

NĀTH AND DĀDŪPANTHĪ CRITIQUE OF JAINS

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1. Critique of Jains in vernacular religious literature¹

In northern Indian vernacular literature of the early modern period ideological difference and rivalry between religious groups were articulated in a number of literary forms. Especially three of these come to mind, namely, debate on doctrinal differences, hagiography, and blame. While the various forms may blend, they are usually distinguishable as trends and more often than not by their stereotypes. This paper focuses on blame, which castigates deficits of the other and pronounces moral claims that the author explicitly or implicitly sees fulfilled in his own group. Blame has a cousin in the genre of instruction to one's disciples, for teachers point to bad examples. Both, blame and instruction, may also be articulated in the same composition. Both again are related to other literary forms, such as formal catalogues of religious prescriptions and proscriptions. Vernacular literature shares this with its Prakrit and Sanskrit ancestors. Blame is strongly stereotyped which makes it hard, if not hazardous, to extrapolate from a composition heaping blame on adversaries to social reality. Compositions articulating blame often appear as satire, which in visual representation has a counterpart in caricature (Habighorst 2012).

The acid quality of literary blame may obfuscate that it can hardly be taken to fully reflect the relations between rival groups. Harsh criticism and more conciliatory forms of contact may very well coexist and take each their own course.²

This paper focuses on the critique of the Jains as articulated by two authors and first circulated in Rajasthan. One is a Nāth, named Prithīnāth, and the other a Dādūpanthī by the name of Rajab. The Nāth composition may be from the sixteenth century, while the Dādūpanthī one is from the seventeenth. While they have for their target the Jain *sādhus*, notably Śvetāmbara *sādhus*, the Dādūpanthī text makes also swipes at the Jain laity, seen to be duped by the *sādhus* or duping one another. Both texts are written in a variant of western Hindi in

¹ I was stimulated to write this article by John Cort's (2015) article "Jain Perceptions of Nāth and Haṭha Yogīs in Pre-Colonial North India" and by the oeuvre of Prithīnāth which I am currently editing. I wish to thank John Cort and Jérôme Petit for painstakingly commenting on an earlier shorter version of this paper, and Eva de Clercq, Peter Flügel, Anand Mishra, Rahul Bjorn Parson, Jaroslav Strnad, and Minyu Zhang for crucial comments.

² For which see section 4.

which Braj Bhāṣā, the eastern Rajasthani, and proto-Khaṛī Bolī Hindi blend. Prithīnāth's text is here edited and translated for the first time, while Rajab's is translated for the first time.

In early modern Rajasthan, all the three mentioned religious groups were powerful. The Jains had been established in western India since ancient times and with a number of well-constituted branches, while little is known of the social organization of the Nāths, who composed the vernacular texts preserved in manuscripts from the seventeenth century. In western India, however, the symbiosis of Jains with Nāths can be traced back to ancient times, with Jain sacred places often occupying the same space as Nāth sites or superseding these. Illustrative of this is the fact that both Nāths and Jains claim Pṛthvīnātha and Neminātha as their ancestors (White 1996: 119). Three facts about the Nāths of the early modern vernacular tradition can be taken as established. One is that all of them shared in a long-standing religious and literary tradition which is evidenced by the great uniformity of the topics, style and terminology of their works. Another is that they were adherents of a religion that put emphasis on the interior journey leading to liberation in the esoteric body and being supported by the yogic practice of breath control. Conversely, they rejected exterior emblems of Nāth yogis following another tantric tradition of physical practice and emphasizing feats performed allegedly thanks to supernatural powers. The third fact is that all those Nāths have an affinity to the bhakti religion as it was propagated by the Sants. Nāths are more often than not defined as Śaivas. This is no longer tenable for the Nāths appearing as authors of the vernacular compositions. Their tradition reveals no doubt Śaiva roots, and its yogic terms reflect this: Śiva is the supreme self integrating the individual self; the state of supreme perfection is the union of Śakti and Śiva, and in the topography of the esoteric body this is located at Śivapurī or Kailāsa. In its devotional thrust, however, the Nāth tradition of the vernacular texts hardly any longer relates to sectarian Śaivism. The supreme Self is often named Nirañjana, a term converging with Sant terminology. H.P. Dvivedī (NSB, p. 19) aptly stated that the various branches of Nāthyoga that were allegedly started by Gorakṣanātha comprised all sorts of religions, which all shared the commitment to yoga.

In Rajasthan, manuscripts of Sant literature have been preserved from about the turn of the seventeenth century. Up to the eighteenth century, Sant manuscripts were in their great majority Dādūpanthī manuscripts.³ In these, by an often hierarchically arranged sequence of texts and by express reference to Nāths in individual compositions, these figure as revered forebears of Dādū and his followers. Not the Nāths, whose state of constitution as an order at that time is quite unclear, but the Dādūpanthīs were the first to disseminate both entire corpora of vernacular Nāth literature together with Dādūpanthī and other bhakti literature, notably in one and the same manuscript. The most famous among these Nāth works first transmitted by

³ The Sikh tradition is ignored here.

the Dādūpanthīs is the Hindi *Gorakh-bānī* (GB). There prevails thus an interdependence between Nāths and Dādūpanthīs. Like that of all other Sants, the Dādūpanthīs's bhakti rests on the Nāth tradition, while the Nāth tradition of the vernacular compositions as they appear first in Dādūpanthī manuscripts represents an accommodation to Sant bhakti.

The frictions between the groups that triggered blame from the pen of Nāths and Dādūpanthīs arose from social and religious differences. Numerous of these are clearly reflected in the texts under review and will be discussed below. Broadly speaking for the case of Jains and Dādūpanthīs, a shared trading caste constituency and thereby rivalry for patronage must have been a social cause of friction. For rivalry between Jains and Nāths, this may have developed as a general stance in the course of their shared ancient history. With so little known about the organization of the Nāths who produced vernacular literature in the period prior to the seventeenth century, acute cases of social friction between these and the Jains cannot be pointed to at the present state of research.

Jain traders and money-lenders enjoy a broadly shared bad reputation for their greed and lack of commiseration with the poor.⁴ While this does echo in Rajab's text, it is not in the focus of either of the texts, which address the vices of mendicants rather than laymen.

Explaining the relationship between Jains, on the one hand, and Nāths and Dādūpanthīs, on the other, as a dichotomy between upper versus lower castes remains inexhaustive. Jains are of course dominated by a trading caste constituency, while Nāths and Dādūpanthīs jubilantly boast of their social inferiority and rejection of orthodox Hindu mores. Moreover, to distinguish them further from the Jains, if not in terms of high versus low, there were both Nāth and Dādūpanthī Muslims. As for "inferiority" or being "low-caste," however, this is paraded by both Nāths and Sants as a badge for eligibility for salvation. It is deceptive to identify this straightaway with social identity. For the Dādūpanth, we know that in the first century of its existence, its constituency comprised Hindus and Muslims and castes ranging from Brahmans to artisans. Both the Nāths and the Sants possess impressive literary traditions, and of the Dādūpanthīs we know that scribal skills were also the property of *sādhus* from other than the typical scribal groups, such as Brahmans, Kāyasths and traders. The oldest available Dādūpanthī manuscript, for example, was scribed by a Jāt (Strnad 2016: 562). Caste did not automatically determine the intellectual and social parameters of the personalities that shaped the Nāth or Sant religious culture.

The two texts targeting the Jain mendicants come from the milieu of religious specialists. Prithīnāth may or may not have been a *sādhu*, but took great pains to set off the ideal *sādhu* from the religious fraud. This concern runs through his entire oeuvre. The very term *sādhu* need not be limited to a monk but can also refer to the ideal devotee regardless of his

⁴ For the position and reputation of Jain traders as usurers, see Hardiman 1996a and 1996b; compare also p. 12.

station in life. The doctrine and practice Prithīnāth expounds in his verse treatises may have concerned the *sādhu* in the technical sense of the word rather than the layman. Prithīnāth's oeuvre was transmitted first and perhaps exclusively in the monastic tradition. For Rajab, he was a direct disciple of Dādū and a monk.⁵ The circulation of both texts must have been limited to relatively narrow sectarian confines. As a part of his collected works, Prithīnāth's text made it into Dādūpanthī manuscripts, but so far has not been traced outside of these.⁶ Rajab's text seems not to have been circulated in manuscripts outside of the Dādūpanth. While at least Prithīnāth rhetorically turns to the Jains, Rajab expressly addresses a Sant audience. I would argue that their critique of the Jains was intended by both authors to admonish their own disciples not to stray from the path laid out for them by their gurus. The Jains served as the negative foil on which the Nāths' and Dādūpanthīs' religious righteousness was projected. Blame, satire, and slander lend themselves to present oneself in the brightest light so that the other is blackened by the darkest shadow. In a striking manner they emphasize sectarian bonds, boost the morale, or at least provide entertainment. Religious blame is an age-old genre and its evergreen popularity calls for repetition, perhaps also without imminent cause. A *sādhu* of some literary aspiration would not only learn how to compose distichs and songs, but also texts of "instruction" (*upadeśa*) and, its cousin, blame.

Nāths and Sants shared in the pursuit of *brahman*-gnosis and accordingly demanded that the seeker revert his attention from the world to the interior. They rejected the religious norms of orthodox Hinduism (*varṇāśrama-dharma*), and replaced them by their own norms. To them, orthodox religious norms and practice were pointless if the practitioners of these lacked the one essential property: insight into *brahman*. Proper insight would reveal that the superior Self and the self were one. The Nāths' and Sants' commitment to nondualism clashed with the principles of Jain religion. According to them, the Jains hold false ideas and are notorious hypocrites, because they do not go by the compass of *brahman*-gnosis. As has been pointed out by Paul Dundas (2001: 231f.),

[e]xtreme forms of behavior indicating an attempted direct engagement with some variety of unconditioned or unmediated reality seem to have been advocated only within those South Asian traditions that had nondualism as an ideological basis. The Jains, pluralist realists throughout their intellectual history, have consistently rejected nondualism and its philosophical affine, monism, whether of Hindu or Buddhist provenance, as equivalent to idealism.

⁵ See section 3.1.

⁶ I speculate that the manuscripts on which NSB is based are Dādūpanthī ones, too. Access to these is currently impossible.

The texts of Prithīnāth and Rajab are cases in point of this doctrinal difference aggravated by social issues.

1.1. Religious blame: A cliché and its early modern variants

Nāths and Sants were derisive of the representatives of the sum total of religions beyond the pale of their own creeds. According to them, those religions were represented by a bunch of fools and hypocrites. The totality of religious systems they called the “six religions,” literally the “six views” (*ṣaṭa darasana*), a term reminiscent of the conventional list of six major philosophical systems, but not identical with these.⁷ When enumerated, the items of the list are found to vary, but Jain mendicants are never missing. In his *Bhaktamāl* (1660), the Dādūpanthī hagiographer Rāghavdās is seen to use the rubric *ṣaṭa darasana* to comprise *saṃnyāsīs*, Nāth *yogīs*, Buddhists - though in fact he only mentions the Buddha - , *jaṅgamas*, Jains, and *śaikhs* (Muslims).⁸ In Rajasthan, the term “six views” for the totality of religions was so common that it figured in the designation of an office and in a religious title. In Mewar, the office in charge of religious institutions was designated as the “office of the six views,” and, for example in Jaipur, the honorary title “king of kings of the six views” conferred upon a high-ranking religious dignitary.⁹

There was a minimal cliché that captured the “six religions,” and this could be elaborated on in endless variation, often to remarkable satirical effect (Horstmann 2012). Two instances of this, one from a Nāth and the other from a Dādūpanthī author, will do for illustration:

Prithīnāth (16th century) says,¹⁰

Forming ideas on the six religions and six learned men

The days pass by.

⁷ In his *Ṣaṭ-darśana-samuccaya*, Haribhadrasūri (9th cent.; SDS) discusses the Bauddha, Naiyāyika, Sāṃkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika, and Jaiminīya (Mīmāṃsā) philosophical systems. Another traditional list of the six systems comprises Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika.

⁸ Rāghavdās completed his hagiography in 1660, but all the versions that have come down to us show incisive changes made from 1800 by commentators and later redactors. Therefore also the rubric *ṣaṭa darasana* can not taken beyond doubt as part of the original. In some versions, the last two of the six are missing so that they were relegated by the modern editor to an appendix (RBhM-Nah).

⁹ For the office, see Clémentin-Ojha (forthcoming). For the title, this was, for example, accorded to the Rāmānandī *mahant* Bālānand of Jaipur (*mahant* 1752–1797).

¹⁰ In the original, *ṣaṭa darasana ṣaṭa sāstrī/ina kauṃ kalapatahīm dina jāṃhi* (cited according the oldest available manuscript of the compositions of Prithīnāth, dated 1615; for a variant reading, see NSB, p. 77).

And Dādū (d. 1603) says,¹¹

Yogīs, jaṅgamas, sevarās, Buddhists, saṃnyāsīs amd shaikhs,
In the absence of Rām, Dādū, the six religions are garbs of fraud.

This cliché and variants of it had come down to the Nāths and Sants from various sources, which spanned the oral and written tradition. The more or less flexible cliché that we find in vernacular literature can for example be traced back to a passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (7th cent.). That passage cannot be broken down to the grid of a cliché but is at least reminiscent of the frozen popular cliché. The same passage may also go some way to explain the transition from "six views" to "totality of religions." Bāṇa describes a motly crowd of holy men and contrasts this with the equipoise of the serene Buddhist monk Divākaramitra. This description has the satirical potential often found exploited in the cliché relating to ascetics as we find it in vernacular Nāth and Sant literature. In the relevant passage, the holy men are thronging to receive instruction from Divākara, and King Harṣa also goes to meet him (HC-CT, pp. 235-37):

Then in the middle of the trees, while he was yet at a distance, the holy man's presence was suddenly announced by the king's seeing various Buddhists from various provinces seated in different situations, - perched on pillars, or seated on the rocks or dwelling in bowers of creepers or lying in thickets or in the shadow of the branches or squatting on the roots of trees, - devotees dead to all passion, Jainas in white robes, white mendicants,¹² followers of Kriṣṇa, religious students, ascetics who pulled out their hair, followers of Kapila, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, followers of Kaṇāda, followers of the Upaniṣads, believers in god as a creator, assayers of metals, students of legal institutes, students of the Purāṇas, adepts in sacrifices requiring seven ministering priests, adepts in grammar, followers of the Pañcarātra and others besides, all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying, and explaining, and all gathered here as his disciples.

¹¹In the original, *jogījaṅgama sevarē, bauddha saṃnyāsī śekha/ṣaṭ darśana dādū rāma binā, sabai kapaṭa ke bhekha* (DB, *sākhī* 14.33).

¹²The original of the passage translated as "devotees dead...white mendicants" reads, "... *vītarāgair ārhatair maskaribhiḥ śvetapaṭaiḥ pāṇḍurabhikṣubhir bhāgavatair varṇibhiḥ keśaluñcakaiḥ*...": "...passionless followers of the Arhats, Maskarīs, Śvetapaṭas, Pāṇḍura mendicants, Bhāgavatas, Varṇīs, those who pull out their hair..." (HC, pp. 422-23).

In the cited passage, Jains are mentioned as wearers of white robes (*śvetapaṭa*) and thereby identifiable as Śvetāmbara *sādhus*,¹³ and as those who pull out their hair, but they are also ranged more specifically with followers of particular philosophical tenets. They form a fluid rather than a systematically defined category. Another feature of the quoted passage is that it distinguishes between categories of seekers of instruction: One is that of ascetics, another that of philosophers, yet another that of a variety of specialists like assayers of metals and so forth, and finally one of the specialists of various ritual systems. The passage indicates that rather than to systemize, the aim of Bāṇa was to emphasize an abundance of religious styles. The expression of abundance, more often than not satirized as an abundance of follies, has remained the chief function of the corresponding cliché that we find in vernacular religious literature. Interesting in the cited passage is the mentioning of the representatives of particular religious-philosophical systems, for the description of their category may have formed one among the trajectories along which the term “six views” became a short-hand term for “all religions.”

More than any other tradition, the tantric tradition of the Siddhas as it is represented by the authors united in the Apabhraṃśa *Dohākośa* and *Caryāgītikōśa* is fundamental to both Nāth and Sant literature.¹⁴ This is not to say that those Apabhraṃśa works are related to these literatures by a lineal genealogy. First of all, the Siddhas’ identity is elusive; secondly, Nāths and Sants name as Nāth Siddhas hardly any of the authors known from those two works but recognize as their own masters and spiritual ancestors, respectively, an additional number of Nāth Siddhas of a later period, and, thirdly, the authorship of the compositions in both the Apabhraṃśa works and the vernacular Hindi tradition is ascribed rather than factual, and ascriptions to authors are also floating.¹⁵ The nine Nāth Siddhas mentioned in vernacular genealogies have been attested since about the thirteenth century, but besides these, many more Nāth Siddhas are mentioned in Hindi texts (White 1996: 92f.; NSB: 3–5). The floating tradition of couplets and songs lent itself to being connected with the great names of the past or was indeed adapted to their own needs by individual vernacular Nāth authors. The reason why the venerable figures of the past were conjured up to authenticate much younger vernacular compositions must probably be sought in the evolution of distinct lineages in their name that became ultimately known as the Twelve Paths of the Nāths.

In the *Dohākośa*, Saraha is the author whose religious critique is most expansive and represents a template, whose author he may not have been, but which runs through all

¹³ On the specific meaning “Śvetāmbara”, see Jaini 2008: 13, 15.

¹⁴ For translations, see DK and CG.

¹⁵ For various lists of Siddhas and Nāth Siddhas, see White 1996: 81-6.

subsequent literature, both vernacular and Sanskrit. According to Roger R. Jackson (*Dohākośa*, p. 19),

[i]n the first fifteen verses of his *Treasury*, Saraha takes on, in succession, brahmin ritualists ..., who are denounced for their pointless recitations and sacrifices; mendicant ascetics ..., who are mocked for their deceit, hypocrisy, and greed; Jain renouncers..., who are ridiculed for their obsession with physical austerities; Buddhist monastics ..., who are chastised for their dress-up games, their intellectualism, and their attempt to desiccate the mind through meditation; Mahāyānists ..., who are described as sophists and verbal gymnasts; tāntrikas ..., who are said to be obsessed with mantras, maṇḍalas, and mystic initiations; and practitioners of all kinds....

In verses 6–9, Saraha lampoons the Jains, in the original named *khavaṇa* (DK, pp. 55-6):

The long-nailed yogin
looks filthy,¹⁶
goes naked,
pulls out his hair by the roots.
Jains mock the path
by the way they look;
they deceive themselves
in teaching freedom. (6)

If going naked means release,
then the dog and the jackal
must have it;
if baldness is perfection,
then a young girl's bottom
must have it. (7)

If flashing a tail means freedom,
then the peacock and yak
must have it;
if leftover food turns to wisdom,

¹⁶ This age-old stereotype has a delightful variant in *Harṣacarita* (HC-CT, pp. 134-35): "...straight against him (Harṣa) came a naked Jain, bedecked with peacock's tail-feathers, a fellow all lampblack as it seemed with the collected filth of many days besmirching his body."

then the elephant and horse
must have it. (8)

Saraha says:

It seems to me for Jains
there is no freedom:
the body
deprived of the real
only gains isolation. (9)

Further on in time, in the mid-sixteenth century, Jāyasī described in *Padmāvat* (probably 1540–1541) the ideal geography of Siṃhaladvīpa, its flora and fauna, and its holy men (2.30):¹⁷

At every step there are wells and stepwells, well-made sitting-places, and stairways, (1)
As well as many water reservoirs all over, all the pilgrimage places duly named are
there, (2)

Monasteries and kiosks have been created everywhere; all religious settlements brim
with muttered prayer and austerities. (3)

There are great *ṛṣis*, *saṃnyāsīs*, servants of Rām, ascetics holding month-long fasts, (4)
There are those who follow the course of perpetual celibacy, and the naked sky-clad
ones (*digambara*), (5)

There are *sarasvatī-siddhas*,¹⁸ *jogīs*, and other renouncers who follow the path of
disillusionment, (6)

¹⁷ P, p. 34. Translation by the author. The original reads:

paiga paiga para kuām bāvarī, sājī baṭaka au pāmvarī/ (1)
auru kuṃḍa bahu ṭhāṃvahim ṭhāūm, saba tīratha au tinhake nāūm/ (2)
maḍha maṃḍapa cahuṃ pāsa saṃvāre, japā tapā saba āsana māre/ (3)
koī rikhesvara koi sanyāsī, koi rāmajana koi masavāsī/ (4)
koī brahmacarja paṃtha lāge, koi digambara āchahim nāmge/ (5)
koi sarasuti siddha koi jogī, koi nirāsa paṃtha baiṭha biyogī/ (6)
koi mahesura jaṃgama jatī, koi eka parakhai debī satī/ (7)
sevarā khevarā bānaparastī sidha sādha avadhūta/
āsana māri baiṭha saba jāri ātamā bhūta// (8)

¹⁸ White 1996: 225–7.

There are *maheśvaras*,¹⁹ *jaṅgamas*, *jatis*,²⁰ and those who worship the *śakti* of the Goddess, (7)

sevarās, *khevarās*, forest-dwellers, *siddhas*, *sādhakas*, and *avadhūtas*, (8)

They have burnt themselves and the elements and established their seats there. (9)

At about the same time, we find the cliché occurring also in the *Ādigraṅth*, where it is, for example, subtly reworked in *Āsā kī vār* (AG, *Āsā kī vār* 6).²¹

With the Dādūpanthīs and other Sants, the cliché functions typically as the opening or coda of serial compositions denouncing “all religions” from the perspective of superior insight. The *Bhrama-vidhvamsa-aṣṭaka* (Octave on the destruction of error) of Sundardās (according to tradition, 1596–1689) is a case in point:²²

Sundar has observed and probed the knowledge of everyone:

As long as he does not contemplate Nirañjana, no one should feel satisfied. (1)

I have examined the six religions: the habits of the *jaṅgamas*, *shaikhs*, *saṃnyāsīs*, *sevarās*, *paṇḍits*, and *bhaktas*. (2)

...

The follower of the Arhant-dharma is in deep error; he pulls out his hair but is shameless,
He craves delicacies, eats sweets, and is under the sway of sex,
He sees with eyes of flesh, while a fire burns in him; instead of seizing the essential, he
throws it away.

Dādū’s disciple Sundar has dispelled error, and plays in the state of detachment. (5)...

¹⁹ For Māheśvara Siddhas, who were practioners of alchemy, see White 1996: 101-03.

²⁰ This is an instance of the term *jati* being used in a wider sense than in the more restricted sense of Śvetāmbara mendicant, the type of Jain *sādhus* relevant to this article.

²¹ Composed by Gurū Nānak and Gurū Aṅgad and thereby not later than 1552, the year of the death of Aṅgad.

²² SG, pp. 235–38; for this passage, pp. 235f.

*sundara deṣyā sodhi kaiṅ saba kāhū kā gyāna/
koī mana mānai nahīṅ binā nirañjana dhyāna//1//
ṣaṭa darasana hama ṣojiyā yogī jaṅgama ṣeṣa/
sanyāsī aru sevaḍā paṇḍita bhaktā bheṣa//2//*

...

*tau arahata dharamī bhārī bharamī keśa uparamī beśaramī,
jī bhojana naramī ṣāvai ṣuramī manamatha karamī ati uramī/
aru dṛṣṭi su caramī antira garamī nāhūṅ maramī gahi ṭhelā,
dādū kā celā bharama pachelā sundara nyārā ṣelā//5//*

...

In the introduction to his *Sarvāṅgayoga-pradīpikā* (Light on yoga in all its categories), the same Sundardās reworks the cliché into a virtual carnival of less than wise holy men and religious styles.²³

1.2. Classes of Jain mendicants mentioned in clichés

The variants of the cliché reviewed above do not provide a rigid typology of Jain mendicants by their branches. The intent of all authors mentioned was to debunk established religion. Nevertheless, we may sort out more details about those mendicants. Bāṇa’s description “... *vītarāgair ārhatair maskaribhiḥ śvetapaṭaiḥ pāṇḍurabhikṣubhir bhāgavatair varṇibhiḥ keśaluñcakaiḥ...*,” “...passionless worshippers of the Arhats, Maskarīs, Śvetapaṭas, Pāṇḍura mendicants, Bhāgavatas, Varṇīs, those who pull out their hair...” was commented on by Śāṅkara Kavi (date unknown). He paraphrases *ārhatair* as “worshippers of the Arhant, naked *kṣapaṇakas*,” *maskarībhiḥ* as “houseless ascetics (*parivrājaka*),” *śvetapaṭaiḥ* as “wearing white woollen blankets, a particular class of naked *kṣapaṇakas*” (*śvetoraṅkambalivāsair nagnakṣapaṇakabhedaiḥ*), *pāṇḍurabhikṣubhir* as “those who are free of defilement,” *bhāgavatair* as “devotees of Viṣṇu (*viṣṇubhaktair*),” *varṇibhiḥ* as *brahmacārins* (*brahmacāribhiḥ*) and *keśaluñcakaiḥ* as “appropriately named ones” (*yathārthanāmabhiḥ*). According to Śāṅkara, then, the Jain mendicants are naked (*nagnakṣapaṇaka*), which corresponds to Digambaras, or naked *kṣapaṇakas* wearing white woollen blankets, which rather points to Digambaras distinguished from the stark-naked ones by being wrapped in a white woollen blanket.²⁴ The *keśaluñcakas* derive their name from the characteristic rite of pulling out their hair which would apply to both Digambara and Śvetāmbara mendicants.

Saraha defines Jain mendicants as naked *kṣapaṇakas*, that is, Digambaras. Jāyasī speaks of *sevarās* and *khevarās*, which corresponds to *śvetapaṭas* and *kṣapaṇakas*, whereas in Sant literature we usually encounter *sevarās* and *jatis* as the representatives of Jain mendicancy. Although *yatiljati* may denote any ascetic, not only a Digambara or a Śvetāmbara one, the term refers more specifically to Śvetāmbaras. *Yatis/jatis* are usually identified with Śvetāmbara monks descended from temple-dwelling *sādhus* (Dundas 2002: 152, 136-38). Rarely however does one encounter elaborate Sant critique of these. While *digambara* ascetics are targeted, these are to be understood as naked ascetics of sorts and not specifically naked Jain mendicants.

²³ V. Ś. Agravāl refers to this in his commentary on P 30.0 (p. 35). For a translation of Sundardās’s text, see Horstmann 2012. I now consider the argument I made in this publication methodologically flawed in so far as the more ancient cliché furnished descriptions that were carried over from an earlier period and are therefore hardly adequately interpreted by pointing to cultural features prevailing in the seventeenth century.

²⁴ On the specific meaning “Śvetāmbara”, see Jaini 2008: 13, 15.

The samples of critique cited below come from Sant literature dating from around 1600, a time by which naked Digambara monks had become rare in reality, if not as an ideal.²⁵ By that time, Digambara culture had become chiefly represented by the *bhaṭṭārakas*, monks of pontifical rank and lifestyle, “wearing orange robes both inside and outside the monastery and taking them off only when eating or when initiating another *bhaṭṭāraka*” (Dundas 2002: 124). They seem not to have formed a focus of Sant critique but can be suspected to have been included in the Sant caricatures of luxury-loving monks.²⁶

Dādū’s disciple Sundardās (d. 1689), for example, lumps together *yatis*, Nāths, *digambaras*, and Jains so that *digambara* must be taken to mean any naked religious man, while Jains are rather qualified by fancy dress:²⁷

By pulling out one’s hair, he does not become a *yati*; by splitting one’s ears, not a *yogī*,
Sundar says: How will this bring about perfection? For its uselessness it is rather a stock
of laughter. (23)

Sundar says: There went *digambaras* dressed in sackcloth,
And there were those who had lost their home, donned a tiger skin and turned tigers
themselves. (24)

There are Jains, wearing red, yellow, or white robes, or those dyed with cutch,
Sundar says: I have seen all those costumes, but nowhere peace of mind. (25)

Satire penned by *sādhus* usually targets the Jain mendicants. Occasionally however one finds also lay Jains being satirized. One author to be named is Bakhnā, a lay disciple of Dādū who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was deft at satirizing in epigrams types of people or vices. Among these is the type of the greedy Digambara Sarāvagī merchant:²⁸

“I eat once in two days, once in three days, I eat on the eighth and fourteenth lunar day!”
Why does he proclaim his vow with fanfare?

²⁵ Cort 2016; for scattered nineteenth-century reports of naked *munis* representing the ancient ideal of the naked Digambara monk, see *ibid.*: 203f.; also Cort (forthcoming).

²⁶ See for example Sundardās’s satire on the hypocrites where he jumbles all of them and their malpractices together: “... some wear monastic garbs, orange-coloured or otherwise; some mutter prayers and stand deep in water. (34) Some don red and yellow garments, some precious linen, some wear exquisitely dyed outfits, some dress in silk. (35)” (Horstmann 2012: 105).

²⁷ SG, p. 735, *sākhī* 16.23-25.

²⁸ BV-S, p. 117, *sākhī* 15.5-8. The oldest available manuscript of the complete works of Bakhnā is of 1723. Select compositions of Bakhnā feature in anthologies, but the quoted verses could not be traced in these.

Bakhnā says: A Sarāvagī is he who does not get involved with the three.²⁹ (15.5)

He is a Sarāvagī who does not keep a she-buffalo; or if he does, he will keep her fettered,
Or else he will end up drinking unstrained water. Jain layman, I am familiar with your
dharma. (15.6)

Bhakhnā begs to advise the Sarāvagīs, and they should bear no grudge against him:

Let a dharma-conscious person observe his dharma and not be enraged at others.

Out of thirty-two ten remain; where have the other twenty-two gone? (15.7)

He opens his shop at midnight and punctiliously weighs out the grain.

Why does he not feel compassion at that time, why does he not reflect?

On top of the twenty-two, the remaining ten will also vanish. (15.8)

Bhakhnā polemicizes against the Sarāvagīs' shows of fasting while at heart they are mired in greed. Being traders, Sarāvagīs are unlikely to keep she-buffaloes, but the cow or she-buffalo is a common trope for the mind roaming about in the world and needing to be subdued ("fettered") lest she lead man astray. Drinking unstrained water would be a sure proof of a Jain having strayed from dharma. The arithmetic of vv. 15.7-8 remains puzzling.³⁰

2. Nāths and Dādūpanthīs as critics of the Jains

In Nāth and Sant literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century the critique of false religious stance and practice and the praise of superior insight was largely phrased in stereotypes. While variations of these are galore, they rarely extend over more than isolated couplets or songs

²⁹ That is the world of phenomena consisting of the three basic qualities.

³⁰ I thank John Cort for trying to help with the interpretation, and also three other renowned experts of Jaina Studies whom he contacted for this, namely, Padmanabh S. Jaini, Paul Dundas, and Kristi L. Wiley. In his commentary on Bakhnā's works, Brajendrakumār Siṃhal speculates that Bhakhnā speaks of the thirty-two characteristics of proper religious behaviour recognized by the Digambaras (BV-S, p. 117, commentary on vv. 7-8). He says that they split off from the Digambaras as the Bāīs-panthī sampradāya. According to him, these Bāīs-panthīs claim that out of the thirty-two recognized marks of a Digambara only twenty-two were preserved and that they would be the guardians of these, while in fact they lost all of them by their misdemeanour. He does not give sources for this statement. There also comes to mind the Śvetāmbara reformist offshoot named Bāīstolā whose initiation is alternatively attributed to Dharmadās (b. 1644/45 or 1646/47; d. 1702/03 or 1716/07) and Manohardās (1623–?; initiated ca. 1642; d. ?1714). For Dharmadās, see Flügel 2000: 58 and 2012: 31, and for Manohardās, Flügel 2003: 179-80. Manohardās was a Surāṇā Osvāl from Nāgaur and initially a follower of the Nāgaurī Loṅkāgaccha. Later on he became a disciple of Dharmadās. He is said to have separated from the Loṅkāgaccha and founded his own tradition around 1642. This would tally with the Rajasthani regional context of Bakhnā. If Manohardās was the founder of the Bāīstolā, Bakhnā's authorship of the above-quoted verses 15.7–8 becomes doubtful. Bakhnā's lifetime spans the end-sixteenth century to perhaps sometime before 1636 (the traditional date of the death of Dādū's successor Garībādās, whom Bakhnā praises, but whose death he does not mention). He may therefore have been active prior to Manohardās.

listing the vices. Comparatively few compositions go beyond this format and the repetition of the all too familiar. The critiques of the Jains presented and discussed here belong to these.

Before entering into these and to broaden the perspective, a word on the Jain views of Nāths and Dādūpanthīs. As for Gorakhnāth and Haṭhayoga, Jain views varied (Cort 2015). John Cort sees two different kinds of yoga reflected in the lense of Banārsīdās (early 17th century) on the one hand, and Ṭoḍarmal (18th century) on the other. Banārsīdās, Cort argues, engaged sympathetically with the interior Sant-Nāth yogic stance attributed to Gorakhnāth, while Ṭoḍarmal categorically rejected the Haṭhayogīs with their particular practices. In the light of the widely accepted stance of the Nāths writing in the Hindi vernacular, this perceived relatively rigid distinction may be difficult to confirm, for these Nāths advocated for *brahman*-gnosis firmly based on the yogic concept of the body and the practice of breath control, thus blurring that distinction.³¹ The Jain rejection of monistic religion was articulated clearly by Jodhrāj Godikā, a propounder of the Digambara Terāpanth, who in 1669 dismissed summarily twelve religious groups, amongst these those of Dādū, Kabīr, Nānak.³² He alleged that the Terāpanth was founded as the thirteenth religious group (*terā* may mean “thirteen”) to redress the errors of these.

2. Nāth critique

The Nāth critic presented here represents a Nāthism highly interiorized and rejecting exterior emblems and feats of religion, magic and yogic purificatory rites (*ṣaṭ karman*), and sexual practices as they were inherited from the Kaula type of Śaivism. This type of Nāthism converges in many ways with Santism, which the Dādūpanthīs duly acknowledged by incorporating its literature into their manuscripts.

2.1. Prithīnāth

Prithīnāth is commonly known as Prithīnāth “Sūtradhāra.” He often names himself in his numerous compositions, but uses this epithet but once.³³ It occurs regularly in the hybrid Sanskrit colophons of the twenty-eight compositions constituting his *Jogasāstra* and first found compiled in a Dādūpanthī manuscript of 1615.³⁴ The *Jogasāstra* consists of texts of instruction,

³¹ See section 2 and compare also the case of Mohan Mevāraū, a *yogī* turned Dādūpanthī (Horstmann, forthcoming).

³² Cort 2002: 53. For the original passage, see Bhārill 1973: 25, partly quoted by Lath (AK-L. p. lviii). Jodhrāj mentions the Sants in one breath with cults of popular religion.

³³ *Solaha-tithi-graṃtha*, v. 18 (Sharma MS. 3190, fol. 635r).

including one *gāyatrī mantra*, a mantra litany in the vernacular mixed with hybrid Sanskrit and hence of a different genre.³⁵ In one of these texts, the *Haṃsarūpa-bigata-grantha*, the author speaks of himself as a “carpenter” (*bāḍhāī*) and belonging to the Nāg caste (v. 77), and, a little later (v. 80), as being both the sculptor (*silāvaṭ*) and the image (*mūrti*) and of everyone praising his stone (*silā*).³⁶ A synonym of *silāvaṭ* is *sūtradhār*.³⁷ *Sūtradhār*, in its turn, is also a designation of carpenters. It is, however, unclear if Prithīnāth really identifies himself by his caste or uses those caste designations allegorically. In the Dādūpanthī tradition, there are legends about Prithīnāth suggesting that he was a *sūtradhāra* by caste, that is an architect or master mason, perhaps a Kumhāvāt.³⁸ Among his works, one is entitled *Śūtradhāṇī-karatā-kathita-grantha* (Book of the narrative of the maker, who is the chief architect).³⁹ In this the Invisible Man (*alaṣa purisa*), God as maker of the world, is called *śūtradhāra* (that is, *sūtradhāra*; v. 1 pass.) or *śūtradhāṇī*, tentatively translated as “chief architect” (v. 5 pass.). Another composition of Prithīnāth bears the title *Mana-stambha-sarīrāṃsādhāra-grantha*⁴⁰ (Book on the foundation of the pillar of the mind and the parts of the body) which also uses tropes of masonry. The author’s epithet suggests that he saw himself as a mason engaged in erecting by way of yoga the imperishable esoteric body and as inseparable from the chief architect of the world. Prithīnāth lived after Kabīr, whom he mentions, and before the seventeenth century, for his works as they appear first in the Dādūpanthī manuscript 1615 form a compilation copied from an earlier source. In this each work was concluded by the same colophon, differing for the respective title. The earliest Dādūpanthī anthologies by Rajab (SarR-I and SarR-S, undated, but prior to Gopāldās) and Gopāldās (SarG, 1627 C.E.) quote from the works of Prithīnāth, who was indeed kindred in spirit to the early Dādūpanthīs. He refers to an

³⁴ Sharma MS. 3190, fols. 600r-651v.

³⁵ Prithīnāth also composed songs (*pad*), but no similar collection of these has been traced so far. Epigrammatic compositions of his have been recorded separately. His *Sādha prakhyā* seems to represent largely a collection of epigrammatic compositions. See NSB, pp. 70-84.

³⁶ Sharma MS. 3190, fol. 645v.

³⁷ Singh 1993: 21.

³⁸ The term can also mean “stage director.” Rāghavdās spoke of Mohan Daftarī, the amanuensis of Dādū, figuratively as a *sūtradhāra* holding all the strings in his hand like a puppeteer, that is, having command over the editorial organisation of Dādū’s oeuvre. The verse in question occurs in the longer version of the *Bhaktamāl* (RBhM-Nār, p.692, *manahara* 504): “...like the puppeteer who sits in the house and pull the strings at the door, ...” (...*jaise sūta sūtradhāra maṇdira uṭhāve dvāra*...).

³⁹ Sharma MS. 3190, fols. 638v-39v; the manuscript has the caption *Sutradhāṇīkartākathigrantha*.

⁴⁰ Sharma MS. 3190, fols. 638v-39v.

unnamed guru or to Guru Gorakhnāth, but Gorakhnāth must be taken as the ancient fountainhead of the Nāth tradition and therefore the quintessential “true guru” (*satguru*). This may imply that Prithīnāth did not form part of a regular lineage. While for Prithīnāth *brahman-*gnosis is harnessed to the yogic practice of breath control, he is contemptuous of shows of supernatural powers or the practice of “splitting the ears,” probably referring to splitting the cartilages of the ears, which at some point in time became an obligatory feature of the initiation into the highest rank of Nāth ascetics.⁴¹

Some information on Prithīnāth is provided by Rāghavdās in *Bhaktamāl* (1660):⁴²

He had met Guru Gorakhnāth, the treasury of wisdom, and in this way he reached across the three worlds.

In Agra he had a debate with Akbar; when he performed a miracle, the emperor was scared.

The *brahman-*words gushed forth from him in a stream of blazing fire; he composed many doctrinal works (*gramtha sidhānta*).

Rāgho says: Day and night he was engrossed in Rām. By contact with him many were saved.

This makes him a contemporary of Akbar. True to the hagiographical style, his yogic accomplishment is described as manifesting itself in miracle working. As for the description of him as a teacher of yoga, this could hardly be phrased more adequately than in the third line of the cited verse. Again and again Prithīnāth speaks of the amazing stream of blazing *brahman-*fire, the fire drying up all that is transient and gushing forth when self and Self are united. How akin Prithīnāth was felt to be to the Sants is illustrated by the last line, where he is said to have been engrossed in Rām, as the Sants would name the supreme self. The corpus of his collected compositions is indeed named *joga-sāstra* (*yoga-śāstra*), which meets the classification “doctrinal work” (*siddhānta*).

In Rāghavdās’s hagiography, the Nāths actually described are but a handful, whereas that description is prefixed by conventional lists of nine and twenty-four Nāths, respectively. This is another indication of the changes made in Rāghavdās’s original composition. Prithīnāth

⁴¹*Bhrama-vidhvamsana-gramtha*, v. 55 (Sharma MS. 3190, fol. 619v.), cited in SarG, p. 398, chapter 79, *sāṣī ślok* 22:

*kāṃna phaḍāṃvahi mūṃḍha muṃḍāṃvahi, jīvata agani samāṃhīṃ/
mana ke ghāle āpa gamāṃvahīṃ, būḍī mūvā jala māṃhīṃ//*

They split their ears, they shave their heads, while still alive they enter the fire.

With minds dissolute, they waste themselves; they have drowned themselves to death.

⁴²RBhM-Nah, pp. 141-42, *indava* verse 288.

is the last Nāth actually treated by him upon which he proceeds to speak in a single verse about the *jaṅgamas*.

Of the twenty-eight works of the compilation of Prithīnāth's oeuvre transmitted in the manuscript of 1615 - apart from this, it also contains at least three of his songs - , four form part of an eighteenth-century collection named *Nāth siddhōṃ kī bāniyām* (Works of Nāth Siddhas), edited by H. P. Dvivedī (NSB). The text discussed here is not included in these.⁴³

Prithīnāth's critique of the Jains is a composition of 40 verses entitled *Jaina-(vāra) dharma-sīla-samādhi-grantha* (Book of the dharma, virtue, and final absorption suitable for the Jains).⁴⁴ First found in the above-mentioned Dādūpanthī manuscript of 1615, the text is here published for the first time.⁴⁵

2.2. Jaina-vāra-dharma-sīla-samādhi-grantha (*Book of the dharma, virtue and final absorption suitable for the Jains*)

First I make obeisance to the feet of the guru, who revealed to me true discipline.⁴⁶

He acquainted me with the five elements; exhausted from rebirth, I am released (*kevala*).

(1)

⁴³ The four works are *Sādha praśyā grantha*, *Nirañjana niravāṃna grantha*, *Bhakti vaikuṅṭha joga grantha*, and *Sabadī*.

⁴⁴ In VB MS. 34, probably scribed in VS 1710, the text is listed as missing in its caption the word *vāra*, which I take to correspond to Sanskrit *vārya*, "best, superior" (Bahurā and Dīkṣit 1961: 48). In the compilation of Prithīnāth's works, the colophon consists of a *phalaśruti* verse and the title of the work:

*baktā ca bhava gyāṃṇī, śrutā mokṣi labhyate/
baktā śrutā na jānāṃmi, vṛthā tasya jīvanaṃ//
iti śrī prithīnātha śutradhāre/maṃta mahāpurāṇe/sidhyanāṃma śrī* (name of the text) *jogasāstraṃ
samāsivaṃ//*(number of the text in the compilation)//

May the speaker be wise and the listener attain salvation,

If speaker and listener are ignorant, their life is in vain.

The book "(name of the text)" in the yoga treatise named "Perfection" in the *mahāpurāṇa* containing the view of Prithīnāth Sūtradhāra is completed. (Number of the text in the compilation).

The order of texts in the compilation of Prithīnāth's works was not canonical. For the order of the individual texts in it, VB MS. 34, probably of VS 1710, differs slightly from Sharma MS. 3190.

⁴⁵ Sharma MS. 3190, fols. 637r-38v. For this manuscript, see Strnad (2016).

⁴⁶ Or: truth and discipline.

Let me advise⁴⁷ the Jains:⁴⁸ We come to the earth (*samosaraṇa*) and leave again, even kings do.

But by whispered prayer to the rhythm of 600,021 breaths one emerges perfect. (2)

He enlightened me on the kind of dharma by which fear is put to flight and no further stay in a womb is to be suffered. Prithināth: Few men emerge as absolute (*kevalī*) from the narrow path of wisdom. (3)

By exploring the Place (*pad*), karma falls off; by exploring the Place, all error is wiped out;

By exploring the Place, the veil opens; by exploring the Place, one finds the gods. (4)

By exploring the Place, one becomes absolute (*kevala*); by recognizing the Place, one goes to heaven.

Innumerable *siddhas* reach across to the pure place Om̐. (5)

They do not explore the Place, but pull out their hair; what teaching is derived from pulling out one's hair?

With mind and thought unsteady, how can one trust a view (*darasana*)? (6)

Without subduing the mind, asceticism is impossible; if one goes by false appearance, liberation is not attained,

What is the purpose of going to the forest to practise austerities as long as the fickle mind is not stable? (7)

The true guru prospers if he is no longer afraid of birth and death,

The *jīva* thrives on matter (*pudgala*); who can speak of dharma in the absence of matter? (8)

There is no Jain (*sarāvaga*) if there is no matter; if one does not make an effort, one is just born and disappears,

But if someone practices yoga systematically, he becomes a pure divine *arhant*. (9)

The *jatis* do not understand where their thoughts drift, they do not understand what entices them to roam.

If they give up their life and body; where then are the *jatis* in absence of a body? (10)

As long as body and mind graze the pasture one must consider self and other as identical;

When the arrogance of the five thieves is destroyed and by subduing what is fickle, one wins the abode of release. (11)

Prithināth: Consider him a Jain (*sarāvaga*) who mistakes the trap for the Place,

⁴⁷ Lit.: "This is my instruction to..."

⁴⁸ The text has *jaina bodha*. In his commentary on *Harsacarita* (HC, p. 423), Śaṅkara Kavi comments on "jainair" by "jainair buddhair", making Jains and Buddhists sharing one category, if not identifying them. In vernacular texts, too, the "jaina bodha/baudha" often form a pair; in the present context, the Jains are again made to share a category with Buddhists, who are otherwise not mentioned in the text.

Everyone warns against traps, but few are able to distinguish the trap from the proper place. (13⁴⁹)

Some preachers may interpret “trap” as “string,” they are clueless, trading in deception. If the trap consists in washing, everyone [avoiding this] will go to heaven. (14)

The real trap is laid in the body, but rather than realizing this they do not wash.

The trap consists in being shut off from the cascading water; if one attains this, the body becomes divine. (15)

It flows in the sky, it’s not on earth, without the guru no one can obtain it.

The trap is that the *jīva*’s drop may flow off, for by virtue of this drop there is no becoming or dissolution, no day or night. (16)

If this drop flows unchecked, can it be otherwise than that the *jīva* dies times without end?

Priceless is that single drop which makes a *mahāpuruṣa* arise in the world. (17)

Asceticism consists in the balance of the elements; if this is stable, the drop will not flow off.

An unbaked pot gets soaked and leaks; how can asceticism be performed if the *jīva* does not thrive? (18)

Prithīnāth explains: Tell me, what will asceticism be propped on if there is no body?

This would resemble a pauper starving in a drought; once he is dead, tell me, how is he supposed to see fat years? (19)

With a *jati* liberated at his lifetime, not a bit of the drop will flow over at the door.

He fasts by breath control, age does not affect him and he will not die. (20)

He closes the nine doors and shuts the poison out at the opening of the tenth door.

He considers the nine treasures to be only of this kind, and then the marvellous unstruck sound speaks. (21)

As for asceticism of gleaning, Prithīnāth says, those who glean insipid grains insipid are rare.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ There is no verse numbered 12.

⁵⁰ “Asceticism by gleaning” (*sīla tapa*, *recte: sila tapa*): Sustaining oneself by gleaning forms a superior form of right livelihood for Brahmans (Manu 4.5; 10). In Prakrit, it occurs as an idiom: *na ekammi paḍiyāre donni karavâlāiṃ māyanti, na aloṇiyam silam koi caṭṭei*, “No one carries two swords in one scabbard, nor does anyone eat insipid gleanings” (JS, p. 58, lines 31-2). Compare also GB, *sākhī* 239cd and the commentary of Baṛathvāl on this line: *svāmī silā aluṇī kahīye, jini cīnhā tina dīḥī*, “Svāmī, gleanings are called insipid; he who has understood what they truly are, sees them.” Here and in the usage of Prithīnāth, the idiom refers to the yogī who has attained *brahman*-gnosis. Prithīnāth uses it also in his *Nakṣatra-joga-grantha*, v. 29 (Sharma MS. 3190, fol. 636r):

You must regard this *jīva* as of perfect shape; who in it is man, who woman? (22)

His mind deluded and his senses constricting him, he retreats to the forest out of fear of women.

If the drop flows over instead of staying at the base,⁵¹ it runs off like water from a broken pot. (23)

He does not recognize the *paramahaṃsa*,⁵² but in the grip of his senses walks off to the forest.

In his mind, his capriciousness⁵³ mocks him: What's the gain of settling in the forest? (24)

If breath and body go there, how will the senses be illuminated in the house?

Everyone speaks of the drop, but few attain the Great Drop. (25)

It does not diminish, it does not flow off; this is no drop that runs down through the mouth.

This drop is at play at the tenth door, moving like water with the brightness of fire. (26)

The man who finds the Place where the stream of fire flows makes it his own and earns himself the name of a *kumāra*.

Mindful of this, *jīva* remains enclosed in the mussel; Prithīnāth calls this *mahātapa*. (27)

This is the real virtue, this the real dharma; if one reflects on this, error is dispelled.

This is the ridge of all virtue, difficult to tackle, along this the *mahāpuruṣa* completes the path.⁵⁴ (28)

This is the dharma of *jīva*; he who is the guardian of the *jīva* is served by kings who for his sake resign.

The life-breath (*haṃsa*)⁵⁵ does not leave the body and fly away, the *jati* is absorbed in the sky-cave.⁵⁶ (29)

If someone has not thought about this dharma, what was the purpose of his being born on earth?

Everyone quotes words of Gorakh, but rare are those who pick up the insipid gleanings.
If someone attains discrimination by reflecting on yoga, he makes himself a god.

⁵¹ This refers to what is in his terminology *mūladvāra*, the *cakra* at the bottom of the esoteric yogic body.

⁵² Lit., an ascetic of the highest rank. Garībdās (AP, v. 103) gives this as an epithet of the Lord (*paramesvara*).

⁵³ Lit., “the power of thought” (*manasā saktī*).

⁵⁴ The translation is tentative because the reading is uncertain. In the text, *ghāṭa* rhymes with *ghāṭa*; more correct would be *ghāṭa* (“path”)...*bāṭa* (“mountain pass, ridge”), in this or reversed order.

⁵⁵ An equivalent of *prāṇa*, according to AP, v. 51.

⁵⁶ For *bhramara guphā*, see p. 21.

In the temple of the moon, in the heat of the sun - if he returns to settle there, time will not affect him. (30)

Mindful of this, he is absorbed like flame in flame, the word erupts, the place of liberation [is reached].

Then the body enters absorption, otherwise it remains [confined to] taking views. (31)

It is difficult to reflect on the effort of the *jīva*, only by effort innumerable *siddhas* reached the shore across,

Mindful of the fact that all men are one, Pārasnāth reached perfection. (32)

Only then is one in possession of the best of the *ṛṣis* and gods and so transforms the impure body into a deity.

Give up the corruption of the five senses, and you will acquire dharma and conquer the world. (33)

When they have realized all elements and thus become fords to liberation, the flagbearers of dharma mount the heavenly chariot,

By this kind of perfection one reaches the abode of the twenty-four where instruments resound and the trumpet is blown. (34)

Over the seven-tiered world and the sixteen heavens, the sun with billions of rays has risen.

The sun is in harmony with the house of the moon; by this kind of virtue one is accomplished and liberated. (35)

The place of life is *brahman*-gnosis, this is the art of supernatural powers by which one reaches the abode of the gods,

Mindful of this, the *jogī* takes his mind along, by realizing the self he obtains all happiness. (36)

By exegesis of a dharma-tale, speaker and listener and even the sons of these are blessed.

Performing austerities by this kind of effort, he who is strong attains perfection, he is the *kevalī* on whom showers of pearls rain down. (37)

He who does not understand self and other, will be deceived by false appearance and remain stuck in the world.

Thinking of returns, many went astray; none of them won their self. (38)

The dharma is one, while false appearances are many; those who are strong⁵⁷ conquer their minds,

He who subdues this fickle thing is the true guru of all religions (*ṣaṭa darasana*). (39)

Of righteous virtue are Śrī Syambhūnāth, Śrī Machindra, and all other Nāths,

⁵⁷ Translation tentative due to uncertain reading.

Gorakhnāth is the guru of innumerable *siddhas* - this is the dharma taught by Prithīnāth.
(40)

2.3. Prithīnāth's critique

Only true dharma can bring forth true asceticism, Prithīnāth argues. Nāth dharma is true, Jain dharma is false, and this falseness has to be corrected in the light of yoga. Roughly broken down, the following major issues are addressed:

1. How does one attain absolute being (*kevala*)?
2. What is right dharma?
3. What is the state of absolute liberation?
4. What is right ascetic practice, especially with a view to subduing sensuality?
5. What are the impediments to asceticism?
6. What is the ontology of the *jīva* in relation to the material body?

Prithīnāth sets the theme in the first three verses.⁵⁸ His own guru initiated him into true discipline and revealed to him the cosmic dimensions of being. He is now truly released, *kevala*. In Prithīnāth's works, *kevala* or *kevala pada* is a term for the absolute, and therefore he has to clarify the different notions of *kevala/kevalī* right in the beginning (1,3).⁵⁹ Identical with the Jain term for absolute liberation and the absolutely liberated, respectively, it rests on a different ontology, as Prithīnāth will explain. Jain austerities are not founded on right views, that is, *brahman*-gnosis. According to Prithīnāth, the appearance of the Jina for his wordless preaching, the *samavasaraṇa*, is no salvific act but a merely transient event. The state of a true *kevalī*, he holds, can only be attained by the combined yogic practice of breath control and murmured prayer (*japa*). While the eternal state, called the Place (*pada*; 4–6) needs to be explored, the Jain mendicants rather explore for tiny creatures not be harmed the physical place where they happen to be. "To explore" is *lauṃc-/loc-*, a homonym of *lauṃc-*, *luc-*, which occurs in the expression *kes luc-*, "to pull out the hair by the root," pointing to the ritual performed at the initiation of Jain mendicants and periodically thereafter. Jain asceticism is futile because the ascetics are fickle, deluded by false appearance. In his oeuvre, Prithīnāth contrasts inner transformation a number of times with "view" (*darasana*), an exterior fabrication; so also in v.

⁵⁸ In the following, numbers in brackets refer to verses.

⁵⁹ For example, Prithīnāth, *Siṣa-saṃmodha-ātmā-paracai-joga-graṃtha*, v. 13 (unpublished, MS. Sharma 3190, fol. 607r).

6 and later on in v. 31. According to Prithīnāth, the mind must be brought under control and taken along in the process of liberation. (6-7). The state of liberation cannot be attained by separating the self from matter (*pudgala*) and thereby from body and mind. Yoga discipline is performed with and in the body. Only by keeping self and body together and transforming the grossly material body into the primeval eternal one does the *yogī* attain salvation. This practice alone makes a true *arhant* (8-10). Fundamental to salvation is that all beings be realized as identical. In this way arrogance and capriciousness of the mind and senses are put out (11). Prithīnāth ridicules the Jain fear of perils to their asceticism (*phāṃsū*, “snare, trap”), and on a lighter note makes fun of the perceived peril posed by bodily hygiene (14). The real peril lies in failing to convert one’s *bindu*, “life essence,” into the *mahābindu*, the “drop of immortality.”⁶⁰ Ordinary men dissipate their life energy and remain in the swirl of existence, while the *mahāpuruṣa* has achieved yogic perfection (17). The term *mahā*, “great,” prefixed to key terms is widely used in Nāth and Sant, *vide* Dādūpanthī, parlance to convey the primeval perfection and absolute validity of a power, person or idea.⁶¹ In the present context, however, *mahāpuruṣa* also resonates with the Jain idea of the sixty-three heroes of Jain universal history, usually called *śalākāpuruṣa*. In this way, Prithīnāth puts into doubt the very idea of the order of the world as imagined by the Jains. He also dismisses the concept of the aeons it takes to become a *tīrthaṅkara*. This amounts to a denial of an unthinkable long process leading to salvation, for the Nāths - in this concurring with *bhaktas* - hold that it is here in this life that one has to work one’s liberation. The endless swirl of existence is for all others to fear, while they themselves will not be affected by time or death but transformed into the timeless. The true dharma saves, the true fast takes the form of breath discipline (20). If this is practised, the “tenth door” is pierced by one’s life energy, and the unstruck sound resonant of eternal oneness vibrates (21). There is no ontological gender difference; temptation arises from false perception and cannot be avoided by shunning women. Discipline cannot but aim at goading up the *bindu* so that it be transformed into the *mahābindu*, otherwise man is as good as an unbaked leaking pot (23). The *mahābindu* is the effulgent drop of eternal being. The transformation of the perishable into the imperishable is manifest in the eternally youthful man, *kumvāra*, a term echoing the Jain cultural heroes and the eternally youthful Jina. In true asceticism, *mahātapa*, the *jīva* is absorbed in the supreme like a pearl enclosed in the mussel (24-27). Genuine virtue, *śīlā*, has the power to dispel doubt, implicitly doubt about the unity of self and *brahman*, a

⁶⁰ The term *bindu* means also “semen”, but Prithīnāth is derisive of the obsession with the retention of the semen and its imagined reversion. This forms the topic of his *Bindu-siddhānta-grantha* (unpublished, Sharma MS. 3190, fol. 631).

⁶¹ Terms like *mahāyoga*, *mahāpuruṣa*, *mahānāda* and many others are ubiquitous. This usage also translated into the designation of groups of Nāths, Daśanāmī ascetics and ascetics in general as *mahāpuruṣa*, for which see Clémentin-Ojha and Ojha 2009: 152 and 160 n. 38.

demand incongruent with the ontology of Jainism. According to Prithīnāth, the true Jina, the true Pārśvanātha, is not the *kevalī* in the sense of absolutely pure and isolated bodiless soul, but the one who has merged with the supreme in the “bee’s cave,” *bhramaraguphā*, the arcane cranial place in the esoteric body (28–33). Here it needs to be remembered that Pārśvanātha is a Jina to the Jains and a Nāth to the Nāths so that Prithīnāth can claim him for his own tradition. In reality, the ford prepared by the Jain fordmakers lies in the transformed esoteric body. Similarly to what he has said in v. 6, Prithīnāth rejects viewing (*darasana*, 31) what is outside the transformed body, which comprises contemplating images and fabricating religious views. He who realizes this dharma annihilates the world (33-37). The knower of *brahman* has realized the identity of self and other. In control of himself, he becomes “the true guru of all religions (*ṣaṭa darasana*)” (38-39). Witnesses to this are Syambhūnāth (Svayambhūnātha, Śiva), Machindranāth (Matsyendranātha), and Gorakhnāth (40).

The text, then, emphasizes the unbridgeable difference between Nāth and Jain religion: The Nāths believe in the transformation of the body from transient into eternal and attainment of union during one’s lifetime; the Jain, in liberation of the self from all karmic matter in a cyclic process of aeons.

3. Dādūpanthī critique

Dādūpanthī critics had a strong voice in the Sant chorus of critics of the Jains. They raised the charge of duplicity against the Jains. This is of course a common verdict, which they pass on all all - except the genuine Sant. Duplicity is the consequence of false consciousness. While Prithīnāth rather dwells on doctrinal differences, Dādūpanthī criticism is largely moralistic. This is well-illustrated by a relatively elaborate composition of Rajab⁶² which is entitled *Jain jañjāl* (The Jain snare). Among Dādū’s direct disciples, Rajab was one of the most prolific authors. His two hefty tomes of poetry are the anthology *Sarbaṅgī* (Complete for all limbs, SarR-I, SarR-S) and his own compositions, the *Rajab- bāṅī* (RV-N).⁶³

3.1. Rajab

Although his name suggests that he was of Muslim origin, Rajab nowhere in his oeuvre identifies himself by his descent group. Like many other Dādūpanthīs, he took seriously the principle of disregarding caste or social origin in a Sant, who should identify himself solely as

⁶² The name is variously spelt “Rajab” or “Rajjab.” “Rajab” occurs in the manuscripts that I have seen. In printed editions, one mostly finds “Rajjab.”

⁶³ For a general introduction to Rajab and a study of and selection from his *Sarbaṅgī*, see Callewaert 1978.

a servant of the Supreme. Not disclosing one's caste is usually interpreted as an attempt of lowly born to dissimulate their social origin. While this cannot be totally dismissed, to reduce this silence to a social motive undercuts the complexity of the issue. The Sants perceived themselves as awakened to true being beyond the established norms. In a society stratified by caste, hagiographers felt however compelled to address a saint's social position, be it that they took pride in the fact that a particular Sant came from a respected caste, be it that they wished to emphasize the paradox of the boon of bhakti given to a lowly born, or be it that they felt uncomfortable with the Muslim origin of some of the Sants, among these and foremost Dādū himself (Horstmann, forthcoming). In so doing, the authors responded to the need of confirming their own respectability and that of their community.

The hagiographical portrayal of Rajab varies. The first Dādūpanthī hagiography is *Dādū janmalīlā* (The lifeplay of Dādū, DJL), written by Jangopāl sometime after 1603. The author identifies himself as a trader (*mahājan*) by caste, a respected group that produced numerous famous Sant authors and, at least for the Dādūpanth, has patronized *sādhus* continuously.⁶⁴ In Jangopāl's hagiography, Rajab appears first as an actor in the drama of Dādū's life in the period between about 1594 and 1596, at that instance with no significant attributes ascribed to him (DJL 12.5). His profile is outlined with greater clarity in an episode that took place some time after 1596, when he organized a feast for Dādū. Jangopāl says (DJL, p. 73):

His worthy disciple Rajab
 was full of wisdom, virtue and courage,
 Having the temperament of an ascetic right from birth,
 he gave up the world totally after meeting Svāmījī. (13.6)

...

Rāghav, Govinda and Narāin were Rajab's disciples,
 experienced in devotion. (13.12ab)

Rajab is treated next by the Dādūpanthī hagiographer Rāghavdās, who composed his *Bhaktamāl* (Rosary of saints, RBhM-N and RBhM-N) in 1660, that is, during Rajab's lifetime. The ten-verse-long entry on Rajab documents the great esteem he enjoyed. Only two verses are quoted here, while the rest is panegyric and ranges him in the line of the saints revered by Dādūpanthīs which is of course important enough:⁶⁵

⁶⁴ DJL 16.28; Callewaert renders *mahājan* by "Baniyā." The connection of the trading community and Sant *bhakti* is explored in Williams 2015. For merchant caste Dādūpanthīs of this century patronizing their sect, see Horstmann 2008.

⁶⁵ RBhM-Nah, pp. 187-89, vv. 378-87. The passage is also interesting from the point of view of how Rāghavdās nuances Rajab's Sant equipoise as transcending the Hindu-Muslim bias, an issue beyond the limits of this essay.

Rajab is⁶⁶ Dādū's attentive disciple of wondrous deeds,
 He took to the formless, unsoiled, immaculate One without qualities,
 The highest truth he told in the *Sarbaṅgī*, all poetry he united therein,
sākhīs, *śabds* and *kavittas*, not a single of these without an example,
 All the topical stories in the world stand at his disposal, with hands reverentially joint,
 He has remained a bridegroom all his days, a true renouncer of women,
 Rajab is Dādū's attentive disciple of wondrous deeds. (378)

...

Rajab, the wondrous, came to Āmbānerī (Āmer) in Rajasthan,
 Following the word of his guru, he renounced the marriage with a woman,
 "You have received a human body as an instrument for the service of the Lord,
 This you have forgotten; you are attached to false things and the taste of sensuality."
 He threw away his bridegroom's crown and dedicated body, mind and wealth to the true
 one,
 He observed the vow of virtuous living, subdued his mind, and desire fled him,
 Guru Dādū gave him the joy of *bhakti* and sunk compassion into his heart,
 Having received this he took to love; great fortune graces his brow. (380)

According to this, Rajab met Dādū first in Āmer, where Dādū probably stayed from around 1580 to 1593 (Horstmann 2000: 569). Attracted to Dādū, Rajab renounced marriage and threw away his bridegroom's crown. At the unrecorded time of this incident Rajab may have been a young man in his teens.

Before this episode was fleshed out by later hagiographers, it had become relevant in the debate on the Dādūpanthī *sādhus'* proper attire. An anonymous treatise named *Doū bacan*, of which the oldest manuscript that I could trace is of 1770 C.E. and which represents a copy of an earlier manuscript, discusses this issue. Dādū himself had explicitly rejected exterior religious signs, such as a monastic robe and sectarian body marks. In that text, Rajab is named as an example of a disciple just continuing to wear the attire in which he met Dādū first, but no connotation of hierogamy is expressly attached to this. According to *Doū bacan*, Dādū said to Rajab: "Friend, remain wearing the auspicious attire (*bhadrabheṣa hohu*)" (Thiel-Horstmann 1991: 110). The author goes on explaining, "Svāmījī put the skull-cap inside the turban, and then on the *sādhus'* head." The word "skull-cap" is the rendering of *ṭopī*, the shapes of which were various and subject to change. It is not clear if the last sentence in the quotation refers also

⁶⁶ In the original text there is no verb and so no direct indication if Rajab was alive or dead by the time of its composition.

to Rajab. The term *bhadrabheṣa*, “wearing an auspicious attire,” also “wedding attire,” tallies with the oral tradition on Rajab, whose wedding procession is said to have passed by Dādū’s seat in Āmer. The crown he is mentioned to have been thrown away by Rāghavdās would, then, have been his wedding crown.

Rajab authored a composition named *Śrī Svāmī Dādū Dayālī ke bheṃṭ ke savaiye* (*Savaiyā* verses dedicated to Svāmī Dādū).⁶⁷ In the very first of these verses he says of Dādū’s attitude (RV-N, p. 1170):

He does not like an ochre robe (*bhagvā*), he does not apply ashes,
Hypocrisy is not agreeable to him - this is characteristic of his way of life.
He does not approve of a religious brow mark or a rosary, he does not know of the Jain pretence,
He does not go by worldly standards - this is characteristic of his stance.
He has no use for the *yogī*’s horn and ear-rings, he does not follow the rules of the Buddhists,
His heart is not given to confusion - this is characteristic of his attitude.
The rules of Muslims he has buried, those of the Hindus he has left behind,
In his interior he has established the Undecaying - such is beloved Dādū.

Leaving pending for the moment Rajab’s critique of Jain pretence, the composition is found to confirm that Dādū’s attitude sprang from his wish to go beyond established forms of religion. It also reflects that during his lifetime Dādūpanthī identity vested in his person. As we know from other sources, his following was at that time quite heterogeneous and its structure fluid.

In its currently popular form the story of Rajab, the perpetual bridegroom, was reported in 1967 by Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās, the editor of Rajab’s works, and runs as follows (RV-N, pp. xi-ii):

Rajjab was born in Sanganer, a town in the vicinity of Jaipur. He was the son of a distinguished military Paṭhān. His father was a minor leader in the army of the Amber Rājās Bhagvantdās and Mānsingh. Rajjab’s full name was Rajjab Ali Khām. Engaged to be married in Amber into a good family of Paṭhāns, in due course of time his wedding was fixed, the bridegroom’s procession drawn up and marching from Sanganer to Amber. At that time Jaipur did not yet exist, the locality that is now Jaipur was all jungle. As they approached Amber, Rajjab was informed that Mahātmā Dādū resided just there.

⁶⁷ Like all the works of Rajab, these compositions of a total of twenty-four verses are undated. The first twenty-two *savaiyās* are written in the present or perfect tense, which suggests that they were dedicated to the living guru. In the last two *savaiyās*, however, Rajab laments the death of Dādū.

Therefore he wished to attend Dādū's congregation, for he had heard his name before, and he anyway liked taking part in religious assemblies. So along with the procession and in his bridegroom's attire he went to Dādū's ashram to take *darśan* of him.

His brief conversation with Dādū triggered his conversion, and for the rest of his life he remained the bridegroom of the Supreme. Svāmī Nārāyaṇdās draws on the popular tradition, and in so doing also quotes a number of verses that in the Dādūpanth are connected with that episode. The same author had at his disposal also the hagiography of Daulatrām named *Bhagvat līlā advait siddhānt*, estimated to have been composed around 1860 (Nārāyaṇdās 1975: 324; Callewaert 1978: 29).

According to Jangopāl, Rajab was present at Dādū's death in 1603 (DJL 15.22). As for his place of residence, there is no written evidence for the commonly held belief that Rajab spent most of his life in Sanganer.⁶⁸ An exception to this is the *Sant-guṇ-sāgar* by Mādhavdās (SSG) which claims to be of VS 1660 but in its present form may not be earlier than the 19th century. In chapter 20.11 of this text, Rajab is reported to have invited Dādū for a seven-day-long stay to Sanganer. The circumstances of this report are odd, however, for of the names of people allegedly present on that occasion only one is identical with that of a disciple of Rajab, while the rest of them cannot be related to any of his known disciples. Rajab is believed to have died at a ripe age - hagiography accords him a generous 110 years - and before his junior co-disciple Sundardās, who passed away in 1689 in Sanganer (SG, pp. 119-22). The story surrounding Sundardās's death has it that Sundardās, then over ninety years old, went to Sanganer and was shattered learning that Rajab had died prior to his arrival. The commemorative slab with the replica of Rajab's feet used to be kept in on a canopied plinth in the village of Ṭūṃṭolī, where there is also a Dādūdvarā.⁶⁹ Ṭūṃṭolī, also called by its alias Surajpurā, lies in the Cāksū (formerly Cāṭṣū) tehsil of Jaipur district. There is some likelihood that Rajab died there, according to tradition heading for the wilderness. To go by the places that are testified to be related to the memory of his life and death, we are left with Āmer and Ṭūṃṭolī, respectively. Rajab had of course spent time in Naraiṇā/Nārāyaṇā, the last residence of Dādū and then headquarter of the Dādūpanthī *khālsā*. His habitat can therefore be roughly defined as the region in the circumference of modern Jaipur, identical with the home region of many Jains. A couple of indicators for sixteenth- and seventeenth Jain culture in Rajab's habitat yield the following result: Sanganer has an old Digambara Jain temple with an inscription of 954 C.E. and expansions and sculptures going back to the eleventh or twelfth century (Jain 1972: 456f.).

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the sources, see Siṃhal in SarR-S, pp. 92-4. For Surajpurā alias Ṭūṃṭolī, see Census of India, District Census Handbook Jaipur 1981, map on p. 274, number 264 and p. 279, same serial number.

⁶⁹ Orr 1947: 18: "Tantoli"; SarR-S, p. 142.

In the sixteenth century, *bhaṭṭārakas* visited Sanganer and a number of manuscripts dedicated to these have been traced (ibid., p. 457). Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the reformist and especially anti-*bhaṭṭāraka* Digambara Terāpanth emerged from Sanganer (Cort 2002: 51-4). Āmer's importance as a *bhaṭṭāraka* seat can be traced to the sixteenth century (Jain 1972: 391; Cort 2002: 51). Cāṭṣū is an ancient centre of Jainism, probably going back to the eighth century. In 1575, Bhaṭṭāraka Candrakīrti shifted the seat of his Mūlasaṅgha from Chitor to Cāṭṣū which made the town flourish as a place of Digambara Jainism. In Naraiṇā, finally, Jainism can be traced back to the tenth century and in the twelfth century was enumerated among the important Jain pilgrimage places by Siddhasenasūri in his *Sakalatīrthastotra* (Jain 1972: 317). It is mentioned as visited by Bhaṭṭāraka Jagatkīrti in 1691 (Jain 1972: 320).⁷⁰

3. 2. Jain jañjāl (*The Jain snare*)⁷¹

Listen, O Sant, duplicity is the snare of the Jains, their behaviour builds on deceit.

Their mind is not set on the immaculate Name, they have lost themselves in the twenty-four. (1)

They have lost themselves in the twice twelve,⁷² the hearts [of the devotees] they have attracted to themselves.

This is a serious transgression. Why should one give up the divine lord? (2)

It is always said that copper and iron are transformed by contact with the alchemical stone,

But gold is not produced by gold; accordingly, salvation will not come from the twenty-four. (3)

They call themselves *jati*, they have set their snare by building temples and assembly halls in the region,

Their undertakings have no limits, so that mountains of sin come to oppress other people. (4)

People search their way to Mount Śatruñjaya, but the stone in front of them does not speak,

By their traffic they kill living beings; when they reach their destination, they offer flowers and leaves. (5)

⁷⁰ The source Jain mentions and reproduces (p. 607, no. 30) gives only the name of Jagatkīrti and not that of Bhaṭṭāraka Kṣemendrakīrti, also referred to by Jain.

⁷¹ RV-N, pp. 930-33.

⁷² A common formulaic expression, for which see Feldhaus 2014: 36.

The *jatis* will not go to worship stones, but insist that householders do so.

This resembles a guru-father, who would not take poison, but gives lethal poison to his disciple-son. (6)

The *vaiśyas* don't understand that there is grim harmfulness in the Jain *jatis*,
Who do not worship themselves, but urge the *vaiśyas* to pay worship, and these fall over
backwards to rush to Phalodi. (7)

They enjoin compassion, but are wicked inside, for they do not give the dying food or
water.

They observe the *paryuṣaṇa*, visit their guru, and call it meritorious that *banias* join to
eat. (8)

If a water-wheel is not checked, the water will flow back into the well.

The Jain dharma looks like this. I state nothing but the truth. (9)

They wear a nose-piece before their nose because they care for living beings, but they
roam all over the regions a thousand miles.

They do not touch unstrained water, but on their tours they wade through rivers. (10)

In the month of *Śrāvaṇa* they come to town for alms, and while begging they kill living
beings,

When people open their cooking pots for them, the steam kills a mass of living beings.
(11)

Earth, water, fire, sky and wind - who can remove living beings from these?

Outside and inside there is nothing but the five elements, and these are teeming all over
with living beings. (12)

Dirty their thoughts, dirty their robes, they pile sin upon themselves and pull out their
hair,

They have sex in their minds, but this you cannot see with the eyes of flesh. (13)

They may enumerate their sins, but in this way these do not go away; the fault of theft
sticks to their hearts.

There is one sin that they must get rid off, but from this aim they are far away: Ill-
fatedly, they contemplate the twenty-four. (14)

They have no cowry in their hands, but their hearts are set on billions, and so their minds
are glued to the *banias*.

Without faith they cannot be reformed and lack the essence, though they may make their
begging tour twice a day. (15)

They accept food and clothes that are perfectly good, while those who give shamelessly
aver that these are rags.

Again and again those clothes are called rags, and so they leave the house as rags. (16)

Foolish monks accept these for discarded stuff, while the householders pass over all their sins to them.

I have explained this hypocrisy: Who will go to a house for a heap of sins? (17)

They shun untreated food and water, they seek alms in the evening and morning,

They find fault with green vegetables, but when these are cooked, they allow them to be filled in their bowls. (18)

Forbidden is the coconut because it resembles a head, but once cracked, no fault attaches to it.

Plenty such fraud is in them, but ordinary people don't realize this. (19)

A woman would violate the boundary set by the nine rules,⁷³ but once she is ordained to be a nun, all these break down.

They are liars, base because they do not have the Name; they do not perceive Death hovering above their heads. (20)

They are not scorched by the perpetual fire burning in their mouth, but upon their death they are consigned to it.

They have broken the bounds of all their vows. The servant Rajab says: The world is trapped in the snare of the Jains. (21)

3.3. Rajab's critique

I have argued that both Prithināth's and Rajab's critique addresses their respective co-religionists rather than the *yatis*.⁷⁴ At the time of Rajab, the Dādūpanthī *sādhus* were far from representing a coherent body. To weld coherence, boundaries between right and wrong views and practices has to be enforced. Even in the first generation, the Dādūpanthī constituency was quite large, but in size and organisation it could not compare with the Jains. Jains were also rivals because patronage for the Dādūpanth came also from the merchant castes that constituted the main following of the Jain mendicants. This called for rigid discrimination. Dādūpanthī *sādhus* and Jain mendicants also shared the sphere where they regularly circuited (*rāmat*) and sought alms, respectively. Dādūpanthī religious practice differed, however, in many aspects categorically from that of the Jains. There were no pilgrimages, for sacred journeys to shrines were opposed to the interior pilgrimage of a Dādūpanthī. Fasting was discouraged, which was in congruence with the views of the Nāths *à la* Prithināth. With the Jains, fasting is highly valued and a source of social prestige. Jain *sādhvīs* were common, while in the Dādūpanth nuns did not yet exist in sizeable numbers, let alone as regulated groups within an order. In the first

⁷³ For these, see p. 34.

⁷⁴ See p. 4.

generation, Dādū's two celibate daughters made an impact on the emerging sect, but despite their manifold contributions to the Dādūpanth, nuns continued to be viewed by the *sādhus* with suspicion.⁷⁵ Mysogyny is cultivated also by Dādūpanthī *sādhus*.⁷⁶

Rajab's critique differs from that of Prithīnāth. While Prithīnāth articulates doctrinal rather than moralistic criticism, the opposite is true of Rajab. According to him, immoral behaviour is the inevitable consequence of false doctrine. *Yatis* are hypocrites, wicked to the bone, and Jain lay followers are duped by these or act hand in glove with them.

According to Rajab, the worship of the *tīrthanīkaras* is exploited by the *yatis* for their own ends. The author targets the booming construction of temples and assembly halls and the opulent worship conducted at the sacred sites of Śātruñjaya and Phalodī. In pointing specifically to these, he goes beyond stereotype. In the generation before Rajab, both places had formed arenas of the Jain *yatis*' rise to great power. The Dādūpanthīs must have been jealous of such power which was a consequence of the connection of Śvetāmbara leaders with the courts.

In the fourteenth century, Śātruñjaya and Phalodī figured as important places of pilgrimage in Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (Guidebook to the various pilgrimage shrines; VTK). Built from the eleventh century, by the fourteenth century Śātruñjaya had become the most important pilgrimage place of the Śvetāmbaras (Burgess 1869/1977; Dundas 2002: 222f.; Cort 2010: 143). In 1593, at the time of Rajab, Śātruñjaya attained the fame of the chief Śvetāmbara place of pilgrimage when Hīravijayasūri, head of the Tapā Gaccha, led a large pilgrimage to Śātruñjaya. Both Jinaprabhasūri and Hīravijayasūri were connected with the imperial court. Jinaprabhasūri was honoured at the court of Muhammad Shah, and Hīravijayasūri rose to fame from 1583 when he became connected with Akbar's court where he made considerable intellectual impact (Jain 2012). In 1584, Akbar granted him a *farmān* prohibiting "animal slaughter twelve days each year including the eight-day Jain festival of Paryushan" (Truschke 2015: 34f.). Hīravijayasūri brought members of the Tapā Gaccha to the imperial court, and the Kharatara Gaccha followed suit.

Almost certainly Hīravijayasūri's success at the Mughal court stimulated Dādūpanthī hagiography. Dādū is alleged to have been presented to the emperor in 1585 and to have stayed at the court for forty days, an event that came to loom large in the imagination and the liturgical

⁷⁵ The merits of Dādū's daughters were acknowledged by Sundardās, for which see SG, pp. 168-70 (pagination of "Jīvan-caritra"). A few aspects of the role of Dādūpanthī *sādhvīs* come to mind: (1) Their acting as virtual foster-mothers of child-monks, (2) as managers of *maṭhs*, (3) as spiritual guides, mostly of lay women, and (4) as accomplished singers.

⁷⁶ "Maligning women" is a stock device in the genre of dialogues between a monk and a householder. Both Sundardās and Rajab contributed to this. See SG, pp. 309-12 (*Gṛhavairāga bodha*) and RV-N, pp. 922-24 (*Gṛha bairāgya bodha*). The genre is expressive of the profound disillusionment with the transient body as it has been articulated since ancient times, for example in the Buddhist *Therīgāthās*.

litanies of the Dādūpanth. While the historicity of the event need not be ruled out, it remains debated. In the longer recension of Jangopāl's DJL, manuscripts of which are available from 1654, the concession made by Akbar to Hiravijayasūri is actually claimed to have been granted to Dādū (DJL 7.25.1):

From that moment Akbar stopped hurting living beings,
since he had found Dādū the excellent pīr.
He made his decision into a religious law,
no one should hurt living beings.

Phalodī, known to Jinabhadarsūri as Phalavaddhia, is situated 2 km from Merta Road railway station. It has a famous Pārśvanātha temple dedicated in 1121 by the Śvetāmbara religious teacher Dharmaghoṣa (Chojnacki 1995 I: 451). Thought to have been miraculously recovered, it is considered to be endowed with great power (Dundas 2002: 220). Phalodī forms the epicentre of Śvetāmbara pilgrimage in the month of Pauṣa (Chojnacki 1995 I: 413, 452f.). The town was one of the Jain pilgrimage places where the powerful divan of Bikaner, Mantrī Karamcandra Bacchāvāt (divan from 1573), a patron of the Kharatara Gaccha, invested in Jain temples, images and endowments. Next in power to the ruler of Bikaner, he enjoyed independent influence at Akbar's court (Jain 2012: 47). The place remained a stronghold of the Kharatara Gaccha (Jain 1972: 120f.; Jain 2010: 420f.).

In Jain sources (Jain 2012: 52),

[e]ngagement with Hiravijay Suri of Tapa *gaccha* and Mantri Karamchand Bhacchawat of Bikaner emerges as a metaphor in the Jain literature to celebrate Jain-Mughal relations. ... [T]he close connections of Jains with the ruling chiefs of Rajasthan and the vital influence of trading communities in Gujarat facilitated a quick and smooth interaction of Jains with the Mughal apparatus after these chiefs entered the service of the Mughal empire. It is against this background that we must view the visit of the Jain pontiffs to the court of Akbar.

Dādūpanthīs must have noticed such connections with envy.

Rajab articulates his critique of the *yatis* before a twofold backdrop. One is that of the ideal *sādhu* according to the Sant tradition, the other, that of the state of the *yatis* as it prevailed at the lifetime of Rajab. To safeguard the ideal of the Sant *sādhu* in contrast with deviant religious behaviour may have been the main intent of his composition. The social organisation of Dādūpanthī *sādhus* was still emerging at his time and differed from that of the Jain mendicants. Though many of Dādū's followers were householders, there was a pull towards

embracing the lifestyle of a celibate *sādhu*. The regional culture is characterized by a wide range of religious lifestyles: householder, married *sādhu*, *sādhu* living in his own house, or celibate *sādhū* attached to a guru and his *maṭh* (monastery). Among the *yatis*, too, some were married and others celibate. Rajab clearly favoured the ideal of the celibate *sādhu* so that alternative lifestyles were suspected by him as deviant. Dādūpanthī *sādhus* were organized by guru-lineages. Some were attached to Narainā, the place where Dādū had spent the end of his life and died, while others had their own local bases. Lineages multiplied fast. A *sādhu*'s local basis was a *dvārā* or *maṭh*, but his life was largely determined by the circuit on which he moved except for the months of the rainy season, when he and his local community stayed either at the house of a lay patron or in their *maṭh*.⁷⁷ The communal religious life rested on two pillars. One was worship in the form of singing praise and preaching, the other was communal feasting (Horstmann 2000). Everyone was allowed to join, though it is unknown if and how caste restrictions were operative. Like in many Hindu temples, the institution of *sadāvrat*, providing food to visitors from the temple kitchen, became gradually implemented. Dādūpanthī *sādhus* depended on lay patronage. Mendicancy may not have been a regular feature. Where it exists currently, *sādhus* do not sustain themselves by alms, but these are stored in the provision store to be at a later point served to lay followers and *sādhus* alike (Thiel-Horstmann 1986). *Sādhus* can thereby act either as hosts or guests, and have commensality with householders. This principle is incongruous with the relationship between Jain mendicants and lay followers, and governs Rajab's critique of the exclusiveness of the meals taking place after the Paryuṣaṇa festival of which only Śrāvakas (*baniās*, v. 8) partake.

In the image Rajab paints of the *yatis* stereotypes and facts mix. Biased but basically correctly, he describes their lifestyle. Descended from the temple-dwelling monks (*caityavāsī*), *yatis* were domesticated and actually lived in shelters (*upāśraya*) near temples (Cort 1991: 658). They took only lesser vows, while the fully initiated mendicants of strict observance were the *saṃvegīs* (Burgess 1884: 277; Cort 2001: 43-6). The *yatis* were organised in lineages headed by a *śrīpūjya* sitting in regal style on a throne (*gādī*, *gaddī*). *Yati* lineages were often connected with royal families, wielded considerable political power, and provided gurus to particular lineages of Jain. Their reputation as practitioners of magic, astrology and medicine added to their aura of power. Finally, they held important positions as administrators of Śvetāmbara temples (Cort 2002: 41). Their wealth allowed them to invest in and apply themselves to scholarship so that they became no less than guardians of Śvetāmbara tradition. Rajab castigates the *yatis*' greed for wealth and connection with the mighty (v. 15). Far from being restricted to the *yatis*, this is also a stock critique of *sādhus* at large. The Gujarati author Māvo wrote in 1530 (VBhPC, v. 7),

⁷⁷ For the Hindu monastery, see Bouillier 2009.

You go to upper and middle class houses, you are filthy, a slave of your senses,
No matter if they are of clean or unclean caste, you mix with all - tell me, how will you
please Śrī Rām?

Though this verse is directed against Vaiṣṇava *sādhus*, it echoes the rules for Jain mendicants. The *sādhu* must proceed at random, going here and there for collecting alms, but in the process pay strict attention to the respectability of the home from which he accepts alms (Laidlaw 1995: 394 with n. 1).

Rajab interprets as duplicity that *yatis* do not conduct iconic worship themselves but leave this to lay followers (vv. 6-7). For him, iconic worship is false by principle, and the *yatis* are clever enough to avoid such fault and charge it on the lay Jains. Abstaining from *pūjā* is of course consonant with the rule that mendicants must not perform physical *pūjā* (*dravya-pūjā*), as they do not or should not possess any material objects suitable for this. Spitefully Rajab may have ignored that they are expected to pay interior worship (*bhāva-pūjā*), which is in fact the only worship the possessionless mendicants can perform (Cort 2001: 88).

Incongruence between vows and actual behaviour is a stock element in the critique of *sādhus*. Incongruence and foolishness go together, both stereotypes appearing in verses 8 to 12. The vow of non-violence implies compassion, but instead of this cruelty prevails, illustrated by the polemic against *sallekhana* (religious death), which had become quite obsolete by the time of Rajab (Dundas 2002: 180f.). Instead of non-violence also against the tiniest living beings - considered by Rajab as impracticable - , there prevails mass-killing of these (vv. 10-12). Dietary rules are found to be totally incongruent (vv. 18cd–19ab). The mendicants' dirtiness is another stock element of critique (v. 13). Jain *sādhus* were even proud of their dirtiness, "Maladhārī" (besmeared with dirt) being a honorific given to distinguished Jain teachers. In the tradition of Rajab, bodily cleanliness was mandatory. Interior and exterior purity are here correlated in such a way that interior purity translates into pure appearance, whereas mere exterior cleanliness does not remove interior impurity.⁷⁸ Instead of desisting from theft, Rajab says, the *yatis*' heart is set on theft (v. 14). Theft also extends to "theft of penance, word, shape, behaviour and feeling," in brief, pretence.⁷⁹ Finally, the *yati* hypocrites make a mere show of their ritual of atoning for sins (*pratikramaṇa*, v. 14).

As for the ritual of pulling out the hair (*lūṃcana*, v. 13), this may not have been rigidly performed by the *yatis* of Rajab's time. In the nineteenth century at least, the procedure was this (Burgess 1884: 277),

⁷⁸ An example of this is a *pad* of Dādū (DV 1.22).

⁷⁹ DVS 5.2.46; commentary on this in DVS 1997.

At the proper age he is initiated in the same way as the Saṁvêgī, only his hair is not pulled out in five locks. His Guru takes only five hairs for form's sake, and his head is afterwards clean shaven.

This tallies with the depiction of a *yati* in a nineteenth-century painting from Jaipur (Cort 1996: 628f.):

He sports long hair and a moustache, and is wearing a black shawl. All of these are signs of lax conduct associated with the domesticated monks known as *yatis*, who numerically dominated Śvetāmbar monasticism in the nineteenth century.

Rajab seems to leave the beaten track of stereotype when blaming the *yatis* and Jain householders for subverting the Jain rules for mendicancy (vv. 16-7). Basically, he criticizes that they act the Hindu way. In this connection, Burgess's report on the *yati* constituency is revealing. Prior to his time, he says, *yatis* had sometimes been recruited from baniya or kuṇḍī families, whereas in his day they had often been bought as children from poor brahman families, while banyas might also dedicate first-born sons to a *śrīpūjya* "in hopes of obtaining further posterity" (Burgess 1884: 277). This helps understand why non-Jain principles proved to be persistent. The principle underlying Hindu gift and alms giving is that with the matter that passes from the hands of a layman to the recipient, such as a Brahman priest or a guru, also the sin of the giver passes to him. The difference of the Jain and Hindu views on giving (*dān*) has been analyzed by Cort (2001: 108-11).⁸⁰ The crucial difference lies in the views on transfer or non-transfer of sin and accumulation or non-accumulation of merit on the part of the giver. Whereas according to the Hindu view sin adhering to the object transferred passes along with it, Jains deny this. According to the Hindu view, merit accrues from giving to the recipient, who is compelled to digest the sin adhering to the gift, whereas no merit accrues according to the Jain view. Rajab elaborates on the hypocrisy inherent in the transactions between laymen and *yatis*. Householders pretend to pass to the *yatis* used clothes which would conform to the rule that monks should be content with poor, dirty clothes.⁸¹

Rajab rounds off his critique of the *yatis* by castigating their obsession with sex (vv. 13 and 20ab). Ascetic misogyny is complemented by the stereotype of the lustful *sādhu*. In the nineteenth century, the *yatis*' moral laxness was mentioned by Burgess (1884: 278). This is likely to have been an issue also in the seventeenth century, but Rajab may have also defamed

⁸⁰ For the Hindu view of gifting, the discussion digests especially the research of Raheja (1988) and Parry (1994). At the time of Rajab, the Jain principle of gifting was emphatically confirmed by Banārsīdās ("Pūṇya pāp ekatvadvār (Entry into the identity of merit and sin)" of *Samayasāranāṭak*; Ban-SSN, p. 99).

⁸¹ Dirty clothes as a mark of the perfect ascetic are mentioned in US 12.4-7; for not washing oneself in order to avoid harm to tiny creatures, see DVS 6.61-73; for preferring dirty clothes over nakedness, see DVS 6.65.

married *yatis*. According to him, duplicity governs also the *yatis*' dealings with women (v. 20ab). At this instance he uses a specifically Jain term, namely *nau vidhi bār*, “ninefold boundary, - restrictions, - cautionary measures.” The term *bārī* is common in the vernacular literature of the period,⁸² while *nau bār(ī)* is typically Jain. In the vernacular Jain literature of Rajab's period, the term is elaborated on by Banārsīdās in his *Samayasāranāṭak* of 1636 (Ban-SSN, pp. 388f.):

Staying with a group of women, watching them lustfully,
Talking to them flirtatiously from behind a veil,
Thinking of former pleasures of love making,
Heavy food that robs the peace of mind,
Cleaning the body and adorning it,
Lying comfortably on a woman's bed,
Tales that excite the mind, eating one's fill —
With regard to these the Jina-word speaks of nine boundaries.

It is unknown if Rajab was familiar with Banārsīdās's doctrinal chef-d'oeuvre. He will however have been familiar with the rules for Jain mendicants, among which rules to protect celibacy were of course important.⁸³ Rules inculcated by whatever media were essential for welding bodies of *sādhus* into a coherent order, and there were popular standard texts giving instruction on devotion and dharma.⁸⁴ More specifically, lists of vices and virtues of Jain ascetics found an echo in Gujarat of which the Vaiṣṇava author Māvo and a famous song of Narasiṃha Mahetā form only two examples out of several.⁸⁵

Rajab's composition closes on a gruesome note (v. 21): The the fiery visciousness they spread is the cremation fire” (*mukhāgni*) that they carry with themselves at their lifetime. No fagot will have to be put to the mouth of their dead body to start their cremation ritual, this stage of the cremation being called the *mukhāgni*. Carriers of the innate fire of untruth, they are self-combustible. This is a reversal of the regional notion that the fire of *sat*, “truth,” burns in the

⁸² BhD gives only the translation “garden”; for “boundary” etc., see CDIAL 11480 and PSM s.v. *vāḍī*⁽¹⁾.

⁸³ For protection of chastity, *brahmagupti*, see US 16 and 31.10 (JS, pp. 73-5, and 182 n. 2).

⁸⁴ VP 3.7 and BhP 11.17 come to mind readily. BhP 11 was especially relevant to ascetics and translated into the vernacular by the Sant author Caturdās, whose guru was a disciple of Dādū, in 1635 (Horstmann 2013).

⁸⁵ For the Jains, see DVS 5.1-2; DVS 10; US 15; for Māvo, VBhPC; for Naramsiṃha Mahetā, Bhāyāṇī 1982 and 1984; Mallison 2000; for the Dādūpanth, Thiel-Horstmann 1991.

satī. If her husband dies before her, she will join him on his funeral pyre, self-combustible, igniting herself by the fire of *sat* (Weinberger-Thomas 1996: 31-5).

4. Works of Banārsīdās in Sant manuscripts

One cannot help wondering what relations Rajab, a resident of Sanganer, may have had with the Jains of Sanganer, or if he was acquainted with Banārsīdās's writing. His diatribe against the *yatis* is a coarse piece of satire following by and large the beaten track of its genre. Rajab is however best known for his own fine poetry and his stupendous command of the Sant tradition. If he had contact with Jains, this must have been conducted on a note different from that trifling satirical exercise. Alas, we do not know if he responded to the Jains of his place. In his day, these were engaged in reformist debates, and it is not impossible that also Banārsīdās made an impact on these (AK-L, pp. lvii-ix; Cort 2002: 50-62). This famous merchant-class intellectual of Agra reports that he visited Sanganer and Cāṭṣū (modern Cāksū). His visit of Sanganer must have taken place before 1627, and the one to Cāṭṣū sometime between 1623 and 1635 (AK-L, pp. xxxix; v. 624).⁸⁶ Banārsīdās was an Adhyātmī, a follower of a Jain reform movement that emphasized interior spirituality and rejected ritual. He wrote in the vernacular. Apart from short treatises, he authored splendid Adhyātmī songs, both of these collected shortly after his death by his friend Jagjīvanrām (1644). He is however most famous for his doctrinal work *Samayasāranāṭak* (1636) and his autobiography (1641). In *Samayasāranāṭak* he expounds the *guṇasthāna* doctrine, with which he had become acquainted by the famous Jain scholar Paṇḍit Rūpcand in 1635 (AK-L, vv. 631-33).⁸⁷ The *guṇasthānas* form a system of gradual spiritual progress that requires the observance of proper conduct. His adoption of this system put an end to the spiritual crisis that Banārsīdās had experienced for many years (AK-L, vv. 592-94).

While Rajab's connection with the Jains of Sanganer remains a matter of speculation, Banārsīdās's Adhyātmī songs and his *Samayasāranāṭak* started figuring in Dādūpanthī and other Sant manuscripts from the turn of the eighteenth century. The first so far known manuscript of this kind was supposedly written at the turn of the eighteenth century (VB MS. 12; Bahurā and Dīkṣit 1961: 20-9). It consists of three portions. The first is copied from a

⁸⁶ For a comprehensive treatment of Banārsīdās in English, see AK-L, pp. i-lxxv.

⁸⁷ On the lines of tradition from the Prakrit *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda (2nd/3rd cent.?) to its digestion in the Sanskrit *Samayasārakalaśa* of Amṛtacandra (10th cent.), this again commented on by Rājamalla in his *Ḍhūṇḍhārī Samayasārakalaśabodh* (16th cent.), on the one hand, and the independent treatment of the *guṇasthānas* in Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra* (11th cent.), on the other, see Ban-SSN, concluding chapter, vv. 21-30, 35-6; Petit 2013. It is especially noteworthy that Banārsīdās did not read Kundakunda's work himself but accessed the tradition through Rūpacand's exposition of Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra* (AK-L, vv. 631-33; Petit 2013, pt. 2, chapter 1.2).

manuscript of VS 1743, the second from a manuscript from 1741, and the third from one or several unidentified sources and with no colophon. The range of authors of the sixty works united in this manuscript is catholic: Nāths, Sants, Kṛṣṇa devotees, and also Banārsīdās. The third portion of the manuscript starts with compositions by Rajab and is followed by the *Samayasāranāṭak* (fols. 291-312) and fourteen of Banārsīdās's Adhyāmī songs (fols. 316-18). While compositions of Rajab are found scattered all over the manuscript, they are not as conspicuous in number as to suggest that it comes from his lineage.

Another manuscript, however, dated VS 1850 (Nar MS. 314; Siṃhal 2004: 28f.) and also containing the *Samayasāranāṭak*, was written by a *sādhu* ultimately hailing from Rajab. The scribe, Sevādās, identifies himself by his genealogy.⁸⁸ The genealogy starts with Rajab, who is succeeded by Khem. One Khemdās was the second of nine disciples of Rajab and based in Savād (Ajmer) (RBhM-Nar, p.234, *chappaya* 505). The five gurus intervening between Khemdās and Sevādās himself are not recorded as Rajabs descendants (Nārāyaṇdās VS 2035-36 [1]: 746f.). The huge manuscript of 571 folios consists of texts of three authors, namely works of Rajab (up to fol. 452), works of Tursīdās (fols. 452-61), and the *Samayasāranāṭak* (fols. 461-570). It thereby also represents three traditions, Dādūpanthī, Nirañjanī - Tursīdās being a well-known Nirañjanī author - , and Jain. Sevādās himself may have been connected formally or informally with the Nirañjanī *sampradāya*. It is not altogether unlikely that in the course of the four generations of monks intervening between Rajab's disciple Khem⁸⁹ and Sevādās monks looked beyond the Dādūpanth and were sympathetic to the emerging Nirañjanī *sampradāya* that actually took inspiration from Dādū and his followers. The Nirañjanīs are known for their interest in philosophical and scholarly literature (Williams 2014: 214f.). In both sects, merchant castes were represented both by *sādhus* and patrons. Given their constituency and intellectual profile, the presence of the *Samayasāranāṭak* in a Nirañjanī manuscript is not all that surprising.⁹⁰

Finally, also Nar MS. 562 contains the *Samayasāranāṭak* (Siṃhal 2004: 99). Unfortunately, it gives neither date, nor place, nor the name and lineage of the scribe. It consists of (1) the *Samayasāranāṭak* (fols. 1-102), (2) the *Brahmopaniṣad* (fols. 102-04), and seventy-

⁸⁸ Rajab>Khem>Visanaṃ>Nirjan Gopīrām>Gaṅgādās>Dayārām>Sevādās.

⁸⁹ There are several Sant authors by the name of Khem(dās), two of them being Khemdās, disciple of Rajab, and Khemdās Nirañjanī. Rajab's disciple Khemdās is said to have been based in the region of Ajmer and otherwise active in Mewar (RBhM-Nār, p. 765, v. 625; p. 766, v. 627), while Khemdās Nirañjanī resided in Sivhād (RBhM-Nah, p. 206, v. 444). The place could not be identified. Is it identical with Sivṛār, nine miles southeast of Sojat (formerly Sojhat) in Pali District (Saran and Ziegler 2001 [2]: 38 n. 9)? For Khemdās Nirañjanī, see also Williams 2014: 31, 33, 151.

⁹⁰ I thank John Cort for suggesting this first (communication of 22 January 2016).

four miscellaneous *ślokas* (fols. 104-11). The presence of the *Brahmopaniṣad*, tallies with Nirañjanī interests.

In sum, the manuscripts reveal that descendants of Rajab, *sādhus* akin to the Nirañjanī tradition, and *sādhus* of unidentified lineage took interest in Banārsīdās's Adhyātmī stance and circulated both his songs and doctrinal writing.⁹¹ While it is clear that Dādūpanthī appreciated Banārsīdās's songs (4.3), it may be asked what may have been the Dādūpanthī perception of the doctrinal aspects of these (4.4).⁹²

4.3. Banārsīdās's pads as circulated by Dādūpanthī

1. Rāg Bhairūm

Your consciousness has lost all clarity; confusion reigns, restlessness holds sway,
Although the body is impure insentient matter, you love nothing more than this.
(Refrain)

From the moment of his birth, man is in the shackles of his selfishness, and these the
jīva calls his family,

You were born and will die all alone, and yet you are attached to the whole world. (1)

Gifts you offer go to ashes, in your heart you must sort out what this world is like.

You roam around but do not get across; befooled, you search around everywhere. (2)

You are grieved because you are in shackles; you do not know the secret of liberation,
When without an effort your home in the world disappears, you will be happy,
Banārsīdās. (3)

2. Rāg Rāmkalī

Consciousness, you are, were, and will be alone,

Meeting by chance on a river boat, such is being with your family. (Refrain)

This world has no substance at all, it is a play performed with a painted scroll,

Happiness, wealth, body - these are water bubbles bursting any moment. (1)

Sunk in confusion, you have forgotten the quality of the soul; a noose lies around your
neck,⁹³

Obsessed with yourself, you strut about and talk foppishly. (2)

Banārsī says: Give up your false ideas, become the disciple of a genuine guru,

⁹¹ The popularity of Banārsīdās beyond the Jain and Sant milieu is also testified to by VB MS. 225, which is a collection of Kṛṣṇaite devotional poetry and rhetoric, with just one or several short compositions of Banārsīdās (Bahurā and Dīkṣit 1961, MS. no. 225).

⁹² Notes on particular Jain terms have been attached to the individual songs (4.3).

⁹³ This translation is conjectural; there is a word *galajora* "yoke (for a pair of oxen)."

Once your soul has caught a glimpse of his face, your entanglement falls off spontaneously. (3)

Note: “False ideas” is the translation of *mithyā mata*, an equivalent of *mithyāta*. A central Jain concept, *mithyāta*, that is, *mithyātva*, “wrong belief, false views of reality” (as translated by Wiley 2003: 93f.)” represents ignorance as opposed to *samyaktva*, “righteous religion” or *samyaktva-jñāna* “correct knowledge” (Cort 2001: 7, 17).

3.Rāg Rāmkalī

According to how you prefer to worship, O *sādhu*, the invisible Man, the Lord, appears. Wherever and in whatever mood you give him shape, he will appear accordingly. (Refrain)

Sādhus, if you hold to direct evidence, he will take the form of this; if you hold to doubt, as doubt,

If you hold to unsteadiness, he may be called unsteady; if you hold to the method of absorption, he will appear as absorption. (2)

If you put forth energy, he may be called energetic; if you hold to rise as his true form, he will appear as rise,

If your viewpoint is on the practical, he will appear in practical action; if your viewpoint is on the supreme, he will appear accordingly. (3)

If you hold to the perfect state, he will appear as perfect; according to the viewpoint that you take he will appear,

If you are always compassionate, he will appear as the ocean of imperishable happiness; if you plan rise, he will appear as fall. (4)

If you negate, he will appear as negation; if you affirm, as affirmation,

The One is present in many forms; how long shall I go on explicating this? (5)

The boundless is like a priceless jewel, it buys for intelligence and discrimination,

The play on words, *Banārsī*, is fabricated, while the One remains the same. (6)

Note: The song expresses Jain relativism (*anekāntavāda*). According to the viewpoint (*naya*) one takes, things appear. The one real is beyond these viewpoints. A basic distinction within the concept of viewpoints is that of *vyavahāra*- vs. *niścaya-naya*, that is, the aspect of reasoning on the basis of the empirical world vs. the aspect of reasoning with regard to the supreme (v. 3). The modifying aspects of reasoning number usually seven, amongst these the aspect of the existence or non-existence of a substance (v. 5) (Bhatt 1974; Bhatt 1994; Balcerowicz 2003; Soni 2003).

4. Rāg Belāval

How will you find the Lord in this way? Listen, fool!

You are like a deer taking a mirage for water. (Refrain)

Like a sweetmeat offered by a witch is the taste of the senses,

Craving this you search around; don't lose yourself in error! (1)
 You think you own this body, which is made of impure dust;
 What belongs to speech, thought and karma you consider being of the self. (2)
 A name is ordinary parlance; don't lose yourself in this,
 Caste is a fabrication of the world, but in this you revel. (3)
 The earth of land and mountains appears to you as wealth,
 Obviously this is a puzzle caused by confusion, but you don't realize it. (4)
 Never have you examined your inherent quality,
 You have identified with dependent things that are distinct from you. (5)
 Like the deer chasing in the forest for the musk actually exuding from its navel,
 Your master resides in your self, but you search elsewhere. (6)
 You make and live out your experiences by and in your body,
 Without knowledge, without a true guru you can't understand this. (7)

Note: The *pad* builds upon the opposition between that which is of the self (*nija*) and anything besides the self (*para, para vastu*), expressly stated in vv. 2 and 5. The capacity to distinguish between the two is the *bheda-jñāna* extolled in *pad* 12 (see below, with note).

5. Rāg Belāval

This is the way you will find the Lord; listen, wise man!
 It goes like churning butter with a churning-stick applied to curds. (Refrain)
 An alchemist, immersed in the alchemical elixir, worships according to the rules of alchemy,
 Similarly the seeker for the highest truth attains the highest truth in his body. (1)
 The *vaidya* identifies the pain and examines it for its type and humoral disorder,
 Similarly the wise will hinder another body from forming. (2)
 The body has a form but no consciousness, while the Lord has no form,
 The clever man knows, believes and takes delight in him who pervades his body. (3)
 The master is characterized by consciousness, the body by unconsciousness,
 The mind is characterized by unsteadiness; illusion, by error. (4)
 By analysis of the different characteristics, you can distinguish them at once,
 Keep in your heart that which is true; discard that which is erroneous. (5)
 A panner pans the dust for gold with full attention,
 Similarly the *muni* bathes in his own *rasa* when his karma ripens. (6)
 If you realize yourself as you are, you will eradicate what causes doubt,
 Servant and Master are one: So who will embrace whom? (7)

Note: The *pad* extols the immersion of the *jīva* into himself, where there is consciousness that has ontologically no relationship with matter. The imagery is derived from alchemy. Alchemists are reported to have immersed themselves into the cauldron filled with the alchemical elixir to transmute their bodies to immortality (White 1996: 53-4). Verse 6 speaks of the ripening of karma, using the Jain term *karma vipāka*, “karma coming to an end.”

6. Rāg Sāraṅg Dhanāśrī

Consciousness, go against the current!

By contact with the insentient, insentience spreads, all your qualities recede. (Refrain)

You feel attracted by a witch you fashioned for your own comfort; the ghost of confusion fops you,

With glee you tie yourself the rope around your neck. (1)

Extricate yourself from the *nigoda* stream, cast off its snare,

It is invisible, like fire hidden at the bottom of a mountain. (2)

If you are lost in worldly error, Banārsī, you may well be knowledgeable,

But you will not escape unless you board the boat made of good qualities, auspicious meditation and wisdom. (3)

Note: The Jain concept of *nigoda*, the invisible tiniest creatures, has no currency in Sant poetry. John Cort says, “[i]n general, Jain poets use *nigoda* frequently as a shorthand for the most abject state of ignorance and karmic bondage imaginable” (communication of 22 Jan. 2016).

7. Rāg Dhanāśrī

Consciousness, who can set you straight?

You have ended up firmly tied from head to foot. Who will save you? (Refrain)

Like for fire in a stone or a piece of wood which works invisibly,

Like for someone drunk with liquor who cannot think at all, (1)

Like for an elephant who takes a bath and then throws dust upon himself,

Like for a silkworm secreting the thread which is going to cocoon its body, (2)

Like for a pigeon whose endless tumbling does not simply stop,⁹⁴

There is no remedy for you, Banārsī, besides the prop of remembrance and worship. (3)

8. Rāg Sāraṅg

When will my mind be free from doubt?

When will I stop serving all those people and remember my innate pure Lord? (Refrain)

When will steadfastness coming from the good guru’s word pervade my body?

When will I practise with equanimity auspicious meditation and not be attached to my body? (1)

⁹⁴ Reference is to the tumbler pigeon.

When will my eye, like the *cātak*, exult in drinking the drop from the cloud of the eternal world?

When will I stop clinging to wealth and gain happiness by embracing the Supreme Good? (2)

When will I leave my home behind and stay all by myself, yearning for the forest?

When will I reach that state? Again and again I dedicate myself as a sacrifice to that moment. (3)

9. Rāg Sāraṅg

I keep silent,

Worldlings are just short-term guests, why should I bother them with my words?
(Refrain)

The clouds of error are dispersed by the wind blowing on the path to the Supreme Good, I have now turned inward because I have experienced Rādhāramaṇ. (1)

The excellence of the nectar-draught is evident, for it is not nauseating to my mind, At no moment do I like other tastes, they are all stale; I enjoy the taste of the Lord. (2)

Would someone satiated with happiness and wealth come out of his silence?

By the *sahaj* mood arising from meeting the true guru, birth and death are dispersed. (3)

10. Rāg Sāraṅg Vṛndābanī

In the world, only one kind of happiness grants happiness: the god of gods,

By touching his feet, one becomes oneself, liberated from the senses and everything.
(Refrain)

He is not hungry or thirsty or fearful, he has no senses or sense-objects,

He has no birth, age does not overcome him, the law of death is repealed for him, (1)

In him there is no sadness or astonishment, nor the eight kinds of karma; he is the pure I,

In him is neither passion, nor enmity, nor confusion, nor sleep in service of the king, (2)

He has no body, no illness, no fatigue, no sorrow, nor the eighteen faults,

Banārsī serves the Lord for whom all this is naturally wiped out.⁹⁵

Note: “[S]leep in service of the king” (v.2): This may ultimately refer to Kundakunda’s *Samayasāra* 1.17–18. Kundakunda compares the seeker for liberation with the man who seeks a king able to provide him sustenance. For the seeker, only the *jīvarāyā* (*jīvarāja*; Hindi *jīvanṛpa*) is useful, and that *jīvarāja* is the *ātman*. Seeking his pure *ātman*, man serves the right king. Man becomes that which he experiences and gives preference to. This is also expressed in *pad* 3 (above).

⁹⁵ VB MS. 12 adds the gloss, “*Sāraṅg is completed.*”

“[E]ighteen faults”: In Jainism, these are faults of misconceptions or emotions on the part of the worldlings, while for the omniscient there is no (1) birth, (2) death, (3), sleep, (4) fear, (5) illness, (6) confusion, (7) affliction, (8) astonishment, (9) aging, (10) fatigue, (11) sweating, (12) arrogance, (13) enmity, (14) desire, (15) sorrow, (16) affection, (17) thirst, nor (18) hunger. The *pratikramaṇa* (confession of sins) follows the catalogue of these eighteen faults (Petit 2013: 34). Banārsīdās dwelt on these in his *Samayasāranāṭak* (13.108).

11. Doharā

Like the merciful giver giving alms to the needy,
The guru out of mildness gives instruction to the ignorant. (1)
The good guru preaches to the ignorant; mind, pay attention, pay attention!
Understand well the guru’s word! It is the cause of your well-being. (2)
If you can understand, understand now, for a human body is hard to obtain!
When will you meet him again? Be⁹⁶ the *cātak* yearning for the cloud! (3)

Rāg Bhairūṃ

Stupid fellow, understand what I say to you
Nothing that you see with your eyes is yours. (Refrain)
These eyes have come into existence only due to error; they are engrossed in the liquor
of error,
They push for error wherever they can find it — these are the eyes you dote on! (1)
These two eyes are made of flesh, flesh perceives but flesh,
They are veiled by the sleep of confusion, what you see are phantoms. (2)
How can you trust those eyes? They may perish any moment,
They perceive matter, but you are not matter. (3)
The eyes’ faculty is contingent, without light they cannot see,
You think that the light of fire, sun and moon is yours. (4)
With open eyelids you don’t see a thing, with closed eyelids neither,
These two deceptive eyes wander restlessly. (5)
The unsteady body that you have received cannot be regarded as the companion of the
Stable One,
So realize that your eyes are elusive, once gone they don’t return.⁹⁷ (6)
Your real eyes are imprinted in your body, but you are a blind man tottering about,
Let your eyes either open by themselves, or let the contact with the guru open them! (7)

⁹⁶ Both VB MS. 12 and BV-P read *haum*, which I take to be equivalent to *ho/hohu*.

⁹⁷ The saying *bhīma kau hāthī*, “Bhīma’s elephant”, refers to something that is irrevocably gone.

Note: The *doharā* and the following *pad* belong together which points to the living tradition of performance. The *doharā* sets the theme subsequently elaborated by the *pad*. Here the theme is that of the blindfolded worldling, whose blindness can only be cured by the guru.

12. Rag Gauḍī

Stupid fellow, the eyes of the heart are such

That they incite the opulence of happiness, and destroy the opulence of error. (Refrain)

If the eyes overflow with the elixir of immortality, they realize only the Word,

If the eyes regard the highest good, man will accomplish his end. (1)

If the eyes are fixed on the state of the Absolute, no karma sullies them,

If the body is revealed to these eyes, the invisible pure One is awake. (2)

If with such eyes he discerns differences and qualities, the wise reflects on wisdom,

If he sees his true form with such eyes, the *muni* abides in meditation. (3)

If one wakes with such eyes, all worldly matters are unraveled as false,

If such eyes see the calming Śiva face-to-face, the degradation of the objects is rolled back. (4)

If the splendour of the Highest resides in such eyes, their sight has no support elsewhere,

If such eyes behold the Eternal in deep absorption, they do not blink. (5)

If to such eyes the light appears, it shines in them,

Incongruence disappears from them and the *rasa* of sameness shines forth. (6)

If the eyes have attained their perfectly true form, they distinguish between world and transcendence,

Give up all ambiguity, and you will reach the state of unambiguity. (7)

Note: Verse 3 mentions the discernment of “differences and virtues” (*bheda guna*) as a condition for the awakening of wisdom. The concept of *bheda* goes back to Kundakunda, who emphasized the difference between the soul and everything else (Dundas 2002: 108). Besides, there are many other categories of difference in Jainism, such as the the fourteen categories of examining (*mārgaṇa*) the destiny of creatures. (Petit 2013: 189-91), or the differences of the five elements (*pañca bheda*; Petit 2013: 144f.). *Guṇas* are the virtues of the fundamental triad of god, scripture and teacher, but can also refer more particularly to the progressively refined fourteen qualities of the *guṇasthāna* concept (Cort 2003: 281-82).

In the terminology of Banārsīdās, “Śiva” (v. 4) is an equivalent of the absolute” (Petit 2013: 126). Premī (BV-P, p. 50) reminds us that Banārsīdās was also a devotee of Śiva, whom he revered as a deity and the absolute. For this, see his full-length composition in praise of Śiva, *Śivapaccīsī* (BP-P, pp. 153-55), for more examples, *Ardhakathānak*, vv. 236-37 (AK-L, p. 37), or *Adhyātmabattīsī*, v. 32 cd (BV-P, p. 150).

13. Rāg Kāfī

Lord, wish-fulfilling jewel, you are my true master,

You take away the sorrow of the three worlds; I get up in the morning and pronounce your name. (Refrain)

You have the ardour of the sun, your great power fights the ardour of the world,
As one beholds your image with love, the darkness of ignorance vanishes. (1)
Compassionate with the wretched, ward off pain, crisis, and rebirth⁹⁸,
Grant me the abode of fearlessness, let existence not take another round! (2)
Your image shines in front of me, installed at a stable place at an auspicious time,
Your slave Banārsī meditates and puts his supplication before it. (3)

Note: Verse 1 speaks of *mithyāta*, that is, *mithyātva* “wrong belief, false views of reality,” for which see note to *pad* 2.

14. Now follows the Holī song on the Spirit

How will you find him but as the Spirit, which is the very form of the Supreme Man?
When the bodiless body is found in the interior of your body, there prevails
unfathomable, matchless majesty. (Refrain)
When the irregular tree is in full bloom, the spring of *sahaj* has arrived,
The mind, a bee drunk with the wafting fragrance of remembrance. (1)
The right understanding of the Spirit is the cuckoo, rapturous the breeze hitherto
unknown,
The haze and clouds of error have dispersed, numbness disappears. (2)
The night of illusion is lifting, sun and moon prevail in harmony,
The days ripe with confusion dwindle, the hoarfrost of doubt is gone. (3)
New foliage of auspiciousness is sprouting, the dry leaves of inauspiciousness fall,
The jasmine of sensuality has withered; the creeper of detachment spreads. (4)
The moon of discernment is speckless, in heavy showers the nectar of steadfastness
pours down,
The moonlight of strength spreads; the eye, a joyful sheldrake. (5)
The fire of remembrance is ablaze; the sun of righteous religion, strong,
The heart lotus is blooming, the pollen of fame bursts forth. (6)
The snowy mountain of tenacious passions melts, rivers join⁹⁹ to wipe out karma,
The stream of firmness flows in the direction of the Śiva Sea. (7)
The reign of false words is wiped out; truth has awoken to action,
The shrubby land has become pleasant in the reign of King Spring. (8)

⁹⁸ Lit. “night’s lodging in a womb.”

⁹⁹ I take *join* as an equivalent of *joḍā*, “pair, couple”; another interpretation would be “violently, vigorously”, from *join*, adv.

Formerly the earth was prone to recurrent existence, the eight kinds of karma formed a thicket,

But now the invisible formless soul plays the Holī of dharma. (9)

The earth has found a band of *nayas*, with wisdom and meditation for its drum and cymbal,

For the syringe, there is striving for the supreme state; for red powder, discipline and love. (10)

Let the *rāg* of detachment be intoned in the auspicious tune of loving devotion,

Let there be the joy of immersion in the supreme *rasa*, let the ten gifts be given. (11)

The sweetmeat of compassion is succulent, the dry fruits of austerity are exquisite,

The water of virtue is pleasantly cool, discipline is the choicest *pān*. (12)

The body shines with sexual restraint, in this way shamelessness is practiced,

Let the mouth pronounce the untellable tale, in this way obscene songs are sung. (13)

For bawdy Holī songs, there are the songs on virtue, for opium, love of purest taste,

Mind, speech and discipline relish in waves of happiness. (14)

The highest light shines forth, lit up for a Holī fire,

All the eight pieces of wood have been reduced to ashes, their heat has cooled down. (15)

Eighty-five *prakṛtis* were lit, they are now letters written in the ashes,

Bathed and clean, he will never again play in these. (16)

Revel in the virtue of *sahaj* strength! Reflect, Banārsīdās!

All your friends tell you that this is the way to avoid the perils of the sea of confusion.¹⁰⁰

Note: “Sheldrake” (v. 5): *cakora*, the bird that is said to drink moonrays for its only sustenance. The composition is full of Jain terms. Verse 6 speaks of “righteous religion” (*samakita* = *samyaktva*), for which see the annotation to the previous song. “Passions” (v. 6) corresponds to *kaṣāi* = *kaṣāya*, which account for the binding of the soul to karmic matter. The wiping out of karma, mentioned in v. 7, refers to *karma nirjarā*, “annihilation of karma” in the sense of all karmic matter having fallen off from the soul. For Śīva in “Śīva Sea” (v. 7) see the note to *pad* 12 above. The “Śīva Sea,” then, is the ocean of liberation, though the term alludes also to the particular relationship Banārsīdās, “the servant of Banaras,” has with the city of Śīva.

The “eight kinds of karma” of v. 9 are *jñānāvaraṇa-karma*, which hides the soul’s knowledge of itself; *darśanāvaraṇa-karma*, which hides the soul’s faculty to discern; *vedanīya-karma*, which hides the soul’s serenity; *mohanīya-karma*, which hides the soul’s faculty of true faith and proper conduct; *āyus-karma*, which accounts for the amount of life (not the length of life as counted by years); *nāma-karma*, which accounts for the differences among souls; *gotra-karma*, which accounts for the hierarchical station acquired by birth; and *antarāya-karma*, which hinders the energy of the soul (Glasenapp 1964: 159-65). For *naya* in v. 10, see note to *pad* 3. The text has *nai*, which can also be interpreted as an equivalent of *nava*, “new.” For the “tenfold gift” of v. 11, see Banārsīdās’s

¹⁰⁰ In RV-P this verse, which is missing in VB MS. 12, is numbered 18 (for the synopsis of the *pads* as they occur in VB MS. 12 und BV-P, see 6.3).

Daśadānavidhāna, in which he makes an allegorical description of the ten gifts, namely, cow, gold, servant girl, house, elephant, horse, accoutrement, a wife from a good family, sesame, land, and chariot; BV-P, pp. 182-84). The “eight pieces of wood” (v. 15), finally, are again the eight kinds of karma.

4.4. Shared sensibilities

In their devotional songs, Banārsīdās and the Sants drew from common sources which they digested in line with their various traditions.¹⁰¹ The songs share topics which are usually announced in the refrains of the compositions. Main topics are the “I” in relation to the mystical reality, the praise of or longing for the guru, and the hollowness of life as an instant in the swirl of existence. Time shrinks to the “now or never,” that is, the present human life, difficult to attain and forming the short span in which transformation into the state transcending time has to be achieved.¹⁰² This emphasis, as it were, blotches out the doctrinal notions of endless cycles of existence and the uncertainty of release, let alone the Jain doctrine that release requires that the seeker be a male mendicant. The teaching of devotional songs is: “Rebirth shall be no more.” For the Jains, the shackles of existence are broken by insight into the radical difference between the phenomena and the absolute self. Similarly with the Sants, but with the great difference that the self is thought to merge with the supreme. The shrinking of time to the present moment adds to those poems an element of desperate urgency.

How would Dādūpanthīs or other Sants have perceived the specific Jain tenor and terms of Banārsīdās’s compositions? Banārsīdās excels in transporting with precision Jain doctrinal concepts into the vernacular, and this is also the case for his songs, though in these his tone is the intensely personal one appropriate for the genre. One could of course argue that, compared with the thematic and emotional similarity of his songs with Sant compositions, particular Jain terms here and there may not have much affected their appreciation outside the Jain milieu. This would perhaps go to underestimate the critical perception of the recipients of those compositions, especially those who engaged with Banārsīdās’s works to the extent of adopting these in their own collections. The point is rather that most of the Jain terms are shared by Sants, in the concepts of whom, however, these may range differently. Such terms are *jīva*, *mithyāta*, *bheda*, or *sahaj*. The numerous enumerations of doctrinally relevant phenomena in Jain texts form another issue. Banārsīdās uses at least three of these, namely, eight kinds of karma (for example in *pad* 10.2), ten gifts (*pad* 14.11) and eighteen faults (*pad* 10.3). Sants do not speak of eight kinds of karma, but they mention the “eight kinds of affliction,” the Jain and the Sant eights sharing in their negative value. Likewise, Sants do not speak of ten gifts or eighteen kinds

¹⁰¹ For the Digambara Dyānatrāy’s vernacular devotional songs, John Cort 2002: 280-82 made out the main lines of tradition. By and large these prevail also in the *pads* of Banārsīdās.

¹⁰² Examples are, for Banārsīdās, *pads* 1, 2, and 8 of the texts in this article; for Dyānatrāy, Cort 2002: 293, *pad* 5.

of faults. The common listener may not have much bothered about the details of all those aggregates. Sant poetry uses similar lists, common to the literary tradition or more specifically related to concepts of the tantric-yogic esoteric body. Numbers as they occur in poetry beckon to rather than precisely define phenomena, and thereby allow for a wide ambit of interpretation. Certain terms may gloss over difference, such as the name Rādhāramaṇ (*pad* 9.1). Finally, supplication made before the image of the Jina (*pad* 13.3) contradicts Sant principles but did not stand in the way of the *pad* finding its way into a Dādūpanthī collection. The whole composition could generously be interpreted as the interior creation of the Jina by imagination. Given the shared sensibilities, the rarely occurring exclusively Jain terms in Banārsīdās's songs - *nigoda* (*pad* 6.2) and *naya* (*pad* 14.10) - may have been taken lightly by Sants, however heavily charged with meaning the terms be for the Jains themselves.

5. Conclusion

When Prithināth and Rajab, a Nāth and a Dādūpanthī, respectively, criticized the Jains, they both argued as monists against the false consciousness of the dualist Jains and the devastating consequences of this for religious practice and ethics. Both authors wrote for their own following and not to engage Jains in a debate. The paper has raised the question if Rajab, supposedly for the better part of his life a resident of Sanganer, took notice of the reformist debates going on in Sanganer among Jains, and, particularly, if he was aware of Banārsīdās and his writings, of which about half a century after his death, sections were incorporated in Dādūpanthī manuscripts, among these in a manuscript originating from the line of Rajab. No interest of Rajab himself in the Jain debates of his day can be pointed to. Latter-day Dādūpanthīs and other Sants read his *pads* sympathetically as testimonies of interior spirituality and were not deterred by strictly or even exclusively Jain terminology. They must have subsumed this under their Sant monistic understanding. The transmission of Banārsīdās's *Samayasāranāly* is a different issue. Its adoption into Sant collections resists interpretation as a kind of spiritual osmosis, for the text is consistently doctrinal. Its doctrine may however have appealed to Sant *sādhus* as a model of gradual perfection.

6. TEXTS

6.1. Prithināth: *Jaina(vāra)dharmaśīlasamādhigrantha*

Source: Sharma MS. 3190, fols.637r-638v.

/ / indicates an insertion made by the scribe, while () indicates diplography.

प्रथमि बंदौ गुर के पाइ, जत सत संजम दिया दिषाय।
पंच तत का परचा कह्या, ग्रभ थका केवल होइ रह्या ॥१॥
जैन बोध का इहै उपदेस, समोसरण लै गये नरेस।
श्यास छ सै सहंस इकबीस, जपै तौ निपजै बिसवा बीस ॥२॥
धर्म तणां कीध प्रकास, भै भागि पडै छूटे ग्रभवासा
प्रिथीनाथ ग्यांन की गली, बिरला नर निपजैहि केवली ॥३॥
पद के लौंच्या छूटे कर्म, पद के लौंचतां मिटे सब भ्रंमा
पदै लौंच्यां पडदा षुल्या, पद के लौंच्या देवनि मिल्या ॥४॥
पद के लौंच्यां केवल भया, पद प्रचै बैकुंठहि गया।
पद निरंजन ऐकांकार, अनंत सिधा लेउतरे पार ॥५॥
पदहिं न लौंचहिं लौंचहिं केस, केसां लौंच्या क्या उपदेसा
जब लग मन मनसा¹ थिर नांहि, कवन भरोसा दरसनं मांहि ॥६॥
मन जीते बिन तप न होइ, धोषै मुक्ति न पहुंच्या कोइ।
जब लग चंचल निःश्रल नांहि, ऐ कवन काजि बनषंड तप जांहि ॥७॥
तब पोसौ समाई गुरू सही, जा कै जन्म मरण की संक नर ही।
जीवपलैजैपुदगलरहै, पुदगलबिनकोधर्महि कहै ॥८॥
पुदगलबि नां सरावग नांहि, जुगति बिहूणां उपजहि जांहि।
जुगति जोग /जे/ साधै कोइ, अरिहंत देव निरंजन होइ ॥९॥
जतीन जानहि कहां वहि जाति, मनसा जात न जांणहि राति।
जब प्राण प्यंड तहां तजि जांहि, कहां जती जब देहीं नांहि ॥१०॥
तब कि चार जब तन मन चरै, आपापर दोउ समि करै।
पंच चोर का मर दै मांन, चंचल जीते पद त्रिबांण ॥११॥(!)
प्रिथीनाथ सरावग जांणि, जे फांसू पद कूं लेइ पिछांणि।
फांसू फांसू सब कोई कहै, फांसू पद कोई बिरला लहै ॥१३॥(!)
ऐ काथक सेली फांसू करै, बिन प्रचै धोषै ब्यौहरैं।
धोवनि धांवनि जे फांसू होइ, तौ देवलोक पहुंचै सब कोइ ॥१४॥

¹ मनासा

फांसू तत सरीरहि माहि, ताहि न चीन्हहि धोवन षांहि।
 फांसू अविगत नीझर नीर, जिनि साध्या तैं देव सरीर ॥१५॥
 अंबर झरै न धरती होइ, सतगुर बिना न पावै कोइ।
 फांसू बूंद जीव की जाति, जा कै उतपति प्रलौ दिवस न राति ॥१६॥
 जै या बूंद अप्रचै झरै, तौ काहे न जीव अनंतही मरै।
 ऐक बूंद की कीमति नाहि, जा थैं महापुरिष निपजे जगु माही ॥१७॥
 तबही तप जब तत संमि रहै, पाका होइ त बूंद न बहै।
 काचा भांडा भीज्यां गलै, कहा तपु जै जीव न पलै ॥१८॥
 प्रिथीनाथ कहै समझाइ, या तन बिनां तप कहहु किम ठाइ।
 ज्यूं रांक भूषे अनहि दुकाल, मुवां पीछैं कहु कहा सुका[ल] ॥१९॥
 जीवत मुक्ति होइ जे जती, द्वारै बूंद झरै नहीं रती।
 सासैं सास उपवास करै, तौ जुरा न व्यापै मीच न षाइ ॥२०॥
 नौ दर मूंदि दसों की संधिमा, ता मैं गरल राषै बंधि।
 इसि बिधि निधि नव कारहि गुणै, तब अनहद सब्द अंचंभो भणै ॥२१॥
 प्रिथीनाथसीलतपकहै, कोईबिर्लासिलाअलूंणीगहै।
 इहै जीव श्रबंग्या लेहु बिचारि, इन मैं कून पुरिष को कहिये नारि ॥२२॥
 मन मैं धोषा ईद्री कसैं, रांडी कै डरि बनषड्य बसै।
 उमटै बिंद मूलि नहीं रहै, फाटै /बरतणी/ को पीरा त्यूं बहै ॥२३॥
 परंमहंस कूं चीहै नाहि, इद्री बंधि चले बन मांहि।
 मनसा सक्ती मन मैं हसै, कहा भयो जे बंन मैं बसै ॥२४॥
 जब यहु प्राण प्यंड तहिं चलै, तब कवन तेज घरि इंद्री मिलौ।
 बूंद बूंद सब को क कहै, महाबूंद कोई बिरला लहै ॥२५॥
 नां वहु छीजै नां वहु गलै, वहु न बूंद जे भग्य मुषि ढलै।
 दसवैं द्वारि बूंद का षेल, जल की बीति अग्नि का तेज ॥२६॥
 बिंदक पुरिस अग्नि की धार, इहै पद ले सीझे नांम कुवांरा।
 इस बुधि जीव सीव मैं रहै, प्रिथीनाथ महातपु कहै ॥२७॥
 इहै सत सील इहै सत धरंम, जांहिं बिचार्या भागां भ्रंम।
 सील सब का दुलंभ घाट, महापुरिष सीझे तिस बाट^२ ॥२८॥
 इहै जीवर धरंम जीव प्रतिपाल, जा कूं राज छाडि सेवंहि भोवाला।
 देही छाडि न हंसा जाइ, गगन गुफा मैं जती समाइ ॥२९॥
 जिनि इहै धर्म बिचार्या नांहि, तिनि कत अवतार लीया जगु माहि।
 सस्य के मंदिर रवि की झाल, जै फिरि बसै तौ दवैं न काल ॥३०॥
 इस बुधि लौंका लवंहि समान, बाचा फूटी पद त्रिबांण।

^२ घाट

तब लौंका या लवहि समावहि, नहीं तौ दरसन माहीं ॥३१॥
 जीव जतन का कठिन बिचार, जतनहि अनंत सिधा उतरै पार।
 सब पुरिषन एकै साथ, इसि बुधि सीझे श्री पारसनाथ ॥३२॥
 तबहि रषीश्वर शुर कूं धरै, मलिन प्यंड तदि देवत करै।
 पांचौ इंद्रि(पांचौइंद्रि^३) तजहि बिकार, धरम लाभ जीते संसार ॥३३॥
 तीरथ भए सब तत पिछांणि, धरंम धजा ले चढे बिवांणि।
 इसह सिध चौबीस देवस्थान, बाज मढे बाजै नीसांण ॥३४॥
 सात तबक सोलह असमान, कोटिकिरंणि रवि उग्या भांण।
 संसि के मंदिर रवि संचरै, इहै सील साध्ये निस्तरै ॥३५॥
 जीवन का पद ब्रह्मगियांन, सिध कला इहै देवस्थान।
 इस बुधि जोगी मन ले रह्या, तिनि आत्म प्रचै सब सुष लह्या ॥३६॥
 धरंम कथा का कह्या बषांण, बक्ता श्रुता पुत्र कल्यांण।
 जे साधहि ते तप करी बली, महारत्न बरसहि केवली ॥३७॥
 आपापर जिनि समझ्या नाहि, तीनि धोषा धरि थापे जगु मांहि।
 बाज बिचार्या बहुतक बह्या, इन मै आत्म जीती नां को रह्या ॥३८॥
 धरंम ऐक परि धोषा घणां, बिल्रा मन जीतहि आपणां।
 जे इहै चंचल बसि करि लेइ, षट दरसंण का सतगुर सेई ॥३९॥
 ध्रंमी सील श्री स्यंभूनाथ, श्री मंछिंद्र सबहीं नाथ।
 अनंत सिधां गुरू गोर्षनाथ, ध्रंम उपदेस श्री प्रीथीनाथ ॥४०॥

6.2. Rajab: Jain jañjāl

Source: RV-N, pp. 930-33.

सुनहु संत यहु जैन जंजाल, कपट कर्म की बांधी चाल।
 नाम निरंजन सों नांहिं, भूल रहे चौबीसौं मांहिं ॥१॥
 द्वादश दूने भूले आय, आतम लाई अपने भाया।
 यहु मोटा कीन्हा व्यभिचार, क्यों छेडे भगवत भरतार ॥२॥
 तांबा लोहा पलटहिं अंग, सदा सु सुनिये पारस संग।
 पर सोने सोना कदे न होय, तो चव छके न सदगति कोय ॥३॥
 जती कहावें जड़े जंजाल, देश देहुरे कीन्ही साल।
 तिन आरंभों वार न पार, परहि प्राणि शिर पाप पहार ॥४॥
 शत्रुंजय सुधि ही जांहिं, आगे पाथर बोलै नांहिं।
 मारहीं जीवहु आवत जात, तहां चढ़ावै फूल रु पात ॥५॥

³ The diplography is caused by the turn to the next folio.

पाथर पूजहिं जती न जाय, गृहियों को सो देयें दृढ़ाया
 विष समान गुरु तात न लेय, शिष सुत को सो हलाहल देय ॥६॥
 वैश्य वर्ण समझे नहिं बात, जैन जत्यों में मोटी घाता
 आपन पूजै तिनहुं पुजावैं, फोटे फफ फलौदी आवैं ॥७॥
 दया दृढावैं दुष्ट शरीर, मरतों देय न भोजन नीरा
 करैं पर्युषण गुरु कन जाहिं, कहैं पुण्य बणियें मिल खाहिं ॥८॥
 ज्यों बिन पारीछै रहट स्वरूप, पाणि पड़े सु भीतर कूपा
 ऐसा धर्म सू दीसै जैन, सु हूं सकल ये साचे बैन ॥९॥
 नाक नकपती जीव विचार, रमहिं दिशांतर कोस हजारा
 काचा पानी भीटैं नाहिं, चलते पैठै नदियों मांहि ॥१०॥
 श्रावण मास शहर की भीख, मारैं जीवहुं बीखे बीखा
 उन के हेतु उघाड़ैं हांडी, मरहिं भाफ जिव पूरी भांडी ॥११॥
 पृथ्वी आप तेज नभ पवन, तिने के जीव सु टालै कवना
 बाहर भीतर ये ही पांच, तिन में सारे नाचहिं नांच ॥१२॥
 मैली मनसा मैल भेश, लागहिं पाप उपारहिं केश
 मनमथ करम करैं घट मांहि, चर्म दृष्टि देखैं सो नांहि ॥१३॥
 लेखै पाप सु उतरै नांहि, चोरी चूक जड़ी जिव मांहि
 एक हि अघ उतरै सो दूरि, चौबिसों सुमिरे भग भूरि ॥१४॥
 हाथ न कौड़ी हृदये कौड़ि, बैठे बणियों सों मन जोड़ि
 बिन विश्वासी फेर न सार, भिक्षा मांगहिं द्वै द्वै बार ॥१५॥
 अशन वसन सब आछे लेहिं, पांशू कहि कहि फीटे देहिं
 पांशू कहिये तेती बात, विष्टा वस्त्र बाहर जात ॥१६॥
 रिषि मूरख पांशू करि लेहिं, घर के धणी पाप सब देहिं
 यहु पाखंड कह्यो समझाय, सो अघराशि कौन घर जाय ॥१७॥
 अन्न पानि काचे सौं भागै, सोई सांझ सवारे मांगै
 नीली भाजी दोष लगावैं, पाकी पात्र मांहि घलावैं ॥१८॥
 निषध नारियल शिर सम होय, फोड़्या पीछे दोष न कोया
 ऐसे कपट घणे घट मांहि, संसारी सो समझै नांहि ॥१९॥
 नौ बिधि बाड़ सु वामा बोड़े, करी आरज्या सो सब तोड़े,
 बोलैं झूठ नाम बिन नीच, शिर ऊपर सूझी नहिं मीच ॥२०॥
 आगि अनंत मुख सेकैं नांहि, मुये सो दीजे ता मांहि,
 सकल व्रत की फोड़ी पाल, जन रज्जब जग जैन जंजाल ॥२१॥

6.3. Banārsīdās

Source: VB MS. 12, fols.316r-18v, collated with BV-P.

In BV-P, Nāthurām Premī does not specify the manuscripts at the base of his edition. In both VB MS. 12 and BV-P the compositions are numbered continuously (across *rāgs*, *pads* and *doharās*).

Banārsī's compositions as they appear in VB MS. 12 were copied from an earlier manuscript as is evident from the kind of scribal mistakes. In many cases, the readings of BV-P are superior to VB MS. 12, though VB MS. 12 has a couple of genuine variant readings.

The title of the text listed as no. 14 is given as “Adhyātama dhamāli,” which is closer to the title “Phāga dhamāla” mentioned by Banārsī (AK-L, v. 626) than the title “Adhyātama phāga” given in BV-P. It is one of the works written between 1623 and 1635 (VS 1680 and 1692; AK-L, vv. 623-25). The *rāgs* given for the various songs are not absolutely identical in VB MS. 12 and BV-P. From this it can be concluded that around the turn of the eighteenth century there existed slightly different versions of Jagjīvan's compilation.

VB MS. 12, fols. 316r-318v	BV-P
1. rāg Bhāirūṃ	1. rāg Bhairav (pp. 231f.)
2. rāg Rāmkalī	2. rāg Rāmkalī (p. 232)
3. rāg Rāmkalī	3. rāg Rāmkalī (p. 233)
4. rāg Belāval	6. rāg Bilāval (pp. 234f.)
5. rāg Belāval	7. rāg Bilāval (p. 235f.)
6. rāg Sāraṅg Dhanāśrī	11. rāg Dhanāśrī (p. 240)
7. rāg Dhanāśrī	12. rāg Dhanāśrī (pp. 240f.)
8. rāg Sāraṅg	13. rāg Sāraṅg (p. 241)
9. rāg Sāraṅg	14. rāg Sāraṅg (pp. 241f.)
10. rāg Sāraṅg bṛndāvanī	15. rāg Sāraṅg bṛndāvanī (<i>tek</i> shorter in the beginning; p. 242)
11. doharā	17. ālāpa, dohā (pp. 243f.)
rāg Bhairūṃ	18. rāg Gaurī (pp. 244f.)

VB MS. 12, fols. 316r-318v	BV-P
12. rāg Gaurī	19. rāg Gaurī (pp. 245f.)
13. rāg Kāphī	21. rāg Kāphī (pp. 246f.)
14. अथ अध्यातम धमालि लिष्यते	अथ अध्यातम फाग लिष्यते (pp. 157-59)

राग भैरू

या चेतन की सब सुधि ¹गई ॥ ब्यापक मोह बिकलता भई ॥
है जड रूप अपावन देह ॥ ता सौं राषै परम सनेह ॥टेका॥
²आइ मिलै जन स्वारथ बंध ॥ तिन ही कुटुंब कहै जीव अंध ॥
आप अकेला जनमै मरै ॥ सकल लोक की ममता धरै ॥१॥
होत बिभूति दान कै दीये ॥ यह परपंच बिचारै हीये ॥
भरमत फिरै न पावै वौर ॥ ठानै मूढ और की और ॥२॥
बंध हेतु करै जु षेद ॥ जानै नहीं मोष कौ भेद ॥
मितै सहज संसार निवास ॥ तब सुष होइ बनारसीदास ॥३॥१॥

राग रामकली

चेतन तूं तिहु काल अकेला ॥
नदी नाव संजोग मिलै ज्यौं ॥ त्यौं कुटुंब का मेला ॥टेका॥
यह संसार असार रूप सब ॥ यौं पटपेषन षेला ॥
सुष संपति शरीर जल बुदबुदा ॥ बिनसत नांही बेला ॥१॥
मोह मगन आतम गुनभूलत ॥ परी तोहि गलजेला ³॥
में मैं करत चिहु गति डोलत ॥ बोलत जैसे छैला ॥२॥
कहत बनारसि⁴ मिथ्या मत तजि ॥ हौंहि सुगुरु का चेला ॥
तासु बदन परतीति आनि जिया ॥ होइ सहज सुरझेला ॥२॥

मगन होइ अराधै साधौ⁵ ॥ अलष पुरष प्रभु ऐसा ॥
जहां जहां जिस रस सौं राचै ॥ तहां तहां तिस मै तैसा ॥टेका॥
सहज प्रवान ⁶पवान रूप में ॥ संसै मै संसै सा ॥
धरै चपलता चपल कहावै ॥ लै विधान में लै सा ॥१॥

¹ VB MS. 12 ?खुधि

² VB MS. 12 prefixes याचेतनकी

³ VB MS. 12: added in the margin by a modern hand.

⁴ बनरसी

⁵ VB12 MS 12 साधै

⁶ VB MS. 12 साधौ सहज

उद्यम⁷ करे त उद्यमी कहिए ॥ उदै सरूप उदै सा ॥
 व्यवहारी व्यवहार⁸ करंम में ॥ निहचै में निहचै सा ॥२॥
 पूरन दसा धरै संपूरन ॥ नै बिचार में नै सा ॥
 दर्बित सदा अपै सुष सागर ॥ भावित उतपति पै सा ॥३॥
 नांही⁹ कहत होइ नाही सा ॥ है कहिये तो है सा ॥
 एक अनेक रूप द्वै बरता ॥ कहौ कहां लौ कैसा ॥४॥
 वह अपार ज्यौ रतन अमोलिक ॥ बुधि बिबेक ज्यौ पैसा ॥
 कलपित बचन बिलास बनारसि¹⁰ ॥ वहाँ जैसै कातैसा ॥५ ॥३॥

राग बेलावल

ऐसैं क्यों प्रभु पाइयैं ॥ सुनि मूरष प्रानी ॥
 जैसैं निरषि मरीचिका ॥ मृग मानत पांनी ॥टेक॥
 ज्यौं पकवांन चुरैल कौ ॥ बिषया रस त्यौंही ॥
 ता के लालच तूं फिरै ॥ भ्रम भूलि न यौंही ॥१॥
 देहा अपावन षेह की¹¹ ॥ अपनि करि मानी ॥
 भाषा मनसा करंम की ॥ सो तैं निजकर जानी ॥२॥
 नाउ कहावत लोक की ॥ सो तोहि न भूलै ॥
 जाति जगत की कल्पना ॥ ता में तूं झूलै ॥३॥
 माटी भूमि पहार की ॥ तोहि संपति सूझै ॥
 प्रगट पहेली मोह की ॥ तूं तौ न बूझै ॥४॥
 तैं कबहूँ निज गुन बिषै ॥ निज दृष्टि न दीनी ॥
 पराधीन पर वस्तु सौं ॥ अपनाइत कीनी ॥५॥
 ज्यौं मृग नाभि सुबास¹² सौं ॥ ढूढत बन दौरै ॥
 त्यौं तुझ मै तेरो धनी ॥ तूं षोजत औरै ॥६॥
 करता भरता भोगिता ॥ घट सौं घट माही ॥
 ग्यान बिना सदगुर बिना ॥ तूं समझत नाही ॥७ ॥४॥

ऐसैं यौं प्रभु पाइये ॥ सुणि पंडित प्रांणी ॥
 ज्यौं मधि माषण काढिये ॥ दधि मेलि मथाणी ॥टेक॥
 ज्यौं रस लीन रसांयनी ॥ रस रीति आराधै ॥
 त्यौ घट मै परमारथी ॥ परमारथ साधै ॥१॥
 जैसैं बैद बिथा लहै ॥ गुन दोष बिचारै ॥
 तैसैं पंडित पिंड की ॥ रचना निरवारै ॥२॥

⁷ VB MS. 12 उदें

⁸ VB MS. 12 adds में

⁹ VB MS. 12 साथौ नांही

¹⁰ VB MS. 12 बनारसि

¹¹ BV-P खेटकी

¹² VB MS. 12 सुवस

पिंड सरूप अचेत है ॥ प्रभु रूप न कोई ॥
 जानै मानै रमि रहै ॥ घट व्यापक सोई ॥३॥
 चेतन लछन है धनी ॥ जड लछन काया ॥
 चंचल लछन चित्त है ॥ भ्रम लछन माया ॥४॥
 लछन भेद बिलेखि कै ॥ सु बिच छिन¹³ बेदै ॥
 सत्तरूप¹⁴ हिए धरै ॥ भ्रमरूप उछेदै ॥५॥
 ज्यों रज सोधै न्यारिया ॥ धन सौं मन की लै ॥
 त्यों मुनि कर्म बिपाक मै ॥ अपनै रस झीलै ॥६॥
 आपु लषै जब आपु कौं ॥ दुबिधापद मेटै ॥
 सेवक साहिब एक है ॥ तब को कहि भेटै ॥७॥५॥

राग सारंग धनाश्री

चेतन उलटी चाल चलै ॥
 जड प्रसंग ते जडता ब्यापी ॥ निज गुन सकल टले ॥टेक॥
 हित सौं बिरचि ठगनी सौं राचै ॥ मोह पिसाच छले ॥
 हसि हसि फंद सवारि आपु ही ॥ मेलत आपु गले ॥१॥
 आए निकसि निगोद सिंधु ते ॥ फिरि तेह फंद ढले¹⁵ ॥
 कैसै परगट हो आगि ज्यों ॥ दबी पहार तले¹⁶ ॥२॥
 भूले भव भ्रम बीच बनारसि ॥ तुम सग्यान भले ॥
 गुन शुभध्यांन ग्यांन नौका चढि ॥ बैठे ते निकले ॥३॥ [६॥]

राग धनाश्री

चेतन कौन तोहि संभार ॥
 नष सष लौं दिढ बंधन बैठे ॥ कौन करै निरवार ॥टेक॥
 जैसें आगि पषांन काठ मै ॥ लषि नहि¹⁷परति लगार ॥
 मदिरा पांन किए¹⁸ मतिवारौ ॥ ताहि न कछू बिचार ॥१॥
 ज्यों गजराज पखार ¹⁹आप तनु ॥ आपहि डारत छार ॥
 आपु ही उगलि²⁰ पाट कौ कीरा ॥ तनहि लपेट तारा ॥२॥
 सहज कबूतर ²¹ लोटन कौ सौ ॥ षुलै न पेच अपार ॥

¹³ VB MS. 12 सु बिलछन

¹⁴ VB MS. 12 सत्तरूप

¹⁵ BV-P तेह पंथ टले

¹⁶ VB MS. 12 ले, in the preceding lacuna there may have been written, but was erased a letter.

¹⁷ BV-P लषिय न

¹⁸ BV-P करत

¹⁹ VB MS. 12 परिवारि

²⁰ VB MS. 12 उलगलि

और उपाइ न बनै बनारसि ॥ सुमिरन भजन अधार ॥३ ॥७॥

राग सारंग

दुबिध्या कब जैहै या मन की ॥
कब निज नाथ निरंजन सुमिरौं ॥ तजि सेवा जन जन की ॥टेक॥
कब घट अंतर है निरंतर ॥ दिढता सुगुरु बचन की ॥
कब सुभ ध्यान धरौं समता गहि ॥ करौं न ममता तन की ॥१॥
कब रुचि सौं पीवै द्रिग चात्रिग ॥ बूंद अषैपद घन की ॥
कब सुष लहौं भेटि ²²परमारथा ॥ मेटि धारना धन की ॥२॥
कब घर छाढि होउ एकाकी ॥ लिए लालसा बंन की ॥
ऐसी दसा होइ कब मेरी ॥ हौ बलि बलि वा छन की ॥३ ॥८॥

हम बैठे अपने मोन सौं ॥
दिन दस के महिमांन जगत जन ॥ वोलि बिगारै कौन सौं ॥टेक॥
गए बिलाइ भ्रम के बादर ॥ परमारथ पंथ पौन सौं ॥
अब अंतरगति भई हमारे ॥ परचै राधारौन सौं ॥१॥
प्रगटी सुधापान की महिमा²³ ॥ मन नहि लागै बोन सौं ॥
षिननसुहाइऔररसफीके²⁴ ॥रुचिसाहिबकेलौनसौं ॥२॥
रहे अघाइ पाइ सुष संपति ॥ कौ निकसै निज मौन सौं ॥
सहज भाव सतगुर की संगति ॥ सुरझे आवागौन सौं ॥३ ॥९॥

सारंग बृंदाबनी

सुषदायक सुष एक²⁵ जगत में ॥ सो देवनि कौ देव²⁶ ॥
जासु चरन पारसि इंद्रादिक हौहि मुक्त स्वयमेव ॥टेक॥
जो न छुदित तृषित²⁷ भयाकुल ॥ इंद्री बिषय न बेव ॥
जनम न होइ जरा नहि ब्यापै ॥ मिटी मरन की टेव ॥१॥
जा कै नही बिषाद बिसमय ॥ नहि आठौं अहमेव ॥
राग बिरोध मोह नहि जा कै ॥ नहि निद्रा नृपसेव²⁸ ॥२॥

²¹ VB MS. 12 बूतर

²² BV-P भेद

²³ VB MS. 12 मा

²⁴ VB MS. 12 उर फीके रस

²⁵ BV-P omits the first three words.

²⁶ VB MS. 12 देवा

²⁷ BV-P तृषित

²⁸ BV-P परसेव

नहि तन रोग न श्रम नहि चिंता²⁹ ॥ दोष अठारह³⁰ भेव ॥
मिटे सहज जा³¹ के ता प्रभु की ॥ करत बनारसि सेव ॥३ ॥१०॥
सारंग संपूरण ॥

दोहरां

ज्यौं दातार दयाल होइ ॥ देइ दीन कौ भीषा॥
त्यौं³² गुरु कौमल भाव सौं ॥ कहै मूढ कौ सीष ॥१॥
सुगुरु प्रचरै³³ मूढ कौं ॥ चितु चेतु चितु चेतु ॥
समुझि समुझि गुरु कौ सबद ॥ यह तेरौ हित हेतु ॥२॥
समुझि सकै तौ समुझि अब ॥ है दुरलभ³⁴ नर देह ॥
फिरि यह संगति कब मिलै ॥ तूं चात्रिग हौं मेह ॥३॥

राग भैरू

भौदू भाई समुझि सबद इह मेरा ॥
जो तूं देखै इन्ह आंषिन सौं ॥ ता मै कछू न तेरा ॥टेक॥
ए आंषै भ्रम ही सौं उपजी॥ भ्रम ही के रस पागी॥
जहं जहं³⁵ भ्रम तहं तहं इन कौ श्रम ॥तूं इन्हहीं कौ रागी ॥१॥
ए आंषै दोऊ रई³⁶ चाम की ॥ चामहि चाम बिलोचै॥
ता की ओट³⁷ मोहनिद्रा युत ॥ सुपनरूप तूं जोवै ॥२॥
इन आंषिन कौ कोन भरोसौ ॥ ए बिनसै छिन³⁸ मांही ॥
है इन कौ पुदगल परचै सौ³⁹ ॥तूं तौ पुदगल नांही ॥३॥
पराधीन बल इन्ह आंषनि कौ ॥ बिनु परगास न सूझै ॥
सो परगास अगनि रबि ससि कौ ॥ तूं अपनौ करि बूझै ॥४॥

²⁹ VB MS. 12 चिता

³⁰ VB MS. 12 adds a double *daṇḍa*.

³¹ VB MS. 12 जी

³² VB MS. 12 त्यौ

³³ BV-P उचरै

³⁴ VB MS. 12 दुरलभ

³⁵ VB MS. 12 जह

³⁶ BV-P रची

³⁷ VB MS. 12 उ

³⁸ VB MS. 12 छिन्न

³⁹ BV-P पुदगल सौं परचै

षुलै⁴⁰ पलक ए किछु न इक⁴¹ देषहि ॥ मूंद पलक नहि सौऊ ॥
 कबहूं जांहि हौंहि फिरि कबहूं ॥ भ्रामक आंषै दोऊ ॥६॥
 जंगम काइ पाइ प्रगटै नहिं ॥⁴² थावर के साथी ॥
 तूं तौ इन्हें मानि अपने द्विग ॥ भयौ भीम कौ हाथी ॥७॥
 तेरे द्विग मुद्रित घट अंतर ॥ अंधरूप तूं डोलै⁴³ ॥
 कै तौ सहज षुलै वै आषै ॥कै गुर संगति षोलै ॥८ ॥११॥

राग गौड़ी

भौदू भाई ते हिरदै की आंषै ॥
 जे करषै अपनी सुष संपति ॥भ्रम की संपति नाषै ॥टेक॥
 जे आंषै अमृतरस बरिषै ॥ परिषै केवल बानी ॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन बिलोकि परमारथ ॥हौंहि कृतारथ प्रानी ॥१॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन मै दसा केवल की ॥ कर्म लेप नहि लागै ॥
 जिन्ह आंषनि के प्रगट होत घट ॥ अलष निरंजन जागै ॥२॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन्ह सौं निरषि भेद गुन ॥ ज्ञानी ज्ञान बिचारै ॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन्ह सौं⁴⁴ लषि सरूप ॥ मुनि ध्यान धारणा धारै ॥३॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन्ह कै जगे ॥ जगत के लगे काज सब झूठे ॥
 जिन्ह सौं समन होइ शिव सनमुष ॥ बिषै बिकार अपूठे ॥४॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन्ह मै प्रभा परम की ॥ परसहाय नहि लेषै ॥
 जे समाधि सौ लषै अषंडित ॥ ढकै न पलक निमेषै ॥५॥
 जिन्ह आंषिन्ह की ज्योति प्रगटि कै ॥ इन्ह आंषिन्ह मै भासै ॥
 तब इन्हहूं की मिटै बिषमता ॥ समता रस परगासै ॥६॥
 जे आंषै पूरन सरूप धरि ॥ लोकालोक लषावै ॥
 ए वै यह वह सब बिकलप⁴⁵ तजि ॥ निरबिकलप पद पावै ॥७॥१२॥

राग काफी

चिंतामनि स्वामी सांचा साहिब मेरा ॥
 सो(?)क हरै तिहूं लोक कौ⁴⁶ ॥ उठि लीजत नाम सवेरा ॥टेक॥
 मूर समान तेज है ॥ जग तेज प्रताप घणेर ॥
 देषत मूरति भाव सौं ॥ मिटि जात मिथ्यात अंधेरा ॥१॥

⁴⁰ BV-P खुले

⁴¹ BV-P इक न

⁴² VB MS. 12 प्रगटैहि

⁴³ BV-P डोलै

⁴⁴ VB MS. 12 आंषिन्ह के जगे सौं

⁴⁵ VB MS. 12 बिकालप

⁴⁶ VB MS. 12 तिहुं लोकौ

दीन दयाल निवारियै⁴⁷ ॥ ⁴⁸दुष संकट⁴⁹ जोनि बसेरा ॥
मोहि अभयपद दीजिये ॥ फिरि होइ नहीं भव फेरा ॥२॥
बिंब विराजत आगरै ॥ थिर थान थप्यौ⁵⁰ सुभ बेरा ॥
ध्यान धरै बिनती करै ॥ बानारसि बंदा तेरा ॥३॥१३॥

अथ अध्यात्म धमालि लिष्यते॥

अध्यातम बिनु क्यौं पाईयै हो ॥ यौ परंमपुरष कौ रूप ॥
अघट घट अंग घट मिलि रह्यौ हो ॥ महिमां अगम अनूप⁵¹ ॥टेका॥
बिषम बिरष पूरो भयो हो ॥ आयो सहज बसंत ॥
प्रगटी सुरति⁵² सुगंधता हौ ॥ मन मधुकर मयमंत⁵³ ॥१॥
अध्यातम य सुमति कोकिला⁵⁴ गह गहि हो ॥⁵⁵ वही अपूरब बाउ ॥
भरम कुहिर बादर फटे हो ॥ घटि जाइ जड भाउ⁵⁶ ॥२॥
माया रजनी लघु भई हो ॥ समरस दिवस सजीत⁵⁷ ॥
मोह पंक की थिति घटी हो ॥ संसै सिसिर वतीत ॥३॥
सुभदल पल्लव लहलहे हो ॥होहि असुभ पतझार ॥
मलिन बिषय⁵⁸ रतिमालतीहो॥बिरतबेलिविस्तार⁵⁹ ॥४॥
ससि बिबेक निर्मल भयौ हो ॥ थिरता अमिय झकोर⁶⁰॥
फैली सकति सुचंद्रिका हो ॥ प्रमुदित नैन चकोर ॥५॥
सुरति अग्नि ज्वाल⁶¹ जगी हो ॥ समकित भान अमंद ॥

⁴⁷ VB MS. 12 निवारि

⁴⁸ VB MS. 12 om. *daṇḍa*.

⁴⁹ VB MS. 12 adds *daṇḍa*.

⁵⁰ BV-P थयो

⁵¹ VB MS. 12 adds प्रभु कौ रूप

⁵² BV-P सुरुचि

⁵³ VB MS. 12 मामंत

⁵⁴ VB MS. 12 अध्यातम य सुमति कोकिला ॥ गह गहि हो

⁵⁵ VB MS. 12 om. *daṇḍa*.

⁵⁶ BV-P घटजाडोजडताउ

⁵⁷ BV-P दिव शशि जीत

⁵⁸ VB MS. 12 बिष

⁵⁹ VB MS. 12 विरति चोल बियार

⁶⁰ VB MS. 12 जकोर

हृदय कमल बिगसत भयो हो ॥ प्रगटे सुजस मकरंद ॥६॥
 दिढ कषाइ हिमगर गिले⁶² हो ॥ नदी⁶³ निरजरा जोरा ॥
 धारा धारना वहि चली हो ॥ शिवसागर⁶⁴ मुष और ॥७॥
 बितथ बात प्रभुता मिटी हो ॥ जग्यौ जथारथ काज ॥
 जंगल भूमि सुहावनी हो ॥ नृप बसंत के राज ॥८॥
 भवपरनति बसुधा⁶⁵ भई हो ॥ अष्टकर्म बनजाल ॥
 अलष अमूरति आतमा हो ॥ पैलै⁶⁶ धरम धमाल ॥९॥
 नै पंकति चाचरी मिली हो ॥ ग्यान ध्यान डफताल ॥
 पिचकारी पद साधना हो ॥ संबर भाव गुलाल ॥१०॥
 राग वैराग आलापीयै⁶⁷ हो ॥ भाव भगति सुभ तान ॥
 रीझ परंम रस लीनता हो ॥ दीजै दस बिधि दांन ॥११॥
 दया⁶⁸ मिठाई रस भरी हो ॥ तप मेवा परधाना ॥
 सीलसलिलअतिसीयलोहो॥संजमनागरपांन ॥१२॥
 गुपत अंग परकासियो हो ॥ यह निलज्जता रीति ॥
 अकथ कथा मुषि भाषीयै हो ॥ यह गारी निरनीति ॥१३॥
 उधत गुन रसिया मिले हो ॥ अमल बिमल रस पेम ॥
 सुष⁶⁹ तरंग मै छकि रहे हो ॥ मनसा बाचा नेम ॥१४॥
 परंम जोति प्रगट भई हो ॥ लगी होलिका आगि ॥
 आठ काठ सब जरि बुझे हो ॥गई तताई भागि ॥१५॥
 प्रकृति पच्यासी लागि रही हो ॥ भसम लेष⁷⁰ है सोई ॥
 न्हाइ धोइ उज्वल भये हो ॥ फिरि तिहां षेलै न कोइ ॥१६ ॥१४॥
⁷¹सहज शक्ति गुण खेलिये हो ॥ चेत बनारसीदास ॥
 सगे सखा ऐसैं कहै हो ॥ मिटै मोह दधि फास ॥[१७]॥

⁶¹ BV-P ज्वाला

⁶² BV-P गले

⁶³ VB MS. 12 नदीय

⁶⁴ VB MS. 12 सांगर

⁶⁵ BV-P चाचरी

⁶⁶ VB MS. 12 षलैहैं

⁶⁷ VB MS. 12 अलीपीयै

⁶⁸ BV-P दवा

⁶⁹ BV-P सुरत

⁷⁰ VB MS. 12 षेल

⁷¹ VB MS. 12 omits the last verse.

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