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Towards a Critical Edition of Sūr Poems in MS Sharma 3190 and Other Dādūpanthī Codices

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Abstract The chapter relates to the upcoming critical edition of poems with attribution to Sūrdās recorded in the Dādūpanthī. The edition takes the earliest extant Dādūpanthī manuscript compiled between 1615 and 1621 CE (MS Sharma 3190) as the base manuscript and includes a total of seven Dādūpanthī codices predating 1700 CE (in addition to MS 3190, the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab*, the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās*, VB 34, DM 2, VB 12, and AMR 875). The poems on each page presented in the original Braj Bhasha are accompanied by my translation into English and provided with variant readings found in other compilations. MS Sharma 3190 is the second oldest dated collection of Sūr poems and unexamined in previous studies on Sūrdās. The Dādūpanthī strand represents an independent branch of the Sūrdās tradition not accounted for in the 2015 critical edition of the *Sūrsāgar* by Bryant and Hawley. A considerable number of compositions ascribed to Sūrdās in the Dādūpanthī are not included in *Poems from the Early Tradition*. In this chapter, I look into the connections between the manuscripts and examine the profile of the Dādūpanthī codices by presenting the *pads* included in these manuscripts not found in MS Sharma 3190. The cross-examination of manuscripts used for the critical edition includes MS Fatehpur, the earliest anthology with Sūr poems consisting of three different sections, probably copied from three earlier short collections. The section containing predominantly poems of *vinay* genre is compared with *pads* common to MS Sharma 3190.

The edition of the early poems ascribed to the sixteenth-century bhakti poet Sūrdās compiled by Kenneth Bryant and Jack Hawley and published in 2015 deserves respect and praise.¹ It distilled the collection of almost 5,000 poems ascribed to Sūrdās in the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā (NPS) edition of the *Sūrsāgar* by presenting 433 *pads* in circulation in the early sixteenth century, collected in thirteen Vaiṣṇava manuscripts that Kenneth Bryant divided into two families (western and eastern branches). Bryant presented the two families as independent descendants from a common ancestor, and the earliest anthology with Sūr *pads* (MS Fatehpur, 1582 CE) as sometimes mediating between the two but being closer to the western branch.² Bryant made a good start when he later added to these two families a separate Dādūpanthī strand, but he related it to the eastern or Braj branch and citing a manuscript dated 1724 CE as its oldest member.³ The earliest extant Dādūpanthī codex (MS Sharma 3190, 1615–21 CE), and the second oldest dated collection with Sūr *pads*, was not available to him. The codices compiled in the Dādūpanthī monastic milieu in Rajasthan before 1700 CE do not appear in Bryant's genealogical tree, and the *pads* they include are not accounted for in his critical edition.

My edition includes seven Dādūpanthī manuscripts predating 1700 CE: MS Sharma 3190 (1615–21 CE); the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* (c.1620 CE, abbr. RajS); the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās* (1628 CE, abbr. GopS); VB 34 (Vidyābhūṣaṇ Collection no. 34, 1659 CE); DM 2 (Dādū Mahāvīdyālay no. 2, 1676 CE); VB 12 (Vidyābhūṣaṇ Collection no. 12, 1684–6 CE); and AMR 875 (Guru Nanak Dev University Library, Amritsar no. 875, 1675 CE), and will bring to light 138 *pads* collected in MS Sharma 3190 and 63 poems collected in other codices.⁴ Three of the codices used for my edition (MS Sharma 3190, the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab*, and the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās*) predate both or one of the oldest representatives of Bryant's western and eastern branches. The Dādūpanthī manuscripts form an independent strand of the manuscript families, as indicated by their strict selection of poems and a number of important variant

1 The term Sūrdās in this chapter refers to the persona(s) who composed poems under the name Sūrdās.

2 See Bryant 1984: xiv–xvii and 1980: 10–12.

3 See Bryant 1991: 132.

4 The date of the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* has been taken from Callewaert et al. 2000. The dates of MS Sharma 3190, GopS, VB 34, and DM 2 have been taken from Horstmann 2021.

readings when compared with the Vaiṣṇava manuscripts.⁵ Sūr poems recorded in the Dādūpanthī are predominantly of the *vinay* type. About 20 per cent of the remaining *pads* belong to *virah* bhakti. MS Sharma 3190 contains the largest number of Sūr poems compared to other Dādūpanthī codices. The manuscript is a bound *pothī* consisting of 671 folios, with filmed portions starting from fol. 188 *verso*. One hundred and forty-one Sūr *pads* found on the available folios of the microfilm copy of MS Sharma 3190 are arranged in a block entitled *sūrjī kā pad* on folios 451a–471b, with one folio missing from the microfilm reel (fol. 470).⁶ The manuscript contains three located colophons inserted in different parts of the *pothī*, providing different dates.⁷ The part of the codex where the Sūr section is included belongs to the block closed by the colophon providing the date 1621 CE. If we assume that this date refers to Sūr poems, the *pads* collected in the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* (c.1620 CE) might be the earliest example of Sūr poetry in the Dādūpanthī. In contrast to other Dādūpanthī collections, the Sūrdās section in MS Sharma 3190 includes three poems, each repeated twice in different parts of the Sūrdās section. All reveal scribal or redactional intentions to remove the repeated poems and rearrange the material included.⁸ In the two *Sarvāṅgīs* and other Dādūpanthī manuscripts in which Sūr poems form a block, not a single *pad* is repeated twice.

All the compositions ascribed to Sūrdās in the Dādūpanthī are *pads*, except for one line with Sūr *bhaṇitā* quoted among the *sākhīs* in the *Guṇagañjanāmā* (1676 CE)⁹, ascribed to the Dādūpanthī Jagannāth.¹⁰

5 For the elaborate discussion on manuscript families and the Dādūpanthī strand, see Zrnic 2024.

6 For a detailed study of Sūrdās section in MS Sharma 3190, including the list of *pads* in relation to other Dādūpanthī codices, see Zrnic 2024. In addition to the Sūr section, MS Sharma 3190 contains three poems inserted on fol. 311v–312r, after the *Dādū vāṇī*. These three *pads* have the *bhaṇitā* of Sūriyādās, rarely found in the Dādūpanthī codices. One of these *pads* is included in the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopaldās* (Gop 14;19) and classified under *aṅg* 14 (*bhram bidhāsan*, Dispellling error). The two other poems are unique to MS Sharma 3190 and contain a formula that might indicate they belong to a different poet.

7 On the three colophons in MS Sharma 3190, see Strnad 2016: 559–67.

8 On scribal alterations of the content in Sūr section of MS Sharma 3190, including the repeated poems, see Zrnic 2024.

9 The date refers to the earliest version of the *Guṇagañjanāmā* found in MS No. 2 of the Dādū Mahāvidyālay, Jaipur, which has a limited number of folios (fols. 521–36). A much larger version (216 folios) appears in manuscript No. 14b, dated 1796 CE. Callewaert 1998: 412.

10 Line 37 on folio 526a in the short version of the *Guṇagañjanāmā*. With variations, the line also appears in the large manuscript of the *Guṇagañjanāmā*

This compilation consists mainly of *sākhīs* structured in thematic headings or *aṅgs*. A *sākhī* would be an unusual type of composition ascribed to Sūrdās even if it appears within the Dādūpanthī context. If we assume that the signature in the line quoted in the *Guṇagañjanāmā* refers to the same Sūrdās, the line might be a part of a *pad*. Such an example appears in the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās*, where only one line quoted (Gop 61;1) with Sūr signature is not a *sākhī* as it might seem at first sight but belongs to a *pad*.¹¹ The poet's signature in the last or the penultimate line of Sūr poems in the Dādūpanth correlates with those found in the Vaiṣṇava manuscripts, the most recurrent among them being Sūr or Sūrdās, rarely Sūrijadās, Sūriyaudās, and on a few occasions Sūrdās appears along with Madan Mohan.¹²

A comparison of MS Sharma 3190 with other manuscripts used for my edition shows that according to the total number of poems included in a collection, MS Fatehpur contains the smallest proportion of poems shared with MS Sharma 3190, compared to other Dādūpanthī codices. We know that MS Fatehpur consists of three separate sections and contains repeated poems among the sections that show variant readings, which indicates that the anthology is based on three different earlier sources now lost.¹³ A comparison of *pads* common to MS Sharma 3190 and MS Fatehpur shows that the majority of these poems belong to the second section of the latter. As compared to the first and third sections, which are both dedicated primarily to Sūrdās, section two is characterized by the selection of *nirguṇī* Sūr *pads* and a greater inclusion of other *bhaktas*. Table 11.1 lists the *pads* common to MS Sharma 3190 and MS Fatehpur, along with their reference to the section of the latter. Only forty-one such poems in total can be found.

in *aṅg* 27, line 4. I am grateful to Winand Callewaert for alerting me to this line.

11 However, the context of these lines in the two manuscripts is different. Gop 61;1 is quoted among other Sūr *pads*.

12 The *pads* mentioning Madan Mohan are here included as Sūr's since, with one exception, they are classified as such in the manuscripts. For poems mentioning Sūrdās Madan Mohan in the early Dādūpanthī manuscripts compared to Mital's edition, see Zrnic (forthcoming). See also Hiroko Nagasaki's Chapter 10 in this volume.

13 On the three different sections of MS Fatehpur, see Bryant 1983: 38–9.

Table 11.1 Sūr *Pads* Common to MS Sharma 3190 and MS Fatehpur

MS 3190	MS Fatehpur	Section in MS Fatehpur
MS 3190; 2 ⁱ	55 (46)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 6	36 (51)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 8	52 (38)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 10	80 (112)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 11	83 (123)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 14	77 (104)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 17	74 (93)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 21	140 (66)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 22	148 (88)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 23	137 (58)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 29	54 (42)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 35	75 (96)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 38	47 (24)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 39	12 (33)	1 st section
MS 3190; 41	42 (10)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 46	43 (12)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 47	136 (56)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 52	2 (4)	1 st section
MS 3190; 56	39 (3)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 58	54 (44)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 60	52 (40)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 61	24 (66)	1 st section
MS 3190; 62	111 (2)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 63	8 (21)	1 st section
MS 3190; 65	4 (10)	1 st section
MS 3190; 78	147 (85)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 79	112 (6)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 82	45 (17)	2 nd section

Table 11.1 (continued)

MS 3190	MS Fatehpur	Section in MS Fatehpur
MS 3190; 89	48 (28)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 92	38 (2)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 96	44 (15)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 98	48 (26)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 101	68 (75)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 103	49 (30)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 110	45 (18)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 117	48 (27)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 118	84 (127)	2 nd section
MS 3190; 135	32 (90)	1 st section
MS 3190; 136	156 (8)	3 rd section
MS 3190; 139	33 (93)	1 st section
MS 3190; 141	57 (50/55)	2 nd section

- i The serial numbers of poems given in this paper do not necessarily correspond to those in the manuscripts, in which the numbering of *pads* follows the *rāg*-arrangement unless indicated otherwise.

The comparison shows that twenty-six of the forty-one common poems belong to the second section of MS Fatehpur, which contains 178 poems, of which 52 are ascribed to Sūrdās. The remaining poems in this section are attributed to other *bhaktas*. Eight of the above poems belong to the third section, and seven belong to the first section of MS Fatehpur. The first section contains 106 poems, most of which are ascribed to Sūrdās and depict Kṛṣṇa *līlā*. The third section is entirely dedicated to Sūrdās (127 *pads*) and avoids the *vinay* genre. This means that MS Sharma 3190 has no connection to the first and third sections, and contains 50 per cent of Sūr poems included in the second section of MS Fatehpur. In addition to the variant readings of common *pads*, which show more significant deviations than other Dādūpanthī manuscripts where these poems appear, this indicates that the *nirguṇī* section of MS Fatehpur did not serve as a model for Sūr section in MS Sharma 3190.

In addition to 138 Sūr *pads* (once repetitions are subtracted) in MS Sharma 3190, a considerable group of compositions not found in this collection are included in other Dādūpanthī codices predating 1700 CE.

After common poems among the manuscripts have been subtracted, sixty-three such poems exist. Table 11.2 lists Sūr *pads* in other Dādūpanthī manuscripts not contained in the microfilm copy of MS Sharma 3190.

Table 11.2 Sūr *Pads* in Dādūpanthī Codices not Contained in the Microfilm Copy of MS Sharma 3190

RajS	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875
Raj 9;24	Gop 8;12	VB 34; 8	DM 2; 8	VB 12; fol. 116a	AMR 875; 1 Smm
Raj 9;25	Gop 8;53	VB 34; 12	DM 2; 12	VB 12; fol. 116a	AMR 875; 6 Smm
Raj 9;26	Gop 10;32		DM 2; 19	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 7 Smm
Raj 56;8	Gop 17;15		DM 2; 21	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 8 Smm
Raj 58;2	Gop 36;6		DM 2; 22	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 9 Smm
Raj 69;30	Gop 36;7		DM 2; 23	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 44
Raj 69;40	Gop 36;8		DM 2; 24	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 45
Raj 69;41	Gop 36;11		DM 2; 25	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 47
Raj 77;11	Gop 36;12		DM 2; 27	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 48
Raj 141;5	Gop 36;16		DM 2; 28	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 49
	Gop 60;11		DM 2; 29	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 50
	Gop 61;3		DM 2; 31	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 51
	Gop 62;11		DM 2; 32	VB 12; fol. 192b, (28)	AMR 875; 52
	Gop 77;3		DM 2; 35	VB 12; fol. 192b, (31)	AMR 875; 53
	Gop 78;89		DM 2; 36	VB 12; fol. 319a	AMR 875; 54

Table 11.2 (continued)

RajS	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875
	Gop 93;3		DM 2; 37	VB 12; fol. 319a	
	Gop 110;16		DM 2; 39	VB 12; fol. 328a	
			DM 2; 49	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 56	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 57	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 58	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 59	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 60	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 61	VB 12; n.p.	
			DM 2; 67	VB 12; n.p.	

Monika Horstmann has shown a nearly identical structure of the three codices (MSS 3190, VB 34, and DM 2) by comparing their major block patterns.¹⁴ Specifically with regard to the poems of Sūrdās, the filmed portions of VB 34 contain only fifteen Sūr *pads*, which is the smallest number of poems compared to other Dādūpanthī manuscripts. DM 2 and VB 12, on the other hand, contain the most *pads* of Sūr not included in MS Sharma 3190, compared to other Dādūpanthī codices. Sūr *pads* in MS Sharma 3190 show a high proportion of poems shared with other collections (only 4 out of 138 are unique to MS Sharma 3190). Sixty-three *pads* found in the Dādūpanthī manuscripts other than MS Sharma 3190 have a considerably lower frequency of poems shared with other collections. The majority is however included in more than one manuscript. Fifty-nine per cent of these *pads* are found in the NPS edition (thirty-seven poems),¹⁵ and only nine in the Bryant critical edition (14 per cent).

Out of fifty-four *pads* ascribed to Sūrdās in the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* (c.1620 CE), ten poems are not included in MS Sharma 3190.¹⁶ Rajab

14 See Horstmann 2021: 64–9.

15 NPS might contain more shared poems with variations of the *ṭeka*.

16 Three poems in Rajab (Raj 39;51, Raj 39;54, and Raj 40;13), attributed to Sūrdās in Callewaert's index of contents of the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab*, have the signature of Turasī, Rajab, and Bisau respectively, and are not included in my list of fifty-four poems. These poems are also not found in other collections as Sūrdās' poems. In addition to these *pads*, Raj 77;14, also ascribed to Sūr in Callewaert's

has 144 chapters and quotes from 88 identified *bhaktas*. Mainly *sākhīs*, most of which are ascribed to Rajab, and in fewer *pads* are quoted in Rajab. Table 11.3 lists Sūr *pads* in Rajab absent from MS Sharma 3190 in their relationship to other collections.¹⁷ A comparison shows that none of these poems is unique to Rajab. It also demonstrates that more than 50 per cent of these *pads* are classified under *aṅgs* that don't contain poems common to RajS and MS Sharma 3190.

All the poems in Table 11.3 appear in more than one collection (four are in GopS, three in DM 2, three in VB 12, two in AMR 875, one in MS Fatehpur, and six in the NPS edition). Eight out of ten are not in the Bryant edition. If we look at the *aṅgs* under which these poems are classified in Rajab, three of the above *pads* appear in *aṅg* 9 entitled *virah* (Separation), three are classified under *aṅg* 69 (*upadeś citāvanī*, Warnings). The remaining four *pads* are classified under *aṅgs* 56 (*prīti akhaṇḍit*, Total love), 58 (*pativrāt*, Faithfulness), 77 (*bamek samitā*, Reflection on equality), and 141 (*lāmbī*, Depth), respectively. Compared to *aṅgs* that include Sūr poems common to RajS and MS Sharma 3190, four of the above *pads* belong to *aṅgs* that otherwise contain *pads* shared by RajS and MS 3190. *Aṅg* 69 has five shared poems (and three not shared), and *aṅg* 56 one shared poem (and one not shared). The remaining six *pads* in Table 11.3 are arranged in clusters that do not contain poems common to RajS and MS Sharma 3190 (*aṅgs* 9, 58, 77, and 141). The linguistic peculiarities of RajS, which sets it apart from other Dādūpanthī collections, MS Sharma 3190 included, point to a rather distant relation between MS 3190 and the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab*.¹⁸

The situation is different if we look at the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās* (1628 CE), structured in 126 *aṅgs* containing mostly *pads* and *sākhīs* of 138 identified *bhaktas*. Gopāldās includes 17 Sūr *pads* (out of a total of 114 ascribed to Sūrdās) not found in the microfilm version of MS Sharma 3190.¹⁹ The poems not included in MS 3190 are mainly only one per *aṅg*.²⁰ Table 11.4 lists these *pads* compared to other manuscripts.

index of the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* and not found in other collections as Sūr's poem, is a long *pad* of seven lines in which the term *sūr* appears twice. On both occasions, the term refers to the sun. These four poems are not included in my list of fifty-four *pads*.

17 Sūr *pads* common to MS Sharma 3190 and RajS are demonstrated in my synoptic table, see Zrnic 2024.

18 On linguistic and grammatical features in Rajab, see Callewaert 1978: 104–13.

19 One poem without a signature (Gop 17;3) listed as Sūr's in Callewaert's index of the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās* (1993: 28) is not included in my list of 114 *pads*. The poem is not found in other collections as ascribed to Sūrdās.

20 Sūr *pads* common to GopS and MS Sharma 3190 are demonstrated in Zrnic 2024.

Table 11.3 Sūr Pads in RajS Absent from MS Sharma 3190 in their Relationship to Other Collections

RajS	MS Fate- hpur	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875	Bryant edition	NPS
Raj 9;24 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4733
Raj 9;25 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	F 13 (35)	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 328a	–	272	NPS 4239
Raj 9;26 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	AMR 875; 50	222	NPS 3928
Raj 56;8 <i>total love</i>	–	Gop 36;11	–	–	–	–	–	–
Raj 58;2 ⁱ <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	Gop 36;12	–	DM 2; 29	VB 12; fol. 145a	–	–	NPS 4606
Raj 69;30 ⁱⁱ <i>vinay</i>	–	Gop 10;32	–	–	–	AMR 875; 9 (Smm) ⁱⁱⁱ	–	–
Raj 69;40 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	DM 2; 37	VB 12; fol. 192b	–	–	–
Raj 69;41 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 297
Raj 77;11 ^{iv} <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	DM 2; 12	–	–	–	NPS 369
Raj 141;5 <i>depth of love</i>	–	Gop 77;3	–	–	–	–	–	–

i Raj 58;2 appears as anonymous in Callewaert's index of the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* (Callewaert 1978: 415).

ii Raj 69;30 is translated in Zrnica (forthcoming).

iii Smm stands for the Sūrdās Madan Mohan section in MS AMR 875.

iv Raj 77;11 was in later collections ascribed to Kabīr. The poem is absent from the early Kabīr manuscripts and not included in the *Millennium Kabīr vāṇī*. With some variations, it is found in Singh's *Kabīr Bijak* and Dvivedi's *Kabīr* (Rajpurohit 2013: 65 and 71, note 47).

Table 11.4 Sūr *Pads* in GopS not Included in MS Sharma 3190 Compared to Other Collections

GopS	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875	Bry- ant edition	NPS
Gop 8;12 ⁱ <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 8;53 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	DM 2; 8	–	–	–	NPS 123
Gop 10;32 ⁱⁱ <i>vinay</i>	–	Raj 69;30	–	–	–	AMR 875; 9 (Smm)	–	–
Gop 17;15 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 36;6 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 116a	AMR 875; 44	–	NPS 3624
Gop 36;7 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	AMR 875; 45	236	NPS 3999
Gop 36;8 <i>virah</i>	–	–	VB 34; 12	DM 2; 28	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 49	201	NPS 3845
Gop 36;11 <i>total love</i>	–	Raj 56;8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 36;12 <i>virah (bhram- argit)</i>	–	Raj 58;2	–	DM 2; 29	VB 12; fol. 145a	–	–	NPS 4606
Gop 36;16 <i>decep- tion</i>	–	–	–	–	–	AMR 875; 47	115	NPS 2912
Gop 60;11 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	DM 2; 39	–	–	–	–

Table 11.4 (continued)

GopS	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875	Bry- ant edition	NPS
Gop 61;3 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 62;11 <i>vinay</i>	F 43 (14)	–	–	DM 2; 35	–	–	417	NPS 323
Gop 77;3 <i>depth of love</i>	–	Raj 141;5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 78;89 ⁱⁱⁱ <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gop 93;3 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 62
Gop 110;16 ^{iv} <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	AMR 875; 1 (Smm)	–	–

i Gop 8;12 is translated in Zrnic (forthcoming).

ii Gop 10;32 is given in Zrnic (forthcoming).

iii Gop 78;89 is translated in Zrnic (forthcoming).

iv Gop 110;16 is translated in Zrnic (forthcoming).

Thirteen of the above poems are included in more than one collection. Their closest link is with MS AMR 875 (six of the above *pads* are shared by GopS and MS AMR, five are in DM 2, four are in RajS, three in VB 12, only one is in MS Fatehpur, and one in VB 34). Eight can be found in the NPS edition, and thirteen are not in the Bryant critical edition. Six of the above *pads* are classified under *aṅg* 36 (*prem viyog saguṇ saneh prīti*), two under *aṅg* 8 (*sumīraṇ*, Remembrance). The remaining nine *pads* are classified under *aṅgs* 10 (*nāv mahimā nāv bin akārth janm*, Greatness of the Name, useless birth without the Name), 17 (*sādh mahimā*, Praise of the saints), 60 (*bhārosā*, Trust), 61 (*bhārosā bīnatī*, Prayer for trust), 62 (*saguṇ sādḥ milat gobindajī kā guṇāmha*, Meeting the right saint), 77 (*jaraṇālāmbī*, Depth of own experience), 78 (*karuṇā bīnatī*, Prayer for mercy), 93 (*besās*, Faith), and 110 (*tīsrau aṅg cintāvaṇī*, Third *aṅg* of Warnings), respectively. Most of these the-

matic clusters contain Sūr *pads* shared by GopS and MS Sharma 3190, as shown in Table 11.5.

Table 11.5 Thematic Clusters Containing Sūr *Pads* Shared and not Shared by GopS and MS Sharma 3190

<i>Aṅg</i>	Sūr <i>pads</i> contained in <i>aṅg</i>	Sūr <i>pads</i> shared with GopS and MS Sharma 3190	Sūr <i>pads</i> not shared with GopS and MS Sharma 3190
78	22	21	1
61	12	11	1
62	5	4	1
110	4	3	1
17	3	2	1
60	2	1	1
8	5	3	2
36	7	1	6
10	1	0	1
77	1	0	1
93	1	0	1

These statistics strengthen my assumption that the four poems in Table 11.4 classified under *aṅg* 36 might be on the missing page of Sūr section in MS Sharma 3190, as further indicated by the linkage with MS AMR. GopS and MS Sharma 3190 share the highest proportion of Sūr poems and are the closest in terms of variant readings, along with MS AMR 875, which includes six of the above-listed poems, four of which correspond to *pads* in GopS classified under *aṅg* 36.

Among the poems in GopS not included in MS Sharma 3190, four are common to Gopāldās and Rajab, but their sorting by themes differs in the two *Sarvāṅgīs*. Two of the above *pads* in GopS, both classified under *aṅg* 36 (*prem viyog saguṇ saneḥ prīti*), appear in RajS, one under *aṅg* 56 entitled *prīti akhaṇḍit*, and the other one under *aṅg* 58 (*pativrat*). Gop 10;32 classified under *aṅg* *nāv mahimā nāv bin akārth janm* is in RajS classified under *aṅg* 69 (*upadeś citāvanī*). Only one of the discussed common *pads* appears under a similar *aṅg* in both *Sarvāṅgīs* (77 *jaraṇālāmbī* in GopS, corresponding to 141 *lāmbī* in Rajab). Compared to Sūr *pads* shared by the three collections (MS Sharma 3190,

RajS, and GopS), this further shows that the majority of Sūr poems common to GopS and RajS belong to different *aṅgs* in the two *Sarvāṅgīs*.²¹

Among the codices in which Sūr *pads* form a block, the filmed portions of VB 34 (1659 CE) contain the smallest number of Sūr poems. The codex consists of 581 folios; filmed portions are available up to text no. 174.²² As mentioned above, only fifteen Sūr *pads* (on fols. 302a–305b) can be found on the available folios of this collection.²³ Two of these poems are not in MS Sharma 3190 but can be found in other manuscripts, as illustrated in Table 11.6.

Table 11.6 Sūr *Pads* in MS VB 34 not Included in MS Sharma 3190 in their Relationship to Other Collections

VB 34	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	DM 2	VB 12	AMR 875	Bryant edition	NPS
VB 34; 8 <i>vinaya</i> (<i>māyā</i>)	–	–	–	DM 2; 32	–	–	–	NPS 44
VB 34; 12 <i>virah</i>	–	–	Gop 36;8	DM 2; 28	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 49	201	NPS 3845

Both the above *pads* are included in DM 2 (and NPS). DM 2 (1676 CE) is an unbound *pothī*, the manuscript starts with Dādū’s works.²⁴ Sūr poems not included in DM 2 are included in VB 34 and MS Sharma 3190 and those not found in VB 34 can be found in MS Sharma 3190 and DM 2. The available portions of the three collections (MSS 3190, VB 34, and DM 2) have only ten Sūr *pads* in common. A much larger number of Sūr poems not found in MS Sharma 3190 is included in DM 2, which

21 For a comparison of Sūr *pads* in the *Sarvāṅgī of Rajab* and the *Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās*, and their relation to MS Sharma 3190, including the list of common poems, see Zrnica 2024.

22 The condition of MS VB 34 is such that only portions of it could be filmed. Folios following text no. 174 are not on the microfilm reel (Horstmann 2021: 55).

23 For Sūr *pads* common to VB 34 and MS Sharma 3190, see Zrnica 2024.

24 The beginning of the manuscript is damaged. Filmed portions are available starting with *sākhī* no. 64, classified under *aṅg gurudev* in the *sākhī* part of Dādū’s work.

contains eighty *pads* of Sūr (on fols. 430b–435b).²⁵ Twenty-five poems not shared with MS Sharma 3190 are given in Table 11.7.²⁶ Only three of them are in Bryant’s edition.

Of the twenty-five poems in DM 2 shown in Table 11.7, nineteen are included in NPS, seven are in VB 12, five are in GopS, three in Rajab, two are shared with VB 34, two with MS AMR, and two with MS Fatehpur. The majority of these *pads* express *virah* bhakti and are rarely found in other Dādūpanthī codices. DM 2 contains the most *virah* poems ascribed to Sūrdās as compared to other Dādūpanthī manuscripts. Their sequential ordering in the manuscript might indicate copying more directly from a different, perhaps Vaiṣṇava group of manuscripts.

VB 12 (1684–6 CE), consisting of 330 folios, contains seventy-one available poems ascribed to Sūr, of which twenty-five are not included in MS Sharma 3190.²⁷ The *pads* are arranged according to two different principles: thirty-two poems form a block (on fols. 187b–192b)²⁸, the remaining *pads* are found on dispersed folios quoted among compositions of other *bhaktas*.²⁹ The poems are not repeated between the two arranging patterns. The *pads* given in Table 11.8 are those not shared with MS Sharma 3190.

25 One interpolated poem in DM 2 within the section numbered 20 is included in 80 *pads*.

26 Sūr poems shared by DM 2 and MS Sharma 3190 are demonstrated in my synoptic table; see Zrnic 2024.

27 For Sūr poems common to VB 12 and MS Sharma 3190, see Zrnic 2024.

28 One folio of this section (fol. 188a) is missing from the microfilm copy.

29 In addition to these, on fol. 21a in VB 12, a *virah pad* ascribed to Nāpā has been later attributed to Sūrdās. In NPS (158, appendix), the poem is ascribed to Sūrdās.

Table 11.7 Sūr Pads in MS DM 2 not Included in MS Sharma 3190 in their Relationship to Other Collections

DM 2	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	VB 34	VB 12	AMR 875	Bry- ant edition	NPS
DM 2; 8 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	Gop 8;53	–	–	–	–	NPS 123
DM 2; 12 <i>vinay</i>	–	Raj 77;11	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 369
DM 2; 19 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 362
DM 2; 21 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 145a	–	–	NPS 4488
DM 2; 22 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DM 2; 23 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 145a	AMR 875; 54	–	NPS 3953
DM 2; 24 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DM 2; 25 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4348
DM 2; 27 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4605
DM 2; 28 <i>virah</i>	–	–	Gop 36;8	VB 34; 12	VB 12; fol. 147a	AMR 875; 49	201	NPS 3845
DM 2; 29 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	Raj 58;2	Gop 36;12	–	VB 12; fol. 145a	–	–	NPS 4606
DM 2; 31 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 319a	–	–	NPS 345
DM 2; 32 <i>vinay</i> (<i>māyā</i>)	–	–	–	VB 34; 8	–	–	–	NPS 44

Table 11.7 (continued)

DM 2	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	VB 34	VB 12	AMR 875	Bry- ant edition	NPS
DM 2; 35 <i>vinay</i>	F 43 (14)	–	Gop 62;11	–	–	–	417	NPS 323
DM 2; 36 ⁱ <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 166
DM 2; 37 <i>vinay</i>	–	Raj 69;40	–	–	VB 12; fol. 192b	–	–	–
DM 2; 39 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	Gop 60;11	–	–	–	–	–
DM 2; 49 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 375
DM 2; 56 <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	VB 12; n.p.	–	–	NPS 596
DM 2; 57 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4242
DM 2; 58 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4504
DM 2; 59 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DM 2; 60 <i>virah</i>	F 123 (30)	–	–	–	–	–	216	NPS 3905
DM 2; 61 <i>virah</i> (<i>bhram- argīt</i>)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4226
DM 2; 67 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

i DM 2; 36 is translated in Zrnic (forthcoming).

Table 11.8 (continued)

VB 12	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	AMR 875	Bry- ant edition	NPS
VB 12; fol. 147a <i>Vidur's bhakti</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VB 12; fol. 192b <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VB 12; fol. 192b <i>vinay</i>	–	Raj 69;40	–	–	DM 2; 37	–	–	–
VB 12; fol. 319a <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VB 12; fol. 319a <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	DM 2; 31	–	–	NPS 345
VB 12; fol. 328a <i>virah</i> (<i>bhramargīt</i>)	F 13 (35)	Raj 9;25	–	–	–	–	272	NPS 4239
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 595
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 597
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 598
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	DM 2; 56	–	–	NPS 596
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 578
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 576
VB 12; n.p. <i>rāmāyaṇ</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Among the above poems, eighteen can be found in other collections (seventeen are in NPS, seven are in DM 2, four in AMR 875, three in RajS, three in GopS, one in VB 34, one in MS Fatehpur, and three in the Bryant edition). Two of the above *pads* belong to the section entitled *sūrdāsī kā pad* in VB 12. The remaining twenty-three *pads* appear on dispersed folios in the manuscript. Two of these folios, containing the last eight poems listed above, are without a number reference.

MS AMR 875 (1675 CE) includes a peculiar collection of Sūr poems added later to the corpus. Out of eighty-eight *pads* classified under Sūrdās section, ten are not found on the available copies of MS Sharma 3190. In addition to these, five poems classified under a separate section, which includes Sūr *pads* common to MS Sharma 3190, are not found in the latter.³⁰ The identical or nearly identical sequential ordering of Sūr poems in MS AMR indicates that the *pads* were copied from MS Sharma 3190 or a later source closely related to it. My suggestion is that some of the ten *pads* classified under Sūr section in MS AMR and not found in MS Sharma 3190 appear on the missing folio of the latter (fol. 470). Table 11.9 lists *pads* in AMR 875 not found in MS Sharma 3190.

Two of the poems in Table 11.9 classified separately in the manuscript (AMR 875; 1–9) appear in GopS, one is in RajS, and one in NPS. These are *vinay* poems. Eight of the ten *pads* of Sūr section (AMR 875; 44 onwards) can be found in the NPS edition, six are included in the Bryant edition, four in GopS, four in VB 12, two in DM 2, one in RajS, one in VB 34, and one in MS Fatehpur. Except for AMR 875; 48, the remaining nine *pads* of this section listed above are *virah* poems. The four *pads* of Sūrdās section common to GopS and MS AMR in Table 11.9 have a greater possibility of being quoted on the missing folio of MS Sharma 3190. Compared to DM 2, which contains a similar number of Sūr compositions like MS AMR (80 in DM 2 vs. 88 in Sūr section of AMR 875), according to selection, arrangement, and variants, the latter appears to be a direct copy from MS Sharma 3190.

30 For the two separate sections in MS AMR and its relation to MS Sharma 3190, including the list of poems, see Zrnic 2024.

Table 11.9 Sūr *Pads* in MS AMR 875 not Included in MS Sharma 3190 Compared to Other Collections

AMR 875	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	Bry- ant edition	NPS
AMR 875; 1 (Smm) ¹ <i>vinay</i>	–	–	Gop 110; 16	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 6 (Smm) <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	NPS 4412
AMR 875; 7 (Smm) <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 8 (Smm) <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 9 (Smm) <i>vinay</i>	–	Raj 69;30	Gop 10; 32	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 44 <i>virah</i>	–	–	Gop 36;6	–	–	VB 12; fol. 116a	–	NPS 3624
AMR 875; 45 <i>virah</i>	–	–	Gop 36;7	–	–	–	236	NPS 3999
AMR 875; 47 <i>deception</i>	–	–	Gop 36;16	–	–	–	115	NPS 2912
AMR 875; 48 <i>vinay</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 49 <i>virah</i>	–	–	Gop 36;8	VB 34; 12	DM 2; 28	VB 12; fol. 147a	201	NPS 3845
AMR 875; 50 <i>virah</i>	–	Raj 9;26	–	–	–	–	222	NPS 3928

Table 11.9 (continued)

AMR 875	MS Fate- hpur	RajS	GopS	VB 34	DM 2	VB 12	Bry- ant edition	NPS
AMR 875; 51 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	–	VB 12; fol. 145a	223	NPS 3929
AMR 875; 52 <i>virah</i>		–	–	–	–	–	–	–
AMR 875; 53 <i>virah</i>	F 35 (97)	–	–	–	–	–	228	NPS 3957
AMR 875; 54 <i>virah</i>	–	–	–	–	DM 2; 23	VB 12; fol. 145a	–	NPS 3953


i AMR 875; 1 and 6–9 are translated in Zrnica (forthcoming).

Conclusion

Once the common *pads* to these codices are subtracted, the Dādūpanthī manuscripts predating 1700 CE contain 201 Sūr *pads* that my edition will bring to light. Out of these, 138 are in MS Sharma 3190, and 63 not found in MS Sharma 3190 are included in other Dādūpanthī manuscripts. Eighty-six *pads* contained in MS Sharma 3190 are not included in the Bryant and Hawley critical edition. In addition to these, out of 63 poems included in other codices, 54 are not in their edition (*Sūr's Ocean: Poems from the Early Tradition*). This gives the total number of 140 *pads* recorded in the Dādūpanthī and absent from Sūr's *Ocean*. Sūr poems in MS Sharma 3190 show a higher degree of *pads* shared by several collections than those included in other Dādūpanthī manuscripts and not found in MS Sharma 3190. Unlike the majority of the shared poems with MS Sharma 3190, which remain *vinays*, the poems in other collections not included in MS Sharma 3190 are mostly *virah pads*. The distance of these poems from MS Fatehpur is the biggest compared to manuscripts of the Dādūpanthī branch (only four of the discussed sixty-three *pads* are included in MS Fatehpur). This confirms the independent development of the early Dādūpanthī strand. Exclusively with regard to Sūr poems, MSS 3190, VB 34, and DM 2 show considerably fewer affinities than MSS 3190, GopS, and AMR 875. The *pads* discussed

in this chapter might indicate that compilers of Dādūpanthī codices, apart from copying poems attributed to Sūr from each other, also drew on a larger (pre-)existing pool of such compositions, or, alternatively, that they themselves might compose such poems and ascribe them to Sūr in the *bhaṇitās*. Early codices compiled after MS Sharma 3190 clearly show that there was no intention to increase the material ascribed to Sūrdās on the Dādūpanthī side, in contrast to what we see gradually happening in the Vaiṣṇava manuscripts during the same period.³¹ The Dādūpanthīs were much more conservative and very strict in their selection, which results in a distinctive image of a strictly morally oriented poet.

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31 On the growth of composition ascribed to Sūrdās in the Vaiṣṇava manuscripts, see Hawley 1984: 35–63 and 2005: 194–207.

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