Maulana Daud's *Cāndāyan*

A CRITICAL STUDY

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Maulana Daud and His *Cāndāyan*

Textual Sources on Daud

Little reliable information has come down to us about the life of Maulana Daud. What information there is about his life is based on extremely limited sources.[1] These are the text of *Cāndāyan* itself; official documents of the Sufi orders with which Daud was associated;[2] passing references to *Cāndāyan* in Badauni's (d. 1596) *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*;[3] and references in *Cāndāyan* to other contemporaneous historical personages about whom some biographical information is available.[4] Of these sources, *Cāndāyan* itself is the most important.

In the seventeenth *kaḍvak*, for instance, we learn that *Cāndāyan* was composed in Hijri 781 (AD 1379), when Firoz Shah was the Sultan of Delhi and Jauna Shah was Firoz Shah's chief minister. We find that Daud lived in a place he calls 'the nine-coloured Dalmau', located on a hill on the banks of the Ganges. Daud further indicates that Dalmau was inhabited by accomplished, sophisticated, and appreciative citizens and that Malik Mubarak, the son of the brave Malik Bayān, was the governor of the district. Here is the relevant text.

बरस सात सै होये इक्यासी
तिहि याह कबि सरसे उभासी
साहि पेरोज ढीली सुल्तानू
जौना साहि उजीरू वषानू
दलमौ नयरु बसै नवरंगा
उपरि कोट तले बहे गंगा
धरमी लोग बसहि भगवंता
गुनगाहक नागर जसवंता

मलिक बयां पुतु युध रन धीरू
मलिक ममारष तहां का मीरु
दाउद येह कबि जइ गाई मन महि लेहु बिचारि।
जुरत बोल चित राषहु टूटत लेहु संवारि।। (M. Gupta 1967: 17)

It was the year seven hundred and eighty-one
When this poet brought to light this work.
Shah Firoz was the Sultan of Delhi,
Jauna Shah, the famous minister.
The colourful city of Dalmau flourished,
With forts on hills, the Ganga flowing below.
Good, conscientious people lived there,
Sophisticated, connoisseurs of arts, well-reputed.
Malik Bayān, a scion, patient in battle.
His son, Malik Mubarak, is the local governor.
Daud recites this poem. Contemplate it in your mind.
Saving the pleasing ones, reorganize the broken locution.

P. Gupta (1964: 19) states that Dalmau is located on the banks of the Ganga, in Rai Bareilly district. The town became important in the reign of Iltutmish (1210–36).

Daud is also mentioned in passing in Shaikh Muhaddis Dehlavi's *Akhbārul Akhiyār*, written in Akbar's reign (1546–1605), which notes that Shaikh Zainuddin was the nephew, successor, and chief attendant of Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi (d. 1356) and was also the teacher of Maulana Daud, the author of *Cāndāyan* (Pandey 1994: 286).

As mentioned above, another source that can be used to piece together a sketchy biography of Daud is the body of texts referred to as *malfūzāt*, which consists of records kept in the Sufi monasteries (*khānqāhs*). These records tell us nothing about Daud himself. They do, however, give information about Daud's spiritual guide, Shaikh Zainuddin, mentioned above. A lengthy tribute to Shaikh Zainuddin is found in the 9th *kaḍvak* of *Cāndāyan*. It reads:

सेष जैनदी हौं पथि लावा
धरम पंथ जिहि पापु गवावा
पाप दीन्ह है गांग बहाई
धरम नाव हौ लीन्ह चडाई
उघरे नैन हिये उजियारे
पायो लिषि नौ अक्षर कारे
पुनि मैं आखिर की सुधि पाई

तुरकी लिषि लिषि हिंदुकी गाई
जे पइये जाई सेष पसारा
पाप गए तसीकर मारा
तेहु का घरू निरमरा जिह चित रहा लुभाई।
सेष जेनदी सेवता पाप निरंतर जाई।। (M. Gupta 1967: 9)

Shaikh Jainadi has brought me to the path
Of righteousness so that my sins might be absolved;
Sins swept away in the Ganga,
I was elevated on the boat of devoutness.
Eyes opened, heart enlightened,
I managed to write the nine black letters[5]
Finally, conscious of my destiny,
In the Turkic script, I sang Hinduki.
Whosoever obtains the Shaikh's blessings
Gets his sins eliminated as criminals (are done away with).
Pristine is his abode, it engages (my) mind;
By serving Shaikh Jainadi one is cleansed of his sins continuously.

The information to be gleaned about Shaikh Zainuddin is admittedly limited. S.M. Pandey has summarized it as follows:

The full name of Shaikh Jainadi was Zainuddin. He was the nephew and doyen of the Chishti saint Nasiruddin Charāgh Dehlavī. From the *malfūzāt*, where the Sufi saints' sermons and statements are recorded, it is evident that in addition to being the supervisor of the Delhi *Khānqah*, Shaikh Zainuddin was the personal attendant of Charāgh Dehlavī. (S.M. Pandey 1989: 11)

There are other figures mentioned in the *Cāndāyan*. These are Malik Mubarak and Malik Nathan. Mention of Malik Mubarak occurs in the 15th and the 16th *kaḍvak*, in a section in which Daud is praising his patron Jauna Shah (identifiable from the honorific title Khan-i-Jahan). The mention of Malik Nathan occurs in the 329th *kaḍvak* at the end of the second snakebite episode. Jauna Shah was himself a person about whom some information is known, since he served as (chief) minister of Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1309–88).

Inevitably, historical records provide information about Jauna Shah. So far as I know however, no additional information has been uncovered with regard to the other (see M. Gupta 1967: 3).

The above information, limited as it is, constitutes all there is as a basis for the biography of Daud. Other biographical information is much later and thus unreliable. Many authors have based their accounts on

sources already mentioned by P. Gupta, M. Gupta, Pandey, and Jauhari. Al-Badayuni's chronicles are an important primary source. A contemporary of Akbar (1556–1605), Badayuni completed his *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh* in 1591.

According to Al-Badayuni's *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, in 1370 Feroz Shah's prime minister Khan-i-Jahan died. His son Jauna Shah succeeded him as the prime minister. In *Cāndāyan*, the well known Hindi *masnavī*, the love of Lorik and Candā is described. This *masnavī* was composed by Maulana Daud and was dedicated to Jauna Shah. The *masnavī* was so famous throughout the region that it was deemed unnecessary to praise it. On one occasion Makhdūm Shaikh Wāiz Rabbanī read some parts of it and the listeners were immensely pleased. When some of the prominent scholars asked the Shaikh whether so much importance should be accorded to a Hindi *masnavī*, the Shaikh replied to them that the entire *masnavī* is filled with the divine truth and symbols. It is an interesting composition and in it is contained food for thought for those who love God and are spiritually inclined. It successfully explains the mystic meaning of some of the *āyāt* of the Quran and is a repository of the sweet songs of India. (M. Gupta 1967: 3)

Literary Sources and the Critical Editions of the Cāndāyan

Two prominent scholars, Parmeshvarilal Gupta and Mataprasad Gupta, have done considerable work in locating manuscripts of *Cāndāyan* and publishing detailed descriptions of these manuscripts (see Chapter 1). P. Gupta's edition of *Cāndāyan* came out in 1964; M. Gupta published his edition in 1967. These critical editions, written in Hindi, describe in detail all the known manuscripts of the work and the location, condition, and script of each. M. Gupta's study is the starting point for any scholar wishing to conduct manuscript work on the *Cāndāyan*. However, it should be pointed out that, valuable as it is, it has several weaknesses. These stem primarily from the fact that his edition is in Hindi and printed in Devanagari, which filters the text through a Hindi language perspective. The majority of early texts of *Cāndāyan* are in Perso-Arabic script. The process of transcribing manuscripts of *Cāndāyan* into a Devanagari format has introduced numerous errors and mis-interpretations.

The only way to clear up many of these misinterpretations is to go back and directly examine the original manuscripts, paying particular attention to those in the Arabic script and particularly noting cases where the original Awadhi as recorded in Perso-Arabic script is amenable to multiple interpretations.

In the edition of M. Gupta, the location, script, style of the calligraphy, the size of the pages, and the methodology applied to determine the numbers assigned to the various unnumbered pages is provided in detail. Often a picture is provided that gives the reader a chance to see what the actual manuscript looked like.

From a reading of the editions of M. Gupta and P. Gupta, is seems that the latter, was the first of the two scholars to begin work in Bombay on the *Cāndāyan*, using the manuscripts available to him at that time. Up until then, only fragments of *Cāndāyan* manuscripts had been available; however, P. Gupta found a manuscript at a museum in Manchester, England, which, though the largest, was still incomplete. This discovery gave P. Gupta more materials than had been available to other scholars. In the introductory chapter of his *Cāndāyan*, P. Gupta clearly describes his sources in detail. However, it seems that M. Gupta made efforts to get a hold of copies of the materials that were in P. Gupta's possession.[6]

It is very clear from the introductory chapter of P. Gupta's *Cāndāyan* that when he found out about these efforts, he became upset and anxious to publish his critical edition before M. Gupta's work was complete (P. Gupta 1964: 1–15). Consequently, P. Gupta's edition of *Cāndāyan* came out in 1964. However, because of problems with orthography and insufficient editing which resulted in duplication of some portions of the text (perhaps to some extent due to racing against time), this edition suffers from many incorrect readings. In the meantime, M. Gupta found a *Cāndāyan* manuscript in the Devanagari script. This discovery was of crucial importance because it overcame many of the problems which P. Gupta faced in dealing with the orthography of *Cāndāyan's* Arabic script manuscripts.

In their respective editions of *Cāndāyan*, P. Gupta and M. Gupta go into great detail about the writing style, condition, and location of the various manuscripts that they had consulted. The biggest problem both scholars faced was the orthography, which seems to stem from the fact that the manuscripts of the Indo-Sufi *masnavīs* were originally recorded in the Perso-Arabic script, which does not account for short vowels. The discovery of a manuscript in Devanagari was indeed opportune at this particular time when M. Gupta's *Cāndāyan* had not yet gone to press. Most manuscripts of Indian literature were either in private collections or in museum archives, slowly being catalogued. Knowledge of them was not public. As a result of the discovery of the above-mentioned manuscript, M. Gupta's critical edition, which came out in 1967, is more accurate than its predecessor.

In his *Sūfī Kāvya Vimarśa*, published in 1968, Shyam Manohar Pandey, a student of M. Gupta, compares and discusses the reasons for the differences between the two editions of *Cāndāyan* (S.M. Pandey 1968: 26–36). In Pandey's view, with which I agree, M. Gupta's edition is more reliable. The introductory material is very detailed and provides information on Daud's language. The extensive commentary and detailed discussion of the various readings in the different manuscripts makes this edition much richer than its predecessor. And most importantly, Pandey says (1968: 35), P. Gupta does not discuss *Cāndāyan* in the context of the Sufi literary tradition at all, treating it as if its purpose were merely to give the oral epic of *Loriki* a literary form. I agree with Pandey's analysis, and, except for the occasional reference, M. Gupta's critical edition remains my main source.

Plot

It is essential to be familiar with the story of *Cāndāyan* before a discussion on the Sufi elements in the text begins. To this end a brief outline of the plot is necessary.

The story begins in the lovely northern Indian city of Govar, boasting a royal garden, the city itself is adorned with glorious flora and fauna. Govar has palaces and forts surrounded by moats, and its markets are resplendent with all kinds of fruits, apparel, games, dances, shows, and sports. Govar is ruled over by Mahar Sahdev, who lives in a shining white palace complete with a lion-gate.[7] Living with Mahar Sahdev is his chief queen, Phūlārānī, and several other less-favoured queens.

During the rule of Mahar Sahdev, Phūlārānī gives birth to a beautiful daughter of the *Padminī* category.[8] This girl is actually an *avatāra* of the moon (Cānd). When she is but a year old, the tales of her beauty spread throughout the coastal regions of India, as well as in Malabar, Gujarat, Tirhut, Awadh, and Badayun. Many princely families approach Mahar Sahdev for Cāndā's hand in marriage; however, when she is four years old, Jait, who belongs to the same caste as Mahar Sahdev, sends a proposal for marriage of his son Bāvan with Cāndā. Mahar Sahdev accepts this and after the wedding, which is performed with great pomp and ceremony, Cāndā is sent to live in her father-in-law's household.

Twelve years pass after Cāndā's marriage. Her husband Bāvan is very short in stature, has only one eye, lives in squalour, and is impotent. Cāndā, now sixteen, waits another year and then complains about her situation to her sister-in-law. When her mother-in-law learns of Cāndā's

unhappiness, she suggests that Cāndā should send a message to her father and go back to her parents with an escort. As soon as Mahar Sahdev receives the message from Cāndā, he sends an escort to bring her home. Upon her arrival at Govar, Cāndā's friends ask her how she was being treated by her husband. Cāndā describes her trials and tribulations to her friends, giving them a hint of Bāvan's neglect. She does so in highly florid language taking the shape of a *bārahmāsā*, in which events of her life are symbolically equated with aspects of the twelve months of the year.

In the meantime, a beggar named Bajur comes to town who sings and begs for alms from door-to-door. One day when Cāndā is looking out of her window in the white palace, Bajur happens to look up. He sees her and faints. When the people of Govar who attend Bajur ask him the reason for his fainting, he answers them with a riddle and escapes from the city, fearful of retribution.

After travelling for a full month, he arrives at Jaipur, ruled by Raja Rūpcand. Pleased with Bajur's song 'Candrāvalī', Rūpcand employs Bajur to entertain him. Eventually, Bajur divulges the identity of Cāndā and describes her beauty to Rūpcand in great detail. As soon as Rūpcand hears this he orders his army to attack Govar.

Despite bad omens, Rūpcand lays siege to Govar and sends word to Mahar Sahdev that he has come to wed Cāndā. When Mahar Sahdev consults his ministers and statesmen, two great warriors, Kuṁvaru and Dhavaru, offer to lead the battle. During the battle, however, pitched against Rūpcand's brave warrior, Bāṇṭhā, both Kuṁvaru and Dhavaru fall. This demoralizes Mahar Sahdev's army. He sends a pleading message to Lorik for assistance. When Lorik's wife, Mainā, and mother, Kholin, learn that Lorik has agreed to help Sahdev, they are upset. Lorik cajoles them into agreeing to send him to war and proceeds to the battlefield with their consent.

Brave Lorik's presence fills Sahdev's troops with inspiration and renews their courage. A great battle ensues and Lorik cuts Bāṇṭhā's head off with his blade. Rūpcand flees from the battlefield, never to return. Sahdev's army puts Lorik on an elephant and parades the streets of Govar in a victory celebration. Cāndā wants to see the person who has liberated Govar. From the terrace of her palace, she sees Lorik and is overcome with emotion. It seems as if she has suffered a heatstroke.

The next day Cāndā's handmaiden, Bṛhaspati, asks her why she became emotional. Cāndā confides in her and begs her to find an occasion so that she may look upon Lorik again. With this objective in mind, Bṛhaspati suggests Cāndā ask her father, Mahar, to call for

a grand victory celebration-feast to honour the great hero. A great commemoration is under way when Lorik spots Cāndā, who comes to the terrace all dressed up. As soon as he sees Cāndā, Lorik swoons.

Lorik now stays confined to his house. According to his doctors, he is lovesick, pierced by one of Kāma's arrows, which has caused him to hallucinate and mumble. By chance, Bṛhaspati happens to visit Lorik. She asks him to tell her the reason for his sickness. Lorik confides in her and implores her to arrange a meeting between Cāndā and himself. Bṛhaspati tries to explain to Lorik how jealously Cāndā is guarded and how difficult it is to meet her, but when he insists, she suggests that he visit a certain temple and live there as a renunciate. She could then try to bring Cāndā to the temple on some pretext.

For an entire year Lorik lives in a temple and eats only the roots and bulbs that grow in the wilderness. He practices austerities and continually chants Cāndā's name. Finally, on the festival of Diwali, Cāndā summons Bṛhaspati and along with sixty other friends sets out to visit the temple. By chance, her pearl necklace breaks at this time. Observing that Cāndā's friends are busy picking up the pearls and stringing them together, Bṛhaspati leads Cāndā to the shade of the temple. Meanwhile, Cāndā's friends bring her the news of the presence of a prince who has become a yogi. Cāndā goes to greet the yogi, but even as she bends her head low in greeting, the yogi faints. Cāndā returns to her palace.

By this time Lorik has stopped cohabiting with his wife, Mainā. Mainā pleads with him to resume their previous marital life, but her pleas are unheeded. To the contrary, Cāndā and Lorik pine for each other. One day, when Cāndā asks Bṛhaspati to find a way for them to meet, Bṛhaspati goes to the woods and suggests that Lorik should somehow climb up the balcony of Cāndā's living quarters. She shows Lorik the way to Cāndā's balcony. Soon after this, on a dark and rainy night, Lorik throws a scaling hook tied to a strong rope, the sound wakes up Cāndā. When she sees Lorik, she unhooks the scale. Lorik tries to throw it up many times, hoping that it will catch in the bulwark of the balcony, but each time the hook holds, Cāndā disengages it. Finally, Cāndā secures the hook to a pillar and goes to bed. Lorik climbs up the balcony and, standing in the shelter of the pillar, examines the elegance of Cāndā's bedroom. He sees that Cāndā, whose garment has slipped away, rests on a flower-bedecked bed, her breasts exposed. Lorik wishes to awaken Cāndā but he cannot find the courage to do so.

Finally, Lorik takes Cāndā's hand in his. Cāndā seizes Lorik by his hair and calls out, 'thief, thief'. No one comes to her rescue. Ostensibly

Cāndā is in distress, but secretly she is happy that nobody has responded to her calls. In the meantime, Lorik tries to convince Cāndā that he is not a thief. He tells her how much he loves her, and that he has come to see her, and to be with her, even at the risk of his own life. Cāndā then lets go of his hair and asks him to prove his identity. Lorik introduces himself as the same person who waged war against Rūpcand and liberated Govar.

Lorik tells Cāndā that from the moment he first saw her at the feast hosted by her father, Mahar Sahdev, he had been deeply in love with her. He also professes that the seed of love grew with such intensity that it appeared to reach the very heavens. Lorik explains to Cāndā that he has taken this risk because life in this world does not matter to him anymore. It seems to him as if he had already died and had come to heaven. Hearing this, Cāndā also confesses that she had fallen in love with Lorik the day she caught a glimpse of him at the victory celebration. Cāndā tells Lorik that her actions today were to test his resolve.

To Lorik, Cāndā's words seem like ambrosia. Lorik takes hold of Cāndā's hem, but, right then, her pearl necklace breaks. She asks Lorik to pick up the pearls. By then it is dawn. Cāndā hides Lorik under her bed for the day. The next night, when Cāndā and Lorik are together again, Lorik describes to her all the trials and sacrifices he has undergone to find her. This night their love finds fulfilment.

Next morning, when Cāndā's maids come to help her dress, they see her broken bodice and notice the marks of lovemaking on her body. They tell Cāndā that it appears that she has experienced the joys of physical love, that 'the honey bee has entered the bud' [भंवर फूल पर बइठेउ लाग दीख तेहि अंग]. However, Cāndā makes some excuses about not having been able to sleep all night. When Cāndā's family comes to see her that day, out of embarrassment and from fear of being detected, bashful Cāndā refuses to see them. Cāndā's parents are upset and afraid for their honour. To Lorik, who is hiding right there, a dishonourable death seems inevitable. Upon nightfall, both Cāndā and Lorik renew their pledges to remain faithful to each other, and Cāndā creates a diversion to enable Lorik to escape.

When Mainā, Lorik's wife, asks him where he had spent the previous night, Lorik makes excuses. Rumours linking Lorik and Cāndā have by this time spread, causing Mainā to suspect infidelity. Nonetheless, Lorik successfully convinces Mainā of his loyalty to her.

In the meantime, all of Govar prepares to celebrate the upcoming festival of Somnāth. Women, dressed in their best, set out to the temple

to worship. Cāndā also goes there with her sixty handmaidens. As she prays for a reunion with Lorik, Mainā arrives at the temple with her sixty attendants to pray for the total destruction of the woman who had snatched her husband from her. Triggered, initially, by an exchange of taunting and acerbic remarks, a physical fight erupts between the two women, which in its bloody ferocity threatens to destroy the serenity of the very gods who witness it.

At last, Lorik arrives and brings the two women to their senses. When Cāndā returns home in disgrace, she moans that she has been insulted. Mainā, on the other hand, complains to her mother-in-law, Kholin, that because of Lorik's intervention, Cāndā managed to escape. Mainā, otherwise, had been determined to tear Cāndā clothes off. In anger, Kholin sends a sarcastic message to Cāndā's mother, who, in turn, reprimands Cāndā.

Unable to bear the censure of the townspeople, Cāndā sends Bṛhaspati with a message to Lorik to the effect that if he does not come to elope with her that night, she will take poison the next morning. Lorik has an astrologer calculate the most auspicious moment to travel and, accordingly, the next day at midnight, he helps Cāndā out of her palace. On the way, Lorik stops to say farewell to his brother, Kuṁvaru. When Kuṁvaru learns of his decision, he is greatly distressed and tries to dissuade Lorik. Nevertheless, Lorik and Cāndā, dressed in disguise, proceed on their way to cross the Ganga.

The news of the elopement spreads like wildfire throughout the region. Lorik and Cāndā are about to cross the Ganga when Bāvan, Cāndā's lawfully wedded husband, comes in hot pursuit. In the course of the inevitable struggle which follows, Bāvan shoots three arrows at Lorik, but Lorik successfully fends off all three. Frustrated and mortified, Bāvan curses that a snake should bite Cāndā as a just reward for her conduct.

Bāvan returns to Govar, while Lorik and Cāndā continue on their journey past Kalinga (part of modern Orissa) to the town of Hardi Patan, where Lorik intends to visit some kinsmen. On the way, they have several experiences, some dangerous and some pleasant. It is a full-moon night when they arrive at a Brahmin's home and settle down for the night. They make themselves a flower bed to rest upon. In the night, attracted by the fragrance of the flowers, a snake comes and bites Cāndā. Lorik is tormented with anguish. However, a *gāruḍī* (a person who administers mantras against snakebites) happens to be passing. He revives Cāndā with his mantras. Lorik offers his jewellery to the *gāruḍī*,

but the *gāruḍī* asks for additional valuables and gets them. Lorik and Cāndā are thankful for their stroke of good fortune.

The next evening, they take shelter under a large leafy tree to rest for the night. Near the early hours of dawn, Cāndā succumbs to a second snakebite. Lorik laments for Cāndā for two days and nights. At last, he prepares a funeral pyre of sandalwood and, holding her to his shoulder, he wishes to ignite the fire when another *gāruḍī* comes by. Lorik implores him to revive Cāndā. This time, he compensates the *gāruḍī* with his own weapons and all the valuables that Cāndā was wearing.

When finally Lorik and Cāndā arrive at Hardi Patan, Lorik is dismayed to discover that he does not know anyone there. He is a total stranger to the inhabitants of the region; however, the local king offers Lorik and Cāndā hospitality and they happily live there.

Back in Govar, Mainā and Kholin are inconsolable in Lorik's absence and continue to ask travellers all kinds of questions. After some time, Mainā sends a message to Lorik, begging him to return to Govar. When Lorik receives Mainā's message and hears from the messenger how his family has suffered after his departure from Govar, he weeps. To Cāndā's bitter regret, Lorik prepares to return with her to Govar.

As Lorik nears Govar, he stops a short distance from the city. The inhabitants of Govar suspect that they might be attacked by the newcomer. They begin to strengthen their fortifications and moats in anticipation of a battle. However, for no obvious reason, Mainā starts to feel a sense of relief in her heart which was always burning. Lorik entices Mainā to visit his tent, where, still in disguise, he begins a conversation with her to test her chastity. He is satisfied.

In the course of the conversation, Mainā recognizes Cāndā and once again a physical fight between the two occurs. Lorik, however, cajoles both of them to make peace. He begs Mainā's forgiveness for the pain he has caused her. All of them arrive in Govar where Lorik's mother, Kholin, welcomes both Mainā and Cāndā.

Lorik is shocked to see the deplorable condition to which Mainā and Kholin had been reduced in his absence. He asks his mother where his brother Kuṁvaru is. Kholin tells him that when the news of Lorik's elopement with Cāndā spread throughout the region, Cāndā's father, Sahdev, sent men to take over Lorik's livestock. Kuṁvaru was treacherously killed by Sahdev's men. Sahdev had rejoiced when he heard of Kuṁvaru's assassination. Kholin tells Lorik of the unbearable sorrow she had been forced to endure, which deprived her of sleep in the night and did not let her live during the day.

At this point the *Cāndāyan* narrative stops. On the basis of the oral *Loriki* material, one may guess that, following the tradition of brave warriors, Lorik would not have rested until he had avenged the death of his brother and restored his property to its former glory. According to one recension of *Loriki*, when Lorik challenged his brother's killer to a fight, he came out the victor. According to another recension, Lorik was killed in the struggle and Cāndā and Mainā commit *satī* on his funeral pyre. In the absence of further text, however, we can only conjecture, but never be certain, how Daud's *masnavī* actually came to conclude.

The plot of *Cāndāyan*, described above, has been divided by M. Gupta into 27 parts, as follows:

1. स्तुति खन्ड	Devotional portion
2. गोवर वर्णन खन्ड	Description of Govar
3. चान्दा जन्म एवं विवाह	Birth and marriage of Cāndā
4. चान्दा पितृगृह आगमन	Cāndā's return to her father's house
5. बाजुर-मूर्छा खन्ड	Fainting of Bajur
6. चान्दा श्रृंगार खन्ड	Description of Cāndā's adornment
7. गोवर अभियान खन्ड	Attack on Govar
8. गोवर युद्ध खन्ड	War at Govar
9. प्रथम दर्शन खन्ड	Lorik and Cāndā: The first sight
10. पुनर्दर्शन खन्ड	Lorik and Cāndā see each other again
11. धवलगृह आरोहण	Lorik climbs up the terrace
12. चांदा लोर संवाद खन्ड	Dialogue between Lorik and Cāndā
13. चांदा लोर मिलन खन्ड	Union of Lorik and Cāndā
14. मैना समाधान खन्ड	Pacifying Mainā
15. चांदा मैना विवाद	Argument between Cāndā and Mainā
16. परदेश प्रस्थान खन्ड	Lorik and Cāndā leave the country
17. कुंवरु भेंट खन्ड	Lorik meets his brother Kuṁvaru
18. बावन युद्ध खन्ड	Struggle with Bāvan
19. कलिंग युद्ध खन्ड	War at the Kalinga region
20. प्रथम सर्पदंश खन्ड	First snakebite episode
21. द्वितीय सर्पदंश खन्ड	Second snakebite episode
22. हरदी-पाटन निवास	Living at the Hardi Patan region
23. मैना-संदेश-निवेदन	Mainā's message of entreaty
24. संदेश-प्राप्ति स्वदेशागमन	Receiving message, returning home
25. मैना सतीत्व परीक्षा	The testing of Mainā's chastity
26. गृह आगमन खन्ड	Homecoming episode
27. अन्त खन्ड	The concluding portion

Language

Scholars differ in their opinions regarding the name and linguistic character of the dialect of Hindi in which *Cāndāyan* is composed. There are two main schools of thought, two views as to the term that is to be applied in referring to the language of *Cāndāyan*. One of these has been advocated by Ramchandra Shukla (1965: 75–6), Dwivedi (1975: 58–9), M. Gupta (1967: 72), and S.M. Pandey (1982: 290), who identify the language of the text as Awadhī. The other view, espoused primarily by P. Gupta (P. Gupta 1964: 34), refers to the language as Hindawi.

In his *Evolution of Awadhi*, Baburam Saksena defines Awadhī as follows:

> Awadhī is the main dialect of the Eastern Hindi branch of the Indo-Aryan group of languages spoken in Northern India. The term Awadhī appears to denote the language of Awadh, but, as a matter of fact, the language is not confined to the province of Oudh. In the districts of Lakhimpur, Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur, Bahraich, Barabanki, Rae Bareli, Gonda, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur, Awadhī is spoken in its Western, Central, and Eastern varieties. Other forms of Awadhī such as Bagheli, Tiharī, Gahora and Mandalāhi or Chattisgaṛhi, in the south, are mutually intelligible. (Saksena 1937: 3)

Regarding the origin of the Awadhī language, Saksena differs from Grierson, who connects Eastern Hindi with Ardhamāgadhī. According to Saksena, 'Awadhī has more affinity with Pālī than with Ardhamāgadhī. *Mṛgāvatī*, a romantic poem written in 1512 AD by Qutban in the reign of Sher Shah's father Husein Shah, is possibly the earliest extant work in Awadhī' (Saksena 1937: 1–10).[9]

Saksena also discusses the question of the antiquity of Awadhī. He equates the language of *Mṛgāvatī*, a *masnavī* written in 1512 by Kutuban in the reign of Sher Shah's father Hussain Shah, with Awadhī (Saksena 1937: 15).

M. Gupta, for his part, writes the following: 'In order to get a clearer picture of the linguistic peculiarities of the language of *Cāndāyan*, I compare it with the language of the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, a composition by Damodar which happens to be two hundred years older than *Cāndāyan*' (M. Gupta 1967: 61).

Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who introduces the standard text of the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, refers to the language of that text as Old Kosalī, which he clearly prefers to Old Awadhī. Gupta appropriates Chatterji's characterization of the language of the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* in describing the language of *Cāndāyan*. Gupta writes, 'According to Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the language of *Ukti* is derived from Sanskrit, and is a forerunner of Kosalī, otherwise known as Awadhī. Simultaneously, I compare the language of *Cāndāyan* with that of Jayasi's *Padmāvat*, a composition approximately two hundred years older than *Cāndāyan* (M. Gupta 1967: 61).

After providing an analysis of noun, pronoun, and adjective forms in *Cāndāyan*, M. Gupta concludes,

> Out of the hundred forms that have been compared, it seems that in only four to six cases the linguistic forms of *Cāndāyan* are different from the forms of the *Ukti vyakti prakaraṇa*. Clearly Daud's language seems to be similar to or, in some cases, a more developed form of the language of the *Ukti*. Although it is similar to the language used by Jayasi, it seems to be somewhat more archaic in form. (M. Gupta 1967: 72)[10]

A complicating factor in the argument concerning the identity of the language of *Cāndāyan* has been a dispute between scholars as to the accuracy of the language appearing in various published editions. In particular, S.M. Pandey (1968: 32) has criticised the reliability of discussions based on P. Gupta's reconstruction of the text. He alleges that P. Gupta has made countless errors in the process of reconstructing grammatical forms. Pandey greatly prefers that linguistic discussion of *Cāndāyan* be based on M. Gupta's edition of the text and accepts M. Gupta's identification of the language of *Cāndāyan* as a type of fourteenth-century Awadhī. Continuing his argument, Pandey speculates as to why Daud and other Sufi poets of northern India used the Awadhī dialect for their *masnavī* compositions.

> Mulla Daud, who is considered a pioneer poet of the Sufi Romance tradition, was a resident of Dalmau, which is in the Rae Bareli district. Awadhi is the language spoken in this region. Perhaps in order to cultivate a wider range of audiences for their (Sufi) message, the Sufi saints decided to compose their *masnavīs* in the lingua franca. It is a well-recorded fact that, during their discourses, Nizamuddin Aulia and his spiritual masters before him spoke in Hindawi language (later named Awadhi). Many of Amir Khusrau's (d. 1325) compositions are in the Awadhi language. After making India their home, it is hardly surprising that the Sufi poets adopted the regional dialect to compose their *masnavīs*. Awadhi was the most suitable choice because the subject matter of their compositions was often inspired by the local folklore. (S.M. Pandey 1961: 290)

However, P. Gupta argues that R. Shukla's identification of the language of the Sufi romances with Awadhī has been uncritically accepted. He also criticises the view of Pandey, that equates the language of *Cāndāyan* with that of an eleventh-century Apabhraṁśa

text, *Rāula Vela*, ascribed to Roṛā. Pandey based his view on the published edition of *Rāula Vela* prepared by his teacher, M. Gupta. There, M. Gupta designates the language of *Rāula Vela* as a southern dialect of Kosalī, which he in turn considers to be a subtype of Awadhi (M. Gupta 1963(a): 23). P. Gupta finds Pandey's argument unconvincing and says the language is a form of Hindawi. A major portion of his reasoning is as follows:

> Regarding the language of *Cāndāyan*, Shyam Manohar Pandey mentions another poetic composition of the eleventh century, namely *Rāula Vela*, written by Roṛā. Part of the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay, it is an incomplete composition, etched on the flat surface of a stone. Mataprasad Gupta has published a reading of *Rāula Vela* in *Hindi Anuśīlan* in which he has declared the language of *Rāula Vela* to be the Kosali of a southern branch. S.M. Pandey declares that the discovery of *Rāula Vela* and its linguistic analysis makes our task of gaining insight into the language of *Cāndāyan* easier. Now we can easily deduce that in the early centuries of the present millennium, poetic compositions were being written in a southern branch of Kosalī, which is a form of Awadhi. (P. Gupta 1964: 34)

P. Gupta continues,

> Pandey writes with complete conviction that Awadhi was the language of the Dalmau region. Daud must have chosen Awadhi in order to cultivate a wider audience. Traditionally, the Sufi poets had been partial to the language of their region. Consequently, the Sufi poets living in the Punjab region composed *Sassi-Punno* and *Hīr-Rānjhā* in the Punjabi language. Similarly Daulat Qazi and other poets who resided in Bengal composed their works in Bangla. I am surprised that the fact that *Cāndāyan* was neither composed in an Awadhi environment nor was it initially recited for the benefit of the Awadhi speaking public, was completely ignored. . . .
>
> *Cāndāyan*, as is clearly stated by Abdul Qadir Badayuni, was composed in honor of Jauna Shah, the prime minister of Delhi. Shaikh Rabbani used to recite parts of it for the general public from the pulpit. Obviously, *Cāndāyan* was composed in a language which could be understood by the prime minister as well as by the local population. Badayuni clearly states that the language of *Cāndāyan* is Hindawi. He must have used the term 'Hindawi' to define that language which was contemporarily used by the Sufi saints during their discourses and was easily understood by nobility and public alike. Therefore, Awadhi is not an appropriate name for this language because it is confining in its geographical scope. (P. Gupta 1964: 32)

P. Gupta then presents his own comparative analysis of the linguistic forms of *Ukti* and *Cāndāyan* and concludes:

> If Awadhī be the language of *Ukti*, then the linguistic features of *Cāndāyan* do not bear any resemblance with the former. On the basis of the present analysis I declare that M. Gupta as well as S.M. Pandey both are wrong in their thesis. Only after a more detailed and scientific study of the linguistic features of *Cāndāyan* could we arrive at the right conclusion. (P. Gupta 1964: 31–5)

Given the seeming discrepancies in the characterizations of the language of *Cāndāyan* that refer to it variously as Awadhī, Old Kosalī, Hindawi, etc., one might conclude that there is substantive disagreement as to the empirical characteristics of the text under discussion. This is not the case, however. In fact, this seeming disagreement is about terminology only and has little to do with matters of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

It is well known that the phonological and morphological inventories of early NIA texts vary greatly, and even closely related manuscripts of the same text often show points of linguistic difference.

What, then, is the most appropriate way of placing the language of *Cāndāyan* on a linguistic map of early NIA literary languages? It is clear that the speech form in question, in both the published editions of P. Gupta and of M. Gupta, is an early form of an eastern Hindi dialect variously referred to as Awadhī, Kosalī, etc. Although there are some general similarities to the language of both *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* and *Rāula Vela*, these similarities are mostly superficial. A more substantial equation is with the language of later *masnavī* texts, most particularly that of *Padmāvat*. We are fortunate in that Lakshmi Dhar, in his excellent 1949 edition and study of the work, has provided us with the tools for describing the language of the text. His work, which is based upon six manuscripts dated as early as 1969, contains a grammatical sketch and a complete index verborum. By comparing grammatical forms and vocabulary in published editions of *Cāndāyan* with the grammatical and other linguistic information given by Lakshmi Dhar, one can be confident in stating that if the language of *Cāndāyan* and *Padmāvat* are not identical, they at least occupy the same linguistic universe.

A detailed grammatical analysis of *Cāndāyan* language is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and it would not be productive to give a full morphological inventory of forms occurring in *Cāndāyan*. Rather, I shall confine myself to a summary (see tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3) of some of the more noticeable morphological features evident in *Cāndāyan*. For this summary, I rely heavily on materials described by M. Gupta (1967: 60–72).[11]

The verbal system of *Cāndāyan* differs in few significant respects

Table 2.1. Morphological Features of Nouns

Case	Singular[1/]	Plural[1/]	Singular[1/]	Plural[1/]	Post-Position
Nominative (kartā)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	–
Objective (karma)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	-a (-u)	–
Instrumental (karaṇa)	(-aiṁ)	–	-nha[2/]	-nha[2/]	seuṁ, setiṁ, saiṁ
Dative (saṁpradāna)	-hi	-hi	–	–	kahaṁ, lāgi
Adlative (apādāna)	–	–	–	–	huta
Genitive (saṁbandha)	-kar	-ke	-ka (-kai)	-ke	–
Locative (adhikaraṇa)	-a(-i)	-aiṁ	-a (i)	-aiṁ	manjh
Vocative (saṁbodhana)	-a or -e[3/]	-a or -e[3/]	-a or -e[3/]	-a or -e[3/]	–

[1/] Parentheses indicate inflectional suffixes
[2/] Variations of -nha may also occur.
[3/] *Re* occurs before or after nouns in the vocative case.

Table 2.2. Morphological Features of Pronouns

Pronoun	Singular 1st	Singular 2nd	Singular 3rd	Plural 1st	Plural 2nd	Plural 3rd	Post-Position
Nominative	maiṁ	taiṁ, tū, tuma	so	hauṁ			
Objective	mohi		tehiṁ			setem, setim	tehi
Dative	mohi		tehiṁ			setem, setim	tehi
Genitive	mora (m), tor mori (f)			hamār			

from that of *Padmāvat*, as studied by Dhar (1949). *Cāndāyan's* verb system has been studied by both P. Gupta and M. Gupta, although the P. Gupta's analysis has been criticised by S.M. Pandey (1982) on methodological grounds. The particular configuration of competing suffixes for any particular verbal category does not dovetail exactly with that of *Padmāvat*, but the sets of variants in the two works

Table 2.3. Morphological Features of Demonstratives, Reflexives, Interrogatives, and Adjectives

	Singular Masculine	Singular Feminine	Plural Masculine	Plural Feminine
Proximate Demonstratives[1/]	eha	ehi, ehiṁ	eha	ehi, ehiṁ
Remote Demonstratives[1/]	so, teiṁ, tehiṁ	so, teiṁ, tehiṁ	so, teiṁ, tehiṁ	so, teiṁ, tehiṁ
Reflexive	–	apanī[2/]	–	apanī[2/]
Interrogatives	kavana	kavani	kavane	keiṁ
Adjectives[3/]	-a	-i	-a	-i

[1/] Indicative form.
[2/] Occurs in feminine form only.
[3/] Exceptions to these suffixes occurs when changes are dictated by the metrics.

nevertheless, are sufficiently close to all the verbal systems of the two works to be considered as essentially the same.

A detailed examination of the linguistic features of *Cāndāyan* is needed. In its vast scope, such a project would itself constitute a great and interesting undertaking. However, it should necessarily be a separate and independent work. Lakshmi Dhar's *Padumavati* (1949) is a model for such a study. Saksena's *Evolution of Awadhi* (1971) and S.K. Chatterji's work on Damodar's *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* would certainly be of great help in such a proposed project. It will be impossible to justify extensive discussion of the linguistic features of *Cāndāyan* within the compass of the project at hand.

Thus, as was the case for *Padmāvat* (Dhar 1949: 18), the verbal system in *Cāndāyan* can be seen to comprise the present, the future, and the past in the indicative mood and the present and the future in the imperative mood. In addition, the text displays the use of periphrastic tenses formed with combinations of participial forms of main verbs with inflected forms of auxiliary verbs.

In conclusion, what makes the study of the language of *Cāndāyan* interesting is that it represents a transitional phase. This is a very significant feature from the standpoint of linguistics. The postpositional system, a distinguishing feature of modern Hindi, is not yet consistently in place. However, the inflexional system is also observed in the language of *Cāndāyan*.

NOTES

1. What little information is available has been reported in publications by P. Gupta (1964), M. Gupta (1967), S.M. Pandey (1968, 1979, 1989), and Jauhari (1990).
2. It has been a traditional practice of Sufi monasteries (*khānqāhs*) to maintain extensive administrative records, collectively referred to as *malfūzāt* (literally, records). Within the *malfūzāt* of a particular *khānqāh*, the sermons of the presiding shaikh are recorded. A discussion of the use of *malfūzāt* as sources of historical, social, and political information is given in Rizvi (1975: 1–17).
3. The standard edition of Badauni is Ranking (1976). Biographical information on Badauni is contained in Beale (1971: 4).
4. Biographical information on Sufi saints, some of whom were contemporaries of Daud, and one of whom, Shaikh Zainuddin, was Daud's spiritual preceptor (pīr), is contained in Mohaddis Dehlavi's (d. 1692) *Akhbārul Akhiyār*. Dehlavi was a contemporary of Akbar. Pandey discusses the aforementioned text in which information regarding Daud is contained (1968: 2). Other discussions of Daud's contemporaries can be found in S.M. Pandey (1978 and 1982), Jauhari (1990: 159), G. Sharma (1973: 1–10), P. Gupta (1964: 19–20) and M. Gupta (1967: 1–3).
5. The meaning of the phrase 'nine black letters' (नौ अक्षर कारे) is not clear. The phrase undoubtedly stems from the practice of attributing esoteric meaning to individual letters of the Arabic alphabet. For a discussion of the Islamic practices of interpreting letters (*ilm-i-abjad*), see Bakhtiar (1976: 114) and Schimmel (1994: 113–76).
6. P. Gupta's *Cāndāyan* (1964: 6–15).
7. *Siṁha-dvār*, literally lion-gate, is a common architectural feature of many regal buildings in Asia and elsewhere symbolizing royal splendour. Either the gate to the garden which surrounds the palace or the actual palace building has two huge statues of lions on either side of its doors, as if guarding them.
8. A woman of beauty and accomplishment, hence belonging in the first of four traditional classes of women.
9. This observation is understandable because the existence of *Cāndāyan* was not known until the early 1940s.
10. M. Gupta's edition of *Cāndāyan* (1967) offers a detailed comparative study of the language of *Ukti, Cāndāyan*, and *Padmāvat*. The information provided here is only a summary.
11. At the very beginning of his discussion of the language of the composition, Mata Prasad Gupta states, 'Like many issues concerning Daud, his language also is a controversial issue.' To see an analysis of the adjectival forms from the 'Second Snakebite Episode' of the composition, M.P. Gupta refers us to the Newsletter of the Agra Vidyapith 'Bharatiya Sahita' (no issue number or details are provided in the footnote 86). The article 'Dauda ki Bhasha', according to M.P. Gupta is 'prakashaniya', worthy of publication (Gupta 1967: 60).