

**Women Sages/Saints Through The Ages: Bhakti Movement In
Rajasthan With Special Reference To Saint Mirabai.**

Author Name: Kaluram Palsaniya

Doctorate Research Scholar

University of Hyderabad

E.Mail- karan.nvs2007@gmail.com

Mobile No- +919703573223

Abstract: Bhakti, a prominent social and religious movement of India generated diverse thoughts, philosophies, literature in the society. The position of women in the society is closely associated with religion and is the subject of academic enquiry in a wide variety of disciplines. This paper inquires the social conditions of women in the society from antiquity till medieval time. It also deals with the socio-economic conditions for the rise of Bhakti movement in Rajasthan. The women got rights to have debate and to hold important positions permission to acquire scriptures knowledge or to decide bridegroom in the past. With the passing of time and political disturbances condition of women got reduced in the society and Purdah and Sati introduced in the area of Rajasthan. This paper also deals with Mirabai and legends attached with the name of Mirabai through different hagiographical accounts references. The Bhakti women saint Mirabai was not merely saint. The figure or cult of Mirabai was more attached with Power. Paper drew attention on these lines.

Keywords: *Bhakti, religion, Mirabai, Rigveda, Brahmavadinis.*

I

Religion is the most powerful source of collective identity. The position of women is closely related to religion. The position of women in society is the subject of academic enquiry in a wide variety of disciplines. From history to sociology, from literature to philosophy; a wide range of research projects explore the condition of women in society. Religion is not only the source of belief and religious observation, but also is the source of social behaviour. It shapes social conduct through laws, prescriptions and norms. In this context, the history of religion is of crucial

importance. It offers a great opportunity to explore the role of women in formation of religious and social identity.

After Vedic period, women have always been a part of patriarchal family system.ⁱ Original Sanskrit texts- Smriti and Shruti, define status of women in early India.ⁱⁱ In the Rigveda, we see evidences of an ideology that was considered equal to men. They had all the capacity for knowledge acquisition which lead to 'Absolute' or 'Brahma'. Out of collected Rigveda the hymns were revealed to women rishis such as Romasa, Lopamudra Apala, Ghosa, Juhu, Jarita, Paulomi, Sraddha, Kamayani, Urvasi, Vagambhrini, Sarnga, Yami, Indrani, Devayani, Savitri, Kadra Visvavara etc. In the Samveda, other names that found- Nodha, Sikatanivavari, Ganpayana, Akrishtabhasa, etc.ⁱⁱⁱ This shows that ancient society and traditions endorsed women's right and ability to pursue religious knowledge and emancipation.

There are many references which indicate that the condition of women was good during the Vedic period. On an occasion, Gargi had philosophical debates with Yajnavalkya. For the advancement of education, Vadava Prathiety, Sulabh Maitreyi and Gargi Vachaknavi had made valuable contribution. Rishika Atreyi was the student of sages Valmiki and Agastya.^{iv}

In the Vedic period, women were given permission to lead ascetic life. These women were called Brahmavadinis. The right for marriage was given to the Brahmavadinis. They could marry the learned bridegrooms. In the Atharvaveda, it is mentioned that Brahmavadini women are entitled to marry in second asram.^v Women had enjoyed every right and participated in religious ceremonies along with men. In the Rigveda, learned women were given highest social status and this trend followed later on in the Upanishads. Vedic women did not observe Purdah. They participated equally in Vidatha and recited verses, sang psalms and wrote the rules of sacrifice.^{vi} In this period, we also do not trace any evidence of child marriage.^{vii}

However, it is with the later Vedic Ages that the decline in the social and scriptural status of women began. In this period, women were denied their individuality. Women got little access to the outer world and remained under the control of father, son or husband. During the epic age, condition of women further deteriorated. Although, women were the protagonists of these epics, but their social condition

deteriorated in the society. During this time, the Buddhist Sangha gave women the right to lead spiritual lives as bhikshuni. However, the Buddhist nuns remained under the control of the monks. Similarly, in the Gupta period, we find prominent queens such as Kumardevi and Prabhavati playing significant political roles in forming matrimonial alliances between the Guptas and the Lichchhavis. Although, women from royal families got some respect, freedom and power but general state of women cannot be gauged through the status of queens and princesses.

Virasaivism was a protestant movement as it protested against caste system, brahmanical supremacy, polytheism, panchasutakas, etc. In Virasaivism fold through Lingadharm, equal access was given to men and women, both. In Virasaiva, highest respect was granted to women, and marriage established, regulated and complemented the union. Kayak philosophy gave dignity to women, both inside and outside home. Virasaiva had gone through reforms with highest status granted to women and women saints like Sajjana Gudda Amma, Sharanamma of Sholapur that later earned a sacred place status.

The advent of Turk & Afghan and Mughal invaders led to general degradation in the Hindu social conditions. The establishment of Islamic rule in the subcontinent led to the formation of rigid Hindu social and religious formations. Purdah became a restrictive custom and gained wide acceptance. Besides, constant warfare led to valorization of social practices like Jauhar. The Sati Pratha was not widely prevalent before the advent of the Islamic rule in India. It gained more traction among upper caste segments of Hindu society during this period. One cannot argue that Islamic rule directly caused these regressive social practices such as Sati and Purdah. However, they became widely prevalent during medieval period.^{viii} The rigid patriarchal forms of Hindu social and scriptural prescriptions had a connection with the loss of political power in the country.

II

Medieval Rajasthan saw two broad social changes. The Rajput principalities compensated for their military defeats by forming political-matrimonial alliances with the Mughal establishment. This provided a space of limited sovereignty to Hindu Kings. These royal houses became the centers of newly emergent Bhakti sects

and networks. The Rajput-Mughal alliance played key role in the formation of Vrindavan as a major centre of Bhakti theology and practice. The second change concerns the social position of women in Rajasthan. The scope of women freedom got curtailed. ^{ix}

In Rajasthan and Gujarat province, polygamy was prevalent and widows were denied remarriage. With the coming decades, custom of sati got introduced and age of marriage got reduced. Women was more dependent on men and kept under their subjugation.

Women of Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Saurashtra rose above of their domestic needs and contributed constructively in the needy hour. Chief queen had acquired an important place during that time. Few queens were known as valiant mothers such as Alha, Udal, Deval Devi, etc. Raja Sawai Jai Singh, the revivalist of Hindu traditions had abolished female infanticide and sati and introduced widow remarriage.

Rajput princesses became the tool of political negotiations between the Rajputs and the Mughals. In the lower strata of Rajput society, women's status declined rapidly. Thirdly, it was during this period that a vernacular literary tradition formed itself in both Gujarat and Rajasthan. This tradition received the patronage of the local Hindu chiefs.

With emergence of Bhakti movement, the society witnessed progressive landmark. It gave new message, hope and liberation for the people. The message of equality of men and women were propagated by the saints. Message of love and devotion was attractive and soothing for women and sudras. Bhakti saints asserted that worship of God could be through devotion. Women saints hailing from different caste groups like Mirabai, Janabai, Karmabai, Sadhaavi Sita Sulakshani, Ranabai, Phoolibai, Goribai etc. had attained sainthood. These women saints became the symbols of devotion, truth and piety and have discarded the traditional rigidity. Gradually, Patidevta got replaced with the worship of the God.

Male Bhakti saints's attitude was conservative towards women saints. Bhakti saints were traditional and prejudiced towards women in their indifference to realities of life. For male Bhakti saints, women were the obstacle to attain the salvation. Eknath said "an aspirant must keep away from the women influence". Tukaram declared,

‘Give me not the company of women, for, by them I forget God’s worship and my mind goes beyond my control’. For Kabir, woman is “a hellish well” and for Shankaracharya the ‘gateway of hell’.^x

Married male saint’s attitude was humane but considered women for sexual pleasures. They never considered women for spiritual salvation and freedom. The impact of Bhakti movement teachings were short and priestly class held responsible for men astray.^{xi} The concept of asceticism had diverted the message of Bhakti and women were considered as Maya or obstacle for Bhakti.^{xii}

The Bhakti movement created the space for liberation of women and shudra saints of Rajasthan and Gujarat. This space for liberation needs to be studied with two contexts. First, an argument that the Bhakti movement raised voice of protest against caste or gender-based discrimination but it could not eradicate such practices is at best a weak present argument. The proper evaluation of the liberation is that Bhakti affected women and the members of lower strata in India can be done only when we compare it to the social studies of similar group of population in neighboring nations of South Asia for the same period. Second, present day orientation towards the problems of social and gender justice need not render the historians blind to the accomplishments of the Bhakti movement in this regard. It is beyond the scope of present study to analyse these two concerns at length. However, we will keep these in mind as we go about studying the lives and works of women saints of the Bhakti movement and Mirabai, most importantly.

III

In the women saint tradition of Rajasthan and Gujarat, saint Mirabai is the most famous. Mirabai is considered as one of the greatest saints of Indian soil. Indian culture and society have respected only those women who are the mothers of great sons but in case of Mirabai, respect bestowed on her without being the mother. Songs of Mirabai are sung in different regional languages but most important aspect is that these songs have become a part of local/ regional cultures. Although, saint Mirabai never got respected in her contemporary society but she had always encouraged women to be courageous in the face of adversity. To trace the figure of Mirabai, different sources are to be considered like hagiographical, manuscripts,

Khyat, Vat, Bat, Prakas, Vachnika, Vigat, Vamsavali, Hal, Raso, Haqikat are important. An advanced development of Khyat, is the most essential for historical representation.^{xiii}

Mirabai was born in a Vaishnava family in 1498 A.D. Although scholars have different opinion on the birth date and place of Mirabai. Munshi Devi Prasad, Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, and Parshuram Chaturvedi, Hermann Goetz have declared 1498 A.D. as the birth year of Mirabai on the basis of Munsu devi Prasad's book and other literary evidences. Her family was ardent devotee of Krishna and followers of Vaishnavism. Her parents had passed away in her childhood. She belonged to a royal family and her father, Ratan Singh was the feudal lord of few villages. Rao Duda, grandfather of Mirabai was king of Merta. In 'Marwar Ra Paragna ri Vigat' we found information and details of Rathor family of Merta and Rao Duda, Varsingh, Rao Biramdev, Rao Jaymal, Duda and their religious practices.^{xiv}

Udaybhan Champavat ri Khyat described Rathors family and its acceptance of Vaishnava faith. Biramdev forced Bhoj Sihavat to depart Kudki after the death of Rao Duda. He handed over Kudki to Ratansi.

Bhakts of Krishna have accepted him in different capacities. Mirabai called herself beloved, maidservant and wife of Krishna and declared Krishna as her husband.

Two incidents are very famous in the life of Mirabai. During her childhood she saw Shri Girdharlal, lord Krishna. One day a saint came to her father's house. He had an idol of lord Krishna and Mirabai got attracted towards it. She keenly desired the idol but Saint refused to give the idol to Mirabai and left the house. Mirabai became obstinate and refused to accept food or water. God himself has appeared in the dream of the saint and ordered him to give the idol to Mirabai. It was the will of Mirabai, which forced the saint.

In another episode, during a neighbour's marriage, after seeing the bridegroom Mirabai asked "Who is my husband?". Mother of Mirabai indicated towards idol of Krishna and indicating towards Krishna's idol said, "he is your husband". That's when Mirabai accepted Krishna as her husband and presented herself as a married women.^{xv}

Her childhood poetry indicates her inclination towards lord Krishna:

She sings: “Come, O Charmer of Hearts,

 For your speech is sweet.

 O Krishna did you ever rightly,

 Value my Childhood love?

 Without your sight I feel no ease,

 My mind swings this way and that.

 Mira says: I am yours.

 I will proclaim this, with your permission,

 To the beat of a drum.”^{xvi}

Ratan Singh, father of Mirabai was constantly busy in war so Mirabai spend most of her time with her grandfather, Rao Dudaji. Her cousin Jaimal, son of Rao Veeramdev, also lived with them. Rao Duda ji was a Vaishnavist and ardent devotee of God Chaturbhuj. It has massive effect on life of Mirabai and she inclined towards the path of Bhakti in her childhood.^{xvii}

After the death of Rao Dudaji in 1515 A.D. his elder son Veeramdev ascended the throne. He wanted to marry off his niece to a reputed family. Finally, after his efforts Mirabai married to Mewar’s Maharana Sangha’s eldest son prince Bhojraj in 1516 A.D.

We have found references of this marriage in the Khyat literature of Muhanot Nainsi, diwan of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. In his Sisodiya ri Khyat, we got reference of marriage of Mirabai. Khyat also gives description of Maharana Sangha’s son, Rana Ratansi, Rana Vikramaditya, Rana Uday Singh Bhojraj and Karan.

It mentions that :

 “Bhojraj Sanghawat!

 Mirabai Rathor got married to him only”.^{xviii}

In Pada Prasangha Mala, Nagridas states that Mirabai married to younger brother of Rana, who died after sometime. Barhat Chaidan in his Mundiyaad ri Khyat narrated:

“Viramde, Ratansi, Raipal, Raisal

Mirabai shri parbhujri bhagati me hij Rahta, Udaipur parnaya tha !^{xix}

It means: “Viramdev, Ratansingh, Raipal, Raisal

Mirabai totally indulged in the Bhakti, got married in Udaipur”!^{xx}

Although Mirabai is considered a devotee of god in Mundiyaad ri Khyat, but it gives false information of the marriage of Mirabai. All of them knew Mirabai very well, understood her feelings and respected her.

The marriage of Mirabai had an established social status of a saint. The ruler of Mewar was very reputed in the whole community of Hindu rulers. But after a few days of marriage, prince Bhojraj died. Mirabai did not even consummate with her husband, Bhojraj. Even during the tough time of the family, Mirabai took it a normal routine of life. She devoted herself completely in the Bhakti of lord Krishna.^{xxi}

It is said that after marriage she brought along with her the idol of Krishna and her servant Lalita. During her entire life, her servant Lalita was along with her. After the death of Bhojraj, Mirabai separated herself from mundane world and devoted herself in the Bhakti of lord Krishna.^{xxii}

Mirabai had discarded the social prestige concept of royal family and served the sadhus. Such acts of Mirabai were not acceptable in the royal family.

Ratan Singh ascended to the throne after the death of Rana Sanga but he also died and Vikramjit succeeded him. Vikramjit was very orthodox and he did not like Mirabai dancing in the company of sadhus, as well as her discarding purdah. He inflicted atrocities on Mirabai and tried to kill her on different occasions. Mirabai has mentioned atrocious nature of Vikramjit Singh in her bhajan:

Rana ji the jahar diy o mahe Jani!

Jaise kanchan dahat agin me, niksati Varanasi !

Loklaj kulkan jagat ki. Dai bahay jas pani !
Apne ghar ka parda kar le, mai abla borani !
Tarkas tir lagyo mere hiyare, garak gayo sankani !
Sab santan par tan man varo, charan kaval laptani !
Mira ko prabhu rakhi li laj hai, dasi apni jani !^{xxiii}

The core theme of the couplet shows the atrocities by Rana Vikramjeet on Mirabai. It says, "I was well aware that Rana have sent me poison but it is the same when you place gold in fire. It shines more, so nothing happened to me. I have discarded worldly shame, just like dirty waters. I don't need purdah because I am in love with Girdhar. I have even sacrificed my body, mind and have surrendered myself in the feet of God. I don't need any protection because the God himself is protecting me. He knows his servants."^{xxiv}

Brahamadas has given description of Rana's acts:

It says:"Mukhti harpas nibhavan Mira,

Bhog vilas udhas bhai !

Din hi din das upasat dekhe,

Des dhani hik tras Hui !

N huvi ghat nas piyo vish pemal,

Jas dhani bal tas jare !

Grahya vidr laj ubaran grayak,

Kaj isa Maharaj kare !

Mertaya kul marudhara majh,

Adpatya adhar !

Magan murat mahi nirtan,

Lai Mira lar,
To rijhwar ji rijhwar,
Bhagv at gavata rijhwar” !!^{xxv}

It means: Mirabai is keenly waiting

After long wait she became sad

She waits day and night

She became madly in love with Krishna

Sings in the memory of Krishna

Rana saw her acts

And became angry

Rana sent the servant

With poison

Mirabai consumed it

Nothing happened to her

Mirabai devoted herself to Krishna

She disappeared in the God.^{xxvi}

In Pada Prasanga Mala, Nagaridas interpreted the episode of poisoning Mirabai and her company of Sadhus. According to author, Mirabai had replied Rana and that couplet follows:

“Mira ke Rang lagyo hari ko aur rang sab atak pari !!

Girdhar ga ya sati n ho ya man moho dhannami”!!^{xxvii}

It means: “The colour of Bhakti of Hari is ultimate and other are fake. My beloved has taken my heart. I am happily singing and loving my beloved Girdhar, So I cannot commit sati.”^{xxviii}

Pada Prasanga of Nagaridas mentioned that Mirabai denied to commit sati because of her love with Krishna and she sang bhajans of Krishna. Pada Prasanga also mentioned Bhagvad Satsang of Mirabai, offering poison by Rana and not agreeing to consummate.

In a prominent hagiographical account of that time Bhaktmal written by Nabhaadas in 17th Century, we found the description of Mirabai.

It states: Sadras Gopika prem pragat, kaliju ghai dikhayo !

Nirankus ati nidas rasik jas rasna gayo !!

Drastni dos bichari mratyu ko adham kiy o !

Bar na banko bhayo garal amrit jiy o piyo !!

Bhakti nisan bajaya ke kahu te nahin laji !

Lok laj kul srankhla taji mira Girdhar bhaji !!^{xxxix}

It means; “Like Gopika Mirabai revealed her love !

Fearlessly she sung the songs of beloved !!

She figured every thing and refused death !

Nothing happened to her after consuming poison !!

Mirabai did not felt ashamed !

She gave up public shyness (expected from a woman) and the tradition of her family
and sung

the Girdhar bhajans !!^{xxx}

Bas on oral stories and devotional verses, Chaitanya Sampraday, a close associate, Priya das wrote Tika. In 1769 Samvat, he wrote Bhakti Ras bodhini tika. Priya das wrote story of love of Mirabai for Krishna. Priya das says Mirabai fell in love with Krishna and in her in-laws house Mirabai refused to worship Kuldevi. Mirabai

declared that her head only lower in the name of Krishna. Text have showed enmity between Mirabai and her in-laws. Mother in-law of Mirabai considered Mirabai not worth for family because of her disrespect nature towards everyone except Krishna idol. Text further claims that in-laws of Mirabai separated her form family and gave a small place to live. Mirabai was an ardent devotee of Krishna and after these episodes, she was happy because she could worship Krishna without any objection.

Priya das gave details of Mirabai and Krishna love. Mirabai survived after even consuming poison and Priya Das gave description that Rana ordered spies to inform him if any Sadhu comes to meet with Mirabai. One day spies heard the voice of a Sadhu. Upon knowing, Rana immediately rushed to Mirabai and asked her, “who was here?”, she replied while looking towards Krishna, “he is here and he (*Krishna*) is not afraid of you.”^{xxxix}

Book gives details of Mirabai’s marriage in the royal family, atrocities on Mirabai at Mewar and discussion of Mirabai with Jiv Goswami das ji.

Priya Das also talks about travel of Mirabai to Vrandavan, Gujarat, sending Brahmins to bring Mirabai back to Mewar by Rana and her disappearance.

Priya Das also gives reference of *Uddabai*, her sister-in-law. *Uddabai* gives suggestion to *Mirabai* that: “Sister in law! why you do not understand! falling in love with *sadhus* brings dishonor to family! *Ranaji* is king and because of your acts he feels ashamed”!^{xxxix}

Above mentioned different Khyat literature give the description of life of Mirabai. In the year 1533 A.D., Mirabai left Mewar forever. The environment of Merta was favourable for her Bhakti. Viramdev and Jaimal both respected Mirabai. Few relics of her kitchen and living space are still present. There was a constant tussle between Merta and Jodhpur. King of Jodhpur, Maldev had annexed Merta in 1538 A.D. These episodes had tremendous effect on life of Mirabai and she compelled herself to leave Merta. She decided for journey of Vransdavan.^{xxxix}

Vrandavan was the centre of Krishna Bhakti in the whole India. Vallabhacharya was spreading the message of Bal-Gopal Bhakti and Jivgoswami das preached Madhurya Bhava Bhakti. The Bhakti environment of Vrandavan was favourable for Mirabai

and she could devote most of her time in Krishna Bhakti. This stay of Mirabai in Vrandavan gave birth to new Mirabai. In Vrandavan, Goswamidas refused to meet with Mirabai as she was a woman. On which Mirabai replied, “I thought that there is only one male, Krishna and rest are female, but there are a few others who consider themselves as male.” This discussion with Mirabai impressed Goswamidas. ^{xxxiv}

After a long stay in Vrandavan, Mirabai left for Dwaraka. Her popularity spread miles away and Brahmins were sent by both sides to bring her back but Mirabai, eventually disappeared in the idol of Ranchoddas.

IV

Mirabai took religious Bhakti to the western part of the country. Figure of Mirabai is the symbol of power and one should not reduce Mirabai merely as a Bhakti saint. ^{xxxv}

Mirabai is important across different sections and movements i.e. peasants society, Dalits, unprivileged sections, Rajputs, national movements, feminist movements and integration of India. Mirabai opposed Rajputs and termed Mirabai as “Kul-nasi”. ^{xxxvi}

The hatred against Mirabai was prevalent in Mewar region which got reduced day by day. ^{xxxvii} Meghwal community, a traditional carrier of Mirabai bhajans in oral are of the opinion that Rajputs of Chittor had hatred against Mirabai, whereas Rajputs of Bikaner, Jaipur, Udaipur and other regions liked her. ^{xxxviii}

Acceptance of Raidas (dalit) as her guru and rejection of Rana as husband was not acceptable for Rajputs. The Rajputs conceived it as a threat. Mirabai’s rejection of patriarchal and political structure was a challenge against Rajput allegiances. According to Parita Mukta, “antagonism of Sisodiyas to Mira was not sectarian one but it was a wider battle between an individual holdings on to the principle of love through Krishna and the political authority of the Ranas based on the force and might”, ^{xxxix} The Bhakti world was close to Mirabai’s heart to escape marriage, hatred and domination. Mirabai broke all authority and loyalty to create a new life of love. For long, bhajnika community have intacted the memory of Mirabai and emphasized on inner worth, self-illumination, spiritual depth etc. Recently, with mass media and different mediums of entertainment, memory got distorted. The society which is very patriarchal and masculine accepted and glorified the figure of Mirabai. James Tod, in the folklore collections of Rajasthan glorified the heroic death (sati). Sacred jewel of

chastity used by the Mahatma Gandhi and others to declare Mirabai as ideal women.^{xi}

The genre of Mirabai Bhakti was her bhajans. This genre of Bhakti transcended the caste boundary. Bhajans were the main medium of that time to carry the folk singing. Bhajans attracted the masses towards the Bhakti of Mirabai. It constructed the figure of Mirabai that taught that anyone could attain salvation through Bhakti. The acceptance of Mirabai by other Rajput clans of that time was somewhere a part of cultural hegemony and administrative mission of Rajputs. The authority of Goddess figures became larger than the authority of Rajputs. Masses surrendered themselves to Mirabai, whereas Mirabai surrendered herself to Lord Krishna. It was the authority of Mirabai on masses that Rajputs compelled themselves to accept Mirabai as part of govern-mentalities mission to rule over the masses.

Finally, we can put Mirabai in the category of a spiritual woman, Krishna's mad lover and a rebel on the basis of her choice for a spiritual path and her interaction with traditional society. She stood against social taboos and her act of spending life with sadhus can be seen as an act to break the stereotypes associated with women in society. Choosing Raidas as her guru from chamar caste, inspired people to raise voice against the normative practices of the society and thereby break the social stigma.

ⁱ Ritu Sharma, Women saints of Rajasthan (From 15th to 19th Century), Books treasure, Jodhpur, 2016, p. 53.

ⁱⁱ A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, Motilal Banarsidas publisher, Banaras, 1956.

ⁱⁱⁱ Louis Renou, Vedic India, Susil Gupta Pvt. Ltd., 1957, p.1.

^{iv} S.K. Ghosh, Indian Women Through the Ages, Asish publishers, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 3,4.

^v Yashoda Bhat (ed.), The image of Women in Indian Literature, B.R. Publishers, New Delhi, 1993, pp.2,3.

^{vi} Bhagvat Saran Upadhyaya, Women in Rig-Veda, S. Chand Co., New Delhi, 1974, p. 59.

^{vii} Bhagvat Saran Upadhyaya, Women in Rig-Veda, S. Chand Co., New Delhi, 1974,

^{viii} Ashirvadi Lal Srivastava, Medieval Indian culture, Educational Publishers, Agra, 1971, p.16.

^{ix} John Straton Hawley, A storm of Songs, India and the idea of the Bhakti Movement. Harvard University Press, Cambridge-London, 2015.

- ^x Ritu Sharma, Women saints of Rajasthan (From 15th to 19th Century), Books treasure, Jodhpur, 2016, pp. 75-76.
- ^{xi} Neelam Upadhyay & Rekha Pande, Women in India: Past and Present, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1990, pp. 18-20.
- ^{xii} Neelam Upadhyay & Rekha Pande, Women in India: Past and Present, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1990, p.297.
- ^{xiii} Vikramsingh Amarawat, 'Khyat Literature and its Historicity'. Sahitya setu: A Literary e-Journal, (March- April, 2013).pp.1-16.
- ^{xiv} Narayan Singh Bhati, ed. Marwar ra Paragna ri Vigat. (Jodhpur: Rajasthan Prachya Vidhya Pratisthan, 1968).
- ^{xv} Baldev Bansi, Sant Mirabai aur Unki Padavali, (New Delhi: Parameswari Parkashan, 2013), p.11.
- ^{xvi} A. J. Alston, The devotional Poems of Mirabai. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1980), p.75.
- ^{xvii} Swami Ghanananda & John Steward Wallace, Women saints east and west, Vedanta press, Hollywood, California, p. 51.
- ^{xviii} Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. E, Muhnot Nainsi ri Khyat, translation, Ramnarayan Duggad. (Jodhpur: Maharaja Mansingh Pustak Prakash Sodh- Kendra, 2010).
- ^{xix} As quoted in Hukam Singh Bhati, Mira: Itihas, Sahitya aur Gitake Alok me. (Jodhpur: Rajasthani Granthag ar, 2014), p.21.
- ^{xx} My own translation.

“वीरमदे, रतनसी, रायपाल, रायसाल

मीराबाई श्री परभुजी री भगत में हीज रहता, उदयपुर परणाया था।”

- ^{xxi} Swami Ghanananda & John Steward Wallace, Women saints east and west, Vedanta press, Hollywood, California, p.11.
- ^{xxii} Parshuram Chaturvedi, Mirabai ki Padavali, Hindi, Sahitya Sammelan, 2002, Prayag, p. 21.
- ^{xxiii} S. Baldev Bansi, Sant Mirabai Aur Unki Padaawali. (New Delhi: Parmeshwari Prakashan, 2013), p.14.
- ^{xxiv} As quoted in A. J. Alston, The devotional Poems of Mirabai. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1980), poem 38, p.49.
- ^{xxv} As quoted in Charan Brahmadas, Bhaktimal. ed, Udairaj Ujjawal, Bhaktmal. (Jodhpur: Rajasthan Prachya Vidhya Pratisthan), pp.13, 45.
- ^{xxvi} My own translation.

मुखतीहरपास तनभावन मीरा

भाग तवलास उधास भई

ददन ही ददन दस उपासत देखे

देस धणी तहक त्रास हुयी

ण हुवी घट नास पीयो तवस पेमल
जास धणी बळ तास जरै
ग्रतहया तव्रद लाज उबारण ग्रायक
काज इसा महाराज करै |
मेडतिया कुळ मरुधरा मझ
अधपतया आधार
मगन मूरत मातह तनरतन,
लई मीरा रा लार
तौ ररझवार री ररझवार
भगत गावता ररझवार |

^{xxvii} As quoted in Hukam Singh Bhati, Mira: Itihas, Sahitya aur Gita ke Alok me. (Jodhpur: Rajasthani Granthagar, 2014), p.27.

^{xxviii} My own translation

मीरा के रंग लगयो हरी को रंग और रड सब अटक परी ||
तगरधर गा या सती न हो या मन मोहो धनमानी |

^{xxix} Nabhadās. Bhaktmal. (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 2013), p. 374

“सदशृगोतपकाप्रेमप्रगट, कतलजुगहींददखायो |
तनरअंकुसअतततनडररतसकजसरसनागायो ||
दष्टुतनदोषतबचारीमतयुकोअधमकीयो |
बारनबााँकोभयोगरलअमृतज्योपीयो ||
भतितनसानबजायकैकाहाँतेनातहनलजी |
लोकलाजकूलसुंखलाततजमीरााँतगरधरभजी ||

^{xxx} My own translation.

^{xxxi} Nabhadās. Bhaktmal. (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 2013), p. 376.

^{xxxii} Nabhadās. Bhaktmal. (Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 2013), p. 376.

^{xxxiii} Parshuram Chaturvedi, Mirabai ki Padavali, Hindi, Sahitya Sammelan, 2002, Prayag, p. 24.

-
- xxxiv Parshuram Chaturvedi, *Mirabai ki Padavali*, Hindi, Sahitya Sammelan, 2002, Prayag, p. 25.
- xxxv Parita Mukta, *Upholding the common Life: The Community of Mirabai*. Oxford University Press, 1994, Delhi, p.18.
- xxxvi Kul-nasi, destructor of Clan.
- xxxvii Parita Mukta, *Upholding the common Life: The Community of Mirabai*. Oxford University Press, 1994, Delhi, pp-69-70.
- xxxviii R.M. Heidi Pauwels, 'Rathauri Mira: Two Neglected Rathaur Connections of Mira-Jaimal Mertiyo and Nagaridas'. *International Journal of Hindu studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2/3 (December 2010), p. 176.
- xxxix Parita Mukta, *Upholding the common Life: The Community of Mirabai*. Oxford University Press, 1994, Delhi, p.56.
- ^{x1} Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*. Permanent Black, 2001, New Delhi. p. 41.