistic religion, a form of Vishnu figures as the god with whom the devotee, the *bhakta*, entertains a direct emotional relationship. The god of Vaishnava bhakti appears in a good number of sects joined with his female consort, and is usually worshipped in iconic cults. Sant bhakti differs from this in rejecting the idea of a corporeal god and, therefore, iconic worship. Instead, it conceives of God as free of difference, that is, formless and all-pervasive, residing in the interior of and identical with the human self. The undifferentiated Self is identical with the self of all beings. Consequently, Sants take for granted the religiously underpinned hierarchy of castes and rules for the stations of life as purely social norms, but deny the religious aetiology of these. The Vaishnava principle of non-violence and, consequently, vegetarianism are also pillars of Sant religion.

Sant bhakti partakes of the yogic tradition. It couples Vaishnava yoga with the tantric-yogic tradition. As for written sources, Vaishnava yoga is the topic of a comprehensive discourse put in the mouth of the mythical sage Kapila in the third book of the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (7th century?).¹⁸ In this discourse yoga in the form of breath discipline and meditation, on the one hand, and bhakti, on the other, are related as means and end. Breath discipline leads to concentration of the mind on

Krishna, whose features and attributes the devotee is taught to visualize within himself. The god thereby becomes interiorized. From this ensues the bliss of identity of the devotee and the god. This is the highest form of love. In a terse form this bhakti-yoga is expressed by Hardās in text no. 7, v. 6 with the rhetoric question, ‘How can the yogi live without love?’ The teaching of Kapila forms, as it were, the template of topics in Sant poetry. One of these is the pervasive *memento mori* topic, treated, for example, by Sundardās (text no. 80), and often moulded in the popular form of the four watches of the day or night, or the four ages of the world found in the Bañjārā songs.¹⁹ By reference to the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, or similar writings, it is not insinuated that the Sants digested these directly. In the region of Gujarat-Rajasthan flourished the tradition of narrators of religious stories who expounded these in spoken and sung recitals for religious instruction and entertainment. This type of performance was called *harikathā*, ‘story about Hari’, and its narrator was known as *kathākar*, ‘storyteller’, or *vyās*, who was a brahmanic specialist of the *Bhāgavata* tradition. These narrators drew from a popular tradition, but they also digested the written *Bhāgavata* tradition, be it in vernacular versions of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* itself or topically related texts. In the seventeenth century, numerous renderings of books of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* were notably made by the Sants themselves.²⁰

The tantric-yogic tradition identifies the body with the cosmos. The body is limited and finite, while the cosmos is unlimited and infinite. Ontologically identical, they were divided during the process of creation. Division is transient, union is eternal. The aim of tantric practice is to rewind all diversity into its primeval undivided state. The tantric view therefore spans opposites that have to be merged, such as female and male, sun and moon, and so forth. Foremost among the dyads is that of the female creative power, personified as Shakti, and the male principle of pure being, personified as Shiva. Shakti is Shiva and vice versa, for their difference is transient. They manifested difference only to bring forth the diverse world. According to tantric imagination, the body—an esoteric body, not the anatomical body—is the repository of the female creative power. This needs to be reunited with Shiva, residing at or above the crest of the head. Shakti has to be aroused to the eternal heights of that place. Ascending, she passes a number of nodal points, called *cakra*. Each of these is presided over by a certain number of elements constituting the world, such as letters of the alphabet, deities, colours, winds (types of breath), and so forth. The ascending power takes all of these along to its goal. Here all phenomena lapse back into the formless infinite. The illustration below dates from the colonial period and captures a system that had by then gained popularity, though numerous other variants exist besides.



Ill. 2: The yogic body as the macrocosmos. © British Library MS Add. 24099, f. 118.

The Sants favour a yoga combining breath discipline and meditation. By breath discipline, the creative energy is driven upwards. The breath ventilates a great number of conduits, *nāḍī*. Three of these are the most important ones, *Ilā*, *Piṅgalā*, and *Suṣumnā*. These meet at a point between the eyebrows. The *Suṣumnā* is the conduit in which the creative power makes its ascent, assisted by the continuous ventilation in the *Ilā* and *Piṅgalā*. The *Suṣumnā* is therefore also identified with the woman hurrying to her beloved lord. In Sant poetry her image oscillates between the woman separated from her divine lover in the context of bridal mysticism and tantric Shakti.

When the yogi has attained his goal, liberation in union with Shakti-Shiva, he has reached the state of *samādhi*, in which he keeps breathing, though his bodily functions are extremely reduced. This is the state of absorption in pure consciousness without differentiation. Inhaling and exhaling are identified with the syllables *so'ham*, 'I am that'. If one starts reciting from the second syllable, this becomes *hamṣa*, 'gander', signifying the self. Absorbed in *samādhi*, the practitioner is believed to fade into deathless eternity. This belief also gave rise to the custom of burying yogis in that state of deepest meditation.²¹ The term *samādhi* derives from a verbal root *sam-ā-dhā-*, 'to put together', that is, in an orderly fashion. This refers to collecting the various items located at the *cakras* and taking them along in the process of ascent to union, in which their distinction is annihilated. This idea also accounts for the coupling of yoga with *sāṃkhyā*, basically an enumerative system of ordering the elements of creation and their derivatives.²²

In tantric yoga, the process of liberation is a ritual to which the yogi dedicates himself and which he achieves by himself, though he requires the help of the guru. This kind of ritual is oftentimes identified with the horse sacrifice, the as good as obsolete Hindu royal ritual which bestows on the king paramount power. The tantric yogi is a king, too, but his kingdom is eternal. He is someone liberated while still alive. The Sants reinterpreted this according to the principle of bhakti, according to which liberation lies solely in the hands of the gracious interior god. This god is free of all difference and therefore without quality, identical with man's own self, but in an act of practical differentiation required by intersubjective communication (bhakti) he is also addressed face to face.

Finally, the Sant veneration of the divine name is related to tantra. In tantra the sound, *śabda*, is the self-expression of the ultimate One. In its true form, this is unqualified and therefore beyond phonation. As creation unfolds, the undifferentiated sound first assumes the potential of phonation and eventually phonetic quality. *Śabda* thereby becomes name, that is, the countless designations of the gross phenomena. The name of God is accordingly the phonetic manifestation of the ultimate One. The practice of the recitation of the Name reflects the philosophy underlying it. The murmured recitation of the Name (*jāp*) turns into inaudible recitation (*ajap jāp*) and eventually fades into the One. In the process, the devotee experiences the sound in ways matching his progress. Sant poetry describes it often as the grumbling or roaring of the unstruck, purely interior sound, inaudible in physical terms. The experience of fearlessness, a synonym of eternal peace, is found identified with the reverberation of the inner sound at the stage of union with God (text 79, vv. 6,9 and the second but last unnumbered verse).

Alone or in the congregation of fellow-devotees, the Sant conducts worship to the formless interior god. This god is addressed by his name, more often than not Rām or Hari, but also by other divine names current in Vaishnavism. Only the

recitation of his name comes close to capturing the divine essence. Worship of the innate god consists in praising his name, in glorifying his works in the interior and the exterior world, and in meditating. If a devotee is blessed with the self-revelation of the interior god, he is eligible to union with him. This state is called *sahaj*, ‘spontaneous, effortless, innate’, the spontaneous leap into the innate pristine union.

A number of topics of the inherited traditions features in Sant compositions. Human beings tragically mistake the transient false world as real. Instead of realizing the eternal One, they are caught in the maze of duality. Lost in this, they remain subject to the perpetual circle of birth and death. In order to obtain bhakti and recognize the truth, human beings have to acquire understanding. This understanding is transformative, enabling them to reject the false notions of duality. Accurate understanding is obscured by the willfulness of the mind (*man*). The mind is the power of conceptualizing, volition and concupiscence. Similar to other phenomena and powers determining human behaviour, it is double-faced. The deluded mind is the cause of ruin, whereas the disciplined mind, harnessed to the quest for bhakti, clears the way for proper insight. Proper insight paired with bhakti is the precondition for the exit from the cycle of existence into eternal peace. Beguiled by apparent differences, the mind breeds what is commonly listed as six arch-evils, namely, desire, anger, delusion, infatuation, hubris and egotism (*kām, krodh, māyā, moh, mad, matsar*). False perception results in the fear of death, while transformative knowledge grants fearlessness. Consequently, the *bhakta* has to reappraise in the light of the one and only truth all that he perceives and exerts an influence on him. The pattern of dyads of opposites, the same thing potentially pernicious and salutary, runs through Sant poetry. Although they conjure up the horror of the perpetual cycle of existence, Sants focus rather exclusively on human life as it is here and now. They speak in a mood suggesting great urgency, for only human beings are intelligent enough to unravel the truth. In the chain of ages upon ages of repeated birth and death, however, only extremely rarely may one get the chance to be born as a human being. Now or never must one try to obtain bhakti and transforming knowledge. The fear that the seeker may fail to avail himself of the single opportunity of being saved in his lifetime and instead succumb to the temptations of the world hovers over the Sants. This fear is also productive, for like bhakti it cannot be suspended even for a moment (text nos. 26, 31, 53). This notion was elaborated in bhakti literature at an early date.²³ Fear is a boon, for it turns man away from the world. In comparison with this supreme fear all other fear diminishes; the *bhakta* may, for example, be admonished to always live in the fearful state of a goat whose shed is flanked by two lions (text no. 26). In Sant literature, this is reinforced by the Muslim foundational notion of the fear of God, especially as it is emphasized by the Sufis. Here, fear is counterbalanced by hope, and in Sufism with its ascetic elements, it may even outbalance hope.²⁴

The personification of delusion is the woman, but she is at the same time connotated with the single-mindedly searching soul. She appears in fact in three roles, in all of which she is the complement of the male. This replicates the state of perpetual dependence stipulated by social norms from which she can only break free when she becomes a sati. The Sants, accordingly, portray her as the temptress who overpowers man, as the forsaken woman who longs for her eternal beloved, or as the sati liberating not only her husband, but also her parental and her in-laws' families. As for the temptress, she bewitches man by diverting him from his search for the highest good. She robs him of his most precious possession, his semen, which is, according to the tantric foundations of Santism, destined to be transformed into *bindu*, the infinitesimal drop of the elixir of immortality. As giver of life she keeps the wheel of birth and death circling. Man in his delusion does not realize that the object of his desire is a disgusting leather bag of filth. This image reproduces common prejudices coupled with the self-protective misogyny of sadhus, who in their writings belaboured this also in a particular genre named 'Dialogue between a householder and a sadhu'.²⁵ Secondly and by contrast, woman enjoys a positive connotation when symbolizing the soul yearning for the self-revelation of the interior god (text nos. 38, 39). The devotee is the *virahiṇī*, the woman suffering whilst separated from her husband or beloved. This depicts the seeker's perpetual quest, taking him to the brink of death. Death can only be averted by the *virahiṇī*'s union with her beloved. If this fails to take place, the *virahiṇī* is to be blamed for having capitulated in her struggle. Thirdly and finally, a woman's apotheosis takes place when she becomes a sati.²⁶ In the regional culture satis are venerated as equal to deified warrior heroes. How deeply rooted this veneration is, is illustrated by the following verses from a seventeenth-century poem which glorify the collective sati of four queens:²⁷

Smear'd with red powder, beautifully dressed,
 Collyrium applied around their wagtail-eyes, adorned with strings of pearls,
 The four queens had at that moment turned into young goddesses,
 Their arms were decorated with tassled cords, heavy bracelets adorned their wrists,
 Their waists were slim, they had deer-eyes, the tinkling of their anklets sounded like
 the cooing of cuckoos,
 They had pān in their mouths,²⁸ their bodies were perfumed and embellished with
 all the sixteen kinds of ornaments.²⁹
 While hand and kettle drums were beaten, they distributed as enormous gifts to the
 destitute
 The studded golden jewellery they wore on their hands.
 They worshipped Gaurī and Śaṅkar and numerous deities besides.
 In this fashion, the four set out taking along the royal concubines.

.....

King Udaysimh (the successor of the king, whose body lay on the pyre) made all due arrangements at that place,
 And gave order to his ministers, who acted according to the dharma of their lord,
 Tent screens were erected all around so that the place was properly protected,
 The crowd gazing at the ardour of the satis was cordoned off outside,
 While the satis blessed the king: 'Reign as firmly as the polar star,
 Endowed with a long life, as the greatest king at the summit of the earth!
 There and then they bade farewell and ascended the pyre while reciting the name of
 Rām,
 Meditating on their husband, they were liberated from infatuation with the world.
 When all could see that they were on fire and blazing flames bathed their bodies,
 All shouted 'Victory! Victory!' to the women united with their husband.
 The satis, saviours of both their families, ascended the heavenly chariots and drove
 to the City of the Gods
 To see amidst themselves the king standing at the door of heaven where they were
 united with him.

Sant authors share this veneration, but their praise is conditional, for they reevaluate the sati rite in light of their faith. According to them, the actual female self-immolation is motivated by the worldly desire to garner personal and family prestige. Sants deny that a woman committing sati can save herself or others. According to their rhetoric, only the interior sati rite in the form of abdication of the world and total dedication to the innate god is valid. This reevaluated sati represents the highest form of heroism, regardless of the devotee's sex. The faltering sati breaking her vow is a trope also for a male seeker's fickleness in bhakti.

Steadiness of mind coupled with bhakti leads to transforming knowledge. The seeker is unable to reach this state by himself. Without a proper guru he is bound to fail. His guru teaches him discrimination between the eternally valid and the transient, the distinction between true and false. Because of the ontological principle of undifferentiated unity, the human guru differs from the self, that is, the interior guru, only by his corporeality. The notion of guru thus comprises the one identical self in three aspects, namely, the human guru, the interior guru, and God. All the three aspects are inherent in the 'true guru', *sat-guru*. As the supreme position of the guru is notoriously exploited by fake gurus, it is incumbent on every devotee to test a candidate for guruship carefully.

The guru is depicted by his following as bearing the features of sanctity, of which there exist veritable aide-mémoire lists. His sanctity is underscored by the miracles he is supposed to perform. He is thus subjected to a hagiographical gaze, which sifts the guru's actions for the divinity revealed in these. The hagiographical perspective need not just be a construction in distant hindsight, but prevails also among disciples who were actual eye-witnesses of a guru's deeds.³⁰ It conditions the perception of

him as the true guru. The miracles a guru is perceived to perform connect him with previous saints known for the same or similar miracles. This follows the logic that a saint later in time represents the incarnation of the primeval as much as a previously living saint and that both give similar proof of this. As for Dādū, the miracles he performed resemble those performed by Kabīr, thereby testifying that the same divine being is at work at both times. There prevails a certain tension in the perception of miracles. The Sants criticize shows of magical tricks performed by self-appointed holy men. They share, however, the more general view that miracles form genuine testimonies of saintliness and that these are supremely apt to illicit material favour. Jān Kavi, the seventeenth-century panegyrist of the dynasty of the Kyāmkhānīs of Fatehpur, Hindus converted to Islam, has the Delhi Sultan say to the nobleman whom he advises to convert:³¹

Among Hindus there are no marvels; how, then, will they obtain favour?

While the somewhat stereotypical hagiographical perspective on the guru is powerful, nonetheless, certain individual characteristics of him are occasionally mentioned affectionately. In the case of Dādū, for example, this is his love for a particular sweetmeat. This is not quite random, for feeding constitutes a strong emotional bond, and so singling out a food habit reminds one of this. The guru's death, too, seems to be an event at which the personal emotion of bereavement may be voiced. Two laments in this volume illustrate this, although literary conventions may also be at play in these (texts nos. 42, 45-46).³²

Besides the guru, the community of devotees supports the individual devotee. Bhakti is therefore at once intimate and embedded in congregational practice. The community of devotees is called the *satsaṅg*, 'the gathering of the good' or '—righteous', a term that refers both to community as a principle as well as an actual devotional congregation.

The Santism of Rajasthan cannot be correctly assessed in isolation from Islam, and particularly Sufism, well-established in the region. Dādū was of Muslim parentage, and he paid reverence to Kabīr, the Muslim weaver of Banaras, commonly figuring as the paragon of Santism, although the oeuvre attributed to him consists in part of poetry recreated or created altogether in Rajasthan. The Dādūpanthī constituency consisted of both Hindus and Muslims, a constellation that prevailed until the beginning of the eighteenth century when Muslims became sidelined in the sect due to Hindu political intervention.³³ Into the twenty-first century, however, Muslims keep featuring as partisans of the Dādūpanth.



Ill. 3: A Muslim mace-bearer (third, white-capped person from the left) at the great annual festival of Naraina in the year 2007. © Y. Deutler.

Four of the seven Rajasthani authors represented in this collection were of Muslim parentage. To characterize them by their ancestral religion does not provide a clue to their actual lifestyles, their ethnic roots in the subcontinent or outside, the cultural baggage with which their ancestors had come to the subcontinent, or of the modalities of their acculturation. Both Santism and Islam, *a fortiori* Sufism, represent faiths based on a negative theology, in which the absence of God triggers the devotee's perpetual quest for him and pushes the devotee up the steep mystical path, a feature shared with the yogic tradition, which will be addressed presently. A number of Sufi poets were acknowledged by Sants as belonging to their ilk and consequently transmitted in Sant manuscripts.³⁴ Sant authors either adapted Sufi poetry and circulated it with their signature, or are found engaging in a sophisticated manner with Sufi principles (text nos. 76, 77). None of the authors minimized the difference between Hindu and Muslim, but still they declared it irrelevant in the light of a faith which transcended all distinctions by being anchored in the undifferentiated One. The views of Sants and Sufis are so entangled that an attempt to disentangle them for mutual 'influences' would result in destroying the fabric of the shared regional culture.³⁵ While one can point to instances of an author's particular emphasis on a Muslim notion or motif, it is next to impossible to determine if this was household lore or particularly popular with Muslims. As for the practice of Sant vegetarianism, which one takes for a specific Vaishnava principle, it is especially noteworthy in the context of the Sants' Muslim constituency. In being stalwart adherents of non-violence, they differ in no way from their co-religionists of Hindu parentage. We know but little about the background of Dādūpanthīs of Muslim origin, but this

suggests that they were vegetarians not by individual choice, as it might have been prompted by joining a Sant following, but because they had been brought up in Muslim families who had been exposed to Sufi vegetarianism or owed their dietary rules to previous contact with Vaishnava vegetarianism.³⁶ The author Rajab provides an aetiology of vegetarianism by inciting a hagiographical tradition which locates its origin in the life of the Prophet (text no. 51). While Muslims featured significantly in the Dādūpanth, this is not reported for the early Nirañjanī sect.

Popular Religion in the Mirror of Sant Poetry

The Sants condemn cults, behaviours and attitudes contravening their belief. They summarily dismiss all other creeds as lacking proper understanding of the only truth. For them, bhakti and transforming knowledge support each other and they alone can lead the seeker through the perils of transient life. Sants revel in parading the follies of folk cults, suspicion, magic, hollow erudition and hypocrisy, and in doing so elaborate on inherited clichés. The rehearsing of clichés and speaking about visible facts blend with each other. The Sants do not advance finely chiseled arguments, but denounce all established religions, which they lump together as ‘the six views’, using a term actually signifying six types of philosophical views. In their parlance, these form the totality of religions, with an emphasis on those with which they share the habitat.³⁷ The following is limited to Sant criticism of the religious other only in so far as it is found articulated in the texts here published. In text 32, Bakhanāṃ provides a virtual catalogue of popular cults which goes some way in serving as a guideline through the customs castigated by the Sants. It is noteworthy that these were and are practised by Hindus and Muslims alike and are interpreted by these in multiple ways.³⁸

First and foremost, the Sants see themselves as having disempowered the Goddess and her adherents.³⁹ According to a Vaishnava narrative, the Goddess realizes her impotence and seeks initiation from a Vaishnava saint.⁴⁰ This is far from reality, for the cult of the Goddess is ubiquitous. She is represented in countless shrines under many names, deathly fierce if enraged and motherly caring if propitiated by offerings. She is worshipped by virtually all, from villagers to kings, that is, Rajputs, who worship her in some of her many forms as their clan deity. She is the giver of royal power and protector of dynasties. She figures also in the cult of the powerful Cāraṇs, bards attached to Rajput clans, and accorded a rank not only at a par with Brahmans but also in a way superior to these, for Cāraṇs are ascribed protective power. The wives of Cāraṇs are believed to be living forms of the Goddess.⁴¹



Ill. 4: The Goddess in the form of the Mother of Āśāpurā, Nadol, Pali District. She has just received a donation of 1100 Rs. in supplication for the protection of an infant. © D. Rajpurohit 2022

The Goddess demands bloody sacrifices and alcohol. The priests sacrifice these to her, and afterwards consume what is thought to have been graciously accepted by her. Some of the variants of Goddess worship are named by Bakhanām. One is Bījhāsaṇī, one of the ‘mothers’, harmful to her enemies and caring for her worshippers, but always irascible. Not only is she decried as bogus, but also her adherents are demeaned as bartering for petty worldly gain. One of the festivals at which meat and liquor are offered to the Goddess is the cult of Śaṅkar-Rāṇī, celebrated by women late in winter, on the fourth day of the waning half of the lunar month of Māgh (January/February). Another festival is that of the smallpox goddess, celebrated on the eighth day of the dark half of the month Caitra (April/May), at the end of the Hindu religious year, which is auspiciously renewed on the new-moon day a week later. She protects or kills, particularly children, gives or withholds procreation and is therefore worshipped by women. Their wishes granted, they tie votive straps of cloth to trees near shrines of the goddess, a familiar sight in rural Rajasthan.



Ill. 5: Bhairav shrine at Badli near Jodhpur. © D. Rajpurohit 2021. The shrine is the locale of possession rituals. Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716654>

The fierce male tantric deity Bhairav is the guardian of villages and shrines of the Goddess, and the protector from affliction by evil spirits as well as attacks from malevolent female deities. He is also thought to inhabit cremation grounds, where the dog that accompanies him feasts on corpses.⁴² According to Bakhanām, Bhairav worshippers are arch-hypocrites: They are embarrassed by the god's demand of bloody sacrifices, and so fob him off with a goat's ear.

In Bakhanām's song, a Bhairav shrine is also the site of possession, of which the medium is the *bhopī*.⁴³ The spirit invoked in a rite of possession speaks through her with a gruesome voice. Cults of possession are, on the one hand, instruments of social control and can easily disturb the social existence of a member of the community, while, on the other hand, they may ease personal affliction. According to the Sant poet, possession is a trick and the *bhopī*, an imposter.



Ill. 6: The present *bbopā* of Badli. © D. Rajpurohit 2021.

Bakhanāṃ concludes his list of superstitions with the cults of Gogā, Gusāṃṃjī, and rituals featuring portable shrines.⁴⁴ Gogā and Gusāṃṃjī represent liminal religion straddling Islam and Hinduism so that their shrines and the myths surrounding those figures relate to both Muslims and Hindus. Gogā is a warrior hero represented as mounted on a horse. The Chauhan Rajputs, who have both Muslim and Hindu credentials, consider him to be their ancestor. Gogā is also connected with snake worship. Muslims venerate him as a *pir*, and for the Sikhs he is a saint. Exorcist healers of snake-bite (*gāruḍ*), miracle-workers and jugglers (*jādūgar*) are similarly paraded by Bakhanāṃ, but figure also as tropes for the guru or the amazing interior god.⁴⁵



Ill. 7: The shrine of Gogāji at Bairat. Upper left: general view; upper right: votive offerings tied to a tree; below: sanctuary of snakes. © M. Horstmann 2000.

As for Gusāmīṃjī, he unites in himself features of a Muslim pir and a Nāthyogī.



Ill. 8: Gusāmījī, represented in the Hall of Heroes in the gardens of Mandor, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Marwar (Jodhpur). © D. Rajpurohit 2022.

Portable shrines (*kāvaṛ*), usually featuring Rām, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇ of the Rāmāyaṇa, are the trademark of professional story-tellers, Bhāṭs. They carry these, slung on poles, on their shoulders.⁴⁶ The Bhāṭ's recital forms a ritual. *Kāvaṛ* is also a pole carried on the shoulder. At the ends of this pots filled with water are suspended. In the month of Śrāvaṇ in the rainy season, male pilgrims carry these to Shiva shrines. For Bakhanām, promiscuous worship of those many cults for worldly benefits is like prostitution. Bakhanām's detailed diatribe is not unusual in Sant poetry, which reflects, albeit in stereotype, a great number of still vital cultural features of the region.



Ill. 9: A *kāvar*, 30 cm high, 100 cm broad when fully unfolded, c. second half of the twentieth century, bought in Jodhpur. © W.M. Callewaert.

Another main target of Sant criticism is Vaishnava idol worship. Rajab, for example, derides the practitioners of exterior worship as heretics and fools. Thereby, he attacks pivotal values of Vaishnavism and folk religion alike. Sant poetry mentions the custom of wearing a figurine of one's favourite deity made of stone, silver or even gold in a casket or other amulet container tied to the neck, to the forehead, or to the arm, and the worship of the *śālagrāms*, ammonites collected from rivers that symbolize god Vishnu.⁴⁷ In Vaishnava shrines *śālagrāms* are copiously on display, say, at the feet of the main deity of a shrine. Unlike immovable icons, they can also be carried in procession and are considered the full equivalent of the main icon.

The preachers of idol-worshipping Vaishnavism were typically the performers of the aforementioned *harikathā*. Sants deride these not only for preaching false religion, but also for the innuendoes with which they pepper their recitals and thereby corrupt the youth:⁴⁸

For a moment a Vaishnava *vyās* will go into singing the praise of Govinda,
But his mind is set on the wanton (*kalola*) tales of Krishna.



Ill. 10: *Śālagrāms* at the feet of the main icons of the Raghunāth temple, Lohargal, Sikar District. © M. Horstmann

A song of Bhakhanām in this collection represents a jibe against these story-tellers (text no. 41).

The religious garb, synonymous with the habit-bearers themselves, is dismissed as sham, and so are the supernatural powers (*siddhi*) the yogis claim. The display of these may impress the credulous, but they are insubstantial.

The Sants assess all alleged values against the supreme value, namely, communion with the interior god. Accordingly, they deny that a person's station in life determines his access to salvation and his eligibility for the means towards achieving this. Caste hierarchy, pride in one's social standing, the gender difference—all of these matter in the transient world, but this is anyway beyond remedy, totally insubstantial in the light of the only truth. The Sants's mission is not social, but rather aims at overcoming the world through bhakti. Santism is, therefore, in principle not reformist in a social sense, though it may and has oftentimes been coupled with social reform and political goals. For gaining socio-political momentum, a group needs to bond together in pursuit of their demands, a trait largely missing in the period under review.



Ill. 11: A Dādūpanthī sadhu from the Raika (camel-breeder) caste in front of the *Dādūvānī* in the shrine of Kumpravas, Nagaur District. © D. Rajpurohit 2021.

That Sant sadhus so vehemently malign the transient world only emphasizes that their lay followers are and will remain denizens of the world, and that only this enables the sadhus to opt out of the world. But for the dyad of sadhu and lay devotee, no Sant sect would have existed. Sant authors take this false world for granted, however zealous their attacks against it may be. For all its rhetoric, their call for leaving the world is but a summons to the devotees to revalidate the world in the light of bhakti. Thereby they confirm the dyad, with the sadhus inhabiting the counter-world and the lay followers firmly established in the world and privileged to serve the sadhus and fellow-devotees. Service (*sevā*), indeed, is the equivalent of bhakti, and servant (*sevaka*), the equivalent of the lay devotee (*bhakta*).

Sant Worship

The interior god of the Sants reveals himself in the word of the guru, the phonic representation of the interior unstruck sound (*anāhata nāda*), itself nothing but the cosmic sound (*śabda*) of the Supreme Self. Listening to the exterior and the interior word and being enraptured by it are expressed by the same word, *surati* (listening; rapture). The name of God is remembered and articulated in murmured prayer, which eventually fades into the unity of devotee and God. Sant sects developed different forms of communal worship. With all Sants aphorisms and lyrics like those represented in this volume feature in congregational worship, most extensively in night-long watches (*jāgaran*). With the Sikhs and the Dādūpanthīs the scripture (*vāṇī*), containing the words of the gurus to whom the sects trace their origin as well as other compositions, is the object of private and congregational veneration. In every temple and in many houses of devout householders, the *āratī*, the twilight ritual with its accompanying hymns, is chanted. Preachers deliver homilies in the presence of the scripture. They hold it in front of them and thereby display the flow of authority from the cosmic sound of the Supreme Self descended into the speech of the guru and now instantiated by preaching. Similarly, the Nirañjanīs venerate the *vāṇī*.⁴⁹ Though Nirañjanī *vāṇīs* share in a stock of texts, the contents of these was not formally canonized. Compared with Sikh and Dādūpanthī religious practice, that of the Nirañjanīs is less uniform because the sect remained more segmentary than the other two ones. The Nirañjanīs have in common, however, that the scripture in the version in which it was transmitted in a particular lineage of gurus and disciples is kept at the shrines commemorating the death of a guru (*samādhi*). The *āratī* is celebrated in the presence of this, but the courtly ritual surrounding the scripture among Sikhs and Dādūpanthīs is missing. Moreover, the practice of Vaishnava *saguna* worship is not categorically rejected, although theologically the essentially non-qualified character of the Supreme Self is affirmed. Generally speaking, the Nirañjanī literati engaged copiously with the Vaishnava bhakti tradition which is, for example, put in evidence by the programme they had launched since the seventeenth century of translating or adapting key Vaishnava texts from their Sanskrit originals into the vernacular literary language.

By its surrounding cult, the scripture virtually represents a verbal icon. Like this, it can also be taken out of its shrine for a procession, whereby it marks the landscape as a sacred space.



Ill. 12: The *Dādūvāṇī* taken out in procession from the *Dādūdvarā* of Naraina at the great annual festival of 2007. © Y. Deuter.

In reality, the principles of Sant worship appear in numerous amalgamations with local usages. In *Dādūdvarās*, in households in the niche where the *vāṇī* is kept, in temporary shrines as they are erected at the halt of religious processions or at religious fairs, one finds the image of *Dādū* next to the *vāṇī*.



Ill. 13: The picture of Dādū in the centre of an altar erected by a local Dādūpanthī monastic group in their camp at the sect's main annual festival at Naraina in 2007. Beneath lies the wrapped and decorated *vāṇī* while a monk recites from a printed edition of this. © Y. Deutler.



Ill. 14: Veneration of the *samādhi* of Jaitrām, the eighteenth-century abbot of Naraina and reformer of the Dādūpanth, on the occasion of the sect's annual festival in 2007. He is remembered by his footprints (*pādukā*). He shares the commemorative slab with another sadhu. © Y. Deutler.

The present state of affairs is that one finds the cult of the scripture coexisting with that of the deceased gurus, represented by the slabs with bas-reliefs of their foot-prints under a canopy, but also life-size statues of these. Characteristically, the deceased gurus have their commemorative sites under or by trees.

In ascetic yogic lineages, one will find emblems typical of these—tridents, the ascetic fire (*dhuni*), a pair of tongs—side by side with the scripture. In brief, while Sant rhetoric draws strict boundaries against other cults, these boundaries are permeable.

Sant Manuscripts

In Rajasthan Sant literature started appearing in manuscripts from the end of the sixteenth century. Among the Sikhs of Panjab, the non-Sikh Sants, called by them the *bhagats*, appear since the early 1570s.⁵⁰ In Rajasthan the earliest Sant sectarian manuscript culture lay mainly in the hands of the Dādūpanth and the Nirañjanī sect.⁵¹ The oldest now available codex is a Dādūpanthī one of 1615, but its material was copied from earlier manuscripts.⁵² Both the Sikhs and the Dādūpanthīs, followed suit by the Nirañjanīs, transmitted works of the torch-bearers of Sant bhakti from regions other than Panjab or Rajasthan. The poetry of these travelled to the northwestern regions and was expended on because of the great fame of their authors. Consequently, much anonymous poetry was also assigned to them. The autochthonous Rajasthani Sants looked up to them and adapted their compositions and supplemented these according to their own literary tradition. Besides numerous others, these authors were also given a life by hagiographers from Rajasthan. In this way they were inculturated there. Quite typically, Sant manuscripts take the form of codices uniting numerous texts and following a particular sequence of authors. Dādūpanthī manuscripts give pride of place to Dādū's works and range those of Kabīr, Nāmdev, Raidās, and Hardās next to these. Besides, such manuscripts comprise a great number of other Sant authors as well as other literature of the broad Vaishnava spectrum akin to Sant principles. These codices also transmit the Hindi works of the Nāth Siddhas, yogis who distanced themselves from the tantric-magic elements in haṭhayoga. They were apparently not organised as a distinct sect but were fused with the Sant constituencies.

Sant manuscripts are usually not illustrated. There is, however, a pattern of named *citrabandha* poetry, items of which are found in the works of Sundardās.⁵³

Fortuitously, a number of early codices have colophons that allow for the reconstruction of the spiritual genealogy and the networks of scribes of which more will be said in Chapter 2. The scribes were sadhus, who compiled manuscripts for themselves, for private study and, more practically, as manuals for their devotional and homiletic practices. As the sects gained in influence, lay people of means also

started commissioning manuscripts of Sant compositions. To fulfil such wider demand, professional scribes were hired as well. This development is, however, posterior to the time spanned by this volume.

Sant literature was and has remained both oral and written. In the past, composition was largely inspired by and relied heavily on formulaic and prosodically regulated building blocks typical of oral poetry. The very act of composition could easily take place in performance. Sadhus had grown up in that oral culture, and their training was formally reinforced as they competed with each other in memorizing and creating new poetry. Extending well into the twentieth century, a feature of this training was, for example, a composition game at which a person would recite the first line of a rhyming couplet and another was asked to complete it. Another typical feature of Sant literature is represented by the innumerable *exempla* (*dr̥ṣṭānt*). Much like the Jains, the Sants compiled collections of these in great number.⁵⁴ Rhetoric finesse in homiletics includes also the ability to come up with an appropriate *exemplum*.

Literary Form

Sant literature is most commonly in verse. Prose is typically reserved for commentaries. Sant compositions share prosodical patterns with other North Indian vernacular poetry of the period. Oral composition and transmission went hand in hand with the use of mnemonic devices. These are reflected in a host of formulaic patterns, quite often following enumerative principles running through a composition. These could take the form of an ascending or descending numerical sequence, or follow the seasons or months of the year, or the letters of the alphabet, or other principles.

A composition usually bears the signature of its real or alleged author, his 'imprint' or 'seal' (*chāp*). Anonymous compositions could be assigned to popular authors, and new compositions were made continuously, inspired by famous authors and given the names of these as signatures.⁵⁵ One and the same composition is also found to be assigned to various authors. An anonymous composition could be appropriated by individual authors by merely prefixing their name. Replacement need not affect the metre, but the addition of a signature to a verse is often revealed by the respective line being hypermetrical. A good number of those hypermetrical verses are, for example, found among Bājīd's *arils*.⁵⁶ Scholarship has examined the attribution of compositions to various authors, scribal variants, changes in the sequence of stanzas in a song, or the omission of stanzas. Many of these features have to be understood in connection with the practice of singers, who differed amongst themselves in personal preference or by musical traditions.⁵⁷

Literary Patterns

The three main sorts of texts of Sant literature are (1) independent verses, (2) songs, and (3) didactic treatises. For metres, see pp. 54–9.

(1) Independent Verses

The most common independent verse was the *dobā* or *dūbhā*, with its numerous variants the most common metre of the *sākbīs*, ‘testimonies’ of truth, although more rarely also verses composed in other metres could function as *sākbīs*.⁵⁸ Terse and explicit, these made long stories short and also provided triggers for homiletic elaboration. Bakhanām, for example, was praised for the arrow-like pointedness of his *sākbīs*.⁵⁹ Singers typically introduce their recital of songs by one or several distichs setting the theme of the performance. Another popular type of short independent verses is the *aril* (*arilla*)⁶⁰. The last quarter of the *aril* forms a coda that may subvert the content of the preceding three verse quarters. Bājīd’s *arils*, some of which appear in this collection, were highly regarded so that numerous anonymous verses of this type were attributed to him. Great sophistication was deployed in the composition of *kavits* (*kavitta*)⁶¹ and *savaiyās*, in Sant and other poetry of the period. Rajab, for example, is praised for his *kavits*, and Sundardās, for his *savaiyās*, which earned him the title ‘crown of the poets’.⁶²

(2) Songs

Songs are composed in a variety of metres, but in a song, rather than its prosodic qualities the poet-singer’s musical performance in a particular musical mode (*rāg*) is important. The metre was subordinated to the cyclic rhythmical structure of the *rāg*. Metre may cede to the beat (*tāl*) of the musical mode. The mood of this was sought to be recreated again and again by successive performers. In manuscripts and also in print, songs of an author are arranged by *rāg* chapters. This is reflected in Part 2 of this book, where the *rāg* of each song is recorded. Songs are typically sung in solo performance, and less often in a chorus. The type of song called *āratī*, however, is performed in a chorus to conclude a *bhajan* session or the morning and evening service, respectively.⁶³



Ill. 15: Devotees preparing for the evening *āratī* at Naraina in the year 2007, © Y. Deutler. The linked video recording is of the evening *āratī* at the Dādūpanthī monastery Śrī Sukhrām Bābājī kī Poh, Village Akeli B, P. O. Kucera, Nagaur District. It follows the established liturgy in starting with text 27, Dādū's first *āratī* song, followed by further *āratīs* by the same author. This part is concluded by prostrations and shouting hail to Dādū. Then follow octaves of Sundardās, the first of this being text 78, of which four stanzas are recorded (beginning at 00:04:04). © D. Rajpurohit 2021. Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716652>

Although in performance musical aesthetics dominate, metre is still important as a mnemonic necessity. Songs were composed with a particular metre in the mind of the composer, for he had in his memory metrically organized formulaic building blocks. In homilies, portions of songs may be recited in the rhythm of the metre.

A song consists of a first stanza serving as a refrain (*tek, sthāyī*) and a sequence of further stanzas (*antarā*). The first line of the refrain may be shorter than the rest of the verse lines. This reflects that the song starts with a syncope somewhere in the middle of the rhythmic cycle (*āvarta*).

(3) Didactic Treatises

Didactic compositions are largely composed of building blocks consisting of independent verses. Didactic texts carried familiar messages, whose validity hardly required confirmation. They appealed to an audience by skilled usage of prosodic and stylistic devices rather than their foreseeable moral teaching. Treatises were generally composed in common narrative metres (15 or 16 syllables to the verse

line).⁶⁴ The use of quite a variety of metres in one and the same text sets in with poets trained in the poetology taught in Sanskrit and Brajbhāṣā by rhetoricians of their day. Metrical variety was henceforth declared by such learned poets as enhancing the power of the religious message.⁶⁵ In the manuscripts of didactic texts, the metres were usually identified. This usage has been retained in Part 2.

Stylistic Devices

Sant literature exhibits typical stylistic devices. These are mainly (1) ambiguous expressions and tropes, (2) structuring of compositions according to serial principles, for example, enumeration, and (3) an imagery inspired by the regional culture.

(1) Ambiguous Expressions

Ambiguous expressions, enigmas, riddles, paradoxes, and the like have formed poetic devices since the earliest strata of Indian ritualistic parlance. Such expressions were sometimes called *brahman*, which refers as well to the sacrificial formula putting into effect a ritual operation as to the supreme reality. They thereby point to that which the human mind cannot grasp.⁶⁶ Ever since that ancient stage the propensity for this kind of expression has been profusely at work in gnomic literature, which was also used for teaching, including the teaching of sadhus.⁶⁷ The knowledge thus acquired would set apart the initiated specialists from ordinary people so that the cultivation of that system of knowledge would also draw a boundary between virtuosi and commoners. The Nāth Siddhas and the Sants inherited those devices from the same tradition that also informed Buddhist tantric poetry.⁶⁸ In making ample use of such devices, the Sants use a specialized ambiguous language, but this language is not, or no longer, secret. Their poetic versatility in this is demonstrated by paradoxical verses composed in a serial fashion.⁶⁹ That the Sant knowledge system was not hermetic becomes evident at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, when exegetical compendia arranged as thematically organized glossaries started appearing. The development of Sant exegetical literature since the eighteenth century has been hardly explored, but it seems that since then the increasingly formal training of sadhus in ancillary classical disciplines led to increasingly scholastic commentaries. With the application of scholastic exegesis to poetry, the semantic ambiguity of this tends to be disambiguated. This bears the risk of dampening the listener's or the reader's creative response to poetry.

(2) Structuring According to Serial Principles

The serial principle corresponds to the concept of enlightenment as a progressive process. This may be captured in having the seeker pass through all the days of the

lunar month, or through all the seasons or months of the year. The preference for numerals corresponds also to the mathematically detailed system of Indian cosmography. This was translated (and modified by medical and alchemical concepts) into the system of the tantric esoteric body. Numbers are essential to the tantric worldview, for the tantric process of perfection aims at winding back systematically all diversification into the one without another. This perspective resulted in treatises arranged numerically in the order of the stages of perfection and their concomitant sense perceptions. For adepts initiated into this specialized system, a numeral in isolation without reference to the signified object was hardly enigmatic. This is not to deny that the relation between a numeral and the signified object could well remain ambiguous or that a numeral from among the many numeral devices might occur as it were arbitrarily or just exaggerated to hypertrophical dimensions. The serial principle, however germane to a type of religion according to which the process of liberation is understood as an ascent to the supreme truth, is at the same time a device of oral literature and most appropriate to a culture continuously on the move in planned phases, be it along the trade routes crossing the region, be it by transhumance of cattle breeders in a drought-prone desert or semidesert, be it in search of a position in the military labour market, or be it along the circuits of sadhus. An example of this is the ‘poetry of the twelve months’ coupling with a variety of ballad themes.⁷⁰

Table 1: Numeral signifiers and their significations as occurring in the texts collected in Chapter 3

Numeral signifier	Signification
1	the self in union with the Supreme Self
2	dyad, duality
3	(1) the three strands or qualities (<i>guṇa</i>) of materiality (<i>prakṛti</i>), that is, clarity, activity and inertia (<i>sattva, rajas, tamas</i>) (2) three bitter tastes (3) the three main conduits (<i>nāḍī</i>) in the esoteric body, namely, Iḍā, Piṅgalā, and Suṣumnā (4) the three conduits identified with the rivers Ganga, Yamuna, and Sarasvati
4	(1) four watches (each of about three hours) of the day or night (2) four Vaishnava orders or sects with their alleged founders Rāmānuja, Śrī, Madhva, and Rudra (3) that which transcends materiality (see under 3)

Numeral signifier	Signification
5	(1) five principles or elements (<i>tattvas</i>), to each of which belong five further categories; therefore everything consists of 'the five plus twenty-five' (2) five senses; also called 'the five hunters' chasing the soul-deer
6	(1) (<i>med.</i>) six flavours (<i>rasa</i>), namely, sweet, sour, salty, pungent, bitter, and adstringent (2) six views; the term is taken from the six major systems of philosophy but serves as a cover term for the totality of religious views disenfranchised by the superior Sant faith
7	(<i>med.</i>) the components of the body, namely, blood, bile, flesh, fat, marrow, bones, semen
8	eight watches of the day and night (see also under 4)
9	(1) pathways or doors, representing the nine orifices of the body (2) nine Nāths (conventionalized number)
10	(1) tenth door, the exit from the microcosm of the body to the macrocosm which is located at the fontanelle (2) series from 1 to 10: sound experiences of the yogi indicative of progressive approach to union and eventual merging with the <i>śabda</i>
12	twelve months
14	fourteen sciences, that is, the totality of sciences
25	see under 5
33	or multiplication of 33 by thousands: the total number of gods
52	(1) the number of letters in the alphabet (2) conventionalized total number, for example, 'fifty-two heroes', that is, 'all heroes'
68	conventionalized total number of pilgrimage sites and the water flowing at these
84	(1) conventionalized number of the perfected ones (<i>siddha</i>) (2) eighty-four times one hundred thousand instances of rebirth
88	totality of the mythical wise men (<i>muni</i>)
96	totality of heresies
900	threads of the warp, probably a metaphor for the conduits (<i>nāḍī</i>) in the esoterical body

(3) Imagery Inspired by the Regional Culture

As for the imagery derived from the regional culture, four spheres featuring in this collection are especially noteworthy, namely, trade, textile craft, warfare, and agriculture.

(1) Trade Metaphors

Sant literature is rich in trade metaphors. Typical for the north-western regions of the subcontinent were the Bañjārās, caravan traders plying vast swaths of land under taxing climatic conditions.⁷¹ This inspired the *bañjārā* genre of songs, which are also linguistically located in the north-west. These songs have been testified to since the earliest manuscripts of bhakti poetry.⁷² *Bañjārā* poems are four-partite, allegorically linking the four units of the night (*paḥar*), each of which measure three hours, with the stages of life, that is, childhood, youth, married life, and old age. These are identified with the vigil (*jāgaran*) performances, in which real time is seen in parallel with the four phases of life from birth to death. Such songs emphasize the urgency of making wise use of the span of one's life in order to find liberation. Bañjārā life is portrayed as a perpetual roaming and drudgery without a pause for reflection, the prerequisite of bhakti and salvation (text no. 10). The compositions represent human life as caught in the circle of birth and death and the chance of salvation thoughtlessly forfeited for preoccupation with worldly matters. The Bañjārā is on the move, never to arrive at the goal destined for humans, the eternal rest in union of the self and the Self. On Bañjārās depended the transport of food produce and wholesale goods. Their four clans were headed by wealthy leaders (*nāyāk*).⁷³ In documents these are reported as conducting their trade with several thousand oxen and their service being acknowledged by rulers with gifts of robes of honour.⁷⁴ Bañjārās are, however, nomads, wandering perpetually with their families and carrying their belongings on bullocks,⁷⁵ so that they personify man's homelessness in the world. At night-break, they set up their tents and wrap them up at daybreak which was likened by Sants to the impermanence of human life. Albeit rich, they occupied the space outside settled life. More often than not starting out as petty peddlers, these nomad traders might eventually make a fortune. To start with, they took loans from merchant-bankers to invest in oxen and spent their surplus earnings (*pūñjī*) to repay the former. The Bañjārā, thus, signifies man's dependence, vulnerability and alienness both to others as well as to himself, and therefore, transience in every respect.

Other traders, basically settled but periodically mobile in pursuit of their trade, ranging from street hawkers to merchant-bankers operating in a wide business network, add to the stock of trade tropes and themes. Rajasthan was a hub for traders, some of whom made fortunes and financed the ruling class. In the

seventeenth century, the Sants recruited sadhus from the merchant castes, thereby securing a powerful merchant caste patronage. This resulted in a symbiosis similar to that at the heart of the constitution of the Jains, strongly represented in the region. Jain culture impacted the Sants with regard to both literary forms and monastic organisation. At the time under review, the Jain merchants produced remarkable lay leaders who became protagonists of religious reform movements. These were active at centres of trade inhabited also by Sants and their patrons.⁷⁶ These places will be introduced in Chapter 2. Merchants were thus both intellectually and economically powerful. Sants from merchant castes were proud of their origins, and they put this on display in their poetry, as exemplified by Sundardās.⁷⁷ On a different note, the trade trope transports also the popular negative perception of traders and money-lenders, blamed for their greed and avarice combined with masochistic frugality, their hard-heartedness, or their fastidiousness.⁷⁸

Although trade metaphors appear in the poetry of earlier Sants like Kabīr, it is in Sundardās's works that we find them fully displayed. His poems mirror the lives of merchants who were his patrons and among whom he lived and preached. While taking his examples from the world of settled merchants, Sundardās transposes the aforementioned metaphor of the four watches of the night typical for the *banjārā* songs to a new context. He relates the biological stages of life from childhood to old age, to the growth of business. An ordinary kid is like a poor hawker (*banyotā*) living in the courtyard of other people and barely eking out a livelihood. When he starts contemplating the innate *brahman* he matures (text nos. 71–2). With contemplation as his only commodity he can run his trade on cash instead of credit. As he starts earning cash, a man obtains maturity, and proceeds to become a petty moneylender, a Boharā.⁷⁹ The abundant grace of the Supreme is the capital (*pūñjī*) which grows in proportion with man's increasing contemplation. Insight obtained by grace is a constant flow of cash coming to the merchant so that he can always keep a full stock (*kirāṃnā*) at his shop. As the Baniya's fame grows in the market, his influence among the customers (*gābhak*) also grows. He becomes an even bigger merchant, a wholesaler or *koṭhivāl*. Text nos. 71 and 73 portray this hierarchy.⁸⁰ At the top stands the merchant-banker, the *śāb*. Text no. 73 concludes with an anti-climax: The true merchant banker is the indwelling Rām, here called Ramaiyyā, the benevolent lord, and not the greedy, unsympathetic Baniya. Sundardās emphasizes the impermanence of life by his word choice. For example, 'market' in his songs is a *bāṭ*, a market laid out for the day and lifted in the evening. Sundardās describes the stock of the greengrocers' shop: grain, salt, bitter oil-cakes for cattle fodder, garlic, onions, cloves, and betel nut as well as medicine. These are contrasted with the trading of pearls and gemstones or saffron and musk that the aspiring merchant desires to sell (text no. 74). Out of all these commodities, Sundardās ranks highest the inquiry after the Supreme Self (*brahma vicār*), the only and uniquely beautiful

substance (*sundar vastu*) worthy of exchange. If that kind of costly diamond is bought or stored in the 'shop', the merchants need not fear failure in business and sliding back into poverty. In those songs, the supportive network of the community and its sense of solidarity are also projected on the Supreme Self (*śāh*).⁸¹ The trader trope, thus, describes the social values of status and wealth with graphic precision but by the same token denounces these as hollow.

(2) Ergological Tropes: Spinning, Stitching, Weaving

Textile production provides a rich imagery for the relationship of man with the supreme, for the two form a unity represented as a fabric. The threads of the warp represent the elements of the human esoteric body. Into these man enters the weft of continuous meditation and murmured or silent recitation. The rhythm of weaving corresponds to the practice of breath discipline (*prāṇāyāma*). These tropes occur frequently, but they remain sometimes enigmatic, mainly because only isolated moments of ergological processes are alluded to or perhaps also because ergological facts appear as transformed for good into a religious jargon. This deserves at least a tentative elucidation of the complex tropes, while acknowledging that these cannot be fully explained by referring to ergological facts.

The spinning imagery may govern entire compositions.⁸² Spinning is the job of women so that respective metaphors may include the imagery of the foolish and the wise woman, the one maladroit, the other an expert spinner.⁸³ In a song of Bakhanāṃ, the theme of which describes the bonding with the interior god, spinning occurs among other similes. These culminate to express that union with God can only be achieved by utmost concentration and self-sacrifice. Dying to the world opens the door to liberation. As the moth heads for the flame, and the deer is transfixed by the sound of the hunter's whistle, the spinner cannot take her mind off her work.⁸⁴

I will join and join and join,

I will never break but only join my love to Hari. (refrain)

The moth joins the fire. It will burn in it, and yet it does not turn away its body.

The deer hears the sound. Overcome by ardent yearning, it stops transfixed, though
this will cost its body. (1)

A spinner turns the spinning wheel and the moment a thread breaks ties its ends
together.

In this very fashion, Bakhanāṃ has joined himself to Hari and therefore broken with
all else. (2)

Stitching can be readily associated with the Nāthyogīs, who wore patched robes and also stitched for themselves pouches or shoulder bags.⁸⁵ Eighty-nine threads are,

for example, mentioned by the Nāth Siddha Gorakhnāth. In one of his songs he uses the imagery of the patched robe of a Nāthyogī, saying:⁸⁶

A robe of 360 patches, 21,600 threads,
72 conduits (*nāḍī*) in 89 needles, the greatest hero starts stitching with these.

The editor of the text, P.D. Barthval, comments on this by referring to familiar yogic notions. The body is said to have 360 bones; during one day and night a human being breathes 21,600 times, and the number 89 indicates a great quantity.⁸⁷

The imagery of weaving is related to the country loom, the farther warp end of which is suspended from a point above, say, the branch of a tree. At its lower end sits the weaver, either on the bare ground or on a bench over a pit (*sāla*) in a work shed. The loom is, therefore, a metaphor for the joining of low and high. Characteristically, it occurs in compositions inspired by yoga. The yogic process aims at bringing the life-creating but perishable fluid, the semen, up to the highest cranial point where it is thought to be transformed into the imperishable elixir of immortality.

Automatically, one would perhaps think that weaver songs hark back to the Sant poet Kabīr, the Muslim weaver (*julābā*) revered as a model by Sant poets. He may well have inspired Rajasthani weaver poems, but actually the weaver poems assigned to Kabīr are confined to Rajasthani manuscripts and therefore cannot be connected directly with the revered author from Banaras. In the Sant compositions from Rajasthan, the weaver appears typically as a member of the Koli caste, reported to have eked out a wretched living.⁸⁸

The warp represents the elements of the human body as conceived in tantric yoga. Its threads are the conduits through which the breath passes and gathers in the central conduit. Here it propels up to the cranial vault the creative power or the five elementary principles. Remembrance is the woof, and the recitation of the name of God is the rhythmically moving shuttle. The weaver's unswerving concentration on warping and weaving represents the religious practitioner's meditation. Though quite often only fragments of the ergological process are mentioned, these are usually rendered in a correct sequence, as would be expected in compositions addressing an audience for whom this was household knowledge. The similes function, however, not as factual descriptions but focus on yogic essentials. Dādū's Koli song in this collection (text no. 21) constitutes an example of the depiction of a fairly consecutive process. The scheme underlying this is:

Cleansing of the warp threads; applying starch and oil to give the warp firmness and smoothen the threads to ease the passing of the shuttle.

Insertion of the warp threads in the comb.

Winding the spool and inserting it into the shuttle; driving the shuttle.

Production of the cotton cloth while taking care to mend broken threads.

Appraisal of the produce as selling well in the market of the beyond.
 Delivery of the cloth to the weaver's master.
 Denouement.

Other weaving songs are more intricate, including some of those attributed to Kabīr but also one of Hardās, hence of Rajasthani origin.⁸⁹ The complexity of this Koli song challenged commentators.

कोली करता की गति जाणै ।
 जोग अठोतर नली नवासै, सूत समेटै ताणै ॥ (टेक)
 पांच परीता फेरि अपूठौ, दे खूंटी बिसतारै ।
 बारबार चित धागै राखै, जीति सारि न हारै ॥१॥
 झ्यौढ अढाई गिणि गिणि गांठै, तामैं तार न चूकै ।
 बुणकर बस्त बिधाता पायौ, अटल बरबरि धूकै ॥२॥
 इंद्र गजी ले आतुर चाडै, सूनी साल न छाडै ।
 तब हरदास कहावै कोली, मांगि मजूरी लाडै ॥३॥

The weaver knows the ways of the Creator,

Yoga (or: union) of the hundred and eight with eighty-nine (bobbin lengths in the shuttle. He collects the threads while warping. (refrain)

The five he rolls back from behind. He sets the pegs and spreads out (the warp).

Again and again he checks the threads; he won't lose the game piece once won. (1)
 Counting repeatedly one and a half, two and a half, he ties; in so doing, the threads do not run out.

The weaver has obtained the real thing (or: the cloth) representing the Creator, immovable, identical with him he bows to him. (2)

He is eager to offer the cotton cloth made of his senses, he never leaves his loom empty.

Hardās, someone is called a weaver if he rejoices in working on demand. (3)

The composition shows a propensity for numbers—enigmatic for a modern reader but probably not for a listener of the sixteenth century—which resembles the tantric parlance displayed by the Nāth Siddhas. In Hardās's song, the weaver prepares a warp of the hundred and eight and the eighty-nine conduits in his body. A hundred and eight can perhaps be related to the murmured prayers counted by that many beads of the rosary. A citation of the trope of eighty-nine, as used by Gorakhnāth, has been mentioned above. According to Hardās's song, warping demands utmost concentration to avoid the confusion or dropping of threads. The yogic practitioner is engaged in 'winding back' diversification into the real one. This is the process of weaving the immaculate fabric, which is the union of the self and the Self. The five principal elements are wound back. This corresponds to the winding of the warp on the back roller of the loom. It seems that in stanza 1 the author refers to pegs (*khūmthī*) between which the woof is stretched. Pegs operating as twisting handles

at both ends of the cloth-beam prevent it from slipping and help in progressively winding up the woof.⁹⁰ At the end of the stanza, Hardās slips into the imagery of the game, which forms a popular trope.⁹¹ The game-piece won by the weaver is the rarely obtained human existence. A variant reading spells this out more directly: ‘life once obtained he won’t lose’.⁹² Stanza 2 seems to be still concerned with warping, for Hardās speaks of making knots (*gāṃṭhai*). The verb is also used for attaching oneself emotionally to something or someone. The repeated units of one and a half and two and a half, counted all the while by the weaver, are interpreted by commentators as the four stages of consciousness. This does not, however, explain the fractioned measurement of the units. One might think of the breath rhythm of inhaling, pausing, exhaling, pausing, and so forth. Interestingly, the fabric woven by the Kolī is a coarse cotton cloth, the same type of cloth also mentioned in Dādū’s Kolī song (text no. 21).

An anonymous commentary on the song, first appearing in a manuscript of VS 1821, almost ignores the ergological aspects of the song and offers an interpretation which is paraphrased here:⁹³

Refrain: Eight [more than a hundred] (*aṭhotara*): Five principal elements (*tattva*), three qualities (*guṇa*), these are tied to Nārāyaṇa. Eighty-nine (*nalī navāsai*): He (the practitioner) keeps the nine doors stable. Threads (*sūta*): deep concentration, mystical awareness (*suratī*). Collects (*sametai*): He makes them stable in the heart while warping. He thereby guards the Lord in himself.

Stanza 1: Five rollers (*pāṃca paritā*): five senses. From the world he turns back the pegs (*kbūṃṭī*). This means acquiring knowledge. Spreads (*bistārai*): the protection of Govinda. He does not allow the thread of his deep concentration to break. Game-piece (*sāri*): the body (*sarīra*).

Stanza 2: One and a half, two and a half (*dyodha adhāi*): the four states of consciousness. He ties them with Govinda. ‘Four’ [indicates] four inner faculties (*catuṣṭa aṃtabakaraṇa*). Weaver (*bunakara*): the embodied soul (*jīva*).

Stanza 3: Senses (*indra*): the self. Cotton cloth (*gajī*): reflecting on his body (*guṇatā sīra*). Eagerly offers (*ātura hvai cāḍhai*): while weaving, he makes himself the same as Govinda. Loom, weaver’s workshop (*sālā*): in the body he remains stable. Then he is called a weaver (*taba kolī kāriḡara kahāvai*). Work (*maṃjūrī*): vision (*darsana*). Rejoices (*lāḍai*): rejoices (the commentator uses a synonym).

This commentary suggests that by the second half of the eighteenth century exegetes disambiguously related the various elements of the craft imagery to religious notions.

The last genuinely Rajasthani example of a Kolī song is by Rajab:⁹⁴

रे सुन कोली प्राण हमारा, तू करिले काम संवारा ।
करगहि बैठि गजी बुणि लीजे, बड़ता भला तुम्हारा ॥टेक ॥ ।

नौ सौ पूरि निरंतर ताणां, भाव भक्ति करि भेवो ।
 मांडी महर तेल तत्त्व निर्मल, प्रेम छांट दे लेवो ॥ १ ॥
 बैठि विचार सुनि फणी फहम की, सर्व सूत भरि लीजे ।
 मन चित लाय कृत्य करि कोली, तार न टूटण दीजे ॥२ ॥
 बाणें बाहि वस्तु वित ऊंचा, ज्यों उस हाट विक्रावै ।
 लेऊ राम महा अति चौकसी, और न नीडै आवै ॥३ ॥
 ऐसी समझि बुणी रे बुणकर, फेरि उल्टी नहीं आवै ।
 रजब रहै राम घर रेजा, दर्श दाति वित पावै ॥४ ॥

Listen, my weaver-soul, focus on your work,
 Sit at the loom and weave the cotton cloth, and you will keep your job in good order.
 (refrain)

While warping uninterruptedly the nine hundred threads, smoothen them with the
 water of emotional bhakti.

Apply on them the starch of compassion and the oil of the pure real thing, sprinkle
 love on it. (1)

Sit and listen mindfully to the shuttle of gnosis, let it run through all the threads.

Weaver, do your job absorbed in mind and thought, do not allow the thread to
 break. (2)

If you keep weaving, the item will become a precious good (piece) selling well in the
 yonder market.

Speak the name of Rām with utmost watchfulness, let nothing interfere with this. (3)

Weaver, if you weave with such an understanding, you will not come back!

The precious fabric of Rām's house, says Rajab, will endure: The wealth you will
 obtain is the gift of vision. (4)

(3) Warfare

Tropes of siege and war express the seeker's struggle with his restive mind and the
 demands of his physical body, which needs to be subdued to the esoteric body.
 There is a specific genre of compositions, sometimes of epic length, called *yog-
 samgrām*, 'battle of yoga', and this is also the topic of numerous lyrics and inde-
 pendent verses. The devotee focusing his mind on the eternal is described as a
 fighter holding on to a rope while besieging the fortress of the body. For tropes of
 siege and war in this volume, see for example text nos. 37, 60, and 79.

Heroism is a stance running through Rajasthani literature. This has been
 captured insightfully by Janet Kamphorst:⁹⁵

The battle-death of a warrior..., who is thought to give up his life selflessly, in order
 to serve others, is commonly presented in terms of ascetic renunciation of life. Both
 a warrior and renouncer were thought to relinquish life. The warrior's renunciation
 comes about by dying in battle while a renouncer is believed to die to the world in a

spiritual sense. A warrior's asceticism rather differs from what is thought of as 'standard' Brahminical views rendering ascetic renunciation a final choice upon which one cannot go back. Martial ideals of ascetic warriorhood were part of pastoral-nomadic survival strategies, which is to say that warrior ascetics generally survived by combining family life, agricultural subsistence and cattle herding (or raiding) with military service.

Sequences of expressive sounds formed part of stylistic devices of Cāraṇ poetry, for their recital was meant to inculcate in the audience an appetite for war. Formidably impressive even on the printed page, these devices were brought out fully by staccato performance. Such sequences of hoarse or rough sounds were or could be formed into meaningful words, but belligerence incited by sound was considered more important. After all, fast staccato recitation would not have allowed for adequate grammatical understanding. An example of the adoption of this device in Sant poetry is found in text no. 79, vv. 35 and 36. More relevant details will follow soon when discussing compositions drawing expressly on Cāraṇ poetry.⁹⁶

(4) Agriculture

Tropes of agriculture are closely connected with martial ones for the cultural reasons brought out in the above-quoted words of Kamphorst. The Sants equate their utmost concentration on the inner self with heroism and farming, for both of these require single-minded dedication and attentiveness. The Sants capture the eradication of worldliness by the imagery of farming. The religious practitioner is like a farmer uprooting straws and weeds while tilling the field (text no. 7, vv. 8, 11). To harvest plentifully, he has to sow the seeds at the right moment of the beginning of the rainy season. In the same way a warrior sows the seed of fame, namely, his blood, in the field, which represents both the woman and the battlefield. For the Sants, progress on the spiritual path requires watchfulness comparable to that of a farmer guarding his field at night. Ploughing and levelling are equivalents of subduing the mind. The Rajasthani poet Prithvīrāj Raṭhaur exploits such metaphors in his classic sixteenth-century poem, *Krisan rukmaṇī rī velī*. In this he juxtaposes the metaphor of waging a fierce war with tilling the field by Krishna's brother Balarām who fights with his plough.⁹⁷ Prithvīrāj's poem follows the style which was perfected by the Cāraṇs. The following example from Cāraṇ poetry reveals some of the equivalences with Sant poetry.⁹⁸

Lālsimh Rāṭhaur in an Agricultural Allegory:

The hero's fame falls as the seed on the Rajput field, he has fertilized it by burning
the enemies' hearts,

A mighty ploughman ploughing, he has started his violent farming. (1)

Pulling out the roots is the battle, the powerful king ploughs under the dust of pride,

The hero levels the clods representing the enemy, with the leveling plank he makes the uneven even. (2)

He pulls out the weeds with their roots, he urges forward the horse pulling the plough,

He distributes the farmhands' rations to his troops helping him with his furious weeding. (3)

The troops sit in lines for feeding; Lālā, the descendant of Dūlā, is a generous farmer. Zealously he breaks off the heads from their stems, he is a formidable farmer. Hail, hail to him! (4)

Who can match the grandson of Pahārsīm who receives the whole earth as his reward?

The nobility delight in learning about the Rajput style of agriculture of the Rāṭhaur. (5)

The ideals of Sant, warrior, and farmer come together in the Persian term *langar* mentioned in the Rajasthani original of the verse above. Commensality practices were central to the warriors to uphold clan solidarity and kinship. Similarly it was part of the constant give and take custom of the Sants and their lay patrons. The practice of *langar* continues in the farming societies of Rajasthan until today, where it is called *goṭh*, the feast of the farmers with their neighbours and helpers after the harvest.

Performance

Preachers drew on the Sant tradition, including their own compositions for their performance. From early on these came to be collected in anthologies. When praising Rajab, the poet and compiler of the anthology *Sarbaṅgī*,⁹⁹ the hagiographer Rāghavdās (also Rāghodās) pointed out the merits of Rajab not only as an anthologist but also as a preacher. As an anthologist, Rāghavdās says, he focused on compositions expressing the supreme value of the Sants, the ultimate reality. This can be appreciated by a modern reader of the anthology. As an independent poet, Rajab is praised not only for the type of compositions enumerated by Rāghavdās but also for being a mine of anecdotes, by which he would exemplify those compositions in his homilies:¹⁰⁰

In the *Sarbaṅgī* he told of the ultimate reality and collected the poetry of all.

Of his distichs (*sākhī*), songs, and *kavittas*¹⁰¹, none comes without an example.

All the anecdotes (*prasaṅg*) in the world stand reverentially at his disposal.

The homiletic talent of Rajab and, for that matter, the oral homiletic tradition practised in the seventeenth century elude us. The name of Rajab's *Sarbaṅgī* means 'Comprising all limbs (alternatively: all themes as they are arranged chapterwise)'.¹⁰²

Thematically organized anthologies served as manuals used by preachers to prepare and deliver homilies.¹⁰² They would fit topical verses into the context, preferentially, of the events of Dādū's life. These anecdotes were called *prasaṅg*, 'context', and preaching based on this, the *prasaṅg-kathā*. In this way, the sacred utterances came alive by contextualization. They were authenticated by mentioning place and time of an event in the saint's life and were proffered as valid answers to problems arising in specific situations. Thereby they were brought into the experiential orbit of a preacher's audience. Among the forces shaping this orbit was the regional story telling tradition which comprised more than religiously edifying tales. Examples (*dr̥ṣṭānt*) from the broader tradition of proverbs and stories transported the cultural value system in an entertaining fashion. A talented preacher drew amply from the treasure trove of the regional popular stories and legends. Sant authors also compiled collections of anecdotes which they further elaborated by examples. There are countless examples of enormous thematic variety, and these were also put together in collections to serve a preacher's needs.¹⁰³

Suffice it to give two illustrations. The first one comes from an anthology coupling anecdotes of Dādū's life with examples. It was authored by Campārām (d. 1843) in the 1820s. He relied on the tradition of his own lineage of sadhus which can be traced back to about three hundred years from now. His work is organized according to the contents of the works of Dādū, which were all but canonized shortly after Dādū's death. In an earlier paragraph, we quoted a distich expressive of the complementary roles of sadhus and laity.¹⁰⁴ Campārām selected this very distich to open his homiletic guide through the *Dādūvāṇī's sākhī* chapter entitled 'Chapter on the sadhu':¹⁰⁵

Dādū, if you give food to the body, you receive peace of mind,
If you feed a sadhu, you realize that your soul is identical with Rām.

Campārām takes off from this by adding an example:

Dhannā gave the Sants food, thereby satisfying them.
Though seeds had been missing, his field bore fruit, and he also found God.

The example represents in a nutshell the summary of the story of Dhanā (also Dhannā) as he also appears in the hagiography composed by Anantdās around 1600.¹⁰⁶ The difference lies in the elaboration of Dhanā's vita which receives a specific position in the Dādūpanthī topography. The editor of Campārām's anthology was Sv. Narayandas. This sadhu-scholar hailed from a prestigious lineage of the Dādūpanthī Nāgās¹⁰⁷ in whose sophisticated scholarly tradition he had been groomed. He was no doubt the most widely read, most erudite, and the most productive of Dādūpanthī scholars in the twentieth century. His scholarly approach was based on matchless first-hand knowledge of Dādūpanthī manuscript sources and

the traditional hagiographical knowledge system which he combined seamlessly with his vast knowledge of the history of his sect. He was familiar with the tradition of Campārām because this had been transmitted to the sadhus whose homilies Narayandas had imbibed as homiletic models during his own monastic training. His commentary of the anecdotes and examples is, therefore, informed by the pattern of this ongoing tradition. He comments on the above-quoted example:

Dhannā was a Jāt of village Dhuā in the Tonk District. One day he was on his way to sow his field. His cart was loaded with wheat. On the road he met Sants, who had been going without food. Therefore, Dhannā gave the Sants all the seed for food, and because he was afraid of his family, he tilled empty furrows in the field. However, because he had given the wheat to the Sants, Dhannā's field yielded a richer harvest than any of the neighbouring fields, and he also found God identical with his soul.

The story would amuse people, for Jāṭs are known for their skill as cultivators. Accordingly, Dhannā was clearly a misfit. The unlikely story rang true, though, for had the incident not happened close by, in a village in Tonk District? This goes to prove that the simple-minded is the elect of God. Go ahead, do as Dhannā did!

The other illustration comes from a manual for preachers authored by Sv. Narayandas himself. This appears as an appendix to his edition of Campārām's work.¹⁰⁸ The structure of it is based on the consecutive stations of Dādū's life. These are depicted in hagiography and familiar to every Dādūpanthī, also because the sectarian festive cycle includes visits to those places. The text is thereby chronologically and topographically organized. For the various events in the Master's life, that is the *prasaṅgs*, Narayandas provided copiously elaborated *exempla*. We have chosen the following sample passage which refers to *pad*s of Dādū included in the present volume. It is taken from the narrative of the last few months of Dādū's life. It sets in at the stage when Dādū had a premonition of his impending demise and retired to Naraina, the town where land had been given to him and his young sect for the construction of a monastic settlement. This settlement was to become the main seat of the Dādūpanth. Here Dādū is reported to have given the quintessence of his teachings and made dispositions regarding the future of his sect. The site of that settlement is close to the magnificent Tripoliya Gate of Naraina. The relevant chapter of Narayandas's manual is therefore entitled 'Nārāyaṇā tripoliyā prasaṅg'. The passage refers to the days preceding Dādū's death when visitors thronged in to catch sight of him and partake of his spiritual legacy:¹⁰⁹

On the fifth day, the lord of Naraina, Nārāyaṅsingh, along with his brothers Bhojrāj and Bhīmraj, came to Dādū at Tripoliya. They made obeisance to him and sat down. Then Bhīmraj asked: 'Svami, let me experience the true form of the Supreme Self!' Dādūjī recited *pad* no. 243,¹¹⁰ 'My mind is weary of speaking' (text no. 16). On

hearing this, Bhīmraĳ was very satisfied. Then Bhoĳraĳ said: ‘Svami, you have called the Supreme Self indescribable, but the learned engage in describing the Supreme Self all the time. In order to allay Bhoĳraĳ’s doubt, Dādūĳi recited *pad* no. 245, ‘No one can grasp the Ungraspable’ (text no. 17). As he heard this song, Bhoĳraĳ and all present in the gathering bowed their heads in acceptance, then took their leave and went to the palace. On the sixth day, the lord of Naraina, Nārāyaṅsingh, accompanied by his minister Kapūrcand and others, came to Tripoliya, paid obeisance and sat down. Kapūrcand asked: ‘Svami, what is the real form of the Supreme Self?’ Upon this Dādūĳi recited *pad* no. 244, ‘I’ve asked what my beloved might be like’ (text no. 18)...

Hearing this song, all present in the gathering were amazed, then took their leave and went to the palace.

If you meet a sadhu, you meet Hari, the root of all happiness and bliss,
Dādū says, Rām pervades a gathering of sadhus.¹¹¹

Then he recited *pad* no. 199, ‘Rare are the supreme lovers’ (text no. 14). When in the past Sants came to Naraina, they recited the last-mentioned *sākbī* and *pad*.

The sample narrative is carefully graded. Dādū recites three *pads*, the first addressing the youngest of the brothers, the second the middle, and the last one forming the climax by being addressed to the head of his patron’s family. This was Nārāyaṅsingh Khaṅgārot, the Kachvaha Rajput landlord of Naraina, who had given Dādū the land on which to lay out his settlement. Thereby, the anecdote fits the last days of Dādū in to an authentic historical frame. After this, the chapter goes on with more *pads* and *sākbīs* to conclude with the last *sākbīs* articulated by Dādū before he passed away.¹¹² Put in the context of Dādū’s passing, the songs and *sākbīs* become portentous. By their net content and phrasing, however, they are neither novel nor unique, neither in Dādū’s oeuvre nor in the compositions of other Sant authors. They receive their aura by being related to a particular event in Dādū’s life. Interestingly, the three songs quoted in the passage are consecutive in the *Dādū-vāṇī*. In his edition, Sv. Narayandas took them to form a cluster of songs entitled ‘Amazement’ (*hairān*). This triad of songs is taken to reveal the awesome true form of the Supreme Self.¹¹³ In taking these as a cluster, the author followed the redaction that came to supplement the basic redaction of Dādū’s works containing two parts, one of thematic chapters of distichs, and the other with songs grouped under their respective *rāgs*. This supplementary redaction, named the *aṅgabandhu* recension, introduced thematic paragraphs throughout the *vāṇī*, that is, including the songs, and may have been already made in the first generation of the sect.¹¹⁴ This reveals that in the quoted passage Sv. Narayandas did not make an arbitrary selection but followed a long-established sectarian tradition.

Sant compositions were, thus, transmitted orally and in manuscripts. Some Sant oeuvres started being canonized at an early date, such as the Sikh *Ādigraṅth* and the *Dādūvāṇī*. But this did not close the parallel oral transmission and continued production of poetry assigned to individual authors, nor did the rise of the printed book. Therefore, textual criticism developed for the historical study of written literature does not form a suitable instrument for determining the auctorial authenticity of a composition. Rather, authenticity is constructed in an ongoing process of performance, which relies on structures of transmission of which only fragments have been retrieved so far. When, as in the above-quoted passage, compositions with no conclusive auctorial marker at all, apart from the exchangeable signature assigned to them, are set in the context of the dying Master's legacy, they attain authenticity. Sant compositions therefore require performance to retain the rank of religious testimony. It is through performance that they sink into the heart of the audience. In a purely individual performance, such as singing a *pad* or reciting a sequence of *sākbīs*, the individual performer also instantiates the numerous performances of the relevant compositions that he may have attended and that form part of his own store of affective knowledge. Without performance and performance remembered, devotees cannot relate to those compositions. But for real or remembered performance they are dead letter.

As for the little-studied structure of transmission, there are a number of testimonies, all of which point to patterns of performance. Maybe from the seventeenth century, the Dādūpanthī tradition features a thematic substructure below the distribution of aphorisms by thematic chapters and the lyrics, by *rāgs*. This was applied to the oeuvre of Dādū as well as to the works, and results in smaller clusters of compositions addressing a particular topic. As has been mentioned, this is the substructure observed in the aforequoted passage from the manual of Sv. Narayandas. Individual sadhus would create for themselves repertoires of poetry which they would recite or weave into their homilies in congregational performance. Singers were and still are renowned for their performance of particular lyrics or, more generally, *rāgs*. One of the features of that redactional substructure is that certain clusters of compositions are understood to form dialogues between guru and disciple.¹¹⁵ The logic of this need not be revealed at the text surface but is based on a common practice and understanding. As far as texts in this collection are concerned, one can trace in the works of Bakhanāṃ preserved in manuscripts since 1730, a system of endorsing the author's message by either a *sākbī* of his own or of Dādū. An example of this is text no. 36, which has a prelude *sākbī*:

Bakhanāṃ has learnt that the Veda is a jungle and love poetry a lake,
Fish getting drunk on milk will die.

In the case of Bakhanāṃ, this arrangement in the form of a topical prelude *sākbhī* and a lyric may have been made by redactors. However, it certainly reflects common usage. Dādū's amanuensis Mohandās Daftarī, for example, wrote a didactic text named *Brahma-līlā-granth*, which has 43 couplets twice intersected by *sākbhīs* of Dādū.¹¹⁶ In this text he emphasizes again and again that his teaching is owed to the enlightenment he received from Dādū. By inserting the Master's *sākbhīs*, Mohandās authenticates his own teaching.

Sant Reflections on Aesthetics

Bakhanāṃ, speech is only good if the name of Rām is in it,
Explaining, listening, speaking without Rām is worthless.

Beautiful teeth, the nine tastes and the sixteen kinds of ornaments lack lustre if the
mouth is not beautiful,

Similarly there is no beauty where the name of Rām is missing.¹¹⁷

These verses transmitted as Bakhanāṃ's would have been endorsed unanimously by all Sants. They consider the art of poetry as a handmaiden in the articulation of faith. Sants loved posing as ignorant of poetic refinement which was a device to emphasize their blissful lowliness. While they composed in fact excellent poetry, it is true that they started articulating their thoughts about the role of literary aesthetics only around the mid-seventeenth century. Such reflection sets in with Sundardās, but its beginning lies in the first decade of the century, when the education of the same Sundardās was made a project by his elder mentors in the Dādūpanth. Because they envisaged for him an education firmly based on the current philosophical and literary theories in both Sanskrit and the vernaculars, they sent him for studies to Banaras. This was the time when vernacular poetic theory had attained great heights by about half a century. The poet and literary theorist Keśavdās (fl. sixteenth century), a poet at the court of Orcha, was the most renowned representative of this development.¹¹⁸ Theory-based vernacular poetry was called *rīti* (convention, manner). The Sants were, of course, cognizant of its success, and promptly denounced it as decorative glitter deflecting from the real message they wished to transmit. The elegantly simple Sant poetry in the prosodic forms cultivated also in the *rīti* style shows both their proficiency in this and their self-consciously kept distance from it. They rejected the twistedness of *rīti* which would have hopelessly obscured their teachings. Sant poetry came to share with *rīti* an emphasis on grammatical and metrical correctness, but it held its own in trying to convey as clearly as possible a religious message. For clarity's sake, Sants drew also from the deep well of popular tradition, proverbs or metaphors from daily life. By 1660, we find Rāghavdās acknowledging and specifying in his hagiography the literary merit of particular

Sants.¹¹⁹ This hagiographer belonged to a lineage in the Dādūpanth, cultivating the ethos and aesthetic sensibility of the courtly Rajput milieu and betrays the aesthetic perspective of this. One of his lineage's forebears was a descendant of the Kachvahas of Amber, patrons of a galaxy of Sanskrit and vernacular poets, foremost among whom was Bihārīlāl (seventeenth century). The cousins of the Dādūpanthīs, the Nirañjanīs, expressly stated that the vernacular literary language had to be grammatically and metrically refined to give power to the religious message. This principle made itself felt in the intellectual life of a community of sadhus that emerged in the beginning of the seventeenth century in Fatehpur, Sikar District.¹²⁰ Sundardās would join this after the completion of his studies. Here, sadhus proficient in Sanskrit and champions of the vernacular literary language pursued projects of translation of Sanskrit religious texts into the vernacular. In 1635 Caturdās, the disciple of Santdās and like his teacher one of the sadhus of the Fatehpur ashram, concluded his translation of the eleventh book of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. This book attained wide circulation. Towards the end of his work he explained that the translator's mission was a religious one, namely, the dissemination of religious messages to common people:¹²¹

As Vyāsa spoke about [the deeds of Krishna] in Sanskrit, the meaning of this did not become clear.

Pandits may understand this, but others never will.

Therefore, out of compassion he [Santdās] commissioned this task to me, his servant.

I kept the benefit of all in mind, and with all my heart spread it in the vernacular language.

It is thereby evident that the aesthetic reflections in the work of Sundardās had their seed in a long-standing engagement with the current literary developments on the part of seventeenth-century Sant intellectuals.

Two of our authors, Rajab and Sundardās, are among the early Sants who crafted their poetry in the genres and prosodic forms that were popular among the poets who flourished in the courtly settings. The Nirañjanī Sants followed suit, though a little later than the disciples of Dādū. Rajab exercised great mastery over the quatrain forms (*kavit* and *savaiyā*), the favourite of the *rīti* poets, while Sundardās affirmed that Sant poetry must satisfy the standard of learned rhetorics. He borrowed from earlier traditions of *rīti* poetry and Sanskrit ornate poetry (*kāvya*) to cater to the needs of a new and decidedly non-courtly audience. Sant literature (*bāṇī* or *sant-bāṇī*, 'sayings of the Sants') is often understood to contrast with *rīti* poetry. While the early Sants hardly addressed aesthetic issues, Sundardās clearly did and set new standards for Sant poetry by engaging with the classical and the current courtly poetic discourses. He emphasizes the importance of ornate poetry well equipped

with poetic figures and metres. He dismisses flawed poetry lacking proper metre or correct rhyme, or sung badly (text no. 67):

Speak only if you know how to speak, otherwise keep your mouth closed and stay silent.

Compose poetry just if you know how to do so, with rhyme, metre and meaning that can't be matched.

Sing only if you've a fine singing voice, so that listening to it enraptures the heart.

Poetic speech that's meaningless, with broken rhyme or metre—this, says Sundar, should never be voiced!

With Sundardās the need of refined poetic craft gets firmly established in the Sant tradition. His thirteen octaves—sets of eight or more verses—show his philosophical expertise in Vedānta, Sufism and bhakti as well as his multilingual talent. These octaves follow a Brajbhāṣā pattern, having registers of Marvari, Purabi (eastern Hindi), Panjabi, Rekhta, Persian and Sanskrit. Some of these octaves came to feature in the liturgy of the Dādūpanth. Sundardās's poem 'Roaming the Regions' (*Deśāṭan*), a flourish of *savaiyās*, is a fictitious guide to the regions. Sundardās did indeed travel from the west as far as Banaras and back, but the ironical picture of the regions he draws relies on the conventions followed in Rajasthani poetry by inspiration from more ancient models.¹²² Most of the time, these conventions are deployed to allow Marwar to shine brightly among the surrounding boorish regions. Sundardās's shorter works include philosophical poetry on the fifty-two letters of the Nāgarī alphabet (*bāvnī*) and riddles on literary conventions, while others allude to lexicographical practice. Acrostic didactic poems such as the *bāvnī* were composed by the Jains and Sants prior to the seventeenth-century. Sundardās's *bāvnī*, however, relates more to the prevailing literary trends of Brajbhāṣā courtly poetry, as he applied the rhetorical techniques of alliteration and pun in this didactic poem. Sundardās was among the poets of early modern Hindi who used many proverbs of various north Indian dialects and philosophical maxims of Sanskrit for didactic purposes. He not only presented himself as learned in the classical tradition of Sanskrit but also as conversant with the newly emerging Brajbhāṣā courtly poetry whose authors competed with each other in feats of *ex tempore* compositions. Sundardās is the earliest Sant who composed complex pictorial poetry on theological topics, such as the following *citrabandha*. In this type of graphic representation of poetry, the words are arranged in spirals, trees, etc. *Citrabandha* poetry forms part of the art of memory.¹²³ *Citrabandhas* support instruction and were used in the education of Jain ascetics.¹²⁴ Sundardās must have been familiar with this model, but he may have been actually prompted to introduce it into Sant writing when exploring new ways of writing during his poetic training in Banaras. Using this device, the poet describes the phenomenal world using the metaphor of a tree that is made of five elements

each with their particular properties. In eleven of such *citrabandhas*, many of which are illustrated in the above-mentioned manuscript, Sundardās not only presents Sant principles but also literary conventions and tropes, thereby proving that these were used for instructional purposes.



Ill. 16: The universe as a tree. MS 113 (VS 1734) Vidyābhūṣaṇ Collection.
© Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur.

Composing sophisticated didactic poetry enabled Sundardās to educate devotees through his preaching. He treated the traditional topics of poetics, such as prosody, with remarkable humour and, in this way, made these appealing also to a non-scholarly audience. He adopted discourses of traditional poetics with the aim to set standards of of flawless aesthetically rewarding Sant poetry. According to him, verse written in faulty metres hobbles along like a lame man and agitates poets and connoisseurs (text no. 69):

Reading poetry flawless from head to toe is really very nice.

If someone reads verses without enough limbs, though, poets take to flight.

If syllables are too many or missing, poetry limps like a lame man.

With too few or many morae, it staggers like a drunkard.

If the rhymes don't match, it's like a crooked person with only one eye; it's like a blind man when it's meaningless.

Says Sundar: The life of a poem's the praise of Hari; without the praise of Hari it's dead.

The comparison of faults in poetry with bodily deficiencies goes back to Sanskrit poetics and is continued in Brajbhāṣā *rīti* poetics, closer in time and language to Sundardās.¹²⁵ By the time of Sundardās the *rīti* poet Keśavdās's texts were already current in literary circles. As an innovation in comparison with earlier poetics, Keśavdās had already categorized the many poets in a threefold hierarchy from worst over middling to best according to the subject of their compositions. His placement of the poets 'who are engrossed in the taste of Hari' (*hari-ras-līn*) as the best of all gained influence in the emerging discourse on aesthetics.¹²⁶ Sundardās shared this sentiment when defining the motive of poetry, which, in his words, should tally with Sant principles (text no. 61):¹²⁷

Literature can be composed in many ways, like building an elegant dwelling,

But what is the use of a temple, says Sundar, if that houses no sacred image?

Despite Sundardās's emphasis on the significance of aesthetics, the above-quoted couplet makes it clear that 'singing the virtues of Hari' (*harijas*) is the life force of a poem. Only by virtue of this can it endure. In this way Sundardās brought Sant poetry in line with traditional poetics and at the same time affirmed Sant values. He however diverged from *rīti* poets with respect to the female principle, both as a topic of poetry and an allegory of poetic speech. Personifying poetry as a woman and thereby charging it with erotics was a long-established tradition inherited from Sanskrit literature and a preoccupation of courtly *rīti* poetry. Sundardās rejected erotics as an element of religious poetry but retained woman purged of this as an allegory of good speech (text no. 66):

One kind of poetic speech is like a woman with beautiful clothes and pretty adornments: she's described as lustrously shining.

Another type's like a woman whose clothes are torn and tattered; listening to her poetic speech is repellent.

The third type is simply dead, like a woman smothered by too many ornaments: although she may appeal to some, Sants stay away from her.

Three types of poetic speech exist in the world, says Sundar, but distinguishing one from another needs cleverness and skill.

Threefold classifications of poetry were common in Sanskrit,¹²⁸ but Sundardās associated three types of poetic speech with dominant rhetorical trends articulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sundardās’s diction is crucial to his pun because he referred specifically to a woman’s ornaments (*śringār*). The word *śringār* is multivalent: on the one hand, it is synonymous with *bhūṣaṇ* (ornament), on the other hand, it means ‘erotic sentiment’ and has its place in erotically laden courtly literature as well as in the Krishna bhakti. On this account, Sundardās warned his audience—in his words, the Sant community—against the negative effects of erotic poetry. His intertextual references and careful diction attest to both his familiarity with the court poetry of his time as well as his ability to use those very same categories to caution against the temptations coming with the courtly poetic language. Being aware of the literary culture that existed beyond the borders of Sant literature in his own time, Sundardās criticized some of the major genres and works of *rīti* literature (text no. 68):

Rasikapriyā, Rasmañjarī, Śringār: informed by these books’ ideas, clever writers show women in ways that please the senses.

Shown in ways pleasing the senses, a woman appeals to lecherous men.

Praising a woman’s body from head to toe gives rise to the strongest desires.

Like a patient making his illness worse by eating heavy sweets,

Such are those lecherous people, says Sundar, engaging with *Rasikapriyā*.

Sundardās used a pun (*śleṣa*) on the words *rasikapriyā* (the connoisseur’s beloved) in the first and last lines and on *rasmañjarī* (bouquet of emotion), *śringār* (erotic sentiment) and *viṣaim* (topics, senses, desires) in the first and the third line. Each of these words generally relates to heroines and aesthetics in ornate poetry (*kāvya*). The first three words are also titles of rhetoric manuals of *rīti*, namely, Keśavdās’s *Rasikapriyā* (1591), Bhānudatta’s Sanskrit treatise *Rasmañjarī* on the characteristics of the heroine (*nāyikā-bheda*) composed in the 1500s, and the *Sundar-śringār* (1631), composed by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan’s court poet Sundar Kavirāy, and, finally, the *Rasmañjarī* of Nanddās (fl. 16th century). Bhānudatta’s Sanskrit treatise had inspired Nanddās, who was one of the eight great poets associated with the bhakti sect of Vallabhācārya. Sundardās’s well-informed criticism did not go unnoticed by the later generation of devotional poets. However, the poetic device of pun that Sundardās used in words like *śringār* was simplified later when the Nirañjanī poet-saints in Rajasthan, the Jain intellectuals based in Agra, as well as the nineteenth-century Svāminārāyaṇī devotional poets of Gujarat expressed their disapproval of the themes of courtly poetry for their respective audiences.¹²⁹

Prosody

Manuscripts never mention metres for *pāds* and *sākbīs*, but they always do for didactic texts, i.e. *granth*s. The names of metres highlighted by the scribes in red ink emphasize the esteem for composing in a variety of metres and facilitate their correct use in performance. Some of the didactic texts exhibit indeed a rich variety of metres.

An independent strophe is a unit self-comprised with respect to grammar, syntax and meaning. This is called *muktak*, ‘free’.¹³⁰ Strings of strophes, of which not all are necessarily self-comprised, appear in the songs (*pad*) and didactic texts (*granth*, *updes*). A simple strophe consists of 4 quarters (*pād*), conveniently named a, b, c, and d. Strophes are organized in two lines with an end-rhyme (b-d). Quite often, there is also an internal rhyme (a-b; c-d). There are also half-strophes, consisting of two *pāds*, as well as composite metres exceeding four *pāds*.

The smallest prosodical unit is the mora (*mātrā*), that is, a short vowel (V), or a consonant (C) followed by a short vowel (CV). A short syllable is called ‘light’, *laghu*. All other syllables are long and called ‘heavy’, *guru*. In the following, short syllables are marked ∪, and long syllables –. In some metres, the end of the quarter can be either short or long (anceps). The consonant combination *-nb-*, *mb-*, or the *-by-* in a perfective participle can be treated as short or long. Moreover, there is some prosodic licence by which long vowels can count as short.

In numerous metres, the metrical units are grouped by three syllables. These clusters are called ‘group’, *gaṇ*. A *laghu* or *guru* syllable at the end of a *pād* forms a *gaṇ* in its own right. The *gaṇ*s bear individual names. Thereby *gaṇ*-based metres can be defined by just saying that the verse has so and so many *gaṇ*s of this or that type. This is not mere mental acrobatics but derives from the fact that those metres were coupled with musical forms. In aesthetic theory, *gaṇ*s are also related to particular deities. For example, the mythical serpent, *piṅgal*, is the deity of the *na-gaṇ* which has three short morae and is considered auspicious to start a composition with.¹³¹ The Sant authors may have expected the connoisseurs to be familiar with this. Sundardās’s didactic text *Jñān samudra*, written in multiple metres, in conformity with Sanskrit literature starts with a *na-gaṇ*. The structure of the various *gaṇ*s is memorized by the mnemonic formula *ya-mā-tā-rā-ja-bhā-na-sa-la-gam*.

Table 2: Groups of morae (*gaṇ*)

<i>gaṇ</i>	mnemonic syllables	prosodical form
<i>ya-gaṇ</i>	<i>ya-mā-tā</i>	∪ – –
<i>ma-gaṇ</i>	<i>mā-tā-rā</i>	– – –
<i>ta-gaṇ</i>	<i>tā-rā-ja</i>	– – ∪
<i>ra-gaṇ</i>	<i>rā-ja-bhā</i>	– ∪ –
<i>ja-gaṇ</i>	<i>ja-bhā-na</i>	∪ – ∪

<i>bha-gaṇ</i>	<i>bhā-na-sa</i>	– ॐ ॐ
<i>na-gaṇ</i>	<i>na-sa-la</i>	ॐ ॐ ॐ
<i>sa-gaṇ</i>	<i>sa-la-gam</i>	ॐ ॐ –
<i>la</i>		ॐ
<i>ga</i>		–

Distinctive of many metres are caesuras within the *pād*. The end of a *pād* is marked by the sign |, and the verse is concluded by ||. A caesura is called *yati*, represented here by a comma. Moreover, there are additional verse-internal boundaries across which groups of morae cannot fuse. In prosodical scanning, these are marked by +.

Metres based on the number of morae are called ‘verses regulated by the number of their morae’, *mātrik chand*. Metres based on the number of syllables are called ‘verses regulated by the number of their syllables’, *vārṇik chand*.

Verses are furthermore classified as *sam*, identical (a=b=c=d), *ardhasam*, semi-identical (a=c, b=d), and *viṣam*, ‘uneven’, that is, composite. *Viṣam* metres represent combinations of simple verses.

I. Metres of the Independent Strophes of the Collection

Dohā

Mora-based metre, *ardhasam*; a=c: 13 *mātrās*; b=d: 11 *mātrās*. Each of the two verse lines measures 6+4+3/6+4+1.

Quarters a and c must not start with ॐ ॐ ॐ nor end in – ॐ; the rhyming quarters b and d end in – ॐ.

Variants of the *dohā* are common. There is also a metre representing a reverse *dohā*, the *sortḥā*, with the sequence of 11+13=24 *mātrās* and the rhyme between *pāds* a and b.

Example of a *dohā*:

मन	मोटा	मन	पातला,	मन	पाणी	मन	लाइ ।
ॐ ॐ	--	ॐ ॐ	– ॐ –,	ॐ ॐ	--	ॐ ॐ	– ॐ ।
जैसी	आवै	मन	महँ,	मन	तैसा	हँ	जाइ ॥
--	--	ॐ ॐ	ॐ –,	ॐ ॐ	--	–	– ॐ ॥

(text no. 29.1)

Aril

There are several variations of this mora-based metre. The *arils* presented here are all by Bājīd, who mostly uses the following variant:¹³²

Mora-based metre, *sam*; 21 *mātrās* with a caesura after the tenth or eleventh *mātrā*, the last three syllables of a *pād* are – ॐ –.

In *arils*, the last *pād* usually sets in with an off-*mātrā* (off-beat) *parihām*, an exclamation either denouncing or affirming what was said in the preceding *pāds*.

This reminds one of round-dance patterns according to which, at the turning point into the opposite direction, the movement is briefly suspended, accompanied by an exclamation.

Example:

भूल्यौ	माया	मोह,	मौत	नहि	सूझई,	सुत	दारा	धन	धाम	आपनौ	बूझई ।
--	--	-७,	-७	७७	-७-७,	७७	--	७७	-७,	-७-	-७- ।
हरि	कौ नाव	अग्यांन	हिरदै	आनई,	परिहां	दीवा	सा बुझि	जाइ	भिया	यहु	मांनई ॥
७७	-७-७	७-७,	७७-	-७-७,	७७-	--	-७७	-७,	७-	७७	-७- ॥

(text no. 83.6)

Savaiyā (mora-based)

Mora-based metre, 16/15 = 31 *mātrās*, ending in - ७.

Example:

बैल	उलटि	नायक	कौ	लाद्यौ,	बस्तु	मांहि	भरि	गौनि	अपार ।
-७	७७७	-७७	-	--७,	-७	-७	७७	-७	७-७ ।
भली	भाति	कौ	सौदा	कियो,	आइ	दिसंतर	या	संसार ॥	
७-	-७	-	--	७-७,	-७	७-७७	-	--७ ॥	
नाइकनी	पुनि	हरषत	डोलै,	मोहि	मिल्यौ	नीकौ	भरतार ।		
-७७-	७७	७७७७	--७,	-७	७-	--	७७-७ ।		
पूजी	जाइ	साह	कौ	सौपी,	सुन्दर	सर	तै	उतर्या	भार ॥
--	-७	-७	-	--७,	-७७	७७	-	७७-	-७ ॥

(text no. 64)

Kavit

Syllable-based metre, 16/15 = 31 syllables, *pād* ends in -.

Example:

बोलिये	तौ	तब	जब	बोलिबे	की	सुधि	होइ,	न तौ	मुष	मौन	करि	चुप	होइ	रहिये ॥
-७-	-	७७	७७	-७-	-	७७	-७,	७-	७७	-७	७७	७७	-७	७७- ॥
जोरिये	ऊ	तब	जब	जोरिबौ	ऊ	जानि	परै,	तुक	छंद	अरथ	अनूप	जामै	लहिये ॥	
-७-	-	७७	७७	-७-	-	-७	७-७,	७७	-७	७७७	७-७	--	७७- ॥	
गाइये	ऊ	तब	जब	गाइबे	कौ	कंठ	होइ,	श्रवण	के	सुनत	ही	मन	जाइ	गहिये ॥
-७-	-	७७	७७	-७-	-	-७	-७,	७७७	-	७७७	-	७७	-७	७७- ॥
तुक	भंग	छंद	भंग	अरथ	न	मिले	कछु,	सुन्दर	कहत	ऐसी	बांनी	नहिं	कहिये ॥	
७७	-७	-७	-७	७७७	७	७-	७७,	-७७	७७७	--	--	७७	७७- ॥	

(text no. 67)

Chappay

Composite metre with many variants according to the distribution of morae.

Mora-based metre, *viṣam*, 1 *rolā* plus 1 *ullāl* strophe:

11/13 = 24 *mātrās* (4 *pāds*)

15/13 = 28 *mātrās* (4 *pāds*)

Example:

नष	शिष	शुद्ध	कवित्त	पढ़त	अति	नीकौ	लगै ।
००	००	-०	०-०,	०००	००	--	-- ।
अंग	हीन	जो	पढ़ै,	सुनत	कविजन	उठि	भगै ॥
-०	-०	-	०-	०००	००००	००	-- ॥
अक्षर	घटि	बढ़ि	होइ,	षुड़ावत	नर	ज्यौ	चल्लै ।
०-०	००	००	-०,	०-००	००	-	-- ।
मात	घटै	बढ़ि	कोइ,	मनौ	मतवारौ	हल्लै ॥	
-०	०-	००	-०,	०-	००--	-- ॥	
औदर	काण	सो	तुक	अमिल,	अर्थहीन	अंधो	यथा ।
--०	-०	-	००	०००,	-०-०	--	०- ।
कहि	सुन्दर	हरिजस	जीव है,	हरिजस	बिन	मृत कहि	तथा ॥
००	-००	००००	-०-	००००	००	००००	०- ॥

(text no. 69)

Kuṇḍaliyā

Composite mora-based metre, *viṣam*, 6 pāds consisting of I *dohā* and I *rolā* and a total of 144 *mātrās*.

Example:

रसिक	प्रिया	रस	मंजरी	औ(र)*	सिंगारहि	जानि ।	
०००	०-	००	-०-	-(०)	--००	-० ।	
चतुराई	करि	बहुत	बिधि	विषै	बनाई	आंनि ॥	
००--	००	०००	००	०-	०--	-० ॥	
विषै	बनाई	आंनि	लगत	विषयिन	कौ	प्यारी ।	
०-	०--	०-	०००	००००	-	-- ।	
जागै	मदन	प्रचण्ड	सराहै	नष	शिष	नारी ॥	
--	०००	०-०	०--	००	००	-- ॥	
ज्यौ	रोगी	मिष्ठान	षाइ	रोगहि	बिस्तारै ।		
-	--	--०	-०	-००	--- ।		
सुन्दर	यह	गति	होइ	जुतौ	रसिक	प्रिया	धरै ॥
-००	००	००	-०	०-	०००	०-	-- ॥

* The spelling must be taken to represent au, an established phonetic variant.

(text no. 68)

2. Metres in the Didactic Texts of the Collection

For the *dohā*, see above (p. 55).

Caupāi

Mora-based metre, *sam*; 16 *mātrās*, no *ja-gaṇ* or *ta-gaṇ* at the end. A variant of *caupāi* is *caupāi, sam*; 15 *mātrās*, ends in -०.

Example:

पूरण	ब्रह्म	निरंजन	राया ।	तिनि यहु	नष	शिष	साज	बनाया ॥
-००	-०	०-००	--,	०० ००	००	००	-०	०-- ॥
ता	कहुं	भूलि	गये	बिभचारी ।	अइया	मनुषहुं	बूझि	तुम्हारी ॥
००	०००-०	०-	०--,	०-	-०	०-०-॥		

(text no. 80.1)

Chand (= *Harigītikā*)

Mora-based metre, *sam*; rhyme a-c, b-d; 16/12 = 28 *mātrās*, ends in ०-. 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th *mātrā* always ०.

Example:

दुरवेश	दर	की	षवर	जानै,	दूर	दिल	की	काफिरी ।
००-०	००	-	०००	--,	-०	००	-	-०- ।
दर	दरदबन्द	षरा	दरूनें,	उसी	बीच	मुसाफिरी ॥		
००	०००-०	०-	०--,	०-	-०	०-०-॥		
है	बेतमा	इसमाइ	हर्दम,	पाक	दिल	दर	हाल	है ।
-	-०-	००-०	-००,	-०	००	००	-०	- ।
यौं	कहत	सुन्दर	कब्ज	दुन्दर,	अजब	ऐसा	प्याल	है ॥
-	०००	-००	-०	-००,	०००	--	-०	- ॥

(text no. 76.2)

Indav

Syllable-based metre, *sam*; 23 syllables of the pattern 7 *bha-gaṅs* (- ० ०) plus a final -.

Example:

मौज	करी	गुरुदेव	दया	करि	शब्द	सुनाइ	कह्यौ	हरि	नेरौ ।
-०	०-	००-०	०-	००	-०	०-०	०-	००	-- ।
ज्यौं रवि	कैं	प्रगट्ये	निशि	जात सु	दूरि	कियौ	भ्रम	भानि	अंधेरौ ॥
- ००	-	००-	००	-००	-०	०-	००	-०	०-- ॥
काइक	बाइक	मानस	हू	करि है	गुरुदेव	हि	बंदन	मेरौ ।	
-००	-००	-००	-	००-	००-०	०	-००	-- ।	
सुन्दरदास	कहै	कर	जोरि जु	दादू दयाल	कौ हूं	नित	चेरौ ॥		
-००-०	०-	००	-० ०	-० ०-०	०-	००	-- ॥		

(text no. 62)

Kirīṭ savaiyā

Syllable-based metre, *sam*; 24 syllables of the pattern 8 *bha-gaṅs* (- ० ०).

Example:

लोग	मलीन	षरे	चरकीन	दया	करि	हीन लै	जीव	संघारत ।
-०	०-०	०-	००-०	०-	००	-००	-०	०-०० ।
ब्राह्मण	क्षत्रिय	वैश्य रु	सूदर	चारुहि	वर्ण के	मंछ	बघारत ॥	
-००	-००	-००	-००	-००	-००	-०	०-०० ॥	

कारो है	अंग	सिंदूर	की मांग	सु संषनि	रांड	बुरे	टग	फारत ।
-००	-०	०-०	०-०	०-००	-०	०-	००	-०० ।
ताहितें	जांनि	कही	जन	सुन्दर	पूरब	देस न	संत	पधारत ॥
-००	-०	०-	००	-००	-००	-००	-०	०-०० ॥

(text no. 81, v. 1)

Cāmar (= *Gītak*)

Described in metrical treatises as a mora-based metre, *sam*; *gaṇ*-sequence *ra-ja-ra-ja-ra*, but in this collection appearing to be a metre of 26 *mātrās*, 4 *pāds*, ending in -०.

Example:

औबलि	कदम	उस्ताद	के	मैं	गहे	दोऊ	दस्त ।	
-००	०००	--०	-	-	०-	--	-० ।	
उनि	मिहर	मुझ	पर	करी	ऐसा	है गया	मैं	मस्त ॥
००	०००	००	००	०-	--	-०-	-	-० ॥
जब	सुषुन	करि	मुझ कौं	कह्या	तू	बन्दिगी	करि	षूब ।
००	०००	००	००-	०-	-	-०-	००	-० ।
इस	राह	सीधा	जाइगा	तब	मिलैगा	महबूब ॥		
००	-०	--	-०-	००	०--	००-० ॥		

(text no. 77.1)

Gazal

Mora-based metre of no more than 28 *mātrās* and usually with a caesura after the fourteenth *mātrā*. The even *pāds* end in -०. In Rajasthan *gazals* were prominent among Jain monks. These, and the one by Sundardās published in this volume, differ from the Persian and Urdu *ghazal* in form and content. Sundardās's *gazal* is unique for its topic of bhakti-yoga, which differs from the Jain *gazals*. The latter are city-*gazals* describing an urban locale, religious and courtly spaces. These *gazals* follow a fixed form. A Rajasthani *gazal* starts with *dohās*, followed by the *gazal*-verses and is concluded by *kalaś* stanzas. *Kalaś* is a crest or pinnacle, also a water-pot used to welcome guests or to offer water to deities. Jain *gazals* served as invitations to monks to spend their four-months-retreat (*caturmās*) in a city—i.e. the city in whose praise a *gazal* has been written. One distinctive feature of the Rajasthani *gazal* is the emphatic 'ka' at the end of each *pād*. In terms of the mora-structure of a *pād*, this syllable does not count in the odd *pāds*.

(text no. 79)

Notes

- 1 Hiralal Maheshvari, *History of Rajasthani Literature*, Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1980, p. 2; G.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan (1500–1800 A.D.): With Special Reference to the Impact of Mughal Influence*, Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agrawal, n.d. [1968], p. 1.
- 2 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire: Political and Economic Maps with Detailed Notes, Bibliography and Index*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, Map 6A.
- 3 Deryck O. Lodrick, ‘Rajasthan as a Myth or Reality?’, in *The Idea of Rajasthan: Explorations in Regional Identity*, ed. Karine Schomer et al., 2 vols., Delhi: Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1994, vol. I, pp. 1–44.
- 4 Habib, *Atlas*, notes, pp. 19–20; Ghan Shyam Lal Devra, ‘A Study of the Trade-Relations between Rajasthan and Sindh-Multan (1650–1800 A.D.)’, in *Some Aspects of Socio-Economic History of Rajasthan*, ed. Ghanshyam Lal Devra, Jodhpur: Rajasthan Sahitya Mandir, 1980, pp. 36–50; Scott C. Levi, *The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and Its Trade, 1550–1900*, Leiden: Brill, 2002; Scott C. Levi, *Caravans: Indian Merchants on the Silk Road*, Foreword by Gurcharan Das, Gurgaon: Allan Lane by Penguin Books, 2015; Tanuja Kothiyal, *Nomadic Narratives: A History of Mobility and Identity in the Great Indian Desert*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- 5 For a picture of the city of Jalor, for example, as drawn by a fifteenth-century author, see Padmanābha, *Kānhaḍade Prabandha (India’s Greatest Patriotic Saga of Medieval Times)*, tr., intr., annotated by V. S. Bhatnagar, New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991.
- 6 In Jain and Sant literature, the enumeration of the troupes of entertainers performing in the market place and to be avoided by ascetics is a veritable cliché. See, for example, Jinadatta-sūri, *Three Apabhramśa Works*, ed. Lālcandra Bhagavāndās Gāndhi, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series 37, 2nd edn, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967, pp. 8–9 (multiple pagination).
- 7 Zahoor Ali Khan, ‘In Pursuit of Mughal Highways—A Study of Road Alignments Based on the Kos Pillars’, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 45, 1984, pp. 320–9.
- 8 Carol Henderson, ‘Famines and Droughts in Western Rajasthan: Desert Cultivators and Periodic Resource Stress’, in Schomer, *Idea of Rajasthan*, vol. 2, pp. 1–29.
- 9 Anupam Mishra, *Traditions de l’eau dans le désert indien*, traduit du hindi par Annie Montaut, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2000.
- 10 Jutta Jain-Neubauer, *The Stepwells of Gujarat: In Art-Historical Perspective*, New Delhi: Abhinav, 1981; Ratan Lal Mishra, ed., *Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, 4 vols., Udaipur: Himanshu, 2006.
- 11 Dirk H.A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450–1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- 12 Charlotte Vaudeville, *Bārahmāsā in Indian Literature: Songs of the Twelve Months in Indo-Aryan Literatures* (Foreword by T.N. Madan), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- 13 *Sākhī* 15.3: *dādū bhojana dījai deha kaum, līyā mana bisrāṅma/ sādū kai muṣi meliye, pāyā ātamarāṅma//*. See for this distich also p. 44.
- 14 Tillo Detige, ‘Digambara Renouncers in Western and Central India, circa 1100–1800’, in *Encyclopedia of Jainism*, ed. John Cort, Paul Dundas, and Kristi Wiley, Leiden: Brill, 2020, pp. 182–215.

- 15 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, 'Some Aspects of Khānqah Life in Medieval India', *Studia Islamica*, vol. 8, 1957, pp. 51–69.; Muzaffar Alam, 'Indo-Islamic Interaction in Medieval North India', Special Issue, *Itinerario*, vol.13.1, 1989, pp. 37–60.
- 16 Hew McLeod, *Sikhism*, London: Penguin, 1997, p. 23.
- 17 Vaudeville, Charlotte, 'Sant Mat: Santism as the Universal Path to Sanctity', in *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, ed. Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod, Berkeley, California: Berkeley Religious Studies Center and Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987, pp. 21–40.
- 18 Chapters 25–33. Attention to this was drawn by Hazariprasad Dvivedi, who also summarized salient features of these (*Nāth sampradāy*, 1st edn 1966 in *Hajārīprasād Dvivedī granthāvalī*, ed. Mukund Dvivedī, vol. 6, 2nd edn, New Delhi: Rājkamal Prakāśan, 1998, pp. 198–201).
- 19 See p. 35.
- 20 See pp. 49 and 83 for instances of these projects..
- 21 By the mid-nineteenth century and under British pressure, the practice became legally abolished in all princely states of the then territory of Rajputana (Vashishtha, *Rajputana Agency 1832–1858: A Study of British Relations with the States of Rajputana during the Period with Special Emphasis on the Role of Rajputana Agency*, Jaipur: Alekh, n.d. [1978], pp 239–42).
- 22 In the translations, the term has been usually rendered by 'deep meditation'. *Samādhi* is also widely rendered as 'enstasis', the state of 'standing within' by drawing the world into oneself or withdrawing from it by transporting it into a sublime undifferentiated union and finding unconditional release. This rendering was argued for by Mircea Eliade and thence adopted by numerous scholars (Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, tr. Williard R. Trask, 2nd edn, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); for a discussion of this term, see Stuart Ray Sarbacker, *Samādhi: The Numinous and Cessative in Indo-Tibetan Yoga*, New York: State University of New York, 2005.
- 23 *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 7.1.27.
- 24 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975, pp. 127–9. The awe due to Allah and his grace undoing all awe are, for example, powerfully addressed by Al-Ghazālī, whose *Kīmīya al-sa'adat* has been found circulated in translation among Sikhs and Sants since the eighteenth century (Monika Horstmann, 'Pāras-Bhāg: Bhāi Aḍḍan's Translation of Al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi Sa'adat*', in *Patronage and Popularisation, Pilgrimage and Procession: Channels of Transcultural Translation and Transmission in Early Modern South Asia. Papers in Honour of Monika Horstmann*, ed. Heidi Pauwels, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, pp. 9–22).
- 25 For Sundardās, Monika Horstmann, 'Bhakti and Monasticism', in *Hinduism Reconsidered*, ed. by H. Kulke and G.D. Sontheimer, Delhi: Manohar: 127–40; for Rajab, text no. 10.1 reflects the same topos.
- 26 Catherine Weinberger-Thomas, *Ashes of Immortality: Widow-Burning in India*, tr. Jeffery Mehlman and David Gordon White, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999 [French original 1996].
- 27 Harinām Pārik, *Kesarisimb-guṇ-rāso*, ed. Gopāl Nārāyaṇ Bahurā and Raghunāth Prasād Tivārī 'Umaṅg', Jaypur: Madanlāl Tivārī-Pārik Śodh Saṁsthān, 1999, pp. 157–9, stanzas 580–1, 584–5.

- 28 The acceptance of a *pān* leaf in which are rolled condiments and lime paste means the acceptance of a challenging task involving the risk of death.
- 29 In different times and by different authors these are variously enumerated, see HSS s.v. *ṣodaś śṛṅgār*.
- 30 As for Dādū, already his direct disciples had formed a view of their master that corresponded to a fairly frozen catalogue of miraculous deeds. Santdās's *Karakbau*, verses 13–7, forms a case in point (text no. 60).
- 31 Jān Kavi, *Kyāmkhām rāso*, ed. Daśrath Śarmā, Agarcand Nāhtā, Bhamvarlāl Nāhtā, 3rd edn, Hindi translation by Ratanlāl Miśra, Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1996, p. 12, v. 131ab.
- 32 Novetzke mentions briefly verses by Nāmdev which the author composed at the death of Jñāndev (Christian Lee Novetzke, 'Note to Self: What Marathi *Kirtankars*' Notebooks Suggest about Literacy, Performance, and the Travelling Performer in Pre-Colonial Maharashtra', in *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature and Performance in North India*, ed. Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015, p. 177). Their tenor is, however, different. While in a couple of these bereavement is dominant, most of the time Nāmdev speaks of the transformation of his grief into the more serene contemplation of his liberated guru's bliss. See, for example, Nāmdev, *Śrī Jñāndev caritra (ādi, tīrthāvalī āṇi samādhi)*, intr. and comm. Sadānand More Dehūkar, Pune: Sakāla Prakāśan, 2020, pp. 164–5, nos. 983–4.
- 33 Monika Horstmann, *Der Zusammenhalt der Welt: Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimation und Religionspolitik Mahārājā Savāī Jaisinghs (1700–1743)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- 34 Horstmann, *Bhakti and Yoga: A Discourse in Seventeenth-Century Codices*, Delhi: Primus Books, 2021, p. 47.
- 35 This issue is a major theme in the oeuvre of Carl Ernst, many facets of which are represented in his collected articles at Carl W. Ernst, *Refractions of Islam in India: Situating Sufism and Yoga*, New Delhi: Sage, 2016.
- 36 For vegetarianism in Islam as testified to from eleventh-century Fars, and respect for animals as a Naqshbandiyya stance since the fourteenth century, see Jürgen Paul, 'Influences indiennes sur la naqshbandiyya d'Asie centrale?' *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 1–2, 1996, pp. 203–7. Online resource, no pagination. Consulted online on 15 April 2021. For Rajab's poem, see text no. 51.
- 37 For patterns of religion in rural Rajasthan, see G. Morris Carstairs, 'Patterns of Religious Observance in Three Villages of Rajasthan', in *Aspects of Religion in Indian Society*, ed. L.P. Vidarthi, Meerut: Kedar Nath Ram Nath, 1961, pp. 59–113.
- 38 Dominique-Sila Khan, *Crossing the Threshold: Understanding Religious Identities in South Asia*, London: L.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2004, p. 36.
- 39 Catherine Clémentin-Ojha, 'The Initiation of Devi: Violence and Non-Violence in a Vaishnava Tale' in *Violence/Non-Violence*, ed. Denis Vidal, Georges Tarabout, and Eric Mayer [French original 1994], Delhi: Manohar, 2005, pp. 127–42; Heidi Pauwels, 'Who Are the Enemies of the *bhaktas*? Testimony about "śāktas" and "Others" from Kabīr, the Rāmānandīs, Tulsīdās, and Harīrām Vyās', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 130.4, 2010, pp. 1–31.
- 40 Clémentin-Ojha, 'The Initiation of Devi'.

- 41 Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch, 'Living Goddesses, Past and Present, in North-West India', in *German Scholars on India*, vol. 1, ed. Deutsche Botschaft, Kulturabteilung, Varanasi: Chowkhambha, 1973, pp. 387–405; Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch and Heinz Westphal, *Hinduistische Viehzüchter im nord-westlichen Indien*, 2 vols, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1974; Norman Ziegler, 'The Seventeenth-Century Chronicles of Mārāvāra: A Study in the Evolution and Use of Oral Traditions in Western India', *History in Africa*, vol. 3, 1976, pp. 127–53; Weinberger-Thomas, *Ashes*, pp. 156–8.
- 42 David Gordon White, 'Bhairava', in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism Online*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen et al. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-5019_BEH_COM_1030080. First published: 2018. Consulted on 27 March 2021.
- 43 Helene Basu, 'Possession', in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism Online*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-5019_BEH_COM_000181. First published: 2018. Consulted on 01 March 2021.
- 44 For Gogā and Gusāmīṃ in the context of the Nizari tradition, see Dominique-Sila Khan, *Conversions and Shifting Identities: Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan*, New Delhi: Manohar and Centre de Sciences Humaines, 1997, Chapter 2, pp. 60–96; for portable shrines, Komal Kothari, 'The Shrine: An Expression of Social Needs', in *Gods of the Byways: Wayside Shrines of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat*, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1982, pp. 5–31; Aleksandra Turek, 'The Rājasthānī Kāvāṛ: A Pilgrimage in Sacred Space and to the Past', in *Lo spazio dell'India. Luoghi, collocazioni, orientamenti e trasposizioni*, ed. Maria Angelillo, Quaderni Asiatici, Milan: Centro di Cultura Italia-Asia, 2013, pp. 139–51.
- 45 For healers, see William Sax, 'Healers', in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism Online*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-5019_BEH_COM_9000000034. First published: 2018. Consulted on 27 March 2021. For the trope of *gāruḍ*, Patton E. Burchett, *A Genealogy of Devotion: Bhakti, Tantra, Yoga, and Sufism in North India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2019, pp. 261–8; for *jādūgārs*, Ariel Glucklich, 'Jādūgārs', in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism Online*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-5019_BEH_COM_9000000035. First published: 2018. Consulted on 27 March 2021.
- 46 Turek, 'Rājasthānī Kāvāṛ'.
- 47 Text 49.1. For amulets and similar items, Oppi Untracht, *Traditional Jewelry of India*, 1st pb. edn, New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008, pp. 120–30; for the *śālagrām*, Rasik Vihari Joshi, *Le rituel de la dévotion kṛṣṇaïte*, préface par Jean Filliozat, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 17, Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1959, pl. 6 opp. p. 60, pl. 7 opp. p. 61.
- 48 Likewise, the seventeenth-century Caturdās, a disciple of Santdās, represented in this collection (Monika Horstmann, 'Who Is a True Devotee?', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Südasiastudien*, vol. 36, 2019, p. 90, translation slightly changed).
- 49 For a comparative discussion of the form and ritual role of the scripture among Sikhs, Dādūpanthīs, and Nirañjanīs, see Tyler W. Williams, 'Sacred Sound and Sacred Books: A History of Writing in Hindi', unpubl. PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2014, Chapter 5, pp. 268–341.

- 50 For the Sikhs, see Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis: The Earliest Extant Source of the Sikh Canon*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 51, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, 1996; id., *The Making of Sikh Scripture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. For Rajasthan, see Gopal Narayan Bahura, ed., *Pad Sūrdāsji kā/The Padas of Surdas, with an Essay by Ken Bryant*, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Memorial Series, no. 6, Jaipur: Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Trust, 1982.
- 51 There are manuscripts of uncertain sectarian origin; two related manuscripts are, for example, labelled by Winand M. Callewaert 'Nāth Siddha' (Winand M. Callewaert and Peter Friedlander, intr., ed., and tr., *The Life and Works of Raidās*, Delhi: Manohar, 1992, p. 60). Maybe this was meant as a shorthand description, not yet occurring at Winand M. Callewaert and Mukund Lath, tr., ed., and comm., *The Hindī Songs of Nāmdev*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 29, Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989, pp. 102–4. While these are composed in a Nāth Siddha spirit, their actual sectarian origins are uncertain.
- 52 Jaroslav Strnad, 'A Note on the Analysis of Two Early Rājasthānī Dādūpanthī Manuscripts', *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques*, vol. 70.2, 2016, pp. 545–69.
- 53 See p. 51.
- 54 Monika Horstmann, 'The Example in Dadupanthi Homiletics', in *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature and Performance in North India*, ed. Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015, pp. 31–59.
- 55 John Stratton Hawley, 'Author and Authority in the Bhakti Poetry of North India', *Journal of Asian Studies* 47.2, 1988, pp. 272–90; Christian Lee Novetzke, 'Divining an Author: The Idea of Authorship in an Indian Religious Tradition', *History of Religions*, vol. 41.3, Febr. 2003, pp. 213–42.
- 56 See pp. 182–4.
- 57 Mukund Lath, 'Bhajan as Song: Towards an Oral Stemma of Nāmdev's Padas', in *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979–1982, Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Early Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, St. Augustin, 19–21 March 1982*, ed. Monika Thiel-Horstmann, Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, vol. 30, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983, pp. 225–36.
- 58 For example, text nos. 29.10 and 11.
- 59 See pp. 77–8.
- 60 Manuscripts of the seventeenth century do not manifest this spelling, now more or less the norm.
- 61 See preceding note.
- 62 For Rajab, see Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl* (ed. Nāhṭā), v. 378; for Sundardās, *ibid.* v. 427.
- 63 *Āratīs* are, however, also assigned to a *rāg* chapter, usually that of *rāg* Dhanāśrī, though a *rāg* performance and a chorus differ.
- 64 For metrics, see pp. 54–9.
- 65 Particularly the Nirañjanīs stressed the principle that grammatical language and metrical variety support the enlightening effect of a composition. This is, for example, intimated, partly indirectly and partly explicitly, by Bhagavāndās Nirañjanī in the preamble and concluding portions of his *Vairāgyavṛnd* (1673), a reworking of Bhartṛhari's epigrams in the form of a theological treatise (Tyler Williams, 'Commentary as Translation: The Vairāgya Vṛnd of Bhagavandas Niranjani', in *Text and Translation in Early Modern India*, ed. Tyler

- Williams, Anshu Malhotra, and John Stratton Hawley, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 99–125).
- 66 Jan Gonda, *Vedic Literature (Śambhitās and Brāhmanas)*, A History of Indian Literature, ed. Jan Gonda, vol. 1.1, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975, pp. 132–5.
- 67 Ludwik Sternbach, *Subhāṣita, Gnomical and Didactic Literature*, A History of Indian Literature, ed. Jan Gonda, vol. 4.1, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, pp. 73–5.
- 68 Per Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgīti*, 3rd edn, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2010, pp. 37–60. For the Nāth Siddha Gorakhnāth, *Gorakh-bānī*, ed. Pītāmbardatt Baṛthvāl, 4th edn, Prayāg: Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, 1971; for the Sant Kabīr, Paraśurām Caturvedī, *Kabīr-sāhitya kī parakh*, 3rd edn, Ilāhābād: Bhāratī Bhaṇḍār, 1976.
- 69 Sundardās wrote a whole chapter of paradoxical *savaiyā* verses (Harinārāyaṇ Śarmā, ed., *Sundar-granthāvalī*, 2 vols., Kolkata: Rajasthan Research Society, VS 1993, pp. 500–73).
- 70 Vaudeville, *Bārahmāsā*.
- 71 *Bañjārā* is derived from OIA **vanijyākāra*, ‘merchant, dealer’; the term *baniyā*, ‘id.’, is related to OIA **vanijaka-*.
- 72 For a translation and discussion of a *bañjārā* song attributed in the Fatehpur manuscript of 1582 to Raidās, see John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India*, 2nd rev. edn, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 30–1, 181.
- 73 As the head of a group of traders, the *nāyak* already appears in Persian accounts from the time of the Delhi Sultanate (Irfan Habib, ‘Merchant Communities in Precolonial India’, in *The Rise of Merchant Empire: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 373–4).
- 74 Bhatnagar in Padmanābha, *Kānhaḍde Prabandha*, p. 154, note on 2.92.
- 75 Habib, ‘Merchant Communities’, p. 373; Kothiyal, *Nomadic Narratives*, pp. 144–50.
- 76 John E. Cort, ‘A Tale of Two Cities: On the Origins of Digambar Sectarianism in North India’, in *Multiple Histories: Culture and Society in the Study of Rajasthan*, ed. Lawrence A. Babb, Varsha Joshi, and Michael W. Meister, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2002, pp. 39–83.
- 77 See p. 157.
- 78 For portraits of such a character, see text nos. 80 and 85.
- 79 Boharās were generally Muslim money-lenders, especially in Gujarat, but Sundardās suggests the title was also held by small moneylenders.
- 80 In Marwar the koṭhīvāl was a prosperous wholesaler merchant; see Kothiyal, *Nomadic Narratives*, p. 145.
- 81 For the network supporting the merchant communities, see Mukund Lath, tr., intr., annot., *Half a Tale: A Study in the Interrelationship between Autobiography and History*. The Ardha-kathanaka, Jaipur: Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, 1981, p. iv.
- 82 Research on popular spinning songs in comparison with religious compositions is outstanding.
- 83 For one such song, see BV, *pad* 76.
- 84 BV, *pad* 25.
- 85 Horstmann, *Bhakti and Yoga*, p. 10, for reference to this in a composition of the Nāth Siddha Carpaṭ.
- 86 *Gorakh-bānī*, p. III, song 19, v. 4.

- 87 In fact, 89 is reckoned to be the number of ‘rivers’ in the esoteric yogic body.
- 88 Hardy Singh, *The Castes of Marwar (Being Census Report of 1891)*, 1st edn 1894; rpt, Jodhpur: Books Treasure, 1993, pp. 174–5. The modern Kolī communities in Gujarat and Rajasthan have shown remarkable social mobility (Christophe Jaffrelot, *India’s Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
- 89 HG, *pad* 40. The song has not been included in the textual section, as both its translation and interpretation remain tentative.
- 90 George Abraham Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life: Being a Discursive Catalogue of the People of that Region*, Calcutta 1875, rept, Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1975, paragraph 363.11; Ambā-prasād ‘Suman’, *Kṛṣak-jīvan-sambandhī brajhbhāṣā-sabdāvalī (Alīgarh-ḷṣetra kī bolī ke ādbār par)*, 2 vols., Ilāhābad: Hindustānī Ekeḍemī, 1960, vol. 2, paragraph 659. It needs to be mentioned that the term *khūṃṭā* (pole) is a synonym of *khūṃṭī* and can also refer to the rods set up for warping. In the imagery of the Sants, *khūṃṭhā* ‘pole’ is a synonym of the mind (*man*), for which, see Callewaert, Winand M., tr. and ed., ‘The Anabhay-Prabodha of the Dādū-Panthī Garībdās’, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, vol. 5, 1974, p. 314, v. 29.
- 91 See, for example, text nos. 54, v. 3 and 83.9.
- 92 Variant reading of MS Sharma 3190 of 1615, fol. 335b: *jītyau janama na hārai*.
- 93 HG, p. 146.
- 94 Quoted from RV, p. 1137, *pad* 4 of *rāg* Sorath, serial no. 164.
- 95 Kamphorst, Janet, *In Praise of Death: History and Poetry in Medieval Marwar (South Asia)*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008, p. 12.
- 96 See pp. 42–3 and 83–4.
- 97 Narottamdās Svāmī, ed., *Krisan-rukmaṇī-rī veli rāthaur prīthvīrāj-rī kabī*, 3rd edn, Rājasthānī Granthāgār, Jodhpur, 1998, pp. 64–7, vv. 123–7.
- 98 *Gīt* no. 158 at Saubhāgyasimh Śekhāvat, ed., *Rājasthān-vīr-gīt-saṃgrah*, pt. 1, Rājasthān Purātan Granthmālā, vol. 98, Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, 1968, pp. 168–9.
- 99 It shares its title with Gopāldās’s anthology, see p. 72.
- 100 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl* (ed. Nāhtā), v. 378.
- 101 Verses in the metre of this name; see pp. 153–4.
- 102 For an examination of the *Sarvaṅgī* (or *Sarvāṅgī*) anthologies of the Dādūpanth, see Dalpat Rajpurohit, ‘Thematic Groupings of Bhakti Poetry: The Dādūpanth and Sarvāṅgī Literature’, in *Bhakti Beyond the Forest: Current Research on Early Modern Literatures in North India, 2003–2009*, ed. Imre Bangha, Delhi: Manohar, 2013, pp. 51–72 .
- 103 For example, Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrī Dādū-sudhā-sindhu*, 6 vols., Jaipur: n.p., VS 2040.
- 104 See p. 6.
- 105 Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrī Dādū panth pravacan paddhati*, Jaipur: Śrī Dādū Mahāsabha, VS 2040, pp. 218–9.
- 106 See the translation in Winand Callewaert, tr., ed., and comm., *The Hagiographies of Anantadās: The Bhakti Poets of North India*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000, pp. 103–7.
- 107 Dādūpanthī Nāgās were militant sadhus, forming a contingent of the army of Jaipur state.
- 108 Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrī Dādū panth pravacan paddhati*, pp. 385–520.
- 109 Ibid., pp. 517–8. References in round brackets refer to texts published in Part 2 of this book.
- 110 This is the traditional numbering adopted by Sv. Nārāyaṇdās in his own edition of the *Dādū-vānī*. In the quoted text, ‘243’ is misprinted as ‘234’.

- 111 DV, ‘Sādhu kau aṅga’ 15.22.
- 112 Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrī Dādū panth pravacan paddhati*, pp. 518–9.
- 113 DV, pp. 609–11.
- 114 First brought to the attention of scholars in *Dādūbānī (Śrīsvāmī Dadudayālji Mahārāj ki anbhāi bānī)*, *aṅgabandhu satīk*, ed. and comm. Candrikāprasād Tripāṭhī, Ajmer 1907, rpt, Vārāṇasī: Sant Sāhitya Akādāmī, 1985, text part, passim.
- 115 BV, pp. 97–8.
- 116 Svāmī Maṅgaldās, ed., *Mahārāj Śrī Dādūji ke śīsyom...kī racnāem*, Sant-sāhitya-suman-mālā, vol. 5, Jaipur: Svāmī Lakṣmīrām Ṭrast, n.d., pp. 1–4 (multiple pagination).
- 117 BV, p. 94, vv. 11–2. For Bakhanām, see pp. 77–8.
- 118 Rāmendra Śūkla, *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, 18th edn, Vārāṇasī: Nāgarīpracārīṇī Sabhā, VS 2035. For a detailed study of the *rīti* tradition, see Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- 119 See, for example, p. 80 and 82–4.
- 120 See pp. 81–2.
- 121 Caturdās, *Bhāgavat ekādaś skandh bhāṣā tīkā*, ed. Prabhākar Bhā. Māṇḍe with the collaboration of Kāśīnāth Mīśra, Pune: Mahārāṣṭra Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Sabhā, 1967, p. 223, vv. 54–5.
- 122 For the arguably closest Prakrit forebear of Sundardās in this genre who composed his landmark work in Jalor, see Christine Chojnacki (tr.), *Uddyotanasūri’s Kuvalayamālā: A Jain Novel from 779 AD*, tr. from the French by Alexander Reynolds and largely revised by the author, ed. Christine Chojnacki and Hampa Nagarajaiah, 2 vols, Bangalore: Sapna Book House, 2018, vol. 2, paragraphs 152.17–153.12.; the earliest New Indo-Aryan representative of the genre is the poet Roḍa, Mātāprasād Gupt (ed.), *Rāula vela aur uskī bhāṣā*, ed. Mātāprasād Gupt, Ilāhābād: Mitra Prakāśan Prāiveṭ Limiṭed, n.d. [1962]; H.C. Bhayani (ed.), *Rāula-Vela of Roda: A Rare Poem of c. Twelfth Century in Early Indo-Aryan*, Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan, 1994.
- 123 First published in 1966, Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 2nd edn, London: The Bodley Head, 1992, addresses the history of the European art of memory but remains also of general importance beyond Europe.
- 124 Steven Vose, ‘Jain Uses of *Citrakāvya* and Multiple-Language Hymns in Late Medieval India: Situating the *Laghukāvya* Hymns of Jinaprabhasūri in the “Assembly of Poets”’, *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, vol. 20 (2016): 309–37.
- 125 For Sanskrit poetics, see the commentary on Viśvanātha’s *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 4 (Viśvanātha Kavirāja, *The Sāhitya-Darpaṇa or Mirror of Composition*, ed. E. Röer, tr. James R. Ballantyne, 1st edn 1853, rpt, Bibliotheca Indica 9, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1980, p. 12); for *rīti* poetics, compare the strikingly similar passage in Keśavdās’s *Kavipriyā* (1601) in *Keśav-granthāvalī*, ed. Viśvanāth Prasād Mīśra, vol. 1, Ilāhābād: Hindustānī Ekeḍemī, 1954, p. 101.
- 126 For a detailed study of this hierarchy as a common one in the early modern period, see, Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, pp. 115–7.
- 127 For a longer discussion on how Keśavdās and Sundardās describe and diverge on their notion of the *ātman* or *jīva* with the objective of generating poetry, see Dalpat Rajpurohit, ‘Bhakti versus rīti? The Sants’ perspective,’ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 84.1, pp. 95–113. doi: 10.1017/S0041977X21000264.

- 128 The Sanskrit theoreticians Daṇḍin and Maṃmaṭa both give threefold classifications of poetry. For Daṇḍin, the three types are prose, poetry, and a mixed variety. Maṃmaṭa categorized poetry according to the excellence created by word and meaning, see *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Maṃmaṭa Bhaṭṭa, ed. Madhusūdan Śāstrī, Varanasi: Thakur Prasad and Sons Bookseller, 1972, pp. 30–2.
- 129 For the Jain criticism of Keśavdās, see *Brahmavilās* of Bhaiyā Bhagvatīdās (active 1674–98), ed. Nāthūrām Premī, Mumbai: Nirṇayasāgar Press, vs 2410, p. 184. For Nirañjanīs’ critique of the same, see Neha Baid, ‘Sant-Kavi Harīrāmdās kā Kāvyaḍarśa’ [Poetic Ideals of the Poet-Saint Harīrāmdās], *Sammelan Patrikā*, series 18. 2, 125–32. For the Svāminārāyaṇīs’ response, see Muktānand, *Muktānand kāvyam*, vol. I, Ahmedabad: Shri Swaminārāyaṇ Mandir, 2001, p. 114–6.
- 130 For detailed reference in English, Hiroko Nagasaki, ‘Hindi Metre: Origins and Development’, in *Indian and Persian Prosody and Recitation*, ed. Hiroko Nagasaki, English editing by Ronald I. Kim, Delhi: Saujanya Publications, 2012, pp. 107–29.
- 131 For Sanskrit poetry of the period under review, see, for example, the opening fifty-five verses in *drutavilambita* metre, starting with a *na-gaṇa*, of the sixteenth-century *Govindavilāsamahākāvya* of Bhoja (Judith Unterdörfler, ‘*Govindavilāsamahākāvya*: Manuskripte, Text und Übersetzung’, unpubl. PhD diss., Hamburg, 2018, pp. 118–44).
- 132 Discussed by Siṃhal in *Bājid-granthāvalī*, pp. 67–8.

Chapter 2

The Authors and Their Network

The authors represented here were connected by a network, in principle laid out by Dādū himself. This network linked and keeps linking towns and villages where he set up his residence for shorter or longer periods; otherwise he roamed in the company of his disciples. This circuit touched upon the previously existing religious centre of Didvana, the hub of the Proto-Nirañjanīs, represented by Hardās from the first half of the sixteenth century. The network corresponds by and large to a section of Indian trade routes eventually joining international ones. The international trade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries benefited from political stability in Mughal India and its relations with Safavid Iran, and the Ottoman Empire.¹ One of the chief commodities transported on the trade routes in Rajasthan and adjacent regions was salt from the salt lakes of Sambhar and Didvana, important sources of income of the Rajput states and therefore also a bone of contention between Marwar and Eastern Rajasthan. The trade route running via Hanumangarh to the north was lined with towns inhabited by Agraval traders, originating from Agra and spread over the whole region between Delhi, Agra, Rajasthan and well beyond. Important traders like the Maheshvaris, whose genealogical origins lie in Didvana, are reported to have lived in Bahawalpur in Sind.² Among other commodities for which Rajasthan was famed were textiles, of which a centre was Merta. Its rank as a commercial and financial centre is evidenced by demographic numbers referring to 1663, when out of the town's 5,860 individuals from occupational castes, 2,638 were *mahājans*, merchant-bankers, and other traders, among whom were also numerous Multanis.³

Seminal information on all the authors except Hardās comes from the cumulative hagiography *Bhaktmāl*, written in 1660 by the Dādūpanthī Rāghavdās. It forms the Dādūpanthī remake of Nābhādās's *Bhaktmāl*, dating from around 1600. Rāghavdās's work comprises mythical, historical, and actually living figures. It also records sects that shared the habitat with the Dādūpanth and thereby represents a regional religious ethnography. Dādū alone is the topic of a hagiography named *Dādūjanmalilā*, written by his disciple Jangopāl probably soon after Dādū's death in 1603.⁴ While focusing on Dādū, it also recounts the presence and deeds of his disciples at the various stages of his life, but it does not give as extensive information on individual sadhus and devotees as is the case in Rāghavdās's work. Jangopāl's work is of greatest sociological importance in recording the life of Dādū and the process in which he and his followers established their spiritual realm and made

their first monastic settlements. These were founded along their circuit on which they depended on the patronage of laymen. Jangopāl, a prolific poet in his own right, came from a merchant caste in whose dealings record keeping was fundamentally important. He put his caste-specific skill to use in his hagiography. In chronological sequence he gave the details of Dādū's shifts and stays, the various localities, the disciples who helped establish the local strongholds of the emergent sect, and the patrons. Apart from the hagiographical sources mentioned, other largely unpublished hagiographical material of a later time records oral history. Information about our authors and their network comes also from colophons of early manuscripts. Inscriptions, records on land grants and taxation, topographical and architectural testimony give additional information and corroborate many a historical detail recorded in hagiographical accounts.

Hardās, an Early Yogic *bhakta* of Marwar

Hardās, who belonged to Didvana, predates the Dādūpanth. His lifetime is variously estimated as dating between 1455 and 1538 or 1543 CE.⁵ Didvana, with its six of formerly seven magnificent gates, was an ancient town owing its commercial and political importance to its salt production, and, therefore, was connected to the major trade routes. The neighbouring principalities competed for control over it for its salt tax. Called in the Hindi texts of the period by its ancient name Dīṇdupura, the town was the habitat of Hindus, Jains, and Muslims, and the cradle of the Maheshvari traders, named 'Dīdū-Maheśvarīs'.⁶ In the Sultanate period, Firuz Shah Tughluq had two mosques built in the town. In the same era the governors of Gujarat and the Rāṇās of Mewar also competed for control over Didvana. Rāṇā Kumbhā of Mewar (1433–1468) collected Didvana's salt tax and thereby confirmed his suzerainty over the area which he assigned to the Khans of Nagaur.⁷ For the Śvetāmbar Jains, Didvana is a sacred place. The Khartara-gaccha Jain monk Samay-sundar mentions that his congregation (*saṅgha*), while on its way from Gujarat to Lahore on Emperor Akbar's invitation, passed through Didvana in 1591 and held debates and discussions in the city.⁸ Akbar had the mosque in the local fort built in the memory of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī. The Kyāmkhānīs of Fatehpur in Shekhavati also held Didvana for a while, and its salt trade is mentioned by the Kyāmkhānī poet Jān Kavi.⁹ Didvana's bond with the Dādūpanthīs was forged by Dādū sometime around 1596. His followers and patrons there were merchants.¹⁰ Prominent among these was Prāgdās Bihānī, who had his ashram in the town and moved to Fatehpur in 1606. Here he founded the ashram that was to house Sant luminaries like Santdās and Sundardās.¹¹

Hardās was the fountainhead of a Sant bhakti supported by yoga practice. This type of bhakti was carried further by the Nirañjanī sect, the centre of which was and

has remained Didvāna. Hardās referred to Gorakhnāth and Kabīr as the two masters whom he followed. True to this, he combined bhakti to the formless God with a yoga of breath discipline and meditation. There can be no doubt that he was a sadhu of the yogic bent, for in his compositions he frequently summons the yogic ascetic (*avadhū*). His impact was so great that he was made part of the pentad of authors canonized by the Dādūpanthī, at the latest a decade after the death of Dādū. He is mentioned with great respect by a number of disciples of Dādū, though only once in a poem assigned to Dādū but not forming part of his canonized works. This is indicative of the zeal shown by the young Dādūpanth to affirm Dādū's connection with the Marwari tradition of bhakti-yoga. The hagiographer Rāghavdās does not mention Hardās. Hardās's oeuvre consists of 102 songs, just five distichs, and four didactic treatises. Terse and rich in Marwari vocabulary and popular imagery, it challenged Dādūpanthī commentators of the eighteenth century. Only in 2007, Hardās's works were edited for the first time with a Hindi paraphrasis, based largely on the commentaries. The samples appearing in this volume represent the first translation of his poetry into a western language.¹²

Dādū, the Founder of the Dādūpanth

According to tradition, Dādū was born in Ahmedabad in 1544 (VS 1601). He came from a family of cotton-carders (*dhuniyā* or *piñjārā*), typically Muslims. From Ahmedabad he moved to Rajasthan. This origin raises questions as to his religious orientation and the causes that made him move to the boarderland between Marwar and Eastern Rajasthan. He first appeared in Sambhar around 1568, and stayed there until 1579. The town is now part of the Jaipur District. The Chauhan Rajputs ruled from Sambhar before transferring their capital to Ajmer in the twelfth century.¹³ In Sambhar, too, stood the temple of their clan goddess Śākambharī. The town had great economic importance due to its salt-lake which can be traced back at least to the tenth century.¹⁴ Its salt production is also mentioned in an inscription dating from Firuz Shah Tughluq's epoch, when a Jain temple, too, was built in the city. Apart from its salt, Sambhar's saltpetre trade was important for the economy of the Mughal period.¹⁵ After the Khans of nearby Nagaur and the Rajputs of Chittaur had fought over the town in the fifteenth century, the Marwar king Māldev took control of it in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁶ In the Mughal period Sambhar became a part of the province of Ajmer. Here, Akbar struck his first marriage alliance with Rajputs by marrying the daughter of the raja of Amber, Bhārmal. This was in 1562, and in the same year he built a mosque and a tank in the town. Sambhar's architecture was added on to by his successor Jahangir as well as by Aurangzeb.¹⁷ The Mughal highway (*śāb-rāh* or *pātīśāhī mārg*) passed through the city and further routes converged in Sambhar making it a trade hub.¹⁸ Besides, the major commercial route from Agra

to Surat passed close by. This route merged with the royal highway in Amber and, after a split, again merged with it in Ajmer.¹⁹ When the Kyāmkhānīs of Fatehpur traced their parentage, they took pride in connecting themselves to the town.²⁰

Sambhar became an important place of the Dādūpanth as Dādū lived there for several years. He is commemorated by a canopied memorial in the salt lake and by a magnificent temple of the nineteenth century in the market place which superseded a previous simpler construction.²¹ It was also in Sambhar that Gopāldās compiled his *Sarbaṅgī* in 1628.²² In Sambhar, Dādū is recorded to have led the life of a married householder, with two sons and two daughters. After his death, each of his children took turns in running the sect. His two sons became consecutively his successors as heads of the Dādūpanth of Naraina, the headquarters of the sect. In Sambhar, Dādū preached and recruited his first disciples. At this stage, the view of him as a householder disappears from hagiography, and henceforward he is described as a semi-sedentary sadhu carving out a spiritual realm for himself, roaming the region with his disciples and benefiting from local patronage. The settlements coming up—if not exactly the original buildings, reminiscences thereof—have largely survived, and the communities taking pride in their patronage of the Dādūpanth have stayed in place into our day and age.

Dādū's spiritual affiliation before and after his arrival in Sambhar is an intriguing issue and a delicate one for the Dādūpanth. Dādū himself spoke of the invisible *satguru* who manifested himself twice to him in the guise of an old man, once in Dādū's childhood and a second time in his teenage days. The name given him in hagiography is Bābā Būrhā, 'Venerable old man'. The verses in which Dādū proclaimed his mysterious initiation have been cited by Dādūpanthīs over and over again, from the time of the earliest manuscripts. Hagiography describes the procedure of this initiation, which had both Sufi and tantric characteristics. Dādū himself made it abundantly clear that his religious path was beyond the beaten sectarian tracks, a fact that has been endorsed unanimously by his sect. He is said to have picked up an ancient path beyond sects and sifted elements from other creeds which served his purpose. This is, of course, an interpretation reflecting debate about true faith in the midst of the manifold religious debates of the period. It has been suggested by William G. Orr that in Sambhar Dādū had been initiated by a Sufi shaikh named Buḍḍhan from the Qādirī order.²³ Buḍḍhan is not an uncommon name for a shaikh. This shaikh belonged to a family of hereditary qazis of Sambhar and had dedicated himself to religious life. At least until the mid-twentieth century, Orr reports, the qazi of Sambhar sent a robe of honour to the newly installed *mahant* (superior) of Naraina. Without the receipt of this item, the ceremony would not have been complete. Furthermore, on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun, the *mahant* of Naraina would send a formal payment of the kind due to an inferior to the qazi family of Sambhar. This ceremony was discontinued

in 1931. It may, however, be mentioned that into the 1980s, during the procession at the annual *melā* of Naraina in the month of Phālgun, the procession stopped at the mosque and the imam and the *mabant* of Naraina exchanged formal greetings. The Muslim parentage of Dādū has been all but wiped out in the Dādūpanth's representation of their founder, and the argument of Orr has, therefore, not been pursued without bias. However mysterious the encounter between young Dādū and his *satguru* may have been, it does not seem unlikely that in Sambhar he may have affiliated himself to a local Sufi before laying out his own religious path.

In 1579, when Dādū was thirty-five years old, he moved to Amber and settled at the foot of the hill on which the residence of the rajas of Amber was situated. Hagiography has it that around 1584 the raja mediated a meeting of Dādū with Emperor Akbar in Fatehpur Sikri.²⁴ After fourteen years of residence in Amber, Dādū moved to Kararala (Kalyāṅpur), where he stayed for a year, after which he resumed the life of an itinerant preacher. For around ten years he roamed the region, made disciples, and finally, in 1602, settled in Naraina (Naraiṅā, Narāyaṅā). Naraina became the headquarters of the Dādūpanth. Hagiography postdating the seventeenth century describes Dādū's entry into Naraina, and in the twenty-first century, this report has been transmitted in stage performances as well as CD and DVD recordings. According to this narrative, a snake appeared before Dādū and showed him the way to the spot where he should establish his settlement. This legend is significant because it links Dādū with both the myth of origin of the Kachvaha dynasty of Amber²⁵ as well as with the snake as companion of Gogā and other folk deities. Corresponding to this image is also the metaphor of the guru as the supreme healer from snake bite. In this fashion, Dādū is rooted in the regional understanding of saintliness.

Naraina is located close to Sambhar and Didvana and flourished thanks to the salt trade. The town was a nodal point of the trade route running from Bayana in the Bharatpur District to Khatu in the Sikar District, and from Naraina to Ajmer. In the early sixteenth century and during the Mughal period, Naraina was known as Mozamābād. Similar to Sambhar and Didvana, Naraina had long-standing and strong constituencies of Jains, Muslims, and Nāths, all of them predating the Dādūpanthīs. Here, Jainism can be traced back to the tenth century, and the town was listed among the important Jain pilgrimage places in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶ The town had been under the rule of the Chauhans of Sambhar and Ajmer since the eleventh-twelfth century. In 1305, its fortress served 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī as a jail for several thousand Mongols taken prisoner in Siwalik and finally executed in Naraina. In the fifteenth century, Mujāhid Khān made both Naraina and Sambhar part of his principality of Nagaur.²⁷ He made the town strikingly beautiful to serve him probably as a retreat recalling 'the luxury of the palaces of the Malwa Sultan'.²⁸ In 1437, he built the huge reservoir²⁹ on the banks of which the

Dādūpanth would install itself, and in 1440/1 had a ceremonial gateway (Tīn Darvāzā) erected over a ramp for drawing water.³⁰ The mosque, constructed in 1444, is one of the finest built by the Khans of Nagaur. In the sixteenth century, Naraina came under the rule of Māldev of Jodhpur.

The Dādūpanth owes this magnificent site to the munificence of Bhojrāj from the Khaṅgārot clan of the Kachvahas, the ruling Rajputs of Amber, whose territory it was by that time.³¹ Dādū was granted land on the eastern side of its reservoir. Jahangir visited the city in 1605 and gifted Dādū's successor, Garībās, two residential buildings and a well.

Dādū died in Naraina in May 1603. In response to the myth surrounding the death of Kabīr and also that of Gurū Nānak, according to which their Hindu and Muslim disciples fought for the correct funeral—for cremation, the Hindus, and for burial, the Muslims—Dādū willed that his body should be neither cremated nor buried but exposed to the wilderness in Bhairana, not far from Naraina. This kind of funeral remained somewhat singular in the Dādūpanth. Bhairana became a pilgrimage site studded with memorial slabs of sadhus, and it is also to Bhairana that some people take ashes of their deceased. Over the last few decades, Dādūpanthīs have invested stupendously in its buildings and infrastructure.

Dādū left an oeuvre of over 2,450 aphorisms and some 440 songs, albeit whose numbers vary according to the editions. United in this huge corpus are his own compositions as well as items he adopted from the tradition by adding (or not adding) his signature. In Sant poetry, authenticity is established by sharing and confirming the truth transmitted by previous saints and constantly adapted by later ones. Dādū forms no exception, but in its totality his oeuvre exudes the special flavour expressed in his epithet *dayālu* or *dīn dayālu*, 'Compassionate (with the Afflicted)'. This was given to him by his earliest disciples. One may not go wrong in associating it to the following chain of thought: The Supreme Self is often called by Dādū Rām-Rahīm. Raḥmān, 'the Most Graceful' and Rahīm, 'the Most Merciful' are quintessential epithets of Allah as they appear in the Basmala. If one applies this to the principle that the Supreme Self and the human self are identical, 'Dādū Dayālu' points to this unity. Dādū's works started being collected during his lifetime, and its edition was finalized and practically canonized soon after his death. There do, however, exist compositions ascribed to him that stand outside that canon and have been preserved in anthologies. Because the anthologies started appearing within twenty-five years subsequent to his death, one gets a clear picture of the compositions considered authentic by his earliest followers.

In Rāghavdās's hagiography, Dādū is the point of gravitation of a galaxy of saints. Accordingly, the two stanzas forming his account of Dādū can be expected to contain the very essence of the master's life and message.³² Written over half a century after Dādū's death, these stanzas bear the stamp of the unanimous views

held by early Dādūpanthīs. They represent just the seed of a Dādū vita, which has remained unabatedly in flux. The longer recension of Rāghavdās's hagiography is recited and expounded to this day regularly by sadhu preachers at sectarian *melās* and *caumāsā* functions and transformed into plays and films.

Rāghavdās says:³³

The deeds of Dādū, Compassionate with the Afflicted (Dīndayāl), says Rāgho, were performed by Hari:

There were seven parties in Sambhar, from the food served by all of these he partook,

He met Emperor Akbar, and created a vision of a throne of light;

The hand of the qazi became infested; a pile of cotton was burnt;

The letters in an epistle were changed; he made a boat reach across the sea;

In Shahpura he met a rich merchant; by the power of Hari the elephant was frightened;

The deeds of Dādū, Compassionate with the Afflicted, says Rāgho, were performed by Hari.

The servant Dādū was another sun, he released a pure rain of words.

His utterances meant good fortune because they contained wisdom, bhakti and renunciation,

After sifting through countless treatises, he presented a path in brief,

His intellect was absolutely clear and unobstructed, he shone pure and omniscient,

He emitted the light of supreme bliss which put an end to the deep darkness on earth,

The syllables he spoke were drops, his distichs water, his songs were streams in the sea of Hari,

The servant Dādū was another sun, he released a pure rain of words.

The first of the stanzas is basically an aide-mémoire for the informed, sadhu preachers or ordinary devotees. It enumerates miracles which Dādū performed, or rather, which were manifested by Dādū as the agent of the formless divine performer of these. They were not attributed to Dādū from the distant vantage point of later generations. Rather were they imagined as real by his earliest disciples and mentioned, for example, by Jangopāl, Bakhanām, and Santdās. During his very lifetime, Dādū was experienced as divine. In his commentary of 1800 CE on Rāghavdās's hagiography, Caturdās dwelt on those miracles at length. They belong to the Dādūpanth's hagiographic stock inventory. In the form of 'Praise of Kevaldās' they form part of the sect's liturgy.³⁴ The marvels mentioned are: First of all, Dādū's omnipresence at seven festivities held simultaneously in Sambhar; secondly, his meeting with Akbar in Fatehpur Sikri at which he appeared to the

Emperor all-luminously sitting on a throne of light; thirdly, the sad end of a qazi of Sambhar who had denounced Dādū, and the ruin of another man of qazi status who dealt in cotton; fourthly, the transformation of a ban issued against Dādū in Sambhar into a warrant of privilege; fifthly, Dādū's remote rescue of merchants and their goods from a capsizing ship, and finally Dādū's taming of a mad elephant. Not a few of these miracles belong to the existing popular stock.³⁵ The stanza is an exemplar of the localization of common hagiographic events. Its theological thrust lies in the first line, repeated as the concluding line. In this it is emphasized that the deeds Dādū manifested were actually deeds of God. This reflects the identity of Dādū with the innate formless god, and is also expressed in the Dādūpanthī greeting formula (*dādū rām*) *satya rām*, '(Dādū is Rām), truth is Rām'. Moreover, the murmured mantra *dādū-rām*, repeated and eventually fading into just *rām-rām*, conveys the same.³⁶ The second stanza extols the epiphany of Dādū during his audience with Akbar. Dādū, sitting on a throne of light, appears as sheer luminosity. It is of greatest significance for our understanding of this saint's community and of his own thought against the background of the period's religious perceptions. Rāghavdās calls Dādū another sun and the light providing highest bliss. To Rāghavdās is also assigned the perhaps apocryphal hymn on the 'Throne of Light' (*nūra hī kā takhata...*), which figures powerfully in the Dādūpanthī liturgy.³⁷ This evokes the notion of Muḥammad as a mode of the divine spirit appearing as light (*nūr muḥammadi*) as it was worked out by Ibn 'Arabī.³⁸ This notion of the pre-existent light of the Prophet inspired the Sufis of South Asia. The throne of light evokes the 'throne verse', *āyat al-kursī*, Quran 2.255, and the luminosity of Allah, famously expressed in the 'light verse', *āyat al-nūr*, Quran 24.35. This is all the more striking because Akbar himself was hypostatized as the sun, identical with the divine light, by a complex apparatus of literary and artistic means.³⁹

The hagiographic emphasis on the light of Dādū is fully warranted by Dādū's own thought. Profusely does he speak of the supreme luminosity. This notion is preponderant in a composition found at the end of the 'Chapter on the Divine Guru' of the *sākhī* part of his works.⁴⁰ In their *aṅgabandhu* recension it is grouped as the second of four stanzas, of which it is the centre piece, under the heading 'Teaching of the Guru' (*guru upadesa*).⁴¹ It represents an enumeration of the aspects of the supreme truth each of which lending itself to be recited as a mantra. This sequence of aspects culminates in the nineteenth to the twenty-second aspects: *nūra*, *teja*, *joti*, *prakāsa*, all of these meaning 'light'. Together with the preceding aspects, the four light mantras are summarized as the Supreme (*parama*). The cluster of mantras of light arguably forms one of the links by which Dādū joined Muslim and Hindu sensibilities. Though this is not spelt out in Sant poetry, one can imagine that the idea of the Supreme Being and the saint embodying it also formed a transit both

to the yogic concept of the Universal Man (*mahā-puruṣa* or *puruṣa*) as well as to Muḥammad as the Perfect Man (*insān kāmil*), according to Ibn ‘Arabī.⁴²

There is, finally, in Rāghavdās’s second stanza a proposition reflecting the Dādūpanth’s shared opinion of the character of Dādū’s doctrine (line 3). Repeatedly early Dādūpanthīs—to mention only Jagjivandās, the first mentor of Sundardās; Sundardās himself, or Bakhanāṃ—affirm that Dādū’s teaching is nothing but the truth of yore presented in an easily accessible form. The path of Dādū is the path of the Supreme Self, and on earth, it begins with mythical figures like Prahlād or Dhruv and runs through Śaṅkara, the Sants and Nāths until it is revealed again in pristine clarity by Dādū.⁴³

Bakhanāṃ, the Archer Poet

Bakhanāṃ (Bakhanāṃ, Bakhanau) was a resident of Naraina. He had met Dādū first in Sambhar, where he invited the former to Naraina to a feast organized in his honour. This was sometime around 1570.⁴⁴ That he was able to mobilize support for this indicates the authority Bakhanāṃ enjoyed in his community. He was of Muslim descent, though no further details about his particular community have been recorded. The Dādūpanth describes him as a householder. He outlived Dādū and spoke affectionately of Garībdās, Dādū’s successor. Garībdās died in 1636, a fact not mentioned by Bakhanāṃ. Accordingly, he may have been dead by that year. Bakhanāṃ’s death memorial in Naraina disappeared long ago.⁴⁵ Rāghavdās says of him:⁴⁶

Bakhanaṃ, a great archer, is a disciple of Dādū Dīndyāl.

He is devoted to his guru and a servant of the servants, representing in essence staunch virtue and remembrance.

His words are wrapped in the mood of separation, and he can guess others’ inclinations.

He is drunk with the intoxicating juice of Hari, day and night he is inebriated.

His work revealing immediate experience is pure, the Lord [himself] delights in listening to it.

He has erased worldliness, egotistic attachment, arrogance and frenzy from his mind and body.

Bakhanaṃ, a great archer, is a disciple of Dādū Dīndyāl.

In the *panth* of Dādūjī, Bakhanaṃ is the archer poet,

A knower of the true being twanging hard and stretching the bow string of his rhymes.

Few are able to expound his words,

The power of his bow is like that of Arjun in the Bhārat war.

His *pad*s and *sākh*īs spread within and beyond the boundaries
 As far as moon and sun travel on their circuit.
 Rāgho says: Day and night he pleases Rāmjī,
 He does not accept defeat in singing, his singing makes him a Gandharv.

Bakhanauṃ is great, passionately loving Hari, drunk with the juice of love.
 He pleases by his speech, his words charm the mind.
 When he sings like a Gandharv, he is in tears for his Lord,
 His love is endearing, and he dispenses happiness to all.
 With every breath he is engaged only in remembering the Name,
 He is disillusioned with the world and inebriated (with God).
 When the king of Delhi came, he instructed all qazis,
 Made the pandits bow, and shattered the doubt of the king.

Rāghavdās speaks of him either in predicative sentences without copula or in the present tense, which can also function as a historical present. So the verses provide no clue whether Bakhanāṃ was alive or dead when Rāghavdās composed them. The authority Bakhanāṃ enjoyed among the followers of Dādū is revealed by the fact that he acted as a spokesman of the *panth* and contained the ill-will of orthodox critics of the sect when Emperor Jahangir (d.1627) visited Naraina. Maybe this was when the emperor was en route to the shrine of the Sufi saint Muḥ̣īn al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer (d. 1230). Rāghavdās calls Bakhanāṃ an archer. The poet, in fact, speaks of himself allegorically as a lowly foot soldier, literally ‘quiver bearer’, of king Rām (text no. 37), wearing the virtues of a *bhakta* for his coat of mail. In this way Rāghavdās captures two facets of Bakhanāṃ’s personality, his bhakti stance of suffering heroically the pain of separation from God and the pointedness of his poetry. From Rāghavdās we also learn that he was a singer suffused with emotion, and even the mere textual surface of his songs gives an inkling of what his actual performances may have been like. In Bakhanāṃ’s work Muslim tradition is fused with the single-minded devotion to the interior Rām. He is one of the poets whose works mirror their regional culture in great detail, especially in similes and proverbial expressions.

Rajab, the Bridegroom *bhakta*

Rajab (Ar. Revering, Worshiping), who also spoke of himself as Rajab Khān, was a direct disciple of Dādū. Though modern editions spell his name ‘Rajjab’, this spelling does not occur in manuscripts.⁴⁷ Sometimes, however, metre suggests the pronunciation ‘Rajjab’. According to Dādūpanthī tradition, Rajab was a Paṭhān Muslim from Sanganer, where he also had his ashram.⁴⁸

Located about eleven miles south of Jaipur, Sanganer is now part of this city which was founded as late as the eighteenth century. Sanganer has an ancient history. It had for long been a Jain place of pilgrimage with a strong presence of Digambar Jains. Its magnificent Singhī temple, affiliated to these, bears an inscription of the year 954 CE.⁴⁹ The town was part of the small Kachvaha kingdom, which in the second half of the sixteenth century came under Mughal suzerainty and thence emerged as a major political and territorial power. It was founded anew by Sāngā, the fourth son of the Kachvaha Prithvīrāj (r.1503–27). At the same time, the *bhāṭṭārakas*, domesticated Digambar Jain monks of great power and wealth, transferred their chief seat from Delhi to the region of Amber. Their presence in Sanganer is documented by a number of manuscripts dedicated to them.⁵⁰ They triggered both veneration and strong disaffection. Veneration is testified by those manuscripts, while disaffection was aroused by their lavish, quite mundane domesticated lifestyle. In the seventeenth century, Digambar lay intellectuals, who wished to purge Jainism from what they saw as a corruption of the ideal of a houseless Jain monk, militated against this. Eventually Sanganer became the cradle of the reformist Terāpanth. The celebrated Jain merchant-author Banārsīdās, based in Agra and a stalwart of the Adhyātma movement among Jains, was witness to those conflicts when he visited Sanganer and Catsu (the modern Caksu). He records this in his autobiography dating from 1641.⁵¹

The dates of Rajab's birth and death can only be estimated. He met Dādū first in Amber. This may have been sometime between 1594 and 1596. He is reported to have come to Amber as a bridegroom riding in his own wedding procession, and is said to have renounced worldly life then and there under the impact of his encounter with Dādū. Rāghavdās refers only obliquely to this decisive turn in his life. At that time, he was supposedly a teenage boy. He is said to have died before Sundardās, who passed away in 1689.

Rajab must have witnessed and been stimulated by the Jain debates, though in his oeuvre he engages with the Jains in the rather disappointing stale stereotypical fashion of Sant criticism of the Jains.⁵² Jain sources of his period from Sanganer suggest a lively, if not altogether friendly, Jain response to Santism which points to a fomenting relationship of give and take.

Assuming that Rajab was a Paṭhān, he would have exhibited properties particular to the Paṭhāns of Shekhavati, the land bordering modern Jaipur and extending further to the north.⁵³ Paṭhāns hailing from Panni in Afghanistan had played a role in Shekhavati since the second half of the fifteenth century, when they joined the army of Rāo Śekhā, the ancestor of the Śekhāvāt clans. These Paṭhāns venerated Śaikh Burhān, a Sufī saint who had allegedly come from Mecca via Multan to Amarsar, the place where Rāo Śekhā ruled. Śaikh Burhān is popular across the different faiths in Rajasthan. In Afghanistan, ancestors of the Paṭhāns had already

been followers of the tradition from which Śaikh Burhān descended. As for Rāo Śekhā, he is reputed as a champion of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation. Because in his army Muslims and Hindus had to cooperate, he made sure that they could practise commensality. The Paṭhāns had to pledge giving up beef eating, and the Hindu soldiers, to give up eating pork—as was common with both Rajputs and low castes—and to start eating only halal meat. In our collection of texts, Rajab's plea for strict non-violence and vegetarianism is amply illustrated. This attitude may well have been a feature of his type of Muslimhood liminally positioned between Hinduism and Islam. As for the Rajasthan of his period, there exist only occasional demographic details of Paṭhān presence. In the year 1663, for example, thirty-one Paṭhān families, tabulated as a category separate from other Muslims, were recorded in the city of Merta.⁵⁴

Rajab is the author of an immense oeuvre of his own and the compiler of an anthology, like Gopāldās's anthology named *Sarbaṅgī*, 'Complete with all limbs', a common title for a collection. The entry on him in Rāghavdās's hagiography consists of no less than ten stanzas, some by Rāghavdās, some by others.⁵⁵ The sheer quantity of stanzas shows the great distinction Rajab enjoyed in Dādū's sect.

Rajab, of wondrous deeds, was a diligent disciple of Dādū.
 To him appealed the formless, unsullied Nirañjana devoid of qualities.
 In the *Sarbaṅgī* he told of the ultimate reality, in this he collected the poetry of all.
 Of his distichs (*sākhī*), songs (*śabad*), and *kavits*, none comes without an example.
 All the anecdotes in the world stand reverentially at his disposal.
 He who remained day by day in the attire of a bridegroom had truly renounced women.

Rajab, of wondrous deeds, was a diligent disciple of Dādū. (378)

In Dādū's sect there was a great Sant hero,
 Rajab, the wondrous one, who bears resemblance with the following:
 He is like Dhruv and Prahlād in relation to Nārād, like Hanumant to Rāmcandra,
 The sons of Kaśyap in relation to the rising sun,
 Bhartḥhari in relation to Gorakh, Kabīr in relation to Rāmānand,
 Paraś, the righteous Sant, in relation to Pīpā.
 Rāgho says: To Datta the naked ascetic Śaṅkara is related as a disciple,
 From him originated ten names (of the Daśanāmī ascetics); one would find no end
 seeking a comparison for him. (379)

Rajab, the wondrous one, came to Amber in Rajasthan.
 Moved by the word of the guru, he relinquished marriage with a woman.
 'You have received a human body, this is the instrument with which to serve the
 Lord,

Forgetful of this, you became addicted to the juice of wickedness and sensuality.⁵⁶
 He threw his wedding crown away, and dedicated body and mind to the true one.
 He embraced the vow of virtue and mortified his mind so that his lust was dispelled.
 Guru Dādū gave him the joy of bhakti, he filled his breast with compassion.
 He took to love, and great fortune watched above his head. (380)

In the Dādūpanth, Rajab is often imagined as having worn his wedding crown perpetually. His headgear—wedding crown or other—figures in the sect’s debates on the monastic habit, which Dādū rejected, an attitude shared by Rajab (text no. 47). Dādū is reported as having advised him to keep wearing his skullcap and put a headgear on top of this. Rather than implying a wedding crown, this may refer to the conical cap formerly worn by Dādūpanthī *mahants*. The alleged discussion scarcely predates the eighteenth century when Dādū’s advice against exterior signs of monkhood was all but forgotten.

Santdās, Erudition and Rapture

With Santdās, the network of sadhus is seen spreading further to Fatehpur, the capital of the Kyāmkhānīs. Fatehpur lies in the Shekhavati region of Rajasthan, now chiefly known for its magnificent havelīs of the colonial period. Unlike Marwar or Amber, this region was divided into small holdings, resulting from property not inherited by the eldest son but divided amongst all the sons. Consequently, the area was dotted with numerous small centres and administrative cities functioning as market towns. The rulers of such towns depended on merchant financiers to support economy and statecraft.⁵⁷ Fatehpur hosted merchant communities at least from the fifteenth century. According to a temple inscription from the same century, they came from Hisar. Shekhavati was crossed by ancient trade routes which attained renewed importance in Mughal times. This helped local as well long-distance trade grow. As for Fatehpur, it features in Mughal economy also for its red stone.⁵⁸ The Kyāmkhānīs had descended from Karamcand, renamed Kyāmkhān (d. around 1418) after his conversion to Islam, who became *ṣabadār* (governor) of Hisar in Panjab. A branch of his descendants, headed by Fateh Khān, founded an independent state with a new capital named Fatehpur, established in 1449. In Mughal times, the Kyāmkhānīs attained prominence as Alaf Khān (c. 1570–1626) rose high in the imperial military bureaucracy.⁵⁹ Alaf Khān’s son, the poet Jān Kavi, asserts that Fatehpur was ‘officially’ given to the Kyāmkhānīs by Emperor Jahangir.⁶⁰ By the time Dādūpanthīs had settled there, the rulers of Fatehpur had, thus, been Kyāmkhānīs for nearly two hundred years, a dynasty as much Hindu as Muslim. In 1713 and thus after the period under review, the last independent ruler of Fatehpur lost his kingdom to Rāo Śeosingh of Sīkar, and in 1780, finally, the Kyāmkhānī territory of Jhunjhunu also fell to the Śekhāvats.

The Kṛyāmkhanīs were followers of the Chishti Sufi Shaikh Nūruddīn Nūrjahām (d. 1396) of Hansi. In the early seventeenth century, Shaikh Muhammad was the living pir (master) of this order, which was related to Shaikh (Bābā) Farīd of Pakpattan.⁶¹ The way in which Muslim and Hindu cultures coexisted in Fatehpur is well illustrated by an inscription of 1522 on the door of the Sītārām temple. It states that the *nij mandir*, the actual temple of the deity, is located in the underground cell. This was connected to the ruler's fort by an underground passage to facilitate the access of the Rajput queens of the nawab and their retinue to their place of worship. The existence of underground passages, claimed or factual, connecting Hindu and Muslim places is emblematic of the discourse about the relationship between the two groups in Shekhavati (as much as it is emblematic of the present-day situation when access to those underground passages is usually declared to be blocked).⁶²

Santdās, by his epithet Mārū Galtān(ī) 'the one from the region of Marwar engrossed in the love of God', lived from some unknown point in time in the ashram of Fatehpur, where his confrere Sundardās also resided. The Dādūpanthī settlement of Fatehpur had branched off from the ashram of Didvana. The *mahant* of both these places was Prāgdās. He received patronage from the Kṛyāmkhānīs. In the inscription commemorating Prāgdās's death, the then ruler of Fatehpur, Daulat Khān, one of the five sons of Alaf Khān, is mentioned. The Dādūpanthīs of Fatehpur also enjoyed the handsome patronage of merchant caste families, as will be discussed presently in the paragraph on Sundardās.

As a Dādūpanthī centre, then, Fatehpur was related to Didvana. It is highly probable that Santdās is identical with the guru of the anthologist Gopāldās, a connection which harks back to Sambhar. To the ashram in Fatehpur Santdās added a house (*dhām*), probably his own retreat, as well as an opulent congregation hall (*rāma sāla babubidhi*), which he mentions in his commemorative inscription for Prāgdās, the head of the monastery. Santdās passed away in 1639.⁶³ A grand funeral memorial was made for him. In the archival papers relating to its erection, he is referred to as 'Camariyā Agravāl Mahājan'.⁶⁴ This reveals clearly the caste nexus between the sadhus of that ashram and their patrons, among whom a Camariya Agraval family is explicitly mentioned.⁶⁵ Rāghavdās's description of Santdās introduces us also to his works:⁶⁶

Santdās Galtān was a disciple of Dādū Dīndayālu.

Born in an Agravāl family and a genuine devotee, he was called Mārū.

In Fatehpur he built a house, his life was steeped in the colour of Hari.

He composed the *Karakho*, brimming with flavour, in which he praised Dādū as standing upright like a pillar.

He wrote the flavorful commentary *Ekādaśāvalī*,

His disciples were Caturdās, Bhīkhjan and the astute Bālākram.

Santdās Galtān was a disciple of Dādū Dīndayālu.

This description informs us that Santdās had pursued a project of vernacularizing the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Manuscripts of his version of its tenth book are known.⁶⁷ The untraced, or perhaps lost, *Ekādaśāvalī* must have been devoted to the eleventh book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. The *Karakho* (*Karakhau*, text no. 60) was considered noteworthy enough to be recorded by Rāghavdās. A *karakho* is a poem invoking the heroic mood (*vīr-gīt*) and typical of Cāraṇ poetry. The composition is further qualified as a ballad (*ṣavārā*, v. a).⁶⁸ As a ballad it exceeds the usual length of a *karakho*. Ballads, too, are a common Cāraṇ genre. Santdās, thereby, wished to portray Dādū in a Cāraṇ mood as the hero of the faith who fights the great battle against himself and the heretics, and wins the kingdom of heaven for himself and his following. In Cāraṇ poetry, any battle can be hypertrophied as the (Mahā-)Bhārat war. This trope is found in Santdās's composition, too (v. 44–5), and so are numerous stylistic devices of Cāraṇ poetry. Alliteration of harsh sounds is used in a more subdued way than in Cāraṇ poetry, and the sound pattern of the verse lines is not regulated in the particular Cāraṇ way, nor does Santdās use Ḍīngal, the literary language of the Cāraṇs. Santdās differs also from Cāraṇ poets by his explicit theological bent. The aetiology of Dādū's appearance on the earth is that of Krishna's avatar as it is formulated in the *Bhagavadgītā* (4.7): Becoming incarnate in the world to save the good and destroy the evil (vv. 1–2).

The text of the *Karakhau* is based on two manuscripts produced in prestigious monasteries of the militant Dādūpanthīs, the Nāgās. One of these was their main seat, the other a no less prestigious branch of the former. Only one of the manuscripts mentions the date of its production, namely vs 1846/ c. 1789. By the 1780s, the Dādūpanthī Nāgās had fought in the battles of the king of Jaipur and, subsequently, became permanently attached to the Jaipur court. The manuscripts do not differ much from each other and share in being living texts in so far as they contain identical interpolations. The contents of these presuppose the period of Jaitrām, who was the abbot of Naraina from 1693 to 1732. He forged the Dādūpanth into a more or less coherent monastic brotherhood. The Nāgās had so far resisted a rigid internal organisation, unwilling to bend before a central authority. Their style of life, their patrons and the sources of their income differed starkly from those of sadhus, living in symbiosis with lay followers, and given to contemplation and preaching. Jaitrām's leverage for creating coherence in the sect could not be grossly material, for sectarian branches are financially independent bodies. He constructed coherence rather by stipulating a ritual display, basically following the model of royal etiquette. This ritual is laid down as an ordinance and was enacted during the main festival of the sect, conducted at the seat of the abbot of Naraina. To this day, this takes place in the month of Phālgun (February–March) and is

attended by all Dādūpanthī branches of sadhus. Jaitrām laid down that a ritual gift be presented to him by each sadhu attending the festival. This is called by Santdās the *jizyā* (v. 34a), the tax levied by the Mughal emperor from non-Muslims. As rendered explicit by Santdās, the term conveys that Dādū could claim quasi-imperial rank. In reality, it was and continues to be a mandatory ritual gift (*bhemit*). Such ritual prestations constitute visible proof of hierarchical relationships, at royal courts and further down the social scale. It seems, then, that the passage mentioning the reforms launched by Jaitrām, about a century after Santdās, was inserted into this original source by a Nāgā author. The interpolation runs supposedly from verse 30 to 41. Thereby, Santdās's *Kharakhau* constitutes the site of the progressively evolving sectarian history.

Sundardās, New Dimensions of Sant Poetry

Sundardās is also called 'Sundardās the Younger' (Choṭe Sundardās) to distinguish him from his senior namesake, an elusive figure allegedly the fountainhead of the militant Dādūpanthī and revered by them as their prime guru.⁶⁹

Rāghavdās, Sundardās's contemporary, praises him in no less than nine stanzas, some his own, some by others unnamed authors. This shows that Sundardās had already attained distinction in the Dādūpanth by 1660. Rāghavdās gives a detailed account of Sundardās's life. This includes his birth in a merchant family, Dādū's blessing of his mother, his setting out for studies in Banaras at the age of eleven, and that he became an expert of several disciplines and settled in Fatehpur in Rajasthan after he completed his training. The local Kyāmkhānī nawab sought an audience with him, and Sundardās impressed him by several miracles. Only two of the verses are quoted here:⁷⁰

Dādū's Sundar was another Śāṅkarācārya.

Relinquishing the idea of dualism, he sang only the praise of the One without difference,

For all the devotees and the six philosophies existing in the world he had a maxim.
He firmly established his own teaching and the weighty point of view of his guru
Refuting other religions and dispelling illusion from the heart.

All the treatises—on the yoga of bhakti, knowledge, haṭha and sāmkhya—he had
studied thoroughly.

Dādū's Sundar was another Śāṅkarācārya.

In Fatehpur the nawab came and clasped his feet:

'Show me by a miracle that you pleased the Lord!'

When he lifted the corner of the carpet, he could see:

Fatehpur was lying beneath and was visible in plain view.

Under another corner was the lake, and under yet another, a big army,
 And when he saw a dense forest under one more corner, the nawab was in awe.
 Rāgho says: He protected the nawab's horses and chariots from a collapsing stable.
 No one has ever fully grasped the nature of the wise Sundardās.



Ill. 17: The recently renovated place of Sundardās in the monastery of Fatehpur.
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In 1800, Caturdās, the commentator of Rāghavdās's hagiography, elaborated greatly on Sundardās's miraculous deeds and also gave a full list of all his compositions. Included in these is the *Gazal*, which does not form part of the collection of Sundardās's works as he had commissioned it himself and is here published for the first time (text no. 79).

Sundardās was born in the Būsar lineage of the Khandelval merchant caste. He met Dādū as a young boy, presumably shortly before 1600, and became his disciple. The meeting took place at Sundardās's birthplace Dausa on the nearby Tahalrī hill, where Dādū's brahman disciple Jagjīvandās had his ashram which was visited by Dādū on Jagajīvandās's invitation. Dausa preceded Amber as the residence of the Kachvaha rajās. In the first decade of the seventeenth-century, when he was eleven years old, Sundardās went to Banaras as a ward of the same Jagjīvandās and for some time accompanied by a few other fellow Dādūpanthīs. His mentors had assigned the boy to a comprehensive education in the Sanskrit and vernacular learning of the day. In Banaras, Sundardās was trained in the dominant knowledge systems, among these the aesthetics of the ornate poetic (*kāvya*) tradition. Thus, Sundardās became the formally most educated among Dādū's disciples. He personally commissioned most of his works to be written down in a single manuscript in 1685 CE, thus only a few years before his death in 1689.⁷¹ Such a case of an author's personal authentication of his collected works is rare in the Sant tradition.

After spending almost eighteen years in Banaras, Sundardās returned to Rajasthan in c. 1625 and settled in Fatehpur, Shekhawati. As mentioned previously for Santdās, the Fatehpur branch was an extension of the Dādū Panthī centre in Didvana, both of which centres were patronized by merchant-caste families pertaining to the Agraval and Maheshvari castes. Records mention that several constructions, including a well, were made in the ashram of Fatehpur after the arrival of Sundardās, thanks to merchant patronage of this Dādūpanthī centre.⁷² Sundardās was celibate (*brahmacārī*) and the Dādūpanthī branch cultivated by him and his confreres flourished until the early twentieth century. Here follows the translation of a part of the record of donations to the 'Sundardās's monastery', that is, the part of the monastery occupied by him, in which the nexus between sadhus and patrons from merchant castes is amply demonstrated:⁷³

Śrī Svāmī Sundardāsji came to Fatehpur in vs 1682 [1625 CE] on the 14th of the dark-half of the month of Kārtik. An abode was constructed for him by Surekā Kīśordās Mahājan Agravāl and his sons Chabildās, Harirāmdās and Harināthdās on the 13th of the dark-half of the month of Āṣāḍh of vs 1695 [1638 CE]. It was completed on the 13th of the month of Āṣāḍh and cost 335 rupees. For the benefit of Rāmji's devotees. Those who do not serve the abode constructed by Kīśordās and the holy men living at this place are indifferent to Rāmji. Following the order of Bābā Sundardās, all devotees constructed a well along with the monastery (*astal*). 1. Poddār, 2. Kejaṛivāl, 3. Surekā, 4. Camariyā, 5. Mor, 6. Budhiyā—all these six [families] gave 101 rupees (*ikotaraī*) every morning for six days (*chahūṃ tirkā*), and the total cost was 611 rupees. It was finished on the 5th day of the dark-half of the

month of Māgh of the year vs 1695 [1649 CE]. Catradās copied this from old documents. Sant Rāmbhakt reproduced it from these.

Sundardās most likely composed much of his work in Fatehpur where he spent the greater part of his life (text no. 81, vv. 8-9). In just a verse, he likens the status of the geographical area in which Fatehpur was located and known as the region of Bāgar with the holy Banaras:⁷⁴

The Bāgar region is like the sacred realm of Kāśī—
Sundar, liberated while alive, is not worried a bit.

Sundardās's presence in Fatehpur coincides with the heyday of its ruling Kyāmkhānī nawabs, Daulat Khān II and his brother Nyāmat Khān (Jān Kavi). The latter is attributed the authorship of several Brajbhāṣā works. Rāghavdās's description and a number of inscriptions in Sundardās's quarters of the Fatehpur monastery suggest that these Kyāmkhānīs patronized this Dādūpanthī centre opulently.

Bājīd, the Elusive Sant

Like Rajab, Bājīd (also Bājīd or Bājīnd) was a Paṭhān. Manuscripts of his works have been recorded since 1600, and he is profusely quoted in anthologies. The Dādūpanth claims him as a direct disciple of Dādū, though the poet himself does not refer to him as his guru.⁷⁵ Rāghavdās ranks him among the twelve closest disciples of Dādū and describes him as follows:⁷⁶

He relinquished his Paṭhān family and recited the name of Rām,
By the power of worship, Bājīd prevailed over false appearance.
When he killed a deer, fear arose in him, and from this fear
He grew inclined to virtue and disinclined to vice.
He broke bow and arrows, and disciplined his body,
The knowledge of the Inaccessible arose in his heart.
Rāgho says: Day and night his body and heart were ravished by the Lord,
He played with the Creator, devoid of any means to play with.

The last line, from 'devoid...' to the end, implies perhaps a double entendre. *Khel* is the noun 'play' and also the family name of the Pannī Paṭhāns (RSK s. v. *khel*), that is, the Paṭhāns that joined the army of Rāo Śekhā. If understood in this sense, that last portion of the verse can be rendered as: 'free of the concerns of the Khel', that is, liberated from social norms. *Khel* is, finally, one of the several terms expressing the possession by a superior power, such as a benevolent or malevolent spirit, or as in this case, by the interior Rām. Bājīd speaks of himself as a converted from false belief. In his commentary to Jangopāl's *Dādūjanmalīlā*, Ātmāvihārī mentions his birthplace as Sāṃgāpur, that is, Sanganer. Neither can his affiliation to a spiritual lineage nor a lineage issuing from him be traced. This suggests that he avoided

committing himself to a particular sect. Both the Dādūpanthīs and the overlapping Dādūpanthī–Proto-Nirañjanī tradition of Didvāna transmitted his works. This volume contains some of his distichs on the topic of sati, the self-immolation of widows, and *aril* verses. The distichs on sati unmask the unholy motives underlying an ostensibly sacred act, and the *arils* excel by demolishing pretence.

Text Sources

The sources of the texts are mentioned in Appendix I. A number of modern Indian editions contain excellent commentaries, which, of course, bear in mind the requirements of a common reader. Accordingly, some editors depart from the original reading of the manuscripts in order to facilitate understanding. More often than not, the original reading is better, albeit following more ancient phonetical and scribal conventions. We have tried to represent the texts in the form in which they were originally circulated in the seventeenth century. In some cases, manuscripts from a later period or editions thereof were used in default of these. These texts, then, represent diplomatic editions. We have tried to interfere as little as possible with the orthography of either sources. Implicitly, we do not privilege modern standardization over what were considered in the past meaningful graphic representations.

Notes

- 1 Ghanshyam Lal Devra, ‘A Study of the Trade-Relations between Rajasthan and Sindh-Multan (1650–1800 A.D.)’, in *Some Aspects of Socio-Economic History of Rajasthan*, ed. Ghanshyam Lal Devra, Jodhpur: Rajasthan Sahitya Mandir, 1980, pp. 36–50; id., ‘Popular Trade Routes of Rajasthan’, 2014. <https://www.gsldevra.com/publications/settlement-society-and-social-organization/popular-trade-routes-of-rajasthan/>. Consulted last on 3 January 2022.
- 2 Devra, ‘Study of the Trade-Relations’.
- 3 B.L. Bhadani, ‘Economic Conditions in Merta’, in *Some Aspects of Socio-Economic History of Rajasthan*, ed. Ghanshyam Lal Devra, Jodhpur: Rajasthan Sahitya Mandir, 1980, pp. 113–29.
- 4 Its *terminus ad quem* is 1636, the year of the death of Dādū’s successor Garībdās, which finds no mention in Jangopāl’s work.
- 5 Haridās, *Mahārāj Haridās jī kī vāñī*, ed. Svāmī Maṅgaldās, Jaipur: Nikhil Bhāratiya Nirañjanī Mahāsabhā, 1931, pp. 102–3.
- 6 Kailash Chand Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan: A Study of Culture and Civilization*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972, p. 194.
- 7 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 193.
- 8 Agarcand Nāhaṭā, et.al., *Samaysundar-kṛti-kusumāñjali*. Calcutta: Nahata Brothers, 1956, p. 391.

- 9 Jān Kavi, *Jān Granthāvalī* (vol.3). Ed. Vinā Lāhoṭī. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 2004, p. 141.
- 10 Callewaert, *Hindi Biography*, ch. 13.1–3.
- 11 See pp. 82–3.
- 12 Quoted and digested in HG.
- 13 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 252.
- 14 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 251.
- 15 Habib, *Atlas*, p. 20.
- 16 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, pp. 253–4, for Māldev, see Mumhatā Nainsī, *Mārvār rā parganām rī vīgat*, pt. 2, Rājasthān Purātan Granthmālā 111, Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, 1969, p.54.
- 17 Rima Hooja, *A History of Rajasthan*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2006, p. 484.
- 18 The French traveler and diamond trader Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who made six voyages to India from 1641 to 1667, describes a route which passed through Mērtā, connecting Ahmedabad, Surat and Agra via Jalor and Jaipur (Habib, *Atlas*, Sheet 6B).
- 19 Khan, 'In Pursuit of Mughal Highways', p. 327.
- 20 Jān Kavi, *Kyāmkhān rāso*, v. 50.
- 21 Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrīdādūpanth paricay*, 3 vols., Jaipur: Śrī Dādū Dayālu Mahāsabhā, 1978–9, vol.3, pp. 573–4.
- 22 In the colophon of the manuscript, Gopāldās says he compiled the text at Sambhar (*gasbā subhasthāne sāmhbharī*), see Gopāldās, *The Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās: A 17th Century Anthology of Bhakti Literature*, ed. Winand M. Callewaert, New Delhi: Manohar, 1993, p. 520. This magnificent anthology contains 1,669 songs (pads) and 6,568 couplets (*sākbīs*) of 138 named and numerous unnamed poet-saints from the Dādūpanth and beyond.
- 23 W.G., Orr, *A Sixteenth-Century Indian Mystic: Dadu and His Followers*, London and Redhill: Lutterworth Press, 1947, pp. 52–6.
- 24 On Dādū's meeting with Akbar, as described in Dādū's biography *Dādūjanmalilā* of Jangopāl, see Dalpat Rajpurohit, 'Sulh-i kull to Vedānta: The Dādū Panth and the Mughal-Rajput Imperial Paradigm'. *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 56.3, 2022, pp. 924–58. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X21000457>.
- 25 Monika Horstmann, *Jaipur 1778: The Making of a King*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, pp. 214–5.
- 26 Dhanapāl's Apabhraṃśa hymn, composed shortly after Maḥmūd of Ghazna's raid on Somnāth in c. 1024, mentions Naraina having a major Jain temple, see Andrew Ollett, "Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Yōgarāja, and Attempted Iconoclasm: Dhanapāla's Hymn to the Sanchoire Vīra" in the *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 42.2, 2022, pp. 309–24. For its twelfth-century iteration as a sacred Jain site visited by Jain monks, see Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 317.
- 27 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 318.
- 28 Horstmann, *Bhakti and Yoga*, pp. 172–3.
- 29 Referred to in text no. 60, v. 34.
- 30 Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie Shokoohy, *Nagaur: Sultanate and Early Mughal History and Architecture of the District of Nagaur*, India, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1993, p. 161.
- 31 For his presence in the homiletic tradition, see p. 46.

- 32 Two stanzas in the edition of Nāhṭā (Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, 1965, pp. 171–2, vv. 359–40), as opposed to 37 stanzas in the edition of Sv. Narayandas, do not fully reveal the distinction between the text assigned to Rāghavdās himself and the commentary (Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, n.d., pp. 654–75, vv. 435–70).
- 33 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, 1965, pp. 179–80, *chappay* 359–60.
- 34 Text and translation in Thiel-Horstmann, *Nächtliches Wachen*, pp. 20–1. Kevaldās is perhaps identical with the eponymous disciple of Garibdās, the successor of Dādū, and therefore active in the first part of the seventeenth century.
- 35 See Thiel-Horstmann, *Nächtliches Wachen*, pp. 20–5.
- 36 Similarly, another composition forming an optional part of the sect’s liturgy, reveals this identity. This is the *Karaulī bbramanlīlā*, see Thiel-Horstmann, *Nächtliches Wachen*, pp. 28–9.
- 37 See Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, n.d., p. 670, v. 461; for a translation, see Thiel-Horstmann, *Nächtliches Wachen*, p. 27.
- 38 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 224.
- 39 Heike Franke, *Akbar und Ġabhāngīr: Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Legitimation in Text und Bild*, Bonner Islamstudien, vol. 12, Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2005.
- 40 NBhS 1, p. 135, v. 149.
- 41 For the *aṅgabandhu* recension, see above p. 46. For a commentary on this composition, see *Dādūdayālji kī vāñī*, ed. Maṅgaldās Svāmī, Jaypur: Vaidya Jayrāmdās Svāmī Bhiṣagācārya, Śrīsvāmīlakṣmīrāmcikitsālay, 1951, *parīṣṭ* 1, pp. 1–3.
- 42 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 22.
- 43 Monika Horstmann, ‘Guru Dādū in the Perception of His Direct Disciples’, in *Generating the Guru: Genealogies of Religious Authority in South Asia*, ed. István Keul and Srilata Raman, London: Routledge, 2022, pp. 51–71.
- 44 DJL 14.3.
- 45 BV-Maṅgaldās, p. 10.
- 46 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, 1965, pp. 196–7, *chappay* 412 and *manbar* 413–14.
- 47 Gopāldās, *Sarvāṅgī*, p. 57, n. 3.
- 48 For information culled from numerous sources having a varying degree of authenticity but representing the hagiographical tradition of their respective periods, see Rajab, *Rajjab kī Sarbaṅgī*, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Rāygaṛh, Chattīsgaṛh: Brajmohan Sāmvarīyā, 2010, introduction.
- 49 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, p. 456.
- 50 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, pp. 456–7. Detige, ‘Digambara Renouncers’, p. 184.
- 51 Banārsīdās, *Ardhakatbanak: A Half Story*, tr. Rohini Chowdhury, New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2009, p. 250.
- 52 Monika Horstmann, ‘Nāth and Dādūpanthī Critique of Jains’, *International Journal of Jaina Studies* 13.1, 2017, pp. 1–72.
- 53 For the following, see Pārīk, *Kesarīsīmb-guṇ-rāso*, pp. 1–6, chapter 1.5–12; Dominique-Sila Khan, ‘Śaīx Burhān Cīstī: Le culte d’un saint musulman chez les rajput Śekhāvat’, in *Le Rajasthan, ses dieux, ses héros, ses hommes*, ed. Annie Montaut, Colloques Langues’O, INALCO, Paris, Paris: INALCO, 2000, pp. 160–6.
- 54 Bhadani, ‘Economic Conditions’, p. 124.

- 55 Five of these are not by Rāghavdās and therefore not quoted. Four bear the signature of Rajab's disciple Mohan, and one distich has no signature. Only the first three stanzas are translated here. See for a quotation from these also p. 43.
- 56 In stanza 380, Rāghavdās refers to a distich of Dādū, recorded in the Dādūpanth though not contained in the critical edition (DV 10.32).
- 57 Hooja, *A History of Rajasthan*, p. 696.
- 58 Habib, *Atlas*, p. 20.
- 59 Cynthia Talbot, 'Becoming Turk the Rājput Way: Conversion and Identity in an Indian Warrior Narrative', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 43.1, 2009, pp. 211–43.
- 60 Jān Kavi notes that Fatehpur was given as an imperial revenue grant covering the ancestral land of the Kyāmkhānīs (*lāl mubār* or *vatan jāgir*), thus confirming their hereditary rights over the principality (Jān Kavi, *Kyāmkhāṃ rāso*, p. 115).
- 61 Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, 'The Early Chishti Dargahs', in *Muslim Shrines in India*, ed. Christian Troll, 1st pb. edn, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 1–23.
- 62 Véronique Bouillier, 'Samādhi et dargāh: hindouisme et islam dans la Shekhavati', in *De l'Arabie à l'Himalaya: chemins croisés en hommage à Marc Gaborieau*, ed. Véronique Bouillier and Catherine Servan-Schreiber, Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 2004, p. 255.
- 63 Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, *Śrīdādūpanth paricay*, 3 vols., Jaipur: Śrī Dādū Dayālu Mahāsabhā, 1978–9., vol. 1, p. 500. The death of Santdās is recorded in an inscription at the *maṭh* of Fatehpur, see SG, 'Jīvan caritra', p. 28.
- 64 SG, 'Jīvan caritra', p. 27. See also p. 86.
- 65 The plan of the ashram of Fatehpur, published in SG, 'Jīvan caritra', p. 189, reflects its wealth and significance. Harinarayan Sharma, *ibid.*, pp. 183–8 reports how its property was alienated and this renowned seventeenth-century centre of religious learning eventually ruined by the 1930s. The premises are now privately owned and refurbishing is in progress.
- 66 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, n.d., p. 753, *chappay* 610.
- 67 Omkārlāl Menāriyā and Vinaysāgar, eds., *Rājasthānī hindī hastlikhit granth sūcī, bhāg 6 (Jaypur samgrah)*, Rājasthān Purātan Granthmālā 143, Jodhpur: Rājasthān Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhān, 1983, p. 10, nos. 59–61.
- 68 For Santdās's *Karakhā*, Monika Thiel-Horstmann, 'On the Dual Identity of Nāgās', in *Devotion Divine/Dévoition Divine: Studies in Honour of Charlotte Vaudeville*, ed. Diana L. Eck and Françoise Mallison, Groningen and Paris: Egbert Forsten and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991, pp. 256–71. In this article, Santdās was tentatively dated in the eighteenth century, based on a passage in the text that, at that time, was not recognized as an interpolation. This identification is suggested by material accessed subsequently; see Monika Horstmann, 'The Flow of Grace: Food and Feast in the Hagiography and the History of the Dādūpanth', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 150.2, 2000, pp. 529–48.
- 69 The civil name of the Elder Sundardās was Bhīm Singh.
- 70 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, 1965, pp. 198–9, vv. 419 and 422.
- 71 Manuscript no. 113 in the Vidyābhūṣaṇ collection of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur. The colophon states that its compilation was commissioned by Sundardās to his merchant disciple Rūpādās in VS 1742 in Fatehpur.

- 72 These documents were reproduced in SG, 'Jīvan caritra', pp. 26-8 and 36. The edition is based on early manuscripts and records that the editor, Purohit Harinarayan Sharma, had obtained these from *mahant* Gaṅgārām, who belonged to the Fatehpur lineage of Sundardās's disciples. Many of the manuscripts are now housed at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (RORI), Jaipur.
- 73 SG, 'Jīvan caritra', p. 36.
- 74 SG, vol.2, p. 809. For further discussion on the region Bāgaṛ in the verses attributed to Sundardās and Kabīr, see Dalpat Singh Rajpurohit, *Sundar ke swapn: ārambbik ādbuniktā, Dādūpanth aur Sundardās kī kavītā*, Delhi: Rājkamal, 2022, p. 104.
- 75 For this paragraph on Bājīd, we draw largely on B. K. Siṃhal's introduction in BG and Imre Bangha, 'Unearthing a Forgotten Poet: Vājīd in Legends and in Manuscripts', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64.1, 2011, pp. 1–12.
- 76 Rāghavdās, *Bhaktmāl*, 1965, pp. 201–2, v. 428.

Part II

Chapter 3

Texts and Translations

Hardās

I. *Pad* (*rāg* Gauṛī)

अवधू बैठां का गति नाही ॥
भजन बिमुष मति जाणै छूटै, पसरि सोवै घर मांहीं ॥ टेक ॥
चली जमाति साथ की आगै, तूं क्यूं पाछै धीरा ।
बिन रघुनाथ नहीं को तेरै, और सहाई भीरा ॥१॥
जिन स्यूं प्रीति करै माधौ तजि, तिन मैं कहि को तेरा ।
जोगी बेटा कदे न ऊंघै, जा का बाट बसेरा ॥२॥
जब लग सुष चाहै देही कौं, तब लग सातों काची ।
आइस ऊठि न देषै घर मैं, रामचरण निधि साची ॥३॥
नौ घर मांगि कुरकुटी धायौ, याही मैं रुचि मानीब ।
कहै हरदास चलै जे दसवैं, तौ सति महिमां जांणी ॥४॥

Sitting still, oh Avadhū, you cannot find your destiny.

You turn away from worship—but don't think you can find release in comfortable sleep at home. (refrain)

Your band of companions have all marched ahead, how can you stay back then, so calm?

You have no one but Raghunāth, no helper for you in the crowd. (1)

Of those you love instead of Mādhau, who is really yours?

A yogi's disciple, travelling the path, may find a place to rest, but he'll never give in to sleep. (2)

You keep trying to make your body happy, but meanwhile its seven components¹ decay.

The guru commands: Get up! At home you won't see the feet of Rām, the true treasure. (3)

When the nine-doored house² demanded, you ran for dry crumbs—all there was that interested you.

Hardās says: If you reach the tenth door, you will recognize the truth in its greatness. (4)

¹) According to ayurvedic notions, the physical body consists of seven components. — ²) The body with its nine orifices.

2. *Pad (rāg Gauṛī)*

संतौ परजापति गुर कीजै ॥
 चरण कंवल की जे निधि चाहौ, तौ चाक तलै षणि लीजै ॥टेक ॥
 कांड़ कुभार कसी स्युं षोदै, कांड़ कुदाली बाहै ।
 ता सुष काजि सुधा रस काढै, दुहु मै एक त्रिबाहै ॥१ ॥
 आंगुल धूलि तलै धन नेडौ, क्रमहीन क्यू पावै ।
 छाड़ि बिषै रस नांव निरूपै, तौ गुर बेगि बतावै ॥२ ॥
 जो या लहै कहैगा सोई, कब लग छांनीं राषै ।
 तब हरदास चवै चिंतामणि, प्राण तजै ता पाषै ॥३ ॥

Sants, let the potter¹ be your guru!

If you seek the treasure that's the Lord's lotus feet, you must dig below the potter's wheel. (refrain)

The potter digs out some clay with a pickaxe, he works through some more with a hoe,

For the happiness it gives, he extracts the elixir; from duality he crafts the One. (1)
 Close by lies the treasure, at a finger's breadth's length in the dust. How can he find it if he does not act?

Give up the senses' pleasures and explore the name of Rām, then the guru will say quickly where it is. (2)

He who finds it can't help telling of it. How long can he keep it hidden?

He then speaks of the supreme good, says Hardās, even if he dies thereafter. (3)

¹⁾ Prajāpati is the name of the ancient god of creation and the surname of the potter caste.

3. *Pad (rāg Rāmgarī)*

तब जाइ होइ जनेऊ पांडे ।
 पहली प्रगटि पांच बसि¹ गाढ़ा, तौ पांछै बड गोई ॥टेक ॥
 सोई सूत शुद्रां घरि पीन्या, सोई कर बिचि कात्या ।
 ता सूत का ताड़ा तोड़ा, ताहि पहरि का मातौ ॥१ ॥
 जा पोषर मै सुद्र संवार्या, सोई नीर भरि ल्याया ।
 ता पोषर कै लगतै पांडे, उतिम कदे न आया ॥२ ॥
 राजस तांस सातिग तो मै, ए तीन्यू जे मारै ।
 तौ चौथी सरि तो थे नेड़ी, जे तू षोज बिचारै ॥३ ॥
 जे तू ब्रह्मा की बांणी बांचै, तौ तू ब्रह्म पिछांणै ।
 नौसरि मेल्हि पूठि कै पाछे, दसई² कू मन ताणै ॥४ ॥
 एक अचंभा ऐसा देष्या, जग सब यूंही भूला ।
 कहै हरदास कृपा केशौ की, गुर मिलि संसा पूला ॥५ ॥

¹⁾ *pragaṭi pānca basi*] MS Sharma 3190 *pragata śānci baṛa gāḍhā*. — ²⁾ *dasai*] MS Sharma 3190 *dasasari*, unless a scribal mistake, this could mean 'the lake at (door number) ten', that is, the lake of the void, identified with the Mānasarovar of the esoteric body.

When made like this, oh Pande,¹ the sacred cord will turn out well:
 First fully control the five manifest senses, you'll then be known as great. (refrain)
 The cord's threads were carded in the house of a Shudra, who spun them with his
 Shudra hands,
 This cord of beaten, broken threads—why such pride in wearing it? (1)
 The tank from which you draw your water was built by me, the Shudra.
 With all your cares about the tank, oh Pande, you never came across the highest
 good. (2)
 In you are *sattva, rajas, tamas*: these three strands you must kill.
 A fourth strand will then be close in reach, which you must try to comprehend. (3)
 When reciting words about Lord Brahmā, you need to know yourself as *brahma*,
 the highest good,
 Cast the nine-stranded cord behind, and pull your mind up to the tenth door! (4)
 You'll then see something so amazing you'll forget the whole world just like that.
 Says Hardās, by Keśav's mercy you've found the guru, and all doubt is gone. (5)
¹ Pāṇḍe, a sub-caste of Brahmans.

4. *Pad (rāg Bilāval)*

सुणि लै कोई कान्ह गावै ।
 आपणै आंनंदि मन रिझावै ॥टेक॥
 नाहीं मूरली नाहीं बांसी, नाहीं बेन रु ताला ।
 एकाएकी बीर बमेकी, सब घटि रांम निराला ॥१॥
 नाहीं भांमां स्यूं कोइ कांमां, नाहीं राधे रांणी ।
 संगि सहेली ना को षेली, सो गति जाइ न जानीं ॥२॥
 नाहीं रुकमनि आपै सुषमनि, आवै देषि अभेषा ।
 जे हरदास इसौ प्रभू छाडै, ते सब भूले लेषा ॥३॥

Listen, a Kānha sings

Enthralling his mind with his own bliss. (refrain)
 No bamboo flute of any kind is there, nor musical beat,
 Alone there is the discriminating hero—Rām in all bodies while still distinct. (1)
 He desires no Satyabhāmā or Rādhā Rāṇī,
 No play with groups of girls: no one knows his state. (2)
 There is no Rukmiṇī, he himself's the Suṣumnā—he sees the Lord without any
 trappings at last.
 Those who abandon this kind of Lord, says Hardās, have forgotten all scriptures. (3)

5. *Pad (rāg Dhanāśrī)*

जन का जीव की रे भाई रीति रहस मैं, अधंम गुदारत हासै ।
 पसरि पसरि जब पडि पडि ऊठै, तब मन रहै तमासै ॥ टेक ॥

मूरिष मैला मन ऊपर ली, पापी बैसत पासै ।
 सेवा सुमिरन संत करै जब, ऊठि अगलौ जाइ न्हासै ॥१॥
 हरि की कथा अवसि जे चालै, अति ऊँघै षर षासै ।
 जदपी जागि सुणै जे श्रवणा, अंतरि औगुण भ्यासै ॥२॥
 धू प्रहिलाद कबीर नांमदेव, इहिं पथि चलत उल्हासै ।
 तू हरदास परम तत परहरि, भूलि न दूजी भासै ॥३॥

‘The right way to live is for enjoyment, brother’, the crude man says and laughs while wasting his life.

Pushing forward, he keeps falling and then stands up again, but his mind stays absorbed in the show. (refrain)

The fool sits with the sinner and has covered his mind with dirt.

Then a Sant worships God by remembering his names—and the fool, getting up, moves on to his ruin. (1)

He’ll certainly go to hear tales of Lord Hari—but then dozes off, a belching donkey.

Though he may be awake with ears that hear, faults are present in his heart. (2)

Dhruv, Prahlād, Kabīr and Nāmdev travelled the path to joy:

Says Hardās, don’t get lost in appearances, rejecting the supreme truth! (3)

6. *Pad (rāg Dhanāśrī)*

Āratī

किहिं बिधि राम की आरति गाऊं । पारब्रह्म को पार न पाऊं ॥टेक॥
 राम कहै तौ आरति साची । आप न समझै तौ सब काची ॥१॥
 लोक दिषाई जीव न धीजै । भोग लगाइ र पाछौ लीजै ॥२॥
 बाहरि जोति धाम उजियालौ । अंतरि आंधा क्यूं पग टालौ ॥३॥
 कहै हरदास किसी परिपाटी । दीवा वाती कूकर चाटी ॥४॥

¹⁾ *bātī*] MS Sharma 3190 *bādī*, HV *vāṭī*.

How can I sing the *āratī* for Rām? I cannot find the supreme self’s farthest end. (refrain)

If you speak the name of Rām, the *āratī* is right; if you don’t understand yourself, the *āratī*’s all wrong. (1)

An *āratī* put on for show can’t be believed in—with food first offered to a deity eaten up by others. (2)

Outside a house is lit by light. How can someone blind inside trace footsteps? (3)

Whatever the arrangement of the *āratī*, says Harḍās—a dog laps up the oil lamps. (4)

7. *Bārahpadī* (rāg Mārū)

एक मूंग किया दोड़ फाड़ी । देषि तमासौ टेकी जाड़ी ॥
 बिचि अंकूर बिरह का फांसा । साजन दौड़्या ले ले कांसा ॥
 जीवण बैठा वोला-वोली । भात परोस्यौ पोला-पोली ॥
 दे दे चौका बात चलाई । मति को काहूँ भीटै भाई ॥
 भेदि भजै तौ हरिकथा, नहिंतर माया गीत ।
 सूता था सुनि जागिया, मन जु भया भैभीत ॥१ ॥
 भीट्यां भाव रहै नहीं आगै । बाद बिरोध बिषै दुष लागै ॥
 मूंड हलायां सहपति जाई । अणहूँती अलबधि घर में आई ॥
 लाजां ले करि माषी षाजै । बरग बिगूचै अरु बंस लाजै ॥
 जे षाइ तौ जूवा हारै । ऊठि जाइ तौ पणि झष मारै ॥
 यहु गुन बांभण बाणिया, जाणै उतिम लोग ।
 रामसनेही क्यूँ रहै, रटै जु राम बिवोग ॥२ ॥
 जब लग जाति न छांडै केड़ी । याही धाड़ि पहंतौ पेड़ी ॥
 गांठि टटोली झोली चूथी । नांव कपूरी पाषां षूथी ॥
 मन छूटन कौं भारी लोचै । गाफिल पड़ियौ जो लै पोचै ॥
 सूरा होइ तौ षड़ग संभालै । पड़तौ आभ भुजा दे टालै ॥
 बूडा गुन में देह धरि, पायौ नहीं निधान ।
 मूंडि चढायां मोटली, ऊंचां यहु अभिमान ॥३ ॥
 ऊंचां नीचा जब लग कहिये । तूटै तारि जोग नहीं लहिये ॥
 जब लग जोग न आवै गहनी । तब लग फिरि फिरि फोकट कहणीं ॥
 फोकट नाचै फोकट गावै । फोकट देस दुनी संमझावै ॥
 समझावणिसी जा पै होई । तिहिं क्यूँ कुल की गांठि न षोई ॥
 कुल की डगर बुहारतां, कांठै रहि गयो राम ।
 ते बसि सहसी बापड़ा, जंम की धूमांधाम ॥४ ॥
 मार सही मूठार निमांणा । साच न सूझै सुष स्यूं कांणा ।
 वार बिचालै रोही रोहा । न्यांइ पुकारै हरि सूं द्रोहा ॥
 चोर मिहालू का कहि रोवै । नैण भरै अरु पाछौ जोवै ।
 पेट सवारथ गलका षाधा । मुणस पराया घर मैं बाधा ॥
 बोलण नैं ठाहर नहीं, साध हूण नैं साषि ।
 पांणी बहि मुलतांणि गयो, नीच न जाण्यौ राषि ॥५ ॥
 आंणि अपूठौ बांधै पारौ । नीर बिनां नहीं निस्तारौ ॥
 हरषि हिलोलि पसी भरि पीवै । प्रेम बिना क्यूं जोगी जीवै ॥
 तिरंण बूडण की यहु मति षोटी । काल मरै क्यूं लाठी छोटी ॥
 फोर फार बिन चोट न फावै । मुगध न पूजै मुरड़ी चावै ॥
 जाकै ह्दिदै भै भ्रंम, द्रुमति दीरघ रोग ।
 रामसनेही बाहिरा, बादि बिगूचै लोग ॥६ ॥
 जे को जाणि बीगूचै कोई । निहिचै राम कहैगा सोई ॥
 निहिचा पाषै आघौ पाछौ । बिन बिसवासि स्वांग मति काछौ ॥

तुम्ह जिनि जांगौ ऐह धोधा । फीटा आप काहि परमोधा ॥
 सीषी साषि सुणांवेँ पोथा । भीतरि भेद नहीं सर थोथा ॥
 लालचहीं कीया दुनी, लालचहीं का पेल ।
 पूरणगति पासै रही, आंधा याही हेल ॥७ ॥
 रीता रूंड घघू सैं गहिला । बाहरि ऊजल भीतरि मैला ॥
 जे को पग की पासि काटै । जाणि बूझि फकटौ क्यूं ठाटै ॥
 जे नर जनम जनम का ऊंणां । षाड् अभोभा तिणसा सूणां ॥
 ग्यान उजाला जिन कौं सूधा । तिनि बिष स्यूं करि लीधा दूधा ॥
 माधौ मिसरी मेल्हि करि, बिष स्यूं लावै हेत ।
 सार लहैला लाटता, ज्याह का निरफल षेत ॥८ ॥
 जे को चित दे कृषि कमावै । नेड़ौ छाडि दूरि कत धावै ॥
 दूरि जाहिं ते दीसैं भूला । अजहूं नींद नेत नहीं पूला ॥
 यहु ऊंघण का नाहीं पहिरा । सक हुत हारि जाहुगे सहिरा ॥
 अबकैं जे कण हाथि न पड़िया । बिरधि गई अंकुर पणि झड़िया ॥
 नेपै नाई बीज गौ, हाली नैं यहु हांणि ।
 छाडि कपट सेव्यो नहीं, सकतौ सारंगप्रांणि ॥९ ॥
 सोच पोच स्यूं सेव काचा । सतगुर मिलै न बसि ह्वै बाचा ॥
 जे बाणी वसि कीयौ चाहै । तौ प्रेम प्रीति ले पंजर गाहै ॥
 नैणनि हाव तिढांवणि फेरै । सीस नवाइ सु गही करि घेरै ॥
 इहि आकारि बिचारैं आपौ । जैठै रासि तहीठै थापौ ॥
 गाडै मेढ्य गला सवी, बारा घालै बाथ ।
 माथा फड़कौ रालि दे, धोरी थांभै हाथ ॥१० ॥
 करि सुरातन साधै षेती । धन धीरज की भांनै छेती ॥
 जो करतार¹ परंम हितकारी । सो निज नांड तजै क्यूं नारी ॥
 सषी सुहाग स्याम कौ लोड़ै । तौ² जग मरजाद तिणै ज्यूं तोड़ै ॥
 यहु संसार रैणि का सुपिना । बिन व्रजनाथ³ नहीं को अपना ॥
 निसबासुरि पिव पिव करै, चात्रिग की सी चाड ।
 वर बादल दांमणी बधू, तब या लहसी लाड ॥११ ॥
 इहि घटि घटा कृपा करि बूठौ । तन की ताप गई ते तूठौ ॥
 आंनंद मैं आसू वोल्हरिया । स्वांति सुधा डर डाबर भरिया ॥
 ध्यान धार छूटी आकासा । वोरडी बूंद बराबरि प्यासा ॥
 बाव बिकार न बाजै गाडौ । इहि पदि अरथ अनूपम काडौ ॥
 आरति स्यूं आठूं पहर, सदिकै करूं सरिर ।
 अब हरदास न बीसरै, रसनां राघौबीर ॥१२ ॥

¹) MS. Sharma 3190 *bharabhāra*. — ²) Hypermetrical. — ³) Hardās 2007 *bhagavāṃta*.

One moong bean, split in two; they take it as a curiosity and gape.
 Caught between those two is the sprout of separation:¹ The notables come rushing
 with their bowls.
 Close packed, they settle for the meal. They are served lots of rice and puffed-up
 chapatis.

They shout across the dining place, ‘Serve me! Serve me!’, and ‘Brother, avoid any polluting touch!’

‘*Harikathā*² is when you worship minding caste, otherwise, it’s just singing for fun.’

All who were sleeping woke up hearing this, their minds were filled with fear. (1)

How the pollution will go away now becomes a topic of painful controversy.

They shake their heads: ‘Our reputation is at risk. Our house is hit by a blow that should never have come.’

‘If we scheme, harming our honour, our caste will be blamed and our lineage shamed.

‘If you eat, you’ve lost the game; if you walk away you act like a fool.’

These are the virtues of Brahmans and Baniyas, high-born people know such things.

What does a lover of Rām care, repeating His name amid pangs of separation? (2)

As long as you don’t do away with caste, the gang of robbers will intrude on your body.

They search the bundle, pilfer the bag; your name may shine, but around the waist’s a moneybelt.

Though your mind longs badly for release, as long as you’re weak you will carelessly fail.

A hero draws his sword; the sky may fall, but he’ll push it aside with his arm.

Since your birth you have been immersed in qualities, but you have not found the treasure.

On your head you carry a bundle of arrogance: pride in your high rank. (3)

As long as you talk in terms of ‘high’ and ‘low’, you cannot join the broken thread together.

As long as you don’t know what ‘joining together’ means, idle talk will go on and on.

One dances idly, sings idly, and idly advises people near and far.

If he can give advice, why can’t he disentangle himself from family prestige?

As he swept the path of family prestige, somewhere Rām got lost.

In the grip of family prestige, a poor wretch must suffer the uproar of Death. (4)

He suffered hard blows helplessly but cannot see the truth, for happiness impaired his sight.

Inside and out there are obstacles; he calls for justice but is hostile to Hari:

The thief’s wife laments, reminding him tearfully:

‘You were selfish and ate treats, thinking of your belly, and held a strange man captive in the house!’ Inside and out there are obstacles; he calls for justice but is hostile to Hari.

The thief’s wife laments, reminding him tearfully:

‘You were selfish and ate treats, thinking of your belly, and held a strange man captive in the house!’

There is no place for him to speak, no witness for his being righteous.
 The water has flown off to Multan. Because he was unworthy, he could not retain
 it. (5)³
 Bring the water back and dam it up; if there is no water, you can't be saved.
 Immersed in the waves of exuberance, you drink your full. But how will a yogi live
 without love?⁴
 Ideas of salvation or drowning in the worldly sea are wrong. The snake of Time
 must die, and a short stick's not enough.
 Without striking hard, no blow can be dealt. Fool, you don't worship, and yet you
 want respect.
 One whose heart is full of fear and error remains ill with false ideas.
 People like that suffer in vain. The lover of Rām is beyond them. (6)
 If someone aware of this falls into despair, he'll certainly speak the name of Rām.
 He is with you everywhere for sure. If you have no faith, don't dress up in religious
 robes!
 Don't believe in hollow words! How can someone false himself enlighten you?
 For proof they quote rote verses or read from thick books; they have hollow heads
 and no mystery within.
 The world produces greed alone, a play of greed alone it stays.
 Fulfilment is at hand, but carrying too great a load makes man blind. (7)
 A hollow torso, more foolish than an owl; shining outside, dirty inside.
 If someone cuts his fetters, why does the poor soul deliberately fasten them again?
 Men may have been failures in every existence, ruthless gluttons, hollow like a straw.
 But if the light of wisdom shines clearly for them, milk and poison are the same.
 If someone throws away the candy that is Mādhau and takes to poison instead,
 That Lord of the land will take back the essentials he owns, for that man's field
 produced no fruit. (8)
 If you till your field with due attention, why would you reject what's near at hand
 and run afar?
 Those running afar are lost. Even now your eyes haven't opened!
 This is not the hour for falling asleep; if you can't decide now, you'll have lost in the
 morning.
 If his mind is full of petty gossip, he ends up worshipping trash. He does not find
 the guru since he can't control his speech.
 Someone wanting control of his speech looks inside himself with love.
 He refrains from daring flirtatious glances, bows his head and restrains himself.
 In this way he reflects on himself and settles down in a place of plenty.
 When the post is planted in the centre of the threshing floor, the harvest is spread
 out, twelve men⁶ throw armloads of sheaths on it.
 When the headman has given each one his share, he waves his hand to stop. (10)

You will be brave and till with success; perseverance as your cattle will break the clods of difference.

How can a woman give up her creator's own name? He is her great benefactor⁷.

Oh friend, if you desire a happy married life with Śyām, you must break the worldly code of honour like a straw.

This world is a night's dream; apart from Brajnāth you have nothing.

If you cry 'piu, piu' day and night for your beloved, like a *cātak* bird for raindrops —With the cloud as the groom and the lightning, the bride—you'll experience his love. (11)

If the gracious cloud pours rain into this vessel, your body will stop suffering and you'll be content.

Tears of bliss burst forth, a stream of *svāti* rain⁸ filled lakes and ponds.

The stream of meditation was released in the sky; as the showers increased, so did the thirst.

Where the strong winds of change don't blow, there retrieve your wealth.

In an *āratī* lasting day and night I will sacrifice my body.

From now on, says Hardās, my tongue won't forget Rāghauvīr. (12)

¹⁾ The same simile is used by Rajjab in *Chappay* 6. For him, the sprout appearing between the two parts of the grain of legume is the symbol of unity of distinctions, for the fruit of the sprout is the attainment of gnosis. Cp. also GopS 44.6.8. — ²⁾ *Harikathā*, see p. 8. — ³⁾ This refers to the legend of which one version runs as follows: Gorakhnāth was in Banaras and went to see Raidās, the Chamar. Raidās's daughter offered him water, but he did not want to accept this from a Chamar. By the time he had realized the saintliness of Raidās and went to see him again, the daughter was no longer there to offer him water, for she had been married to Multan (HG, p. 78). Hardās embeds this legend in a yogic context, for the water he has in mind is the semen, as becomes clear in the next stanza. — ⁴⁾ The original has *prema*, the highest form of disinterested love. The phrase expresses the quintessence of Hardās's yoga-bhakti. — ⁵⁾ A name of Viṣṇu. — ⁶⁾ Twelve is a recurrent number in the origin mythology of Rajasthan (Lawrence A. Babb, 'Recasting the Caste: The Case of the Dadhich Brahmans', in *The Anthropologist and the Native: Essays for Gananath Obeyesekere*, ed. H.L. Seneviratne. Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2009, p. 110). — ⁷⁾ Manuscripts display the variant readings *bharabbāra*, 'responsibility', and *karatāra*. This suggests *bharatāra*, 'husband, rel.: supreme lord' somewhere down the line of scribal transmission. — ⁸⁾ The *cātak* bird craves only the rain falling towards the end of the rainy season, during the constellation named *svāti*.

8. *Tīspadī* (*rāg* Mārū)¹

उदिम संजै ज्यू आरसी, हाथि सदा जे होई रे ।
 वदन विलोकै आपणौ, काट न लागै कोई रे ॥ टेक ॥
 साजन सुनि रे सीष घौं, मनि लै साजी बातो रे ।
 जागि दिवांनां जीव जुलि, करि लै कासी जातो रे ॥१॥
 संमझि सयाणां समझी रे, सौज सकल लै बांधी रे ।
 हलवी चालै हेत स्यू, करतां सोही कांधी रे ॥२॥
 ग्यांन षरच गुर गांठि करि, हाजिर हो हुसियारो रे ।

परदेसी पड़ी सोइ मा, तसकर ताकै लारो रे ॥३॥
 चावल मैदा चूरिवां, षाई म षटरस भोगो रे ।
 चेतनि रहू चूकै रषै, जासी आयौ जोगो रे ॥४॥



Ill. 18: Communal dining in Naraina in 2007. © Y. Deutler.

कड़वा तूबा नालिकेलि, मनमंत चाषै मीत ।
 आगै वोषद का नहीं, जबरु पड़ैला पीत ॥५॥
 रस गोरस गोहूँ गिरी, दुनियां चरती चीजो रे ।
 कोरै आंबरि काटकी, पड़ि मारैली बीजो रे ॥६॥
 अगति जांहिलौ आंधला, साचै मारगि चालो रे ।
 भाजै करक भवा लगू, निकसि जांहि नटसालो रे ॥७॥
 साल सूल सब स्वाद का, सकल सरीर माहीं रे ।
 निस बासुरि नेड़ी धषै, भीतरि भ्रमै भाहे रे ॥८॥
 षानि षसेरी परजलै, पावक प्रगटी झालो रे ।
 मेरी करि करि जलि मुवां, बहसि बुलायौ कालो रे ॥९॥
 दौं दाधा दुष पूरिया, दोजगि दीन्हां आनि ।
 लाज नहीं अति लालच्य, तौ उस तोबह तांनि ॥१०॥
 मुक्ति षेत निधि मोतियां, स्यौपुर सागर सीपो रे ।
 ता परि प्रांणी पाव दे, परहरि दूजा दीपो रे ॥११॥
 सांचा सीसा सांडसी, सोहगी सरड़ा साको रे ।
 अवलि अबीधौ रह इहां, है हरि नीड़ा नाकौ रे ॥१२॥
 आंवन जानां उपरै, ऊंघण याही धूडौ रे ।

पारधी पास पसारियौ, कुरंग पड़ै मति कूड़ौ रे ॥१३॥
 जारी चोरी चाकरी, बेद बंणिंज व्यापारो रे ।
 व्याज बडाई कृषि क्रम, कुलि बोया संसारो रे ॥१४॥
 नैनष दीयां नर बहै, सगलै याही साषि ।
 सूई तागौ क्यूं सरै, पष बिण बीधौ पाषि ॥१५॥
 सूना पांसू सार की, मुगध न मानै सांको रे ।
 नीमांणां निहरौ रहै, त्रिषि निलाड़ी आंको रे ॥१६॥
 आपिर बोली पारसी, बांचि लै बांवन बीरो रे ।
 नाभ सरोवरि त्रिति जल, पीयां पैली तीरो रे ॥१७॥
 मति मसि कागद कांमता, देही दरिया दोतो रे ।
 लेषणि लोतर कर कवल, दिनकर दीदा जोत्यो रे । ॥१८॥
 रिण दे होई ऊजलौ, सहजि प्रकासै सूरो रे ।
 नभ स्थूं नाउ छेकतां, तिहि घरि बाजै तूरो रे ॥१९॥
 जुगि जुगि छांनां क्यूं रहै, जिनि जस जीत्यौ नीसांण ।
 साचै अंतरि सीलतां, त्यांह की साषि भरि लै भान ॥२०॥
 वाचा षूली बल लह्यौ, जन जाणै सब डावो रे ।
 आपै आतुर उघड्या, बैरागर बड घावो रे ॥२१॥
 व्याकुल मिणियां बाहि दे, चुणि हसि हीरा चोजो रे ।
 धारा नंगरी निकट धन, भेदी राजा भोजो रे ॥२२॥
 चौदह बिद्या चालवनि, गाहा गुनहं निधानो रे ।
 कौडी केलई लाष करि, दीजै दीरघ दांनो रे ॥२३॥
 सूवा कठिन कठांजरी, पूठी प्रबत राजो रे ।
 कुबधि बिलाई वोलषै, तौ सब पंष्यां सिरताजो रे ॥२४॥
 राती चंचा चोल रंग, चुवतां चोषी चास ।
 ररो ममो पढि रूसि मां, प्रीतम पंजरि बास ॥२५॥
 सत जुगि सोहा जे रहै, साधत म्रदत कांमो रे ।
 केवल कांटा बाहिरा, रती न जाणै रामो रे ॥२६॥
 भूला भूदू स्वाद सुषि, दिल दीन्ही मुकलाये रे ।
 परलै जासी पसरती, पाछीलै पछिताये रे ॥२७॥
 निगुसांवां नीठाह बिन, जड़ जो लै षर षेतो रे ।
 वोछी पधति पिंड पड़ै, बेगि बलै सिरि रेतो रे ॥२८॥
 मन माला मगहर मतौ, अडिग जु अजपा जापो रे ।
 सति सुमिरंण संगि सील व्रत, काटन कलि बिष पापो रे ॥२९॥
 दरसंण दीठौ देव कौ, पूगी पूरण भेट ।
 जगि हरदास न जनमई, जिनि पै भरि पीयौ पेट ॥३०॥

¹⁾ In HG the stanzas are numbered consecutively (refrain plus 30 stanzas). This has been followed here. MS Sharma 3190 counts a refrain followed by six paragraphs of five stanzas each which reflects the alternative perception that the text was composed of units hanging somewhat loosely together. This is also reflected, albeit with a variant, in Gopāldās's *Sarbaṅgi*, for which compare Appendix I. The title *Tispadi* may have been given to this rather loose sequence of verses after its consecutive arrangement had become commonly recognized.

Be as eager as if always reaching for a mirror
 To see if your face has some spot. (refrain)
 Listen, good man, I will teach you, take to heart these helpful words:
 Wake up your drunken soul and make a start! Go make your own Kāśī!¹ (1)
 Understand, be wise, walk ahead! Tie up all your belongings!
 Walking step by step with love, the Creator will kindly support you. (2)
 What you learned from your guru to keep you on your way, tie it up tight in your
 pouch! Be mindful, watch out!
 Having entered alien land, do not fall asleep!² A thief spies from behind. (3)
 Don't eat rice, white flour, crushed wheat cooked with jaggery—or sweets of any
 flavour³!
 Be alert! You go wrong! About to leave, your hour has come. (4)
 You gorge as you like, friend, on bitter gourds and coconuts.
 From now on there is no cure for you, what you crave bogs you down. (5)
 The world feasts on milk, wheat, and coconut pulp—and other things, besides.
 Then, out of the blue, a stroke of lightning kills the seed. (6)
 Go the right way, blind man; you're going nowhere now.
 A piercing pain will run up to your eyebrows, and then you'll exit the theatre. (7)
 Thorns and spears of all the tastes stick everywhere into your body.
 Day and night they're burning close by, while inside burns the fire of your error. (8)
 Hay has caught fire in the mine, bursting forth with flame.
 Crying 'mine, mine', you're all burnt up, inviting Death in your frenzy. (9)
 Burnt to ashes by the fire, full of pain, you're sent to hell,
 Once shameless with gigantic greed, now whining with repentance. (10)
 Liberation's the hoard of pearls buried in the field, Śivapura's⁴ the mother of pearl
 in the ocean.
 On *that* you set your foot, Man, stay away from duality island! (11)
 In valiant fights with nasty foes, he was just like raw gold, prepared in the mould
 with lead, tongs, and borax—
 And yet remains unwounded as before: Hari, the highest good, is near. (12)
 While menacing rebirth hovers over him, drowsiness is his ruin.
 The hunter has laid out the noose: let not the deer fall into the trap! (13)
 Theft and adultery, servitude, Veda, different sorts of trade,
 Prestige derived from farming or usury: these all sow the seeds of samsara. (14)
 Men totally given to those pursuits drift away, as all have witnessed.
 How can a needle and thread get through, without being pushed from one side to
 the other? (15)
 Bare dust or essence, the fool doesn't care.
 He is shamelessly brazen, while aware of the mark on his brow.⁵ (16)

Concealed in the alphabet you'll find the touchstone, hero. Read out all the fifty-two letters!⁶

At the lake of the navel is the water of dispassion; drink from it and get to the other shore! (17)

Let your mind be the ink and your body, the paper; the inkpot's a stream within you.

Divine knowledge is writing and your hand's the heart's lotus: with all this you'll see the light of the sun. (18)

Having fought the battle, the hero shines brightly in the state of union.⁷

When he moves from the sky to the Name, a trumpet is blown in his house. (19)

Can the conqueror of the flag of fame ever remain hidden?

The sun richly proves the virtue of his truthful heart. (20)

When speech unravels, he is empowered, everyone knows that the winning throw is his.

With a few heavy blows from the anxious seeker, the gem mine opened up by itself. (21)

At first confused, he shoved aside the ordinary gems, picked up the diamond, and was stunned with joy.

King Bhoja managed to access the wealth of the nearby city of Dhār.⁸ (22)

Having sifted through the fourteen sciences, he was a treasury of songs and of excellences,

Staking cowries, he won a fortune—and long kept spending it on gifts. (23)

Parrot, your cage constrains you, while behind you is the majestic mountain.

If you spot the cat of false ideas, you will be the leader of the birds. (24)

Your beak is red, your dress is bright, you suck the dripping sugarcane.

Don't resent reciting 'ra'-'ma': that beloved resides in the cage of your body. (25)

Those happy in the *satya* age⁹ may pursue or subdue desire,

Beyond that, though, there is only distress for those who know nothing of Rām. (26)

You've lost yourself in delights of taste, you fool, and you've let go of your heart.

You'll repent of the past when the great destruction comes. (27)

He has no master and no place, a stupid donkey in the field.

He follows useless precepts, then his body dies, burning fast till he's mixed with dust. (28)

His mind must be his rosary; his conviction, Magahar; he steadily offers silent mantras.

His virtues and vows lie in keeping remembrance of the truth alive, and he must remove sin, the poison of the Kali age. (29)

He sees the deity, and the encounter is fulfilled.

Those who drink the milk of the Lord to their heart's content, says Hardās, won't be born again in this world. (30)

¹⁾ Hardās refers to the legend commonly known by the Sants of the sixteenth and seventeenth century according to which Kabīr left his glorious hometown of Kāśī, that is, Banaras, to die in the depressingly insignificant town of Magahar, for which see the last stanzas. The moral of this is that the true Kāśī is in the interior wherever you may get stranded. — ²⁾ Hardās draws on the popular motif of the dangers of travelling to a ‘foreign land’, which can just be a foreign locality in the same region. For a warning against such an enterprise, see John D. Smith, *The Viśaḷadevarāsa: A Restoration of the Text*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976, vv. 33–5, pp. 116–21. — ³⁾ Literally, ‘six flavours’, as they are taught in Āyurveda. — ⁴⁾ The city of god Śiva. — ⁵⁾ Man’s fate is thought to be written on his brow. — ⁶⁾ There is a pun about ‘fifty-two’. The alphabet has this number of letters. These are inscribed at various stations of the tantric body and finally accumulated at the topmost *cakra*. In this way, all that exists in the world by its particular name, a sequence of letters, is wound back into the unchangeable eternity. ‘Fifty-two’ is also a conventionalized high number. As an attribute to the word *bīra*, ‘hero’, it signifies ‘eminent’. — ⁷⁾ This is the *sabaj*, for which see p. 11. — ⁸⁾ The eleventh-century king Bhoja of Dhar was himself a renowned prolific poet and patron of the arts and sciences. His wealth, therefore, lay in himself and the experts he patronized. — ⁹⁾ The *satya* age is the best of the consecutively degrading four ages of the world. Longevity and luxury prevailing in this make its denizens forget that it is finite and that they have to seek salvation.

Dādū

9. *Pad* (*rāg* Gauṛī)

तू जिनि छाडै केसवा । ओर निबांहनहार हो ॥टेक ॥
 औगुण मेरे देषि करि । तू न करि मैला मन ।
 दीनां नांथ दयाल है । अपराधी सेवग जन हो ॥१ ॥
 हम अपराधी जन्म के । हो नष सिष भरे बिकार ।
 मेटि हमारे औगुनां । तू गरवा सिरजनहार हो ॥२ ॥
 मैं जन बहुत बिगारिया । इब तुम्ही लेह संवारि ।
 सम्रथ मेरा सांइयां । तू आपै आप उधारि हो ॥३ ॥
 तू न बिसारी केसवा, मैं जन भूला तोहि ।
 दादू ओर निबाहि ले । इब जिनि छाडै मोहि हो ॥४ ॥

Please don’t leave me, Keśav! Carry me through to the end. (refrain)

Though you’ve seen my faults, please don’t bear a grudge.

Protector of the desolate, you’re merciful; I’m your sinful servant. (1)

I’ve been a sinner life after life, through and through filled with corruption.

You’re the great creator of the world: please wipe away my faults. (2)

Though your servant, I’ve done much wrong, now please put me right.

My Lord you are most mighty, use your power to lift me up. (3)

Don’t forget me, Keśav, even though your servant forgot you.

Carry Dādū through to the end, please don’t leave me now! (4)

10. *Pad (rāg Gauṛī)*

पहले पहरै रैणि दै बंणिजारिया । तूं आया इहि संसार वे ।
 माया दा रस पीवण लागा । बिसर्या सिरजनहार वे ।
 सिरजनहार बिसार्या । किया पसारा । मात पिता कुल नारि वे ।
 झूठी माया आप बंधाया । चेतै नही गंवार वे ।
 गंवार न चेतै औगुण केते । बंध्या सब परिवार वे ।
 दादू दास कहै बंणिजारां । तूं आया इहि संसार वे ॥१॥
 दूजै पहरै रैणि दै बंणिजारिया । तूं रता तरणी नालि वे ।
 माया मोह फिरै मतिवाला । राम न सक्या संभालि वे ।
 राम न संभाले रता नाले । अंध न सूझै काल वे ।
 हरि नहि ध्याया जनम गंवाया । दह दिसि फूटा ताल वे ।
 दह दिसि फूटा नीर नषूटा । लेषा देवण सालु वे ।
 दादू दास कहै बंणिजारा । तूं रता तरनी नालि वे ॥२॥
 तीजै पहरै रैणि दै बंणिजारिया । तैं बहुत उठाया भार वे ।
 जो मनि भाया सो करि आया । नां कछु कीया बिचार वे ।
 बिचार न कीया नांव न लीया । क्यूं करि लंघै पार वे ।
 पार न पावै फिरि पछितावै । डुबन लगा धार वे ।
 डुबन लगा भेरा भगा । हाथि न आया सार वे ।
 दादू दास कहै बंणिजारा । तैं बहुत उठाया भार वे ॥३॥
 चौथे पहरै रैणि दै बंणिजारिया । तूं पका हुवा पीर वे ।
 जोबन गया जुर्हा बियापी । नांही सुधि सरीर वे ।
 सुधि न पाई रैणि गंवाई । नैनहुं आया नीर वे ।
 भौजल भेरा डुबण लगा । कोई न बंधै धीर वे ।
 कोई धीर न बंधै जंम के फंधै । क्यूं करि लंघै तीर वे ।
 दादू दास कहै बंणिजारा । तूं पका हुवा पीर वे ॥४॥

In the first watch of the night, oh Banjara, you came into this world.

You started to drink the juice of worldly appearance and forgot the Creator.

You forgot the Creator and stretched out into the world: with father and mother, relations and wife.

You bound yourself to false worldly appearance; fool, you did not think.

You didn't think about your countless faults, fool, and were bound to all your family.

The servant Dādū says: Banjara, you came into this world. (1)

In the second watch of the night, oh Banjara, you were in love with a woman.

You were drunk, spellbound by worldly appearance, unable to recollect Rām.

You didn't recollect Rām, for you were engrossed in the woman; blind, you did not notice Time.

You did not contemplate Hari and wasted your life. The tank was broken all around.

Broken all around, its water dispersed; you won't find it easy to settle accounts.

The servant Dādū says: You were in love with a woman. (2)

In the third watch of the night, Banjara, you shouldered a most heavy load,
 You acted as it pleased your mind, and didn't reflect at all.
 You didn't reflect or utter the name of God; how will you get across?
 You will not get across and will repent again while drowning in the floods.
 You're drowning and your boat is broken, you have no grip on the essential.
 The servant Dādū says: You shouldered a most heavy load. (3)
 In the fourth watch of the night, Banjara, you're a worn-out old man,
 Your youth is gone, old age holds sway, and you're clueless about your body.
 You're clueless; the night is wasted and you are in tears.
 The boat starts sinking in the water of being, no one can moor it.
 No one can moor it, it's in the noose of Death. How will you reach the shore?
 The servant Dādū says: Banjara, you're a worn-out old man. (4)

11. *Pad (rāg Gaurī)*

अवधू कामधेन गहि राषी ।
 बसि कीन्हीं तब अंग्रित सरवै । आगे चारि न नांषी ॥टेक ॥
 पोषंतां पहली उठि गरजे । पीछे हाथि न आवै ।
 भूषी भलै दूध नित दूणां । यूं यहु धेनु दुहावै ॥१ ॥
 ज्युं ज्युं षीण पडै त्युं दूझै । मुकती मेल्लहै मारै ।
 घाटा रोकि घेरि घरि आणै । बांधी कारिज सारै ॥२ ॥
 सहजै बांधी कदे न छूटै । करंम बंधन छूटि जाई ।
 काटै करम सहज सौं बांधै । सहजै मांहि संमाई ॥३ ॥
 छिन छिन मांहि मनोरथ पूरै । दिन दिन होइ अनंदा ।
 दादू सांई देषत पावै । कलि अजरांवर कंदा ॥४ ॥

Avadhū, capture the wish-granting cow!

She'll release the immortal elixir if subdued. Don't give her any more forage!
 (refrain)

Well fed, she will stir and bellow, and then she can't be handled.

Well starved, she always gives twice the milk. Milk this cow right! (1)

The more worn out she is, the more the milk she gives. Unleashed, she will kick
 you.

Block the ways down, fence her in, bring her home! Fetter her, and you'll
 succeed! (2)

If you tie her to *sahaj*, she'll never run away, and the ties of karma will fall off.

By cutting karmic ties you'll fetter her to *sahaj*, into which she'll merge. (3)

Every moment she'll fulfil all your wishes, every day will be bliss.

You'll find the Lord in plain view, says Dadu, the never-decaying root that cures the
 Kali age's ills. (4)

12. *Pad (rāg Gaurī)*

गुरुमुषि पाइयै रे । ऐसा ग्यांन विचार ।
 संमझि संमझि संमझाया नही, लागा रंग अपार ॥टेक॥
 जांणि जांणि जाण्यां नही, ऐसी उपजै आइ ।
 बूझि बूझि बूझ्या नही, ढौरि लागा जाइ ॥ १ ॥
 ले ले ले लीया नही, हौंस रही मन मांहि ।
 राषि राषि राष्या नही, मै रस पीया नांहि ॥२॥
 पाइ पाइ पाया नही, तेजें तेज संमाइ ।
 करि करि कुछ कीया नही, आतम अंगि लगाइ ॥३॥
 षेलि षेलि षेल्या नही, संनमुष सिरजनहार ।
 देषि देषि देष्या नही, दादू सेवग सार ॥४॥

True knowledge and reflection all come from the mouth of the guru.

For all my understanding, I've never understood him—him of countless colors.

(refrain)

For all of my knowledge, I've never really known him, this I've come to realize.

For all of my searching, I haven't searched him out—though roped to him, I move forward. (1)

For all that I've taken, I never could take *him*, despite the yearning of my mind.

For all that I've guarded, I didn't guard the elixir he showed me, nor did I drink it. (2)

For all that I've attained, I've never become splendour merged in splendour.

For all my many actions, none has made my soul embrace him. (3)

For all the games I've played, I've never played face to face with the Creator.

For all he ever saw, the servant Dādū has not seen the essence. (4)

13. *Pad (rāg Rāmgarī)*

आप निरंजन यूं कहै, कीरति करतार ।
 मैं जंन सेवग द्वै नही, एकै अंग सार ॥टेक॥
 मम कारणि सब परहरै, आपा अभिमान ।
 सदा अषंडित उरि धरै, बोलै भगवान ॥१॥
 अंतर पट जीवै नही, तब हीं मरि जाइ ।
 बिछुरें तलफै मीन ज्युं, जीवै जल आइ ॥२॥
 पीर नीर ज्युं मिलि रहै, जल जलहि संमान ।
 आतंम पांणीं लूण ज्युं, दूजा नही आंन ॥३॥
 मैं जंन सेवग द्वै नही, मेरा बिश्राम ।
 मेरा जंन मुंझ सरिषा, दादू कहि राम ॥४॥

This is how Nirāñjana himself praises the Creator:

I and my servant are not two, they're the essence in one body. (refrain)

For me he forsakes all pride of himself,

Forever, without stopping, he keeps me in his heart and speaks my name. (1)
 He cannot live with a curtain inside, but will die.
 Apart from me he pines like a fish that lives only in water. (2)
 As milk and water mix, as water enters water,
 His self is salt dissolved in water, there is no difference. (3)
 I and my servant are not two, I am his resting place.
 My servant is identical with me, says Dādū Rām. (4)

14. *Pad (rāg Rāmgarī)*

निरंजन नाम के रसि माते, केई परे प्राण्णी राते ॥टेक ॥
 सदा सनेही रांम के, सोई जंन साचे ।
 तुंम बिंन और न जाणंहीं, रंगि तेरे राचे ॥१ ॥
 आंन न भावै एक तू, सति साधू सोई ।
 प्रेम पियासे पीव के, ऐसा जंन कोई ॥२ ॥
 तुंम हीं जीवनि उरि रहे, आनंद अनरागी ।
 प्रेम मगंन पीव प्रीतडी, लै तुंम सौं लागी ॥३ ॥
 जे जंन तेरे रंगि रंगे, दूजा रंग नांही ।
 जनम सुफल करि लीजिये, दादू उन मांहीं ॥४ ॥

Rare are the supreme lovers, drunk in the bliss called Nirañjana. (refrain)
 Those who love Rām constantly—they are his true servants.
 They know of none besides you, coloured in your love. (1)
 Someone's a true sadhu who finds pleasure in no one but you.
 Rare is the servant who thirsts for the Beloved's love. (2)
 You alone are the life in the hearts of those steeped in bliss,
 They're attached to the Beloved and immersed in love, absorbed in you.
 Servants coloured in your love have no other colour.
 Dādū, fulfil your life among these! (4)

15. *Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)*

हरि केवल एक अधारा, सो तारण तिरण हंमारा ॥टेक ॥
 नां मैं पंडित पढि गुनि जांनू, नां कुछ ग्यान बिचारा ।
 नां मैं आगंम जोतिग जाणूं, नां मुझ रूप सिंगारा ॥१ ॥
 नां तप मेरे ईद्री निग्रह, ना कुछ तीरथ फिरणां ।
 देवल पूजा मेरे नहीं, ध्यान कछू नही धरणां ॥२ ॥
 जोग जुगति कछू नहीं मेरे, नां मैं साधन जाणूं ।
 वोषद मूली मेरे नांहीं, नां मैं देस बषांनू ॥३ ॥
 मैं तो और कछू नही जाणूं, कहौ और क्या कीजै ।
 दादू एक गलित गोव्यंद सू, इहिं बिधि प्राण पतीजै ॥४ ॥

Hari is my one and sole support, those trying to cross he carries to the other side.

(refrain)

I am no pandit, I don't read and ponder, I have no knowledge and no thought.

I do not know the Veda or astronomy, I have no beauty and no finery. (1)

I do no austerities, don't dampen my senses, nor do I visit distant shrines.

I don't worship at temples, meditate, or try to fix an object in my mind. (2)

I have no method for yoga and know no religious practice.

I have no drugs or herbs, nor can I tell of faraway lands. (3)

I don't know of anything else, tell me what more I can do.

Dādū must melt into Govinda—it's the only method he trusts. (4)

16. *Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)*

थकित भयो मंन कह्यौ न जाई, सहज समाधि रह्यो ल्यौ लाई ॥टेक ॥

जे कुछ कहिये सोच बिचारा, ग्यांन अगोचर अगंम अपारा ॥१ ॥

साइर बूंद कैसें करि तोले, आप अबोल कहा कहि बोलै ॥२ ॥

अंनल पंषि परै पर दूरि, ऐसौ राम रह्यो भरपूरि ॥३ ॥

इब मंन मेरा ऐसै रे भाई, दादू कहिबा कहंन न जाई ॥४ ॥

My mind is weary of speaking. It's absorbed itself into consciousness. (refrain)

While thinking and reason drive all that is spoken, true wisdom is beyond the senses, has no limits, and can't be approached. (1)

How can a drop try to measure the ocean? Can that which can't be spoken ever be expressed? (2)

Like the firebird soaring into the beyond, Rām fills all. (3)

Brother, this is how I'm thinking now: Dādū cannot speak of the unspeakable. (4)

17. *Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)*

अबिगति की गति को न लहै, सब अपणां उंनमांन कहै ॥टेक ॥

केते ब्रह्मा ब्रह्म बिचारै, केते पंडित पाठ पढ़ै ।

केते अंनभै आतंम षोर्जे, केते सुर नर नावं रढ़ै ॥१ ॥

केते ईसुर आसंणि बैठे, केते जोगी ध्यान धरै ।

केते मुंनियर मंन कौं मारै, केते ग्यांनी ग्यांन करै ॥२ ॥

केते पीर केते पैकंबर, केते पढ़ै कुरांणां ।

केते काजी केते मुलां, केते सेष सयांणां ॥३ ॥

केते पारिष अंत न पावै, वार पार कछू नाहीं ।

दादू कीमति कोई न जाने, केते आवै केते जाहीं ॥४ ॥

No one can grasp the Ungraspable, all have their own ideas. (refrain)

So many Brahmans ponder the ultimate, so many pandits read scriptures,

So many seek to experience the self, so many gods and men recite the Name. (1)

So many take the Śiva posture, so many yogis meditate,

So many sages torment their minds, so many wise men seek wisdom. (2)
 So many pirs, so many prophets, so many read the Quran,
 So many qazis, so many mullahs, so many wise shaikhs. (3)
 So many find no end to their probing, for their goal has no bounds.
 However many come and go, says Dadu, none of them knows its price. (4)

18. *Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)*

ए हूं बूझि रही पीव जैसा है, तैसा कोई न कहै रे ।
 अगंम अगाध अपार अगोचर, सुधि बुधि कोई न लहै रे ॥टेक ॥
 वार पार को अंत न पावै, आदि अंति मधि नाहीं रे ।
 षरे सयांणे भये दिवाने, कैसा कहां रहै रे ॥१ ॥
 ब्रह्मा बिस्म महेसर बूझे, केता कोई बतावै रे ।
 सेष मसाइक पीर पैकंबर, है कोई अगह गहै रे ॥२ ॥
 अंबर धरती सूर ससि बूझे, बाय बरंण सब सोधे रे ।
 दादू चक्रित है हैरांना, है कोई करंम दहै रे ॥३ ॥

I've asked what my beloved might be like, but no one can tell me.
 Unreachable, fathomless, boundless, he's way beyond the senses: the intellect
 cannot grasp him. (refrain)

Without beginning, middle, or end, no 'this side' or 'that side' are found.
 Seasoned wise men grew deranged thinking 'what's he like? where is he?' (1)
 Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva asked the countless gods: 'Can one of you tell?'
 Can any shaikh or elder, pir or prophet grasp the one who can't be grasped? (2)
 Sky, earth, sun, and moon were asked, all winds and colours examined.
 Dādū is struck with amazement. Can someone burn his karma? (3)

19. *Pad (rāg Sindhūrau)*

हरि भजतां क्यूं भाजिये, भागां भल नाहीं ।
 भागां भल क्यूं पाइये, पछितावै मांहीं ॥टेक ॥
 सूरौ सो सहजै भिडे, सार उरि झेलै ।
 रिण रोक्यां भाजै नहीं, ते बांण न मेले ॥१ ॥
 सती सत साचा गहै, मरणें न डराई ।
 प्रांण तजै जग देशतां, पियडौ उरि लाई ॥२ ॥
 प्रांण पतंगा इम तजै, वो अंग न मोडै ।
 जोबन जालै जोति सू, नैणां भल जोडै ॥३ ॥
 सेवग सो स्वामी भजै, तजि तंन मन आसा ।
 दादू दरसंण ते लहै, सुष संगंम पासा ॥४ ॥

Why run away from Hari's worship? There's nothing to gain from running away.
 What good can you get from shunning Hari? For this you will repent. (refrain)
 A true hero fights with natural ardor, enduring a spear¹ in his chest.

He stands fast in battle and does not flee, nor does he throw down his arrow. (1)
 The sati holds on to the real truth², she can't be scared of dying.
 Seeing the world, she gives up her life, embracing her beloved. (2)
 She gives up her life like a moth, unable to turn its body from the flame,
 And burns her young life in the brilliant flame, on which her eyes are fixed. (3)
 A servant is someone who worships the Lord, abandoning trust in his body and
 mind.
 He alone gets the sight of the Lord, says Dadu, and has the joy of union. (4)

¹⁾ Comm. on *sāra*, (1) essence. (2) spear. — ²⁾ The sati is imagined to possess an innate power of truthfulness. This is called *sat*, 'that which truly is'. This is the self-combustible fire inherent in herself by which she ignites herself on the pyre of her husband.

20. *Pad (rāg Sāraṅg)*

तौ निबहै जंन सेवग तेरा, ऐसैं दया करि साहिब मेरा ॥टेक ॥
 ज्युं हंम तोरैं त्यूं तू जोरै, हंम तोरैं पे तू नहीं तोरै ॥१ ॥
 हंम बिसरैं पै तू न बिसरै, हंम बिगड़े पे तू न बिगड़े ॥२ ॥
 हंम भूलैं तू आंणि मिलावे, हंम बिछूरैं तू अंगि लगावे ॥३ ॥
 तुंम भावै सो हम पै नहीं, दादू दरसन देह गुसाई ॥४ ॥

As you have mercy on your servants, so will they prosper, my Lord! (refrain)
 As we break, so you join; we break, but you never do. (1)
 We are forgetful, but you don't forget; we do wrong, but you never do. (2)
 We go astray, but you take us in; we part, but you embrace us. (3)
 Although we have nothing that pleases you, let Dādū still have the sight of you, my
 Lord. (4)

21. *Pad (rāg Sorṭhī)*

कोली साल न छाडै रे, सब घाबर काढै रे ॥टेक ॥
 प्रेम पांण लगाई धागै, तत तेल निज दीया ।
 एक मंनाना इस आरंभि लागा, ग्यांन राछ भरि लीया ॥१ ॥
 नांव नली भरि बुंणकर लागा, अंतरगति रंगि राता ।
 तांणैं वाणी जीव जुलाहा, परंम तत स्यूं माता ॥२ ॥
 सकल सिरोमंणि बुंणे बिचारा, तांनाना सूत न तोरै ।
 सदा सचेत रहैं ल्यौ लागा, ज्युं टूटै त्यूं जोरै ॥३ ॥
 ऐसैं तंणि बुंनि गहर गजीनां, साई के मंनि भावै ।
 दादू कोली करता कै संगि, बहुरि न इहि जगि आवै ॥४ ॥

The weaver does not leave his loom, and cleanses the yarn of impurities. (refrain)
 He applies the starch of love on the threads; the oil of the real serves as his lamp
 within.

Beginning his work with a focused mind, he's inserted the warp threads into wisdom's comb. (1)

He's filled the shuttle with the name of God, his heart coloured with love.

The weaver-soul then drives the shuttle through the warp, drunk in the highest real. (2)

He thoughtfully weaves the greatest of all goods, breaking no thread in the warp.

Always mindful, with deep concentration, he mends a thread the moment it breaks. (3)

In this way weaving a thick cotton fabric, he pleases his Lord.

The weaver Dādū is joined with the Creator, and won't come again to this world. (4)

22. *Pad (rāg Sorṭhī)*

भाइ रे बाजीगर नट षेला, ऐसैं आपै रहै अकेला ॥टेक ॥

यहु बाजी षेल पसारा, सब मोहे कौतिगहारा ।

यहु बाजी षेल दिषावा, बाजीगर किनहूं न पावा ॥१ ॥

इहिं बाजी जगत भुलांणां, बाजीगर किनहूं न जानां ।

कछू नाहीं सो पेसा, बाजीगर किनहूं न देषा ॥२ ॥

कुछ ऐसा चेटक कीन्हां, तंन मंन सब हरि लीन्हां ।

बाजीगर भुरकी बाही, काहू पै लषी न जाई ॥३ ॥

वाजीगर परकासा, यहु बाजी झुठ तंमासा ।

दादू पावा सोई, जो इहिं बाजी लिपति न होई ॥४ ॥

A trickster, brother, enacted a show in which he alone is left. (refrain)

He staged a trick that dazzled all who saw it.

But once the trick was shown, the trickster couldn't be found. (1)

This trick confused the world, and no one knows who the trickster is.

Something was seen that was not there, with no one perceiving the trickster. (2)

The kind of illusion he used laid total waste to body and mind.

Throwing magic dust, the trickster cast a spell that let him not be seen. (3)

The trickster's the light, and the trick is the false show here.

Only the one not enmeshed in this trick, says Dadu, will find him. (4)

23. *Pad (rāg Bhairū)*

ऐसी सुरति रांम ल्यौ लाइ, हरि ह्दिदै जिनि बीसरि जाइ ॥टेक ॥

छिन छिन मात संभाले पूत, ब्यंद राषे जोगी अवधूत ।

त्रिया करूप रूप कौं रढै, नटणी त्रिषि बंस ब्रत चढै ॥१ ॥

काछिब द्रिस्टै धरै धियांन, चात्रिग नीर प्रेम की बांनिं ।

कूंजी कुरलि संभालै सोइ, भ्रिंगी ध्यांन कीट कौं होइ ॥२ ॥

श्रवंणां सबद ज्यूं सुणै कुरंग, जोति पतंग न मोडै अंग ।

जल बिन मीन तलफि ज्यूं मरै, दादू सेवग ऐसैं करै ॥३ ॥

Become so deeply absorbed in Rām that your heart won't ever forget Hari. (refrain)
A mother cares each moment for her child; a yogi *avadhūta* guards his semen,
An ugly woman chants to conjure up beauty; a tightrope walker gazes at her pole.

(1)

The tortoise stares in meditation at her eggs, the *cātak* calls for the water of lovers' speech,

The demoiselle crane cries protecting its young, the worm can think of nothing but the wasp¹. (2)

Like the deer that pursues an alluring sound, like the moth who can't turn from the flame,

Like the floundering fish out of water about to die—in these ways, says Dādū, God's servant should act.

¹⁾ The trope is taken from the hatching wasp, of whom it was believed that it transformed worms, of which it is a parasite, into wasps.

24. *Pad (rāg Lalit)*

हिंदू तुरक न जाणूं दोइ ।
साई सबंनि का सोई है रे । और न दूजा देखूं कोइ ॥टेक ॥
कीट पतंग सबै जोनि मैं । जल थल संगि संमांनां सोइ ।
पीर पैकंबर देवा दांणव । मीर मलिक मुंनिजन कूं मोहि ॥१ ॥
करता है रे सोइ चिन्हौं । जिनि वै क्रोध करै रे कोइ ।
जैसैं आरसी मंजन कीजै । राम रहींम देही तन धोइ ॥२ ॥
साई केरी सेवा कीजै । पायौ धन काहे कौं षोइ ।
दादू रे जंन हरि जपि लीजै । जंनंमि जंनंमि जे सुरजंन होइ ॥३ ॥

Hindu and Muslim I don't know as two,

Alone that One exists, the Lord of all, I don't see any other. (refrain)

In worms and moths and in all creatures, in water and on land—he is there.

He bewilders pirs and prophets, gods and demons, nobles and the wise. (1)

I've identified the only Maker, and no one should get angry.

As one polishes a mirror, Rām-Rahīm will wash the body and the soul. (2)

Just serve the Lord: why throw away the wealth that you've now found?

Let the servant Dādū repeat the name of Hari, his friend in life after life. (3)

25. *Pad (rāg Lalit)*

को स्वामी को सेष कहै, इस धुनिये का मरंम न कोई लहै ॥टेक ॥
कोई राम कोई अलह सुनावै, अलह राम का भेद न पावै ॥१ ॥
कोई हींदू कोई तुरक करि मानै, पुंनि हींदू तुरक की षबरि न जानै ॥२ ॥
यह सब करंणी बेद कतेब, संमझि परी तब पाया भेद ॥३ ॥
दादू देषै आतंम एक, कहिबा सुनिबा अनंत अनेक ॥४ ॥

One calls him Svāmī, another calls him Shaikh,
 But no one understands the secret of the cotton-carder. (refrain)
 One proclaims Lord Rām, another proclaims Allah, but no one grasps Allah-Rām's
 mystery. (1)
 One sees himself as Hindu, another as a Muslim, but neither knows what being
 Hindu or a Muslim is about. (2)
 It's the Veda and the Books¹ that have led to all this: understand that and you've
 found the secret! (3)
 Dādū sees one Self alone, heard of and talked about in endless different ways. (4)

¹⁾ Torah, Psalms, Gospel, and Quran.

26. *Pad (rāg Bhairūṃ)*

डरिये रे डरिये, ता थैं रांम नांम चित धरिये ॥टेक ॥
 जिनि ए पंच पसारे रे, मारे रे ते मारे रे ॥१ ॥
 जिनि ए पंच समेटे रे, भेटे रे ते भेटे रे ॥२ ॥
 कछिब ज्यू करि लीये रे, जीये रे ते जीये रे ॥३ ॥
 भ्रिंगी कीट संमांनं रे, ध्यांनं रे यहु ध्यांनं रे ॥४ ॥
 अज्या सिंघ ज्यू रहिए रे, दादू दरसन लहिये रे ॥५ ॥

Be afraid, O, be afraid: that way you'll keep Rām's name in mind! (refrain)
 Those who let their five senses take over were killed, O, were killed. (1)
 Those who withdrew their five senses met the Lord, O, the Lord. (2)
 Those who, like a tortoise, retreated within, lived on, O, lived on. (3)
 When the worm is absorbed in the wasp, then there is true meditation, there is, O,
 there is. (4)
 Be like a goat caged among lions, says Dādū, and then you'll obtain the vision. (5)

27. *Pad (rāg Dhanāśrī)*

Āratī

Link: <https://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/#/detail/1716652>
 बाबा इहिं बिधि आरती रांम की कीजै, आतंमां अंतरि वारणां लीजै ॥टेक ॥
 तंन मंन चंदन प्रेम की माला, अनहद घंटा दीन दयाला ॥१ ॥
 ग्यांन का दीपक पवंन की बाती, देव निरंजन पांचू पाती ॥२ ॥
 आनंद मंगल भाव की सेवा, मंनसा मंदिर आतंम देवा ॥३ ॥
 भगति निरंतरि मैं बलिहारी, दादू न जाणै सेवा तुंम्हारी ॥४ ॥

Baba,¹ do the *āratī* for Rām like this: Wave the light within your soul. (refrain)
 Let body and mind be the sandalwood incense, and love, the garland of flowers;
 then hear the unstruck sound as a bell for the caring Lord. (1)
 With wisdom as the lamp and breath as the wick, the leaves offered to Nirañjana
 become the five principles². (2)

Let bliss be the auspicious songs and emotion be the worship, with thought as the temple and the soul as the divinity. (3)

I make myself a sacrifice with bhakti that will never cease, says Dādū, but still don't know how to serve you! (4)

¹⁾ Reverential address of a venerable male elder. — ²⁾ The *tattvas*, correlated to each of which are five categories. See Introduction, p. 34.

28. *Pad* (*rāg* Dhanāśrī)

Āratī

आरती जगजीवन तेरी, चरण कंवल परि वारी फेरी ॥टेक ॥

चित चांवरि हेत हरि ढारै, दीपक ग्यांन जोति बचारै ॥१ ॥

घंटा सबद अनाहद बाजै, आंनंद आरती गगन गाजै ॥२ ॥

धूप ध्यांन हरि सेति कीजै, पहुप प्रीति हरि भांवरि लीजै ॥३ ॥

सेवा सार आतंम पूजा, देव निरंजन और न दूजा ॥४ ॥

भाव भगति स्युं आरती कीजै, इहिं बिधि दादू जुगि जुगि जीजै ॥५ ॥

O Life of the World, let your *āratī* be performed—and dedicated to your lotus feet.
(refrain)

Lovingly wave the flywhisk of awareness over Hari, while knowing the lamp as the light of wisdom. (1)

Ring the bell of unstruck sound, and let the bliss of *āratī* rumble in the sky.¹ (2)

Burn meditation's incense before Hari; circle flowers of love around him. (3)

The essence of service is worship within to Nirañjana, the only Lord. (4)

Perform his *āratī* with fervent bhakti, says Dādū, and you'll live from age to age. (5)

¹⁾ The ritual is accompanied by the beating of drums. Their rumbling is, however, the audible symbol of the rumbling of the unstruck sound in the perfected devotee's interior. Compare text no. 79, v. 38.

Bakhanām

29. *Sākhīs 'Man kau anṅ'* – Chapter of the Mind

29.1

मन मोटा मन पातला, मन पाणी मन लाइ ।

जैसी आवै मन महैं, मन तैसा है जाइ ॥

The mind may be thick, the mind may be thin, the mind may be water or fire,
As objects come into the mind, so the mind takes shape.

29.2

मन मांगै परि देइ मत, दुषी करैगा षाइ ।

चूची पपाषै चेलका, यौं मन कौं बैलाइ ॥

The mind demands food, but don't feed it, for if it is fed it makes you suffer.
You must divert the mind like a mother giving the breast to her baby. (2)

29.3

बषनां मन का बहुत रंग, पल पल माहैं होइ ।
एक रंग मैं रहैगा, सो जन बिरला कोइ ॥

The mind has many colours, says Bakhanām, changing every moment.
A devotee whose mind remains one colour is rare.

29.4

सांकलि जड्यौ न सील कै, आंकुस नहीं अनंत ।
हाथी हरिहाई हिल्यौ, बषनां मन मैमंत ॥

If you don't shackle it with virtue and constantly goad it,
It turns into a reeling wild elephant—the intoxicated mind, says Bakhanām.

29.5

मनसा डाकणि मन जरष, दौड़ावै दिन राति ।
बषनां कदै न ऊतरै, सांझ जिशी परिभाति ॥

The demoness desire rides the hyena mind¹: day and night she spurs him hard.
Dusk or dawn, says Bakhanām, she'll never get down from him.

¹ The demoness has the hyena as her riding animal.

29.6

पैचौ तो आवै नहीं, जे छोड़ो तो जाइ ।
बषनां मन कै पूछड़ै प्राण टटिबा षाइ ॥

Pull it, and it won't follow; unleash it and it runs away.
Grab the tail of the mind-cow, says Bakhanām, and you'll remain caught in its
constant swirl.

29.7

पंच छिकारा मृग इक, मृगी लार पचीस ।
बषनां बाड़ी राषि लै, कै षाजै बिसवा बीस ॥

Five hunters, one deer, followed by twenty-five does.
Keep the deer fenced up, says Bakhanām, or else it will surely be eaten.

29.8

माहि रहैं माहैं चरैं, बिडार्यो नहीं जांहि ।
जोई कूपल ऊल्हहै, सोई कूपल षाहि ॥

They live inside, they graze inside, they cannot be destroyed.
Every single sprout they see—they eat it up.

29.9

मूलदुवारा रोक करि, नो सेरी रषवाली ।
धनक चढ़ाई ध्यान का, बषनां बाण संभालि ॥

Block the door at the base, keep guards at the nine passageways,
Stretch the bow of meditation, then point the arrow, says Bakhanām.

29.10

कुमति कसाइणी, परनिंघा चूहड़ी । अदया डेढणी, रोस चंडाल, या मंडली एकठी भई ।
बषनां सगली रसोई बिणसी, दया बांमणी दूरि गई ॥

The butcher woman Ill-will, the sweeper woman Slander, the flayer woman
Callousness, and the Chandali Anger together formed a little clique.

The entire feast was thus polluted, says Bakhanām, and the Brahman woman, called
Compassion, went off.

29.11

चौकौ दै अलगेरो आछे, यांह की मन मैं करै भरांति ।
बषनां सो बाम्हन का बेटा, जीमैं नहीं इसा की पांति ॥

He keeps well away from where they eat: that group unsettles his mind.

Sons of Brahmans, says Bakhanām, don't eat next to such people.

29.12

बषनां मन मैलौ रह्यौ, सुण्यौं नहीं उपदेस ।
धोइ धोइ तैं धोला कीया, पांणी माहैं केस ॥

You didn't hear the teaching so your mind stays dirty, says Bakhanām.

You washed and washed, but for all your washing only bleached your hair.

29.13

तैंही तौ धौला कीया, पांणी माहैं न्हाइ ।
अब काला क्यांहनैं करै, बषनां कलप लगाइ ॥

Bathing in water, you bleached your hair,

Why do you now dye it black? asks Bakhanām.

29.14

अजौं क्यूं आसा रही, फेरि संवार्यौं साज ।
अब काला क्यांह नैं करै, बहु धौलां की लाज ॥

What do you expect, at your age, from dressing up again?

Why do you dye your hair black? Are you ashamed it's so white?

29.15

अठसठि पांणी धोइये, अठसठि तीरथ न्हाइ ।
कहुं बषनां मन मच्छली, अजुं कौलांधि न जाइ ॥

Bathe at the sixty-eight pilgrimage sites and wash up in water of sixty-eight kinds:

Let Bakhanām, though, tell you this: the mind's a fish—its smell will never go away.

29.16

बषनां मैल बिचारि करि, धोयौ नही गवारि ।
पांणी पाप न ऊतरै, भावै सौ डूभी मारि ॥

Think it through, fool! says Bakhanām: you can't just rinse off the dirt!

Sin's not washed away in water, even if you wash yourself a hundred times.

30. *Pad (rāg Gauṛī)*

निहौरौ राम निहौरै रे, अब कै मानी मोरै रे ॥ टेक ॥
 धषै न धूवां नीसरै रे, जलत न देषै कोइ ।
 बरसि बुझावो रामजी, मेरा तौ तन सीतल होइ ॥१॥
 बिरह न बाहरि नीसरै रे, घुण ज्युं पंजर षाइ ।
 यौं मन मेरा बेधिया, अब हा हा दरस दिषाइ ॥२॥
 रैणि सबार्इ यौं रही रे, चितवत गई बिहाइ ।
 चरण दिषावो रामजी, मेरा जनम अविरथा जाइ ॥३॥
 तूं साधौं कै साधिलौ रे, भगति हेत कै भाइ ।
 मेरी बरिया रामजी, अब येती बिलम न लाइ ॥४॥
 पाइ लागूं विनती करूं रे, तूं मेरै घरि आव ।
 बहुतक दिन बिछुरें भये, अब बलि जाउं बेर न लाव ॥५॥
 राम निहोरौ मानिये रे, जन की करौ सहाइ ।
 दरसन दीजै दीन कौं, बषनां बलिहारी जाइ ॥६॥

Here's my plea, Rām, here's my plea. Please accept it this time! (refrain)

A fire rages, emitting no smoke, and no one can see it burning.

Rāmjī, put it out with your rain, so my body can cool down. (1)

The pain of separation never escapes from within me, consuming the cage of my body like weevils.

Just like that, my mind's been pierced. Please, please, grant me your sight! (2)

All I do is watch for you, while the whole night passes.

Rāmjī, let me see your feet, if not, my birth will be for nothing. (3)

The brother of those who strive for bhakti, you'll give perfection to good-hearted souls.

Now it's my turn, Rāmjī, don't wait any longer! (4)

I'll clasp your feet and plead with you to come into my house.

So many days we've been apart, but now I'll make myself a sacrifice. Please, no more delays! (5)

Rām, accept my plea and help your servant!

Grant poor Bakhanām your sight: he's sacrificing himself to you. (6)

31. *Pad (rāg Gauṛī)*

मेरा मन यौं डरै रे, ऐसा डरै न कोइ ।
 अबही तैं डरता रहौं, ज्युं डर बहुरि न होइ ॥ टेक ॥
 सुणौं नहीं संसार की रे, डरतां कोई बाइ ।
 कानि कथा हरि की करी, मति या बीसरि जाइ ॥१॥
 अब डरतां बोलौं नहीं, और नहीं डर कोइ ।
 रसना बाणी राम की, मति दूजी बाणी होइ ॥२॥
 पाणी पीवौं न अब डरौं रे, डर मेरा मन माहिं ।

हरि अघ्निर हिरदै लिप्या, मति वै धोया जाहिं ॥३॥
 इन बातनि थैं हूं डर्यो रे, सो तुम्ह करौ सहाइ ।
 सरणैं राषौ रामजी, ज्युं बषनां का डर जाए ॥४॥

I'm now filled with fear more than anyone!

And I'll be afraid of fear's return. (refrain)

I don't want to listen to the world, fearing all its words:

My ears have heard the lore of Hari, which I pray not to forget (1)

Like nothing else, I fear talking,

My tongue exists to talk of Rām and nothing more. (2)

I'm afraid of drinking water, a fear deep in my mind:

I think the letters *ba* and *ri* now written in my heart might be washed out. (3)

My fears are ones like these—please help me overcome them!

Keep protecting Bakhanām, O Rāmji, and make his fear go away. (4)

32. *Pad (rāg Gauṛī)*

दुनिया झांवर झोली अलूंझै, ताथैं साहिब राम न सूझै ॥ टेक ॥
 बीझासणि कौ झालरि पहर्यो, मुरिष राति जगाई ।
 दोस बराज कछू नहिं कीनो, बैचि काल मैं षाई ॥१॥
 तेल बाकुला भैरौ चाढै, बाकर को कान काटै ।
 पूजा चढै सु भोपी लेगी, रहती कूकर चाटै ॥२॥
 सिर पर मेल्हि अंगीठी बलती, देवी कै मंढि चाली ।
 षानि पानि सब सौं मिलि बैठी, नरक कुंड मैं घाली ॥३॥
 दई देवता का जे सेवग, दिया नरिक ले गाढै ।
 संकट चौथि संकड़ा की राणी, तो जाणौं जे काढै ॥४॥
 क्रिया बरत अहोई आठै, देवी दावणि बाधा ।
 हँसी सहीं सील का बाहण, के गदही के गाधा ॥५॥
 भोपी हुई उबासी मारै, दोस दुनी कौं करती ।
 पकड़ि नाक काट्यौ कूटणी कौ, सास न काढै डरती ॥६॥
 के गूगा का के गुस्साई का, के कांवड का हँसी ।
 बेस्वां के घरि बालक जायौ, पिता कवन सौं कहसी ॥७॥
 यक की नहीं घणां की हूई, दीसैं बहु भरतारी ।
 बषनां कहै कौण संगि बलसी, घण पुरिषां की नारी ॥८॥

Because the world's bewitched, it can't recognize Lord Rām. (refrain)

Around the fool's neck is a silver Bījhāsaṇī, a goddess for whom he holds regular vigils.

All this so, if angry, the goddess won't harm him—should famine strike, though, the silver can be sold for food. (1)

Offering oil and soaked wheat to Bhairav, he chops off a goat's ear for him, too.

The Bhopī will happily take all the offerings, with a dog lapping up what is left. (2)

Balancing a bowl with live coals on her head, a woman goes to the shrine of a Goddess,

But sitting to feast with everyone else, she's thrown into a pit of death. (3)

Those who worship the gods and goddesses, cling to a lamp that shines their way to hell.

I'd like to know who Śaṅkar-Rāṇī saves on Trouble Fourth!¹ (4)

Women fast on Smallpox Goddess Eighth², and string ritual threads on trees.

Does this mean they're agents of virtue or stupid asses instead? (5)

A woman may go into trance and act as a Bhopī,

But if you grab that swindler by the nose and cut it off, she'll be too scared to breathe. (6)

What's the use of Gogā, Gusāmī and portable shrines?

When a child is born in the house of a whore, how can you tell who's the father? (7)

Not to one did she belong, but to many; they say she's had plenty of husbands.

This woman of many men, asks Bakhanām, with which one will she burn herself?³ (8)

¹) Saṃkaṭ Cauthī is on the fourth lunar day of the waning phase of the month of Māgha, when the Goddess is worshipped as saviour of her son Gaṇeśa, inadvertently decapitated by his father Śiva, and of her devotees from hell. — ²) Ahoī Aṣṭamī is on the eighth lunar day of the waning phase of the month of Caitra, when the smallpox goddess is pacified. — ³) That is, immolate herself as a satī.

33. *Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)*

नेड़ौ ही रे राम ताकौ मारग भूला ।
 ऊगवणी केइ आथवणी, यौं ही भ्रमि भ्रमि डूला ॥ टेक ॥
 लोह पारस सदा लावै, पलट्यौ कांही रे ।
 जो वो लोह कौ लोह रह्यो, तौ यौ पारस नांही रे ॥१॥
 आपणा उनहारि भूल्या, भूला अजपाजाप रे ।
 सकती लोकां मारि कीयौ, सींदरी तैं साप रे ॥२॥
 तीनि गुण की ताप जदि की, जीव कौं लागी रे ।
 म्रिगत्रिष्णा धाइ धाइ पीयौ, कांही प्यास न भागी रे ॥३॥
 मकड़ाणा षाटू बिचै, जग षोदिबा धायौ ।
 बषनां रे गुर ग्यान थै, धन घरही मैं पायौ ॥ ४ ॥

Rām is close by, but they have missed the way,

Some heading east and others, west, they roam about very confused. (refrain)

Rub iron on a touchstone forever, but will that iron ever turn into gold?

Iron remains iron, and no stone is ever a touchstone. (1)

Deluded by their own appearances, they've forgotten the names they should chant within.

They terrorize people and spread made-up stories. (2)

Tormented by the threefold pain¹,

They rushed to a mirage and drank but could never quench their thirst. (3)

People rushed to dig between Makrana and Khatu,

While through his guru's wisdom Bakhanām found wealth inside his house. (4)

¹) There are three kinds of suffering, namely, mental and physical, inflicted by gods, and inflicted by evil spirits.

34. Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)

तत बेली रे तत बेली रे ।

क्यारा पांच पचीसौं क्यारी, जतन क्रियां ऊगैली रे ॥ टेक ॥

एक कांकरी कुई षणैली, धुणी फूटी सेझै हैली ।

तहहां अरहट माल बहैली, तिहि धोरै नीर पिवैली ॥१॥

तहां पाणति प्राण करैली, जाकै कोमल कूपल हैली ।

सो तरवर जाइ चढैली, गुरि सींची सदा बधैली ॥२॥

चहुं दिसि पसरि रहैली, फल लागां फूलैली ।

यौं बेली बिरधि करैली, राषी जतन रहैली ॥३॥

तौ बाड़ी सुफल फलैली, गगन मांहि गरजैली ।

अमर नाम बषनां सो बेली, अविनासी फल देली ॥४॥

The creeper of true being, the creeper of true being:

It stands in a bed split up into five, and then into twenty-five; if you tend to it with effort, it will grow. (refrain)

First sink a well in the stony ground; broken open and built up, it's your water source.

Here you'll run a water wheel, with its chain of buckets letting the creeper drink from a channel. (1)

The life-breath will nourish the bed, and tender sprouts will appear.

Made fertile by the guru, the creeper will climb the tree and grow. (2)

It will spread in all directions, bearing fruit and blossoms.

If tended with effort, this is how the creeper will grow. (3)

Then the garden will bear rich fruit, and the sky will thunder.

This creeper is the deathless Name, says Bakhanām, yielding fruit that lasts forever.

(4)

35. Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)

उधर्यो जै चाहै तौ, तूं राम भजन करि ।

हरि का चरण कवल हिरदै धरि ॥टेक॥

न करसी आन सेवा, सबै झूठ जाणी ।

रीत्यां तलायां झूलै, तहां नहीं पाणी ॥१॥

सी कै पहाड़ि पैठा, वोट कैसे राषै ।

धूँवरि धान न होई, ज्युं मेहा पाषै ॥२ ॥
 भेड़ के पूछड़ै लागा, समदि कैसे तारे ।
 बाण्यां की बहु बापड़ी, चौर नैं क्युं मारै ॥३ ॥
 छाली के गलि गलथणा, दूध न होई ।
 बषनां साध बिचारैगा कोई ॥४ ॥

If you seek salvation, you must worship Rām,
 Hold the lotus feet of Hari in your heart! (refrain)
 You'll find there's no other way to worship, once you know that all here is false.
 You frolic in an empty tank: there is no water there! (1)
 You've entered into a hill of mist—how can that give you shelter?
 Grain won't grow if there's smoke but never any clouds. (2)
 How will you cross the ocean clutching a sheep's tail?
 How can a trader's wife—poor thing—manage to kill a thief?¹ (3)
 Milking a goat by its dewlap won't get you any milk.
 Let some sadhu reflect on this, says Bakhanām. (4)

¹⁾ This refers to the popular prejudice that Jains are cowardish, not to speak of their women.

36. *Pad (rāg Āsāvārī)*

ऐसा बैद बेद कलि मांहीं । तार्थै रोगी जीवै नांहीं ॥टेक ॥
 हरि गोपी कांधै करि लीन्हीं, ऐसा ग्यान दिढ़ावै ।
 जैसी सुणै ऊपजै तैसी, लहरि बिषै की आवै ॥१ ॥
 काम कलपना बिषै बुराई, यहु बेदन घट मांहीं ।
 बैद मिल्या परि पीड़ न भागी, ठौर ना टिका नांहीं ॥२ ॥
 करम बिथा काटण कै कारणि, सुनते थे सब लोई ।
 औषद और पीड़ कछु औरै, तार्थै कुपछि पड्या सब कोई ॥३ ॥
 बीस बरस का पुरिष सुणै था, सोलह ब्रस की नारी ।
 बषनौं कहै भली समझाई, भूलै चोटि कटारी ॥४ ॥

No patient will survive the Veda of this doctor from our bad Kali age. (refrain)
 'Hari touched the cowherdresses' shoulders', this sort of wisdom is what he proclaims.

Listeners get aroused by it, flushed by a wave of lust. (1)
 Sexual daydreams and carnal corruption cause pain in their bodies.
 Although they have a doctor, there's no end to their pain and they find no way to rest. (2)
 They all had listened hoping to end the pain of karma,
 But the potion they got wasn't right for their pain, so none got a treatment that worked. (3)
 A man of twenty and a girl of sixteen were among all those listeners.

What they heard proved so persuasive, says Bakhanām, they didn't notice the wound from the dagger. (4)

37. *Pad (rāg Sorath)*

राम राइ मैं तरकसबंध तेरा ।
 अबकी बार मया करि लीजै, मियां महोला मेरा ॥टेक ॥
 हुं आदि कदीम तुम्हारा चाकर, तैं राष्या तहां रहिया ।
 गिरता पड़ता साथि तुम्हारा, जहां तहां निरबहिया ॥१ ॥
 पांच हजारि को सात हजारी, हुकम तुम्हारे मांहीं ।
 आसामी एक हमारी होती, सो कागलि चढ़ी क नांहीं ॥२ ॥
 साढ़ी तीनि कोड़ि की कहिये, ऐसी सो आसामी ।
 मुह आगैं मुजरा कै कारणि, ऊभी अंतरजामी ॥३ ॥
 रिधी न मांगूं सिधी न मांगूं, मुकति न मांगन आऊं ।
 एकै भाव भगति कै ताई, तू कह तहां दगाऊं ॥४ ॥
 सील सनाह षिमां करि षेड़ी, सुमिरण सेल सयाणा ।
 बषनां एक तुम्हारै आगैं, इहि विधि सौं उलिगाणा ॥५ ॥

King Rām, I am your archer¹,

Have mercy on me this time, my lord, sir! (refrain)

A long time now I've been your servant, staying where you've posted me.

Though sometimes I stumbled, I stayed with you, fulfilling my duties wherever you sent me. (1)

You command nobles with ranks of five and seven thousand²

While my official rank is 'one', whether or not it's on the rolls. (2)

Or should I just be given the rank of three cowries and a half?

My inner Lord, I stand before you to make my submission. (3)

I do not ask for wealth or magic powers, nor have I come to ask for liberation.

I only ask for bhakti that feels for the sublime. I'll hurry wherever you send me. (4)

My armour is virtue from the steel of forgiveness, my lance is wise remembrance,

In this way Bakhanām stands before you, alone your mercenary soldier. (5)

¹) Lit. 'quiver bearer'. — ²) The rank of imperial military officeholders was expressed in numbers. Five thousand and 7000 would only be attained by the highest-ranking nobility. The digits correspond to the number of horses they had to supply to the imperial army.

38. *Pad (rāg Sorath)*

मन रे प्रीति कहैं सति सोई ।
 जाकै जीवतां सो मूवां पाछैं होई ॥ टेक ॥
 ज्यूं सूरै सूरतन कीयौ, तन मन त्याग्यौ लोई ।
 पहली थी सो पाछै रही, मारो मार रणौही ॥१ ॥
 देही गइ पणि नेह न भूली, जाली बाली काटी ।

अनलहक अनलहक कहि बोली, मुवां पाछै माटी ॥२॥
 सरीर गयौ पणि सुरति न भूली, प्रीति सोहि सति जाणी ।
 बषनां बिरहणि मरि करि पीयौ, बैरी के मुहि पाणी ॥३॥

O mind, they say that true love means

To remain as you were in life after you die. (refrain)

A hero who valiantly fell in battle gave up his body, mind, and community, too,
 Then went on acting as before, shouting 'kill them' on the battlefield. (1)

Mansur's soul left his body but he never left his Love, though he was burned and
 cut into pieces.

And after he died 'An'al-haqq, an'al-haqq' sounded from the earth.¹ (2)

Though his body was gone, he remembered the rapture—this is true love.

Says Bakhanām: After death, the pining fish drank from the water in the mouth of
 his foe.² (3)

¹) This refers to the legend surrounding the martyrdom of the Sufi Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj (d. 922), 'Maṣṣūr, the cotton-carder', who was executed for having cried out in the state of mystical annihilation 'I am the Truth'. The legend has it that from his tomb 'I am the Truth' continued to resound. The Indian Muslim cotton-carders refer themselves to Maṣṣūr. — ²) The line refers to the legend that Maṣṣūr's ashes were thrown into a river, where they continued chanting. From this river water was drawn for the king's table, and fish from the same river was served to him. Though dead, the fish—not expressly mentioned in the line—did not stop pining in separation from the water filled with the truth proclaimed by Maṣṣūr's ashes. When the king ate the fish and washed it down with the water from that river, the fish was reunited with it.

39. Pad (rāg Mārū)

बिचालै अंतरौ रे, हरि हम भागौ नाहिं ।
 को जाणै कदि भाजिसी, म्हारौ पछितावो मन माहिं ॥ टेक ॥
 आडा डुंगर बन घणां, नदियां बहै अनंत ।
 सो पंषडियां पंजर नहीं, हौं मिलि मिलि आऊं नित्त ॥१॥
 चरणां पाषैं चालिबौ रे, धरती पाषैं बाट ।
 परबत पाषैं लंघणां, बिषमी औघट घाट ॥२॥
 जातां जातां घौहड़ा, म्हारै मनि पछितावौ होइ ।
 जीवत मेलो हे सषी, मुवां न मिलसी कोइ ॥३॥
 हरि का दर्सन कारिण हे सषी, म्हारा नैन रह्या जल पूरि ।
 सो साजन अलगा हुवा, भवैं भारी घर दूरि ॥४॥
 पाती प्यारा पीव की, हूं क्यूं बांचूं कर लेइ ।
 बिरह महाघण ऊमट्यौ, म्हारा नैण न बांचण देइ ॥५॥
 बटाऊ उहिं बाट का, म्हारौ संदेसौ तिहि हाथि ।
 आऊंली नाहीं रहूं, काहु साधु जन के साथि ॥६॥
 ज्युं बन कै कारणे हस्ती झूरै, चकवी पैली पार ।
 यौ बषनां झूरै नाम कौं, ज्युं उलिगाणा की नारि ॥७॥

¹⁾ This corresponds almost verbatim to *Dholā Mārū rā dūbhā*, v. 69; see Rāmsimh, Sūryakaraṇ Pārik, and Narottamās Svāmī (eds), *Dholā Mārū rā dūbhā: Rājasthāni kā ek suprasiddha prācīn lokgīt*, 2nd edn, Jodhpur: Rājasthāni Granthāgār, 2001.

The distance between Hari and me hasn't gone away.
 Who knows when it will disappear? These thoughts make my mind uneasy. (refrain)
 Many hills and forests block my way, countless rivers flow,
 My body has no wings to let me reach him any time. (1)
 Footless, I must walk my path and find no ground below,
 Without a mountain to be seen, I still must cross a threatening mountain pass. (2)
 Day by day I keep walking, with this anxious thought on my mind:
 Friend, let me meet him while I'm alive; dead, I can't meet anyone. (3)
 Because I long for Hari's sight, friend, my eyes stay full of tears.
 I've thus parted from my comrades and am far from home; fear weighs on me. (4)
 Should I even get a letter from my cherished husband, how will I read it?
 With clouds of separation gathered densely, my eyes no longer read. (5)
 A traveller moving on that way, my message in his hands:
 'I'm coming, I can bear no more.' Somebody honest will carry it. (6)
 As the elephant pines for the forest and the ruddy shelduck hen for the farther
 shore,¹
 Bakhanām pines for the Name, like the wife of a mercenary posted abroad. (7)

¹⁾ Where she will meet her mate.

40. *Pad (rāg Ṭodī)*

उपिलौ मारै न मांहिलौ तारै । पंडित होइ सु अरथ बिचारै ॥ टेक ॥
 स्यंघ कहैं पणि पोरिष नाहीं । बसै पंषेरुवा मुहड़ा मांहीं ॥१॥
 साध कहैं सो तौ यहु नाहीं । घड़िया बैठा घड़िया माहीं ॥२॥
 घर मैं करै काठ की गाइ । भाव फलै तौ लुषा क्यूं षाइ ॥३॥
 अलष निरंजन की करि आस । बषनां यांह कौ किसौ बिसास ॥४॥

Neither can a power from above do harm, nor one from within save. He who is a
 pandit may reflect on what this means! (refrain)
 Someone is called Mr. Singh, a Lion, but has no manliness; 'having wings to fly' is
 just a way of speaking of a bird. (1)
 Someone they call a sadhu is not one—he's just an invention among invented things.
 (2)
 Someone may craft a wooden cow for his house. But if his visions led to results,
 why is he eating dry crusts? (3)
 Place your hope in unseeable Nirañjana, says Bakhanām, how can you believe in
 what is of this world? (4)

41. *Pad (rāg Ṭorī)*

सरवरि मरजीवौ डुबकी देइ । राम रतन मंझा थैं लेइ ॥ टेक ॥
 डोरी लागौ आवै जाइ । सुषसागर मैं डूभी षाइ ॥१ ॥
 अघट सरोवर सुष सागरा । मुक्ता मोती रतनांवा ॥२ ॥
 सुर नर हंसा केलि कराहिं । मुनि जन मंछा मांहि रहाहिं ॥३ ॥
 चित चकवा मनि आनंद होइ । उदै अस्त पष नाहीं कोइ ॥४ ॥
 बिगस्यौ कंवल कियौ परकास । भवर गुंजारै बीध्यौ बास ॥५ ॥
 नींची थाघ न ऊंचौ थाइ । सागर महिमा कही न जाइ ॥६ ॥
 बिलसै बस्त समद की आणि । बषनां सो मरजीवौ जाणि ॥७ ॥

The diver plunges into the sea and picks from it the jewel, Rām. (refrain)

Tied to a rope, he plunges into the sea of happiness, in and out.¹ (1)

The endless lake, the sea of happiness, the mine of pearls and precious stones: (2)

Gods, men, and geese frolic in it, the wise men sport among the fish. (3)

Thought's the ruddy shelduck, the mind is filled with bliss, no rise or setting of the sun, no phases of the moon. (4)

The lotus blooms, light has come, the buzzing bee is pierced by scent. (5)

One cannot gauge how deep it is or how high up it goes, the greatness of the sea's beyond description. (6)

He who picks the real thing from the sea, rejoicing in it—know him as the diver, says Bakhanām. (7)

¹⁾ The line evokes the yogic breath discipline.

42. *Pad (rāg Malār)*

बिछड्या रामसनेही रे । म्हारै मन पछतावो एही रे ॥ टेक ॥
 बीछुडियां बन दहिया रे, म्हारै हियडै करबत बहिया रे ।
 बिलषी सषी सहेली रे, ज्युं जल बिन नागर बेली रे ॥१ ॥
 वा मुलकनि की छबि छांही रे, म्हारै रहि गई हिरदै मांही रे ।
 कोइ उहि उणिहारै नांही रे, हौं दूंढि रही जग मांही रे ॥२ ॥
 अब फीकौ म्हारै भांई रे, मंडली कौ मंडण नांही रे ।
 कौण सभा मैं सोहै रे, जाकी निर्मल बाणी मोहै रे ॥३ ॥
 भरि भरि प्रेम पिलावै रे, कोइ दादू आणि मिलावै रे ।
 बषनां बहुत बिसूरै रे, दरसणि कै कारणि झूरै रे ॥४ ॥

The friend of Rām is gone, and my heart is full of grief. (Refrain)

In separation from him, the forest lies in ashes, a saw cuts into my heart.

All my companions lament, like betel creepers¹ with no water. (1)

The reflection of the brilliance of his smile lingers in my heart,

None like him exists, I've searched the world in vain. (2)

All seems stale to me, brothers, he who embellished our circle is gone,

Who will now beguile the assembly with his pure speech? (3)

He gives us so much love to drink. Could only someone bring me Dādū!
Bakhanām is deeply grieved, he pines for the sight of him. (4)

¹⁾ The betel creeper with its fragrant leaves is also reputed for finding support on the sandal tree. Either way, dependent on water or a support, the motif is suitable for the *bbakta*.

43. *Pad* (*rāg* Sāraṅg)

मिसर येक रूड़ी कथा कही ।
 ऊंघै थी र बिछायौ लाधौ ता परि सोइ रही ॥टेक ॥
 मुष की पीक नैन दिषलावै, अधरनि काजरि कारौ ।
 तैं ज कही सो मेरै होती, तिहि मन पुसी हमारौ ॥१ ॥
 कंकन पूठि करन की चूरी, हार बन्यौ बिन तागै ।
 जोर सुणै ताकै यहु उपजै, ध्यान तहीं ठै लागै ॥२ ॥
 मानि मनावौ राधा प्यारी, एतौ हठ क्युं कीजै ।
 तूं ब्रिषभान बड़े की बेटी, तेरे ज्यायें जीजै ॥३ ॥
 मन हठ छाड़ि हसौ चित सनमुष, दोउं घां अमृत पीजै ।
 जदपी बैर होइ हिरदा में, तौ बैरि कुं पीठि न दीजै ॥४ ॥
 कहै सहेली अहो जसोधा, बात सुणी कै नाहीं ।
 बंसीबट की छांही, गही हठि मेरी बांहीं ॥५ ॥
 हौं सकुचनि बोली नाहीं, बहु सषियन की भीर ।
 गहि अचला मोहि ले चलयौ, मानसरोवर तीर ॥६ ॥
 तेरै संग की ग्वालनी, मेरे संग के ग्वाल ।
 एक एक कौं घेरिहैं, तब ह्वै है कौंन हवाल ॥७ ॥
 जहां जहां पग तूं धरै, तहां तहां मन साथ ।
 आप रहे आधीन ह्वै, चित बित तेरें हाथ ॥८ ॥
 हठि बीरी मेरे मुषि दई, ग्रीबां मेल्ली बांह ।
 मिसही मिस मोहि ले चलयौ, गहि अंधियारा मांह ॥९ ॥
 याही ग्यान ध्यान भी याही, नर नारी कौं भावै ।
 बषनां देषि ब्यास की कथणी, साच न हिरदै आवै ॥१० ॥

The Miśra Brahman¹ told a charming story:

Feeling drowsy, Rādhā found an open bedroll, on which she went to sleep. (refrain)
 Red juice from the betel she chewed had managed to stain her eyes, while kajal from
 her eyes had blackened her lips.

If I could only make your thoughts my own, she said to her friend, my mind would
 be content. (1)

I've thrown away my bracelets and my bangles—and wear a necklace with no string.
 But if you listen with attention, you can feel the same way I do. Just meditate to
 sense that state. (2)

Dear Rādhā, curb your pique, said her friend, why are you being so stubborn?

You're the daughter of great Vṛṣabhānu: keep him vital and he'll live a long time! (3)

Let your mind's willfulness go, be cheerful, and then turn to Kṛṣṇa for drinking the nectar that oozes from you both!

In your heart you may bear him rancor, but don't turn your back on an enemy. (4)

O Yaśodā, shouted the friend, did you or did you not hear me?

Then Rādhā spoke: In the shade of the banyan tree Kṛṣṇa gripped my arm. (5)

With so many girlfriends standing around, I was shy and said nothing.

Snatching the end of my garment he took me out to lake Mānsarovar's edge. (6)

The cowherds are on my side, he told me, and on yours are the cowherdesses.

They've rounded each other up—but to what end? (7)

Wherever you go, he said, my mind will follow.

I dedicate myself to you, my mind and wealth lie in your hands. (8)

He then forced the betel roll into my mouth, his arm around my neck.

He lured me away with ruses, grabbing me in the dark. (9)

Such is the wisdom and deep meditation appealing these days to women and men.

If you believe the *vyās's* story, says Bakhanām, no truth will come into your heart. (10)

¹⁾ The reference is to the professional storyteller, the *vyās* (see v. 10), focusing on the Kṛṣṇa legends. Mīśra is the name of a Brahman community. The story is that of Rādhā's pique on Kṛṣṇa and his violent courtship of her. Rādhā's girlfriend admonishes her to give in to him.

44. *Pad* (*rāg* Dhanāśrī)

Āratī

करि आरती आतमा ऊजली । रामजी पधार्यो म्हारै पुरवन रली ॥ टेक ॥

तेतीस समाणा ऊपरि चाढी । चवर दुलावै इक पग ठाढी ॥१॥

पंच सबद घंटा निरबाणी । झालरि बाजै राम नाम बाणी ॥२॥

पांच तत्व कौ दीपक धार्यो । जोति सरूपी ऊपर बार्यो ॥३॥

दसवै द्वारै देव मुरारी । सन्मुष सुंदरि पूजणहारी ॥४॥

मन पंडौ तिहि सेवा मांहीं । बषनां बारै आवै नांहीं ॥५॥

Perform the *āratī*, my luminous soul! Rām has come to fulfil my longing. (refrain)

Like the thirty-three gods my soul's risen high; moored in the One, it waves the flywhisk. (1)

The five auspicious instruments¹ and bells are silent, while the cymbal of Rām's name resounds. (2)

The lamp of the five elements is raised, lit for the light in its true form. (3)

At the tenth door stands God Murāri, his bride is face-to-face with him in worship. (4)

The mind is the priest engrossed in service; Bakhanām won't return again. (5)

¹⁾ The strings, handclapping, cymbal, kettledrum and clarion. See for this standing phrase, John D. Smith, *The Viśaḍadevarāsa: A Restoration of the Text*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976, v. 14, pp. 78–9.

Rajab

45. *Savaiyā* Dedicated to Dādū

दादू जी मात बुलाइ पिता हरि, बालिक बाल सु गोद सौं डारे ।
सांई समीर लियो घन दादु, चहुं दिसि चात्रिग चित पुकारे ॥
आदित आप सरोवर दादूजी, शोषतही सफुरी शिष मारे ।
हो दादू कै गौनिं दुषी शिष रजब, प्रीति प्रचंड सु अंतरि जारे ॥

When Father Hari called Mother Dādū, Mother pushed all her children from her lap,

The wind-like Lord has blown away the Dādū-cloud, our cuckoo-minds cry for him everywhere.

The sun himself, by drying up the Dādū-lake, killed all the fish, his disciples.

The sad disciple Rajab grieves his guru's passing, alas, but blazing love for Dādū burns within him still.

46. *Savaiyā* Dedicated to Dādū

दीन दयालु दियौ दुष दीननिं, दादू सी दौलति हाथ सौं लीनीं ।
रोस अतीतन सौं जु कियौ हरि, रोजी जु रंकन की जगि छीनी ॥
गरीब निवाज गरीब हते सब, संतनिं सूल अतिगति दीनी ।
हो रजब रोइ कहे यहु काहि जु, त्राहि जु त्राहि कहा यहु कीनीं ॥

The Lord of Mercy for the Distressed has hurt distressed people badly, wrenching the Dādū-wealth from their hands.

Hari is angry with the sadhus: he's snatched the poor person's daily bread from the world.

The Saviour of the Poor has killed all the poor, inflicting sharp pain on the Sants.

'Why did this happen?' says Rajab in tears, 'Why did you do this? Save us!'

47. *Pad* (*rāg* Rāmkalī)

संतो भेष भरम कुछ नाहीं,
छह दरसन छयांनवै पाषंड, भूले परपंच मांहीं ॥टेक ॥
स्वांग सलिल संपूरण दीसैं, भ्रिगत्रिस्रां मन धावै ।
नांव नीर तां मै कुछ नाहीं, दौड़ि दौड़ि दुष पावै ॥१ ॥
सीतकोट मांहै छिप बैठे, कहो वोट क्या होई ।
तैसी बिधि दरसन मै पैठे, काल न छोड्या कोई ॥२ ॥
सकल चरित्र चिरमी की पावक, मन मरकट सब सेवैं ।
जन रजब जाड़ा नहीं उतरैं, उरि आंधे जीव देवैं ॥३ ॥

The garb is a deception, Sants, it's nothing,

The six religious views and ninety-six heresies¹ have lost themselves in a world of delusion. (refrain)

The thirsty mind runs after a mirage: but the water it seeks is just an appearance.

There's no water of the Name there, not any at all—and you'll suffer from all your running. (1)

If you're hiding in a fortress of mist, tell me please how you'll find shelter?

And all of those people heeding their views? Death spared none of them. (2)

All of life is only a straw fire: our monkey minds gather around it.

The servant Rajab says: it doesn't take away the cold, but the blind-hearted give it their lives. (3)

¹) Though enumerated by exegetes, these numbers signify the totality of false views. For an enumeration, see RV, p. 1044, commentary on *pad* 28.

48. *Pad* (*rāg* Rāmkalī)

दरसन साच जु सांई दीया, आदू आप उदर मै कीया ।
 पिछला सब पाषंड पसारा, ऐसै सतगुर कहै हमारा ॥टेक ॥
 सुनति झूट जु बाहरि काटी, कपट जनेऊ हाथौं बाटी ।
 मनमूष मुद्रा मिथ्या सींगी, भरम भगौहां धींगाधींगी ॥१ ॥
 असति कला जैनौं जगि ठाटी, फाड़ि कांन फोकट मुषि पाटी ।
 परपंच माला तिलक जु बांने, इहां हीं आनि देही परि ठानें ॥२ ॥
 षट दरसन षोटे कलि कीनें, अलियल आइ इला परि लीनें ।
 जन रजब सो मानें नाहीं, पैली छाप नहीं इन मांहीं ॥३ ॥

The right view that the Lord gave you, he conceived it by himself when the world began—and you were still in the womb.

Afterwards all the heresies spread: this is what my true guru says. (refrain)

Circumcision is false if the cut is outside, and the sacred thread dispensed by hands is a fraud.

Yogic earrings show willfulness, while the yogi's horn is futile; wearing ochre robes and getting into fights are both errors. (1)

In this world the Jains made falsehood a craft: wearing a mouthshield, like splitting your earlobes, is worthless.¹

Prayer beads and brow marks and special attire—they've all come from this world and were thrust on your body. (2)

Views of religion created in this awful age are false: headstrong people came and brought them here.

They don't bear the primeval seal², so the servant Rajab can't accept them. (3)

¹) The line mixes freely practices of the Jains (mouthshield) and Nāthyogīs (splitting the ear at full initiation). This is a stylistic device to express that religious folly is pervasive. — ²) This recalls the Sufi notion of the heart of the shaikh or of any completely dedicated devotee being the signet into which are carved the divine attributes and names (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 271).

49. *Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)*

संतो प्राण पषाण न माने,
 परम पुरुष बिन पाषंड सारा, तहां न आसति जाने ॥टेक॥
 सरिता शैल सगे सुत बंधू, सेये मुक्ति न द्यावें ।
 सो स्वामी संपुट में बांधे, घर घर मोल बिकावें ॥ १ ॥
 जाका इष्ट अवनि नहिं छाड़ै, सेवक स्वर्ग न जाई ।
 या में फेर सार कछु नाहिं, भरम न भूलो भाई ॥२॥
 कांधे कंठ हमारे चालै, जोष्यू पावक पाणी ।
 रजब घड़े सुनार सिलावट, सो सकलाई जाणी ॥३॥

Sants, my soul is not content with stones,

The highest Lord alone is real, and all the rest is heresy that shouldn't be trusted at all. (refrain)

Stones fished from rivers¹ give no liberation, nor do brothers, sons, or relations.

People close the Lord up in a box and peddle him from house to house. (1)

Those praying to a deity that can't rise above the earth, themselves can't go to heaven.

These ways will change and have no essence, so don't be taken in by them! (2)

A god that rides on shoulders or is tied around the neck runs the risk of fire and water.

I know the power of objects crafted by goldsmiths and sculptors, says Rajab. (3)

¹⁾ The ammonites, *śālagrāms*, taken as representations of Viṣṇu.

50. *Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)*

अवधू कपट कला इक भारी, यूँ सद्गुरु साषि विचारी ।
 षट दर्शन दीरघ ठग बैठे, काल रूप व्यापारी ॥टेक॥
 स्वांगी सबै स्वांग दे लीन्हे, वय बिच नेजाधारी ।
 ऐसी शठि भई सब ऊपरि, सौँज शिरोमणि हारी ॥१॥
 बांध किये वश बैल बिचारे, तप तीरथ कैलारी ।
 ऐसे धर्या काल ह्वै बैठ्या, लांबी पाश पसारी ॥२॥
 कुल बांधे कृत्रिम सौँ कसि कसि, मन वच कर्म विचारी ।
 स्वर्ग नर्क अरु मध्य मही पर, यूँ ठग करी ठगारी ॥३॥
 सुर नर नाथ दिये गूण्यू तलि, पीठ्यों छई सहारी ।
 जन रजब जो इनसे मुकते, तिन ऊपरि बलिहारी ॥४॥

O Avadhū, the true guru gave proof, and I realized their singular craftiness:

The six views' inveterate thugs are the traders: they embody Death. (refrain)

They're fakes who catch their prey by dealing in fake wares— spear-bearers infesting life.

Their trickery lies on top of all, so even the best scales and measures don't work. (1)

They've broken the poor oxen to their will, with their cares about austerities and sacred journeys.

Embodying Time, they've caught their prey by spreading a wide net of nooses. (2)
They've put men in family ties, fastened by counterfeit goods that occupy minds, words, and deeds.

In heaven, hell, and on the earth, that's how the thugs work their thuggery. (3)
They've overcome leaders of gods and men, and supporting the earthly elite won them over as well.

The servant Rajab says: To any who could free themselves from these thugs, I make myself a sacrifice. (4)

51. *Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)*

हिन्दू तुरक सुनो रे भाई, काहू से मत होहु दुषदाई ।
बीज्या होहि उधारा देणा, किया न कांठे जाई ॥टेक ॥
मारहिं जीव सोच बिन सौदा, मन मुष मांस गरासै ।
लेषा लियूं लषोगे प्राणी, यहु न टलैगी हांसै ॥ १ ॥
पग की पीड़ अश्म करि उन्हा, दुष ऊपरि सु लगाया ।
संग पुकार सुनी साईं ने, हजरत दांत तुड़ाया ॥ २ ॥
जौ की रोटी भाजी सेती, मुहमद उमर गुजारी ।
आगें ज्वाब जबह का मांगै, यूं कर करद न धारी ॥३ ॥
ऋषि रहते जंगल जाय बैठे, झड़े पड़े फल षाये ।
जठर अग्नि जुगति सौं टाली, जीव न जगत सताये ॥४ ॥
हुये हमाय ओलिया साधू, बेअजार सुषदाई ।
जन रजब उनकी छाया में, महर दया तिन पाई ॥५ ॥

Listen, my Hindu and Muslim brothers! Don't inflict pain on any others!

Release from debt depends on how much you can grow. Whatever you've done is with you always. (refrain)

It's senseless to make a living by killing living beings; people who devour meat think only of themselves.

You'll have to pay up your accounts, friends, you can't just laugh them all off. (1)

The Prophet's foot was hurting, so as a cure he heated a stone to put on it. This hurt the stone.

The Lord, nearby, heard the stone's cry and knocked out the Prophet's teeth. (2)

After that, Muhammad lived out his life eating millet bread and vegetables,
And when asked to kill an animal wouldn't touch a knife. (3)

Seers went out to the jungle and stayed there, eating fruit that had fallen from trees.
Their stomachs burned with hunger, but they knew techniques to dampen their pain
and never harmed any living creatures. (4)

The auliyas and sadhus are Humā birds, causing no pain, while spreading happiness.¹

The servant Rajab says: In the shadow of their wings, one gets kindness and compassion. (5)

¹⁾ The Humā bird brings good luck and the shadow of its wings creates kings. Its origin lies in the Old Iranian Avesta, but this mythological bird has impacted the whole Muslim world. One of its most powerful appearances in India is in the eighth chapter of the 'Birds' Conversation', *Mantiq al-tayr*, of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭar of the thirteenth-century Panjab. See Carlo Saccone, 'Humā', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30551. First published: 2018. Consulted on 8 September 2021.

52. Pad (rāg Rāmkalī)

सुणि सुणि बातें बेद की, चषिचौंधी समांने ।
 दह दिसि दौड़ै दूरि कौं, उरि अठसठि ठानें ॥टेक ॥
 भागौत कहै भगवंत दस, भूले सुणि भोले ।
 सुरग नरक मधिलोक मैं, मतमानि सु डोले ॥१ ॥
 श्रगुण त्रिगुण एक हैं, नित निगम बतावैं ।
 यूं आतम उरझी उरैं, सो सुलझि न आवैं ॥२ ॥
 संसा सबल न भागई, ब्याकरन बिचारा ।
 जन रजब सतगुर बिनां, जीव होइ न पारा ॥३ ॥

Always listening to the Veda, people are bedazzled,

Set on the sixty-eight pilgrimage sites, they rush in all directions. (refrain)

With the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata*¹ taken as God himself, simple folk are misled,
 While thinking people keep swaying from heaven to hell and the world in between.

(1)

The Vedic scriptures have always taught that the formless divine and the world of form are one.

If that's so, the self, entangled in this world, won't be able to get itself out of it. (2)

Pondering grammar won't make strong doubts go away.²

The servant Rajab says: Without the true guru, the soul can't get to the other side.

(3)

¹⁾ The tenth book of the *Bhāgavatapurāna* tells the life of Kṛṣṇa, the corporeal cowherd-god. —

²⁾ A jibe on the commentatorial procedures of *Bhāgavata* exegetes.

53. Pad (rāg Ṭoḍī)

डर है रे मुझ डर है रे ।
 पल पल आव घटै तन छीजै, जम बैरी सिर परु है रे ॥टेक ॥
 बादल बिपति बीजुली मनसा, बिबधि बिघन का झरु है रे ।
 चौरासी लष जीव जवासे, तेरी केतुक जरु है रे ॥१ ॥
 आपा अगनि अनंत दौं लागी, पंच तत सब तरु है रे ।
 मिहरि मेघ बिन कौन बुझावै, तन मन तूतिनु परु है रे ॥२ ॥
 दीरघ दुष दीसैं दसहूँ दिस, मींच सु सचराचरु है रे ।
 काल कसाई प्रांन पसू ये, सब के सिर परि करु है रे ॥३ ॥

त्राहि त्राहि यहु त्रास देषि करि, हरि सुमिरन कौ हरु है रे ।
जन रजब जोष्यु टारन कौ, एक राम कौ बरु है रे ॥४॥

I'm afraid, oh, so afraid!

Life shrinks every moment and the body wears away, the enemy Death hovers over me. (refrain)

From clouds of misery, the lightening of false hope flashes, then torrents of all sorts of troubles pour down.

The eighty-four lakhs of creatures are short prickly grasses, your roots are so frail! (1) Pride's forest fires endlessly rage through the five *tattvas*' trees.

Who but the cloud of mercy will put them all out? Like worthless grass, body and mind just keep burning. (2)

The old anxiety shows itself everywhere: moving or still, there's nothing but death. Time is the butcher; the creatures, the animals—all their heads are in his grip. (3)

They cry 'Save me, save me!' and seeing their suffering, I desperately want to remember Lord Hari.

The servant Rajab says: Rām alone has the power to remove my anguish. (4)

54. *Pad (rāg Ṭorī)*

भै है रे मुझ भै है रे,
बाहरि भीतरि बैरी बैठे, जीव कहां है जै है रे ॥टेक॥
मनिषा जनम द्यौस सोई बीतौ, रैनि परी तम मैं है रे ।
जांमण मरण षांहिं जिव गोते, दूतर आडी नै है रे ॥१॥
जम सु लुहार जीव सोई लोहा, आपा अगनि सु तै है रे ।
घट घट आरण सुरति संडासी, गुण घण मार सु दै है रे ॥२॥
चौरासी चौपड़ि फिर आयौ, अब देबे कौ पै है रे ।
करनीं हीन होत सोई काची, चोट चहूं दिसि षै है रे ॥ ३ ॥
जुगि जुगि जीव काल कौ भषिन, जम धायौ नहीं धै है रे ।
जन रजब यौं समझि सयानें, छूटन कूं हरि लै है रे ॥४॥

I'm frightened, oh, I'm frightened,

The enemies are both inside and out, so where will the soul pass through? (refrain)

Human life, which lasts a day, is over; night has come and there's only darkness.

The soul is plunged into death and birth, and the hostile river is hard to cross. (1)

Death is the blacksmith and the soul is the iron, which he'll melt in the fire of your ego,

Each body is his anvil, and mystical consciousness, his tongs; he'll strike with the hammer of virtues. (2)

Once more does the soul play the game of the eighty-four types of existence;¹ who's going to win it this time?

Your evil deeds are the losing pieces, blows come from all sides. (3)

Aeon by aeon Time's eaten up your life, while Death remains always unsatisfied.

The servant Rajab says: Be wise, and understand that for release you need to take to

Hari! (4)

¹⁾ Multiplied by 100,000, this is the number of incarnations, out of which only one will be a human one.

55. *Pad* (*rāg* Dhanāśrī)

Āratī

आरति कहूँ कैसी बिधि होई ।

सौँज सिरोमणि सो सब षोई ॥टेक॥

प्रथम पाट उर बैठे और, परम पुरिष कौं नाहीं ठौर ॥१॥

बांमां बाइ बही बिचि आई, ग्यांन दीप दिल दीया बुझाई ॥२॥

स्वाद सिला परि घंटा फूटी, पवन चवर डांडी श्रुति छूटी ॥ ३ ॥

पाती प्रीति पहम परि डारी, फहम फूल की माल बिसारी ॥४॥

च्यंता चोरि लीयौ चित चंदन, क्युं कीजै अरचा प्रभू बंदन ॥५॥

ठाकुर षडे षोड़ि कौ षड़िया, षोस्यो षल षट पेड़ा पड़िया ॥६॥

रजब मांगै सौँज सु दीजै, अंतरजांमीं आरति कीजै ॥७॥

Tell me how to perform the *āratī*: the crucial objects used for it are nowhere to be found. (refrain)

First, others now sit on the throne in the heart. There's no room there for the highest Lord. (1)

In the heart's lamp the flame of knowledge has gone out as well—blown away by the wind of Woman. (2)

The bell has burst on the stone of taste; and on the flywhisk of the life-breath, the staff of uprightness has broken. (3)

Leaves of love are scattered about on the dirt, a garland made from wisdom's flowers lies forgotten. (4)

With reason's sandalwood stolen by worry, how can the Lord be worshipped and praised? (5)

It stands there: an icon smeared with chalk on its brow, a sweetmeat once offered now snatched by the six thieves¹. (6)

Rajab implores you for what he needs to offer the Innermost Lord as *āratī*. Please give it to him! (7)

¹⁾ The mind and the five senses.

56. ग्रंथ अकल लीला — Treatise on the Play of the Undifferentiated

One

सेवग पूछै साहिब रांमां, कौन प्रकारि कीया यहु कांमां ।
 कै मनसा करि मांड अधारी, कै गुण रहित भई यहु सारी ॥१॥
 इष्ट बिना यह सिष्टि न होई, झूठी बात कहै मति कोई ।
 बिन च्यंता चित्रांम उपाया, ज्यू तरवर संगि दीसै छाया ॥२॥
 ससि मैं सुरम सु दीसै नाहीं, कवल कलेस रहित पुलि जाहीं ।
 त्यू पर आतम सौं आत्म सारी, सम्रथ इंछ्या रहित संवारी ॥३॥
 चंदन चाहि सु च्यंतन बंधी, भार अठारा भई सुगंधी ।
 यूं क्रम रहित करता क्रम कीनां, ऐसी बिधि यहु प्रांन पतीनां ॥४॥
 चंबक कब चंचल मति साची, जाकै संगि सुई सब नाची ।
 ऐसैं अचल चलाए प्रांनां, समझै कोई संत सुजांनां ॥५॥
 बादल बिजुली बूंद र वाई, सुनि शरीर सु उपजै आई ।
 त्यू त्रिगुन तैं श्रगुन रूपा, अकल निरंजन अमल अनूपा ॥६॥
 समुद सुरति बिन जलचर जागे, राग दोष क्रीड़ा क्रित लागे ।
 पाप पुंनि पांणीं कौं नाहीं, ऐसैं ब्रह्म सकल घट मांहीं ॥७॥
 आंषि अनंत आदीत अधारा, देषैं बिबधि भांति ब्यौहारा ।
 भले बुरे मैं नाहीं भांण, तैसैं रांम नांम की आंण ॥८॥
 दीपक जोति जुवारी सारे, एक जीते एकौं धन हारे ।
 हरिष सोक मैं नांहि उजासा, त्यू परमेसुर प्रांणहु पासा ॥९॥
 नीद निवास मनोरथ आये, क्रम अक्रम सु षेल्य समाये ।
 संकट मुक्त समाधिहि दूरी, अहिं बिधि जीव ब्रह्म भरपूरी ॥१०॥
 बाइ बंध वपि बिश्र अनेकै, मारुत मांहिं न जानैं एकै ।
 त्यू सकल गुणहु त्रिगुण आधारा, बीचि बस्त नहीं लिपै बिकारा ॥११॥
 ज्यू सफल ब्रिछ षग स्यंन्या बासा, कांम क्रोध करि तिन का नाशा ।
 रूष रहित हत्या अरु हेतै, त्यू जगपति जग मांहीं सेतै ॥१२॥
 कवल कृतघन देषौ दीठी, जा मै उतपति ता जल पीठी ।
 बारि बिमुष मनि सोग उछाहा, यौं सुष सागर मैं जीव दाहा ॥१३॥
 सकल प्रांण पृथी परि मेला, नांनां बिधि के षेलै षेला ।
 धरनी न धारै तिनके रंगा, त्यू पर आत्म आत्म संग्गा ॥१४॥
 दरपन मैं दीसैं सब देसा, ताकौं भार नहीं दुष लेसा ।
 यूं गुण रहित सु अंतरजांमीं, ताही मैं षेलैं सब कांमीं ॥१५॥
 अगनि अठारह भार समीपा, स्वांदहु संगि स्वाद नहीं छीपा ।
 यूं अंजन मांहि निरंजन आपै, ता कूं परसै पुनि न पापै ॥१६॥
 मनिगन बहुत सूत मधि एकै, अरस परस अर भ्यंन बिमेकै ।
 ऐसी बिधि दीसै जगनाथा, सब तैं न्यारा सब कै साथा ॥१७॥
 मणि भुजंग ज्यू मांहैं रहई, उभै परसपर गुण नहीं गहई ।
 त्यू तन मन मांहैं तत सारा, गुरु परसादि सु कीया बिचारा ॥१८॥
 तुम्ह समांनि नाहीं उनमांनां, बिषम संधि क्यूं करौं बषांनां ।

अकह ठौर यह तुम्हौं कहाई, गुरु दादू प्रसादि सु पाई ॥१९॥
 सकल करै क्रम माहि न आवै, परम भेद पूरा जन पावै ।
 श्रबंगी संग्रथ गति न्यारी, जन रजब ता परि बलिहारी ॥२०॥

The servant asked the Lord: 'How was this work produced, O Rām?

Is the creation based on your will, or did it arise from that One with no qualities?'

(1)

'No creation without intention' is false, a statement none should ever make.

Creation is a picture displayed with no intention, just like the shadow of a tree. (2)

The moon does not contrive to be seen, and lotus flowers make no effort to unfold.

In this way every self emerges from the One Self, each fashioned competently—but unintentionally so. (3)

Since all trees think of the sandal tree with longing, they absorb its scent.

This is how the Maker who doesn't act, once acted. That's what I believe. (4)

When would a magnet think about making iron shards, when near it, burst into dance?

In this way, the one who does not move causes men to move. Rare's the wise Sant who understands this. (5)

Clouds, lightning, raindrops, and wind each arise embodied from the void.

In this way, what is qualified derives from the Unqualified. Matchless are the deeds of undifferentiated Nirāñjana. (6)

The ocean's not attached to the creatures alive in it, it's they who stage the play of love and hate.

The water doesn't know of sin and merit: in this way the highest Self is present in us all. (7)

Illuminated by the sun, innumerable eyes watch all kinds of behaviour,

But the sun plays no part in the good or bad acts those eyes see —taking the name of Rām I swear to this. (8)

The light of a lamp shines on all gamblers: some win and others lose.

But the light shines not to illuminate the joy or sorrow of either. Such is the Supreme Lord's relationship with humankind. (9)

Desires occur to a man asleep at home. The desires don't act, but instead are absorbed into a play of actions.

They're far from the deep meditation that brings release from worry. It's that through which the Highest Self pervades embodied souls. (10)

The stopping of bodily breath causes problems of all sorts, but the breath of the inner life knows none of them.

In the same way, every quality has its base in the Unqualified, while the real thing inside is hurt by nothing. (11)

Hosts of birds may live in a fruiting tree; some might be killed out of lust or anger.

The tree, though, neither kills nor cares; just so, the immanent Lord of the World is pure. (12)

Watch the ungrateful lotus, which turns its back on the water from where it sprang. Turned away from the water, its mind becomes pained by desire, like a soul on fire in a sea of happiness. (13)

All beings gather on the earth, playing at all sorts of games.

Just as the earth adopts none of their moods, the Highest Self adopts none either—even as he stays in touch with all the many selves. (14)

A whole country is reflected in a mirror, which has no cares at all for the country's troubles.

Just so, the Controller within has no qualities to show—even though everyone's at play in him, each in pursuit of their own desires. (15)

Fire is inherent in all trees, thus mixing with their various scents—while not reacting to them at all.

In this way, the Unstained One abides in every stain, while actions both sinful and worthy don't touch him. (16)

Through the many pearls runs just a single thread: the pearls are all different, although they touch each other.

The Lord of the World is like that thread, together with all but distinct from all. (17)

The jewel adorns the snake¹, but neither grasps the other's worth.

Likewise, the essence of being is found in the body and mind: I've come to know this through the guru's grace. (18)

No description matches you, how can I explain this perplexing coming together of everything and sameness?

You're called the place beyond description—which I have reached by Guru Dādū's grace. (19)

While doing all, he takes no part in any deed: a perfect devotee alone can grasp this deepest mystery.

Although he can do anything, his ways are his own: to this detached Lord, Rajab makes himself an offering. (20)

¹) The cobra is said to bear a jewel on its forehead.

57. प्राण पारिष — Examination of the Soul

प्राण पुरिष की पारिष पाई, जा गुनि मिलै ताहि समि भाई ।
 ज्यूं जल पैठि ईष गुड़ होई, पोस्त परस अफीमौं सोई ।
 अठारह भार मांहि जल पैठै, गुन समांन स्वाद ह्वै बैठै ।
 जैसी बिधि बहु रंगति नीरा, स्यांम सेत कै राता पीरा ।
 ऐसी बिधि आत्मां पिछांनीं, ता समि तूलि जाहि गुन सांनीं ।
 सीत लागि जल हेमौं होई, अगनि प्रसंग उख पुनि सोई ।

ग्यांन द्रिष्टि करि देषिया, आत्म उदिक सरूप ।
 श्रगुण मिलि श्रगुण सही, त्रिगुण मिलि निज रूप ॥१॥
 आत्म भाव एक सोई ऐसा, जा गुण मिलै ताहि गुण तैसा ।
 एक भाव राग सब परसै, राग समांनि भाव बिचि दरसै ।
 सोई भाव पढै बहु बांनीं, बेद कतेब भाव द्वै जांनीं ।
 नांनां बिधि हूनर ह्वै भावै, गुन समांन ह्वै बीचि लषावै ॥२॥
 एकै भाव पंच रस भोगी, सोई भाव उलटि फुंनि जोगी ।
 नांनां बिधि देही गुन भावै, यहु पारिष बिरला जन पावै ।
 जिनि अंगों प्राणीं पति मेला, ते सब अंग भाव के षेला ।
 आत्म परषी लगनि समि, जिस लागी तिस अंग ।
 जन रजब जीव फटक गति, धर्या अधर ह्वै रंग ॥३॥

I have examined the human soul: It takes on the qualities that happen to come its way.

Water that goes into the sugarcane plant becomes sweet, while poppies can turn water into opium.

As water finds its way into all the different trees, it takes on their distinctive tastes. Depending on which pigments are in it, water becomes black, white, red, or yellow. Exactly like this should the soul be perceived: it becomes like the qualities it soaks up.

In the cold, water turns into snow, but it becomes hot on a fire.

Viewed with a wise discerning eye, the soul resembles water:

When things it encounters have qualities, the soul takes them on, but when it meets anything free of them, the soul assumes its genuine form. (1)

A state of the soul is only this: it takes on the qualities that happen to come its way. A single state of mind is touched by infinite moods, and like those moods that state is felt within.

I've studied this inner state in many scriptures, which the Veda and other books know as having two types.

Whatever skill someone finds appealing, he'll find a quality like it within. (2)

For the seeker of pleasure, the inner state has five tastes; but there's only one taste for the yogi.

People find all kinds of qualities appealing, and few devotees are not tempted by them.

The shape in which you meet the Lord, springs from the inner state's play.

Examining the soul is like determining an auspicious moment: each person has its own.

The servant Rajab says: The soul behaves like a crystal: it takes on the colour of whatever supports it. (3)

Santdās

58. *Pad* (*rāg* Dhanāśrī)

चैन भई ले बैन रसीले साधनां, जीयरौ न रहाई हो ।
 साध सबद मन हरि लीयौ, शुंनि मंडल मैं आइ हो ॥टेक ॥
 मन मनसा मन ही मिले, सहजि मगन रस भीनां हो ।
 चित चहुं दिसि त्रिमल भयौ, तव अगम गवन गम कीन्हां हो ॥१ ॥
 जनम मरण संमिता भई, संसार विकार नसाया हो ।
 प्राण पुरिस परचौ भयौ, तव अगम भरोसा आया हो ॥२ ॥
 साध सबद शुष जिनि लह्यौ, ते सदा रहत अनरागी हो ।
 निरबंधन त्रिहुंलोक मैं, सतगुरि सबद निवाजे हो ॥३ ॥
 मन षोजै मन हीं रह्यौ, निज निरमल दरसायौ हो ।
 आपा आप पिछानियौ, तव अंतरि तिमर नसायौ हो ॥४ ॥
 अचल मिल्यौ चलतैं रह्यौ, अविनासी पद पायौ हो ।
 एकमेक ह्वै मिलि रह्यौ, तव परपंच परलै बहायौ हो ॥५ ॥
 तन मन प्राण विलै गये, अंमी समदि संमानौ हो ।
 संतदास त्रिगुण मिले, तव अकरंम करंम भुलानैं हो ॥६ ॥

I followed the words of my honeyed Lord and now I am at peace; my soul no longer has limits.

My mind was enthralled by the Sadhu's speech, and entered the realm of the void.
(refrain)

When your mind's desires are met in the mind itself, you're naturally drenched in the waters of love.

And when your mind is purified all over, you can access the Inaccessible. (1)

When birth and death have become as one, the world of change exists no more.

When the soul sees itself as the Primal one, it gains faith in the Inaccessible. (2)

Those who find bliss in the Sadhu's speech are steeped in love forever.

No longer bound by the triple worlds, they live in the grace of the true guru's word. (3)

After they search through their minds, they see that their minds remain pure and alone.

Through discovering the self, inner darkness ends. (4)

When you've found the Immovable, all you can do is stop moving—for you've reached the eternal place.

Someone who's united with the One sees the world he used to know as totally dissolved. (5)

If your body, mind and life-breath fuse, you're absorbed in the immortal sea.

When you meet the formless one, says Santdās, you forget all your actions, good and bad. (6)

59. *Pad (rāg Sorṭhi)*

काल गति औरैं ही भई ।
 बहसनि षिलनि मिलन सबहिन की, मानौं कहूं काढ़ि लई ॥टेक॥
 कहां वह रीति प्रीति पहल की, दिन दिन होत नई ।
 कहां भाव गति जुगति सत संगति, जहां की तहां रही ॥१॥
 अब है येक अधार नाव कौ, जे लेवा देइ दई ।
 संतदास संतनि उर निमसौं, हरि आनंदमई ॥२॥

Brother, the ways of Time are something else.

Laughing and having fun, mixing with everyone—it's as if all this is pulled away.

(refrain)

Where are our former affections and habits, which we renewed from day to day?

Where did our emotions go, our trust in disciplined ways and sense of community?

All this is gone. (1)

Now only the Name can support us—if destiny wills that we let it.

I'll enjoy the bliss of Hari, says Santdās, dwelling amongst the Sants. (2)

60. कड़षौ — War Song of the Type of *Karakau (rāg Sorṭhi)*

कहूं पवाड़ा प्रेम सूं, कासी नगर मंझार ।
 गंगा जी परसन भया, कहौ दादू गुण सार ॥अ॥
 अड़ीषम बंका राजि दादू ।
 राचि रहौ हरि नांव लीया, पंथ पूर्व राजि आदू ॥टेक॥
 परापर परब्रह्म परमगुरु, पर आत्म प्रभेवा ।
 अकल अजन्मा गरभ न आवै, सो दादू का देवा ॥ब॥
 इला पुकारी आप सौं, भू परि चढियौ भार
 पाप फैलि चाल्यौ प्रथी परि, बात करौ बहार ॥१॥
 भू कौ भार उतारण म्हेल्यौ, कलियुग मांहीं केसौ ।
 दादू नांव निसाण बजावे, पाप पर्हा जाइ षेसौ ॥२॥
 के डावैं के जिव्यंगै, भेष सकल जन सूरा ।
 जहां विच दादू दीपिये, भजन किया भरपूरा ॥३॥
 दादू दूजा सौं कहैं, भगति करण रौ भेद ।
 सुमरण सख ल्यौ संतो, ज्यूं जम करि सकै न छेद ॥३अ॥
 हिन्दू तुरक सुलझाईया, ज्यां विच चलाया पंथ ।
 परपंच कोई न पतियारौ, स्वामी ऐसा समाया तंत ॥४॥
 घड्या घाट पूजे नहीं, पांहण सीस न नवावै ।
 निराकार निरलेप निरंजन, जा की कीरत्य गावै ॥७॥
 औतारां अटकै नही, लीयौं वेद कौ भेद ।
 सकल भरमनां भाजि करि, स्वांमीं ऐसा कीया निषेद ॥८॥
 सिष्य साषा सेवग घनां, कोई न भेष बनाया ।

सूर गही समसेर साच की, हिंदू तुरक नवाया ॥९॥
 माला मुद्र जटा अरु भगवा, भेष लीयां क्या होई ।
 परमेसुर नै प्यारा लागै, साहिब सुमरै सोई ॥१०॥
 काहे काजी पंडित बूझो, काहे बूझौ जोसी ॥
 करणहार सो करता करिसी, हूणहार सो होसी ॥११॥
 धरमी धरम करो बहुतेरा, बिन करणी को सीधा ।
 करणीं करै अलष गुण गावै, राम जिन्हां सू रीधा ॥१२॥
 अहंमदाबाद मैं औतर्या दादू, हिंदू तुरक जग जांणै ।
 पातिसाह नै प्रचा दीनौ, करि अस्थान नरांणै ॥१३॥
 समंदां नाव डूबती काढी, हित करि हाथ पसार्या ।
 सांभरि में काजी संमझाया, कागद अंक संवार्या ॥१४॥
 सात देह धरि सात महोछा, सेवग नै सुष दीन्हां ।
 सेवग कहैं निवाज्या स्वामी, धनि म्हे दरसन कीन्हां ॥१६॥
 षादू मैं मैमंतौ हाथी, मस्तक आनि नवायौ ।
 करै सलांम सूझि सू चाढौ, धनि म्हे दरसन पायौ ॥१७॥
 पूरब पछिम उत्तर दक्षण, चारि कूट चौबारी ।
 करम तणां दल कांपिया, आई स्वामी दादू की असवारी ॥१८॥
 पाषर पहर्या प्रेम का, सज्या नांव नीसांण ।
 दे डंका दादू चढ्या, बहैं जुझा ऊ बांण ॥ १९ ॥
 टोप रंगावलि रहतिका, सज्या सील संजोग ।
 सुमिरण सख्ख साजिया, जम घरि पड़्या विवोग ॥ २० ॥
 सोर सराबा होइ बहुतेरा, दल मैं बागौ डाकौ ।
 दादू चढ्या दूत दलबे कौं, पिसण पजांवण पाकौ ॥ २१ ॥
 सीस बिराजै सेहरौ, कटक केहरिया साथी ।
 जमराणा सौं मर्यौ मार कौं, जोगी लाया जमाती ॥ २१अ ॥
 रजब सरीषा राजई, ये मुषि आगली झूझैं ।
 सिष्य साषा में बांवन बलिवंत, और कटक कुंण बूझै ॥२२॥
 हलचल हुई हौकल्या हैवरा, पग पवंगां सिर मार्या ।
 गैवर गुडै रगत बहैं राता, दल दोष्यां रा षार्या ॥२३॥
 अनंत कोटि दल चढ्या दर्ईका, नवषंड वागा नादू ।
 सूरं वाग उपाड़ी सबही, अंणी आगिली दादू ॥२४॥
 एक चढ्या एक सू अधिका, पारब्रह्म को साथ ।
 मोहरै मैं दादू मडिया, षेत आवीयौ हाथ ॥२५॥
 वैला पैला दल आहुड्या, ऊण षंभा रुप्या बिचालै ।
 भारथ कीयौ वडां भुपालां, भगवंत सांमौं भालै ॥ २६ ॥
 सुरग लोग सादानां बागा, रह्या सिपाही साज ।
 माझी मर्या मार कै मौढे, कीया धणी का काज ॥२७॥
 हस्ती कै हौदै चढ्या, चवर ढलै लष च्यारि ।
 मेघाडंबर फाबीया, उभा माझी मारि ॥२८॥
 ऊण संग्राम मांडि जग जीत्या, कुसलां घरां पधार्या ।

धणी आपणों राजी कीन्हों, अधिका पटी वधार्या ॥२९॥
 करै अपछरा आरती, बंदै तीनों लोक ।
 मुजरै सकल मेदिनी आई, थिर राष्या सब थोक ॥ २९अ ॥
 दादू दास महौला कारण्य, फागुण मैं दल फेरै ।
 एक मास मुजरौ ले सब कौ, हित कर्या नैं हेरै ॥३०॥
 दादू का दरबार मैं, फालगुण बाड़ी फूली ।
 साधूजन सुमिरण करैं, जाणों सुरग किवाड़ी पुली ॥३१॥
 सुरग दिसा रिधि उतरै, केई भीतरि भर्या भंडारा ।
 मंडल महौछा होइ बहुतेरा, साधु बिलसणहारा ॥३२॥
 कथा कीरतन मंडल महौछा, पंडित पोथी बांचैं ।
 वाजै ताल मृदंग झंझ डफ, आगैं नटवा नाचैं ॥३३॥
 बोलुं तंबु समांनां, बिचि करि महल बिराजै ।
 सागर नीर भर्या मुष आगैं, राग छतीसुं बाजैं ॥३४॥
 जेज्या लम्यौ देहरौ पड़्यौ, भेषन होई भेला ।
 कलिजुग मांहै कला प्रगटी, नगर नराणों मेला ॥३४अ॥
 एकादसी देहरा तीरथ, सब का मूल समाया ।
 दिल भीतरि दरसन करै, गुण गोव्यंद रा गाया ॥३९॥
 का अस्यपती गजपती कहा, सब परथी लागै पाइ ।
 दादू की निंदा करै, सौई रसातलि जाइ ॥४०॥
 षट दरसन अरु च्यारि संप्रदा, मार गए पणि हौता ।
 दादू पंथ लीया पूरबला, दरगह जाइ पहुंचता ॥४१॥
 अमल जमाया आकरा, भारी पीसण पजाया ।
 करता कहै पधारौ दादू, सूबा भला सझाया ॥४२॥
 धू प्रहलाद सुदांमां नांमा, जहां कबीर रैदासा ।
 भगति मौज पाई पट मैं, सुनि सिषर गढ बासा ॥४३॥
 मन सौं मन भारथ करै, तब मन रहै निराट ।
 दिल भीतर दरसन करै, ज्यू काई लगै न काट ॥४४॥
 कै मन भारथ सांभलै, कै गावै चित लाइ ।
 मन भारथ दादू कीया, क्युं आनंद लीया अघाइ ॥ ४५ ॥
 सिध साधिक सुणिज्यौ सबै, मुझि मारु की बांनी ।
 कीरति दादूदास की, गावै संतदास गलतांणीं ॥४६॥
 बांनीं अमृतवेलड़ी, बहुत कीया बिस्तार ।
 कीरति दादूदास की, चढी समंदा पार ॥४७॥

Out of love, let me sing you this ballad: In the city of Kāśī,

Gangāji asked me to set down the essence of Dādū's greatest distinctions. (a')

Dādū rules, strong and gallant,

He's absorbed in repeating the name of Hari, who began and rules the ancient *panth*.

(refrain)

Remote and near, the ultimate *brahman*, the greatest guru, and ultimate *ātma*, Hari's
beyond any difference at all;

Unborn and undivided, he's never taken birth—such is Dādū's God. (b)
 The earth herself had called out to Dādū, 'A burden oppresses the land:
 Sin holds sway all over the world. Get rid of it!' (1)
 In this terrible age, Dādū is Keśav—sent to remove the earth's burden of sin.
 Beating the Name's kettledrum, he forces sin to flee in retreat. (2)
 Why should one search around here and there: a heroic servant needs no religious
 trappings.
 The people among whom Dādū shines are fully engrossed in their worship. (3)
 The mystery of bhakti practice he also imparted to others:
 'Sants, take up the weapon of remembering the Lord: that way, Death can't slay
 you!'(3a)
 He undid the difference between Hindus and Muslims, for both of whom he
 launched the *panth*,
 And he did not believe in the world: such was our Svāmī, at one with the highest
 truth. (4)²
 At the popular ghats he did not worship, nor did he bow to stones.
 Instead, he sang the praise of Nirañjana, formless and immaculate. (7)
 He stayed away from the avatars, while knowing the Veda's mysteries.
 Thus able to quash all errors, the Svāmī refuted falsehoods. (8)
 His disciples formed many branches and his followers were vast; nobody flaunted
 religious emblems.
 Taking up the sword of truth, that warrior brought down Hindu-Muslim
 difference. (9)
 Rosaries, earrings, matted locks and ochre robes: What's the point of all these?
 The one who remembers the Lord is dear to God. (10)
 Why consult qazis or pandits, how can astrologers help?
 The actor can act only through action, and whatever's to happen will be. (11)
 Let the righteous be as righteous as they like, but no one is successful without action.
 Rām is happy with those who take action, while singing the Unseeable One's
 glory. (12)
 Dādū took his human form in Ahmedabad —something all Hindus and Muslims
 know.
 He granted the emperor a vision, and later on settled in Naraina. (13)
 A ship was about to sink and Dādū pulled it from the water; he then spread his hand
 benignly over it.
 He taught a qazi in Sambhar a lesson, changing a document's letters. (14/15)
 Taking on seven bodies, he graced seven feasts at once, making all his followers
 happy.
 His followers said, 'Our Svāmī's been merciful, we're blessed that we saw this.' (16)

A mad elephant proceeded toward Dādū in Khatu, then lowered his head before him,

And made homage with his trunk; we're blessed by the sight of him. (17)

In east, west, north and south, in all four directions and assembly halls everywhere, The forces of karma trembled, for Svāmī Dādū's horsemen had arrived. (18)

Equipped with the Name's kettledrum, Dādū put on the armour of love.

Beating the drum, he strode forth; and drawing his sword, he fought skilfully. (19)

He was neatly fit out with a helmet of virtue and discipline's harness.

Wielding the sword of remembrance, he made the House of Death despondent. (20)

Loud shouting and noise abounded; the drum was beaten among the troops.

Dādū strode forth to crush Death's messengers, deftly repelling the enemy. (21)

The hero's crown adorned his head, and with him were warriors staking their lives,

The one who had died to the world has brought his army of yogis to beat King

Death. (21 a)

Heroes like Rajab fought at the front of the very first line of battle.

In the disciples' branch, fifty-two stalwart fighters stood out, leading who knows how many more warrior armies. (22)

Excellent horses were frenzied, their hoofs kicking at heads.

Mighty elephants collapsed, steeped in blood, the forces of the enemy crushed. (23)

Countless troops were moving ahead, while the whole earth rang with the sound within.

The heroes rode their horses at full gallop, and in the front line stood Dādū. (24)

They all marched forth, each bolder than the next, together with the Supreme.

Dādū stood in the very first line and won the battle ground. (25)

The forces fought on every side, and he stood like a column among them.

Against great kings, he fought the epic war, his attention turned to God. (26)

Auspicious music resounded in heaven, the soldiers were ready to fight,

In the front line of battle soldiers fought and died, doing their master's work. (27)

Sitting in elephants' howdahs, they waved four *lakhs* of flywhisks.

They had engaged in battle from howdahs, canopied and decorated. (28)

Fighting this battle, they conquered the world, entering mansions of well-being.

They made their Master happy, and he gave them wonderful grants. (29)

Apsaras³ wave lights to honour them, and to them the three worlds bow.

All earth has come forth to pay homage: and every honour, they've received. (29a)

In the month of Phālgun, Dādū Dās directs his troops home for a festival.

For a month he receives the homage of everyone, looking after them with loving care. (30)

In Dādū's court, Phālgun is when the garden blossoms:

The monks are absorbed in remembering God's name, and it seems like the doors of heaven have opened. (31)

Inner wealth falls from the heavens, filling up countless storerooms within.

To entertain the monks, people organize different festivities: (32)

A festival of sermons and of groups singing praise, pandits reciting from books,
Handbells, mridangas, cymbals and tambourines—all these resound, with dancers
performing in front of them. (33)

Tents are pitched everywhere, and a temple shines forth in their midst.

In front of the temple's a lake filled with water: the thirty-six *rāgas* are played. (34)

A tax was levied and a temple came up, in a place where the monks wearing robes
get together.

In this sorry age, art comes to life at Naraina's religious fair. (34a)

Pilgrimage, temples, Ekādaśī-vows,⁴—someone absorbed in the root of all of these
Sees Govinda in his heart and sings his glory. (39)

What's a great commander, and what is a prince—when all the earth bows before
Dādū.

If someone slanders Dādū, he will go to hell. (40)

The Dādūpanth, true to its promise, defeated the six views and four *sampradāyas*,⁵

It thus fulfilled its destiny, gaining access to the court of the Lord. (41)

Because he had served without flinching and repelled a strong enemy,

The Creator said, 'Come, Dādū, you've been graced with an excellent land, (42)

Where Dhruv, Prahlād, Sudāmā, Kabīr, Nāmā, and Raidās

Were given the bliss of bhakti as their reward: a dwelling in the fortress on the peak
of the void.' (43)

Fight the mental Mahābhārata⁶ against your own mind, and your mind will be set
free,

Nothing can harm anyone who sees within their heart. (44)

Pursuing the mental Mahābhārata and engrossed in praise of the Name,

Dādū fought the mental war; his appetite for bliss was never fully satisfied. (45)

Perfected ones and seekers, all of you listen to these verses of Mārū:

Santdās Galtānī sings the praise of Dādū Dās. (46)

I've been very thorough in this composition, a creeper of immortality,

The praise of Dādū Dās reaches the farthest shore of life's ocean. (47)

¹) Verses added in a manuscript are marked by small letters of the alphabet, and so are verses unnumbered in a manuscript. — ²) Stanzas 5, 6, and 35–8 do not exist. This seems to be merely a mistake in numbering. — ³) Heavenly dancing-girls (myth.). — ⁴) Ekādaśī is the eleventh day of the half of the lunar month. This is observed by certain vows. — ⁵) The four established Vaishnava orders, who observed iconic worship. — ⁶) The war in which the eponymous epic culminates.

Sundardās

61. *Sākhī* from ‘Chapter of the Evaluation of Speech’

रचना करी अनेक बिधि भलौ बनायो धाम ।

सुन्दर मूरति बाहरी, देवल कौने काम ॥

Literature can be composed in many ways, like building an elegant dwelling,
But what is the use of a temple, says Sundar, if that houses no sacred image?

62. *Savaiyā* from ‘Chapter of the Divine Guru’

Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716663>



Ill. 19: Nirbhaynathji (1947—) at his ashram in Sesli, Pali District;
performance of texts 62 and 63 in reverse order. © D. Rajpurohit 2021.

मौज करी गुरुदेव दया करि शब्द सुनाइ कह्यौ हरि नेरौ ।
ज्यौं रवि कै प्रगट्ये निशि जात सु दूर कियौ भ्रम भानि अंधेरौ ।

काइक बाइक मानस हू करि है गुरुदेव हि बंदन मेरौ,
सुन्दरदास कहै कर जोरि जु दादूदयाल कौ हूं नित चेरौ ॥१॥

In his mercy the guru brought me delight: he made Hari's Name resound within me.
Like the night disappearing at sunrise, delusion's darkness faded away.
I worship my blessed Guru with my body, speech and mind.
Joining his hands in reverence, Sundardās says, 'I'm a servant of Dādū Dayāl forever.'

63. *Savaiyā* from 'Chapter of Reminder of Mortality'

ये मेरे देश बिलाइति हैं गज ये मेरे मंदिर या मेरी थाती ।
ये मेरे मात पिता पुनि बंधव ये मेरे पूत सु ये मेरे नाती ॥
ये मेरि कामिनी केलि करै नित ये मेरे सेवक हैं दिन राती ।
सुन्दर वैसैहिं छाडि गयौ सब तेल जयौ रु बुझी जब बाती ॥

Here are my territories, here are my elephants, and all this is my property,
Here are my parents, here are my brothers, and these are my sons and my grandsons.
Here are my women, always there to amuse me, and here are my servants, at hand
day and night.
They've simply abandoned you now, says Sundar—like a wick run out of oil, you've
been extinguished.

64. *Savaiyā* from 'Chapter of Opposites'

बैल उलटि नायक कौं लाद्यौ बस्तु मांहि भरि गौनि अपार ।
भली भांति कौ सौदा कियौ आइ दिसंतर या संसार ॥
नाइकनी पुनि हरषत डोलै मोहि मिल्यौ नीकौ भरतार ।
पूंजी जाइ साह कौं सौपी सुन्दर सरतैं उतर्या भार ॥

Reversing roles, the bullock packed the trader up—with endless loads of
unessentials heaped atop the real thing,
He came into this world, a foreign place, and his trade went briskly.
The trader's wife was overjoyed with her able husband.
Handing over his capital to the merchant-banker, Sundar's head was finally relieved
from its burden.

65. *Savaiyā* from 'Chapter of Opposites'

बनिक एक बनिजी कौं आयौ परैं तावरा भारी भैठि ।
भली बस्तु कछु लीनी दीनी बैचि गठिरिया बांधी ऐंठि ॥
सौदा कियौ चलयौ पुनि घर कौं लेषा कियौ बरीतर बैठि ।
सुन्दर साह षुसी अति हूवा बैल गया पूंजी मैं पैठि ॥

A merchant came for trade in fierce and scorching heat; bartering for some good stuff, he knotted it all in a pile and strapped it up firmly.

The trade accomplished, he went home again; seated under a banyan tree he drew up his accounts.

Sundar's merchant-banker was greatly pleased with these, for the bullock had been balanced by the capital.

66. *Kavitt* from 'Chapter of the Discrimination of the Types of Speech'

एक बांणी रूपवंत भूषन बसन अंग, अधिक बिराजमान कहियत ऐसी है ।
 एक बांणी फाटे टूटे अंबर उढ़ाये आनि, ताहू मांहि बिपरीति सुनियत तैसी है ।
 एक बांणी मृतकहि बहुत सिंगार किये, लोकनि कौ नीकी लगै संतनि को भै सी है ।
 सुन्दर कहत बांणी त्रिबिध जगत मांहि, जानै कोऊ चतुर प्रबीन जाकै जैसी है ॥

One kind of poetic speech is like a woman with beautiful clothes and pretty adornments: she's described as lustrously shining.

Another type's like a woman whose clothes are torn and tattered: listening to her poetic speech is repellent.

The third type is simply dead, like a woman smothered by too many ornaments: although she may appeal to some, Sants stay away from her.

Three types of poetic speech exist in the world, says Sundar, but distinguishing one from another needs cleverness and skill.

67. *Kavitt* from 'Chapter of the Discrimination of the Types of Speech'

बोलिये तौ तब जब बोलिबे की सुधि होइ, न तौ मुष मौन करि चुप होइ रहिये ।
 जोरिये ऊ तब जब जोरिबौ ऊ जानि परै, तुक छंद अरथ अनूप जामै लहिये ।
 गाइये ऊ तब जब गाइबे कौ कंठ होइ, श्रवण के सुनत ही मन जाइ गहिये ।
 तुकभंग छंदभंग अरथ न मिले कछु, सुन्दर कहत ऐसी बांणी नहिं कहिये ॥

Speak only if you know how to speak, otherwise keep your mouth closed and stay silent.

Compose poetry just if you know how to do so, with rhyme, metre and meaning that can't be matched.

Sing only if you've a fine singing voice, so that listening to it enraptures the heart.

Poetic speech that's meaningless, with broken rhyme or metre—this, says Sundar, should never be voiced!

68. *Kuṇḍaliyā* from 'Chapter of Slander of Women'

रसिक प्रिया रस मंजरी और सिंगारहि जानि ।
 चतुराई करि बहुत बिधि विषै बनाई आनि ।
 विषै बनाई आनि लगत विषयिन कौ प्यारी ।
 जागै मदन प्रचण्ड सराहैं नष शिष नारी ।
 ज्यौं रोगी मिष्ठान षाइ रोगहि बिस्तारै ।
 सुन्दर यह गति होइ जुतौ रसिक प्रिया धारै ॥

Rasikapriyā, Rasmañjarī, Śringār. informed by these books' ideas, clever writers show women in ways that please the senses.

Shown in ways pleasing the senses, a woman appeals to lecherous men.

Praising a woman's body from head to toe gives rise to the strongest desires.

Like a patient making his illness worse by eating heavy sweets,

Such are those lecherous people, says Sundar, engaging with *Rasikapriyā*.

69. *Chappay*

नष शिष शुद्ध कवित्त पढ़त अति नीकौ लग्गै ।
 अंग हीन जो पढ़ै सुनत कविजन उठि भग्गै ॥
 अक्षर घटि बढि होइ षुड़ावत नर ज्यौं चल्लै ।
 मात घटै बढि कोइ मनौ मतवारौ हल्लै ॥
 औढेर काण सो तुक अमिल, अर्थहीन अंधो यथा ।
 कहि सुन्दर हरिजस जीव है, हरिजस बिन मृत कहि तथा ॥

Reading poetry flawless from head to toe is really very nice.

If someone reads verses without enough limbs, though, poets take to flight.

If syllables are too many or missing, poetry limps like a lame man.

With too few or many morae, it staggers like a drunkard.

If the rhymes don't match, it's like a crooked person with only one eye; it's like a blind man when it's meaningless.

Says Sundar: The life of a poem's the praise of Hari; without the praise of Hari it's dead.

70. *Pad* (*rāg* Āsāvārī)

Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716665>



Ill. 20: Svami Lakshmandasji (ca. 1930–?) of the Udaipur Jamāt in Udaipurvati, Jhunjhunu District at performance in 2004. © IGNCA and South Asia Institute.

कोई पिवै राम रस प्यासा रे ।
 गगन मंडल मैं अमृत सरवै उनमनि कै घर बासा रे ॥टेक॥
 सीस उतारि धरै धरती पर करै न तन की आसा रे ।
 ऐसा महिंगा अमी बिकावै छह रिति बारह मासा रे ॥१॥
 मोल करै सो छकै दूर तैं तोलत छूटै बासा रे ।
 जो पीवै सो जुग जुग जीवै कबहुं न होइ बिनासा रे ॥२॥
 या रस काजि भये नृप जोगी छाडै भोग बिलासा रे ।
 सेज सिंघासन बैठै रहते भस्म लगाइ उदासा रे ॥३॥
 गोरषनाथ भरथरी रसिया सोई कबीर अभ्यासा रे ।
 गुरु दादू परसाद कछूइक पायौ सुन्दरदास रे ॥४॥

Many thirst for Rām's elixir, but only the rare person drinks it.

That nectar flows in the heavens, where he dwells in a house beyond the mind.
 (refrain)

Cutting off his head, he puts it on the earth and expects not a thing from his body,
 The nectar is always very expensive, throughout the six seasons and twelve
 months. (1)

Someone who prices it gets fulfilled, even from far away; because he holds it dear,
 he no longer lives in this world.

Any who drink it live through all the ages: they'll never be destroyed. (2)

For this elixir, kings have turned into yogis, giving up all their worldly pleasures,

Once sitting on cushioned thrones, they smeared their bodies with ashes and renounced. (3)

The nectar was prized by Bhartṛhari and Gorakhnāth, while Kabīr brought it into action.

And Sundardās was given just a little bit, through the grace of Guru Dādū. (4)

71. Pad (rāg Sāraṅg)

पहली हम होते छोहरा ।
 कौड़ी बेच पेट निठि भरते अबतौ हूए बोहरा ॥ टेक ॥
 दे इकोतरासई सबनि कौं ताही तैं भये सोहरा ।
 ऊंचौ महल रच्यौ अबिनाशी तज्यौ परायौ नौहरा ॥१॥
 हीरा लाल जवाहिर घर में मानिक मोती चौहरा ।
 कौन बात की कमी हमारै भरि भरि राषै भौहरा ॥२॥
 आगै बिपति सही बहुतेरी वै दिन काटे दोहरा ।
 सुन्दरदास आस सब पूगी मिलियौ राम मनोहरा ॥३॥

Earlier I was simple boy,

Making just a penny, I barely fed myself, while now I am a moneylender¹. (refrain)

Lending at one per cent to all, I flourished,

I left others' backyards and built a grand mansion, imposing and imperishable. (1)

I've got diamond and ruby jewelry at home, and four-stringed necklaces of rubies and pearls.

I lack nothing at all, and my cellar's completely full. (2)

Before, I endured many troubles and faced hard times,

After he met the enticing Rām, Sundardās's hopes were all fulfilled. (3)

¹ *Boharās* in Sundardās's time were generally Muslim money-lenders and merchants of Gujarat.

72. Pad (rāg Sāraṅg)

पहली हम होते छोकरा ।
 ब्रह्म विचार बनिज हम कीयौ ताही तैं भये डोकरा ॥ टेक ॥
 भली बस्तु संचय करि राषी लेनें आवै लोकरा ।
 यह उधारि कौं सौदा नाहीं दीजे लीजे रोकरा ॥१॥
 जो कोइ गाहक लेत प्यार सौं ताकौ भागै सोकरा ।
 सुन्दर बस्तु सत्य यह यौही और बात सब फोकरा ॥२॥

Earlier I was a simple boy,

I then made my trade reflecting on the Self and grew into a wise elder.

I've collected a wonderful thing that people come to buy from me.

Our business cannot be done on loan, you need to pay all up front.

If a customer draws on love for his purchase, he gets rid of his sorrows.

The thing that I sell is the truth alone, says Sundar, everything else is trash.

73. *Pad (rāg Sorath)*

हमारै साहु रमइया मौटा, हम ताके आहि बनौटा ॥टेक ॥
 यह हाट दई जिनि काया, अपना करि जानि बैठाया ।
 पूंजी कौ अंत न पारा, हम बहुत करी भंडसारा ॥१ ॥
 लई बस्तु अमोलक सारी, सब छाड़ि बिषै षलि षारी ।
 भरि राष्यौ सबही भौना, कोई षाली रह्यौ न कौना ॥२ ॥
 जो गाहक लेनै आवै, मन मान्यौ सौदा पावै ।
 देषै भांति किरांन, उठि जाइ न और दुकांन ॥३ ॥
 सम्रथ की कोठी आये, तब कोठीवाल कहाये ।
 बनिजै हरि नांव निवासा, यह बनिया सुन्दरदासा ॥४ ॥

My merchant-banker Rām's a tycoon, I'm his petty grocer. (refrain)

He gave me this body—a market stall—and made me his own, settling me in.

My capital knows no end or limit, though I've worked a lot in the black market. (1)

But once I bought the priceless essential thing, I rejected pleasure's bitter oil-cakes.

My storeroom is all filled up—not a corner left empty. (2)

If a customer comes to buy, he'll get just what he wants.

Seeing all the different wares, he never goes to any other shop. (3)

Those who come to the Mighty One's storehouse, are called big moneylenders.

The one who trades in Hari's name at home, is the merchant Sundardās! (4)

74. *Pad (rāg Sorath)*

देषहु साह रमइया ऐसा, सो रहै अपरछन बैसा ॥टेक ॥
 यहु हाट कियौ संसारा, तामैं बिबिध भांति ब्यौपारा ।
 सब जीव सौदागर आया, जिनि बनज्या तैसा पाया ॥१ ॥
 किनहूं बनिजी षलि षारी, किनहूं लइ लौंग सुपारी ।
 किनहूं लिये मूंगा मोती, किनहूं लइ काच की पोती ॥२ ॥
 किनहूं लइ औषध मूरी, किनहूं केसर कस्तूरी ।
 किनहूं लियौ बहुत अनाजा, किनहूं लियौ ल्हसण प्याजा ॥३ ॥
 संतनि लीयौ हरि हीरा, तिनस्यौं कीयौ हम सीरा ।
 दुष दालिद्र निकट न आवै, यौ सुन्दर बनिया गावै ॥४ ॥

See what kind of merchant-banker Ramaiyā is, he is not hidden. (refrain)

He made the world a fleeting market, with all kinds of trade in it.

All souls joined it as traders, they earned on what they sold. (1)

Some bought bitter oil-cakes; some, cloves and betel-nuts.

Some bought gems and pearls, some bought glass beads. (2)

Some bought medicine and herbs, some, saffron and musk.

Some bought a lot of grain; some, just garlic and onions. (3)

The Sants purchased the Hari diamond, only with them do I mix.

Sorrow and poverty don't come near them, so sings the merchant Sundar. (4)

75. *Āratī*

आरती परब्रह्म की कीजै ।
 और ठौर मेरौ मन न पतीजै ॥ टेक ॥
 गगन मंडल मैं आरती साजी, शब्द अनाहद झालरि बाजी ॥१॥
 दीपक ज्ञान भया प्रकासा, सेवग ठाडे स्वामी पासा ॥२॥
 अति उछाह अति मंगलचारा, अति सुष बिलसै बारम्बारा ॥३॥
 सुन्दर आरती सुन्दर देवा, सुन्दरदास करै तहाँ सेवा ॥४॥

Let me offer the *āratī* to the Supreme Self,

My mind has no trust in any other place. (refrain)

In the circle of the heavens the *āratī*'s prepared, the unstruck-sound cymbals are played. (1)

Wisdom's lamp is lit, and the servants stand waiting upon the Lord. (2)

Auspicious songs are sung with great gusto, as someone revels in bliss without end. (3)

(Variant 1) Sundar is the *āratī*, Sundar is the god, to whom Sundardās pays service.¹ (4)

(Variant 2) Beautiful is the *āratī*, beautiful the god, to whom the servant of the Beautiful pays service.² (4)

¹) This is based on the ritual principle of *nyāsa*, 'depositing', by which the worshipper places the deity in his own body, that is, becomes the deity himself, and in this condition worships the deity, thus himself. — ²) God the Beautiful is a typically Muslim topic. The poet speaks of the various aspects of beauty partaking of each other.

76. अजब प्याल अष्टक – Octave of Amazement

दोहा

सिजदा सिरजनहार कौं, मुरसिद कौं ताजीम ।
 सुन्दर तालिब करत है, बन्दौं कौ तसलीम ॥१॥
 सुन्दर इस औजूद मौं, अजब चीज है वाद ।
 तब पावै इस भेद कौं, पूब मिलै उस्ताद ॥२॥

गीतक

उस्ताद सिर पर चुस्त दम कर, इश्क अल्लह लाइये ।
 गुजरान उसकी बंदगी मौं, इश्क बिन क्यों पाइये ॥
 यह दिल फकीरी दस्तगीरी, गस्त गुंज सिनाल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर, अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥१॥

दोहा

सुन्दर रत्त एक सौं, दिल मौं दूजा नेश ।
 इश्क महब्बति बन्दगी, सो कहिये दुरवेश ॥३॥

छन्द

दुरवेश दर की षबर जानै दूर दिल की काफिरी ।

दर दरदबन्द षरा दरूनै उसी बीच मुसाफिरी ॥
 है बेतमा इसमाइ हर्दमपाक दिल दर हाल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥२ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर सीनै बीच है, बन्दे का चौगांन ।
 पहुंचावै उस हाल कौं, इहै गोइ मैदान ॥४ ॥

छन्द

काब्दस्त इस मैदान में चौगांन षेलै षूब है ।
 असवार ऐसा तुरी वैसा प्यार उस महबूब है ॥
 इस गोइ कौं लै जाइ कै पहुंचाइ दे उस हाल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥३ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर उसका नांव ले एक उसी की चाह ।
 रब्बु रहीम करीम वह वह कहिये अल्लाह ॥५ ॥

गीतक

अल्लाह षुदाइ करीम कादिर पाक प्रवर्दिगार है ।
 सुबिहान तूं सत्तार साहिब साफ सिरजनहार है ॥
 मुस्ताक तेरे नांव ऊपर षूब षूबां लाल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥४ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर इस औजूद मौं, इश्क लगाई ऊक ।
 आशिक ठण्डा होइ तब, आइ मिलै माशूक ॥६ ॥

छन्द

माशूक मौला हक्क ताला तूं जिमी असमान मौं ।
 है आब आतश बाद म्यानै षबरदार जिहान मौं ॥
 मालिक मलूक मालूम जिस कौं दुरस दिल हर साल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥५ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर जो गाफिल हुवा, तौ वह सांई दूर ।
 जो बन्दा हाजिर हुवा, तौ हाजरां हजूर ॥७ ॥

छन्द

हाजर हजूर कहैं गुसैया गाफिलों कौं दूर है ।
 निरसंध इकलस आप वोही तालिबां भरपूर है ॥
 बारीक सौं बारीक कहिये बड़ौं बड़ा बिसाल है ।
 यौ कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥६ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर सांई हक्क है, जहां तहां भरपूर ।
 एक उसी के नूर सौं, दीसै सारे नूर ॥८ ॥

छन्द

उस नूर तैं सब नूर दीसै तेज तैं सब तेज हैं ।

उस जोति सौं सब जोति चमकै हेज सौं सब हेज हैं ॥
 आप्ताब अरु महताब तारे हुकम उसके चाल है ।
 यौं कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥७ ॥

दोहा

सुन्दर आलिम इलम सब, षूब पढ्या आंषुन ।
 परि उस कौं क्यौं कहि सकै, जो कहिये बेच्यून ॥९ ॥

छन्द

बेच्यून उसकौं कहत बुजरग बेनिमून उसै कहैं ।
 अरु औलिया अंबिया वैभी गोस कुतब षड़ै रहैं ॥
 को कहि सकै न कह्या न किनहूं सषुन परै निराल है ।
 यौं कहत सुन्दर कब्ज दुन्दर अजब ऐसा प्याल है ॥८ ॥

दोहा

प्याल अजब उस एक का, सुन्दर कह्या न जै ।
 सषुन तहां पहुचै नहीं, थक्या उरै ही आइ ॥१० ॥

Dobā:

Sundar falls at the Creator's feet and pays reverence to the master,

He bows as well to the servants of God. (1)

Sundar speaks of something amazing within the body.

To penetrate this mystery, you need a true master. (2)

Gītaka:

When you offer yourself to your master and discipline your breath, you'll bring forth
 the love of Allah.

Without love, how can you reach the state of a servant?

The heart's faqir will support you: a spear that pierces conceit.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (1)

Dobā:

When you're in love with Him alone, says Sundar,¹ anything else in the heart is
 destroyed.

Someone with love, compassion, and humbleness is called a dervish. (3)

Chand:

A dervish knows how to reach the door, unbelief is far from his heart.

He suffers pain but is pure inside, and there alone makes his journey.

Free of greed, he utters God's name; his heart remains pure with every breath.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (4)

Dobā:

The polo ground of the servant, says Sunder, is inside the heart,

Driving the ball on that field, he comes to a state of ecstasy. (4)

Chand:

Firmly gripping the mallet, he does well in the polo game on the field.

In love with the Beloved, with a horse as fine as the horseman himself,

He takes the ball, drives it into the goal, and enters that ecstatic state.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (3)

Dohā:

Utter His name, says Sundar, desire only Him.

The Lord, the Compassionate, the Noble, He is the One called Allah. (5)

Gītaka:

You are Allah, God, the Noble, the Forceful, the Pure, and the Nourisher.

Praise be to You—the Concealer, the Lord, the Pure, and Creator.

Most Beloved of the Beloved, I long for your name.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (4)

Dohā:

Inside this body, says Sundar, burns the fire of love.

When the lover is burnt down, he joins the Beloved. (6)

Chand:

Beloved Lord, praise be to the Holy Truth. You are on earth and in heaven.

You're water, fire, the wind within, you watch over the world.

King of Kings, You know the ones whose hearts are always pure.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (5)

Dohā:

Says Sundar, the lazy are far from the Lord.

The servant who's there for Him is present in His Presence. (7)

Chand:

Someone present in His Presence is called a Gusāim, who keeps away from the
careless.

Seamlessly one and the same, it is only He who pervades His disciples.

He's called finer than fine—in his vastness, greater than the greatest.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (6)

Dohā:

The Lord's the Divine Truth, says Sundar, He pervades the whole world.

Only by His light are all other lights visible. (8)

Chand:

By His light all lights are visible, all brightness comes from His.

And every flame comes from His flame; from His love, all love comes.

The sun, moon, and stars all move on His command.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (7)

Dohā:

The wise have long studied all sacred wisdom with care, says Sundar,

But how can they truly speak of that One who is called the Matchless? (9)

Chand:

They call Him matchless and great—incomparable they call Him,
Saints and even prophets, sacred scriptures and holy men— all stand before Him.
No one can speak of Him, and there are no words for Him at all. He's beyond and
distinct from everything.

Sundar proclaims: When duality's tamed, that's amazement! (8)

Dohā:

Amazement at the One, says Sundar, cannot be described.

Words do not reach Him, but come right back here, exhausted. (10)

¹⁾ As in the previous text, the word 'Sundar' in the *dohās* refers to the author and in all likeliness is associated with the idea of God the Beautiful.

77. पीर मुरीद अष्टक — Octave of Master and Disciple

दोहा

सुन्दर षोजत षोजते पाया मुरसिद पीर ।
कदम जाइ उसके गहे देख्या अति गम्भीर ॥१॥

चामर

औवलि कदम उस्ताद के मैं गहे दोऊ दस्त ।
उनि मिहर मुझ पर करी ऐसा ह्वै गया मैं मस्त ॥
जब सपुन करि मुझ कौं कह्या तू बन्दिगी करि पूब ।
इस राह सीधा जाइगा तब मिलैगा महबूब ॥१॥
अब उठि अरज उस्ताद सौं मैं करी ऐसी रौस ।
तुम मिहर मुझ पर करौ मुरसिद मैं तुम्हारी कौस ॥
वह बन्दिगी किस रौस करिये मुझै देहु बताइ ।
वह राह सीधा कौन है जिस राह बन्दा जाइ ॥२॥
तब कहै पीर मुरीद सौं तूं हिरसरा बुगुजार ।
यह बन्दिगी तब होइगी इस नप्स कौं गहि मार ॥
भी दुई दिल तैं दूर करिये और कुछ न चाह ।
यह राह तेरा तुझी भीतर चल्या तूं हीं जाइ ॥३॥
तब फिरि कह्या उस्ताद सौं मैं राह यह बारीक ।
क्यौं चलै बन्दा बिगरि देखैं सबौं सौं फारीक ॥
अब मिहिरि करि उस राह कौं दिषलाइ दीजै पीर ।
मुझ तलब है उस राह की ज्यौं पिवै प्यासा नीर ॥४॥
तब कहै पीर मुरीद सेती बन्दिगी है यह ।
इस राह पहुंचै चुस्तदम करि नांव उसका लेह ॥
तूं नांव उसका लेहगा तब जाइगा उस ठौर ।
जहां अरस ऊपर आप बैठा दूसरा नहिं और ॥५॥
तब कहै तालिब सुनौं मुरसिद जहां बैठा आप ।
वह होइ जैसा कहौ तैसा जिसै माइ न बाप ॥

बैठा उठा कहिये तिसै औजूद जिसके होइ ।
 बेचूँन उस कौ कहत हैं अरु बेनिमूनै सोइ ॥६ ॥
 जब कह्या तालिब सषुन ऐसा पीर पकरी मौन ।
 कौ कहेगा न कह्या न किनहूँ अब कहै कहि कौन ॥
 तब देषि बोर मुरीद की उन पीर मूँदे नैन ।
 जौ शूब तालिब होइगा तौ समझि लेगा सैन ॥७ ॥
 हैरान है हैरान है हैरान निकट न दूर ।
 भी सषुन क्यों करि कहै तिस कौँ सकल है भरपूर ॥
 सम्बाद पीर मुरीद का यह भेद पावै कोइ ।
 जो कहै सुन्दर सुनै सुन्दर उही सुन्दर होइ ॥८ ॥

Dohā:

Searching and searching, Sundar finally found his master,
 I went and clasped his feet, and saw something very profound. (1)

Cāmara:

First, with both my hands I pressed my master's feet,
 He showed kindness to me, which left me drunk with love,
 When at last he spoke to me, he said 'Practice intense obedience!
 If you take this straight path, you'll find the Beloved.' (1)
 Then I stood up and questioned the master like this:
 'Be kind to me, Master, I am your bow.'¹
 Tell me, please, how should I practice obedience?
 What's that straight path on which the servant walks?' (2)
 Then the master told the disciple: 'Let go of all desire!
 Obedience comes when your lower self's under control.
 Keep duality, too, away from your heart: let no wish remain,
 This is your path, you must walk it within, all alone.' (3)
 Again I asked the master: 'This path is subtle:
 If the disciple is cut off from all and can't see ahead, how can he walk it?
 Master, be kind and show me that path now.
 I long for that path like a thirsty man longs for water.' (4)
 At this the master told the disciple: 'This is obedience:
 You'll get to that path by controlling your breath and taking His name.
 If you keep remembering His name, you'll reach the place
 Where He himself sits on the throne, where no one else exists.'² (5)
 Then the disciple said: 'Master, listen—where He himself sits,
 That one without mother or father, tell me, please, what is he like?
 Only someone with a body can be said to sit or stand up.
 They say he's unmatched and like nothing else.' (6)
 When the disciple had spoken, the master fell silent.
 No one will ever or was ever told this, so what can someone say now?

The master looked deeply at his disciple and then closed his eyes.

A good disciple will understand this sign. (7)

A wonder, and a wonder, and a wonder! He is neither near nor far.

And how can one speak of the One who pervades all?

This dialogue of master and disciple—few will grasp its secret!

He who speaks is the Beautiful (Sundar), he who listens is the Beautiful, he alone becomes the Beautiful. (8)

¹⁾ The disciple is the bow operated by the master at will to bring about his enlightenment. Maybe the bow is also associated with God being just away two bow-widths from the devotee, for which see Quran 59.9. — ²⁾ This refers to the 'throne verse', *āyat al-kursī* (Quran 2.255). See p. 76.

78. गुरु उपदेश ज्ञान अष्टक¹ — Octave of the Wisdom Imparted by the Guru's Teaching

Link: <https://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/#/detail/1716652>

(The recording starts at 00:04:04.)

उपदेश श्रवन सुनाइ अद्भुत हृदय ज्ञान प्रकाशियौ ।
 चिरकाल कौ अज्ञान पूरन सकल भ्रम तम नाशियौ ।
 आनंददायक पुनि सहायक करत जन निःकाम हैं ॥
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध सदुरु ताहि मोर प्रनाम हैं ॥१ ॥
 जिनि बचन बान लगाइ उर मैं मृतक फेरि जिवाइया ।
 मुष द्वार होइ उचार करि निज सार अमृत पिवाइया ॥
 अत्यन्त करि आनन्द मैं हम रहत आठौं जाम हैं ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥२ ॥
 जो आइ सरनैं होइ प्रापति ताप तिन की हरैं ।
 पुनि फेरि बदलैं घाट उनकौ जीवतैं ब्रह्महिं करैं ॥
 कछु ऊंच नीच न दृष्टि जिनकै सकल कौ विश्राम है ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥३ ॥
 संसार सागर महा दुस्तर ताहि कहि अब कौ तरैं ।
 जो कोटि साधन करै कोऊ वृथा ही पचि पचि मरैं ॥
 जिनि बिना परिश्रम पार कीये प्रगट सुष के धाम हैं ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥४ ॥
 यह स्वप्न तुल्य दिषाइये जे स्वर्ग नरक उभै कहैं ।
 सुष दुःष हर्ष विषाद पुनि मानापमान सबै गहैं ॥
 जिनि जाति कुल अरु बर्ण आश्रम कहे मिथ्या नाम हैं ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥५ ॥
 उपज्यौ प्रपंच अनादि कौ यह महामाया विस्तरी ।
 नानात्व है करि जगत भास्यौ बुद्धि सबहिन की हरी ॥
 जिनि भ्रम मिटाइ दिषाइ दीनौ सर्व व्यापक राम है ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥६ ॥

रज्जु मांहीं जैसें सर्प भासै सीप मैं रुपौ यथा ।
 मृगतृष्णिका जल बुद्धि दीषै विश्व मिथ्या है तथा ॥
 जिनि लह्यौ ब्रह्म अपंड पद अद्वैत सबही ठाम है ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥७ ॥
 जौ पढै नित प्रति ज्ञान अष्टक मुक्त होइ सु सहज ही ।
 संशय न कोऊ रहै ताकै दास सुन्दर यह कही ॥
 जिनि ह्वै कृपाल अनेक तारे सकल विधि उद्दाम है ।
 दादू दयाल प्रसिद्ध... ॥८ ॥

¹⁾ This octave forms part of the Dādūpanthī liturgy. The full text is a sequence of *dohā* with *gītaka* verses. In the liturgy, only the *gītaka* verses are chanted. The *dohās* have therefore been skipped.

He kindled amazing wisdom in the hearts of all who heard his teaching,
 Completely destroying ages of ignorance and the darkness of all error.
 Offering bliss and support, he frees his servants from desire,
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (1)
 When his speech's arrow strikes someone's heart, that person will die—but he
 revives them.
 His essence flows from his mouth when he speaks, and all may drink of that
 deathless nectar.
 We live in the endless bliss that he gives us, day and night.
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (2)
 He removes all the suffering from those taking refuge with him.
 He turns them around and leads them, while living, to the Supreme Self.
 Someone who sees none as high or low brings rest to all.
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (3)
 The ocean of being, so hard to traverse—how can we cross it this time around?
 Trying so many approaches in vain, so many people fail and die.
 He, though, can take you across with ease—he, the abode of happiness.
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (4)
 What's called heaven and hell, he revealed as a dream.
 So, too, our feelings of sorrow and happiness, sadness and joy, disdain and
 respect—
 While all that's called clan and descent, life-stage and caste, turn out to be false ideas.
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (5)
 The world sprang up from what has no beginning and spread as the great illusion.
 It also appears in many forms, making everyone lose their reason.
 The one who wiped out error then showed us Rām pervading all.
 To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (6)
 As a snake may be seen as a rope and an oyster shell taken for silver,
 As a mirage just appears to be water—so the whole world is false.

To the one who's reached the state of the undivided non-dual Self, present everywhere,

To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (7)

Someone reciting this Octave of Wisdom all of the time will be easily freed:

No doubt will remain in him—this his servant Sundar proclaims!

The one through whose mercy many were saved, who is free in every way,

To Dādū Dayāl, the famous True Guru, I bow. (8)

79. गजल (Gazal)

दूहा

सतगुर पाव परत हूं, मोह बतावो पंथ ।

तासुं सुंदर कहत है, रुच के उदबुद ग्रंथ ॥१॥

परआतम सुत आतमा, आतम सुत मन ।

मन के पांचै पुत्र हैं, पंचे भये कपुत्र ॥२॥

या सुन मन में भोभई, केहने' लागी औह ।

रे श्रवनां तुम कहां सुनी, [ऐह] पंथ बतावो मोह ॥३॥

[पिता] हमकुं तो सतगुर मिल्या, जिन ऐ आषी आह ।

तुम क्युं नंद्रा पड़त हौ, चीहूं दिस लगी लाह ॥४॥

नैन ठग्या सो रूप ठग, स्वेत रगत अर स्याम ।

हिरतप्रीत निरषत फिरत, बिन बिन निरषत वाम ॥५॥

नकवा ठग्या सुगंध ठग, नांनै जाकै फूल

चौवा चंदन अरगजा, सुंग सुंग नर भूल ॥६॥

जिभ्या षटरस ठग ठगी, मिष्ट अमल अर षार ।

त्रिगुन कटुक षाय कर, तासुं रहे लगाय ॥७॥

चरमी सबरस ठग ठग्या, कोमल अंग सुहाय ।

कोमल सेज्या पलंग पै, नारी सुं लपटाय ॥८॥

सतगुर का उपदेस सुन, सोइयो आप सरीर ।

जासुं पायो^२ परम तत्व, सो पीरां हंदा पीर ॥९॥

बंद गजल

तो कुदरत षोज कै कायाक, पूरन ब्रह्म ला पायाक ।

रमता रांम सुंरताक, मगनी मगन सुं मताक ॥१॥

प्याला पेम का पीयाक, तातैं युग युग जीयाक ।

बकै ग्यांन की बाकुंक, त्रष्णा तोही है ताकुंक ॥२॥

रगी रंग मुं रम देक, निरंजन नाथ कुं नम देक ।

जुग जेहान है जाकुंक, ओ अमराव है उचाकुंक ॥३॥

सचे सुर सिपाईक, लेहे रोज जडाईक ।

तातैं तप की तुरीक, पाषर प्रेम की पुरीक ॥४॥

जुगती जीन कर जानाक, लेलां लेत लगांमाक ।

चाबक चित की चुंपीक, ओपम अधक अनूंपीक ॥५॥

रसरंगावली राजेक, बगतर विगत को ब्राजेक ।
 सुष दे टोप सिर सोहैक, मोटां मालीयां मौहैक ॥६॥
 पेंटी प्रबता प्यारीक कीमत बांध कटारीक ।
 तं तरवार दे तेगोक, विध विध वाही दे वेगोक ॥७॥
 करणी षांचक बाणाक, तीरां सुरत का ताणाक ।
 ढाला ध्यान की ढलकेक, भाला भाव का भलकेक ॥८॥
 बुध बंदूक बिराजेक, अनभे व्हे अवाजेक ।
 थिर चित सुरत का थाणाक, नाली नीरत निसाणाक ॥९॥
 ऐसा आवधां आजेक, सीकत सील की साजेक ।
 घम घम चढ़े हैं घोड़ेक, दिल में दे दे दौड़ेक ॥१०॥
 हिलां हांक लाहेसांक, धुन में वाहि दे धोसांक ।
 अनमी कंधइ युं ओपेक, रिण जंग रित पग रोपेक ॥११॥
 सत समसेर कुं साहेक, वेरी ऊपरां वाहेक ।
 मुदी तीन कुं मैटेक, वृमता वृम कुं भेटेक ॥१२॥
 भ्रमता भर्म की भुतीक, दुर्मत दुर कर दुतीक ।
 धीरज धारणा धारेक, मन मयमत कुं मारेक ॥१३॥
 ममता मोह अर मायाक, षंडे धार सुं षायाक ।
 क्रमता क्रोध कुं काटेक, दुरजण नाल सुं दाटेक ॥१४॥
 गोला ज्ञान गरजावेक, अरिदल मार उड़ावेक ।
 घेथट^३ जीप घमसाणाक, सुरीया वहि सादाणाक ॥१५॥
 लिवके लुंठ लै लाहाक, दिल में सोझहु वाहाक ।
 जोगी जंगमा जतीक, सुरे साध मुं सतीक ॥१६॥
 सन्यासी युं अर सेषुक, भांती भांत कुं भेषुक ।
 बड़ा पंथ भी उचारीक, नवि नाथ भी न्यारीक ॥१७॥
 चावा सिध चोरासीक, आदु मुनी अठ्यासीक ।
 पैकंबर अरु पीरूक, मरदां अवलियां मीरूंक ॥१८॥
 पडदा दुर कर पल माक, कहते जबांनी कलमाक ।
 रोजा उसकै रहनाक, दिल में देश देदांनाक ॥१९॥
 तन में तंत की तसबीक, रंगी रंग मुं रस बीक ।
 आषर तंत हे उचाकीक, जाकी फकीरी ताकीक^४ ॥२०॥
 सुनियो कान दे सभीक, अलबत चैतियो अभीक ।
 मन में चेतनामुषीक, सद मतवालडे सुषीक ॥२१॥
 पंचै ध्यान के प्यारेक, नांही कीजिये न्यारेक ।
 व्यापक फूल में वासाक, रह दे ईष में रासाक ॥२२॥
 सिल-मिल दुध में घिरतीक, तेसे तन में ततकीक^५ ।
 आपे आपना आपेक, विध विध व्यापना व्यापेक ॥२३॥
 मरदो मांडियो मांहीक, नारी पुरस भी नांहिक ।
 फुटै नाहि नां फाटैक, षारै नांहि ना षाटैक ॥२४॥
 मीठे नांहि ना मोलैक, करड़े नांहि ना कौलेक ।
 उभै नांहि नां आड़ेक, जल-थल नांहि नां जाडेक ॥२५॥

ऐसी बात है अगमीक, नांहि जानीयै निगमीक ।
 ईनकुं जान दा ओहीक, है है है है है जो हेक ॥२६ ॥
 प्रेमी पोहच के पुरेक, सतगुर सबद कै सुरैक ।
 चकर मूल कु चापेक, पवना गीगन कु झापेक ॥२७ ॥
 लगी चकरबंध लावैक, उलटा बंद उलटावेक ।
 उलटा पवन दे पवनाक, गीगनी करत गेवांनाक ॥२८ ॥
 नाभी चक्र नीवासाक सोहूं सास उसासाक ।
 सुषम^६ वेद कुं साझैक, अजपा जाप आराधक ॥२९ ॥
 अनहद चक्र कु हेरेक, निरंजण नाथ कु नैरेक ।
 चकरकंठ की चोकीक, कोयला वांनीया कोहकीक ॥३० ॥
 वांनी वरष दै बांनीक, सालम सुरत सुं सांनीक ।
 वदलै प्रेम दे वरसैक, दहदिस दामिनी दरसैक ॥३१ ॥
 ईला पिंगला एसाक, जीमना गंग ज्युं जैसाक ।
 तीने मीलके त्रिगुटीक, भेली होत है भ्रगुटीक ॥३२ ॥
 तातैं कहत त्रिवेणीक, संगम होत सुष सेनीक ।
 गेहरी नांव है गंगाक, उजल होत है अंगाक ॥३३ ॥
 झीलमिल जोत सी झलकेक, पल मा देश कै पलकैक ।
 गेहर गगन भी गजेक, वाजा अनहद दी वजेक ॥३४ ॥
 तननन तानकी तनकेक, झीननन झालरी झनकेक ।
 घननन वाजती घंटाक, ठननन नांही सी ठंठाक ॥३५ ॥
 ढम ढम ढोलकी ढबकेक, झमझम झामरू झबकेक ।
 बरघु वाज दे वांणीक, झाझी झीक झीकांणीक ॥३६ ॥
 टीपे मुरलीययां टेरीक, भुं भुं करत है भेरीक ।
 बोल्या दादूका चेलाक, हूआ वृह्म सु मेलाक ॥३७ ॥
 कलस
 प्रथम भ्रमर गुंजार संष धुन दुतीय कहीजे ।
 त्रित्रीय ज वजे मृदंग चतुर स ताल सुनीजे ॥
 पंचम घंटा नाद षष्ट वैना धुन होई ।
 सपतं वाजे भेर अष्टम अभै दंदोई ॥
 नवमै गरज समंद की दसम मेघ गह कह सगुनै ।
 सुंदर कहे अनहद नाद कुं दस प्रकार जोगी सुनै ॥

¹⁾ *keban* is a phonetic rendring of *kabane*. This substitution of *-aha-* by *-eba-* is common. —

²⁾ *jāsum pāyo] tāsum pāvo*. — ³⁾ The word is unexplained. — ⁴⁾ *tākika] jākika*. — ⁵⁾ *tatakika] tanakika*. — ⁶⁾ *suṣama] surama*.

*Dohā:*¹

I fall at the feet of the true guru saying: 'Tell me the path!'

Accordingly, he reveals to Sundar this wonderful work. (1)

The Supreme Self's son is the self, and the son of the self is the mind,

The mind has five sonVs, all of whom turned out bad. (2)

At this the mind grew frightened and said:

‘O ears! Where is that path? Tell me what you’ve heard!’ (3)

‘O Father, we met the true guru, who said to us:

“Why do you fall asleep while flames are all around?” (4)

The eyes were deceived by the robber Form and his colors of white, red and black.

Enchanted by these, people keep roaming and looking around, but never detect the thief. (5)

The nose was deceived by the robber Scent with all his various flowers:

Sniffing around for perfumes and sandalwood, people go astray. (6)

The robber Six-Tastes deceived the tongue with sweet, sour, and salty flavours.

Then when the tongue tasted the three bitter flavours, he became addicted. (7)

The robber All-Emotions deceived the skin, delighting in soft bodies,

The skin was beguiled by a woman on a soft, attractive bed.’ (8)

I explored my own body when I heard the true guru’s teaching:

The master of all masters, through him the highest Principle’s found. (9)

Gazal stanzas:

Searching your body for divine power, you find the perfect Supreme Self.

Pondering the pervading Rām, you’re drunk through deep immersion in him. (1)

You drink from the cup of love and therefore live for all ages.

The more the voice of wisdom speaks, the more you thirst for it. (2)

Lazing in the colour of love, bow down to the spotless Lord!

This world is his, and he the noblest noble in it. (3)

Any day, these true and brave soldiers are ready to give their lives.

Austerities thus become their horses, fitted out with the armour of love. (4)

Reasoning is their saddle cloth, absorption their grip on the reins,

With energy of thought as their whips, they’re beyond any comparison, surpassing everyone. (5)

Their fervor is radiant; revelation is their shining armour.

Their heads are adorned with helmets of bliss, attractive like beautiful palaces. (6)

They wear coveted sashes of rulership, into which precious double-bladed knives² are tucked.

They take up sword and knife, and quickly wield them. (7)

The bow of action is drawn, with contemplation’s arrow pointed at the target.

Meditation’s shield is raised, and the lance of mystical awareness brandished. (8)

Reason is the shining matchlock; its noise, the state of fearlessness.

With steady contemplation and the firmest thought, absorption’s barrel seeks its target. (9)

These are weapons you can trust, as they’re forged in red-hot virtue.

The horses charge, running at full gallop in your heart. (10)

Spur the neighing horses, beat the drum to the inner sound’s rhythm!

The hero proves his worth as he digs his heels into the battleground. (11)

He draws the sword of truth, comes down with it on his foes,
 Joyfully slays the three enemies, and offers himself to the Ultimate Self. (12)
 He reduces to ashes the error that causes the swirl of existence, and sheds his false
 sense of duality.

Patiently holding on, he slays the mad-elephant mind. (13)
 Affection, illusion, bewilderment—all killed by the blade of his sword.
 Karma and anger are also slain, and the wicked all shot dead. (14)
 He makes Wisdom's cannonball thunder, and blows up the enemy.
 The fierce war was won, with resounding drums of victory. (15)
 Take absorption as your booty, how glorious it is! Find it in your heart.
 There they all are: the yogis and jaṅgamas, yatis and heroes—with satis there, too—
 (16)

Samnyāsīs and shaikhs, all dressed in their different hues;
 Great sects of distinction, the nine Nāths close by,³ (17)
 The illustrious eighty-four Siddhas, the original eighty-eight sages,
 The prophets and pirs, the mighty holy men, as well as all the nobles. (18)
 Drawing away the veil, he recites the words of the kalima.
 He sees now with the eyes of the heart—that's his continuous fast. (19)
 The prayer-beads of truth lie now in his body, he's coloured with love, drenched in
 its juice.

Instead of written letters, he turns to the truth of the speech from on high, as true
 faqirs all do. (20)

Listen attentively, all of you, be especially mindful now:
 Turn your mind to consciousness, then happily stay absorbed in it always. (21)
 If the five are inclined to meditate, then let them without any restraint.
 A flower's scent is pervasive, and in the sugarcane so much juice is hidden. (22)
 Like ghee in the milk, the truth is hidden in the body.
 You possess it in yourself, but it spreads out in many ways. (23)
 The real person lies within and is neither man nor woman.
 It does not break and can't be broken; it isn't bitter or sour, (24)
 Nor is it sweet or bland, or stiff or soft.

It doesn't recline and doesn't stand up; it has no roots in water or firm ground. (25)

Such is the unfathomable: it cannot be known through the Vedas.

The one who realizes it, is, is, is, is—is that which is! (26)

The lovers have full grip of it: the heroes of the true guru's word.

They press the *cakra* at the base⁴, and their breath bounces up to the sky. (27)

They keep the *cakras* blocked and then reverse the blockages,

They make the breath flow in reverse so that it goes into the sky. (28)

The breath resides in the navel *cakra* and can inhale and exhale sacred sounds.

Just master the subtle Veda⁵, reciting the silent prayer: 'I am that' *so'ham*. (29)

As you reach the *cakra* of unstruck sound, the immaculate lord gets closer,
At the throat *cakra*'s platform, you hear the cuckoo's murmuring call. (30)

The sound is that of rain, mixed with total mystical awareness.

There's a shower from the rainclouds of love, while lightening flashes up
everywhere. (31)

Ilā and Piṅgalā are like Yamuna and Ganga:

They meet at the *triguṭī*, the place between the brows. (32)

And so they're called 'the braid of three', the convergence that signifies bliss.

The Ganga is named the deep one: get purified when you dip your body in it. (33)

It shimmers like a twinkling flame, every moment you see it.

There's also a deep rumbling in the sky, and the unstruck sound plays its
instruments: (34)

The tambourine rings, there are twangs of stretched strings,

Bells jingle with sounds not intoned. (35)

Clashing anklets' rhythms match the beating of a drum

While trumpets resound, against cymbals' sharp sound. (36)

Flutes are played at high-pitch, as the kettledrum growls.

Says Dādū's disciple: 'The union with the Ultimate Self is achieved.' (37)

*Summary verse:*⁶

At the first stage, a black bee hums; at the second, the sound of the conch,

At the third stage, the beats of a double drum; at the fourth, you hear hands that are
clapping the beat.

At the fifth, the sound of the bell, at the sixth, the lute's melody,

At the seventh, the sound of a pipe, at the eighth, the kettledrum signals your
freedom from fear.

At the ninth, the ocean rumbles, at the tenth stage, the clouds thunder.

Says Sundar: 'The yogi hears the unstruck sound in ten different forms.' (38)

¹⁾ These nine *dohās* are either a sketch of or draw on Sundardās's *Adbbut updeś*, for which see SG, pp. 179–85. — ²⁾ The double-bladed dagger is the emblem of a Rajput ruler. — ³⁾ The established but fictitious number of the Nāthyogīs. — ⁴⁾ The bottommost centre of power situated at the perineum. — ⁵⁾ This is based on a conjectural reading. The 'subtle Veda' is, however, a current term for the yogic equivalent of the Vedic lore (Hajārīprasād Dvivedī, *Nāth sampradāy*, 1st edn 1966 in *Hajārīprasād Dvivedī granthāvalī*, ed. Mukund Dvivedī, vol. 6, 2nd edn, New Delhi: Rājkamal Prakāśan, 1998, 147). — ⁶⁾ This is identical with Sundardās's *Jñānsamudra* 3.67.

80. तर्क चितावनी – Memento Mori: Come to Reason



Ill. 21: Gumansinghji (1946–) at his home in village Sokra, Pali District. © D. Rajpurohit 2021.

Gumansinghji performing text 80, vv. 1–4, 4.

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पूरण ब्रह्म निरंजन राया, तिनि यहु नष शिष साज बनाया ॥
 ता कहुं भूलि गये बिभचारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१ ॥
 गर्भ मांहि कीनी प्रतिपाला, तहां बहुत होते बेहाला ॥
 जनमत ही वह ठौर बिसारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२ ॥
 बालापन मंहि भये अचेता, मात पिता सौं बांध्यौ हेता ॥
 प्रथमहिं चूके सुधि न संभारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३ ॥
 बहुरि कुमार अवस्था आई, ताहू मांहि नहीं सुधिकई ॥
 षाई षेल हंसि रोइ गुदारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४ ॥
 भयौ किशोर काम जब जाग्यो, परदारा कौं निरषन लाग्यौ ॥
 ब्याह करन की मन मंहिं धारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५ ॥
 मात पिता जोर्यौ सनमंधा, कै कछु आपुहि कीयो धंधा ॥
 लै करि पांस गरे मंहिं डारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥६ ॥
 भयौ गृहस्थ बहुत सुष पाया, पंच सषी मिलि मंगल गाया ॥
 करि संयोग बडी झष मारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥७ ॥

ता पीछे जोबन मदमाता, अति गति है बिषया सन राता ॥
 अपनी गनै न पर की नारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥८ ॥
 निलज काम बश शंक न आनै, साष सगाई कछू न मानै ॥
 लोक बेद मरजादा टारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥९ ॥
 गर्ब करे पुनि ऐंठ्यौ डौलै, मुष तें जो भावै सो बोल ।
 लाज कानि सब पटकि पछारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१० ॥
 मुंछ मरौरै पाग संवारे, दर्पन लै करि वदन निहारै ॥
 पुशी होइ अति महा बिकारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥११ ॥
 आठहहुं पहर विषै रस भीनां, तन मन धन जुवती कौं दीनां ॥
 ऐसी बिषया लागी प्यारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१२ ॥
 षान पांन बस्तर लै आवै, बिधि बिधि कै भूषन पहरावै ॥
 अति आधीन लेइ बलिहारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१३ ॥
 कामिनि संग रह्यौ लपटाई, मानहुं इहै मोक्ष हम पाई ॥
 कबहुं नैक होइ जिनि न्यारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१४ ॥
 जौ त्रिय कहै सु अति प्रिय लागे, निशि दिन कपि ज्यौं नाचत आगै ॥
 मारउ सहै सहै पुनि गारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१५ ॥
 षेती करै बनिज करि ल्यावै, चाकर होइ दशौं दिश ध्यावै ॥
 आगैं आइ धरै भरि थारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१६ ॥
 लकरी घास पोट पुनि ढोवै, लाज बडाई अपनी षोवै ॥
 तासौं करै आइ मनुहारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१७ ॥
 औरउ कर्म करै बहुतेरा, जन जन कै आगै हुइ चेरा ॥
 चौरी करै करै बटपारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१८ ॥
 ज्यौं त्यौं करि कछु घर मैं आनै, बनिता आगे दीन बषानै ॥
 हौं तेरौ नित आज्ञाकारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥१९ ॥
 यौं करते संतति हुइ आई, तब तौ फूल्यौ अंगि न माई ॥
 देत बधाई ता परि वारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२० ॥
 मानै मोद बहुत सुष पावै, ता सुत कौं ले गोदि षिलावै ॥
 चिटकी देइ बजावै तारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२१ ॥
 लरिका चारि पांचि हुई आये, तिनकू जूये घर करवाये ॥
 साल बोबरा महल अटारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२२ ॥
 पुत्र पौत्र बंध्यौ परिवारा, मेरै मेरै कहैं गंवारा ॥
 करत बडाई सभा मंझारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२३ ॥
 उद्दिम करि करि जोरी माया, के कछु भाग्य लिष्यौ सो पाया ॥
 अजहूं तृष्णा अधिक पसारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२४ ॥
 जब दश बीस पचासक चाहै, सौ सहस्र लष कोरि उमाहै ॥
 अरब षरब तौहू अंधियारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२५ ॥
 देश बिलाइति हाथी घोरे, ज्यौं ज्यौं बांधै त्यौं त्यौं थोरे ॥
 करि संतोष न बैठे हारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२६ ॥
 ऐसे करत बुढापा आया, तब काठी करि पकरी माया ॥
 कौडी षरचत कसकै भारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२७ ॥

मेरे बेटे पोते पैहैं, मेरी संची कोउ न लैहैं ॥
 ईश्वर की गति कछु न बिचारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२८ ॥
 निपट वृद्ध जब भयौ शरीरा, नैननि आवन लाग्यो नीरा ॥
 पौरी पर्यौ करै रषवारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥२९ ॥
 कानहुं सुनै न आंषिहुं सूझै, कहैं और की औरै बूझै ॥
 अब तौ भई बहुत बिधि प्चारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३० ॥
 बेटा बहू नजीक न आवै, तू तौ मति चल कहि समझावै ॥
 दूक देहि ज्यौं स्वान बिलारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३१ ॥
 बकतौ रहै जीभ नहिं मोरै, मरिहुंन जाइ षाटली तोरै ॥
 तैं षषारि सब ठौर बिगारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३२ ॥
 षिजि करि उठे सुनै जब ऐसी, गारि देइ मुष भावै तैसी ॥
 भौंडी रांड करकसा दारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३३ ॥
 उठि न सकै कंपै कर चरना, या जीवन तैं नीकौ मरना ॥
 तौहूं मन मैं अति अहंकारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३४ ॥
 ताकौ कह्यौ करै नहिं कोई, परवश भयौ पुकारै सोई ॥
 मारी अपने पांव कुहारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३५ ॥
 तासौं कछू होइ नहिं आवै, मन मैं बहुत भांति पछितावै ॥
 सीस धुनै अति होइ दुषारी, अइया मनुषहुं बुझि तुम्हारी ॥३६ ॥
 अब तौ निकट मौति चलि आई, रोक्खौ कण्ठ पित्त कफ बाई ॥
 जम दूतनि पासी विस्तारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३७ ॥
 निकसत प्रान सैन समुझावै, नारायन कौ नाम न आवै ॥
 देषि सबनि कौ आंसू ढारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३८ ॥
 हंस बटाऊ किया पयाना, मृतक देषि करि सबै डराना ॥
 घर महिं तैं लै जाहु निकारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥३९ ॥
 वै श्रवना नैना मुष नासा, एक नहीं जो चलती स्वासा ॥
 अब क्यौं यासौं प्रीति निवारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४० ॥
 निशि दिन षवरि बाग की लेता, पलक पलक मैं पानी देता ॥
 माली गयौ जु सींचत क्यारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४१ ॥
 लोग कुटम्ब सबै मिलि आये, आपुन रोये और रुलाये ॥
 लैकर चालै धाह उचारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४२ ॥
 लै मसान मैं आये जब ही, कीये काठ एकठे सब ही ॥
 अग्नि लगाइ दियौ तन जारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४३ ॥
 हितकारी सो रोवहिं गाढे, किरिया करैं जनं द्वै ठाढे ॥
 बेटा ठाकै मूण्ड कपारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४४ ॥
 भस्म भयौ जब दीयौ दागा, प्रेत प्रेत कहि सब कोइ भागा ॥
 न्हाइ धोइ करि छोति उतारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४५ ॥
 जारि बारि के घर कौं आये, बेटा बहू सबै समुझाये ॥
 अब जिनि रोवहु सौंह हमारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४६ ॥
 सचि संचि करि राषी माया, औरहिं दिया न आपुन षाया ॥
 हाथ झारि ज्यौं चलयौ जुबारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४७ ॥

सुकृत न कियो न राम संभार्यो, ऐसौ जन्म अमोलिक हाय्यो ॥
 क्यौ न मुक्ति की पौरि उघारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४८ ॥
 कबहु न कियो साधु कौ संगी, जिनकै मिलै लगे हरि रंगा ॥
 कलाकन्द तजि बनजी पारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥४९ ॥
 प्रभु सौं सनमुष कबू न हूये, धन्धा ही मैं पचि पचि मूये ॥
 भजे न विश्वभर न बनवारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५० ॥
 किया कृत्य सो भुक्तन लागा, जन्म जन्म दुष सहै अभागा ॥
 राम बिना को लेइ उबारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५१ ॥
 सूकर स्वान काग पे होई, कीट पतङ्ग गनै कहा कोई ॥
 औरौ जोनि भ्रमै हत्यारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५२ ॥
 भूत पिशाच निशाचर जेते, राक्षस देह भयानक केते ॥
 सो पुनि होइ जीव संसारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५३ ॥
 भ्रमत भ्रमत जब आवे अन्ता, तब नर देह दैहि भगवन्ता ॥
 आपु मिलन की सौंज संवारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५४ ॥
 सकल सिरोमनि है नर देहा, नारायन कौ निज घर येहा ॥
 जामहिं पइये देव मुरारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५५ ॥
 चेति सकै सो चेतहु भाई, जिनि डहकावो राम दुहाई ॥
 सुन्दरदास कहै जु पुकारी, अइया मनुषहुं बूझि तुम्हारी ॥५६ ॥

King Nirañjana, the perfect Supreme Self, created this body from head to toe so carefully,

Why have you gone so astray?

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (1)

Who kept you safe in your mother's womb, a place of intense suffering?

Once born, you quickly forgot that place.¹

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (2)

As an infant you knew nothing, just attachment to your parents.

Since you first went wrong, you've never understood.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (3)

When you were a young boy, you had no place for thought,

Passing time with eating, playing, laughing, and tears.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (4)

On growing up into a youth, desires awoke: you stared at others' wives.

And thought of marriage.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (5)

Your parents arranged a match for you, or maybe you struck a deal yourself.

You thus put the noose around your own neck.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (6)

The householder's life gave you much satisfaction, as the five female friends² sang auspicious wedding songs to you.

With them you grew elated and foolish.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (7)
 Then you brimmed with youthful lust and wallowed in sensual pleasures,
 With your wife or with some other woman—no matter to you.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (8)
 Shameless in the grip of lust, you had no scruples nor cares for your kin.
 You brushed away good behaviour and honour.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (9)
 Puffed up with pride you strut about, saying whatever comes into your head,
 Casting aside all shame and modesty.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (10)
 You twirl your moustache, cock your turban, gaze at your face in the mirror.
 Complacent, you are utterly debased.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (11)
 Day and night, you're drenched in sensual essence, your body, mind and wealth
 made over to a woman:
 You remain in thrall to attractive flesh.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (12)
 You bring food, drink, and clothes to her, and dress her in fancy attire.
 To her you're completely submitted and have made yourself a sacrifice.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (13)
 You stay enmeshed with her, as if you think you've finally found salvation,
 Not ever do you want to be apart.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (14)
 Whatever your wife says, you agree with—and like a monkey dance before her day
 and night.
 You let her beat you and swear at you.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (15)
 You till the field, make money with some trade, run in all directions as her servant,
 And come to her with plates brimming over.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (16)
 Carrying wood, grass, and heavy bundles, you lose status and others' respect.
 This is how you try to please her?

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (17)
 You do odd jobs for others, and thus become everyone's servant.
 You steal and become a highway bandit.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (18)
 You bring home what you've scraped together, and say meekly to your wife:
 'Always your obedient servant.'

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (19)

While all this went on, your children were born. Then you became beside yourself
with joy.

The family gave you congratulations—something you would die for!

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (20)

With joy, you think this wonderful. You play with your son on your lap,
Snapping your fingers and clapping.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (21)

Four sons were born and maybe a fifth, for each you built a house,
Imposing mansions: pavilions and terraces on the roof and some very large halls.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (22)

You're shackled to a family that swells with sons and grandsons. You claim these as
your own, you fool,

And boast of them in public.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (23)

With constant effort you collected vain things; or maybe you're just a lucky heir.
And by now your thirst for things has been enormous.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (24)

Before you wanted just ten, twenty, or fifty, then thousands and millions,
And billions and trillions—how blind can you be!

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (25)

You've horses and elephants, near and far; the more you hoard, though, the less it
all seems.

Never satisfied, you keep getting more frustrated.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (26)

Living like that, you've grown old, and cling more closely to vacuous things.
It hurts you to spend a single cowrie.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (27)

'My sons and grandsons will enjoy this. No one else will get what I've earned.'
You never considered the ways of God.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (28)

When your body's completely decrepit, with perpetually watering eyes,
You lie in the courtyard and guard the door.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (29)

Your eyes don't see, your ears are bad: you often mistake what someone says.
So many ways now you've become distressed.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (30)

Your son and his wife will not come near you and tell you to stay away,
Throwing you morsels of food as if to a dog or a cat.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (31)

'He babbles and his tongue won't stop; he won't die and just wears out the bed.

And then he spits out mucus, spoiling everything.’

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (32)

Hearing all this makes you angry, and all sorts of swear words flow from your mouth:

‘What a shrewish slut I have left myself with!’

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (33)

You can stand up no longer, your hands and feet tremble, better to die than to live like this,

And yet you burst with ego.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (34).

A person who’s like that —no one will do his bidding: he’s dependent on others and cries out for help,

Striking an axe into his leg himself.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (35)

Now that he can do nothing at all, in his mind he repents in many ways,

And he’s so very sad, beating his head in grief.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (36)

Now death is close by as he chokes on gall, phlegm, and air.

Death’s messengers have spread out their noose.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (37)

Leaving his body, his life-breath continues to call, but Nārāyaṇa’s name doesn’t cross his mind.

Seeing all this, he begins to cry.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (38)

The traveling soul has set out on its journey, but the sight of the corpse frightens everyone:

‘Get him out of the house!’

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (39)

The same ears, eyes, nose, and mouth remain, but no breath flows at all,

How could anyone love what’s left?

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (40)

The one who continually tended the garden day and night, attentively giving it water, That gardener who drenched its ditches—is gone.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (41)

Friends and family all gathered together, the tears of some making others cry too,

They take him outside, wailing.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (42)

They take him to the cremation ground; they find firewood for the pyre.

They then set his body on fire—and let it burn.

You’ve come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (43)

His friends all stand there and cry, while two stout men conduct the cremation,
His son performs the skull-breaking ritual.³

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (44)
When he is burnt to ashes, they call him a ghost and run away,
Then take a bath to get purified.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (45)
After the cremation, they go home, consoling his sons and their wives:
'Don't cry anymore, we promise to stand by you.'

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (46)
He had stored away masses of trivial things, unused by himself and not given to
others.
But he left the world empty-handed, just like a ruined gambler.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (47)
He did no good deeds and had no thought of Rām, gambling away his priceless life,
Why didn't he open the door to salvation?

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (48)
Nor did he ever mix with devotees, and thus was never enveloped in Hari's colours.
Instead of sweets he bought bitter things.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (49)
Nor did he ever turn to the Lord, but wore himself out in worldly dealings.
He never worshipped Kṛṣṇa with his flower garlands, even though Kṛṣṇa is All-
Sustaining Viṣṇu.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (50)
Now he must reap the results of his deeds. Unlucky, he suffered in life after life.
Who else but Rām can save him?

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (51)
He was born as a pig, a dog, a crow, a worm, a moth, and other harmful creatures:
Who can count them all?

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (52)
An evil spirit, a dead man's ghost, a goblin, a demon, and more: only after becoming
these terrible things
Will his soul pass on to earth.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (53)
When his straying finally comes to an end, God will give him a human body:
He himself equipped you to meet him.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (54)
Existence is best in a human body: it's the house of God himself,
Where you can find the lord with the flute.

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (55)
Brother, reflect if you're able to do so, but don't just cry for help!

Sundardās calls out to you:

You've come into the human world, reflect now on your fate. (56)

¹⁾ Upside down in the womb, the foetus is exposed to the gastric fire and other perils. — ²⁾ The senses. — ³⁾ Towards the end of the cremation, the performer of the ritual, the nearest male relative of the deceased, knocks with a long stick against the skull of the dead body so that the soul be released from it.

81. देशाटन सवैया (इन्दव छन्द) – *Savaiyās* on Roaming the Regions (*indav* and *kiriṭ* metre)

Gumansinghji performing text 81, vv. 1, 5, 6, 9.

Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716676>

लोग मलीन षरे चरकीन दया करि हीन लै जीव संघारत,
ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य रु सूदर चारुहि वर्ण के मंछ बघारत ।
कारो है अंग सिंदूर की मांग सु संपनि रांड बुरे टग फारत,
ताहितें जानि कही जन सुन्दर पूरब देस न संत पधारत ॥१॥
दया नहि लेस रु लील के भेष रु ऊभसै केसन रांड कुलच्छ,
रांधत प्याज बिगारत नाज न आवत लाज करै सब भच्छन ।
बैठिये पास तौ आवत बास सु सुन्दरदास तजौ न ततच्छन,
लोग कठोर फिरैं जैसें ढोर सु संत सिधार करैं कहा दच्छन ॥२॥
बात तहां की सुनी श्रवनौं हम रीति पछांह की दूरितें जानी,
बोली बिकार लगै नहिं नीकी असाडे तुसाडे करैं षतरांनी ।
काहु की छौति न मानत कोउ जी भट्टदी रोटी रु षूहदा पानी,
सुन्दरदास करै कहा जाइकै संग तैं होइ जु बुद्धि की हानी ॥३॥
हिक्क लाहोर दा नीर भी उत्तम हिक्क लाहोर दा बाग सिराहे,
हिक्क लाहोर दा चीर भी उत्तम हिक्क लाहोर दा मेवा सिराहे ।
हिक्क लाहोर दे हैं बिरही जन हिक्क लाहोर दे सेवग भाये,
कितइक बात भली लाहोर दी ताहि तैं सुन्दर देषनैं आये ॥४॥
और तौ देस भले सब ही हम देषि भया गुजरातहू गांडी,
आभत छोट अतीत सौ कीजै बिलाई रु कूकर चाटत हांडी ।
बिवेक बिचार कछू नहिं दीसत डोलत जूथ जहां तहां रांडी,
सुन्दरदास चलौ अब छांडि कै और रहोगे तो होइगी भांडी ॥५॥
बृच्छ न नीर न उत्तम चीर सु देसन मैं गत देस है मारू,
पांव मैं गोषरू भुट गडै अरु आंषि मैं आइ परै उडि बारू ।
राबरि छाछि पिवै सब कोइ जु ताहि तैं षाज रतैधुर न्हारू,
सुन्दरदास रहौ जिन बैठि कै बैगि करौ चलिबे कौ बिचारू ॥६॥
भूमि पवित्र हु लोग विचित्र हु राग रु रंग उठत वहीं तैं,
उत्तम अन्न असन्न बसन्न प्रसन्न ह्वै मन्न ज षात तहीं तैं ।
बृच्छ अनंत रु नीर बहंत सु सुन्दर संत बिराजै जहीं तैं,
नित्य सुकाल पडै न दुकाल सु मालव देस भलौ सबहीं तैं ॥७॥
पूरब पच्छिम उत्तर दच्छिन देस बिदेस फिरे सब जाने,

केतक घौस फतेपुर मांहि सु केतक घौस रहे डिंडवाने ।
 केतक घौस रहे गुजरात उहांहुं कछू नहिं आयौ है ठाने,
 सोच बिचारि कै सुन्दरदास जु याहि तें आनि रहे कुरसाने ॥८ ॥
 सुच्चि अचार कछू न बिचारत मास छठै कबहूंक सन्हांहीं,
 मूंड षुजावत बार परैं गिर ते सब आटे मैं वोसनि जांहीं ।
 बेटी रु बेटन कौ मल धोवत वैसैंहिं हाथन सौं अनं षांहीं,
 सुन्दरदास उदास भयौ मन फूहड़ नारि फतेपुर मांहीं ॥९ ॥
 कंद रु मूल भले फल फूल सुरस्सरि कूल बने जु पवित्तर,
 आधि न ब्याधि उपाधि नहीं कछू तारि लगें तें टरै जु मनत्तर ।
 ज्ञान प्रकास सदाइ निवास सु सुन्दरदास तिरै भव दुस्तर,
 गोरषनाथ सराहि हैं जाहि जु जोग कै जोग भली दिस उत्तर ॥१० ॥

The people are dirty, they pee standing up, and kill animals with no pity.

Brahmans and Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras—all castes fry fish.

The women are dark, with a piercing gaze, and red powder where they part their hair. Also, they're all *śankhinīs*!

Knowing all this, says Sundar, God's servant: a Sant doesn't go to the east. (1)

The women all dress in dark blue or black, they have dishevelled hair; they bear ill-omened signs and have no compassion at all.

They cook onions, they spoil the wheat, and eat anything with no shame.

Sit near them and you'll smell their stench. Says Sundardās: 'Leave at once!'

The people are cloddish, like wandering cattle. Why would a Sant go south? (2)

With my own ears I heard how they speak there and can make out their slang from far away.

Their dialect's gone bad and nothing sounds right: 'this of me', 'this of you' say the Khatri women,

Nobody thinks about getting polluted: they all take bread from the same clay oven and water from the same well,

Says Sundardās: 'What can you gain there? It's bad for your nerves.' (3)

Lahore has the very best water; Lahore's gardens alone are worthy of praise.

Lahore has the very best textiles; Lahore's dried fruit is the most praised of all.

In Lahore alone are those pining for God; Lahore's patrons alone make devotees content.

All that belongs to Lahore is the best, and so Sundardās went to see it. (4)

I've seen almost all of our regions, but Gujarat was especially disturbing.

People keep polluting ascetics, cats and dogs lap the pots,

Nobody thinks or sees differences; in all carefree crowds you see women.

Says Sundardās: 'Leave at once! If you stay on, you'll soon face disgrace.' (5)

With no trees, no water, no beautiful textiles, Marwar is the worst of all the regions.

Your feet get pricked by spiky seeds and thorny grass, and sand blows into your eyes,

Everyone drinks *nābarī*² and buttermilk, which scabs the children all over and makes them blind at night,

Sundardās says: ‘Don’t stay there, just find a way to get out fast!’ (6)

The soil is pure and the people extraordinary, music and colour emerge from there,

The choicest clothes, the very best food: eating there always pleases the mind.

Countless trees and flowing rivers, it’s a wonderful place for Sants to thrive.

The climate’s always nice; there’s never any drought—of all regions, Malwa’s the best. (7)

I came to know the regions, near and far, by roaming east, west, north and south,

Sundardās lived for a while in Fatehpur and then for a while in Didvana,

He stayed in Gujarat, too, for a while—but never settled there:

He made up his mind to go from there to Kursana. (8)

They have no sense of cleanliness, and maybe each six months take a bath,

When they scratch their head their hair falls out, and they knead it into the dough.

They eat with hands that a moment before had washed a child’s behind.

Sundardās was disheartened by the slovenly women of Fatehpur. (9)

The banks of the Ganga are sanctified by flowers, fruit, and healing plants,

There’s no sorrow, no sickness, and nothing that darkens your path; all this goes away when the mind starts to seek liberation.

Here you abide in the light of wisdom forever, here Sundardās crosses existence’s ocean—so difficult to pass.

Gorakhnāth offered praises: ‘Go to a place that’s fit for yoga, the wonderful northern region.’ (10)

¹) According to Indian rhetorics, the *śaṅkhiṇī* (conch-like) represents the third, coarsest and hence least attractive type of women. In his poetological treatise *Rasikpriyā* (Keśavdās, *Rasikpriyā*, ed. with Priyāprakāś commentary by Viśvanāthprasād Mīśra, 1st edn 2015, 2nd edn, Varanasi, Kalyāṇdās aṅḍ Braders, vs 2024, p. 73). In Chapter 3.8–9, Keśavdās defines this type as follows:

She is given to anger and fraud, her body is sweaty and hairy,

She wears red clothes, enjoys being scratched with the nails (while making love), she is shameless and impudent

When making love her perspiration smells salty, her vulva is hot.

This is how everyone describes the *śaṅkhiṇī*, who greatly indulges the love game.

²) Millet flour cooked with buttermilk.

Bājīd

82. सतीनामा – Account of the Sati (select verses)

Gumansinghji performing text 82, vv. 1 and 3.

Link: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidicon/1716678>

82.1

बाजिद हरी जन ऐसा चाहीये सुर सती कै भाई ।

लोभ न कीया जीव का जरी नीसाण बजाई ॥ २ ॥

Hari's servant, says Bājīd, must have a hero or a sati's temper:

Even while he burns up to the sound of beating drums, he doesn't covet life. (2)

82.2

बाजीद ढोल ढीमका बाजीया सद सुण्यां सव लोई ।
जौ सल देषी सती भजै दैह पषी हा-सा होई ॥ ३ ॥

Kettledrums were beaten, says Bājīd, and everybody heard their sound.

Running away at the sight of the pyre, the sati gives in to her body.¹ (3)

¹) The reading of *daiba paṣibā-sā* should be *daiba paṣi hā-sā*, 'saying "yes" to her body'. We take *hā-sā* as the polite Marwari affirmative *hām-sā*.

82.3

बाजिद ढोल दमामे दुरवरी बाजे अनहत तूर ।
फीरी पीछे देषै नही साध सति अर सूर ॥५ ॥

When the drums are beaten, says Bājīd, and the trumpet of unstruck sound resounds

No sadhu, or sati, or hero ever looks back. (5)

82.4

बाजीद मरै तै पावै मुकति फल, जिवै त जुग महि सोभ ।
साध सती अर सूरिवा करै न जिय का लोभ ॥६ ॥

Someone who dies gains liberation, says Bājīd, and someone who lives gains glory in the world:

Sadhu, sati, and hero—they do not covet life. (6)

82.5

बाजीद जीव दिया जन पीव कौ सोई सुबुद्धी नारि ।
जग हटवाडा घौस द्वै देष्या सोचि विचारि ॥११ ॥

The servant who gave his life for his lord, says Bājīd, thought like a sharp-witted woman.

Reflecting, he saw that the world was a market open for just a couple of days. (11)

82.6

बाजीद जनम लगौ बीभचारनी मनं नं मानती संक ।
संग धनी कै धांवतै धोये पीछले अंक ॥१२ ॥

Even a woman unfaithful all her life, says Bājīd, without any sense of her guilt,

When hurrying to unite with her lord, she'll wash away her earlier faults. (12)

82.7

बाजीद कहां लै वरनीये नष सष भरी विकार ।
सब जग देषत जरि गैइ सती भैइ संसारी ॥१३ ॥

She's filled with corruption from head to toe, says Bājīd, how can I fully describe her?

A woman who burns herself up for all to admire is, indeed, a worldly sati. (13)

82.8

बाजीद सजन सारीषा कोउ न आवै दीठी ।
सती चली सल समही सव स्यौ दीनी पीठी ॥१५ ॥

No one compares to a truly righteous person, says Bājīd,
Turning away from everything, he's the sati who walks to the pyre. (15)

82.9

बाजीद पलक भई पीव सामही षलक रही मुष चाहि ।
चोवा चंदन कुमंकुमां पैहप चहै रत ताही ॥१६ ॥

Within a moment she stood before her husband, while the world looked on.
Flowers, red powder, sandalwood, scent— she needs none of this, says Bājīd. (16)

82.10

बाजीद सती रती न डर कीया कैसी तती आगि ।
सूती पाव पसारी कै साई कै गली लागि ॥१९ ॥

Says Bājīd, the sati had no fear at all; how could the fire scorch her?
Hugging her lord, she gently stretched herself out and went to sleep. (19)

82.11

बाजीद चूरी फोरी हत्य की तोरै नौसरहार ।
जीव तर्जा देही दहै सती कहै संसारि ॥२६ ॥

Says Bājīd, a woman who breaks all her bangles and pulls apart her nine-stringed
necklace,

Then gives up her life and burns up her body is called a worldly sati. (26)

83. सुमिरण कौ अंग – Chapter of Remembrance

83.1

और झोर सब छांडि धनी कूं धाइये, मुक्ति करै पल माझि न भौजल आइये ।
बैठि दास कै पासि हाथ ले जपनि, भूलत है किहि काम भिया निधि अपनि ॥१ ॥

Get rid of all entanglements and contemplate the Lord. You'll get release in just a
moment and won't plunge into the sea of existence.

Sit with the servants of God, reciting the name in silence. But brother, alas, you're
forgetting your treasure, why so? (1)

83.2

जनम जात है बादि, यादि करि पीव कूं, मुसकिल सब आसांन, होइगी जीव कूं ।
जा कै हिदै राम, रैणि दिन रहत हैं, परिहां मुक्ति हो मांझ नही फेर, साध सब कहत हैं ॥२ ॥

Now your life passes fruitlessly— just remember the Beloved! Then what once was
hard will be easy.

If Rām is in someone's heart day and night, he'll surely be released: all holy people
will tell you this. (2)

83.3

राम नाम की लूंटि, फबि है जीव कूं, निस बासुर बाजीद, सुमरि पुनि पीव कूं ।
यहू स बात परसिधि, कहत सब गांव रे, परिहां अधम अजामेल तिर्यो, नारांण नांव रे ॥३ ॥

Looting the name of Rām is good for the soul—so day and night, says Bājīd,
remember the Beloved.

This is a simple truth affirmed everywhere: Wasn't the dissolute Ajāmil¹ redeemed through Nārāyaṇ's name? (3)

¹⁾ The mythological figure Ajāmil was a Brahman who had become infatuated with a prostitute. This made him forget worship. He had a son by the name of Nārāyaṇ, which is a name of Viṣṇu. On his deathbed Ajāmil called for Nārāyaṇ whereby he happened to utter the name of God and was saved accordingly.

83.4

गाफ़िल रहे क्यूं बीर, कहौ क्यूं बनत है, या मानस के सांस सु जौरा गिनत है ।
जागि लागि हरि नांव, कहां लौ सोइहै, परिहां चाकी कै मुहि पर्यौ सु मैदा होइहै ॥४ ॥

Why are you so negligent, brave man? Tell me why you rely on the limited power of human breath.

Awake and take up Hari's name! How long will you sleep? What falls below the millstone, alas, is ground into flour. (4)

83.5

आजि सु तौ नही काल्हि कहत हौं तुझ कूं, भावै बैरी जानि जीव मैं मुझ कूं ।
देषत अपनी दिष्टि षता कहा षात है, परिहां लोहै को सो ताव चलयौ यहु जात है ॥५ ॥

I know you feel hostility towards me, but still I tell you this: What's here today is gone tomorrow.

Alas, it passes like heat from an iron. With your own eyes you see this but still seem somehow fooled. (5)

83.6

भूल्यौ माया मोह मौत नहि सूझई, सुत दारा धन धाम आपनौ बूझई ।
हरि कौ नांव अग्यांन हिरदै आंनई, परिहां दीवा सा बुझि जाइ भिया यहु मानई ॥६ ॥

Lost in confused illusion, you don't perceive death; you think that your sons, wife, wealth, and house are yours to keep.

In your heart you've no knowledge of Hari's name—but alas, like a lamp, you'll be extinguished. Brother, keep this in mind! (6)

83.7

रटौ द्यौस अर रैन आपन पीव कूं, माया मोह जंजार न मेलहू जीव कूं ।
कटुंब बंध घर धंध नही को तेर है, परिहां बादरि की सी छाह जात कहा बेर है ॥७ ॥

Repeat the name of your Beloved day and night, don't give up your soul to illusion's mad net!

Relations and family, house and trade—nothing is yours: won't these quickly vanish, alas, like the shadow of a cloud? (7)

83.8

घरि घरि घरियाल पुकारि कहत है, बहुत गई है आव अलपही रहत है ।
सोवै कहा अचेत जागि, जपि पीव रे, परिहां चलि है आजि क काल्हि बटाउ जीव रे ॥८ ॥

In every house the gong announces: your lifetime is mostly over, and very little remains.

Why do you sleep so mindlessly? Wake up and recite the Beloved's name! Today or tomorrow, alas, your wayfarer soul will pass on. (8)

83.9

जल अंजुरी कौ जात कहौ कहा बेर है, देषत सोचि बिचारि, बात यहि फेर है ।
मै ब कछौ बेर बीस षेल है घावरी, परिहां जीति भावै अब हारि रजा है रावरी ॥९॥

How long will it take the water to flow through your cupped hands? Look and reflect, the story is always the same:

I've told you so often that this is a fatal game. Ah, a win or a loss now depends on you. (9)

83.10

प्रतिषि देषै नैन श्रवनहु सुनत है, क्रसंन बोवै बीजक सोई लुनत है ।
चरन कंवल चित लाइ, देह नेह तजि और स्यौं, परिहां तौरैं बनै न बीर स्याम
सिरमोर स्यौं ॥१०॥

With your eyes and with your ears you can plainly perceive: a ploughman reaps as he sows.

Fix all your thoughts on God's lotus feet, let go of your body and everything else! But brave man, alas, there's nothing to gain if you break away from Śyām, the Supreme. (10)

83.11

तिन तैं हरि^२ का होइ कहा जग जीजिये, तजि ब सुरसुरि नीर कूप जल पीजिये ।
करि वाही कूं यादि आस तजि और की, परिहां जंन बाजीद बिचारि कही है ठौर की ॥११॥

How can those who are Hari's own bear to live in this world, forsaking the gods' river to drink water from a well?

They keep the Lord alone in their minds and hope for nothing else; indeed, the servant Bājīd speaks of the eternal abode most thoughtfully. (11)

83.12

डार छाडि गहि मूल मानि सिष मोर रे, बिना राम कै नांइ भलौ नहीं तोर रे ।
जो हम कूं न पत्यात बूझि किहि गांव मैं, परिहां जप तप तीरथ बरत सबै इक
नांव मैं ॥१२॥

Let go of the branch and seize the root, mind my teaching well! Nothing good will come to you without the name of Rām.

If you don't trust me, then ask any villager. Mantras, austerities, sacred sites and vows—all these, indeed, are in that one name. (12)

83.13

गीत कबित गुन छंद प्रबंध बषानिये, तिन महि हरि कौ नांव निरंतरि आनिये ।
जन बाजीद बिचित्र दुरावै कौन स्यौं, परिहां सब सालन कौ स्वाद लग्यौ एक
लौन स्यौं ॥१३॥

When preaching through songs and *kavittas*, short poems and long ones—constantly mention Hari's name!

How could the servant Bājīd be able to hide that Name from anyone? Surely, it's only the salt that adds spice to the gravy of every vegetable dish. (13)

83.14

अरध नांइ पाषाण तिरै हैं लोइ रे, रांम कहत कलि मांहि न बूडौ कोइ रे ।

करम सु किति यक बात बिलै है जांहिगे, परिहां हाथी के असवार न कूकर षांहिगे ॥१४ ॥

An idol of stone won't get you across, but just half of the Lord's name will. No one in this bad age who speaks the name of Rām has ever drowned.

All things crafted will be destroyed, but dogs can't eat someone riding an elephant.

(14)

83.15

ज्यूं ल्यूं कूर कपटहि गोबिंद गाइये, रांम नाम कै लेत पाप कहां पाइये ।

मन बच क्रम बाजीद कहै तूं लागि रे, परिहां पकरिहु जानि अजांनि जरावै आगि रे ॥१५ ॥

Even with fraud in your mind as you praise Govinda, you won't collect any sin—for you've spoken Rām's name.

Apply your mind, speech, and actions, says Bājīd, to this truth: fire surely burns the hand, whether or not you touch it on purpose. (15)

83.16

एकै नाव अनंत किहु जो लीजिये, जनम जनम के पाप चनोती कीजिये ।

रंचक चिनगि अग्नि आनि धरि अब रे, परिहां कोठी भरी कपास जाइ जरि सब रे ॥१६ ॥

Compress the innumerable names of God into a single name on your tongue, and you'll challenge the sins of all your lives.

This time, make a fire from a tiny spark! A house fully stored with cotton will surely burn down. (16)

84. सुकृत उपदेस कौ अंग – Chapter of Advice on Good Deeds

84.1

दे कुछ दांहिणै हाथ नाथ कै नांइ रे, बिलै न जैहै बीर रहैगौ ठांइ रे ।

सुफल होइ बाजीद समरर्ष्यौ पीव कूं, परिहां आडौ बांकी बेर आइ है जीव कूं ॥१ ॥

Give freely in the name of the Lord and your gift won't be gone, brave man: it will stay with you.

What you dedicate to the Beloved, says Bājīd, always bears fruit: when times are hard it will surely come back to you. (1)

84.2

पैर सरीषी षूब न दूजी बस्त है, मेल्लि बासनि माहि कहा मुंह कसत है ।

तूं जिनि जानै जाइ रहैगी ठांइ रे, परिहां माया दे बाजीद धणी के नांइ रे ॥२ ॥

No valuables can match benevolence. Why do you keep your wealth so tightly stored away?

Don't believe that it will stay with you, says Bājīd, so give it to others—in the Lord's name! (2)

84.3

सकल सौज घर मांझ जीव यहु बूझई, घोर धार अंधेर नैन नहि सूझई ।

लाभै लीजे कहा दूंढि फिरि आवई, परिहां जौ कर दीया होइ तो ब कछु पावई ॥३ ॥

Man searches through all that he has in his house, but in the pitch-black darkness can't see a thing.

How can anyone find anything by searching blindly? Someone with a lamp in his hand, though, will surely find what he needs. (3)

84.4

परमेशुर कै जीव प्रीति सू पूज रे, अतीत अभ्यागत देश न आंनी दूज रे ।
गरद मांझ है मरद फेर नहीं चुष रे, परिहां, अपनी सकति समांन मेल्हि कछु मुष रे ॥४ ॥

Worship with love the people of God, don't think of the sadhu who comes to you as different from yourself.

Some one you helped in distress will not abandon you later. Feed him as best you can! (4)

84.5

देइ दांहिनै हाथि लेइ सो लष में, तुम जिनि जानौ दूरि धर्यौ कांष में ।
साई अपनौ जानि सबनि कूं सींचिये, परिहां माया मुकति राषि हाथ कहा भिंचिये ॥५ ॥

He who gives freely gains by the thousands. Don't think you can hide all your wealth in your armpit!

Recognize your Lord and let the water flow for all; alas, thinking that money will be your salvation, how can you give with open hands? (5)

84.6

पवनहु लगै न ताहि तहां लै गोवई, रीते हाथनि जाय जगत सब जोवई ।
यहु माया बाजीद चलत कहा साथि रे, परिहां, बहते पांनी बीर पषारहु हाथ रे ॥६ ॥

He buried his wealth so deep that even the air couldn't reach it. Then everyone watched him leave empty-handed.

That wealth, says Bājīd, won't go with him. Wash your hands in running water, brave man! (6)

84.7

बाजीद अब कहत पुकारि सीष यहु सुनि रे, आडौ बांकी बेर आइ है पुंनि रे ।
अपनों हि पेट अग्यांन बड़ो क्यौं कीजिये, परिहां, सारी मैं तैं कौर औरहु दीजिये ॥७ ॥

Bājīd now calls you! Listen to my teaching: good deeds will help you in times of need.

Why do you thoughtlessly stuff your belly? Always give at least a morsel of your bread to someone else! (7)

84.8

धन सोई तूं जानि धनी कै अरथ है, बाकी माया बीर पाप को गरथ है ।
ज्यौं ब लगी त्यों तोरि भरइ जिनि भौंन रे, परिहां चढि पांहन की नाव पार गयो
कौंन रे ॥८ ॥

Know that wealth lies with the Lord alone, and sin sticks to all other riches.

Give these away as soon as they come to you: don't stuff your house with them.

Alas, how will you get across in a boat of stone? (8)

84.9

जो ब होइ कछु गाठि, षोई कैं दीजिये, साईं सब मैं आप नाहि क्यौं कीजिये ।
जा कौ ता कौ सौपि क्यूं न सुष सोइये, परिहां अंति लुनैं बाजीद षेत जो बोइये ॥९॥

Give away all that's tied up in your purse. Why don't you act? The Lord is in everything.

Why not surrender your wealth to its owner and enjoy some calm sleep? Of course in the end, says Bājīd, you reap as you sow. (9)

84.10

अरथ लगावहु रांम दांम तूं अपनै, बिछूरैं मिलन न होइ भया सुनि सपनै ।
माया चलती बेर कहौ किनि पकरी, परिहां षौषी हांडी हाथि भरौटौ लकरी ॥१०॥

Live to increase Rām's wealth! Listen, brother, don't even dream that money once gone will return.

Tell me, when someone's time has come, who ever clings to his wealth? Alas, at that time they carry an empty pot and a bundle of firewood for you. (10)

84.11

माया मुकती राषि संग्रहै कौन कौं, बाजीद मुठि यक धूरि लगी है पौन कौं ।
गहरे गाडे दांम कां किहि आइ है, परिहां लोक बटाऊ बीर षोदि कैं षाइ हैं ॥११॥

This wealth you amass that you think of as freedom, who is it for? It's just a handful of dust, says Bājīd, that's thrown to the winds.

What use is a deeply buried hoard of wealth? Travellers will dig it up, brave man, and fritter it away. (11)

84.12

पांहन जैसे दांम धरे जो गाडि कै, गरथ अरथ यहु लाइ जाइ है छाडि कै ।
अरब षरब बाजीद संचे किहि कांम के, परिहां प्रीति सहित पुनि पूजि सनेही रांम के ॥१२॥

Why bury your wealth like stones? Now it's entered in your account, but you'll have to part with it later.

Says Bājīd, what's the use of piling up billions and trillions? Instead, to gain merit lovingly worship the friends of Rām. (12)

84.13

बेगि करहु पुनि दांन बेर क्यूं बनत है, द्यौस घरी पल जांम सु जौरा गिनत है ।
मुष परि दैहै थाप सौज सब लूंटि है, परिहां जांम जालि मै बीर जीव नही छूटि है ॥१३॥

Quickly, give gifts that make merit! Why the delay? Death counts the days, the day's watches, the half hours, and the minutes.

He'll slap your face and snatch all your valuables. Hey brave man, don't leave your soul to Death's net! (13)

84.14

जौरा साधै तीर रैन दिन जीव कूं, धन सु धर्यो किहि कांम समरपौ पीव कूं ।
दै लै षरचि रषावह लोइ रे, परिहां तन मैं हि मन महिमांन आहि दिन दोई रे ॥१४॥

Day and night Death keeps his arrow pointed at mortal men. What's the use of hoarding your wealth? Give it to the Beloved instead!

Carry on with your everyday business and then help others! The mind's a guest in your body for just a couple of days. (14)

85. क्रिपन कौ अंग – Chapter of the Miser (Selected Verses)

85.1

मंगिन आवत देषि रहे मुंह गोइ रे, जदपि है बहू दांम कांम किहि लोइ रे ।
भूषे भोजन द्यौ न नागै कपुरौ, परिहां, बिन बोये बाजीद लुनै कहा बपुरौ ॥

When seeing someone come to beg, he hides his face: for the people, his great wealth is useless.

He's never given food to the hungry or clothes to the naked, how will this weasel reap, says Bājīd, without ever having sown?

85.2

भलै बुरै कहू कोई न दंमरी देत है, माया जंन बाजीद क्रिपन को हेत है ।
पांहन कौ सो हियौ कियौ उहि जंन रे, परिहां गुनिजन गावहु कोरि न रीझत मंन रे ॥

On no account at all will he give anyone even a cent. Money, says the servant Bājīd, is the miser's ground of being.

His heart is made of stone, though singers praise him. Not even a billion singers will satisfy his mind!

85.3

किरपन अपनै हाथ कौडी केहूं जचै, पाइन घूंघरु बांधि बिधाता किन नचै ।
हाड गूद के मांझ न निकसै लोइ रे, परिहां दान पुनि बाजीद करै क्यौं कोइ रे ॥

A miser hates to let a single penny leave his hand, even if the Creator puts on ankle-bells and dances to persuade him.

Just as you can't squeeze blood from bones and marrow, says Bājīd, you'll never extract alms of any kind from a miser.

85.4

कहां लूं षौदै कोय निकट नहि दूरि है, या मानस कौ कांम सु तौ नहि मूरि है ।
बैठहु हीयौ हारि करहु जिनि आस रे, परिहां किरपन माया धरी जाहि जल पासि रे ॥

However deep you dig, you can't get any closer—it always stays far away: you cannot reach the root of this man's greed.

Resign yourself and hope for nothing, the miser keeps his wealth in the depths, where water flows.

85.5

मन राषत दिन रैन मुलक अर माल मैं, किरपन पर्यौ बाजीद काल के गाल मैं ।
फिरि फिरि गाठी गहै देषि तूं रंग रे, परिहां षालहु लैहैं षोसि न जैहै संगि रे ॥

The miser thinks day and night about growing his trade—and thus, says Bājīd, becomes Death's prey.

Look at his passion: again and again he ties up his purse. Alas, he'll be skinned: nothing at all will go with him.

85.6

चौकी पहरा देत द्यौस अर राति रे, जल अंजुरी कौं बीर जतन ही जात रे ।
हाडीमार कै हाथि न हीरा छूटई, परिहां चौर जाइ चमकाई कि राजा लूटई ॥

Day and night he may guard it, but however hard he tries to preserve it, it runs like water through his cupped hands.

Just as a sweeper can always spot a diamond, thieves or kings will surely rob a miser's wealth.

85.7

निस बासुर बाजीद संचै धंन बावरौ, सांझ परी जब बीर कहा अब तावरौ ।
कीड़ी कियौ कलेस बिर्था ही लोइ रे, परिहां तीतर तिल चुगि, गयौ कहत सब कोइ रे ॥

Day and night, says Bājīd, a madman amasses wealth. But where's the heat now, brave man, as the sun begins to set?

People are ants who toil away with a grain in vain, but—as everyone knows—the grain is gone when picked up by a partridge.

85.8

इहै बिचारहु बीर बात मन अपनै, क्रिपन कौं धंन माल जु देषौहु सुपिनै ।
बिकट ठौर की बस्त सु कोई लेत है, बिन मारे बाजीद तरु न फल देत है ॥१० ॥

If you dream of the miser's wealth, brave man, consider the plight of your mind.

Only a few can take hold of something that lies in a place beyond ready reach.

Without being hit, says Bājīd, a tree won't give away its fruit (10)

85.9

ज्यौं थी त्यौंही कही सति सुनि लोइ रे, मन गाढौ करि रहौ न मांगहु कोइ रे ।
क्रिपन अपनै हाथि न कौडी देइगौ, परिहां मणि माथै श्रप मारि कोऊ लेइगौ ॥

Listen people, I've told you how it is! Strengthen your mind and don't beg from a soul!

A miser will never hand you a cowrie. Surely, someone will kill the snake and take the jewel to be found on its head.

85.10

या कौ इहै अरथ जीय महि जानिये, बाजीद दूसरी बात ह्दिदै क्यौं आंनिये ।
मधमांषी ह्वै संच्यौ दे न हसि षेलि कै, परिहां लोग बटौऊ लेत धूरि मुष मेलि कै ॥

Know that this is what he lives for, says Bājīd, how could anything else come into his heart?

He's a bee collecting honey and won't, in fun, give any away. Surely, his heirs will take their shares and then throw dust on his face.

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Appendices

I. Authors and Compositions

Sigla

Manuscripts

Folios are referred to as r(ecto) for the numbered page, and v(erso) for the next unnumbered page.

AMR 875	VS 1732 (see W.M. Callewaert and L. de Brabandere, 'Nirguṇ Literature in Microfilm in Leuven, Belgium', <i>LAVRI Bulletin</i> , no. 9, December 1980, p. 35, Film no. 15)	Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar
Bangha	1600 CE foll.	Imre Bangha, Oxford, edition of manuscripts of the works of Bājīd (current project)
CSSJ 05894	undated	Rājasthānī Śodh Saṁsthān, Caupāsni, Jodhpur
DM 2	VS 1733	Dādū Mahāvidyālay, Jaipur
NPS 2444/1408	VS 1771	Nāgarīpracārīnī Sabhā, Benares
Sharma 3190	VS 1678 (colophon of the relevant part)	Sanjay Sharma Museum and Research Institute (Śrī Sañjay Śarmā Saṅgrahālay evam Śodh Sansthān), Jaipur
VB 12	VS 1743 and 1741 (two different colophons)	Vidyābhūṣaṇ Collection, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur
VB 34	VS 1715	Vidyābhūṣaṇ Collection, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur

Published Sources

BajG *Samt Bājīd-granthāvalī*, vol. 1, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Dillī: Dhārikā Pablikeśans, 2007.

- BV *Baṣanām-vānī*, ed. Bhajandās Svāmī, commentary by Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, 1st ed. by Svāmī Maṅgaldās, Jaypur: Śrī Svāmī Lakṣmīrām Ṭrust, n.d.
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- HG *Hardās-granthāvalī*, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Dillī: Dhārikā Publikeśans, 2007.
- NBhS Callewaert, Winand, and Bart Op de Beeck, eds., *Nirguṇ bhakti sāgar: Devotional Hindī Literature*, 2 vols., South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies, no. XXV, New Delhi: Manohar, 1991.
- RajS *Rajjab kī Sarbaṅgī*, ed. Brajendrakumār Siṃhal, Rāygarh, Chattīsgarh: Brajmohan Sāmvaṛiyā, 2010.
- RV *Rajjab vānī*, ed. with comm. by Sv. Nārāyaṇdās, Ajmer: Nārāyaṇ Siṃh Śekhāvat, n.d. [1967].
- SG Harinārāyaṇ Śarmā, ed., *Sundar-granthāvalī*, 2 vols., Kolkata: Rajasthan Research Society, vs1993.
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	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
1.	Hardās	अवधू बैठां का गति नाहीं	HG, <i>pad</i> 3	GopS 111.2
2.	Hardās	संतौ परजापति गुर कीजे	HG, <i>pad</i> 7	
3.	Hardās	तब जाइ होइ जनेऊ पांडे	Sharma 3190, foll. 338b9a	GopS 45.8; HG, <i>pad</i> 43
4.	Hardās	सुणि लै कोई कान्ह गावै	HG, <i>pad</i> 94	
5.	Hardās	जन का जीव की रे भाई	HG, <i>pad</i> 100	GopS 32.1
6.	Hardās	किहिं बिधि राम की आरति गाऊं	HG, <i>pad</i> 102	RajS 105.5; I49.12

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
7.	Hardās	एक मूंग किया दोइ फाड़ी	Sharma3190, foll. 327-8; HG, pp. 74– 81	HG, pp. 74–81
8.	Hardās	उदिम संजै ज्युं आरसी	Sharma3190, foll. 326–7	GopS 112.10, 98.90–6 (vv. 4– 10); HG, pp. 67– 73
9.	Dādū	तू जिनि छाडै केसवा	NBhS 12.9	GopS 78.77
10.	Dādū	पहले पहरे रैणि दै बंणिजारिया	NBhS 12.32	GopS 108.14
11.	Dādū	अवधू कांमधेन गहि राषी	NBhS 12.64	GopS 84.4
12.	Dādū	गुरुमुषि पाइयै रे	NBhS 12.67	GopS 77.1
13.	Dādū	आप निरंजन यू कहै	NBhS 12.158	GopS 16.8
14.	Dādū	निरंजन नाम के रसि माते	NBhS 12.183	GopS 16.11
15.	Dādū	हरि केवल एक अधारा	NBhS 12.199	GopS 13.2
16.	Dādū	थकित भयो मंन	NBhS 12.227	GopS 65.8
17.	Dādū	अबिगति की गति को न लहै	NBhS 12.228	GopS 29.7
18.	Dādū	ए हूं बूझि रही	NBhS 12.229	GopS 65.3
19.	Dādū	हरि भजतां क्यूं भाजिये	NBhS 12.235	GopS 58.9
20.	Dādū	तौ निबहै जंन सेवग तेरा	NBhS 12.245	GopS 78.78
21.	Dādū	कोली साल न छाडै रे	NBhS 12.279	GopS 20.50
22.	Dādū	भाइ रे बाजीगर नट षेला	NBhS 12.286	GopS 67.41
23.	Dādū	ऐसी सुरति रांम ल्यौ लाइ	NBhS 12.355	GopS 71.1
24.	Dādū	हिंदू तुरक न जाणूं दोइ	NBhS 12.375	GopS 54.6
25.	Dādū	को स्वांमी को सेष कहै	NBhS 12.376	GopS 40.1
26.	Dādū	डरिये रे डरिये	GopS 6.1	NBhS 12.442
27.	Dādū	बाबा इहिं बिधि आरती	NBhS 12.416	GopS 74.1; RajS 149.1
28.	Dādū	आरती जगजीवन तेरी	NBhS 12.417	GopS 74.3; RajS 149.2
29.1	Bakhanām	मन मोटा मन पातला	BV, p. 103	
29.2	Bakhanām	मन मांगै परि देइ मत	BV, p. 103	
29.3	Bakhanām	बषनां मन का बहुत रंग	BV, p. 104	
29.4	Bakhanām	सांकलि जड़्यौ न सील कै	BV, p. 104	
29.5	Bakhanām	मनसा डाकणि मन जरष	BV, p. 104	

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
29.6	Bakhanām	पैंचौ तो आवै नहीं	BV, p. 105	
29.7	Bakhanām	पंच छिकारा मृग इक	BV, p. 105	
29.8	Bakhanām	मांहि रहैं माहैं चरैं	BV, p. 106	
29.9	Bakhanām	मूलदुवारा रोक करि	BV, p. 106	
29.10	Bakhanām	कुमति कसाइणी परनिंघा चूहड़ी	BV, p. 106	
29.11	Bakhanām	चौकौ दै अलगेरो आछे	BV, p. 107	
29.12	Bakhanām	बषनां मन मैलौ रह्यौ	BV, p. 107	
29.13	Bakhanām	तैंही तौ धौला कीया	BV, p. 108	
29.14	Bakhanām	अजौं क्युं आसा रही	BV, p. 108	
29.15	Bakhanām	अठसठि पांणी धोइये	BV, p. 108	
29.16	Bakhanām	बषनां मैल बिचारि करि	BV, pp. 108–9	
30.	Bakhanām	निहौरौ राम निहौरौ रे	BV, <i>pad</i> 22	
31.	Bakhanām	मेरा मन यौं डरै रे	BV, <i>pad</i> 24	
32.	Bakhanām	दुनिया झांवर झोली अलूंझै	BV, <i>pad</i> 32	
33.	Bakhanām	नेड़ौ ही रे राम	BV, <i>pad</i> 40	
34.	Bakhanām	तत बेली रे तत बेली रे	BV, <i>pad</i> 41	
35.	Bakhanām	उधर्यौं जै चाहै तौ	BV, <i>pad</i> 49	
36.	Bakhanām	ऐसा बैद बेद कलि मांहीं	BV, <i>pad</i> 58	GopS 46.7
37.	Bakhanām	राम राइ मैं तरकसबंध तेरा	BV, <i>pad</i> 90	
38.	Bakhanām	मन रे प्रीति कहैं सति सोई	BV, <i>pad</i> 92	
39.	Bakhanām	बिचालै अंतरौ रे	BV, <i>pad</i> 95	
40.	Bakhanām	उपिलौ मारै न मांहिलौ तारै	BV, <i>pad</i> 107	GopS 14.11; RajS 107.9
41.	Bakhanām	सरवरि मरजीवौ डुबकी देइ	BV, <i>pad</i> 124	
42.	Bakhanām	बिछड़्या रामसनेही रे	BV, <i>pad</i> 128	
43.	Bakhanām	मिसर येक रूड़ी कथा कही	BV, <i>pad</i> 132	
44.	Bakhanām	करि आरती आतमा ऊजली	BV, <i>pad</i> 168	
45.	Rajab	दादू जी मात बुलाइ पिता हरि	DM 2, fol. 421r	RV, p. 1180, <i>savaiyā</i> 20
46.	Rajab	दीन दयालु दियौं दुष दीननिं	DM 2, fol. 421r	RV, p. 1180, <i>savaiyā</i> 21
47.	Rajab	संतो भेष भरम कुछ नांहीं	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 749v, ch. 96.25	RajS 101.25; RV, pp. 1047–8, <i>pad</i> 33

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
48.	Rajab	दरसन साच जु साईं दीया	NPS 2444/ 1409, fol. 749v, ch. 96.26	RajS 101.24; RV, pp. 1044–5, <i>pad</i> 29
49.	Rajab	संतो प्राण पषाण न माने	NPS 2444/ 1409, fol. 756v, ch. 102.2	RajS 107.3; RV, pp. 1447–8, <i>pad</i> 33
50.	Rajab	अवधू कपट कला इक भारी	RV, pp. 1046– 7	
51.	Rajab	हिंदू तुरक सुनो रे भाई	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 727v, ch. 78.5	RajS 83.5; RV, p. 1051, <i>pad</i> 38
52.	Rajab	सुणि सुणि बातें बेद की	NPS 2444/1409, foll. 758v– 759r, ch. 103.5	RajS 108.5; RV, p. 1056, <i>pad</i> 44
53.	Rajab	डर है रे मुझ डर है रे	NPS 2444/1409, foll. 692v– 693r, ch. 68.5	RajS 72.5; RV, pp. 1092–3, <i>pad</i> . 101
54.	Rajab	भै है रे मुझ भै है रे	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 693r, ch. 68.6	RajS 72.6; RV, <i>pad</i> 5.19
55.	Rajab	आरति कहु कैसी बिधि होई	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 790r, ch. 144.16	RajS 149.16; RV, p. 1168, <i>pad</i> 208
56.	Rajab	सेवग पूछै साहिब रामां	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 671r–v, ch. 47 (last item)	RajS 47.8–23; RV, pp. 1296– 1300

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
57.	Rajab	प्राण पुरिष की पारिष पाई	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 688v, ch. 65, paragraphs 1-3 between <i>pad</i> 1 and the <i>sākhī</i> part	RajS 65.2-10; RV. pp. 1300-1
58.	Santdās	चैन भई ले बैन रसीले साधनां	VB 34, fol. Folio 297v	AMR 875, fol. 391r
59.	Santdās	काल गति औरैं ही भई	NPS 2444/1409, fol. 745v, ch. 94-5	RajS 99.5
60.	Santdās	कहूं पवाड़ा प्रेम सूं	Thiel- Horstmann, pp. 258-66	
61.	Sundardās	रचना करी अनेक बिधि	SG, pp. 738	
62.	Sundardās	मौज करी गुरुदेव	SG, pp. 383	
63.	Sundardās	ये मेरे देश बिलाइति	SG, pp. 409	
64.	Sundardās	बैल उलटि नायक कौं लाद्यौ	SG pp. 552	
65.	Sundardās	बनिक एक बनिजी कौं आयौ	SG pp. 554	
66.	Sundardās	एक बांणी रूपवंत	SG, pp. 466-7	
67.	Sundardās	बोलिये तौ तब जब	SG, pp. 467	
68.	Sundardās	रसिक प्रिया रस मंजरी	SG pp. 439	
69.	Sundardās	नख शिख शुद्ध कवित	SG, pp. 972	
70.	Sundardās	कोई पिवै राम रस प्यासा	SG pp. 873	
71.	Sundardās	पहली हम होते छोहरा	SG pp. 914	
72.	Sundardās	पहली हम होते छोकरा	SG pp. 914	
73.	Sundardās	हमारै साहु रमइया मौटा	SG pp. 888	
74.	Sundardās	देखहु साह रमइया ऐसा	SG pp. 888-9	
75.	Sundardās	आरती परब्रह्म की कीजै	SG, pp. 937-8	
76.	Sundardās	सिजदा सिरजनहार कौं	SG pp. 289- 93	
77.	Sundardās	सुन्दर षोजत षोजतें पाया	SG, pp. 283-5	
78.	Sundardās	उपदेश श्रवन सुनाइ	SG, pp. 247- 51	

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
79.	Sundardās	सतगुर पाव परत हूं	CSSJ 05894	
80.	Sundardās	पूरण ब्रह्म निरंजन राया	SG, pp. 323-9	
81.	Sundardās	लोग मलीन षरे चरकीन	SG, pp. 1004-7	
82.1	Bājīd	बाजिद हरी जन ऐसा	Bangha	
82.2	Bājīd	बाजीद ढोल ढीमका	do.	
82.3	Bājīd	बाजिद ढोल दमामे	do.	
82.4	Bājīd	बाजीद मरै तै पावै	do.	
82.5	Bājīd	बाजीद जीव दिया जन	do.	
82.6	Bājīd	बाजीद जनम लगौ	do.	
82.7	Bājīd	बाजीद कहां लै वरनीये	do.	
82.8	Bājīd	बाजीद सजन सारीषा	do.	
82.9	Bājīd	बाजीद पलक भई पीव	do.	
82.10	Bājīd	बाजीद सती रती न डर	do.	
82.11	Bājīd	बाजीद चूरी फोरी हत्य	do.	
83.1	Bājīd	और झोर सब छांडि	VB 12, fol. 314r	BajG, p. 74, v. 1
83.2	Bājīd	जनम जात है बादि	do.	BajV, p. 74, v. 2
83.3	Bājīd	राम नाम की लूटि	do.	BajG, p. 75, v. 3
83.4	Bājīd	गाफिल रहे क्यूं बीर	do.	BajG, p. 75, v. 4
83.5	Bājīd	आजि सु तौ नही	do.	BajG, p. 75, v. 5
83.6	Bājīd	भूल्यौ माया मोह	do.	BajG, p. 76, v. 6
83.7	Bājīd	रटौ द्यौस अर रैन	do.	BajG, p. 76, v. 7
83.8	Bājīd	घरि घरि घरियाल	do.	BajG, p. 76, v. 8
83.9	Bājīd	जल अंजुरी कौ जात	do.	BajG, p. 77, v. 9
83.10	Bājīd	प्रतिषि देषै नैन	do.	BajG, p. 77, v. 10
83.11	Bājīd	तिन तैं हरि का होइ	do.	BajG, p. 77, v. 11
83.12	Bājīd	डार छाडि गहि मूल	do.	BajG, p. 78, v. 12
83.13	Bājīd	गीत कबित गुन छंद	VB 12, fol. 314v	BajG, p. 78, v. 13
83.14	Bājīd	अरध नांइ पाषाण लिरै	do.	BajG, p. 78, v. 14
83.15	Bājīd	ज्यूं त्यूं कूर कपटहि	do.	BajG, p. 79, v. 15
83.16	Bājīd	एकैं नाव अनंत किहु	do.	BajG, p. 79, v. 16
84.1	Bājīd	दे कुछ दांहिणै हाथ	do.	BajG, p. 118, v. 1
84.2	Bājīd	षैर सरीषी पूब	do.	RajS 85.43; BajG, p. 120, v. 8

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84.3	Bājīd	सकल सौज घर मांझ	do.	RajS 85.44
84.4	Bājīd	परमेसुर कै जीव		GopS 102.90–1; RajS 85.45;
84.5	Bājīd	देइ दांहिनै हाथि	do.	RajS 85.46
84.6	Bājīd	पवनहु लगै न ताहि	do.	GopS 102.88–9; RajS 85.47, BajG p. 120, v. 10
84.7	Bājīd	बाजीद अब कहत पुकारि	do.	RajS 85.48; BajG, p. 119, v. 3
84.8	Bājīd	धन सोई तूं जानि	do.	GopS 102.92–3; RajS 85.49, BajG, p. 119, v. 4
84.9	Bājīd	जो ब होइ कछु गाठि	VB 12, 314v– 315r	GopS 102.96–7; RajS 85.50; BajG, p. 119, v. 5
84.10	Bājīd	अरथ लगावहु राम	VB 12, fol. 315r	RajS 85.51; BajG, p. 121, v. 13
84.11	Bājīd	माया मुकती राषि	do.	RajS 85.52; BajG, p. 120, v. 7
84.12	Bājīd	पांहन जैसे दांम धरे	do.	RajS 85.53; BajG, p. 104, v. 13
84.13	Bājīd	बेगि करहु पुनि दांन	do.	RajS 85.54; BajG, p. 121, v. 11
84.14	Bājīd	जौरा साधै तीर	do.	RajS 85.55; BajG, p. 105, v. 14
85.1	Bājīd	मंगिन आवत देषि	do.	BajG, p. 102, v. 1
85.2	Bājīd	भलै बुरै कहु कोई	do.	BajG, p. 101, v. 2
85.3	Bājīd	किरणन अपनै हाथ	do.	BajG, p. 101, v. 3
85.4	Bājīd	कहां लूं षौदै कोय	do.	BajG, p. 102, v. 4
85.5	Bājīd	मन राषत दिन रैन	VB 12, foll. 315r–v	BajG, p. 103, v. 7
85.6	Bājīd	चौकी पहरा देत	VB 12, fol. 315v	BajG, p. 103, v. 8
85.7	Bājīd	निस बासुर बाजीद	do.	BajG, p. 103, v. 9
85.8	Bājīd	इहै बिचारहु बीर	do.	BajG, p. 103, v.

	Author	Incipit	Text source	Collated sources
85.9	Bājīd	ज्यौं थी त्योंही कही	do.	BajG, p. 104, v. 11
85.10	Bājīd	या कौ इहै अरथ	do.	BajG, p. 104, v. 12

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3. Glossary

<i>atīt</i>	the one who has passed beyond, an ascetic
<i>ātmā, ātman</i>	self
Bhartṛhari	name of a king of Ujjain who became an ascetic.
<i>brahma, brahman</i>	Supreme Self
<i>cakavā, cakavi</i>	ruddy shelduck (<i>Tadorna ferruginea</i>), a migratory bird spending the winter in South Asia where it is found in wetland and muddy rivers; legend has it that the bird is separated from its mate at night and sends out to it calls of yearning
<i>cakra</i>	a centre of energy in the human (yogic) body situated at or close to the spinal column; the number of <i>cakras</i> varies, but the recognition of six or eight of them is common
<i>cātriga</i>	the pied crested cuckoo (<i>Clamator jacobinus</i>), who arrives in South Asia as the monsoon season is about to start; according to legend, the bird lives only on the monsoon rain drops; its call is interpreted as the cry for rain, and the bird itself, as the lover pining for the beloved
<i>caumāsā</i>	four months of the rainy season during which peripatetic sadhus stay in one place, either a monastery or the home of devotees
<i>cuckoo</i>	see <i>cātriga</i>
Dhru, Dhruv	mythical devotee of Vishnu; the polar star
faqīr	<i>faqīr</i> : a beggar, saint
<i>gandharv</i>	celestial singer (myth.)
Gorakhnāth	the legendary figure, historically perhaps of the thirteenth century, to whom the Nāthyogīs trace their origin
<i>gusāim,</i> <i>gusāmīṃjī,</i> <i>gusaiyā</i>	Lord, the supreme being, holy man; name of a folk deity
Ilā	also called 'Iṛā', the left of the three channels in the yogic body; identified with the moon
<i>jaṅgam</i>	'itinerant, moving', name of a Shaiva community

Jasodhā	Yaśodā, name of Kṛṣṇa's foster mother
<i>kalīma</i>	word, speech, the Muslim confession of faith
<i>maṭh</i>	monastery
<i>melā</i>	religious fair
Nāmā (Nāmdev)	13th- or 14th-century saint of Maharashtra
Nārāyaṇ	name of Vishnu
Nāth	lord, master, name of an ascetic order
Piṅgalā	the right channel in the yogic body; identified with the sun
pir	<i>pīr</i> : Muslim religious master, venerable old person
Prahlād	mythical devotee of Vishnu
ruddy shelduck	see <i>cakavā</i>
<i>saṃnyāsī</i>	an ascetic, (lit. 'one who has laid aside the world')
shaikh	<i>shaiḫ</i> : a reputed elder among Muslims a saint
<i>siddha</i>	perfect or accomplished; a person with powers acquired by yoga
Sudāmā	Krishna's childhood friend
Suṣumnā	central nerve-channel in the yogic body running along the spine
Śyām	'dark', a name of Krishna
<i>triguṭī, tikūṭī</i>	the centre between the eyebrows where the confluence of three imagined nerve-channels, Ilā, Piṅgalā and Suṣumnā, takes place in the yogic body
<i>yati</i>	an ascetic

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 Siddha

In the early modern period, the Sants emerged in North India as devotees of a formless interior god. The volume introduces seven Sant authors living in Rajasthan in the period from the first half of the sixteenth to the eighties of the seventeenth century. It explores their complex cultural background, their literary conventions, and their sectarian network, and presents samples of their poetry in the original Hindi with English translations. By far the most of the compositions in this volume have not been translated before, and of one of these the original text is published also for the first time. Sant poetry has been transmitted in oral and written form. It owes its continuing vitality largely to congregational and private performance. This fact has been illustrated by a number of audio and video samples.

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