W. M. CALLEWAERT

The "Earliest" Song of Mira (1503–1546) [1]

If Mīrā died at the age of 43, it is remarkable that at the end of the 20th century there should be as many as 5,197 songs [2] with her name available. It has become a boring expression in studies about Mīrā that it is very difficult, if not impossible to decide which and how many songs are most probably by Mīrā. And yet, ever expanding collections go on appearing. In some editions the question of authenticity is solved on the basis of content, in others on the basis of language. Rarely do authors bother to look at the written material.

Of course, it remains a mystery why the written tradition, in the case of Mīrā, seems to have started so late (ca. 1800 AD), if we compare it with the spate of manuscripts with *nirguṇ* material in Rajasthan, or *saguṇ* material in the Braj area from 1600 AD onwards. Why? Several reasons have been brought forward. The songs of Mīrā very soon became the (exclusive?) property of women in the home. Women did not scribe, as *sādhūs* or (male) singers did. Or, the songs of Mīrā were scorned, to such an extent that they never became part of the standard repertoires of singers. We read in a letter of M. L. Menaria (Udaipur, July 1, 1938) to Purohit H. Śarmā, Jaipur:

> "People here are not interested in Mira Bai as you and I are. Even the Maharana Sahib believes that Mira has been a black-blot on the fair page of the Mewar History and musicians are not allowed to sing the Padas of Mira Bai in the Palace. But this is only

[1] These dates are only indicative, because there is no evidence to support these or other dates. I copied them from Tivārī: 1974, p. 127 and p. 156.

[2] See Tivārī 1974, p. 124. Of these, 3,797 songs are supposed to be in Hindī, 817 in Gujarātī and 583 by Indirā Devī. During his Ph. D. research (1950–1962) Tivārī studied 4,614 songs attibuted to Mīrā.

> for your private information. Please do not make a mention of this anywhere in your book" [3].

With due respect for the oral traditions, my approach to the problem of authenticity has always been through the first manuscripts. Even if that approach, in the case of Mīrā, will not add much in terms of authentic songs, at least it can question the claims made in the numerous editions current now.

1. *Mīrā in the* Guru Granth

Although scores of books and editions about Mīrā have appeared since 1900, little attention has been given to the song of Mīrā quoted in the Banno version of the *Guru Granth*. I call it the 'earliest song' of Mīrā because there are reasons to believe that the date of the Dakor manuscript (1585 AD; see further) is not correct. The song of Mīrā is not found in the 'standard' version of the *Guru Granth*, but only in the Banno version, which was (and still is) banned as dissident in orthodox Sikh circles. Pritam Singh gives a very good description of the 'earliest' Banno manuscript, preserved in Kanpur, and of which I was able to make a photographic copy in 1983. He writes:

> According to Sikh tradition "Banno was deputed by Guru Arjan to get P1 (the autograph) bound by some expert bookbinder of Lahore. Banno's earnest request that he be allowed to have the honour of carrying P1 to his village, was granted by the guru–compiler on the condition that he would not stay there for more than one night. Bhāī Banno was scrupulous in observing this condition, but manoeuvered frequent en–route halts, during which he put specially–recruited members of his retinue at work and got P1 copied from one end to the other, before reaching Lahore. Both P1 and B1 (the first Banno copy) were got properly bound at Lahore and broucht back..." [4].

What we remember here is that around 1604 AD there were songs

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[3] This letter is found in the correspondence of Śarmājī, preserved in the Vidyā bhūṣaṇ saṇgrah, Jaipur.

For a detailed description of this correspondence, see N. S. Bāṭī, *Mīrā prakaraṇ*, in: Paramparā (Hindī), 1982, pp. 49–124.

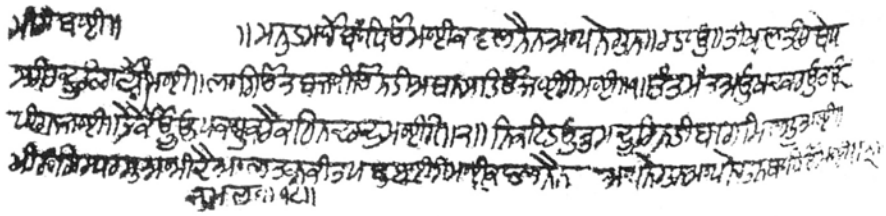
[4] See Pritam Singh, 'Bhāī Banno's copy of the Sikh Scripture', in: Monika Thiel–Horstmann, *Bhakti in current Research, 1979–1982*, Berlin 1983, p. 326.

The author further enumerates the specific differences between the Banno version and the standard Kartārpur text.

with the *chhāp* of Mīrā in Panjab, from which one song was selected to be part of the Sikh repertoire, either in the original version compiled by Arjan himself, or in the (Banno) copy. In his article of 1903 Macauliffe remarks:

> "Guru Arjan at first inserted one of Mīrā Bāī's hymns in his collection of the Sikh sacred writings, but subsequently drew his pen through it[5]. It is preserved, however, in the Granth of Bhāi Banno, which can be seen at Māngat in the Gujrat Dt. of the Panjab. The following is the hymn:
>
> God hath entwined my soul, O mother,
> With His attributes and I have sung of them.
> The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through, O mother.
> When it struck me I did not know it, now it cannot be endured, O mother.
> Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart.
> Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O mother.
> Thou, o God, art near; Thou art not distant; come quickly to meet me.
> Saint Mira, the Lord, the mountain-wielder, who is compassionate, hath quenched the fire of my body, O mother.
> The lotus-eyed hath entwined my soul with the twine of his attributes".

I reproduce here first the Gurmukhi text of the Banno manuscript at Kanpur, folio 369, under *rāg mārū*. This is the last song under this *rāg*. It is preceded by 10 songs of Kabīr, 2 of Nāmdev, 2 of Jaydev and 2 of Raidās.



[5] C. S. Srinivasachari adds here: "... saying that though it was good, still its authoress lived and died an idolater". 'Mira Bai, the Saint of Rajputana', in: *The Indian Review*, Oct. 1925, 715–720.

I am very grateful to Prof. Pritam Singh, of Patiala, for the transcription into Devnāgarī, which now follows:

बन्नो

० मनु हमारो (हमारा) बांधिओ माई कवल नैन आपने गुन । रहाउ ॥
१ तीखण तीर बेध सरीर दूरि गयो माई ।
लागिओ तब जानिओ नही अब न सहिओ जाई री माई ।१ ॥
२ तंत मंत अउखद करउ तउ पीर न जाई ।
है कोऊ उपकारु करै कठिन दरदु माई री ।२ ॥
३ निकटि हउ तुम दूरि नही बगि (बेम) मिलहु आइी ।
मीरां गिरधर सुआमी दैआल तान (तन) की तप (तपत) बुझाई री माई ॥
कवलनैन अपने गुन आपने तन बाधिओ माई ।३ ॥

Perhaps the most surprising about this song is that it is *not* found in the Dakor manuscripts, and hardly in any edition. I found it only in the edition of Purohit Hari Nārāyaṇ Śarmā (1944; Śekhāvat: 1967), where it has a specific reference to *Granthsāhib gāīvande kī bīd*[6].

पुरोहित हरि नारायण शर्मा १९४४

पद ३६८ पृष्ठ १७४

मन हमारा बाँध्यो माई कँवल नैन अपने गुन ।
तीखण तीर बेध शरीर दूरि गयो माई ।
लाग्यो तब जान्यों नहीं अब न सह्यो जाई री माई ॥
तंत मंत औषद करउ तऊ पीर न जाई ।
है कोऊ उपकार करे कठिन र्दद री माई ॥
निकटि हो तुम दूरि नहीं बेगि मिलो आई ।
मीराँ गिरधर स्वामी दयाल तन की तपति बुझाई री माई ।
(कँवल नैन आपने गुन बाँध्यो माई ।) ॥

[6] This is the reading in Śarmā Gong 368, on p. 174): A similar reading, but without any reference, is found in Ānand Svarūp: 1957 (song 128, on p. 204).

Why does this song not appear anywhere else? The numerous *nirguṇ* songs found in the Rājasthānī manuscripts and in the *Guru Granth* justify the hypothesis that singers had quite a mixed repertoire when they travelled to and from Panjab. Mīrā's song(s) were part of some repertoire. But if we find it written down in the *Guru Granth*, why did it not survive in the repertoires which were written down much later, from 1800 onwards, in Rajasthan and elsewhere? The song deals with *virah*, and in the mammoth edition by Ānand Svarūp: 1957, we find 162 *virah* songs of Mīrā. This theme was certainly not unfamiliar to her.

2. *The earliest manuscripts*

For the present study I have looked at more than 100 books in Hindī, English, Gujarātī and Bengālī[7] and I noted scores of titles of articles in different languages. It was my experience again[8] that most authors copy from a few standard predecessors, adding often only fancy details without referring to sources. Critical editions have undergone the same fate: editions go on expanding, as authors copy from earlier editions and add songs from contemporary singers' repertoires. Very few bothered to look at the earliest manuscripts.

I list below the editions of the songs, with the date of publication, the number of songs of Mīrā, the manuscripts or NS if there are no manuscript sources[9] mentioned.

VYĀS: 1842;	43 songs; NS
RĀMCHANDRA: 1897;	20 songs; NS
DESĀĪ: 1897;	113 songs; NS
ĀPTE: 1908;	157 songs; NS
Belvedere: 1909 etc.;	38 to 167 songs; NS
KĀLEKAR: 1922;	352 songs; NS
NAROTTAM: 1930;	161 songs; NS
CATURVEDĪ: 1932;	202 songs; NS
MIŚRA: 1934;	126 to 217 songs; NS
ŚRĪVĀSTAV: 1934;	139 songs; NS
ŚRĪVĀSTAV: 1938;	209 songs; NS
ŚARMĀ: 1944;	662 songs; NS

[7] Not all titles consulted are listed here.

[8] See my study about the sources for Dādū in W. M. Callewaert, *The Sarvāṅgī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab*, Leuven and Delhi 1978, p. 21–75 and about the sources for the biography of Nāmdev, in W. M. Callewaert & M. Lath, *The Hindī Padāvalī of Nāmdev*, Leuven and Delhi 1989, pp. 21–44.

[9] For more early manucripts, see below under Śekhāvat: 1974c.

JAIN: 1945;	176 songs; NS
GAHLOT: 1945;	108 songs; NS
BRAJRATNADĀS: 1948;	506 songs; NS
ŚARMĀ: 1949;	8 songs; 1638 AD
	69 songs; 1585 (?) and 1748 AD
	34 songs; 1748 AD [10]
MAJUMDĀR: 1950;	185 (480)songs; NS
PRABHĀKAR: 1951;	246+119 songs; NS
PADMĀVATĪ: 1952;	590 songs; NS
BHATNĀGAR: 1952;	104 songs; (earliest 1822 AD)
ĀNAND SVARŪP: 1957;	1312 songs; NS
VISHNU: 1958;	12 songs; ?
BHĀTĪ: 1962;	242 songs; NS
ŚEKHĀVAT: 1967;	662 songs; see Śarmā: 1944
ŚARMĀ: 1972;	301 songs; NS
ŚALABH: 1972;	34 songs; (Nāhṭā); NS
PADMĀWATĪ: 1973;	601 songs; NS, except for
	6 songs from a manuscript of 1755 AD
TIVĀRĪ: 1974;	103 songs; NS
ŚEKHĀVAT: 1975;	405 songs; 236 manuscripts, of which 4 manuscripts of the 18th century AD

2a. *The Dakor manuscripts*

Dakor, with the famous Ranchoḍjī temple, is at a two hour busride from Baroda in Gujarat. In 1934 Lalit Prasād Sukul, of Calcutta, made a tour of Western India, in search of manuscripts [11]. He had more success than Bhagvāndās Tivārī in 1960 and myself in 1988. He saw very old manuscripts, we did not. One manuscript, dated 1585 AD, had 69 songs of Mīrā which were also found in later manuscripts (see further) and in later printed editions, albeit in different versions.

The second manuscript shown to Mr. Sukul in 1934 was dated 1748 AD, and had 103 songs. The first 69 songs were identical with those in the first manuscript, although the language was "more Gujarātī".

According to Sukul's informant in Dakor, Mr Bhatt, whose ancestors served in the temple, the manuscript Sukul saw was copied by Bhatt's ancestors in 1585 AD from the autograph. That autograph was

[10] L. P Sukul also refers to the Kāśī and Kānpur Mss. of 1670 AD.

[11] I draw my information from his detailed account in Śarmā: 1949, pp. 272f.

written during Mīrā's life by her servant, a lady called Lalitā. No information is given about the autograph, but the copy was taken away "during the 17th century by some Muslim invader, along with all the treasures of the temple" (p. *chha*). It came back one day, Sukul copied the 69 *pads* in 1934, but it is not clear what happened to the copy of the autograph after that. Earlier, both manuscripts had been copied by Mr Bhatt (p. *gha*) and sent to Śyām Sundar Dās in Banaras. Mr. Sukul had seen that copy (of manuscript of 1748) with S. S. Dās, at Banaras, some time before he came to Dakor. The copy of the older manuscript was then with Rāmchandra Śukla. Through the courtesy of Mr Bhatt, a copy of both manuscripts was also given to Mr. Sukul (p. *aṅga*).

Where are all these copies now?

Several people have questioned the authenticity of the earliest manuscript, mainly on linguistic basis[12]. I have my misgivings because the date is so early. If we compare this manuscript with Bhakti literature in Rajasthan – nothing that early is found in Gujarat –, then it would be as early as the Fatehpur manuscript of the City Palace, Jaipur (1582 AD). That manuscript gives three repertoires, with mainly the songs of Sūr. Like a thunder in a blue sky, how do we find in Dakor a manuscript with just one repertoire, and only of Mīrā? Even with the spate of scribing of Bhakti literature from 1600 AD onwards, we find no other complete repertoire of Mīrā written down until 1800 AD or later. It is quite likely that a repertoire with Mīrā's songs took shape during her life time, but are there indications to believe that they were written down by a girl, a maidservant? Why was this manuscript preserved "and venerated" (*pūjā*, p. *chha*) in the Vallabh temple of Dakor? Mīrā was not a Vallabhite, although tradition says that her songs were sung there.

I have compared these 103 songs with later versions in printed editions. It is interesting to note that, in the course of time, the number 103 increased to 295[13]. The songs are basically the same, but at times quite variant, as is shown in the example below. I quote song 8 in the Dakor manuscripts, and compare it with the version in printed editions. The different versions of basically the same song are clearly the result of the singers' creativity.

[12] See Śekhāvat: 1974c.

[13] See Tivārī: 1974b, pp. 127ff.

Dakor manuscript (1585 AD; Śarmā: 1949; p. 1)

डाकोर

८

आली म्हाँणे लागां बृन्दाबण णीकां ।
घर घर तुडसी ठाकर पूजां दरसण गोविंद जी कां ॥
निरमड नीर बह्या जमणा कां भोजण दूध दह्यां कां ।
रतण सिंधासण आप बिराज्यां मुगट धरच्यां तुडशी कां ॥
कुंजण कुंजण फिरच्यां सांवरा सबद सुरण्या (सुण्या?) मुरडी कां ।
मीराँ रे प्रभु गिरधर नागर भजण बिणा नर फीकां ॥

आली म्हाँणे लागां बृन्दाबण णीकां ।
घर घर तुडसी ठाकर पूजां दरसण गोविंद जी कां ॥
निरमड नीर बह्या जमणा कां भोजण दूध दह्यां कां ।
रतण सिंधासण आप बिराज्यां मुगट धरच्यां तुडशी कां ॥
कुंजण कुंजण फिरच्यां सांवरा सबद सुरण्या (सुण्या?) मुरडी कां ।
मीराँ रे प्रभु गिरधर नागर भजण बिणा नर फीकां ॥

Ānand Svarūp (1957)
song 1 [14]

आली म्हाँने लागे बृन्दाबन नीको ॥
घर घर तुलसी ठाकुर पूजा । दरसण गोबिंदजी को । १ ॥
निरमल नीर बहत जमना में । भोजन दूध-दही को । २ ॥
रतन-सिंघासण आप बिराजै । मुगट धरचो तुलसी को । ३ ॥
कुँजन-कुँजन फिरत राधिका । सबद सुणत मुरली को । ४ ॥
मीराँ के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । भजन बिना नर फीको । ५ ॥

[14] Ānand Svarūp (1957); Section 8: *brajbhāv ke pad*, p. 575. Also found in Padmāvatī: 1952; song 497, page 276.

song 245[15]

वृंदाबन में तुलसी का बिडला । जाके पान चरीको ।१ ॥
वृंदाबन में धेनु बहुत हैं । भोजन दूध दही को ।२ ॥
वृंदाबन में रास रच्यो है । दरसण कृष्णजी को ।३ ॥
मीराँ के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । बिना रंग सब फीको ।४ ॥

song 253[16]

उधो म्हांनै लागै बृन्दाबन नीको रे ॥
वृन्दाबन में धेनु बहुत हैं । भोजन दूध दही दही को रे ।१ ॥
मोर मुकुट पीतांबर सोहै । सिर केसर को टीको रे ।२ ॥
घर घर में तुलसी को बिडलो । दरसण माधवजी को रे ।३ ॥
मीराँ के प्रभु गिरधर नागर । हरी बिना सब फीको रे ।४ ॥

Let us compare the following versions:

8 (Dakor: 1585)
1 (Ānand Svarūp: 1957)
245 (Ānand Svarūp: 1957)
253 (Ānand Svarūp: 1957)

Except for *rādhikā* in 1 instead of *sāvarā* in 8 and the curious spelling *ḍa* in 8 for *la* in 1, there are no major differences between these two versions of the same song.

The comparison between 1 on the one hand and 245 and 253 on the other is more rewarding. If, hypothetically, we accept 1 as the basic text, we note very interesting changes brought about by singers. We read *rādhā* in 245 and *uddhav* in 253, instead of *ālī* in 1. Several lines in 245 have nearly the same message as 1, but are worded differently. Songs 245 and 253, which are otherwise quite different, have an identical line (about the cows and the milk in Vrindāban), which is different in 1. Line 1 in song 1 becomes line 3 in 253, with *mādhav* instead of *govinda*. Noteworthy also is the *gey–vikār re*, which is a filler added by a singer.

[15] Ānand Svarūp (1957); Section 8: *brajbhāv ke pad*, p. 658.

[16] Ānand Svarūp (1957); Section 8: *brajbhāv ke pad*, p. 661. Also found in Padmāvatī: 1952; song 498, page 276.

2b. *Manuscripts of 1670 AD:*

Mr. Sukul further reports that he saw a manuscript in the N. P. S. Banaras and one in Kanpur which had the same set of songs, and were dated 1727 VS (1670 AD). Apparently this text is not available in printed form.

3. *Selective bibliography of editions of the songs of Mīrā*

1842 K. Vyās Dev, *Sangīt rāg kalpadrum*, Bangīy sāhitya pariṣad, Calcutta (1842), 1914; gives 43 songs of Mīrā.

1893 K. P. Khatri, *Mirabai kī jīvanī*, Thakur Prasad & Sons, Calcutta 1893.

1897 I. P. Rāmchandra, *Mīrābāī ke bhajan*, Meerut, 1897. Songs of Sūr, Narsī, Tulsī and 20 songs of Mīrā.

1897 I. S. Desāī, *Vrihat kāvya dohan*, (Guj.), 10 vols; 7th ed. 1927; 113 songs.

1898 Munshi Deviprasad, *Mirābāī kā jīvan caritra*, Bangīy Hindī Pariṣad, Calcutta (1898), 1962.

1905 Munshi Devīprasād, *Mahilā mriduvāṇī*, Banaras 1905.

1908 T. H. Āpte, *Gāthā Pañcak*, Pune 1908; repr. in 5 vols by R. C. Dhere, Pune 1983. In vol. 5, pp. 114–141, are given 157 songs of Mīrā. No sources.

1909 an., *Mīrābāī kī Śabdāvalī*, Belvedere Press, Ilahabad, 38 songs; in the 1976 ed. 167 songs are given, with alphabetical index.

1922 G. Kālekar, *Mīrābāī bhajan bhaṇḍār*, 1922; 352 songs.

1930 Narottam Dās Svāmī, *Mīrā Mandākinī*, Un. Book Depot, Agra, VS 1987; 161 songs (along with songs of other poets); based on an unspecified "old manuscript". According to Śekhāvat: 1974c (p. 11) the editor has tried to make the songs conform to Rājasthānī.

1930 Viyogi Hari, *Mīrābāi, Sahjobāī Dayābāi kā pad saṅgrah*; Gāndhī Pustak Bhaṇḍār, Prayāg 1930; gives 36 songs of Mīrā.

1931 Viyogi Hari, *Bhajan saṅgrah*, vol. III, gives 62 songs of Mīrā.

1932 P. Caturvedī, *Mīrābāī kī Padāvalī*, Allahbad (1932) 17th ed., 1983. The author gives 202 songs (pp. 99–158) with alphabetical index and a commentary on words. Caturvedī himself doubts the authenticity of the 202 songs he selected. The edition of 1972 gives a set of selected *pad* which is different from what Caturvedī gave in earlier editions. No manuscripts are referred to.

In his Introduction the author points out that three kinds of *pads* are especially subject to questioning about authenticity:

– the songs which deal with the family quarrels,

– the songs which show a Santa influence,
– the songs which have a Yog or Nāth connotation.

He does, however, incorporate
– dubious pads about Mīrā's family (p. 105–110; *pads* 27–38)
– a *pad* which says that Raidās is Mīrā's guru (*pad* 24; p. 104).
– Yogī connected *pads*: 115 (pp. 57–58), 121 (p. 60), 127 (p. 88), etc.
– a Panjabi *pad* 165, p. 151.

English translation by Alston: 1980 and Pandey & Zide: 1964, and Hindī translation by Śambhusingh: 1969.

1934 B. Miśra '*Mīrā kī prem sādhnā*, (1934: 126 songs); 2nd ed., 1946: 216 songs; 3d ed., 1957: 217 songs.

1934 M. Śrivāstav, *Mīrābāī kā kāvya*, Sāhitya Bhavan, Prayāg 1934; songs; see futher: 1956.

1934 Anāthanāth Basu, *Mira Bai. Saint and singer of India*. London1934.

1935 Banke Behari, *The Story of Mira Bai*, Gorakhpur 1935.

1938 V. Kumārī Śrīvāstav, *Mīrā padāvalī*, Hindī Bhavan, Lahore 1938; 201 song's 'taken from earlier publications'.

1944 P.H. Śarmā; see K. S. Śekhāvat: 1967.

1945 H. C. Jain, *Mīrā aur unkī premvāṇī*, 1945; 176 *pads*.

1945 M. Singh Gahlot, *Mīrā jīvnī aur kāvya*, Banaras 1945; the author gives 108 songs of Mīrā, "of which 40 were not published before", but no source is given.

1948 Shrī Brajratnadās, *Mīrā Mādhurī*, Vārāṇasī 1948, (2nd ed. 1967; 3rd ed. 1970); 506 songs. No reference to manuscripts.

1949 S. N. Śarmā and others, *Mīrā smriti granth*, Bangīy Hindī Pariṣad, Calcutta 1949 (270, 20, 59 p.). On pp. 141–152 J. P. Gupta gives 8 "unpublished" *pads* of Mīrā. He found them in the (then Gujarātī Vernacular Society, now) Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, manuscript No. D 477 K, dated 1638 AD. Four songs may have variant readings in other editions, but songs 2, 4, 5, 7 were, according to the author, then not printed anywhere else.

On pp. 27ff. Lalit Prasād Sukul gives 69 songs based on the Dakor manuscripts (1585 AD and 1748 AD) and songs 70–103 based on the manuscript of 1748 AD. 18 Articles.

1950 M. R. Majumdar, *Mīrābāī. Ek manan*, (Guj.), Baroda (1950), 1975; gives on pp. 253–34 a detailed chronological Table; on pp. 187–261 are given 185 songs (480 in later editions) under 8 headings, and on pp. 262–297 the *Mīrābāī kī parcī*, (in 12 *viśrām* and 200 *dohe*). No written sources referred to.

1950 Padmāwatī Śabnam, *Mīrā. Ek Adhyayan*, Loksevak Prakāśan, Kāśi, 1950.

1950 Śrī Madhur, *Mirānī prem-vāṇī*, (Guj.), 1950; 251 songs.

1951... Indirā Devī, *Shrutanjali* (1951), *Premanjali* (1953, with reprints), *Sudhanjali* and *Vibhanjali* (1958, reprinted), *Deepanjali* and *Bhavanjali* (1960; reprinted), *Ushanjali* (1971), Hari Krishna, Mandir, Poona; give hundreds of songs attributed to Mīrā.

1951 K. Prabhākar & Bānke Bihārī, *Braj-chandra cakorī Mīrā*, Vrindāban 1951; 246 Hindī songs and 119 Gujarātī songs, with commentary. No sources given.

1951 Śrīkrishna Lāl, *Mīrābāī. Jīvan-carit aur ālocnā*, Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg (1951, 1970), 3rd ed. 1972, 188p.

1952 Padmāwatī Śabnam, *Mīrā. Brihat pad-sangrah*, Kāśi, VS 2009; 590 songs, selected from earlier editions and from singers' repertoires. The author rejects "as unauthentic the songs in which the quarrels of Mīrā with her family are referred to. This issue had become a popular item in the folklore and songs taking that up must be of a later date. On the other hand, those songs are most probably authentic in which the themes of the *līlā* of Krishna and of *virah* are dealt with. Reason: that is what Nābhā mentions as Mīrā's specific quality and that is what made her popular. This should not prevent us from accepting also as possibly authentic the songs which deal with a Santa or Yogic theme. I have tried to bring together in one volume as many songs as I could find: published, unpublished and from performers" (Introduction).
See also Padmāvatī: 1973.

1952 U. S. Bhatnāgar, *Rājasthān me hindī ke hastilikhit grantho kī khoj*, vol. 3, Udaipur 1952; on pp. 17f. are given 104 songs "from Udaipur", and in appendix the author gives 54 songs from different sources, one dated manuscript of 1822 AD.

1956 M. Śrivāstav, *Mīrā darśan*, (1956); gives the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts. See above, 1934.

1957 Svāmī Ānand Svarūp, *Mīrā Sudhā Sindhu*, Śrī Mīrā Prakāśan Samiti, Bhīlwārā, 2014 VS, 1312 songs; no sources given.

1958 Vishnu Kumari Manju, 'Bhakta Kavayitrī Mīrā ke aprakāśit pad', in: *Hindustānī*, 19, 4, 1958 AD; 12 songs.

1962 Deśrāj Singh Bhātī, *Mīrābāī aur unkī padāvalī*, Aśok Prakāśan, Nayī Sarak, Delhi, 1962; 4th ed.; 400 pp.; 242 songs with Hindī commentary and alphabetical first-line index. The author also gives variant versions, but does not mention any source.

1962 B. V. Trivedī, *Mīrānā Pade*, (Guj.), Bombay (1962); 3rd ed. 1986; 252, 58, 103 Gujarātī songs, with alphabetical first-line index.

1965 L. S. Śaktāvat, *Mīrā darśan*, 1965 (10th ed.); 151 songs, basically based on the Dakor manuscripts.

1967 Kalyān Singh Śekhāvat, ed., *Mīrā brihat padavalī*, vol. I, Jodhpur, 1967. Vol. I gives 662 songs (with *rāg* and tāl) selected by Purohit Harinārāyan Śarmā and his Introduction (9p.) of 1944. The songs are classified in the alphabethical order of the first line. There is no reference to the manuscripts, because there is no key to understand the abbreviations Śarmājī used (see vol. II, Śekhāvat: 1975, p. 82f). Apparently, he collected songs of Mīrā "from all over Rajasthan" (Introduction). For Vol. II, see 1975.

1969 M. Śambhusingh, *Mīrā paḍāvalī*, Jaipur, 1969; on pp. 109–277 he gives 130 songs (= Caturvedī ed.), with commentary and Hindī translation.

1969 B. B. Trivedī, *Mīrābāī nām vadhu gujarātī pad*, 1969.

1971 N. Sundaram, *Mīrā aur āṇḍāl kā tulnātmak adhyayan*, (Ph. D. in Jabalpur Un., 1971; "my study is based on the 202 songs published by Caturvedī", p. 72.

1972 Kriṣṇadev Śarmā, *Mīrā padāvalī*, 1972; pp. 165–382: commentary; text based on Narottam Dās, Bh. Miśra, Braj Ratnadās and *Mīrā smriti granth*. Alphabetical first line index of 301 songs.

1972 G. Śalabh and others (eds.), *Mīrā smriti granth*, Sāhitya niketan, Ajmer, 1972; 27 articles without footnotes; on pp. 132–144: A. Nāhṭā, 'Mīrābāī ke aprakāśit pad'; 34 songs, without reference to the source.

1973 Padmāwatī Śabnam, *Mīrā. Vyaktiva aur krititva* Hindī Pracārak Sansthān, 1973 AD; 601 songs, but without clear reference to sources. The norm for selecting songs is odd:

"Those songs are more *prāmāṇik* which have not undergone the handling by singers. Most songs with the name of Mīrā have undergone the influence of the *gey-paramparā*. The authenticity of these songs is doubtful. Those songs are probably more authentic which have an identical reading in all the manuscripts" (p. 404f.).

I argue that precisely those songs may be less reliable, because they may belong to just a single repertoire.

On pp. 43f., App. 1: 6 songs based on a N. P. S manuscript of 1755 AD. See above, Padmāvatī: 1950 and 1952.

1974 Bhagvāndās Tivārī, *Mīrā kī bhakti aur unkī kāvya-sādhnā kā anuśīlan*, (Ph. D. Thesis, Sagar Un. 1963), Sāhitya Bhavan, Prayāg, 1974. The author refers to two manuscripts which also give the total of 103 songs as they are found in the Dakor and Kāśī manuscripts (see Śarmā: 1949); one is from Kāśī (1670 AD), the other from Kānpur (1670 AD).

1974b Bhagvāndās Tivāri, *Mīrā kī prāmāṇik padāvalī*, Sāhitya Bhavan, Prayāg 1974. The author discusses the different collections and gives

(on pp. 127–272) the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts, along with variant versions in other editions.

1974c Kalyāṇ Singh Śekhāvat, *Mīrābāī kā jīvanvrit evam kāvya*, Hindī Sāhitya Mandir, Rātānādā, Jodhpur 1974.

This is a Ph. D. of 1969. In chapter 1 the author gives a survey of publications about Mīrā, and a list of manuscripts. Of interest are manuscripts 9,259 and 12,577 in the Jodhpur collection, both of the 18th century VS[17]. He further doubts the authenticity of the songs found in the earliest Dakor manuscript (p. 27). For the edition of the songs, see Śekhāvat: 1975.

1974 Śaśi Prabhā, *Mīrā Koś*, Ilahābād, 1974.

1975 Kalyāṇ Singh Śekhāvat, ed., *Mīrā–Brihat–Padavalī*, II (1975), Jodhpur. This volume gives 405 songs, of which 215 were not published earlier. Besides that set of 215 songs are given:

– 50 songs from a Rāg–rāginī illustrated manuscript of the 19th century;

– 49 songs "which show great similarity with one of the 215 songs";

– 42 "songs which are similar only in the first two–three lines";

– 40 songs "which are similar in most lines except in one or two";

– 9 songs "which are quite variant from a similar one in the set of 215".

The editor consulted a total of 236 manuscripts all over Rajasthan, mainly of the 19th century VS, with a few exceptions:

17th. VS (ca. 1700 AD?): 4 folios; Caupasani 1667;

1769 AD: 2 folios; Caupasani 4670;

1777 AD: 3 folios; Caupasani 7187–6;

1779 AD: 124 folios; Jodhpur 31077;

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[17] The date "17th century VS" for manuscript 1667 in the Caupasani collection (p. 32) is hopefully not a mistake. The author missed the following interesting manuscripts in the collection of the Jodhpur Oriental Institute:

30,346 (1656 AD); colophon not confirmed; one song.

1,163 (1783 AD); fo. 32, 33, 35–39.

1,247 (18th century VS).

2,626 (1784 AD); fo. 849–850.

1,177 (18th century VS); fo. 202–203.

I have noted a 17th c. AD manuscript in a private collection in Jaipur (one song) and one in Vrindaban. A careful scrutiny of the hundreds of *pad–saṅgrah* manuscripts of the 17–18th centuries may be very rewarding. Of course, there are hundreds of manuscripts with songs of Mīrā, dated 19th century VS.

1980 L. Bhatnāgar, *Dharm sampradāy aur Mīrā kā bhakti bhāv*, Delhi 1980; 224p.

1980 Rāj Nāgpāl, *Mīrābāī kī padāvalī*, Delhi 1980; in the second part is given a commentary on the songs edited by Caturvedī.

1981 Ushā Kiran Śarmā, *Mīrā kī abhivyañjanā śailī*, Ajmer, 1981; 355 p.: "I based my study on the Caturvedī edition because that has become a standard text-book in all universities. Further I refer also to the Jodhpur *Mira brihat padāvalī*" (1967 and 1975) (p. 11).

1982 Nilima Simha, *Mīrā. Ek antaraṅga paricay*, Delhi 1982; reprints the 103 songs of the Dakor manuscripts.

1984 N. S. Bhāṭī, ed., *'Mīrābāī rī parcī va parcī kāvya'*, in: *Parampara*, 69–70, 1984, Caupasanī, 124 pp. Hindī edition of the biography of Mīrā by Sukh Sāraṇ.

4. *English Translations*

1901 U. N. Mukhopadhyay, *Mīrābai of Udaipur*, Calcutta 1901; with English and Bengali translation.

1903 M. Macauliffe, 'The Legend of Mira Bai, the Rajput Princess', in: *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 329–335. On p. 335, the author remarks in note 10: "The hymns in this life of Mira Bai are taken from Raja Raghuraj Singh's Bhagat Mala".

1923 M. MaCnicol, *Poems by Indian Women*, The Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, 1923; 10 songs in English are given on pp. 59–66.

1934 R. C. Tandon, *Songs of Mirabai*, Hindī Mandir, Allahabad 1934; English translation of 50 songs of Mīrā.

1956 H. Goetz, 'Mīrā Bai, Her Life and Times' in: *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, vol. XVIII, April 1956, 2, pp. 87–113; (Bombay Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966).

(n.d.) T. L. Valswani, *Saint Mira*, Pune; a few songs in English; no sources given.

1961 Banke Behari, *Bhakta Mira*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (1961), 2nd ed. 1971; gives 128 (later 184) songs; 80 songs are quoted from Prabhākar & Behārī: 1951; 112 songs in English translation; Hindī first line index.

1964 S. M Pandey and N. Zide, *Poems of Mīrābāī*, Chicago. 1964; based on the 11th ed. of Caturvedī: 1932.

1973 S. Kurl, *The Devotional Poems of Mīrābai*, Calcutta 1973; 50 songs in English translation.

1973 S. Eveland, 'Devotional songs of Mira Bai', in: *Literature East and West*, 2–3–4, June–Dec. 1973, pp. 238–243. No sources given.

1975 P. Nandy, *The Songs of Mirabai*, Arnold–Heinemann, New Delhi, 1975; poetical translation of 50 songs. No source or reference given.
1977 B. Dhingra, *Songs of Meera. Lyrics in Ecstasy*, Orient paperbacks, New Delhi 1977; 96 songs in English translation; no sources given.
V. K. Sethi, ed., *Mira the divine lover*, Soami Satsang Beas, 1979; poems of Mīrā on pp. 55–239: 97 songs in English translation based on *Mira brihat padāvalī, Mīrā sudhā sindhu and the Belvedere edition.*
1978 S. Eveland, *The Divine Lover of Mira Bai and Mechthild von Magdeburg: A Study of Two Women's Literary Description of a Mystical Relationship with God*; Ph. D. dissertation, Austin, Texas, 1978.
1979 Nicole Balbīr, *Chants mystiques de Mīrābāī*, Paris 1979.
1980 A. J. Alston, *The devotional Poems of Mīrābāī*, Motilal, Delhi 1980; based on P. Caturvedī: 15 th ed.

Conclusion

There must have been, 450 years ago in Rajasthan, a lady who sang songs of devotion. She is mentioned in the Nābhā *Bhaktamāl* and one of her songs is preserved in the *Guru Granth*. Unlike her male contemporaries, however, her songs were not written down in the form of a repertoire until about 1800 AD. If we must find her songs in 17th century manuscripts, we have to go through *pad–saṅgrah* manuscripts. Similarly, it should be very rewarding to classify the sources 'about' Mīrā, starting with Nābhā, and see the ever increasing number of data.