

HISTORY of the CANDELLAS

of JEJĀKĀBHUKTI.

by

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Synopsis.

Subject. History of the Candellas of Vejākabhukti.

The history of the Candellas was first traced by Smith in an article in 1908 and then by Dr. H. C. Ray in a chapter of his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Volume II, in 1936. These two scholars gave only a very brief political history of the dynasty with cursory references to other aspects of Candella history. This is the first effort to trace the full history of the Candellas with the help of inscriptions, contemporary literary works, Moslem sources, monographs and a large number of articles with important bearing on the Candellas. Besides the political history, I have discussed the administrative system, social, cultural and religious life in the Candella kingdom in detail. I have also tried to point out the significance of the Candellas in relation to the general history of India, and the history of Central and Northern India in particular.

The first chapter traces the origin, and early history of the dynasty. The second and third chapters deal with its rise under Harṣa and Yaśovarman and its supremacy under Dhāṅga and Vidyādhara. The fourth chapter discusses the decline of the Candellas and their revival under Kīrtivarman. The fifth chapter traces their history from the reign of Madanavarman to their final collapse. The administrative, socio-economic, religious and cultural history of the dynasty is discussed in chapter VI and VII. The significance of the Candellas and their contribution to Indian history has been pointed out in the last chapter. Finally, in the Appendix, a critical estimate of the traditional sources has been made, and a few unpublished Candella inscriptions have been included with facsimilies.

Preface.

The Candellas were one of the most important dynasties of Northern India between the decline of the Pratihāras and the establishment of Moslem rule in India. Practically nothing was known of the dynasty until the publication of Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, (Volumes II, X and XXI). The value and importance of these reports and the contribution of Cunningham can be measured by the fact that even today no study of the period is possible without the help of his Reports, and many of the conclusions made by Cunningham, from the limited material available to him, still stand today. On the basis of these Reports and other inscriptions, Smith wrote a scholarly article on the Candellas in 1908, in Volume XXXVII of the Indian Antiquary. At that time the history of the Candellas and other Rājput dynasties was still very obscure, and little of the period was known until the publication of Dr. H.C. Ray's Dynastic History of Northern India in two volumes in 1931 and 1936. The two volumes of Dr. Ray not only contributed immensely to the knowledge of the history of the dynasties, but also emphasized the vast scope of the subject and the need for further research. Naturally the chapters of Dr. Ray on the Rājput dynasties were neither exhaustive nor complete, but his work

more than served its purpose, - expressed by Dr. Ray himself as, "a preparatory clearing ground" for future researches.

The nature and sphere of my work has already been explained in the synopsis. But before I conclude, I must express my gratitude to Mr. S.C. Dutta and Dr. G.C. Ray-Chaudhury of the Calcutta University, for helping and encouraging me to take up research in this subject. I am grateful to Dr. Hardy and Dr. Williams of the School of Oriental and African Studies, with whom I have read the Persian texts and the inscriptions. I am also thankful to Dr. J.D.M. Derrett of the School, my friend and colleague Mr. A.K. Narain, and to Professor C.H. Philips and the History Seminar for their useful suggestions. But above all, it is impossible to express my gratitude and regards for Dr. A.L. Basham, but for whose constant day to day guidance, help and encouragement, the work would never have been possible.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	i
List of Abbreviations	v
 <u>CHAPTER I.</u>	
ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS	1
(i) Origin	1
(ii) Variations of the name Candella	13
(iii) Site of the Candella Kingdom and origin of the name Jejākabhukti	15
(iv) Early History of the Dynasty	20
 <u>CHAPTER II.</u>	
RISE OF THE CANDELLAS: HARṢA AND YAŚOVARMAN	31
(i) Harṣa	31
(ii) Yaśovarman	39
 <u>CHAPTER III.</u>	
THE CANDELLA KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH: DHANĠA AND VIDYĀDHARA	55
(i) Dhanġa	55
(ii) Gaṇḍa	71
(iii) Vidyādhara	72
 <u>CHAPTER IV.</u>	
HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY FROM c.A.D.1030 to c.1129	94
The beginning of the decline; Temporary restoration by Kīrtivarman	94
(i) Vijayapāla	94
(ii) Devavarman	98
(iii) Kīrtivarman	99
(iv) Sallakṣanavarman	110
(v) Jayavarman	113
(vi) Prthvīvarman	115
 <u>CHAPTER V.</u>	
MADANAVARMAN TO FINAL COLLAPSE	117
(i) Madanavarman	117
(ii) Yaśovarman	126
(iii) Paramardideva	127
(iv) Trailokyavarman	136
(v) Vīravarman	149
(vi) Bhojavarman	152
(vii) Hammīravarman	153

<u>CHAPTER VI.</u>		
CANDELLA ADMINISTRATION		Page 157
<u>CHAPTER VII.</u>		
SOCIETY, RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE		203
(i) Society		203
(ii) Religion		210
(iii) Architecture		217
(iv) Sculpture		225
<u>CHAPTER VIII.</u>		
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANDELLAS		229
<u>APPENDIX.</u>		
(i) Coinage of the Dynasty		243
(ii) Identification of Trailokyavarman with Trailokyamalla		243 249
(iii) Traditional Account of the conflict between Prthvirāja and Paramardi		252
(iv) Three Unpublished Candella Inscriptions		264
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY		270
LIST OF CANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS		279
CANDELLA GENEALOGY		284
<u>PLATES.</u>		
		Between pp,
(1) Plan of Kandāriya Mahādeo temple		220-221
(2) Pillar and ceiling decoration of Khajuraho temple		223-224
(3) Kandāriya Mahādeo temple		223-224
(4) Maithuna Couple		227-228
(5) A female figure		227-228
(6) Statue of Simhānāda Avalokiteśvara		228-229
(7) Chhatarpur Inscription of Maṇavarman		264-265
(8) Tehari Copper Plate of Trailokyavarman		266-267
(9) Panna Candella Inscription of Samvat 1366		269-270
<u>MAPS.</u>		
(1) The Candella Kingdom		18-19
(2) The Candella Kingdom in relation to other states in A.D.1100		235-236

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AI	R.C. Majumdar, Ancient India.
ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports.
BG	Bombay Gazetteer.
Bh. Annals ...	Bhandarkar Annals.
Briggs	Tārīkh I Farishta, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, London, 1827.
Bulak	Al-Tārīkh ul Kāmil, of Ibn ul-Athīr, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX.
CCIM	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
CMI	Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India.
Dey	Tabaqāt I-Akbarī of Nizāmuddīn, Translated by B. Dey, (Bibliotheca Indica), 1917.
DHI	C.V. Vaidya, Downfall of Hindu India.
DHNI	H.C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
EHI	V. Smith, Early History of India.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
Elliot	Tāj ul-Ma'Āthir of Hasan Nizāmī, Extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 204-243.
HDS	P.V. Kane, History of the Dharmasāstras.
HEAIA	J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.
HMHI	C.V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India.
HOB	R.C. Majumdar, History of Bengal.
HOK	R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest.
HOPD	D.C. Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IC	Indian Culture.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Arch.	Percy Brown, Indian Architecture.
Ind. Sc.	Stella Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS (N.S.)	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JOIH	Journal of Indian History.
JOL	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
JOUPHS	The Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kautilya	Kautilya's Arthasāstra.
LOA	The Lay of Alha.

LTOSG	M. Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna.
Manu	Manu Śmṛti.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NIA	New Indian Antiquary.
PAIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Conference.
Pb.M.Pm.....	Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara.
P.Ch. Thesis ...	Jaidev, Prābodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Misra.
RATT	A.S. Altekar, The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times.
Rāso	Prthvirāj Rāso of Cand Bardai.
Raverty	Tābaqāt I Nāsirī, Translated by Raverty, Vol. I, London, 1881.
Reynolds	Kitāb I Yamīnī, Translated by J. Reynolds, London, 1858.
SAI	Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India.
SGAI	A.S. Altekar, State and Government in Ancient India.
Śukra	Śukranīti.
TCCPI	R.V. Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Vol. IV.
Tod	J. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS.

1. ORIGIN:

The earliest traditions of the Candella family as recorded in their inscriptions trace its origin to the moon, implying that it was connected with the ancient lunar race of Kṣatriyas. The Batesvar inscription of Paramārdi states, "From the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god (1) (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. From him sprang this race which has shone with its bright fame, as if (decorated) with pearls. In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the Chandrātreyā princes, who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the host of enemies" (2). Another Candella inscription records that Brahman from his own mind created Marīchi and other sages. The most distinguished among these sages was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon and whose son

(1) "the moon, borne on the head of Śiva, the husband of Pārvatī", - EI, Vol. I, p.212, fn. 50.

(2) EI, Vol. I, pp.208-209, vs. 3-4.

was the sage Candrātreyā the progenitor of the distinguished race called after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts. (1). Other Candella inscriptions also allude to this same story.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Candellas to the moon. According to one legend, originally given by the bard Cand, the Candellas were descended from Hemāvati, daughter of a Brāhmaṇa Purohita of Indrajit, the Gahrwar Rājā of Banaras. "Hemāvati was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rati Talab, she was seen and embraced by Chandramā, the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemāvati cursed him. "Why do you curse me?" said Chandramā, "your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches." Hemāvati enquired, "How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?" "Fear not" replied Chandramā, "your son will be born on the bank of the Karṇavatī River: then take him to Khajurāya, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will reign, and will become a great king. He will possess the philosopher's stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of Kālāñjar he will build a fort. When your son is 16 years of age you must perform a Bhānda Jag

(1) E.l. vol. I, no. 3-12, p. 138, vs. 8-12.

to wipe away your disgrace, and then leave Banāras to live at Kālañjar."

"According to this prophecy, Hemāvati's child, like another Chandramā was born At 16 years of age, he killed a tiger, when Chandramā appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone and taught him polity (rājnit). Then he built the fort of Kālañjar, after which he went to Kharjūrpur, where he performed a sacrifice (Jag or Yajñya) to do away with his mother's shame, and built 85 temples Lastly, he went to Mahotsava, or Mahoba, the place of Chandramā's 'great festival', which he made his capital". (1).

There is yet another legend regarding the origin of the dynasty. According to this, the original birthplace of the Candellas was Kālañjara. "The king of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (pūranmāsī), whereas it was really the Amāvas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear at once full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared, and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house;

(1) ASR - Vol. II, pp. 445-446. For a slightly different story, see F.N. Wright's "The Chandel Thakurs", IA, Vol. II, p.33-34.

so she wandered into the jungle, and there her child was born. There a Banāphar Rājput saw her and took her home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone, and as his name was Mani Rām, he is now worshipped as Maniyā Deva." (1). The girl's son became the founder of the dynasty.

Modern scholars do not place any reliance upon the connection of the Candellas with the lunar race of Kṣatriyas. Dr. Vincent Smith called the story of Cand a 'silly legend', the only significance of which is in its "implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation, which was best attained by including it in the group of 'moon descended' Rājputs, and adding respectability by inventing a Brāhman ancestress." (2). Smith thought that the Candellas were in origin a non-Aryan people, associated with the aboriginal Gonds and Bhars. For his assumption, Smith depended on the following arguments. Firstly, the Candellas are admittedly of impure descent, but have no connection with the immigrants from the north-west, such as the Hūnas, who are largely represented by the 'fire descended' Rājputs, such as the Cāhamānas. Secondly, the local traditions

(1) The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II, pp. 196-7. This legend was compiled by Crooke from notes of two school teachers of Sumerpur and Mahoba. - Ibid. p.196, fn. 3.

(2) I.A. vol. XXXVII, pp. 136-7.

of the many villages over which the Candellas ruled, mention the Gonds, Kols, Bhīls, Bhars, Chāmars etc., and other low caste and outcaste peoples as the original occupiers of the land. For these reasons Smith believed that the Candellas were "a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the personnel of the local court, but who never supplanted the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty". Thirdly, in Mahoba there is a temple of Maniyā Deo, the tutelary deity of the Candella kings. Smith stated that the image of this deity is akin to those of the Gond deities, a fact which further supports his assumption. Lastly, the poet Cand associates Maniyāgarh (traditionally the original home of the Candellas) with a Gond chieftain. Moreover, the story of the marriage of Durgāvati of the Candella line with the Rājā of Garha Mondla, according to Smith, shows the prevailing intercourse between the Candellas and Gonds, even as late as the 16th century. Relying on these arguments, Smith strongly suggested that the myth of the union of Hemāvati with the moon was invented to conceal the fact that the Candellas really sprang from an aboriginal stock. As the Gaharwars preceded the Candellas, Smith believed that it is very likely that the Candellas are the result of crossing Gaharwar with Bhar and Gond blood. He, however, was more inclined to the view that

the Candellas were originally Hinduised Gonds, but added that, as the Gonds and Bhars are said to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance. (1).

Mr. R.V. Russell supports the view of Smith and takes the Candellas to be a section of one of the indigenous tribes which rose to power. But while Smith inclined to the view that the Candellas were originally Gonds, Russell thinks that they sprang from the aboriginal Bhars. (2). He puts forward the following arguments in support of his conclusion.

According to traditions, the Gonds come from the South and practically never penetrated into Bundelkhand, Saugor and Damoh being almost their furthest limit to the north-west. The Gonds have no tradition of their dominance in Bundelkhand and their existence is first recorded several centuries after the commencement of the Candella dynasty. Unlike the Gonds, the Bhars were famous builders. This is supported by Elliot's remarks that 'common tradition assigns to the Bhars the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and many old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur,

(1). JASB, Vol. XLVI, pt. I, pp.229-236.
IA, Vol. XXXVII, pp.136-137.

(2) Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India,
Vol. IV, pp.441.

Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilisation". Russell, on the basis of local tradition, believes that the Gaharwars with whom the Candellas are legendarily connected, were an aristocratic section of the Bhars. Smith, himself, said that the shrine of Maniyā Deo, discovered by him in the Hamirpur district, was in a village reputed formerly to have been held by Bhars. (1). The instance of the marriage of Rānī Durgāvati in the 16th century, and Cand's story of Candella Rājā Kīrat Singh's hunting at Maniyāgarh with the Gond Rājā of Garha-Mandla can hardly be satisfactory evidences of a racial connection between the two tribes. Moreover, the modern Candellas are numerous in Mirzāpur, which was formerly the chief seat of the Bhars, while the Gonds have never been either numerous or important in Mirzapur. Lastly, Russell suggests that, "the Candellas may have been simply a local branch of the Gaharwars, who obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi, or in some other manner, as has continually happened in the case of other clans. The

(1) JASB, Vol. XLVI, p. 233.

Gaharwars were probably derived from the Bhars". (1).

The view that the Candellas are, by origin, Gonds or Bhars, has not remained unchallenged. Dr. C.V. Vaidya has taken strong exception to it and has vehemently criticised Smith. (2). About the legend of the origin of the Candellas, Vaidya says that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from Vedic times, and lead to no inference either as to the baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. These stories are to be set aside as mere fancies. Vaidya points out that the Candellas are not regarded as a clan of impure descent. Among the list of 36 Royal families mentioned by Cand, the name Chhand is among the very first. Vaidya believes that this name stands for Candella. Moreover, the name 'Chandel' is mentioned by Tod as occurring in the Kumārapāla Sanskrit Mss. list incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the names of the 36 traditional Rājput families. Epigraphic evidence shows intermarriage between the Candellas and another well known Rājput dynasty. (3).

T.C.C.P.I. Vol. IV.

- (1). *Ind. Ant.* pp.440-443. W.C. Bennett says that the Candellas were descendents of a Bhar king, who got himself admitted as a Kāyasth into the Hindu Caste system, and whose descendents were promoted to be Chhattris, and were subsequent known as 'Chandels' - I.A. Vol. I, pp. 265-6.
Bennett's arguments are now quite obsolete.
- (2). HMHI, Vol. II, pp. 130-133.
- (3). E.I. - Vol. I, p. 126. vs. 21.

Vaidya does not agree with Smith that because the Candellas originated in the midst of the Gonds they were Gonds themselves. He says that the instinct of the Rājput leads him to go into wild regions inhabited by aborigines and carve out a small kingdom for himself if he has no room in the Aryan country. Referring to the belief of Candella Zamindars of Mahoba that their family are autochthonous. (1). Vaidya says that when we know from history that the Candellas have been in Mahoba for nearly one thousand years, it is not surprising that the Zamindars believe that they have been there from the beginning of time. Vaidya says "In fact the Chandels have been in Gond land at Manyāgarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Kushan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land, viz, the Panjab and the Gangetic Valley". He rejects Smith's argument based on the tutelary deity Maniyā Deo (or Devī) and says that the statement that the deity is akin to Gond deities is vague, and even if it be accepted, it does not prove that the Candellas are themselves Gonds. The story that in the 16th century Maniyāgarh was associated with a Gond Chief has nothing to do with the origin of the Candella dynasty. Lastly, Vaidya says it is very strange that the story of Rānī Durgāvātī, which proves the greatness and purity

(1). I.A. Vol. XXXVII, p. 137.

of the dynasty, should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary. (1).

One thing that emerges very clearly from these arguments is that the views of the scholars are largely based on legends, traditions and accounts of later writers. The arguments of both Vaidya and Smith are not without flaws. Vaidya's objection to the supposition that the myth of Hemāvatī's union with the moon was an attempt to conceal the low origin of the Candellas, is quite reasonable. Moreover, as pointed out by both Russell and Vaidya, the story of Kīrat Singh's hunting at Maniyāgarh with a Gond Chieftain and Rānī Durgāvatī's marriage are far from satisfactory evidences. Similarly, Vaidya's arguments are by no means convincing. Even if we accept his identification of 'Chhand' with Candella, it is to be remembered that Cand's epic is unreliable and very late. The Kumārapāla Carita was written in the 12th century A.D., by which time the Candellas had perhaps succeeded in passing themselves off as good Kṣatriyas. Another weakness of Vaidya's arguments is that he has mainly tried to counteract the view of Smith, rather than put forward

(1) HMHI - Vol. II, pp.130-133.

evidence to support his own hypothesis that the Candellas were originally Kṣatriyas and that they probably came to Mahoba during the Kuṣāna or Hūna invasions of India.

Whatever may be the weakness of Smith's arguments, his assumption that the Candellas sprang from aboriginal Gonds and Bhars seems quite feasible. Kielhorn's suspicion that the name Candrātreyā taken by the members of the family is a later word, which owes its origin to the desire of having a more sanskritic name (1) supports Smith's theory. Dr. R. C. Majumdar also subscribes to Smith's view. Analysing the causes of the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas in the early mediaeval period, he suggests that the Candellas, though ranked as Kṣatriyas, were originally aborigines and were later incorporated in Aryan Society. As these kings had no glorious traditions behind them, they looked up to the Brāhmaṇas for the social prestige and status which only the Brāhmaṇas could give. (2)

It is also significant that both the legends connect the Gaharwars with the origin of the Candellas. Considering the close associations of the Gonds, Bhars, Gaharwars and early Candellas and especially the similarities between the Gaharwars and the Candellas as builders of embankments one

(1) IA, Vol.XVIII, p.237

(2) AI - p.503

cannot but suspect a relation between the two.

We are inclined to agree with Russell that the Candellas probably sprang from the Bhars and not from the Gonds. Not only are Russell's arguments more convincing, but even Smith agrees that, "it is, however, well known that the Bhars were once numerous in Banda, and the information which I have collected proves that in former times they lived in every part of the Hamirpur district, and were even found in the Jhansi district west of the Dhasān River." (1)

Probably the strongest argument in favour of this view is the similarity between the Bhars and the Candellas as great builders, which suggests that the latter continued the tradition of the former. In conclusion a note of caution should be added. As has already been said, the views on the origin of the dynasty are based on local traditions, legend and later literary works. There is really no evidence reliable enough to lead to any definite conclusion. The opinions expressed are mere hypotheses, and the possible truth may ultimately lie in Smith's suggestion that as the Gonds and

(1) JASB, Vol. XLVI, pt. I, p.227

The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamirpur district is attested by local names in every paragona. Of the many a few examples are: the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Paragona Sumerpur) is Bhoruā, and in paraganas of Maudhā, Panwārī - Jaitpur and Rā th, respectively we find localities named Bharsawān, Bharwārā, Bharkarī or Barkharī, and Bhanraurā Kherā, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition. - Ibid. pp.227-228

the Bhars seem to have been closely akin, the Candellas may have shared both Bhar and Gond blood, (1) and, we may add, Gaharwar as well.

II. VARIATIONS of the name CANDELLA:

The earliest inscription of the dynasty, the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhaṅga of A.D.954, gives the name of the family as Candrātreyā. (2) In later inscriptions the name is found in other forms. The six short Dudhai Stone inscriptions of Devalabdhī furnish an older form of the name of the family. In these inscriptions the family is mentioned as Candrella instead of the later Candella. Kielhorn takes

(1) IA, Vol. XXXVII, p.136.

In his article on the origin of the Lunar and Solar tribes, Baden Powell says, "Another considerable group (especially in Oudh and the North-west Provinces) escape the effort to trace them very far, because their only tangible tradition derives the existing clan from a single adventurous chief, whose name is sometimes suggestive of non-Aryan origin, but that is all. Once more, it is practically certain that several clans of respectable place in history, are really of mixed blood - the descendants of some well connected ancestors who married a female of inferior rank, or of foreign birth, or of no rank at all." To such a clan according to Baden Powell, belongs the Candellas. He divides the Rājput tribes into five categories. (i) Yadubansi, (ii) Reputed Lunar (Candrabansi or Sombansi) (iii) Reputed Solar (Surajbansi) (iv) Agnikula, and (v) Unknown. Baden Powell puts the Candellas in the last category and thinks them to be of mixed origin and certainly not Sombansi - JRAS. 1899, pp.536, 555-63;

(2) E.I., Vol.I, p.125, vs.7.

the word Candrella to be a derivative, by means of the Prākṛit suffix 'illa', from Candra, 'the moon', 'formed like Bhāilla from Bhās'. He suspects that the name Candrātreyā is a later word, which owes its origin to the desire for a somewhat more Sanskritic name. (1) Most of the Candella Copper Plates begin with the praise of Candrātreyā - Narendrānām Vaṁśa, which seems to indicate that the family was thought to have originated from two mythical progenitors Candra and Atri. In the Deogarh rock inscription of Kīrtivarman, the form Caṁdella occurs. (2) The Banaras grant of Lakṣmīkarṇa Kalacuri gives the form Candella. (3) The form Candela occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja III. (4) Vaidya suggests that the name of the family was a gotra name, such as was regularly adopted by the Brāhmanas and often by Kṣatriyas also, the name being derived from the gotra ancestor Candrātreyā, in the same way as Pārāsara is the name of a Brahmin family claiming descent from Pārāsara. (5)

(1) IA, Vo. XVIII, pp.236-237

(2) IA, Vol. XVIII, p.238

(3) EI, Vol.II, p.306, vs. 8

(4) ASR, Vol. XXI, p,174

(5) DHI, Vol.II, p.179.

III. SITE OF THE CANDELLA KINGDOM AND ORIGIN OF THE NAME
JELAKABHUKTI:

Before tracing the early history and the rise of the Candellas, we must describe the region over which the dynasty ruled for about four hundred years. The tract of land that lies to the south of Jumna and north of the Vindhya, east of the Betwa or Vetrāvati River, and west of the River Tons or Tamasā, is now known as Bundelkhand, after the Bundellas, who ruled there from about the middle of the 14th century A.D. Bundelkhand is now a part of Vindhya Pradesh which was formed by union of 35 Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand States on April 2, 1946 with a total area of 24,600 square miles, and which is situated between Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The soil of the region is fertile and it has an annual rainfall of about 40 inches. Vindhya Pradesh is situated in the centre of the Indian Union and development of transport and communications is one of the most essential present day needs of the State. This same problem faced the Candellas a thousand years ago, and as will be shown in our final chapter, this was one of the obstacles in the way of setting up a strong central administration. Some of the districts like Sangor, Jabalpur, Jhansi, Hamirpur, etc. that were parts of the Candella empire are now portions of modern Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. (1)

(1) Hindusthan Year Book 1952.

According to tradition, the original home of the Candellas was at Maniyāgarh in Chhatarpur State. The eight Candella forts mentioned in tradition are, Barigarh, Kālañjar, Ajaygarh, Maniyāgarh, Marphā, Maudhā, Garhā, and Mahiyar. (1) Of these eight places, only Kālañjar and Ajaygarh are mentioned in Candella inscriptions. (2) The boundaries of the Kingdom varied from time to time. But there is little doubt that from the middle of the 10th century to the second half of the 13th century, the Candella Kingdom always included Khajuraho, Kālañjar, and Ajaygarh.

Khajuraho, with its magnificent temples, Kālañjar with its strong fortress, and Ajaygarh with its palace, are usually regarded as the religious, military and civil capitals of the Candellas. (3) The ancient city of Khajuraho is situated 34 miles to the south of Mahoba, 27 miles to the east of Chhatarpur and 25 miles to the north-west of Panna. Ābu Rihān, who accompanied Sultān Maḥmūd in his campaign against Kālañjar in A.D.1022, mentions it as Khajurahah, the capital of Jajahuti.

(1) IA, Vol. XXXVII. pp. 132.

(2) The fort of Ajaygarh is always mentioned as Jayapuradurga in the inscriptions.

(3) IA, Vol. XXXVII. pp.132.

Ibn Batūta, who visited it about A.D.1335, calls it Kajura and described it as having a lake about one mile in length surrounded by idol temples. (1) In a Candella inscription we find the term Kharjjuravāhaka, which is the older name of Khajuraho. (2)

The famous fort of Kālañjara is situated 90 miles to the west-south-west of Allahabad, and 60 miles to the north-west of Rewa. The fort stands on an isolated flat topped hill of the Vindhya range. It was captured by Yaśovarman about the middle of the 10th century, and from then onwards was the most important place in the Candella Kingdom. Many inscriptions of the dynasty have been found at Kālañjara. The history and antiquities of Kālañjara have been described in detail by Cunningham in volume XXI of his Archaeological Survey Reports.

The fort of Ajaygarh is 20 miles to the south-west of Kālañjara, and, like Kālañjara, is situated on a lofty flat-topped spur of the Vindhya hills, within sight of the river Kiyan, or Ken, which is only 8 miles distant. It is about 700 or 800 feet above the plain. The lower part of the hill is not very steep, but the upper part is very abrupt and quite

(1). ASR. Vol.II. p 412.

(2) EI, Vol.I, p.147, vs.63.

inaccessible to attackers. (1)

Mahoba is a very ancient city. It is situated at the foot of a granite hill, 5⁴ miles to the south of Hamirpur at the junction of the Betwa and Jumna, and 3⁴ miles to the north of Khajuraho. The ancient name of the city was Mahotsavanagara or "the City of the great festival", of which the name Mahoba is a vernacular contraction. Cunningham rightly believed that it got its name from the great festival which was celebrated there by Candravarman, the traditional founder of the dynasty. (2). These four places, Khajuraho, Kālañjara, Mahoba and Ajaygarh, comprised the vital centres of the Candella Kingdom. Of the other forts mentioned in traditions, very little is known, and they cannot have been of much importance. Smith, who had been to these places, has given a brief account of them in volume XXXVII of the Indian Antiquary.

In the early mediaeval period, the Candella principality was known as Jejābhukti or Jejākabhukti. A fragmentary Mahoba inscription records that Jayasakti, one of the earlier Candella Kings, gave his name to Jejābhukti, just as Prthu did to Prthvī (3). In the two Brahmanical temples of Madanpur, there are several short inscriptions, in one of which the country conquered by

(1) ASR. Vol. XXI, p.46

(3) EI, Vol.I, p.221, line 6.

(2) ASR, Vol. II, p.439.

the Cāhamāna ruler Prthvīrāja III is mentioned as Jejākabhukti.

(1) In the smaller temple there is an inscription which gives the perfect reading of the name of the country as

Jejākabhuktimaṇḍala. (2) Historians usually accept Jejābhukti or Jejākabhukti, as the "old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular from Jājāhūtī or Jajāhotī, just as modern Tirhut is derived from Tīrabhukti". (3)

According to Cunningham, "The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Thsang in A.D. 641. He calls it Chi-chi-tó, or Jajhoti, and places the capital at 1,000 li, or 167 miles to the north-east of Ujjain. The bearing is sufficiently accurate, but the distance is about double 1,000 li, or upwards of 300 miles, whether we take Mahoba or Khajuraho to have been the Chief City at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit." (4) Cunningham further suggested that the province of Jajhotī corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand at its widest extent, and that the country in which the Jajhotiya Brāhmanas preponderate must be the actual province of Jajhoti. (5)

(1) ASR. Vol. X, p.98; Vol.XXI. p.173-174.

(2) Ibid, Vol. XXI, p.174.

(3) EI, Vol. I, p.218.

(4) ASR, Vol.II, pp.412-413.

(5) ASR. Vol.II, p.413.

Cunningham's identification of Jājāhuti with Chi-chi-to ~~is was~~ accepted by Smith. (1) But this identification of Cunningham and Smith cannot be accepted for the simple reason, as pointed out by Dr. H. C. Ray (2) and others, that Jayasakti, the King after whom the country was named, could not have reigned before the middle of the 9th century A.D. It may be suggested that the province was not actually named after Jayasakti, but had its name some centuries earlier; but as there is no reliable contrary evidence, there is no good reason to disbelieve the statement of the inscription.

IV. EARLY HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY: Candellas as feudatories of the Gurjara Pratihāras:

NANNUKA:

According to traditions current in Mahoba and the neighbouring villages, a Gaharwar Rāj preceded at some undefined date the rule of the Candellas. Practically nothing is known about the early Gaharwars excepting that they were great tank builders. As none of the embankments ascribed to them is situated more than about 15 miles from Mahoba, the Gaharwar rule probably did not extend far beyond its immediate neighbourhood.

(1) IA. Vol. XXXVII, pp. 130-131.

(2) DHNI. II, p. 670. Dr. Ray thinks that Waiters may be right in suggesting that Chi-chi-to of Yuan Chwang represents modern Chitor and not Jajhoti. Ibid.

The traditions preserved by the Kānungo's family of Mahoba state that the Gaharwar dynasty was succeeded by the rule of the Parihārs. This tradition is supported by some other evidence. The small principality of Nagod or Uchahara situated between Allahabad and Jabalpore about 100 miles from Mahoba, was governed by a Parihār chief even as late as 1881.

The town of Panwārī, situated about 27 miles west north west of Mahoba is said to have been founded by a Parihār Thākur in A.D.903. Part of the town of Mahoba, according to Smith, till very recently was remembered as the Parihārs' quarter. Lastly, traditions of some other villages mention early Parihār occupation of Mahoba and the surrounding places. Relying on this evidence, Smith believed that the Parihārs actually preceded the Candellas.

(1) The Parihārs, according to the Mahoba Kānungos, were overthrown by Candella Candravarman in 677 Samvat, (2) of an unspecified era.

The Candella inscriptions, however, do not mention any King of that name. The earliest inscription of the dynasty is the Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhaṅga of Samvat 1011

(1) JASB. Vol. L. pp.1-4.

(2) Ibid. p.4.

(A.D. 954). (1) This and other later records, after mentioning the names of mythical figures, refer to Nannuka as the first important member of the family. Thus Nannuka appears to be the first historical King of the Candella dynasty. Dr. Ray suggests an agreement between tradition and epigraphy by taking the name of Candravamma as a mere biruda of Nannuka. He, however, does not accept the tradition that the founder of the dynasty overthrew the Parihārs, but argues that from about this time to the beginning of the 10th century, the Gurjara Pratihāras were at the height of their power and could not have been driven out of this place by the Candellas. (2) While accepting Dr. Ray's conjecture that Candravamma was the biruda of Nannuka, it may be pointed out that minor branches of the Pratihāras settled in different parts of India at that time. Hence it is quite possible that the Candellas overthrew a minor branch of the Pratihāras ruling in Mahoba and nearby places, but owed allegiance to the main branch ruling in Kanauj.

Cunningham ^{found} ~~finds~~ another point of agreement between traditional and epigraphic evidence. Various traditions give four different dates for the foundation of Mahoba by Candravarman. These are, S.225, S.204, S.661 and S.682.

(1) EI. Vol.I.pp.122-135

(2) DHNI, Vol.II, p.667.

Cunningham referred the smaller numbers to the Śrī Harṣa era, the epoch of which he gives as A.D.607, which makes them equivalent to A.D.831 and 810 respectively. He referred the larger numbers to the Saka era, which makes them equivalent to A.D.739 and 760 respectively. Dhāṅga's earliest known date is A.D.954. Now Cunningham assigned a period of 20 to 25 years to each ruler preceding Dhāṅga. Thus by counting backwards from A.D.954, he fixed the first quarter of the 9th century as the approximate date of Nannuka. This fits in perfectly with the two traditional dates referred to the Harṣa era by Cunningham. (1) No good explanation of the other two dates, S.661 and S.682, can be found, but in any case all evidence points to the beginning of Candella history in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.

In the Khajurho Stone inscription of Dhāṅga, Nannuka is described as "a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame; (and) of whom, inasmuch as his enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unprecedented valour, princes, confounded through fear, carried his command on their heads, like a garland". (2) This inscription mentions him as a Nrpa.

(1) ASR. Vol. II, pp.446-447.

(2) EI, Vol. I, p.125, vs.10.

In another inscription he is called a Mahīpati, and is compared with Arjuna.(1) These comparatively humble titles suggest that he was a feudatory. In fact there is no doubt that he was subordinate to the Gurjara Pratīhāras. The Barah Copper Plate of Pratīhāra Bhojadeva records a grant made by Bhoja in the Kālañjara - maṇḍala in A.D.836, which shows that Kālañjara was a part of the Pratīhāra empire at that time.(2) Nannuka was at first probably a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II (815 - 833 A.D.). (3) Nāgabhaṭa's successor was Rāmabhadra, a weak ruler, whose short reign (833 - 836 A.D.) saw a great crisis in the Pratīhāra fortunes. The twelfth verse of the Gwalior inscription of the Bhoja Pratīhāra probably implies that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of notorious and cruel foreign soldiers. (4). Dr. Majumdar thinks that the enemies referred to here were the Pālas, who must have caused very serious disturbances. (5). Rāmabhadra being unable to cope with the danger single-handed is recorded to have solicited the aid of his feudatories. (6) We may assume that Nannuka, being one of these feudatories, helped Rāmabhadra in this crisis. This may have increased

(1) Ibid. p.141, vs. 14. 15.

(2) EI. Vol. XIX. p.18, line 6.

(3) Unless otherwise stated we accept the Chronology of Dr. H. C. Ray (DHNI) for the Pratīhāras and other Northern Indian dynasties.

(4) ASR.1903-1904, p. 281, v.12.

(5) JDL, Vol.X, 1923,p.46

(6) HOK.pp.236 - 237

his power and prestige. But, as Dr. Ray warns, it would be very risky to assume that Nannuka enjoyed independent sovereign power. (1) In all probability, he was no more than a powerful vassal of the Pratīhāras.

VĀKPATI:

Nannuka's son and successor was Vākpati. The Khajuraho Stone inscription of A.D.954 states that from Nannuka was born the illustrious Vākpati, whose spotless fame spreads in all the three worlds with the rays of the sun. He is also said to have defeated all his enemies and made the Vindhya his pleasure - mount. (2) Another inscription calls him a Kṣitipa and praises him for excelling the mythical Kings Prthu and Kakustha, in valour and wisdom. (3) As is evident from the inscriptions, Vākpati does not seem to have made any great achievements, although he may have somewhat extended the Candella dominion, presumably towards the Vindhya.

JAYASĀKTI and VIJAYASĀKTI:

Vākpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D.954 records, "as the moon and the Kaustubha (arose) from the ocean of milk, so were born

(1) DHNI. Vol.II. p.668.

(3) EI. Vol.I. pp.141, vs.16, 17.

(2) EI. Vol.I, pp.125-126, vs.12-13.

form that home of wonder [Vākpati] two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise with shaking of heads the deeds of both of them, by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed as woods are burnt by a blazing fire." (1)

Jayasakti is also mentioned as Jejā and Jejjāka in other inscriptions, (2) while Vijayasakti is mentioned as Vijaya, Vijjā and Vijā. (3) As has already been stated, the Candella principality was named after Jayasakti; but we have more information of Vijayasakti, who is mentioned in another inscription, which says that, like Rāma in his warlike expeditions, he reached even the southernmost point of India. (4) Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the epithet 'suhrd-upakṛti-dakṣa' shows that Vijayasakti undertook this expedition for the benefit of an ally. (5) Now as the Pāla King Devapāla (c.801-840) also claims to have reached the Vindhya region and sent an expedition to the extreme south, Dr. Majumdar thinks that the Candellas had helped the Pāla ruler Devapāla in his war against Bhoja Pratihāra, and in return for this, after Bhoja's

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.126, vs. 14-15.

(2) Ibid, p.221, vs.10; p.122, line 6.

(3) Ibid, p.141, vs.18; p.122, line 6. p.221, vs.10.

(4) EI. Vol.I. pp.141-142, vs.20.

(5) See foot of next page....

defeat the Candellas were rewarded with the sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho, perhaps under the suzerainty of Devapāla. (1)

It is very unsafe to assume on the evidence of the casual reference in the Candella inscription that Vijayaśakti was a friend of Devapāla and assisted the latter in defeating Bhoja Pratīhāra. The Barah Copper Plate definitely shows that the Kālañjara - mandala was within Bhoja's empire in A.D.836, (2) and Dr. Majumdar himself points out that Khajuraho, only 50 miles from Kālañjara, might well have been included in the Kālañjara - mandala. (3) Even if we accept the view that Devapāla defeated Bhoja Pratīhāra in A.D.840 (4) there is no reason to believe that the Pālas gave the Candellas sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho. It may be pointed out that the Candella dynasty was founded by Nannuka, and Vijayaśakti was two generations removed from him. As

(5) from previous page.

HOB. Vol.I, p.119, fn.4.

The second part of the verse is :

Suhrd-upakṛti-dakṣo dakṣiṇāśam jigēsuḥ punaradhita
payodher - bandha - vaidhūryam aryah

Kielhorn in EI, Vol.I.p.142, reads Vaidhūya, but the 'r' is quite visible in the facsimile of Cunningham (ASR.Vol.XXI, Pl.XVIII). It seems that the last 2 syllables should read Aryah, since otherwise the verse would not make good sense.

(1) HOB. Vol.I, p.119, fn.4.

According to Dr. Majumdar, Devapāla ruled between A.D.810-850 - Ibid. p.121

(2) EI. Vol.XIV. p.18, line 6.

(3) HOB. Vol.I, p.119, fn.4.

(4) Ibid.

Nannuka is generally accepted to have ruled in the first quarter of the 9th century, it is very difficult to think of Vijayaśakti as a contemporary and ally of Devapāla in A.D.840, especially as it is known that Harṣa, ^{Vijayaśakti's} ~~Vākpatī's~~ grandson, was ruling in A.D.916. (1) As regards Mr. S. K. Mitra's opinion that the epithet 'suhrd' was not an 'appropriate epithet' for a Gurjara Pratihāra King who was Vijayaśakti Candella's overlord, (2) it may be pointed out that the inscription in question was issued at a time (A.D.1002) when the Candellas under Dhaṅga were at the zenith of their power, and they would not naturally refer to one of their ancestors as a feudatory of another King. (3)

Dr. Majumdar, we believe, has assigned too much importance to this verse in the Khajuraho inscription, which is more probably an extravagant claim than real achievement. Even if we accept the claim of this inscription, there can hardly be any doubt that Vijayaśakti undertook any such expedition as a feudatory of the Pratihāras. The term Bhukti means a province or part of a kingdom; and since the two brothers, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, ruled over a Bhukti, it

(1) Infra. pp.32-36.

(2) IHA. Vol.XXIX, No.3. Sept.1953, p.307.

(3) It is interesting to note that this inscription compares Nannuka with Arjuna, Vākpati with Prithu and Kakustha, and Vijayaśakti with Rāma. vs.15, 17, 20.

is clear that they were also feudatory chieftains like their predecessors. It is very significant that, in spite of being honourably mentioned as the illustrious ancestors of the family, in most of the inscriptions they are simply called vīras (heroes) though their predecessors Vākpati and Nannuka are called Ksitipa or Mahīpati. The vast difference in the character of the reigns of the weak Rāmabhadra and of the great Bhoja perhaps explains this anomaly. Dr. Ray seems quite justified in concluding that Vijayaśakti, who succeeded his elder brother Jayaśakti as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly of the Gurjara - Pratīhāra Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla (c.893 - 907) (1) One cannot, however, satisfactorily explain why these two kings have often been mentioned in later Candella inscriptions, whereas the more important and greater kings like Dhāṅga and Vidyādhara have been omitted. This may have been simply because there were popular martial ballads about their brave deeds, which made them famous in later centuries, but which are now lost. This seems probable from the facts that they are usually mentioned together, as though their joint names had become household words,

(1) DHNI. Vol.II. p.671

that they are referred to as heroes, and that great exploits are briefly attributed to them in later inscriptions.

RĀHILA:

Vijaysakti's son and successor was Rāhila. The Khajuraho Stone inscription of Dhaṅga informs us that the younger of the two brothers, i.e. Vijayasakti, begat a son named Rāhila, thinking of whom his enemies enjoy little sleep at night. (1) The same inscription praises him as a great warrior destroying his enemies by the wind of his unappeased anger. (2) Another inscription says that he favoured his friends and punished his enemies. (3) The poet Cand ascribes the foundation of the town Rasin in the Banda district, the full name of which is Rājavāsini, to Rāhilavarman. (4) No historical facts can be derived from these conventional praises. Rāhila was no more than one of the early Candella feudatory Kings of the Pratihāras, and it was only during the reign of his son and successor, Harṣa, that the Candella family became really important.

(1) EI, Vol.I. p.126, vs.16.

(2) Ibid, vs. 17.

(3) EI. Vol. I, p.142, vs. 23

(4) IA, Vol. XV, p.283.

CHAPTER 2.RISE OF THE CANDELLAS: HARSA AND YASOVARMAN(i) HARSA:

The Nanyaura Plate of Dhaṅga states that "In the exalted family of the venerable sage Candrātreyā, the crest-jewel of the three worlds, there was a prince, the illustrious Harṣadeva, (who was) a tree of paradise to those attached (to him), a root of joy to the good, nectar for the eyes of his friends, a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies, a bridge across the ocean of battle. The prowess of this (prince), who inspired fear by his terrific array of troops, (and) who had made tributary (to himself other) sovereigns, was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of the summer sun, which is fierce with its burning orb, (and) which scorches with its rays the mountains." (1) It is evident from this inscription that Harṣa was regarded as one of the important and powerful Kings of the dynasty. He reigned at a period when events of great importance were happening on the stage of Northern India and the Candella ruler played no minor part in the affairs of the time.

(1) IA. Vol.XVI, p.202, line 1.

By this time the Gurjara-Pratihāras had succeeded in making themselves a paramount power in Northern India. But their supremacy was seriously challenged by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas. Since the death of Mahendrapāla (c.893-907) the position of the Pratihāras was gradually worsening. After the death of Mahendrapāla there was possibly some trouble between Bhoja II and Mahīpāla over the succession to the Pratihāra throne. Bhoja III, who appears to have succeeded Mahendrapāla, had a short reign (c.908-914). He was succeeded by Mahīpāla (c.914-943).

The internal disorder coupled with external aggression imperilled the Pratihāra Empire. The situation reached its climax when, some time in A.D.916-917, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under their King Indra III (c.915-917) undertook an expedition against the Pratihāras. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa army completely devastated Kanauj and the Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla saved his life by flight. The great humiliation suffered by Mahīpāla at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is known from an account of the Kanarese poet Pampa, who says that Narasimha, a Cālukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, put to flight the army of the Ghurjjara-rāja and terrified the King so much that the latter fled in consternation 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest'.(1)

(1) DHNI. Vol.I, p.307.

The Pālas of Bengal did not remain idle and, taking advantage of the situation, recovered parts of Bihar from the Pratīhāras. The reappearance of Pāla inscriptions in the Gaya district at this time proves their success against their western rivals. (1)

Mahīpāla, in his attempt to recover the lost Kingdom, sought the help of his feudatories. That the help of the Candella ruler was sought is known from a fragmentary Khajuraho inscription which says that a Candella King placed Kṣitipāladeva again on the throne. (2) This Kṣitipāladeva is identified with the Pratīhāra Mahīpāla and this identification is accepted by all scholars. The name of the Candella King who helped Kṣitipāla is lost. Kielhorn takes this prince to be Harṣadeva, (3) while Hoernle takes him to be Harṣa's son and successor Yaśovarman. (4) It is very difficult to ascertain the name of the Candella King. But the line 7 says that the illustrious Harṣa by his own arm conquered many proud enemies, (5) which tends to show that he was the King referred to. Dr. R. S. Tripathi also thinks that the Candella King was Harṣa, for, according to the Candella inscriptions, Yaśovarman was a contemporary of Mahīpāla's son Devapāla, and the above incident

(1) Ibid. pp.306-307.

(2) EI. Vol.I, p.122, line 10.
"Punar yena śrī Kṣitipāladeva
nrpatiḥ simhāsane sthā [pitah]"

(3) Ibid. p.122

(4) JRAS. 1904, p.665,
fn. 1.

(5) EI. Vol.I, p.122,
line 7.

relates to the beginning of the career of Mahīpāla. (1)

Scholars, however, do not agree as to the actual course of events and their consequences. Smith said that it is possible that the victory credited to Harṣa was won by him in alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who also make a similar claim of military success; but he believed it more probable that Harṣa, forgetting his usual rivalry, helped Kṣitipāla, and rescued him from the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He continued by suggesting, apparently reverting to his first hypothesis, that neither the Rāṣṭrakūṭas nor the Candellas were strong enough to hold Kanauj permanently, and they had to be content with a successful invasion and the dethroning and replacement of the Pratīhāra King. (2) Dr. Altekar thinks that the invasion of Indra III produced dramatic results that were achieved by no previous Rāṣṭrakūṭa King and, but for his premature death, more tangible and substantial results would have followed. (3) Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that Mahīpāla managed to recover the lost kingdom only with the help of Harṣa and other feudatories. He refers to the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya, in which the Guhila Prince Bhaṭṭa,

(1) HOK. p.257, fr.1.

(2) IA, Vol. XXXVII, p.138

(3) RATT. p.103

a contemporary of Mahīpāla, is said to have defeated armies of the Kings of the south at the behest of his overlord, (1) and accepts Dr. R. C. Majumdar's suggestion that the "armies of the kings of ~~the kings~~ of the south" mentioned are none but the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Thus Mahīpāla succeeded in regaining his lost kingdom, but the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion helped to bring about a new relationship between the Pratīhāras and their vassals which in the end proved fatal to the former. (2)

Dr. Tripathi takes a different view of the situation and suggests another meaning of the line in the Khajuraho inscription. He says that the word "punaḥ" has so far been taken by scholars in the sense of "again" and they think that it alludes to Mahīpāla's "replacement" after a temporary loss of kingly dignity. Dr. Tripathi thinks that "punaḥ" in the inscription means "further", "besides" or "now" and is used simply to introduce further details about the achievements of the Candella King. (3) He does not agree with the suggestion that Harṣa assisted the Pratīhāra ruler to re-establish his authority over the lost kingdom. He argues that the Khajuraho inscription does not refer to Kṣitipāla's restoration to the throne but to his accession with the help of the Candella King. (4)

(1) EI. Vol. XII, pp. 12, 16 v. 26

(2) DHNI. Vol. I. pp. 581-582

(3) HOK. p. 257, fn. 1.

(4) Ibid. p. 261

According to Dr. Tripathi, Bhoja II and Mahīpāla were stepbrothers. After the death of Mahendrapāla, Bhoja II with the help of the Kalacuri King Kokkalla succeeded in enthroning himself, ousting his step-brother Mahīpāla. Mahīpāla sought the help of the Candella prince Harṣa as a counterpoise to the alliance between his rival Bhoja II and Kokkalla. Harṣa, who probably still recognised the supremacy of Mahīpāla, at once took his cause and, according to the Khajuraho inscription, succeeded in placing Mahīpāla on the throne. This increased the power and prestige of Harṣa. (1)

Dr. Tripathi draws the above conclusion on the evidence of the Banaras Grant of the Kalacuri Karnadeva, which says that Kokkalla, "granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the Citrakūtabhupāla Harṣa, and Rāja Saṅkaragaṇa." (2) Dr. Tripathi identifies the Bhoja of this inscription with the Pratīhāra ruler Bhoja II and Harṣa with the Candella Harṣadeva (3). It seems very strange

(1) Ibid, pp.256-257

(2) EI. Vol.II. p.306, vs.7.

(3) HOK. p.256. The identification of the Citrakūtabhupāla Harṣa of the inscription with the Candella prince Harṣadeva is accepted by all scholars, but they do not agree on the identification of Bhoja. Some identify him with the Pratīhāra Bhoja I and some with the Pratīhāra Bhoja II. Dr. Ray says that as Indra III, the great grandson of Kokkalla was contemporary with Mahīpāla, the grandson of Bhoja I, Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying this Bhoja with Bhoja I (ASR. Vol.IX p.84, 103: EI Vol.II, p.301,304) - DHNI, II, p.754. R.D.Banerjee identifies Bhoja with Bhoja II and says that "one Kokkalladeva who is contemporary of Harṣa and Krishṇa II can never be a

that Harṣa, who was one of the protected Kings, took the side of Mahipāla and fought the nominee of his own protector Kokkalla, and therefore indirectly fought Kokkalla himself. It is unlikely that Harṣa would obtain "freedom from fear" from the Kalacuri King, and at the same time fight against a person whose cause had been upheld by the latter. Moreover, we know that the Candellas and the Kalacuris were on friendly terms and there is reference to matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties.

The Banaras Copper Plate inscription of Kalacuri Karṇadeva says that "Kokkalla married a lady named Natta or Nattadevī, who was born in the Candella family". (1) Thus *the two families were allied by marriage, and* Dr. Tripathi's view that the Candella inscription, claiming the reinstatement of Kṣitipāla by a Candella king, refers to Harṣa's help to Mahipāla in the war of succession, cannot be accepted. It rather seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III overran and completely devastated Kanauj. The Pratīhāra

(3) continued from previous page -
contemporary of Bhoja I" - Bāṅglār Itihās, p.202. Dr. R. C. Majumdar does not agree with Banerjee's contention and has tried to show that Bhoja I may have been contemporary of Harṣa and Kokkalla - JOL.1923, Vol.X, p.52. But both Dr. Ray and Majumdar agree that the identification of Bhoja of this inscription with Bhoja II is not impossible. We think that Bhoja referred to here is Bhoja II, for we know that Bhoja I was a great ruler, and it is very unlikely that he needed any protection from Kokkalla. On the contrary, the weakness of Bhoja II and the events of the time suggest that he may have needed some help from the Kalacuri King to get the throne of Kanauj.

(1) EI. Vol.II, p.306, vs. 8

King Mahīpāla, alias Kṣitipāla, lost his dominions and fled the country. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭa success, though complete, was short-lived. Mahīpāla, with the assistance of his powerful feudatory Harṣa, succeeded in recovering the imperial throne. Mahīpāla was helped by Harṣa not in his fight for succession with Bhoja II, but against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in recovering the lost Kingdom. This sequence of events fits in with the claim of the Khajuraho inscription and supports the reading of the word "punah" as "^{once more}restored" and not as "again" or "further", as read by Dr. Tripathi. The internal dissensions in the Pratīhāra family probably helped Harṣa and other feudatories to increase their power, but their best opportunity came after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. No doubt Harṣa and others came to the rescue of their sovereign, but in the process they greatly increased their own strength. By his campaign in support of Mahīpāla, Harṣa succeeded in uplifting the Candellas as one of the important powers in Northern India.

Harṣa had matrimonial relations with the Cāhamānas. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D.954 states that Harṣa married with due rites a suitable (lady) of equal caste, named Kañcukā, sprung from the Cāhamāna family. (1) These matrimonial

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.126, vs.21

alliances with the Kalacuris and the Cāhamānas undoubtedly increased the social prestige of the Candellas and helped Harṣa to consolidate his position. Considering his remarkable achievement, it is not surprising to find the Khajuraho Stone inscription comparing him with "a tree of paradise" and praising his widely expanding fame. In Harṣa, we are told, fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship, heroism and vigour "radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience" came to him by nature, with "contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self-confidence". He was anxious to worship the feet of Viṣṇu, "unacquainted with wicked utterances", and was abashed when his own excellencies were being enumerated. He is also praised for being "void of calumnious speech" and "mute from birth to utter untrue words" and "being endowed with famous qualities". (1) Undoubtedly, Harṣa founded the future greatness of the Candella dynasty. Without openly defying the Gurjara Pratīhāras, he brought the Candellas into the forefront and left a great opportunity for his son and successor Yaśovarman to utilise.

(ii) YAŚOVARMAN:

The Khajuraho Stone inscription of A.D. 1002, states

(1) EI. Vol.I. p.126, vs.18 - 20.

that Harṣa's wife Kañçukā bore to him a son named Yaśovarmanadeva, who was pious and munificent, and who firmly established his rule by subduing other kings. (1) He is also mentioned as Lakṣmavarman in the same Candella inscription. (2) No inscription of Yaśovarman himself has yet been discovered, but in the Khajuraho Stone inscription (A.D.954) of his son Dhaṅga, a glowing account of his achievements is given. Kielhorn took this inscription to be of Yaśovarman himself, but as it ends with an account of Dhaṅga and his achievements, there is no doubt that it was set up during his reign.

The greatest achievement of Yaśovarman was the conquest of Kālañjara. The Khajuraho inscription says, "He easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day." (3) The question from whom Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjara is difficult to answer. The Karhad Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III of A.D.959 claim that Kṛṣṇarāja became for a long time the lord of the earth, terrified the Gurjaras, and "on hearing the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of

(1) Ibid. vs.23

(2) Ibid. p.128, vs.37

(3) EI. Vol. I. pp.127-128, vs. 31.

the Gurjara". (1) The inscription also records that all the feudatories from the Eastern to the Western ocean, and from the Himālaya to Siṃhala bowed to him out of fear, though Kṛṣṇa himself was obedient to his father, i.e. Amōghavarṣa. (2)

It is evident from these verses that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Kṛṣṇa III invaded the Gurjara dominions and succeeded in holding the famous forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa for a time. As Kṛṣṇa made these conquests during the lifetime of his father Amōghavarṣa, who died sometime before A.D.940, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion must have taken place before that date. The discovery of a Kanavese Prasasti inscribed on a stone slab at Jura in the Maihar district of modern Vindhya Pradesh supports the evidence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription, and Dr. Ray thinks that Yaśovarman may have captured Kālañjara from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He believes that the sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna was perhaps due "partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan, the predecessors of the Māratha horsemen of a later period". (3) Dr. Altekar holds the same view and thinks that Yaśovarman reconquered Kālañjara sometime before A.D.953. (4) Dr.Tripathi

(1) EI. Vol.IV p.284, vs.30 - "Yaśa-paruṣekṣitā 'Khila-dakṣina-dig-durga-Vijayamākarṇya Galitā Gurjāra-hṛdayāt Kālañjarā-citrakūṭasā."

(2) Ibid. p.284-85, vs.31. (3) DHNI, Vol.II. p.674

(4) RATT. p.113

also thinks that Yaśovarman reconquered Kālañjara from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but points out that the latter are not mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription among the peoples defeated by Yaśovarman. (1) This is really significant and makes it difficult to accept the views of Dr. Ray and Dr. Altexar unreservedly.

The Khajuraho inscription of A.D.954 states that Yaśovarman "brought distress on the shameful Cedis" and "free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi King whose forces were countless, who had put down his lotus foot on rows of diadems of famous princes." (2) Kielhorn identified the Cedi King with Yuvarāja I. (3) Dr. Ray takes this to be a genuine claim and identifies the Cedi King with Balaharṣa, a weak king, who had a short reign. (4) On the evidence of the above verses, Dr. Jaidev assumes that Yaśovarman inaugurated the struggle with the Kalacuris and captured Kālañjara from them. (5)

Dr. Nilkanta Sastri thinks that there is no reason for assuming the capture of Kālañjara by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

(1) HOK. p.271

(2) EI. Vol.I, p.126-127 vs. 23, 28.

(3) EI. Vol.II, p.301

(4) DHNI. Vol. II, pp.759-760. In his chapter on the Candellas in the same volume, Dr. Ray, however, identifies this Cedi King with the Kalacuri prince of Tripuri, Lakṣmanarāja or his predecessor Yuvarāja I. - Ibid.p.675-676.

(5) P. ch. Thesis - p.41.

on the evidence of the inscriptions. According to him, the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were bound by ties of close political and dynastic alliances. The fame of the success of Kṛṣṇa in the south, served to some extent to strengthen the political position of the Kalacuris and other friends of Kṛṣṇa against their enemies, in particular the Pratīhāras. Dr. Sastri suggests that Yaśovarman captured Kālañjara probably with the aid of the Kalacuris from the Pratīhāras and that his success was a blow to the Gurjaras. "All hopes of its recovery entertained by the Gurjaras must have been blasted by the resounding success of Kṛṣṇa, the ally of the Candellas and Cedis. Kṛṣṇa might himself have aided Yaśovarman in the enterprise during the period of his stay at Tripurī in the reign of Govinda IV." (1) Dr. Sastri's hypothesis suggests that there was an alliance between the Kalacuris, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas against the Pratīhāras. Such an alliance seems highly improbable. The Candella inscriptions definitely refer to hostile relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that during a period of continuous dynastic struggle for supremacy, the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas would have helped the rising Candellas in gaining the important fort of Kālañjara.

(1) PAIOC. Oct.1946, pp.436-437.

But the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had matrimonial alliances and the existence of friendly relations between the two dynasties is quite possible. (1)

We may reconstruct the history of the period as follows. Harṣa had re-established the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla on the throne of Kanauj after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of A.D.917. But the restored emperor did not enjoy the throne in peace for long. About the year A.D.940 the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, under Kṛṣṇa III, undertook another campaign against the Pratīhāra empire. As a result of this, parts of Central India, including the important cities of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, fell

(1) The verse 25 of the Karhad Playes (EI.IV, p.284) states:-

"Rāma-hata-sahasra - bhujō bhujadvayākālita -
Samada-rāmena Jananī-patnī-gururapī yena
Sahasrārjunō vijitah."

"He conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife, (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i.e. Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (only verbally) put down by him (viz: Kṛṣṇarāja) by means of his two hands, (or he having held intoxicated young women with his two hands)".P.288

On the evidence of the above verse Dr. Altekar thinks that Kṛṣṇa III had conquered the elders of his wife and others, i.e. the Cedis, which shows that Kṛṣṇa was not co-operating but fighting with the Cedis. According to Dr. Altekar, Kṛṣṇa committed a blunder in alienating the sympathies of his Cedi relatives by attacking them, which affected his position in the North - RATT, p.120 - Dr. Sastri does not count the verse as historical, but only as mythology and word-play. He thinks it improbable that Kṛṣṇa led an expedition against the Cedis or had any motive for doing so.

into Rāṣṭrakūṭa hands. This Rāṣṭrakūṭa success was probably due to the alliance with the Kalacuris; but it was as short-lived as that of A.D.917 had been. For internal reasons and owing to commitments in the South, Kṛṣṇa was compelled to withdraw his armies from Northern India. As in A.D.917, the Candella ruler came to the help of the Pratīhāra emperōr, who was still his nominal suzerain. The Pratīhāra ruler recovered his lost territories from the Kalacuri ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the help of Yaśovarman, but at the cost of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, which Yaśovarman kept in his own possession instead of handing them over to the Pratīhāras. Yaśovarman is described as a "scorching fire to the Gurjaras" in the Khajuraho inscription (1) which shows that the weak Pratīhāra ruler could have done little to bring his powerful feudatory under subjection. Circumstances had made him virtually the subject of his own subject. So Kālañjara was not directly conquered from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by Yaśovarman, and this perhaps explains their omission from the list of peoples mentioned in the inscription as having been defeated by the Candella ruler.(2)

According to some scholars, Yaśovarman's unique position in the Pratīhāra empire is made clear by another statement

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.126, vs.23

(2) See foot of next page.

in the inscription of A.D. 954, verse 43 of which says,
 "(The image of) Vaikunṭha (which) the ornament of princes,
 the illustrious King Yaśovarman, who crushed his enemies,
 had set up (here), - the lord of Bhoṭa obtained it from
 Kailāśa, and from him, Sāhi, the King of Kīra, received it
 as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapāla
 obtained it for a force of elephants and horses and (Yaśovarman
 himself) received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses (Hayapati)

(2) from previous page : -

It has already been mentioned above (p. 27) that from the Barah Copper Plate we know that Kālañjara was a part of the Pratihāra empire. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, however, holds a different view. He points out that Śricandra of the Candra dynasty, and Bhojavarman of the Varman dynasty, granted lands in the Paundra - Bhukti, though the Candras and the Varmans ruled in East Bengal, and never held sway over North Bengal. Similarly, the fort of Kālañjara might not have been under the sway of the Pratihāras, though they asserted their supremacy over a part of the Kālañjara Mandala. Dr. Ganguly argues that the Gurjara of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions is to be taken to mean a country and not the Gurjara Pratihāras. He says, "During this period the fort of Kālañjara was the target of attack of many kings. The attempt of the King of Gurjara, who seems to have been a king of the Guhila dynasty, to conquer it was frustrated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. But the Candella Yaśovarman succeeded in taking possession of it".... JBORS. Vol. 24, 1938. pp. 224-225. This seems very unlikely. The Guhilas are never known to have taken any important part in the dynastic struggles of the time. Moreover, from what we know of the relations between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras, it is clear that the Gurjara of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions was no other than the Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj.

the son of (Herambapāla)". (1) Kielhorn identified this Devapāla with the Devapāla who is mentioned as a paramount sovereign of Kanauj and as the successor of Kṣitipāladeva, in the Siyadoni inscription with the date V.S.1005. (2) Considering the contemptuous reference to the Pratīhāras in the Khajuraho inscription, and the relations between the two dynasties at that time, scholars believe that Yaśovarman compelled the Pratīhāra Devapāla to give him the precious image, thus making another show of his rising power.

The identification of this Hayapati Devapāla with the Pratīhāra Devapāla has been seriously challenged by Pandit Gaurisankar Ojha, according to whom the identification is based on slender evidence. He says that the view that Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, who is introduced by the minor title of Hayapati (lord of horses), is the same as Devapāla of Mahodaya, cannot be established on the casual mention of

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- (1) EI. Vol. I, p.134, vs.43. "The Kīras' are identified by some with the Kāsmīras, while in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā, XIX, 29, they are separately enumerated as a people inhabiting the North East together with the Kāsmīras"- Ibid.p.124. Dr. Tripathi locates them in the Kangra Valley of Punjab - HOK. p.272; Dr. Majumdar places Kīra in the neighbourhood of Jalandhara - IH a, Vo.IXm p.14. Bhota is identified with modern Tibet. - EI, Vol.I, p.124.
- (2) EI. Vol.I. p.124.

the former in an inscription of another dynasty. Pt. Ojha also points out that Hayapati was never the accepted title of the Pratihāras of Kanauj and is not met with in their inscriptions (1) Dr. Tripathi tries to answer the objection raised by Pt. Ojha by pointing out that the Pratihāras were widely noted for their cavalry. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, says of Bhoja I Pratihāra that "no other prince has so fine a cavalry", and that the Gwalior inscription refers to the "best cavalry" in charge of the feudatories of Rāmahadra. The term Haypati indicates, according to Dr. Tripathi, that "the Pratihāras continued to enjoy among their contemporaries a reputation for maintaining an excellent cavalry, and as such were regarded "lords of horses" par excellence, although they did not, like the Gāhadavālas who used the epithet Ásvapati, adopt it as an official title in their records". (2) Though this explanation of the title Hayapati is not unreasonable, it does not put the identification beyond doubt. That Kṣitipāla, Mahīpāla and Herambapāla are but the names of the same person, is far from definitely established. Moreover, if the object of the verse was to record Yaśovarman's show of force against the Pratihāra emperor it would have been more

(1) EI. Vol. XIV, p. 180.

(2) HOK. pp. 257-258.

conveniently served by mentioning Devapāla as the Pratīhāra monarch, rather than giving him the obscure epithet of Hayapati. It seems more probable that Herambapāla and his son Hayapati Devapāla belonged to one of the minor dynasties of Northern India.

It appears very curious to many scholars that, in spite of his great achievements and virtual independence, Yaśovarman still owed nominal allegiance to the Pratīhāras. Dr. R.C. Majumdar compares the relations of the Pratīhāras and the Candellas with the rulers of Oudh and the later Mughals of Delhi, (1) while Dr. Ray thinks the instance of the Buwayhids of Ray and the later Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad more suitable.(2). The assumption that Yaśovarman owed nominal allegiance to the Pratīhāras is based on the reference to one Vināyaka-pāla as 'protecting the earth' in the Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954. This Vināyaka-pāla is identified by many scholars with Vināyaka-pāla Pratīhāra. We, however, do not accept this identification and shall discuss the relations between the Pratīhāras and the Candellas in detail in the next chapter.

Yaśovarman's successes were not only against the Pratīhāras and Kalacuris. Among others, he also claimed

(1). JOL, Vol. X, 1923, pp.68-69.

(2). DHNI, Vol. I, p.590, fn.1.

victories over the Pālas of Bengal and Paramāras of Malwa. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 says, "He was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure creepers, equalled the forces of the Khāsās, (and) carried off the treasure of the Kośālas; before whom perished the Kāśmīrī warriors, who weakened the Mithilas, (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas..... who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees". (1). The inscription thus claims Yaśovarman's victory over the Pālas, Khāsās, Kośālas, Kāśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas and the Kurus. The Candella claim of success against the Pālas does not seem to be an idle one. As has already been mentioned (p.33) taking advantage of the decline of the Pratīhāras, the Pālas under Gopala II (c.921-978 A.D.) tried to recover some of their lost territories in the West. This brought them in conflict with the Candellas, which resulted in victory for the latter. During the later years of the reign of Gopāla II, or during the reign of Vighrahapāla II, the Pālas seem to have suffered a great calamity. The Bangad grant of Mahīpāla I, son of Vighrahapāla II, says that the latter recovered his father's kingdom, "which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it". (2). This probably refers

(1) EI, Vol.I, p.126, vs. 23.

(2).Ibid. Vol. XIV, p.330, vs.12.

to the success of the Candellas and its consequences. It may be noted in this connection, that the earliest mention of a Gauda in official office is found in the same Candella inscription which claims victory over the Pālas and which was written by Gauda Karaṇika Jaddha. (1). J.C. Ghosh suggests that Yaśovarman first took some of these Gauda Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas from Bengal into his service and these were followed by others, who sought their fortunes at this and other courts. (2).

The contemporary Paramāra ruler was probably Vairīsimha II and his son Sīyaka, who succeeded some time before A.D. 949. Like the Pālas, Sīyaka also attempted to extend his kingdom and had to face opposition from the Candellas, who by A.D. 954 had extended their territory up to Bhāsvat or Bhilsa, which was situated on the bank of the Mālava. Yaśovarman probably defeated the Paramāra king and the Khajuraho inscription refers to this Candella success. (3).

Of the other places mentioned in the inscription, Kashmir at this time was ruled by a number of weak kings, beginning with Cakravarman (A.D. 923-37) and ending in Parvavagupta, (A.D. 949-50). The Khāsa state of Lohara was ruled by one

(1). EI, Vol. I, p. 129, vs. 48.

(2). IA, Vol. LX, p. 18.

(3). HOPD, p. 40.

of the predecessors of Simharāja (c.A.D.950), possibly Candurāja.(1). It does not, however, seem probable that Yaśovarman, who had so recently been engaged in struggles with the Kalacuris in the South East and the Pālas in the East and was surrounded by enemies on all sides of his newly gained kingdom, would have found time and strength to invade such distant states. Mithilā, as suggested by Dr. Ray, was possibly recovered by the Pālas,(2) and the Candella claim that Yaśovarman "weakened" the Mithilas suggests his failure in obtaining any great success. The verse clearly records that Yaśovarman only "carried off the treasure" of the Kośalas, which indicates that it was a mere raid which was successful from the financial point of view. Kośala mentioned in the inscription is most probably the Northern Kośala (modern Oudh), because Yaśovarman's conflict with the Pratīhāras may well have brought him near the Uttara Kośala region which was within the Pratīhāra empire (3). The expression Samjvaro Gurjarānām according to Dr. Ray, suggests

(1). DHNI, Vol.II, p.676. "The Khāśa settlement during this period extended in a wide semicircle from Kaṣṭavār in the South-East to the Vitastā valley in the West and the Khaśa families held hill states of Rājapurī and Lohara" - Ibid. p.674, fn.3.

(2). Ibid.

(3). DHNI - II, p.676, fn.1.

Yaśovarman's violent conflict with the Pratihāra ruler (1). It seems that Yaśovarman's attack on the land of the Kurus was only an incident in his conflict with the Pratihāras. For, Kurukṣetra was also within the Pratihāra empire and they might have envied the rising power of the Candellas and come to the assistance of the Pratihāras for subduing Yaśovarman. But the territories of the Mālavas could not have been under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, for the Paramāras of Malwa had become very powerful by this time, and their conflict with the Candellas was one of their many struggles for dynastic supremacy. In general, the successes over the other states were probably mere raids, rather than sweeping victories.

Yaśovarman is also praised for making Yamunā and Gaṅgā his pleasure lakes and encamping his army on either banks of the rivers unmolested by enemies.(2). In spite of the usual exaggerations and poetic word plays, it is evident from these verses that Yaśovarman undertook expeditions in different directions with considerable success. He had built up a strong military power on the foundation laid by his father, Harṣa. The Pratihāras had suffered severe blows and their downfall was almost complete. The Kalacuris were subdued and decline had set in with the Rāṣṭrakūtas. The Candellas were virtually

(1). Ibid. P.676.

(2). EI, Vol.I, p.127, vs.30.

independent and transformed into one of the strongest powers in Northern India. They were about to enter on the greatest and most splendid period of their history.

CHAPTER III.

THE CANDELLA KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH:DHAṄGA AND VIDYĀDHARA.

(c. A.D.950 - c.1030.)

(i) DHAṄGA (c. A.D. 950 - c. 1008).

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Dhaṅga. His accession must have occurred some time before A.D.954, the date of the earliest of his inscriptions, which says, "As the moon (arose) from the great ocean, so was born to him (Yaśovarman) a son, causing joy to ^{the} people, the illustrious Dhaṅga, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth".(1). His mother was queen Puppādevī (2). From the Dudhai inscriptions we know of another son of Yaśovarman, named Kṛṣṇapa. These inscriptions record the erection of a temple by one Devalabdhi of the Candella family, the son of illustrious Kṛṣṇapa and Asarvā and the grandson (naptr) of Yaśovarman (3). Cunningham's identification of this Yaśovarman with the Candella ruler Yaśovarman has been

(1). EI, Vol.I, p.134, vs.44.

(2). EI, Vol.I, p.144, vs.40.

(3). IA, Vol.XVIII, pp.236-237.

accepted by all scholars. In the Jhansi fragmentary inscription, one Kanhapa is mentioned as a nrpa, and seems to have founded a city which was his capital. As this inscription mentions the Candella rulers Vijāka and Dhāṅga, Dr. Chakravarty identifies Kanhapa with Kṛṣṇapa of the Dudhai inscriptions. (1). He was probably a younger brother of Dhāṅga and was in charge of some district near Jhansi.

The most important event of Dhāṅga's reign was the final severance of all connections with the Pratīhāras. Unfortunately, no detailed account of this event is available and only a bare outline is known from the indirect evidence of the inscriptions. The inscription of A.D.954 ends with the verse "While the illustrious Vinayākapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by enemies, who have been annihilated". (2). This Vināyakapāla has been regarded as an emperor of the Pratīhāra family, whose mention as the suzerain in the inscriptions presents some difficulties. Scholars differ widely on the identification of this king and his place in the Pratīhāra chronology. Kielharn, who edited the inscription, failed to offer any conjecture, and even expressed doubts about the correctness of his reading. (3). A close examination of the facsimile of this inscription, however, shows that there can be no doubt about the name.

(1). ASR, 1936 - 1937, pp.94-95.

(2). EI, Vol.I, p.129.

(3). EI, Vol. I, p.124.

This Vināyakapāla is identified by some scholars with the Pratihāra ruler Vināyakapāla known from the Bengal Asiatic Society Grant of A.D.931; but this king must have ceased to rule before A.D.946, the date of the Pratabgarh inscription of his son and successor Mahendrapāla II. (1). But the Khajuraho inscription is dated A.D.954, which makes it difficult to identify the two Vināyakapālas. Dr. Majumdar tries to solve this problem by supporting Kielhorn's assumption that although the Khajuraho inscription really belongs to the reign of Yaśovarman, it was actually set up after his death during the reign of his son and successor Dhaṅga. Dr. Majumdar says that the date A.D.954 denotes the time when the record was actually set up; but the actual inscription may have been composed in Yaśovarman's reign, some ten to fifteen years earlier. He believes that the name of the suzerain king Vināyakapāla occurred in the original record and was retained in its subsequent modification in the time of Dhaṅga. (2). This explanation does not satisfy many scholars, and Dr. Tripathi asks why the name of a dead king should be retained and mentioned as 'protecting the earth' in the subsequent modification of an official document made in the time of his

(1). EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-188.

(2). JOL, Vol. X, pp. 60-61.

successor. (1).

Dr. N.R. Ray tries to solve this puzzle by suggesting that between Devapāla (A.D. 948-949) and Vijayapāla (A.D. 960), two more kings reigned in Kanauj. He takes Vināyakapāla of the Khajuraho inscription to be the successor of Devapāla Pratīhāra for a short time. Thus Dr. N.R. Ray believes in the existence of one Vināyakapāla II, who, he thinks, has been mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription (2).

We think that Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that the name of the dead king Vināyakapāla has been retained in the subsequent inscription, though possible, is far from convincing. As to Dr. N.R. Ray's suggestion, it may be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Devapāla (A.D. 948), Mahīpāla (A.D. 956), Vatsarāja (A.D. 957) and Vijayapāla (A.D. 960), which are dated in close proximity, and this makes the existence of another king Vināyakapāla II, ruling in A.D. 954 highly improbable.

There is, in our opinion, no sufficient ground for identifying the Vināyakapāladeva of the Khajuraho inscription with a Pratīhāra ruler. The main arguments for this identification are that the Pratīhāras were suzerains of the Candellas and that there was a Pratīhāra ruler of that name. The chronology of the events greatly weakens the force of the above arguments. The Candellas, since the days of Harṣa had

(1). HOK, p.273.

(2). IA, Vol. LVII, pp.230-234.

become very powerful and they openly claim to have reinstated the Pratihāra ruler Kṣitipāladeva on the throne (1). Harṣa was mentioned as Citrakūṭabhupāla by the ruler of another dynasty, and his son and successor had occupied the strong fortress of Kālañjara before A.D.954. The Khajuraho inscription credits Yaśovarman with victories in states which were far outside the Candella dominion and he is also mentioned as a "scorching fire to the Gurjaras". All these facts indicate that Yaśovarman had become virtually, if not completely, independent, and there can be little sense in mentioning a disgraced Pratihāra ruler as 'protecting the earth' in the inscription of a dynasty which had recently obtained independence. Dhaṅga's empire, according to the inscription of A.D.954, stretched from Bhāsvat to Tamasā and from Yamunā to Narbadā, and even the fort of Gopāgiri was in his possession. In fact, large portions of the original Pratihāra kingdom were captured by Dhaṅga. These claims make it even more improbable that Dhaṅga would mention a king who had died at least 8 years earlier as the great protector of the earth. There can also be no practical reason for mentioning a weak contemporary Pratihāra ruler, if we accept Dr. N.R. Ray's hypothetical Vināyakapāla II.

(1). EI, Vol I, p.122, line 10.

Considering these circumstances, we are inclined to believe that the Vināyakapāladeva of the Khajuraho inscription of A.D.954 was no other than Dhaṅga himself. It is significant that all the Candella kings excepting Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa have Sanskritic names, e.g. Vidyādhara¹deva, Yaśovar²madeva, Harṣadeva, Vājayapāladeva, etc. The name Dhaṅga was probably a nickname or a popular name, by which the king, for some reason or other, was widely known. It may be pointed out that in the same inscription, Yaśovar³man is mentioned as Lakṣmavarman. The name Nannuka for Candravarman may be regarded as another such instance. In all the Candella inscriptions the founder of the dynasty is called Nannuka, though we have good reason to believe that his other name was Candravarman. (1). In support of our identification, it may be pointed out that the verses 44 and 45 of this Khajuraho inscription mention Dhaṅga as "firmly establishing his upright rule over the earth" and as "ruling the earth playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms" (2). A later Candella inscription records that he defeated the king of Kānyakubja and obtained exalted sovereignty. (3). The ruler of the Kaccapaghātas, who claims to have defeated

(1). Supra, pp. 21-23

(2). EI, Vol. I, p.134.

(3). EI, Vol. I, p.197, vs.3.

the Pratihāra ruler and captured Gwalior, was, as will be discussed below, probably a subordinate ally of Dhaṅga. All this evidence suggests that Dhaṅga defeated the Pratihāra ruler sometime before A.D. 954 and declared independence. The fact that Dhaṅga does not assume full imperial titles, viz. Pb. M. P. Pm, should not be regarded as a conclusive evidence of his dependence in A.D. 954. In some of their later inscriptions, the Candella kings do not assume these titles, but are simply referred to as Nrpa, Kṣitipa or Śrī, though they were fully independent.

The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 gives an account of the extent of Dhaṅga's empire. It says that Dhaṅga was ruling the earth "playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river Mālava; from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Chedi country, and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopādri) which is the unique abode of marvel". (1). Kielhorn identified Bhāsvat with Bhailāsvāmin, the modern Bhilsa (2). Dr. Ray makes certain interesting observations on this verse. He says that the expression 'as far as Kālañjara' shows that Kālañjara was not the capital

(1). EI, Vol. I, p.129, vs.45.

(2). EI, Vol. I, p.124.

of the Candellas at that time. As the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty come from Khajuraho, and Ibn-ul-athīr refers to Vidyādhara (Dhaṅga's grandson) as the ruler of Khajuraho, Dr. Ray thinks that Khajuraho was the first capital of the Candellas. In the inscription of A.D.998, Dhaṅga is given the epithet 'Kālañjarādhipatā', the first use of the title by a Candella king. This, Dr. Ray rightly thinks, "indicates the possession of one of the strongest hill forts of India, which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable". (1).

Gopāgiri is no doubt modern Gwalior, and from its mention in the inscription, scholars believe that Gwalior was within Dhaṅga's empire. A Kacchapaghāta inscription claims that one Vajradāman of the dynasty had by honest means put down the "rising valour of Gādhinagara (i.e. Kānyakubja)", and "his proclamation-drum which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopādri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm" (2). This Vajradāman is identified with the Mahārājādhirāja Vajradāman of a fragmentary Jain image inscription of Gwalior dated in v.s. 1034 (A.D.977) (3). The Pratihāra ruler defeated by Vajradāman was probably Vijayapāla.

(1). DHNI, Vol.II, p.679.

(2). IA, Vol.XV, pp.36,41. vs.6.

(3). JASB, Vol. XXI, pt.VI, pp.293, 399-400.

As Gopāgiri was in the possession of the Candellas about this time, Dr. Majumdar believes that "Vajradāman had defeated both the Candella King Dhaᅅga and his Pratīhāra overlord who also joined him in defending this stronghold. Probably after this ignominious defeat Dhaᅅga shook off even the nominal suzerainty of the Pratīhāras." Dr. Majumdar elsewhere says that the Candellas captured Gwalior from the Pratīhāras and thus obtained a secure footing in the very heart of the Pratīhāra empire.(1) We can hardly imagine that the Pratīhāra ruler came to the help of a feudatory in the defence of a fort which the latter had captured from him by force only a few years earlier. It is also unlikely that a powerful king like Dhaᅅga could have been defeated by a petty Kacchapaghāta ruler. Neither the Candella nor the Kacchapaghāta records refer to any such conflict between the two dynasties. Dr. Ray thinks that after the conquest of Gwalior, Vajradāman at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty, but that he soon had to acknowledge the rising power of his more powerful eastern neighbour, the Candellas. (2) But Dr. Tripathi's suggestion that Vajradāman was a local feudatory chief of Dhaᅅga, whom he assisted in the conquest of Gwalior (3) seems more satisfactory and this contention has been strengthened by Mr. S. K. Mitra in a recent

(1) AI. pp.307, 322

(2) DHNI. Vol.II, p.823

(3) HOK. p.278

article. (1) Nizāmuddin's reference to the ruler of the fort of Gwalior as Hākim at the time of Sultān Maḥmūd's invasion in A.D.1022 indicates that the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior continued to be feudatories of the Candellas, at least up to the reign of Vidyādhara Candella (2).

The growth of the Candella Kingdom at the expense of the declining Pratīhāras is evident from other inscriptions. The Nanyāra Plate of Dhaṅga of A.D.998 records that Dhaṅgadeva when at Kāsīkā (Banaras) gave the village of Yuetṭī to one Yaśodhara in the year V.S.1055, when there was an eclipse. (3) Banaras had been within the Pratīhāra empire, and Dhaṅga must have wrested it from them by this time. A later inscription informs us that Dhaṅga gave up his life by drowning himself at Prayāga (Allahabad) when he had attained his hundredth year, (4) which shows that Prayāga was also included in his Kingdom. Further evidence is derived from the Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman, which says "a King named....., who, having defeated on the battlefield the King of Kānyakubja [who had] subdued all princes, obtained exalted sovereignty." (5) Though the name of the King is missing from the verse, "there can be

(1) IHQ. Vol.XXIX, No. 1, pp.88-93.

(2) Infra. p.83

(3) IA, Vol.XVI, p.204.

(4) EI. Vol.I. p.146, vs.55.

(5) EI, Vol.I, p.197, vs.3.

no doubt that the King here spoken of is Dhaṅga, whose name would fit well into the metre." Moreover, the next verse records that from this King sprang Gaṇḍadeva, who, as we know from other inscriptions, was the son of Dhaṅga.(1) Thus, by A.D.1002 Dhaṅga had completely humiliated the imperial Pratīhāras and the supremacy of Northern India had shifted from the Pratīhāras to the Candellas.

A Khajuraho inscription of A.D.1002 states that, "He (Dhaṅga) was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Sīmhala (Ceylon) and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands", and he was so successful in his wars that "the wives of the Kings of Kāñcī, Āndhra, Rādhā and Aṅga lingered in his prisons."

(2) According to Cunningham, these claims are "more than usually fulsome and ridiculous", and he added that Dhaṅga might have been a powerful King, but it is quite preposterous to make his sway extend over the greater part of South India.(3) Undoubtedly, Dhaṅga's claim of overlordship over the King of Sīmhala is an idle boast. But it is evident from these verses that either before or after his assumption of imperial authority, Dhaṅga turned his attention to the conquest of principalities lying to the East and South-East of his paternal Kingdom, viz:

(1) EI, Vol.I, p.197, vs.45-46

(2) EI, Vol.I, p.145, vs.45-46 - "Kratha was a country in the peninsular portion of India, possibly near modern Benar" - DHNI. Vol.II, p.680, fr.3.

(3) ASR. Vol.II, pp.451-452.

Āṅga (North Bengal), Rādhā (Bardwan and Birbhum districts of West Bengal) Kosalā (north-west part of Orissa and Central Provinces), Āṅdhra, and Kuntala (Central Deccan) and may have raided them (1).

An inscription of Kīrtivarman gives us interesting information about Dhaṅga's relations with the Moslems. The inscription praises Dhaṅga as "a blessing for the earth,....

(1) The Indra Copper-plate of Nayapāladeva was issued from the capital of Priyaṅgu, founded by the King Rājyapāla. This place lay in Dakṣiṇa - Rādhā, in Bengal. So it is clear that the family of the Pālas ruled in Rādhā. Mr. N. G. Majumdar reads an epithet of King Rājyapāla of this record as "Kāṁboja - vaṁśa - tilaka." i.e. "an ornament of the Kamboja clan" - EI. Vol. XXII. p.152). But Mr. J. C. Ghose reads this epithet as "Kāṁboja - Dhaṅgu - atiparah", i.e. "an inveterate foe of Kamboja and Dhaṅgu". Mr. Ghose identifies this Dhaṅgu with Dhaṅga Candella. He points out that as in the inscription of A.D.1002, Dhaṅga claims to have thrown into prison the wives of the Kings of Kāñcī, Āṅdhra, Rādhā and Āṅga; it is thus very natural for Rājyapāla the ruler of Rādhā to describe Dhaṅga as his foe. He places Rājyapāla's reign in the first part of the 10th century and argues that as Dhaṅga lived for 100 years he was a contemporary of Rājyapāla. Mr. Ghose says that "After Rādhā, Dhaṅga names Āṅga, which shows that Āṅga also was an independent country at that time. He makes no mention of Magadha, which country he must have had to pass through to return to his Kingdom. This probably shows that he was friendly with the Pratīhāras who occupied that province." - EI. Vol. XXIV, pp.43-45. The main objection to Mr. Ghose's view is that Dhaṅga ruled in the second half of the 10th century and could not possibly have been King at the same time as Rājyapāla. Moreover, it is in an inscription of the 11th century (A.D.1002) that Dhaṅga claims success over Rādhā. In his inscriptions of A.D.954 and 998 no such claim is made.

who caused the destruction of his enemies and who, by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Hamvīna".

(1) The term Hamvīna is a corruption of the Arabic word Amīr (commander or leader). It came to be used in the sense of a king or high official of the State, and as such we find it used also in the Sanskrit legends on some of the gold coins of Muhammad bin Sam (Md. Ghori). The term Hammīna, Hamīna, or Mamvīna, was ~~xxxx~~ to the Indians, the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince, during the period A.D.1000 - 1300. (2) The inscription of Kirtivarman therefore seeks to compare Dhaṅga with a contemporary Moslem ruler. Most historians identify this Hamvīna with Sabuktigin (A.D.976-997) relying on an account of Firishta, which says that Jayapāla, the Sāhi ruler of Bhatinda, was helped with troops and money by neighbouring Rājās, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjara, and Kanauj, in his fight against Sabuktigin. (3). They think that the Candella inscription refers to this incident. This view is supported by the assumption that since Dhaṅga died before A.D.1002 he must have been the contemporary of Sabuktigin only. Dr. Ray does not agree with this view and believes that the

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.221, vs.17

(2) DHNI, Vol.II, pp.681 - 682. A Gāhadavāla inscription of V.S.1237, records that Prince Vijayacandra "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the

Hamvīna referred to is Sultān Mahmūd. He suspects the veracity of Firishta and points out that neither Utbi, Ibn-ul-Athīr, nor Nizāmuddīn mentions any particular king or country by name. His chief argument is based on the contention that inscriptional evidence does not specifically maintain that Dhaṅga died in A.D.1002. On the contrary, the fact that he lived for 100 years implies that he survived much longer after AD.1002. In the inscription of Dhaṅga of A.D.1002 (renewed by Jayavarmadeva in V.S.1173), the original lines 32-33 ends with the words "The year 1059 V.S.; at the glorious Khanjuravāhaka, in the realm of the illustrious Marakāṭesvāna is completed." (. E.I. - I, p.147) It is clear from these lines that Dhaṅga was alive in A.D.1002. Dr. Ray argues that "the fact that the line 29, vs.55 refers to the death of Dhaṅga, only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmadeva in V.S.1173." (1)

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- (2) continued from page 67.
wives of Hammīra, the abode of Wanton destruction
to the earth". - EI. Vol.XXIV, p.292.
- (3) Briggs. Vol.I. p.18.

(1) referred to on this page -
DHNI - II. p.682, fn.5. The vs.55 of the inscription
of A.D.1002 says, "When Dhaṅga had ruled the whole earth over
which he alone held sway, and had lived rather more than a
hundred years, he abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges
and the Yamunā and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes,
fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy Prayers".
EI.Vol.I, p.146, vs.55

Continued over....

It is also significant that the inscription which refers to Dhaṅga's death does not mention any successor. Dr. Ray points out that it was only after the battle of A.D.1008 that Ānandapāla of the Śāhi dynasty lost his life and kingdom. Thereafter Sultān Mahmūd occupied Punjab and the road to the upper Gangetic valley was opened. It was only then that Hamvīna could be described as one who had proved a heavy burden for the earth. Dr. Ray concludes by saying that "if Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by Hamvīna, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors." (1)

Dr. Ray's view is based on reliable evidence and his arguments are very reasonable. While accepting his view on the date of Dhaṅga's death, we need not, however, entirely disbelieve Firishta's account that among others, the ruler of Kālañjara helped Jayapāla against Sultān Mahmūd. No doubt Firishta has exaggerated, but it is quite possible that Dhaṅga and other rulers may have sent a contingent of their army or some other token help to Jayapāla in A.D.989. Dhaṅga had an unusually long reign and he was the contemporary of

 continuing footnote (1) from page 68..

Vaidya says that "Dhaṅga in extreme old age (about 100 yrs) burnt himself on a pyre of cow-dung cakes at the holy Confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāga." Vaidya does not mention the source of this account. - DHI. Vol.II, p.179.

(1) referred to on this page.
 DHNI-II. pp.682-683

both Sabuktigin and Sultān Maḥmūd. Firishta says that Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi, Ajmer and Kālinjar "entered into a confederacy" with Ānandapāla in AH. A.D.399- A.D.1008 against Sultān Maḥmūd for "they considered the expulsion of the Mohammedans from India as a sacred duty".

(1) Firishta, as usual has exaggerated his facts, but it is not impossible that Dhaṅga helped the Sāhi ruler Ānandapāla in A.D.1008, as he helped his father Jayapāla a few years earlier. The Hindu rulers no doubt considered the expulsion of the Moslem invaders a necessity, but, unfortunately, the history of the period shows that struggle for dynastic supremacy stood in the way of any concerted and whole-hearted attempt to expel the common enemy.

It is clear from the above discussions on Dhaṅga's reign that he was a very powerful king and was the greatest ruler of his time. He had firmly consolidated his position in Central India, and many other States in the East, West and Southern parts of his kingdom felt the weight of his arms. He was not only the builder of an empire, but, as will be shown in a later chapter, a great patron of art and architecture. The claim of the Mau inscription that Dhaṅga obtained exalted sovereignty (sāmrājya) is not an idle boast. Undoubtedly the mantle of imperialism had fallen from the Pratīhāras upon the shoulders of Dhaṅga Candella.

(1) Briggs. Vol.I, p.46.

(ii)

G A N D AC.(A.D.1008 -c.1017)

Dhaᅅga's son and successor was Gaᅅᅅadeva. No inscription of this Kāᅅg has yet been discovered and his name is only known from a few later inscriptions of the dynasty, which accord to him some common praise. An inscription of Kintivarman says that from Dhaᅅga "there sprang an ornament of the earth, called the illustrious Gaᅅᅅa, an unrivalled hero, who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms." (1) Another inscription calls him "a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride." (2) No definite information of his reign is available from these verses. It is not even known when he began his reign and when he died, though an approximate idea of his reigning period is possible. We know that his son and successor Vidyādhara was ruling in A.D.1019, and it is possible that Vidyādhara succeeded two years earlier, i.e. A.D.1017. If the suggestion that Dhaᅅga died some time after A.D.1008 be accepted, we have for Gaᅅᅅa a short reign of eight or nine years from about A.D.1008-1017. Gaᅅᅅa is identified by many scholars with the Indian prince Nandā, mentioned by some Moslem historians, who fought with Sultān Maᅅmūd in A.D.1019

(1) E.I. Vol.I; p.219, vs.19

(2) EI, Vol.I. p.203, vs.4.

and 1022. As will be shown later, this identification is not correct, and the Nandā of the Moslem historians was not Gaṇḍa, but his son and successor Vidyādhara.

(iii) VIDYĀDHARA (c. A.D.1017-1029)

An inscription of Kīrtivarman records that Gaṇḍa's son and successor was Vidyādhara, "who gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies." (1) Vidyādhara was the most powerful ruler of his time and his reign marked the zenith of Candella supremacy. Unfortunately, we have no inscription of his reign and for an account of his time we must rely on Moslem records, and inscriptions of later Candella princes and their allies. The Moslem historians give a detailed account of Sultān Maḥmūd's conflict with Vidyādhara, which was the most important event of his reign and of the history of North Western and Central India at that time.

Ibn ul Athīr records that in the year 409 A.H. (A.D.1019) "Yamīn ud-Daulah started on an expedition towards India, and he made larger preparations than he had done before. The reason of all this preparation was that when he had conquered Kanauj and its ruler, called the Rāy, had fled away.....and Maḥmūd returned to Ghazna, Bīdā the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and

(1) EI. Vol.I. p.219, vs.20

had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kajurāha, sent messengers to the Rāy of Kanauj, who was named Rājāyāpāl, rebuking him for his flight and surrender of his territories to the Mussalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities; and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought and Rājāyāpāl was killed and most of his soldiers also perished; and this success added to the mischief and refractoriness of Bīdā, and his fame spread throughout India. Then one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yāmin ud Daulah, and whose armies had been routed, went to Bīdā and entered his service and sought protection. He (Bīdā) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him, but he made the coming of winter and the continuous fall of the rains an excuse. Now when this news reached Yāmin ud-Daulah he was disturbed and prepared for fight." (1) Other Moslem historians like Nizāmuddīn, Gardīzī and Firishta, mention the Candella King as Nandā instead of Bīdā (2).

Many scholars, finding that there was no ruler in the Candella dynasty bearing the name of Nandā, thought that it must have been a mistake for Gaṇḍa, Vidyādhara's father and predecessor. Cunningham said, "In cursive Persian characters

(1) Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116; c.f. DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 604-605

(2) De... , p. 12; DHNI, Vol. I, p. 604, fn. 4; Briggs, Vol. I, p. 63

Nandā may easily be misread for Gaṇḍa". (1) According to Smith, this transformation was due to an accidental omission of a stroke in the Persian texts and he believed that Gaṇḍa was alive at this time and Vidyādhara was the Crown Prince. (2) Dr. Majumdar, Dr. Tripathi and Vaidya accept the identification of Nandā with Gaṇḍa. (3) Dr. Ray does not agree with this view, which he thinks incorrect for many reasons. Firstly, Ibn ul Athīr names the killer of Rājyapāla as Bīdā and as Ibn ul Athīr lived within a century of the death of Maḥmūd, his statement must be accepted as more reliable than the later accounts of Nizāmuddīn and Firishta. Secondly, by a comparison of the letters Bīdā, Nandā and Gaṇḍa, Dr. Ray tries to show that Bīdā can be corrupted into Nandā much more easily than Gaṇḍa, and from an account of Gaṇḍa's reign it does not appear that he was the powerful king who put up strong opposition against Sultan Maḥmūd. Lastly, Dr. Ray points out that in Indian inscriptions the credit of defeating Rājyapāla is given to Vidyādhara or Vīdā; and since Maḥmūd's expedition in A.D.1019 was a reply to the defeat and assassination of Rājyapāla, Vidyādhara must have been the Candella King at that time (4). These arguments seem quite acceptable and are strengthened by the fact that the Tabakat-I-Nasīrī agrees with Ibn ul Athīr in

(1) ASR. Vol.II. p.452

(2) JRAS. 1909, pp.279-280

(3) JOL. Vol.X, pp.73-74; HOK.p.286; DHI. Vol.II, p.85.

(4) DHNI. Vol.I and II. pp.606, 692.

giving the name of the Hindu opponent of Maḥmūd as Bīdā (1) It must, however, be noted that in Gardīzī's account, which is earlier than Athīr's, the King of Kālañjara is called Nandā. It is possible that Gaṇḍa was still officially the Candella King, but was too old to take any part in the affairs of the State and his son Vidyādhara was ruling the country. As Dhaṅga lived for more than one hundred years his son Gaṇḍa must have succeeded to the throne in old age and could not possibly have ruled for long. The question whether Gaṇḍa was alive at the time of Maḥmūd's invasions is of little importance, as we know beyond doubt that it was Vidyādhara with whom Maḥmūd actually had to fight. It may be that the Moslem historians confused ^{the two} both names in compiling their chronicles.

The history of the time may be constructed on the authority of the Moslem accounts as follows. About A.D.1017, Sultān Maḥmūd attacked the Pratihāra Kingdom of Kanauj and compelled its ruler Rājyapāla to enter into a humiliating treaty, including recognition of Moslem supremacy. But as soon as Maḥmūd had left the country, the Candella ruler Vidyādhara picked a quarrel with Rājyapāla for submitting to the Moslem invaders and killed him, which resulted in Maḥmūd's invasion of the Candella Kingdom in A.D.1019.

(1) Raverty, Vol.I, p.86

In support of this we have the evidence of an Indian inscription, which was set up at Dubkund near Gwalior, by the Kacchapaghāta ruler Vikramasimha in V.S.1145 (A.D.1088). This inscription informs us that Arjuna, one of the predecessors of Vikramasimha, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slew in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones. (1) Kielhorn placed Arjuna's rule some time between V.S.1060 and 1090 and identified Vidyādhara-deva of this inscription with the Candella Vidyādhara. He identified Rājyapāla with the Pratīhāra ruler Rājyapāla, mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilocanapāla in the Jhusi Copper Plate of V.S.1084 (A.D.1027) (IA.XVIII,34). (2) These identifications have been accepted by all scholars, and a later Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba, also maintains that, "Vidyādhara caused the destruction of the King of Kanauj." (3) This took place before A.D.1019, when Sultān Maḥmūd left Ghazni with the object of destroying the presumptuous Vidyādhara.

The story of the conflicts which followed was recorded by Ibn ul Athīr, Niẓāmuddīn and other Moslem historians. According to Athīr's account, Maḥmūd, on his way from Ghazni, chastised the Afghans, passed through the narrow passes in

(1) EI. Vol.II. p.237, lines 11-12

(2) EI. Vol.II. pp.235-36

(3) EI. Vol.I. pp.219, 222. vs.22.

their country and gradually reached the Ganges and crossed it. "After that he hastened on and on his way he heard about a king of India called Parūjaypāl. He fled before him and sought the shelter of Bīdā, so that the latter might protect him. Maḥmūd traversed stages after stages and overtook Parūjaypāl and his followers on the 14th of Shaban; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river. Some of his followers crossed the river and reached the enemy, and engaged him in battle. Then he himself with the remainder of his army also crossed over, and they fought for the greater part of the day, and Parūjaypāl and his followers were defeated, a large number being slain and captured.....Their King fled, wounded, and he did not know what to do. So he sent a message to Yamīn ud Daulah requesting peace. But Maḥmūd refused and did not agree to any conditions except Islam and slew innumerable of his soldiers. Barūjaypāl started to meet Bīdā but some of his Hindus surprised him and killed him (Barūjaypāl)". (1) After this incident the Moslem army plundered Bārī and started in pursuit of Bīdā. Maḥmūd overtook him on the bank of a river and came in touch with his army. According to Athīr, "Yamīn ud Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a smaller number, and both the armies continued

(1) BULAK, 1874, Vol.IX, pp.115-116; cf. DHNI, Vol.I. p.605.

reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them". The next morning, however, Maḥmūd found the battlefield deserted, each party of the Hindu army having gone a different way. Maḥmūd plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He overtook them in forests and thickets and slew and captured a large number, but 'Bīdā escaped single-handed and Yamīn ud Daulah returned victorious to Ghazna'. (1)

The cause of Maḥmūd's invasion as given by Niẓāmuddīn is the same as in the account of Ibn ul Athīr, though the king who opposed and was defeated by Maḥmūd on his way to the Kingdom of the Candellas is called Naro Jaipāl. But the actual narrative of the conflict given by Niẓāmuddīn differs considerably from Ibn ul Athīr's account. According to Niẓāmuddīn, after defeating Naro Jaipāl, Maḥmūd advanced towards the Kingdom of Nandā. "The latter prepared for battle and collected an immense army. It is said, the army consisted of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants. When the Sultān encamped in front of Nandā's army he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit

(1) Bulak, 1874, Vol.IX, p.216; c.f. DHNI, Vol.II. pp.690-691

and to accept Islam. Nandā refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After this ^{the} Sultān went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at and make an estimate of the strength of Nandā's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming, and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies. In the night a fear fell on the heart of Nandā, and he fled with a few special companions, leaving the army and all the munitions of war behind". (1)

"The next morning when the Sultān heard this, he mounted his horse, and after having all the places where the enemy might be in ambush carefully searched, examined the traces of the hostile army, and when he was satisfied that no deception or treachery was intended, he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder. Immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the army of Islam. They also accidentally found 580 elephants belonging to the army of Nandā in a wood, which were included in the booty". (2)

Gardizī and Firishta give a similar account of the conflict. (3)

The difference between the accounts of Ibn ul Athīr and Nizāmuddīn is clearly evident. According to Ibn ul Athīr,

(1) De. p.12.

(2) Ibid, pp.12-13.

(3) IHA, Vol.IX, pp.938-939. Briggs. Vol.I.pp.63-64

a hotly contested battle took place until night parted the two parties, and, under the cover of night, Vidyādhara with his army retreated leaving Maḥmūd to plunder at his will. But according to Niẓāmuddīn, there was no fight between the two armies and Nandā, overwhelmed with fear, fled at night. Dr. Ray takes Ibn ul Athīr's account to be more reliable and believes that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before Vidyādhara made a strategic retreat in the night. (1) Ibn ul Athīr's account seems to be more authentic than that of Niẓāmuddīn, especially because in A.D.1022, Maḥmūd had to undertake a second expedition against Vidyādhara, which shows that the issue was not decided in A.D.1019. Niẓāmuddīn's account of Nandā's sudden fear and flight as if in answer to Maḥmūd's prayer to Allāh, is typical of the exaggerations often made by Moslem chroniclers for the greater glory of Islam.

The name of the king who opposed Maḥmūd on the bank of the river Rahib is differently given as Barū Jaypāl, Tarū Jaypāl, Narū or Narō Jaypāl by various Moslem historians. Smith identified this king with Trilocanapāla the son and successor of Rājyapāla, the Pratīhāra King. (2) Dr. Ray has pointed out that the name Trilocanapāla might be corrupted in

(1) DHNI. Vol.II. p.691

(2) JRAS. 1909, pp.279-280.

Arabic script in Barū, Parū, Tarū and Narū Jaipāl. (1) We think that Trilocanapāla referred to by the Moslem historians was the son and successor of the Sāhi ruler Ānandapāla, whom he succeeded in A.D.1009. In his account of the battle between Maḥmūd and Vidyādhara, Firishta says that the "King of Lahore, who had so often fled before his (Maḥmūd's) troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank". The king is not mentioned by name, but Firishta states that he was the grandson of Jaipāl. (2) Ānandapāla was defeated and lost his kingdom to Maḥmūd in A.D.1008. His son Trilocanapāla must have been waiting for an opportunity to revenge the defeat of his father and regain independence. With this object in mind he solicited the help of the powerful Candella King and opposed Sultān Maḥmūd in A.D.1019. This incident is mentioned by the Moslem historians. Unfortunately, as we have seen, Trilocanapāla's attempt to regain his kingdom failed, and he was defeated and killed in course of his fight against Sultān Maḥmūd.

Dr. Muhammad Nazim thinks that after the Pratihāra ruler Rājyapāla was defeated and killed by Vidyādhara, the former's son Trilocanapāla was raised to the throne of Kanauj and became an ally of Vidyādhara. On his way to the Candella Kingdom in A.D.1019, Maḥmūd was opposed by the other Trilocanapāla, the son of the Sāhi ruler Ānandapāla, to whom

(1) DHNI - I, p.602

(2) Briggs. Vol.I. p.63; In the text (p.52) the King is mentioned as Rājā of Punjab and not Lahore. And in the translation the information that the King was the grandson of Jaipāl

Vīdā had promised to win back his ancestral kingdom. This Trilocanapāla tried to join his namesake in Kanauj but failed in his attempt and was assassinated by his own men. (1) From the Jhusī inscription, (2) we know that Trilocanapāla was the successor of Rājyapāla, and one naturally assumes that the former succeeded to the throne of Kanauj with the help of Vidyādhara. Trilocanapāla is evidently mentioned as the son and successor of Rājyapāla in the Jhusī inscription (3) and therefore it seems that a son was in alliance with the murderer of his father, though such a happening is not impossible.

Speculating on the causes of Maḥmūd's retirement to Ghazni instead of completely destroying Vidyādhara's power, Cunningham said that Maḥmūd retired because "he was doubtful of the result, and like a prudent general, he went back to Ghazni to return with a larger force." (4) Niẓāmuddīn and Ibn ul Athīr are silent on this point, but Firishta states that since Maḥmūd was not happy about his rearward communications, he was satisfied with what he had done that year and returned to Ghazna. (5) Perhaps the vast army collected by

 continuing footnote (2) from previous page...
 is not given. I am grateful to Dr. Hardy for the translation from the text.

(1) L.T.O.S.G. - pp.94-95

(2) IA, Vol.XVIII. p.34

(3) Ibid.

(4) ASR. Vol.XXI. p.23-24

(5) Text. p.53; This is not mentioned in Briggs' translation.

Vidyādhara had some effects on Maḥmūd's policy and he was both afraid to go too far and apprehensive of his way back through Punjab. These two considerations probably induced Maḥmūd to return to Ghazni and wait for a suitable time in the near future for a second expedition.

Sultān Maḥmūd invaded the Kingdom of Vidyādhara for the second time in A.D. 1022. Nizāmuddīn gives the following account of the expedition. "In the year 413 A.H. he (the Sultān) again invaded the Kingdom of Nandā, and when he reached the fortress of Gwalior, he laid siege to it. At the end of four days, the Commandant of the fort sent envoys, and offering a tribute of 35 elephants prayed for protection. The Sultān accepted the terms, and advancing to the fort of Kālañjar, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustān for strength and impregnability, besieged it. The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā, the ruler of the fort, offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. When the elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultān ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nandā then sent some verses, which he had composed in the Hindi tongue, in praise of the Sultān. The latter showed them to eloquent men of Hindustān, and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised

them. The Sultān sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of the 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for acceptance of the Sultān. From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghaznin) with victory and triumph."(1) Firishta and Gardīzī give a similar account of this expedition, but the latter mentions payment of Jizyā as one of the terms agreed to by Vidyādhara.(2)

In Tarikh ul Kāmil no such expedition by Maḥmūd in 413 A.H. is mentioned. But in A.H.414 Maḥmūd is said to have conquered a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants. (3) Dr. Ray identifies this fort with Kālañjara, and suggests the correction of the date by a year.(4) Vaidya does not think that Kālañjara was invaded by Maḥmūd for the second time but believes that the Candella Kingdom was attacked only once, after the killing of Rājyapāla. The course of events, according to him, was that in Maḥmūd's expedition against Kanauj in A.D.1019, Rājyapāla did not submit but fled to Bārī. In his next expedition Maḥmūd led an army against Rājyapāla and Bārī, and conquering him in the battle of the Rahib, accepted his submission on condition

(1) DE, p.14

(2) IHQ, Vol.IX, p.941

(3) Bulak, 1874, Vol.IX, p.124;
DHNI, Vo..II, p.693, fn.1.

(4) DHNI, Vol.II, p.693, fn.1.

of payment of tribute (March,1021). In May, Rājyapāla was attacked and killed by the Candella King and his allies. Maḥmūd learnt this at Lahore in March,1022; he invaded Gwalior and Kālañjara in December,1022, and exacted submission from both in January,1023. In Vaidya's view, Gaṇḍa was not craven-hearted as he is made to appear. (1) This reconstruction of the events of this period does not tally with the evidence of the Moslem historians and we do not think there is any sound reason to disbelieve the accounts of Nizāmuddīn and Firishta in respect of the second invasion.

The foregoing discussions reveal that for an account of the conflict between Sultān Maḥmūd and Vidyādhara, its causes and consequences, we have to depend almost entirely on the works of the Moslem historians. These writers are inevitably biased and their accounts are highly exaggerated and partial. In the absence of any Hindu account of the conflict, no comparative study of the situation and the ultimate success or failure of either side is possible. From the Moslem accounts Vidyādhara emerges as a king with a great army and a vast kingdom, but very weak and cowardly by nature. Smith said that Maḥmūd invaded the Candella territory expecting to encounter vigorous resistance. But the Candella

(1) DHI. II. p.86

King, "who had punished with death the pusillanimity of Rājyapāla, was himself equally deficient in courage, and could not harden his heart to face the fierce warriors of Islam."(1) Many scholars doubt the authenticity of the Moslem accounts and do not think that Maḥmūd had everything his own way, or that the Candella ruler was a worthless coward. Dr. Majumdar says, "The Candellas appear to have adopted a 'scorched earth policy' and retreated before the Muslim army without offering any battle. The Sultān, afraid of penetrating too far into the interior, had each time to retreat without much gain, and ultimately established a friendly relation with Vidyādhara, who had thus the unique distinction of being the only Indian ruler who effectively checked the triumphal career of Sultān Maḥmūd and saved his kingdom from wanton destruction by that ruthless conqueror."(2) Dr. Ray thinks that Maḥmūd could not repeat the devastating success which he obtained against the Gurjara Pratihāras. In two invasions he could not capture Kālañjara and his campaign ended in "mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute'."(3)

It is usually believed that Maḥmūd invaded the Candella Kingdom in A.D.1019, to revenge the murder of Rājyapāla of

(1) JRAS, 1909. p.279

(3) DHNI. Vol.II. p.693

(2) AI. p.351

Kanauj. According to Smith, "Maḥmūd was furious when he heard at Ghaznī of the punishment inflicted upon the prince whom he regarded as a feudatory, and resolved to take speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates." (1) This view is not accepted by Dr. Ray, who criticises Smith for relying entirely on Nizāmuddīn and disregarding other Moslem accounts. Dr. Ray points out that Utbī assigns this expedition to Maḥmūd's ambition and love to plunder and never states that Rājyapāla submitted to Maḥmūd after his escape from Kanauj. Dr. Ray further argues that Ibn ul Athīr makes it clear that Vidyādhara attacked Rājyapāla for the latter's flight and surrender of his territories to the attack of the Moslems, and not for becoming a feudatory of the Yāminīs. From Ibn ul Athīr's account it is evident that the cause of Maḥmūd's expedition was not Vidyādhara's attack on the Kanauj prince, but Vidyādhara's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Maḥmūd in India. (2)

In criticising Smith's disregard for Utbī and reliance on Nizāmuddīn, it seems Dr. Ray himself has relied too much on the evidence of Utbī and Ibn ul Athīr. We think that Maḥmūd was induced to invade India in A.H.410 (A.D.1019) not by any one motive only. He had two objectives, to destroy

(1) JRAS. 1909 pt.I pp.278-79

(2) DHNI - Vol.I. pp.606-607

the power and prestige of Vidyādhara, which the Candella King had gained by defeating and killing Rājyapāla, and his love of plunder and the accumulation of wealth. A study of the attitude of the Candellas towards the Moslems from the time of Dhaṅga, reveals the key to the situation. After the disintegration of the Pratīhāra empire, the Candellas had gradually become the most powerful dynasty in North West India. The defeat and death of the Śāhi Kings, Jayapāla and Ānandapāla, opened the way for Moslem invaders into Central India. The alarm caused by the Moslems in the minds of the Candellas is reflected in a later inscription of the dynasty, which says that 'Hamvira (the Moslem Chief) had proved a heavy burden on the earth'. (1) They were naturally anxious to remove the burden and this explains Dhaṅga's help to the Śāhi rulers. Ganda had a very short reign, but he apparently succeeded in maintaining the Kingdom left by his father. Vidyādhara was an ambitious and powerful king who started where Dhaṅga had left off. Vidyādhara succeeded in gaining supremacy over the Kalacuris and the Paramāras, the two most powerful dynasties of that time. (2) He now wished to try his strength with the Moslems and to consolidate his supremacy firmly by championing the causes of the kings defeated by

(1) EI, Vol.I p.221, vs.17

(2) EI, Vol.I, p.219, vs.22

Mahmūd. With this object in mind, he attacked Rājyapāla, whose flight before Mahmūd without a fight amounted to submission, and placed Trilocanapāla on the throne of Kanauj. This success, according to Moslem writers, considerably increased the power of the Candella ruler, so much so that he promised to help Trilocanapāla, son of the Śāhi ruler Ānandapāla, in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultān Mahmūd. These actions of Vidyādhara naturally enraged Mahmūd, and this, together with his love for wealth and plunder, resulted in the conflict between Mahmūd and Vidyādhara. Thus it is clear that Mahmūd's invasion of A.D.1019 was not just one of his many raids, but the culmination of a series of events. As to the result of the conflict, it is evident that the first invasion of Mahmūd did not prove decisive since he had to launch a second expedition. This time Vidyādhara preferred diplomacy to war and the two came to an agreement, the terms of which were definitely in favour of Sultān Mahmūd. Even making allowances for the exaggerations of the Moslem historians, one can hardly say that the conflict ended in "mutual gifts and compliments", and Vidyādhara, though not completely defeated, could not gain the success he desired.

Vidyādhara's conflicts with Sultān Mahmūd are very well known and are recorded in Moslem histories which are easily

accessible. There is, however, evidence to show that these were not the only events of his reign. A later inscription of the dynasty says that "Bhojadeva, together with Kalacuri-Chandra (i.e. the moon of the Kalacuris) worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, (this) master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the King of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch".(1) This Bhojadeva was no doubt the contemporary Paramāra King Bhoja of Malwa (c.A.D.1010-1055), who seems to have been forced to acknowledge for the time the supremacy of the Candella ruler. After completing his expedition in the south, Bhoja turned his eyes on his northern neighbours. But it was very difficult for him to gain success in the north until the forces of Vidyādhara had been shattered. This led Bhoja to attack the Candella Kingdom, but without success.(2)

We have already seen that the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund were subordinate to the Candellas at that time, and Arjuna, a prince of the dynasty, had killed the Pratihāra Rājyapāla to please Vidyādhara. In the Sasbahu inscription of Kacchapaghāta Mahīpāla of Gwalior, a prince of the dynasty named Kinttirāja is said to have defeated the Mālava-Chumipa, i.e. the King of Mālava. The inscription says, "When that (Mālava prince) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded

(1) E.I, Vol.I, pp.219, 221-222, vs.22.

(2) HOPD, p.104.

their houses with the multitude of spears which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction."

(1) As Mahīpāla of this inscription (A.D.1093) is the fourth in lineal descent from Kīmttirāja, Dr. Ray assigns Kīmttirāja to the period c. A.D.1005 - c.1035. This makes Kīmttirāja a contemporary of Vidyādhara and Sultān Maḥmūd, and Dr. Ray thinks that it was Kīmttirāja who commanded the fort of Gwalior at the time of Maḥmūd's invasion in A.D.1022. He further suggests that the reference by Nizāmuddīn to the prince of Gwalior at the time of Maḥmūd's invasion as Hākīm and the statement that Maḥmūd reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of Nandā, indicate that the ruler of Gwalior was subordinate to the ruler of Kālañjara. He also believes that Kīmttirāja's success against the Paramāra ruler was achieved with the help of the mighty Candella King.(2)

The Kalacuri-Candra mentioned in the Candella inscription was identified with the Kalacuri ruler Kokalla II,(3) and this is accepted by Dr. Ray. (4) Dr. D.C. Ganguly and Vaidya, however, identify him with the Kalacuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva.(5) This identification has been supported by the discovery of a stone inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva at Mukundpur, nine miles

(1) IA, Vol.XV, p.36, vs.10

(4) DHNI, Vol.II, 689-690

(2) DHNI. Vol.II, pp.824-825

(5) HOPD. p.104,fn.1;
DHI. Vol.II, p.180

(3) EI. Vol.I. p.219

south-west of Rewah. As this inscription is dated in the Kalacuri year 772, i.e. A.D.1019, and if the reading of the inscription, which has not yet been published, is correct, there can be no doubt that Gāṅgeyadeva was a contemporary of Vidyādhara. Dr. Mirashi, who has noted this inscription, says "In this inscription Gāṅgeyadeva bears the title of Mahāmahā-mahattaka together with another which is probably Mahārāja. Now Mahāmahattaka, was a title assumed by petty chiefs and ministers. Even with the prefix Mahā it cannot be said to be equivalent to Mahārājādhirāja. It is plain therefore that in A.D.1019 Gāṅgeyadeva was subordinate to some other power." He then refers to the Candella inscription claiming Vidyādhara's supremacy over the Kalacuris, and, he adds that "In A.D.1019 Gāṅgeyadeva held a subordinate position of the Candella emperor Gaṇḍa, the father of Vidyādhara." (1) In accepting the view of Dr. Mirashi it must be pointed out that Gāṅgeyadeva must have been subordinate to Vidyādhara and not to Gaṇḍa, otherwise why should the Candella inscription praise Vidyādhara for this success, instead of his father? Vaidya thinks that Bhoja and Gāṅgeyadeva were in league with Vidyādhara in the task of opposing the Moslems and driving them out of Central India, and both of them sent contingents in the

(1) Bh. Annals. XXIII. 1942, p.296.

war against Kanauj, which acted under the orders of Vidyādhara. (1)

No further information on Vidyādhara's reign is available and we do not even know when it came to an end. Dr. Ray thinks that the friendship between Sultān Maḥmūd and Vidyādhara, established in A.D.1022, continued until A.D.1029 (2). In that year, according to Al-Bundārī and the Rāḥatūṣ-Ṣudūr, Sultān Maḥmūd seized one of his enemies' (Seljuqs) sons and interned him in a fortress in India called Kālanjar, where, after languishing in captivity for seven years, the prisoner died. (3) If this be so, we may fix c.A.D.1029 as the last possible date of Vidyādhara's reign.

(1) DHI. II.pp.180-181

(2) DHNI. Vol.II, p.693

(3) Browne, Literary History of Persia, 1915, p.170. Dr. Ray, however, thinks it more likely that this Kālanjar is the Kaliñjara or Kāliñjara of Kalhana and Kalunjur of Fērīshṭa, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir. — DHNI. Vol.II. p.693, fn.3.

CHAPTER - IVHISTORY OF THE DYNASTY FROM C. A.D.1030 to C.1129

The beginning of the decline;
Temporary restoration by Kīrtivarman.

(i) VIJAYAPĀLA: (c. A.D.1030 to c.1050):-

Vidyādhara's son and successor was Vijayapāla. (1)

No inscription of his reign has been discovered but he cannot have ruled before A.D.1022, the last known date of his father Vidyādhara, (2) or after A.D.1051, the first known date of his successor Devavarmadeva. (3) We get no information of Vijayapāla's reign from the inscriptions, in which he is simply praised as a brave and courageous king. One inscription credits him with putting an end to the Kali age (4) but, ironically, we have other evidence to show that the decline of the Candellas started from his reign.

We have already seen that the Kalacuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva and Bhoja Paramāra were contemporaries of Vidyādhara, and acknowledged his supremacy. Gāṅgeyadeva ruled from A.D.1019 to A.D.1041, which makes him a contemporary of Vijayapāla as well as of Vidyādhara. This is supported by an undated

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- (1) IA. Vol.XVI, p.205, lines 1-3; Vol.XVIII, p.238, lines 2-3;
EI, Vol.I. p.198, vs.26
(2) The date of the second invasion of Kālañjara by Sultān Mahmūd.
(3) IA. Vol.XVI, p.206
(4) EI. Vol.I. p.198, vs.6.

Candella inscriptions from Mahoba which states that "When Gāṅgeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla).....the lotus of his heart closed the knot (i.e. the flower) of pride in battle."(1) Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabbalpur Copper Plate of Yaśahkarnadeva (A.D.1112), "fond of residing at the foot of 'the holy fig-tree of Prayāga', found salvation there together with his hundred wives."(2) Gāṅgeya was one of the greatest Kalacuri Kings, and it is clear from the inscriptions that, after the death of Vidyādhara, the Kalacuris, who had so long acknowledged Candella supremacy, succeeded in reversing the situation. Prayāga was said to be in the kingdom of Dhaṅga, (3) but the mention of the place in the Kalacuri inscription shows that the Candellas had lost it, probably during the weak reign of Vijayapāla. The reference to Gāṅgeyadeva as the lord of the universe in the Candella inscription also suggests the Kalacuri ruler's supremacy over the Candellas. The success of the Kalacuris over the Candellas during Vijayapāla's reign was not complete, for, as will be seen later, during the reign of Gāṅgeya's successor Karṇa, the Candella Kingdom was completely over-run by the Kalacuris, and for a time the Candellas virtually lost their independence.

(1) EI. Vol.I. p.222, vs.24 (3) Supra. p.64.

(2) EI. Vol.II, p.4. vs.12

During Vijayapāla's reign, the Candellas probably also lost the control which Vidyādhara exercised over the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior. Kīrttirāja, who helped Vidyādhara in his fight against Sultān Mahmūd, was succeeded by his son Mūladeva, also known as Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla. (1) Dr. Ray believes that Mūladeva's "sudden assumption of two additional names and the statement in the Sasbahu epigraph that 'his body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign' may indicate his freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas"; and he rightly thinks it likely that Mūladeva, taking advantage of the defeats of the Candellas by the Kalacuris, asserted complete independence. (2)

The decline of the Candellas also affected their relations with the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund. Arjuna, who was a subordinate of Vidyādhara, was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu, of whom the Dubkund inscription says that, "Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious (he) valued other princes as lightly as a straw. Since the highly intelligent King, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear

(1) IA. Vol.XV, pp.36, 42, vs.12, 13: p.202.vs.1.

(2) DHNI. Vol.II, p.825.

inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?" (1) The Bhoja, so highly praised in the verse, is identified with the great Paramāra ruler Bhojadeva. Dr. Ganguly believes that Bhoja entered into an alliance with Abhimanyu on the eve of his northern expedition, and that the latter's help was a great asset to the Paramāra ruler. (2) As Bhoja (c. A.D.1010-1055) must have survived Vidyādhara by at least a few years, Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that, "taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors, Bhoja may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund; and the statement of the Prasastikāra possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramāra." (3)

Thus, in spite of the absence of any direct evidence, we have reason to believe that immediately after the death of Vidyādhara, there was a change in the fortunes of the Candellas. The empire founded by Dhaṅga and expanded by Vidyādhara showed visible signs of decline during this period. But the misfortune of the dynasty was not yet complete, and in the next few years the situation turned for the worse, and for a time the Candellas suffered a complete eclipse.

(1) EI. Vol.II. p.233

(2) HOPD. p.105

(3)DHNI. Vol.II. pp.830-831.

(ii) DEVAVARMAN (c.1050 - C.1060):-

In an inscription dated V.S.1107 (A.D.1051) of the Candella dynasty, the ruling prince is named Devavarmadeva, son of Vijayapāla and grandson of Vidyādharadeva. (1) The inscription names the mother of Devavarmadeva as Bhuvanadevī.

(2) In later Candella inscriptions, the name of Devavarmadeva is omitted from the family genealogy. These inscriptions mention Kīrtivarman as the son and successor of Vijayapāla. (3)

As Devavarmadeva in his own inscription is also mentioned as a son of Vijayapāla, it is clear that Kīrtivarman and Devavarman were brothers. But the omission of the latter's name from all Candella inscriptions seems very strange and suspicious. In fact, until recently, but for the contemporary inscription of Devavarman himself which is dated A.D.1051, we should not have known that a king of that name had ruled at all. Lately, however, another inscription of his reign has been discovered, dated in V.S.1108, i.e.A.D.1052. (4)

According to Cunningham, the strange omission of Devavarman in the Candella inscriptions was either due to his childlessness or to the suppression of his children by Kīrtivarman. (5) Dr. Jaidev has rightly ruled out the first

(1) IA. Vol.XVI, p.206

(4) EI. Vol.XX. p.127

(2) Ibid

(5) ASR. Vol.X. p.24

(3) EI. Vol.I. p.198, vs.7
p.219, 222, vs.23-26
IA. Vol.XVIII. p.38, lines 2-3

alternative of Cunningham by pointing out that kings without children are mentioned in inscriptions, and he refers to Rājyavardhana, Harṣa's elder brother, who, though childless, is not omitted from the genealogical list. (1) The second alternative of Cunningham seems more probable, and there is evidence to support this assumption. The Nanyaura inscription of Devavarman supplies no information of his reign, but the Charkhari Plate, dated a year later, probably contains, as we shall see, a veiled reference to the gloomy affairs of the time. As will be seen in the following pages, we know from literary and epigraphic records that the reign of Devavarman was one of the darkest chapters in the history of the dynasty. The Candellas were completely defeated by the great Kalacuri King Lakṣmīkarṇa, probably in the year A.D.1051, and became almost a feudatory of the Kalacuris, until the fortune of the dynasty was revived by Kīrtivarman a few years later.

(iii) KĪRTIVARMAN:(c. 1060 - c.1100):

Devavarman was succeeded by Kīrtivarman. The Mau Stone inscription states that from Vijayapāla was born Kīrtivarmadeva, "who was as though virtue itself descended there.....to destroy the sin of the Kali age...."(2)

(1) P. ch. Thesis. pp.42-43.

(2) EI. Vol.I. p.198, vs.7.

Another Candella inscription says that from Vijayapāla sprang the illustrious Kīrtivarman, who was endowed with all the virtues of Bhārata.(1) Kīrtivarman is generally regarded as a younger brother of Devavarman, and for the omission of the latter's name from Kīrtivarman's inscriptions it is suspected that Kīrtivarman's accession to the throne was not a peaceful one. The Sanskrit drama Prabodhacandrodaya allegorically represents the conflict between the step-brothers Viveka and Mahāmoha, and the play ends with the triumph of Viveka. This allegory may well allude to the conflict between Devavarman and Kīrtivarman. (2) The inscriptions of the family make no mention of any political achievement to the credit of Vijayapāla and Devavarman. Moreover, they omit the name of Devavarman, as if he was of no importance. That the period was one of decline is clear from a study of the contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence.

We have already seen that the decline of the Candellas had started immediately after the death of Vidyādhara. Not only had they lost supremacy over other dynasties, but also had suffered humiliation from the Kalacuris and had practically become their subordinates. We get no direct information about Devavarman's reign. But the recently discovered Copper Plate of Kīrtivarman

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.222, vs. 25

(2) P. ch. - Thesis. p.44

probably reflects the gloomy situation. After praising the king in the customary way, the inscription states, "Realising that life is like the womb of Rambhā, and that Fortune is tremulous like lightning, and having learnt from the Śrutis that life is like a bubble of water, and youth is like a drop of water on a blade of grass and that, as one lives but a short time, there is no satisfaction in passion; And reflecting for a long time that Dharma (Religion) is the only friend, for, if the hundred years of men's lives are measured out, half are taken by the night, and of this half another half passes in childhood and the rest is taken up by the preoccupations of sickness, old age and death; since life is transitory as a wave of water, whence is there happiness for living beings? Realising that the law of the universe is impermanence" the king donates the land to the Brahmins at certain time and place. (1)

The doctrine, that life is impermanent and achievements in earthly life are insignificant, is not new in Indian inscriptions. But this inscription of Devavarman does not merely mention this fact in passing according to the usual convention, but it definitely strikes a note of pessimism and despair, and shows that the king lacks confidence in life. In his inscription of V.S.1107, i.e. only one year earlier, no

(1) EI. Vol.XX. p.127

such pessimism or emphasis on the impermanence of life is to be found, which suggests that between 1050 and 1051 Devavarman suffered defeat and disgrace at the hands of some powerful enemy, with subsequent loss of self-confidence. We know from other sources that the king who defeated and humbled the Candellas was the mighty Lakṣmīkarna Kalacuri, (c.1042-1070) the son and successor of Gāṅgeyadeva.

The most important of all the evidence is the contemporary sanskrit drama named "Prabodhacandrodaya" written by Kṛṣṇa Misra, at the instance of Gopāla, described as the crest-jewel of the whole body of vassals (sakala-sāmanta-cudāmaṇi), and staged in the very presence of the King Kīrtivarman, (1) In this drama Gopāla is compared with the Man-lion and Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu, and is credited with raising up the earth, "when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns." (2) This passage suggests that, like Viṣṇu, Gopāla was a saviour. As Viṣṇu saved Prahāda from the clutches of Hiranyakṣipu and the Goddess Earth from Hiranyākṣa, so did Gopāla save the Candella Kingdom in the time of crisis. (3) The enemy who caused such a disaster was the Kalacuri ruler Karnadeva, referred to in the play as the Lord of Cedi. In the drama, the Sūtradhara says, "His

(1) I. p.10

(3) Pc.ch. - Thesis - p.38, fn.1.

(2) I. p.11. Trns. Intd. p.Xii

(Gopāla's) anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the moon, who had been dethroned by the lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all Royal families of the earth." (1) Another passage refers to Gopāla's victory over the armies of the confederacy of kings and of Karna and compares Gopāla with Madhumathana who obtained Lakṣmī by churning the ocean. Gopāla is also credited with causing the rise of Kīrtivarman, just as discrimination, having overcome strong delusion, gave rise to knowledge. (2)

It is thus sufficiently clear that the fortunes of the Candellas had suffered a serious decline during this period, and were restored by Kīrtivarman with the assistance of his vassal Gopāla. One passage says that "Gopāla, whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend, conquered the lords of men and invested with the sovereignty of the earth, Kīrtivarman, the chief of princes." (3) Gopāla is also said to have been employed in the digvijaya vyāpāra of Kīrtivarman. (4). Gopāla was thus the real saviour of the Candellas and Dr. Jaidev says, "The drama hints that Gopāla, after his great victory which resulted in the establishment of the supremacy of Kīrtivarman and also peace in the land,

(1) I. p.19. Trns, Intd. p. xiv (3) I. p.15, Trns.intd.p.xiii

(2) I. pp.20-22

(4) I. p.12.

gave up war and took to pursuit of philosophy, probably under the guidance of Kṛṣṇa Mīśra." (1)

Later epigraphic evidence also supports the above account. A Candella inscription from Mahoba states, "Just as Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (Mandara) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions), he (Kīrtivarman) having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakṣmī-Karṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants". (2) An inscription of Vīravarmān records, "In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyādharas, (who was) the pitcher born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean Karṇa, (and) the lord of the creatures in creating anew the kingdom, - the illustrious Kīrtivarman". (3) The Dubkund inscription of Kīrtivarman records, "when Fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes, just as (she was recovered by Viṣṇu) from the sea came to him who appeared like a new Viṣṇu, without his club, [or, free from disease, healthy] she left

(1) Pc.ch.Thesis, p.38. Cunningham took the word Gopāla as another name of Viṣṇu, and believed that Kīrtivarman freed the Candellas from the subjection of Karṇadeva by the favour of Viṣṇu (ASR. Vol.II. p.453). This is not correct and there can be no doubt that Gopāla was the Brāhmaṇ General of Kīrtivarman. Throughout the play and in the inscriptions of the dynasty Viṣṇu is never invoked as Gopāla.

(2) EI. Vol.I, p.222, vs.26

(3) EI. Vol.I. p.327, vs.3.

off (her) fickleness". (1) This verse also probably refers to the restoration of Candella fortune by Kirtivarman.

The defeat of Devavarman at the hands of the Kalacuris is also referred to by Bilhana, who describes Karṇa, the lord of Dāhala, as "the death to the lord of Kālañjara mountain". (2) This statement of Bilhana, according to Dr. Ray, may indicate that one of the predecessors of Kirtivarman lost his life in the wars with the Cedis. (3) Dr. Ray's assumption may be correct but the term may not necessarily mean the actual death but may only imply the defeat of the ruler of Kālañjara. "Death" is commonly used in inscriptions in this sense.

It is interesting to note that from the reign of Kirtivarman the series of Candella coins begins. These coins are copies of the coins of the Cedi ruler Gaṅgeyadeva, and may thus be regarded as further evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella Kingdom,

There is a difference between the accounts given in the inscriptions and that in the Prabodhacandrodaya. In the drama, the full credit for reviving the Candella empire is given to Gopāla; in the inscriptions to King Kirtivarman himself. But the substance of the story is the same. During the reign of Vijayapāla, the Candellas suffered a definite loss

(1) IA. Vol. XVIII. p. 239, vs. 3.

(3) DHNI. Vol. II. p. 698

(2) Vikramāñka Deva Carita, edtd.
by Buhler, XVIII, 93

of power, and in the reign of Devavarman, they were forced to accept the hegemony of Kalacuri Karnadeva (c.1042-1070). It was from Karnadeva that Kirtivarman, with the help of his powerful vassal Gopāla, succeeded in recovering the independence of the kingdom. The Prabodhacandrodaya was composed and staged at a time when the power and prestige of Gopāla was very high in the Candella Kingdom, after he had won back independence for Kirtivarman. Naturally, the drama praises Gopāla, the saviour of the kingdom, for his great achievement, and the newly raised King Kirtivarman also had to acknowledge the power and greatness of his vassal. But the inscriptions which refer to this incident were composed after half a century or even more. It is quite natural for these to give all the credit for the victory to the Royal ancestor (Kirtivarman), and to be silent on the part played by his vassal. Even in the inscriptions of Kirtivarman himself, dated in A.D.1090 and 1097, no mention of Gopāla's assistance is made, which suggests either that after he had consolidated himself on the throne, Kirtivarman no longer readily acknowledged the past services of Gopāla, or that the latter's influence had waned by that time.

The precise date of Kirtivarman's success over Karnadeva is not known. The earliest possible date may be guessed from the consideration of the circumstance that until A.D.1050 or some time after, the Paramāra King Bhojadeva of Malwa occupied

a position of predominance in Northern India, which was lost to a combination of the contemporary princes between c.1050 - 1055 A.D. It was only after the death of Bhoja that Karṇa became irresistible, and overran the Paramāra Kingdom among others. So Karṇa's defeat could not possibly have come before A.D.1055. The latest possible date may be inferred from the fact that by A.D.1073, Karṇadeva had already abdicated the throne. (1) So Karṇa must have been defeated sometime between C.1050 and 1072. This range of twenty years can be further narrowed. Bhīmadeva I Caulukya and Udayāditya Paramāra are two of the five kings who claim victory over Karṇa. (2) Bhīmadeva ceased to rule from A.D.1064, and Udayāditya succeeded to the Paramāra throne in A.D.1059. (3) As the downfall of Karṇa was brought about by an alliance of the Candellas, Paramāras, Caulukyās, Pālas and Cālukyas, we may safely assume that Karṇa was defeated between the years 1060 and 1064. As Kīrtivarman Candella's accession to the throne was followed by his struggle for independence, this was also probably the time when he succeeded his brother Devavarman.

The defeat of Karṇadeva was an event of far reaching importance. Epigraphic records of contemporary Indian rulers

(1) EI. Vol.XII, p.207

(3) DHNI. Vol.II. pp.875-876

(2) EI, Vol.I, p.238, vs.19-22;
EI. Vol.II. p.181, vs.32-34;
Ibid. p.303.

show that four other princes claim a victory over Karnadeva. It is clear that Karṇa waged many wars against his neighbours, and, for a time, the weight of his arms was felt by many other dynasties. According to the Nagpur Prasasti, Bhoja's successor Udayāditya Paramāra (1059 - 1087) freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karnātas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean. (1) The grammarian Hemacandra praises Bhīmadeva I of the Caulukyās (1021 - 1064), for gaining victory against Karṇa in battle. (2) Bilhana records the defeat of Karṇa by the Western Cālukya King Someśvara I (c.1040-1069). (3) The Pāla King of Bengal, Vīgrahapāla (c.1055-1081) is also reported to have obtained a victory over Karṇa. (4) It seems therefore that five contemporary Indian rulers, including Kīrtivarman of the Candella family claim victory over the same enemy. A study of the circumstances leads to the conclusion that the ascendancy of the Kalacuri ruler rankled in the minds of other Indian princes, so that a coalition among the latter was formed. This resulted in the downfall of the short-lived Kalacuri supremacy of Northern India.

A little more information of Kīrtivarman's reign is available from other inscriptions. In the Deogadh Rock

(1) EI. Vol. II p.181, vs.32-34

(2) EI. Vol. II, p.303

(3) Vikramāṅkadeva Carita, I. pp.102-103

(4) Rāmacarita, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. III, p.22.

inscription of A.D.1098, Vatsarāja, the chief minister of Kīrtivarman, is recorded as having wrested the surrounding districts from the enemy and built the fort Kīrtigīri.(1) Kielhorn identified Kīrtigīridurga with Deogadh itself.(2) In an inscription of Bhojavarman, Kirtivarman is described as the crest jewel of the princes in the Pītalāsāila or yellow mountain districts. This territory has not yet been identified. (3) In an inscription of Jājjaladeva of Ratnapura, it is said that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejākabhukti considered Jājjaladeva as a friend. (4) Kielhorn identified the ruler of Jejākabhukti with Kīrtivarman. (5) We think that the Candella ruler mentioned is more probably Sallakṣaṇa, the successor of Kīrtivarman. The honourable mention of the Candella King in the inscription of another dynasty, suggests that the prestige of the Candellas had greatly revived and that their friendship was valued by other kings. In the Kasia Stone inscription of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur, Śivaraja I, a prince of the dynasty, is described as one "who was more successful even than Kīrti."(6) The Kīrti mentioned here has not been identified, but Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that he may have been Kīrtivarman Candella,

(1) IA. Vol.XVIII. p.238

(4) EI. Vol.I.p.35, vs.21

(2) Ibid.

(5) Ibid, p.34

(3) EI. Vol.I, p.333, vs.9.

(6) EI, Vol.XVIII. p.137 vs.18.

"who by defeating the mighty Karnadeva and recovering his territories appears to have performed one of the sensational military achievements of the period." (1)

Dr. Majumdar says that Sultān Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd, who was appointed Governor of the Punjab in A.D.1075, advanced further into the interior and captured Kanauj and Agra, but failed to take Ujjain and Kālañjara, which were successfully defended by the Paramāras and the Candella rulers. (2) We, however, have found no evidence of ^a Moslem invasion of Kālañjara during Kīrtivarman's reign, and no other scholar refers to any such incident, though Maḥmūd's invasions of Kanauj, Agra and Ujjain are well known.

Two inscriptions of Kīrtivarman's reign have been discovered, which are dated A.D.1098 and 1090. (3) We have already discussed the probable date of Kīrtivarman's succession. No inscriptions of his successor Sallakṣaṇavarman have been found, and the next known Candella inscription is that of Dhaṅga, renewed by Jayavarmadeva, the successor of Sallakṣaṇavarman in A.D.1117. Kīrtivarman had a very long reign, and we may reasonably fix c.A.D.1100 as his last possible date.

(iv) SALLAKṢANA VARMAN (c. 1100 - c.1115):-

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallakṣaṇavarman. The Mau Stone inscription records that Sallakṣaṇa "always kept

(1) DHNI. Vol.II. p.750

(3) IA. Vol.XVIII. pp.237-239;
ASR. 1935-36, pp.93-94

(2) AI, p.367

the enemies awake by the weight of his prowess" and he was "a leader of those versed in sacred lore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a store of arts, an abode of good conduct, and a tree of paradise to all suppliants for support." He is also praised because, "taking away the riches of his enemies and bestowing them on (all) his people of good family, he far removed the sad poverty." (1)

The above verses are customary eulogy, but two other verses of the same inscription, probably refer to Sallakṣaṇavarman's war in the Ganges - Jumna Doab (Antarvedī-viṣaya). The fragmentary verses 38 and 39 record, "Then the lord Sallakṣaṇavarman.....again, in the country of Antarvedī...", "utterly defeated by the excess of his heroism, were made to prostrate themselves at the feet of his master; having cleared the country of thorns (and) dissipated the fears of the subjects, he in an unparalleled manner increased their treasure and power." (2) Kielhorn thought that the person credited with the victory in these verses is one of the officers of Sallakṣaṇavarman. (3)

As this claim of success in Antarvedī is not corroborated by any other inscription, Cunningham believed that this victory of Sallakṣaṇavarman was only a successful raid. (4) Dr. Ray says, "If Sallakṣaṇa's objective in

(1) EI. Vol.I.p.198, vs.9-10 (3) EI. Vol.I, p.206,fn.75

(2) Ibid. p.201

(4) ASR, Vol.II, p.453

invading the Ganges Jumna Doab was to capture Kanauj, he may have come into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about the period." Dr. Ray believes that the attempts of the Candellas to control the Doab probably proved abortive. (1) We, however, take a different view of the situation and it will be shown later that the Gāhaḍavālas at this time were trying to penetrate the southern regions of the Doab and this brought them in conflict with the Candellas. The above verses probably refer to Sallakṣaṇa's successful opposition to the aggression of the rulers of Kanauj rather than his own raid in the Doab.

Sallakṣaṇavarman is also reported to have gained success over the Paramāras and the Cedis. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Viravarman states that his sword "took away the fortune of the Mālavas and Cedis." (2) The contemporary Paramāra King was most probably Naravarman (c.1097-1111). Dr. Ray thinks that, as the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa, it is possible that Sallakṣaṇa may have carried out successful raids in Malwa from the Kīrtigīridurga. (3) Lakṣmīkarna's son and successor Yaśaḥ-Karna (c.1073-1125) must have been the Cedi ruler whom Sallakṣaṇa defeated. According to Dr. R. C. Banerjee, by A.D.1120,

(1) DHNI. Vol.II. p.702 (3) DHNI. Vol.II. p.702

(2) EI. Vol.I. p.327, vs.4.

"not only Kanauj but the land between the Ganges and the Jumna also had passed out of the control of the descendants of Karṇa." (1) It seems that Sallakṣaṇa, like his father Kīrtivarman, gained victory over the Kalacuris who were on the decline after the death of the mighty Karṇa. Thus, Sallakṣaṇa evidently succeeded in maintaining the Candella empire revived by his father Kīrtivarman. (2)

(v) JAYAVARMAN (c.1115- c.1120):-

The Ajaygadh inscription of Viravarman states that after Sallakṣaṇavarman "the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose only glory was victory." (3) The only epigraphic record of Jayavarmadeva is the Khajuraho Stone inscription dated in V.S.1173 (A.D.1117) which constitutes

(1) MASI. Vol.23, p.26

(2) A very fragmentary inscription of 32 lines, written in Nāgarī characters of about the twelfth century, was found in the walls of the ruined fort of Jhansi. Line 2 of the inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting place of Kānyakubja. Lines 5 and 6 mention two chiefs, the elder of whom became King. Lines 7, 8 and 10 record the building of a tank, a temple and a grove by some other chiefs. Line 20 mentions the name of Prince Kīrtivarman who is protected from somebody. Line 21 speaks of three kings, one of whom is Kīrtivarman. Line 23 mentions the son of one illustrious Satyavati, who perhaps defeated one Gaṇapāla, and did something to Udayāditya, the lord of Avanti. Line 30 mentions the illustrious Sallakṣanasimha, who was probably engaged in battle with the troops of the Yavanas, which evidently means the Moslems. - Kielhorn identified Kīrtivarman with the Candella King of that name, but he did not think it reasonable to identify Sallakṣanasimha with the Candella King Sallakṣaṇavarman, or to assign the inscription to the Candellas.-EI. Vol.I, pp.214.-217; The identification with the Candella King Kīrtivarman is very reasonable.

an appendix to a longer inscription of King Dhaṅga. (1) This renewed inscription neither mentions the Kings who ruled between Dhaṅga and Jayavarmadeva, nor records any achievement of the latter. It is clear that Jayavarman's reign was not very successful, and a Kālañjara inscription indicates that Jayavarman "being wearied of government" abdicated the throne in favour of his successor. (2) The weariness of Jayavarman probably indicates that he suffered at the hands of the Gāhadavāla ruler Govindacandra. An inscription of Govindacandra, dated in V.S.1177 (A.D.1120) has been found in the village of Chattarpur near Sheorajpur, a small town 21 miles north-west of Kanpur. (3) Chattarpur is known to have been in the Candella kingdom, and the discovery of this Gāhadavāla inscription in Chhatarpur suggests that by about A.D.1120 Govindacandra had conquered this portion of Candella territory.

Another slab of stone, stated to have come from Dudhai in the Lalitpur district contains a very fragmentary inscription in 9 lines in the script of about the 12th century A.D. In line 5 one Rājā Candra is mentioned and Kuśasthalapurī or

 continuing (2) and (3) from previous page:-

As Kīrtivarman's and Udayāditya Paramāra's dates are very close to the approximate date of Sallakṣaṇavarman and in the absence of any other king named Sallakṣaṇa ruling at that time, we are inclined to identify the Sallakṣaṇasimha of the inscription with Candella King Sallakṣaṇavarman. But this identification is of very little importance because the inscription is so fragmentary that it is of very little historical value.

(3) EI. Vol.I p.327, vs.4

(1) above EI. Vol.I.p.147

(3) EI.Vol.XVIII, p.224

(2) JASB.Vol.XVII ptI, pp318-319
 vs.11

Kanauj is mentioned in line 8 of the inscription. Dr. Chakravarty, who notices the inscription, says, "one would thus feel tempted to ascribe the inscription to the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj, but we know from other inscriptions at Dudhai that the place was under the Candellas in about the 11th century A.D. But as the present record is later in date it may be that the Candellas lost hold of this part of the country about the time of the inscription." (1) This inscription also supports our assumption that at the beginning of the 12th century the Gāhadavālas tried to expand their territories in the southern parts of their kingdom. Sallakṣaṇa probably succeeded in resisting the Gāhadavāla aggression, but, during the reign of Jayavarman, Govindacandra Gāhadavāla succeeded in occupying some portions of the Candella kingdom. Jayavarman naturally felt distressed and disgraced for his failure in maintaining the Kingdom, and abdicated in favour of his uncle Prthvīvarman.

(vi) PRTHVĪVARMAN(c.1120-1129):-

The Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman says that "after Jayavarmadeva, the King Prthvīvarman, the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious King Sallakṣaṇavarman, bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government." (2)

(1) ASR. 1936-37. p.93

(2) EI. Vol.I. p.198, vs.12.

It is thus clear that uncle succeeded the nephew and Smith suggested that Jayavarman left no capable issue." (1) Nothing is known about Pr̥thvīvarman, and the Mau Stone inscription only says that, "Pr̥thvīvarman hated the ill behaved, delighted the worthy people, spent money on good causes, protected all beings and secured propriety of conduct." (2) It does not seem that he succeeded in restoring the position of the Candellas, and it was left for his son and successor Madanavarman to revive and expand the empire again.

(1) IA. Vol. XXXVII, p.129

(2) EI. Vol. I, p.198, vs.13.

CHAPTER VMADANAVARMAN TO FINAL COLLAPSE(c. 1130 - 1308)(i) MADANAVARMAN (c.1129- c.1163)-

Pr̥thvīvarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarmadeva. More than twelve inscriptions, which are dated between A.D.1129 and 1163, and many coins of his reign have been discovered. In spite of their large number, we do not get much information from these inscriptions and coins, but we can form some idea of Madanavarman's reign and his achievements on the evidence of these records and those of other dynasties.

The Mau Stone inscription of Madanavarman claims that even before his name, the Cedi King ever quickly fled, vanquished in fierce fight, and through dread of Madanavarman the King of Kāśī always passes his time engaged in friendly pursuits. The verse also states that the arrogant ruler of Mālava was quickly exterminated by Madanavarman, and other monarchs enjoyed supreme comfort by paying homage to him. (1)

The Cedi King defeated by Madanavarman was either Gayā-Karna (c.1125-1151) or his son Narasimhadeva (c.1155-1170) for both of whom we have epigraphic and literary evidence.(2) Dr. Ray rightly suggests that the discovery of 48 silver coins

(1) EI, Vol.I, p.198, vs.15

(2) IA, Vol.XVIII, pp209-211, EI. Vol.II, pp.7-17
IA. Vol.XVIII. pp.211-13, 214; DHNI Vol.II, pp.790-794

of Madanavarman in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State (1) indicated that Baghelkhand, to the north of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas. (2) Narasimhadeva succeeded Gayākarna on the Kalacuri throne. Two inscriptions of this king have been discovered, one in a hill called Lal-Pahad, near Bharhut in the Nagodh district, Vindya Pradesh, dated in A.D.1158 (3) and another near the foot of Alha-Ghat, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges", dated in A.D.1169. (4) Dr. Ray believes that the find spots of these two inscriptions indicate that the Kalacuris had probably by this time recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas (5) This is possible, for, as we shall see later, during the closing years of his reign, Madanavarman was busy fighting with the Gāhaḍavālas in the north, and probably could not give much attention to the south-eastern parts of his kingdom.

Madanavarman's claim to success over the King of Mālava indicates that there was an extension of Candella power in the south-west, over lands which had belonged to the Paramāras. This claim is further supported by the Augasi grant of

(1) JASB. 1914, pp.199-200

(2) DHNI. Vol.II, p.791.

(3) IA. Vol.XVIII, pp.211-213;
ASR. Vol.IX, pp.1,94. pt.II

(4) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.115. pt.

XXVIII;
IA, Vol.XVIII, pp.213-214

(5) DHNI, Vol.II, p.794

Madanavarman, which was found in the Banda district, U.P. In this grant, Madanavarman is recorded as having granted a piece of land from his residence near Bhaikāsvamin (modern Bhilsa) to a certain Brahmin, in the year A.D.1134. (1) Madanavarman obviously gained success over the Paramāras in the early years of his reign, and the Paramāra King defeated was most probably Yaśovarman (1134-1142). The reign of Yaśovarman was disastrous for the Paramāras, and besides the Candellas, the Paramāra King was also defeated by the Cāhamānas,^{the} Caulukyās, and by a King named Vijayapāla, holding an independent position over the territories that lay 50 miles north east of Ujjain. (2)

According to Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the Candellas could not long retain their possessions in the Paramāra territory, which was reconquered by Yaśovarman's son Lakṣmīvarman, some time before A.D.1153. (3) Dr. Chakravarty's assumption is based on the Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman dated V.S.1200 (A.D.1153), in which he confirms a grant made by his father Yaśovarman in V.S.1191, in the Mahādvādasāka maṇḍala. (4) Kielhorn could not identify the localities mentioned in the inscription, but Dr. Chakravarty suggests that "Mahādvādasāka maṇḍala must have comprised Udaypur, and Bhilsa in the

(1) IA. Vol. XVI, p.202, pp.207-210 (3) EI. Vol.XXIV, p.230

(2) JBRAS, Vol.XXV, pp.322-324; (4) IA. Vol.XIX, pp351-3
 IA, Vol.VI. p.50;
 DHNI. Vol.II. p.883-87;
 HOPD. pp.164-170

Gwalior State as far as Raisen (Rājāsāyana) to the south in the Bhopal State." He further strengthens his identification by referring to the Udaipur Stone inscription of V. S. 1229, which calls it the "Bhailās̄vāmi-Mahādvādasaka Mandala".(1) He believes that Mahādvādasaka-mandala, adjacent to Bhailās̄vāmin, temporarily passed out of the hands of the Paramāras and was reconquered by Lakṣmīvarman some time before V.S.1200, and this necessitated the re-issuing of his father's grant of V.S.1191. (2) Dr. Chakravarty's identification and suggestion seem quite reasonable and, like the Kalacuris, the Paramāras may also have succeeded in winning back their lost territories by taking advantage of Madanavarman's wars in the north.

The conflict between the Gāhadavālas and the Candellas which started at the beginning of the 11th century, seems to have continued in the reign of Madanavarman. The Kāsīrāja who is said to have spent his time in friendly behaviour in fear of Madanavarman, was no doubt Govindacandra (c.1114-1155). We have already noticed that Chattarpur was annexed by Govindacandra from the Candellas at some time about A.D.1120. But the discovery of an inscription of Madanavarman in Chhatarpur, dated in A.D.1147, shows that he had recaptured the lost territories from the Gāhadavālas by that date.

(1) EI. Vol.XXIV, p.231

(2) Ibid. pp.230-231

This inscription, "incised on the pedestal of an image of Śāntinātha", has been noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty(1) During the later years of his reign, however, Madanavarman probably had to suffer defeat at the hands of the Gāhadavālas. In the preface to the drama named "Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭika" by Nayacandra Sūri, Jayaccandra is referred to as a new incarnation of Rāma, "whose mighty arm is like a pillar to tether the elephant of fortune of King Madanavarmadeva". (2) This indicates that Jayaccandra defeated Madanavarman and checked his growing power. But Jayaccandra could not have been the Gāhadavāla ruler at the time of Madanavarman, for, the latter ceased to rule before A.D.1165, the first known date of his grandson Paramardideva,(3) whereas Jayaccandra's reign began about A.D.1170. (4) Mr. Reu solves this problem by suggesting that the victory mentioned above was gained by Jayaccandra, while he was a prince regent during the reign of his father Vijayaccandra (1153-1170). (5) The conflict with Jayaccandra, the Gāhadavāla crown prince, was probably the reason why the Candellas lost some of their possessions in Kalacuri and Paramāra territories during the closing years of Madanavarman's reign. This statement in the Rambhāmañjarī and other

(1) ASR. 1935-36, p.94; Thesis appendix pp.264-265

(2) Rambhāmañjarī, Act.I, pp.5-6: HOK. p.324
We have been unable to get a copy of the Rambhāmañjarī and check the verse in the text.

(3) EI. Vol.IV, pp.153-170 (5) JRAS, 1932, pp.13-14

(4) HOK. p.321

epigraphic evidence prove that the traditional view that Paramardi was helped by Jayaccandra in his war with Prthvirāja Cāhamāna is not correct. We shall discuss this point in fuller detail later, while dealing with the Candella - Cāhamāna relations in the reign of Paramardideva.

Both Candellas and Caulukyias were interested in gaining territories at the expense of the declining Paramāras. The powerful Caulukya King Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143) overran and virtually annexed most of the Paramāra territories and this brought him into conflict with the Candellas.(1) A Kālañjara Stone inscription records that Madanavarman, "in an instant defeated the King of Gurjara, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kāmsa." (2) Cunningham thought that this claim alludes to Madanavarman's campaign in Malwa, on the confines of Gujarat. From the rapidity of the Candella King's success, Cunningham inferred that Madanavarman's claim to victory over the Gurjaras represents the same campaign as that against the Paramāras mentioned in the Mau inscription. (3) There is, however, other evidence to show that there was an actual conflict between Siddharāja and Madanavarman, in which both claimed victory. The Gujarat chronicles refer to this conflict and the Kumārāpāla Carita claims that

(1) DHNI. Vol.II, pp. 969-971 (3) ASR. Vol.II, p.454

(2) JASB. Vol. XVII. Pt.I, p.318, line 14.

Siddharāja defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka. (1) The Kirtikaumudī states that Jayasimha went from Dhārā to Kālañjara. (2) The discovery of two coins of Siddharāja at Pandwaha in the Jhansi district also probably indicates that a contest took place between the two dynasties. (3) Cānd Bardai also refers to the conflict and records the defeat of the Caulukya King. (4) It is very difficult to guess the actual result of the conflict. Smith, on the evidence of the Kumārapāla Carita, believed that the Caulukya King was compelled to come to terms and make peace. (5) Dr. Ray believes that Jayasimha could not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas. (6) The conflict probably proved indecisive, neither side gaining advantage over the other. (7)

A fragmentary inscription, found at Mahoba, dated in V.S.1240 (A.D.1183) was noticed by Cunningham in his reports. The date falls in the reign of Paramardi, but Cunningham

 (1) Kumārapālacarita I. 42 (2) BG. Vol.I, pt.I.pp.178-179

(3) JRAS. 1938 p.141 (4) IA Vol.XXXVII. p.144

(5) IA. Vol.XXXVII. p.144 (6) DHNI. Vol.II. p.971

(7) According to Cānd Bardai, Madanavarman defeated Siddharāja Jayasimha, while the Gujarat chronicles declare that he gave tribute to the latter. But the chronicles add the story that even when the Caulukya King arrived at his capital, Madanavarman remained so unconcerned that he did not stir from his pleasure garden. When informers told him of Jayasimha's arrival, Madanavarman merely said,

could not find any king's name in the inscription. (1) Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, however, has found the name of Madanavarman partly preserved in the 4th line, and in the next line there is reference in vague terms to war with Aṅga, Kalinga and Vaṅga. (2) An examination of the facsimile of the inscription supports Dr. Chakravarty's reading and we may reasonably assume that the raids referred to in the next line were carried out by Madanavarman.

It is evident from the above account that Madanavarman's reign saw the restoration of Candella power, and that he succeeded in expanding his territories at the expense of other dynasties. Besides including the four important places, viz: Kālañjara, Khajuraho, Ajaigadh and Mahoba, Madanavarman's kingdom extended up to the Jumna in the north, the Betwa in the south-west, Rewa in the east and the Narbadā in the south. The territories lost in the reigns of his weak predecessors were recovered, and the dynasty once again became a powerful force in the North-west and Central India. But in spite of all these achievements of Madanavarman we cannot agree with Cunningham that during his reign the Candella

(7) continued :-

"The money grabbing man wants some money; give him something." Jayasimha was struck with the character of Madanavarman and personally visited him in his pleasure garden where Madanavarman entertained him at a banquet. - DHI. Vol.II. p.182

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.72, plate XXI (2) ASR. 1936-37, p.94

Kingdom probably attained its greatest extent and prosperity.

(1) No doubt Madanavarman annexed some portions of the Paramāra and Kalacuri territories. But these annexations did not last long, and as we have seen, these places probably slipped out of his hands towards the end of his reign. Only a few years after his death, Madanavarman's grandson Paramardi was at first signally defeated by Prthvirāja Cāhamāna, and then a few years later by the Moslems. These were not the first setbacks for the Candellas, for even Madanavarman himself had been defeated by Jayaccandra sometime before A.D.1167. So the empire left by Madanavarman for Paramardi was not as consolidated and strong as that left by Dhānga for Ganda and Vidyādhara. This is further clear from the fact that while Vidyādhara could test his strength with the mighty Sultān Mahmūd in the battlefield, Madanavarman's successor Paramardi could not protect his country from Kōtobuddīn's invasion. We cannot account for the fact that Paramardi's resistance to the Moslems was weaker than that of Vidyādhara, merely by suggesting differences in the energy and character of the two kings; the general condition of the empire left to them by their predecessors must have been a more important differentiating factor.

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.86

(ii) YASOVARMAN:

Most of the Candella inscriptions mention Paramardideva as the successor of Madanavarman. But the Bagheri Stone inscription of Paramardi's reign mentions the name of Yasovarman as the son of Madanavarman and the father of Paramardideva. The inscription records that, "As the moon, the crest jewel of Mahesvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him [Madanavarman] Yasovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers, causing joy to the people."

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas' turned grey". "From him has sprung Paramardideva....."(1)

Smith suggested that Yasovarman predeceased his father Madanavarman, (2) but Dr. Ray does not agree with this view and thinks that the above verses indicate that Yasovarman actually reigned for a very short time. According to Dr. Ray, the second of the two verses hints at Yasovarman's untimely end, and from the absence of Yasovarman's name from Paramardi's other inscriptions, Dr. Ray assumes that the latter's accession to the throne was not peaceful and that Paramardi probably superseded his father. (3) We do not think that any definite

(1) EI. Vol.I. p.209, vs 8-10 (3) DHNI Vol.II, pp.712-713

(2) IA Vol.XVX, p.205, fn.4;
Vol.XXXVII. p.129

assumption as to the nature of the succession can be made from the two verses, but the suggestion of Smith seems more probable. No minister of Yasovarman's reign is mentioned in the Bagheri inscription, which gives the genealogy of a family of ministers who served under successive Candella Kings.

(1) Moreover, it is unlikely that a family of ministers would think it prudent to mention the name of a father who was superseded by his son, and was the reigning monarch at the time the inscription was set up. In any case, Yasovarman cannot have ruled for long, for in A.D.1165, according to another inscription, Paramardi was ruling over the Candella Kingdom. (2)

(iii) PARAMARDIDEVA:(1165 - 1202):-

Twelve inscriptions of Paramardideva's reign have been discovered and from these we know that he must have ruled for more than 35 years (1165-1202). The two most important events of his reign were his conflict with the Cāhamānas of Delhi and Ajmer, and the Moslem invasion of Kālañjara of A.D.1202 resulting in the defeat and death of Paramardi.

The time during which Paramardi ruled the Candella Kingdom is one of the most important periods of Indian history. It was in this period that the Cāhamāna ruler Prthvirāja III (1169-1192) occupied the throne of Delhi and lost it and his

(1) EI. Vol.I, pp.207-214 (2) EI. Vol.IV, pp.153-170
(mentioned as Batesvar Stone
Inscription).

life to the Moslem invader Muḥammad Ghori, in the second battle of Tarain (A.D.1192). Prthvīrāja III was an ambitious king, who wanted to annex territories at the expense of other dynasties. The Candella inscriptions do not mention any conflict between Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna and Paramardi, but traditional accounts and Cāhamāna inscriptions refer to a serious conflict between them. The most important and well-known of the traditional works is the Prthvīrāj-Rāso of Cānd Bardai, according to tradition the court poet of the Cāhamāna King. The incident that led to the conflict, according to Cānd, is as follows.

Some of the soldiers of Prthvīrāja were wounded while abducting the daughter of the Prince of Sametā, for Prthvīrāja. A few of these wounded soldiers, who had taken shelter on their way back, in a garden of Paramardi, were put to death by the Candella King. This enraged Prthvīrāja and to avenge the death of his soldiers, he invaded the Candella Kingdom with a large army. The Candellas put up a strong resistance commanded by two great Banaphar heroes Ālhā and Udāl. The Gāhadavāla ruler Jayaccandra is also said to have sent a large contingent to help Paramardi. After a heroic fight Udāl was killed and Ālhā went to the forest with his Guru Gorokhnāth. Kālāñjara was besieged by the Cāhamānas and Parmāl (or Paramardi) was captured and taken to Delhi.

Pajjunrāi was appointed Thānāpati of Mahoba by Prthvīrāja. (1) In another traditional account, the Lay of Ālhā, a similar story of the conflict is given.

The Prthvīrāj Rāso and the Lay of Ālhā are far from reliable as historical works, and most of the stories narrated are unfounded tradition. But the story of the conflict between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas has a kernel of truth. That Paramardi suffered a defeat at the hands of Prthvīrāja is proved by the discovery of some short inscriptions of the latter, in the Candella territories. These inscriptions are in two temples of Madanpura, a village "24 miles to the south-east of Dudhai, 35 miles to the south-south-east of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north-east of Sagor." In one of these inscriptions, the names of Prthvīrāja and Paramardi are written together. In another inscription the genealogy of the Cāhamāna King is given, with the name of the conquered country, Jejākabhukti, and the date Samvat -1239, i.e. A.D.1182. A third inscription mentions the country conquered by Prthvīrāja as Jejākabhukti mandala, with the same date. (2)

(1) RASO, Canto XIX, (4-22), pp.455-473

(2) ASR. Vol.X, pp.98-99; Vol.XXI, pp.173-174
 "Madanpur is said to have been founded by Madanavarmma the Chandel Rājā of Mahoba; but there is at least one inscription of S.1112 or A.D.1055, which is older than Madanavarmma, who reigned from 1129 to 1165 A.D. It seems probable therefore that he only renamed the place, and that the old site now called "old Madanpur" was the original city under another name which was changed to

~~According to Dr. Dasarathi Sharma,~~ This conflict between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas is also referred to by stray verses in the Śārngadhara and the Prabandha Cintāmani, which record that Paramardi saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth when attacked by Prthvīrāja. (1) Dr. Sharma says that, "In the Prabandha Cintāmani the verse is referred to Paramārdin of Kuntala even though his adversary is mentioned as Prthvīrāja of Sapādalakṣa. This Paramārdin lived about V.S.1143. So the actual Paramārdin meant by the verse is Paramārdin of Jejakabhukti, a contemporary of Prthvīrāja III." (2) Dr. Sharma seems quite reasonable in suggesting this correction, and these two references further support the traditional account.

There can be little doubt that the conflict between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas was only one of the incidents of Prthvīrāja's attempt to carry out his ambition of world conquest or Digvijaya, so often mentioned in the Prthvīrāja-Rāso. Cand states in his poem that Prthvīrāja annexed Mahoba and appointed a governor there. But even if he actually held it in A.D.1182, Prthvīrāja cannot possibly have

(2) continued from page 129 :-

Madanpur by Madanavarmma." - ASR. Vol.XXI, p.171. This place was probably under the Candellas since the time of Dhāṅga, and Madanavarman only re-named it after himself.

(1) Paddhati of Śārngadhara (ed. P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888), vs. 1254
Prabandha Cintāmani. (ed. D. K. Shastri, Bombay, 1932), p. 191.

(2) IC. V. 11. p. 60. fn. 1.

kept it under his control for long. Cunningham noticed an inscription built into the wall of the Mahoba fort, with the name of Paramardideva, and the date of S.1240 (A.D.1183), i.e. only one year after the Cāhamāna success. (1) Dr. Ray thinks that the title of Daśārṇādhīpati given to Paramardi in his Kālañjara inscription of A.D.1201, shows that he had probably recovered most of the lost territories by that time.

(2) As Prthvīrāja was engaged in conflict first with Jayaccandra Gāhadavāla and then with the Moslems, it seems probable that he could not hold the territories gained from Paramardi for long.

The traditional story that Jayaccandra Gāhadavāla assisted Paramardi against Prthvīrāja is regarded as historical by many scholars. Dr. Ray believes that the Gāhadavālas and the Candellas were in friendly terms, and he suggests that "the struggle which according to Cand was opened with battle on the Pahuḥ may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cāhamānas on the other." (3) This view is mainly based on the statement of the Mau inscription that the King of Kāsī passed his time in friendly pursuits through dread of Madanavarman, (4) and also on the stories narrated in traditional works. We, however, do not think that the

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.71

(3) Ibid. p.1085

(2) DHNI, Vol.II. p.720

(4) EI. Vol.I, p.198, vs.15.

available epigraphic evidence warrants any such contention. That the relations between the Gāhāḍavālas and the Candellas during the reigns of Jayavarman and Madanavarman were hostile, has already been noticed. The Mau Stone inscription more probably indicates Madanavarman's success in checking the powerful Govindacandra rather than any real friendly relations between the two. Jayaccandra as the crown prince had already come into conflict with Madanavarman. (1) Thus both epigraphic and literary records suggest hostile relations between the two dynasties. According to the Pr̥thvīrāj-Rāso, Paramardi was helped by Jayaccandra and the Lay of Ālhā goes so far as to present Paramardi as a vassal of the Gāhāḍavāla King. (2) But both these works say that Ālhā and Udal, the two Banaphar heroes, after being unjustly banished by Paramardi, sought refuge in the Court of Jayaccandra, which refuge the latter readily granted. It is difficult to understand why the two brothers should seek refuge with a close ally of Paramardi instead of going to the court of a king who was less friendly. This probably indicates that Jayaccandra and Paramardi were not on such friendly terms, as they appear to be in tradition. Jayaccandra was a great enemy of Pr̥thvīrāja, and it is only natural for the Cāhamāna Chronicles to associate Jayaccandra with a battle in which Pr̥thvīrāja achieved a

(1) Supra. p. 121.

(2) LOA. p. 57

resounding victory. Moreover, if Paramardi was a close ally of Jayaccandra, one would expect the former to come to the assistance of the latter, when he was defeated and killed by Muhammad Ghori in A.D.1193. But neither the inscriptions and the Moslem historians, nor even the traditional accounts of the war, refer to any such assistance by Paramardi. Considering the evidence of inscriptions and the sequence of the events of the time, we do not believe that the Gāhaḍavālas and the Candellas were on friendly terms, or that Jayaccandra assisted Paramardi in his fight against Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna.

Paramardi succeeded in recovering most of his lost territories in the course of a few years. During A.D.1191-1192 Prthvīrāja was busy with his wars against Muhammad Ghori, in which he ultimately met his death. This gave Paramardi an opportunity of recovering his position. But he could not rule in peace for long. After the fall of the Cāhamāna Kingdom its place was taken by the Moslems, who became neighbours of the Candellas. Under such circumstances, a conflict between the two became inevitable, and this took place early in the 13th century. The contemporary Moslem writer Ḥasan Niẓāmī (A.D.1205-1217) gives the following account of the conflict in his Tājul-Māāthir.

"In the year 599 H. (A.D.1202), Kutub ud-Dīn proceeded to the investment of Kālinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sāhib-Kīnan, Shamsu-ddīn-Altamash... 'The accursed Parmār' the Rāi of Kālinjar, fled into the fort after

a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection' round his neck, and on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmūd Sabuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. 'On Monday the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty', and the fort of Kālinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander was taken." "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatory was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus." "Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors."

The reins of victory were then diverted toward Mahoba, and the government of Kālinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru -d-

dīn Hasan Annal." (1)

Firishta gives a similar account of the invasion but he says that Paramardi was assassinated for his offer of submission to the Moslems. According to Firishta, Paramardi's proposal for submission was accepted, "but the Rājā's minister who resolved to hold out without coming to terms caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing. The Hindu flag being again hoisted on the fort, the siege recommenced." (2) Dr. Ray is right in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication. (3) But both Hasan Nizāmī and Firishta's accounts make it clear that Paramardi's offer of submission was not liked by his minister Ajai Deo, and that after Paramardi's death he put up a gallant resistance. Dr. Ray is probably right in assuming from the mention of Mahoba as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpī' that the city and the surrounding places were no longer a part of the Candella dominions. (4)

The findspots of Paramardi's inscriptions indicate that he was in possession of all the territories left by his father Madanarvarman. In 1182 he lost some parts of his kingdom, but succeeded in recovering them within a few years. But the invasion of Kutbuddīn proved disastrous for the Candellas, and they lost many parts of their territories, including the fort

(1) Elliot. Vol.II, pp.231-232 (3) DHNI II, p.721

(2) Briggs.Vol.I. p.197 (4) Ibid - p.722.

of Kālañjara. The difficult task of ousting the Moslems and the recovery of Kālañjara was left to Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman. It is ~~unlikely that~~ whether a stronger king could have saved the Candella Kingdom from the Moslem invasion, but that Paramardi's weakness and lack of fighting spirit and courage made the situation even worse is evident beyond doubt. (1)

(iv) TRAILOKYAVARMAN: (c.1203-c.1250):-

According to the evidence of contemporary Candella inscriptions, Paramardi was succeeded by Trailokyavarmadeva. The Garra Grant of Trailokyavarman mentions Paramardi as the immediate predecessor of Trailokyavarman and gives the latter all the Royal epithets, viz. Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja - Pa-
rāmesvara-Parama Māhesvara Kālañjarādhipati. (2) Eight inscriptions of this king have been discovered, which are dated between A.D.1205 and 1241. As the Garra Grant is dated in A.D.1205, i.e. only three years after Paramardi's death, it seems that Trailokyavarman succeeded Paramardi very shortly after A.D.1202. (3)

(1) We consider the character of Paramardi as far as it can be reconstructed in appendix. pp.

(2) EI. XVI. pp.272-77

(3) The Prthvirāj Rāsa, however, gives a different account according to which a son of Paramardi, with the help of an officer of Jayaccandra, Gāhadavāla, recaptured Mahoba from Pajjun Rāi, the Thānāpati of Prthvirāja. Samarjit is said to have ruled between the territory between Kālañjara and Goyā till he was ultimately killed by

From Trailokyavarman's assumption of the title Kālañjarādhipati, in the Garra inscription, it can be assumed that he succeeded in recovering Kālañjara from the Moslems before A.D.1205. That this was not an idle boast like that of some other kings (1) is known from other epigraphic records. The verse 7 of the Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Viravarman (A.D.1260) states that, "Then (i.e. after Paramardi) the prince Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. He was like Vishnu in lifting the earth, emerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas."

(2) It is very significant that the Garra Plates of A.D.1205 record a grant by way of maintenance for death (mr̥tyukavṛttau) to one Rāuta Sāmanta, whose father was killed at Kakadādaha (modern Kakadwa, near Lalitpur, Jhansi) in a battle with the Turushkas. (3) It has been suggested that the war referred to was in some way or other connected with Kutubuddīn's investment of Kālañjara in A.D.1202, and the fall of Mahoba in A.D.1203. (4)

(3) continued from page 136:-

Binae ud-Dīn, a Musalmān. (JASB-1881. p.I. pp 29-31) Smith suggested that this name was probably a mistake for Bahā-ud-Dīn (Tughriq) who was placed in charge of Bayana in A.D.1196 by Md. Ghoni (Briggs. Vol.I, p.195; IA XXXVII, p.105, fh.50). Raverty states that Baha-ud-Dīn became for some time the head of an independent state in Central India after the death of Kutubuddīn in A.D.1220. (Notes on Afganistan, p.572) The Candella inscriptions do not mention any son of Paramardi named Samarjit. Moreover, we know that Paramandi himself had reconquered the territories lost to Prthvirāja. Moslem historians also do not mention Samarjit, and there is no reason to believe in Cānd's story.

See next page for this pages foot-
notes.

But this we think, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, was probably Trailokyavarman's war with the Moslems, in which he won back Kālañjara. (1) In the Garra Grants, Trailokyavarman is recorded to have granted lands situated in places now included in the districts of Jhansi, Saugor, Bijawar, Panna and Chhatarpur. This shows that along with Kālañjara, Trailokyavarman's Kingdom in A.D.1205 included these territories.

That the Moslems lost Kālañjara to Trailokyavarman is also known from Minhāj's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. Minhāj states that Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn Tāyasaī was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhīānah and Sultān Kot...together with the superintendency of Gwāliyūr by Sultān I-Yal-timish'. "In the year 631 H. (A.D.1233) he accordingly led an army from Gwāliyūr towards the Kālinjar country, and the Rāi of Kālinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultān's fifth share was set down at twenty-five lakhs." (2) As his inscriptions are dated between A.D.1205 and 1241, the Rāi of Kālinjar in 1233 was no doubt Trailokyavarman, and the above account strengthens the conclusion that the fort of Kālañjara and the neighbouring places were

From previous page:-

(1) The Kalacuris of Kalayānī assumed the title Kālañjarādhipatī, which was nothing but an idle boast. -B.G.Vol.I, pt.II, p.469

(2) EI. Vol.I. p.327 (3) EI. XVI. pp.272-77 (4) J.O.I.H.-XV 1936 p.175

(1) above :- DHNI.-II. p.726 (2) Raverty. Vol.I. pp.732-33.

still in his kingdom. The Moslem account is vastly exaggerated and the gallant resistance offered by the Candellas is evident from the Moslem chronicler's reference to the Hindus "as a pack of wolves on a herd of sheep" and his exclamation of relief and thanks to the God for the safe return of the Moslem army. (1) Dr. Habibullah rightly says that "Although Tayasī claimed to have captured the Rājā's standard and kettledrums on this occasion, he obviously considered it a great military feat to have been able to get away". (2)

The Rewa inscription of Malayasimha dated in the year 944 of the Kalacuri era (A.D.1193) refers to a king named Vijayasimha who was born of the family of Karṇa. The inscription mentions the place Kakaredi (modern Kakeri on the border of the Rewa and Panna districts), which indicates that this was within the Kingdom of Vijayasimha. Dr. R. D. Banerjee has rightly identified the Vijayasimha of this inscription with the Kalacuri ruler of the same name. (3) Kakaredi was within the Kingdom of Kirtivarman Candella and this inscription supports Dr. Ray's view that "during the disastrous reign of Paramardi, the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans-Kaimur region from the Candellas." (4) We have evidence to show that besides recapturing the lost territories, Trailokyavarman succeeded in annexing a large portion of the Kalacuri kingdom.

(1) Ibid. pp.733-734 (3) EI. Vol.XIX, pp.295-296

(2) The foundation of Moslem rule in India. p.101. (4) DHNI. Vol.II, p.728

The last known Kalacuri King is Vijayasimha, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D.1180 and 1211. (1) The Kumbha inscription of Vijayasimha mentions Ajayasimha as one of his sons, and it is generally believed that Ajayasimha succeeded his father, though nothing is known about the latter's reign. But the recent discovery of Vijayasimha's inscription of A.D.1211 and Trailokyavarmadeva's inscriptions of A.D.1212(2) shows that it was from Vijayasimha that Trailokyavarman captured the Kalacuri territories. Two other Rewa inscriptions of Trailokyavarman also show that the Kalacuri territories were annexed by the Candellas.

The first of the Rewa Grants is dated in S.1297 (A.D.1240) and records certain gifts made by one Kumārapāladeva, the Mahārānaka of Kakaredi, to certain Brāhmanas. The inscription mentions Pb. M. P. Tukalingādhipati-nijabhujā-pārcjita-Asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrāyādhipati Trailokyavarmadeva as the paramount sovereign, who meditated at the feet of Pb. M. P. Paramamāhesvara Vāmadeva. (3) Along with this, another inscription was found dated in Samvat 1298 (A.D.1241), i.e. only one year later, lines 4 and 5 of which refer to the victorious reign of Paramabhattachākyādi-rājāvali-tray-opeta-mahārāja-śrī-Trelākyamalla (sic). This inscription also gives the same

(1) ASR.1935-1936, pp.89-90

(2) EI. Vol.XXV pp.1-6; ASR. 1935-36, pp.89-90

(3) ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.142-148; IA. Vol.XVII, pp.224,230,234

genealogical list of the Mahārānakas of Kakarēdikā, but the ruling chief of Kakarēdikā is here named Harirāja. (1) Cunningham identified the Trailokyavarman of the first inscription with the Candella ruler Trailokyavarman and suggested that Trailokyamalla of the second inscription was no other than the same Candella King, who must have taken these places from the Kalacuris. (2) Kielhorn accepted the view of Cunningham and pointed out that "titles of the Cedi princes, including the reference to Vāmadeva, have been simply transferred to a Candella prince." (3)

 (1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.148; IA. Vol.XVII, pp.224, 234-236.

"a puzzling fact about the two Rewa Grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumārapāla is dated in 1240, that of his father Harirāja is dated in A.D.1241. The Grant of the son, however, shows that his father was already a Mahārānaka before 1240. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumārapāla when still a child was made king through the machinations of the Kayastha Muktasimha, who poses as a king maker in the Grant of Kumārapāla. Harirāja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child son."- DHNI. II. p.728, fn.2. - Dr. Ray's suggestion seems to explain this discrepancy, though a joint rule of the father and the son may also be suggested.

(2) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.147

(3) IA. Vol.XVII. p.231.

No Candella or Kalacuri prince is known with the name of Vāmadeva and this presents a difficult problem. In the Banaras Grant of Lakṣmikarna, the Kalacuri King is said to have meditated on the feet of Vāmadeva and some of the later Kalacuri Kings are recorded to have done the same. Dr. Barnett tries to solve this problem by suggesting that "these princes who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself." DHNI. Vol.II, pp.775-776. - This is a possible explanation, but on this hypothesis it is strange that Vāmadeva or Viṣṇu has been given the titles of an emperor and is referred to as Paramamāhesvara or the supreme devotee of Śiva.

With the material available to him, Dr. Rāy could not suggest any date of Trailokyavarman's success over the Kalacuris. But the discovery of another Rewa inscription, dated in A.D.1212, helps us to fix an almost definite date of this event. (1)

In this set of two Copper Plates, which was found at Dhureti, the ruling king is mentioned as Trailokyamalladeva, and is endowed with the Royal titles similar to those given to Trailokyavarmadeva in the two Rewa inscriptions mentioned above. The additional epithets which are given to this Trailokyamalla are "Kānyakubjādhipati" and "trisati-rājyādhipati". These two epithets are not found in any other inscription. The date of the inscription is given as Samvat 963, which Dr. Chakravarty justifiably refers to the Kalacuri era, i.e.A.D.1212. As no Kalacuri King with the name of Trailokyamalla is known, Dr. Chakravarty identifies him with Trailokyavarman of the other two Rewa inscriptions. Speaking of the title Kānyakubjādhipati, Dr. Chakravarty suggests that "with the decline of the Gāhadavāla power, Trailokyamalla assumed this title, as he did also the title of Trīkalingādhipati borne by the Kalacuris of Dāhala."

In the Rewa inscription of A.D.1193, one Sāmanta Malayasimha is mentioned. The inscription of Kalacuri Vijayasimha also refers to a Mandalika Malayasimha (A.D.1211). Surprisingly in this inscription of Trailokyamalla, there is mention of another Malayasimha with the titles of Mahāmahattaka and

(1) Noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty in ASR. 1935-36, pp.90-91, and then published by and edited by Dr. Chakravarty himself in EI. Vol.XXV, pp.1-6.

mandalika, and he also calls himself a mantrin of Trailokyamalla. Dr. Chakravarty thinks these three Malayasimhas to be identical, and suggests that Malayasimha transferred his allegiance to the conquering Candella ruler and had to accept the Candella suzerainty to save himself and his estate. Dr. Chakravarty further believes that after this transfer of allegiance, Malayasimha was appointed a minister by Trailokyamalla, probably for his experience in local administration.

The actual object of the inscription is to execute a deed of mortgage by a Saiva ascetic in the presence of some government officers and other important people of the village. (1)

From the inscription of Kalacuri Vijayasimha dated in K.C.962 (A.D.1211) we know that the Kalacuris were in possession of Rewa and its surrounding places till then.(2) But as this Rewa inscription of Trailokyamalla (whose identification with the Candella Trailokyavarman we reluctantly accept) (3) is dated only one year later (A.D.1212), we can conclude that Trailokyavarman defeated Vijayasimha and annexed the Kalacuri territories between A.D.1211 and 1212. It is very surprising that no Candella inscription mentions this achievement of Trailokyavarman. Rai Bahadur Hiralal tries to explain the silence by suggesting that the Candellas found the Kalacuris so weak that they did

(1) EI. Vol.XXV, pp.1-6.

(2) ASR. Reports 1935-36, p.89.

(3) For further consideration of this question see p. appendix. pp.249-251

(4) EI. Vol. XXV, p. 221.

not think it worth while to ~~keep a~~ record of their victory over them. (1) This, though not very satisfactory, is perhaps the only possible explanation.

The assumption of the title Kānyakubjādhipati is no doubt an idle boast. Perhaps the Śaiva ascetics who execute the deed of mortgage for financial reasons, endowed their sovereign with this epithet, with the hope of getting Royal favour. Dr. Chakravarty's identification of the three Malayasimhas, in different inscriptions, as one person is also very reasonable. It is interesting to note that in the inscription of A.D.1193, Malayasimha is called a Sāmanta; then after 18 years (A.D.1211) he is mentioned as a Mandalika and a year later he had become a Mantṛin. Such gradual promotion in office is often found in the administrative history of the Hindu dynasties.

With the help of the above mentioned inscriptions, we may reconstruct the history of the relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas (c.1170-1212), as follows:

After the defeat and downfall of Karna (c.1062) the Candella Kirtivarman annexed some parts of the Kalacuri territories on the eastern border of his own kingdom. Kirtivarman's successors managed to keep these places within the Candella kingdom, until the last quarter of the 12th century.

(1) Bh. Annals. Vol. IX. p.295.

In A.D.1182, Paramardi was decisively defeated by Pr̥thvirāja Cāhamāna, and this coupled with the threat of Moslem invasion, weakened the hold of Paramardi on his territories. The Kalacuri Vijayasimha took advantage of the situation and won back some parts of the long lost Kalacuri territories. Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman, however, was a man of considerable ability and he regained Kālanjara from the Moslems. He then turned his attention to the eastern part of his kingdom and in A.D.1212 defeated the Kalacuri Vijayasimha and annexed most of the Kalacuri Kingdom, and with this the history of the Kalacuris comes to an end.

The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Bhojavarman records that one Vāśe or Vāśeka was appointed Visīsa of Jayadurga, by Trailokyavarman. The inscription then states that "the wise Vāśeka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families." (1) The same inscription states that Vāśeka's younger brother Ānanda was appointed governor of the fort of Jayapura and he (Ānanda) "reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Sabaras and Pulindas." (2) Referring to the hill tribes, Smith said

(1) EI. Vol.I. p.334, vs.19 (2) Ibid. vs.22.

that even in its best days, the Candella Kingdom was only partially cleared and was "chiefly inhabited by sundry hill tribes, who owed indeed a certain allegiance to the Rājā, but yet lived for the most part free of control, and indulged with little restraint in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder." (1) Smith's statement is justified by the above two verses and it seems that these hill tribes and other enemies of the state, who, taking advantage of the unsettled condition in the kingdom, caused disorder and lawlessness, were checked by Trailokyavarman with the help of his military officers.

The findspots of Trailokyavarman's inscriptions indicate that he ruled over quite an extensive Kingdom. In the East

his kingdom included the district of Rewa and the surrounding places upto the river Son, while in the West it comprised the district of Lalitpur. The recently discovered Tehari grant of Trailokyavarman (2) dated A.D. 1207, shows that the Western districts were included in his kingdom very early in his reign. We cannot establish the extent of his kingdom to the south. No inscription of Trailokyavarman has been found on the northern side of the Candella kingdom, but Dr. Ray rightly suggests that the discovery of Trailokyavarman's copper drama in the Banda

district indicates the extent of his kingdom in the North. (3)

It is significant that he extended his kingdom in the East and

(1) JASB. Vol. XLVI. p. I. p. 229

(2) ARNE for 1946-1947, Copper Plate No. 50; Thesis appendix pp. 265-269.

(3) DHNI. Vol. II, p. 728

South, and ^{of} most his inscriptions have been found in these parts. This is perhaps explained by the fact that the Candellas were feeling the pressure of the gradual extension of Moslem power in the Northern and Western parts of their Kingdom, and this led them to turn their attention to the South and East and annex new territories in that direction. It may be added in this connection that of the more than twenty Candella inscriptions of the successors of Paramardi so far discovered, only one or two very minor short inscriptions have been found in the Kālañjara, whereas a number of important inscriptions have been found in Ajaygadh. This we think suggests that after the fall of Kālañjara in A.D.1202, Ajaygadh became the capital of the Candellas, and even after the recapture of Kālañjara by Trailokyavarman sometime before A.D.1205, the Candellas did not transfer their capital to Kālañjara again.

The last known date of Trailokyavarman is A.D.1241, the date of one of his Rewa grants, (1) but he may have ruled until A.D.1247. This assumption is based on an account given in Ṭabaqāt-I-Nāṣirī of Minhāj, which is as follows:- "There was in this neighbourhood the hilly tracts near Kara (Allahabad Dt. U.P.) a Rānā who was called Dalakī Wa Malakī. He had many dependents, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI. p.148; IA. Vol.XVII. pp.234-236.

access. All these he [Ulugh Khān, the Commander of Sultān Nāsiruddīn], ravaged (645 = A.D.1247). He took prisoners the wives, sons and dependents of that accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1,500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this. When he returned and waited on his sovereign all his brother nobles congratulated him on his victories."(1)

Firishta refers to Dulky and Mulky as two different Kings and he states that "they had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the King's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. They resided at Kalanjur". (2) Cunningham identified Dalakī Wa Malakī with the Candella Trailokyavarman and argued that the name Dalakī Wa Malakī "had been made out of the one long name, Tilakī Wama Deo, which in Persian character might easily be mis-read as Tilakī Wa Milakī, and which may be further corrupted into Dalakī Wa Malakī". (3) Cunningham's identification, which is supported by the mention of Kālāñjara in Firishta's account and the strangeness of the name, seems very reasonable. It may also be pointed out that there was no really powerful king in that

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- (1) Raverty, Vol.I. pp.680-683, fn.9 on p.680, fn.5 on p.682; Elliot. Vol.II. p.348
- (2) Briggs. Vol.I. p.237. - Raverty has correctly pointed out that Briggs' Translation is defective here and says that Firishta "does not mention anything whatever of two rājāhs, as rendered by Briggs, "the Rājāhs Dulky and Mulky", but on the other hand a Rājāh." - See also Elliot. Vol.II, p.348,
- (3) ASR. Vol.II. p.457. fn.1.

part of India, in A.D.1247 excepting possibly the Candella Trailokyavarman.

Trailokyavarman thus had a long reign of about forty-five years, and, as the first known date of his son Vīravarman is A.D.1254, (1) we may reasonably fix A.D.1250 as the last probable date of Trailokyavarman.

(v) VĪRAVARMAN:(c. 1250- c. 1286):-

Trailokyavarman's son and successor was Vīravarmadeva. Nine inscriptions of his reign have been discovered, which are dated between the years A.D.1254 and A.D.1286.

In the Charkhari Plate of V.S.1311 (A.D.1254), which is his earliest known inscription, Vīravarman bears all the Royal epithets, and appears as the immediate successor of Trailokyavarman. The main object of the Plate is to record the grant of a village by Vīravarman to a Rāuta, in recognition of the latter's meritorious service in the battle of Sōndhī against one Dabhyuhadavarman. (2) Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who has edited the inscription, identifies Sōndhī with Seondhā fort, 'now called Kanhārgadh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datia State'. As the battle is referred to as a Saṅgrāma or War in the inscription, Hiralal thinks that it was a battle of some importance. He suggests that the war was "between members of the same lineage, viz, the Candellas, if the

(1) EI. Vol. XX, pp.132-134.

(2) EI. Vol. XX. p.133, l.14

(3) EI. Vol. XX. p.133.

termination of the opponent's name Dabhyuhadavarman would indicate anything to that effect." (1)

It does not, however, seem that the war referred to here was a battle between the members of the Royal family. Sōndhī or Siondhā fort is on the extreme western boundary of the Candella kingdom. It is very unlikely that a war of succession or any other battle among the members of the Candella family should be fought outside the kingdom rather than at a place nearer to the centre of the empire. We, therefore, think that the battle of Sōndhī was fought against one of the western neighbours of the Candellas. The Dahi Grant of Vīravarma (A.D.1281) records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallāya "an illustrious Chief of distinguished bravery". The donee is said to have conquered the Lord of Narwar (Nalapurapati), Gopāla the ruler of Mathurā (Madhuvanakādhipa) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gopāgiri). (2) The Jhansi Stone inscription of A.D.1262, and the Gurha Satī Stone inscription of A.D.1286 (3) show that Vīravarma's kingdom extended up to the region between the rivers Sindh and Vetrāvati, and Dr. Ray rightly suggests that Vīravarma "may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior and Muttra(?)" (4). Vīravarma probably tried to expand his

(1) Ibid. p.132

(2) ASR. XXI, pp.74-76

(3) EI. Vol.V. Appn.p.35, No.242; p.33, No.227.

(4) DHNI. Vol.II, p.733.

kingdom in the west from the beginning of his reign, and Dabhyuhadavarman was perhaps one of the minor kings against whom he fought. It is significant that no inscription of Trailokyavarman has been found in the West and he largely extended his Kingdom in the East, while, on the other hand, no inscription of Viravarman has been found in the East and he extended his territories in the West.

The discovery of Viravarman's inscriptions in Ajaygadh, Kālanjara and other places mentioned above indicates that he ruled over quite an extensive territory, and in the absence of any Muhammadan Chronicles claiming decisive victories over the rulers of Bundelkhand, Dr. Ray concludes that "Viravarman was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories". (1)

The authenticity of Viravarman's possession of Kālanjara has recently been doubted by Mr. A. H. Nizami. He says that "The Qānūngo family of Mahoba are in possession of a grant dated V.S.1337 = A.D.1280, from 'Rājā Kirat Singh of a Ju Bhar' (2) which Smith believed to be genuine. The rule of Rājā Kirat Singh is further confirmed by another Moslem tradition which records Kirat Pāl as Rājā of Kālinjar in 1252. If Kirat Singh and Kirat Pāl are identical, as supported by Smith, Kālinjar could not have been in the possession of

(1) Ibid.

(2) Apparently of the Ju clan of the Bhar tribe.

Viravarman Chandela." (1) It may be pointed out that the grant in question is not original but 'the copy of a translation', which throws great suspicion on its authenticity and reliability for the purpose of history. The Kālañjara Stone inscription of Viravarman shows positively that he was in possession of Kālañjara. (2) Kielhorn noticed another Kālañjara inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess, the line 3 of which gives the date S.1340 (A.D.1283); (3) this does not mention the name of the king, but as Viravarman's other inscriptions are dated between A.D.1254 and 1286, there can be little doubt that this inscription belongs to Viravarman. In the presence of strong epigraphic evidence, the account of a vague Moslem tradition should be rejected. Probably there has been a mistake in the date of the inscription in possession of the Qānūngo family, and the Kīrat Singh of the inscription is Kīrat Singh, the Rājā of Kālinjar, who opposed Sher Shah in A.D.1544. (4)

(vi) BHOJAVARMAN(1286 - 1288) :-

Viravarman was succeeded by Bhojavarman. Three inscriptions of Bhojavarman's reign have been found in the Ajaygadh fort, ~~one~~ ^{one} of which is not dated, and the other two are dated in V.S.1345 (A.D.1288) and V.S.1346 (A.D.1288, 24th November)

(1) PAIOC. 1946, pp.444-445. Mr. Nizami gives no reference for the Moslem tradition and we cannot trace it in any Moslem Chronicle known to us.

(2) ASR. Vol.XXI. p.39

(4) IA. Vol.XXXVII. p.146

(3) EI. Vol.V. Appen.35, No.241

respectively. (1) Nothing is known from these inscriptions excepting the names of certain ministers and other officers, but they indicate that Bhojavarman ruled over the territories surrounding Ajaygadh.

(vii) HAMMĪRAVARMAN(1288-c.1310):-

Bhojavarman was succeeded by Hammīrvarman. The Charkhari Plate of Hammīravarmadeva is dated 11th September A.D.1289 (V.S.1346). (2) As the Ajaygadh Sati record of Mammīravarman's predecessor Bhojavarman is also dated in Samvat 1346, Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that there was a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhojavarman had died in the same year before the date of the issue of the Charkhari Grant. (3) But the Sati record of Bhojavarman's reign is dated V.S.1346 Mārgga bati(di) 14 Budha, corresponding to Wednesday, 24th November, A.D.1288, whereas the Charkhari Grant of Hammīravarmadeva is dated V.S.1346 Bhādrapada badi 12 Ravi Pusya-nakṣatra which corresponds to Sunday 14th August, A.D.1289. So these two dates do not overlap, which shows that there is no evidence of usurpation of the throne.

Bhojavarman probably had a very short reign of 3years (1286-1288). As the Charkhari Grant of Hammīravarman does not mention Bhojavarman, the relation between the two is not known.

(1) ASR. 1935-1936, p.93; JASB. Vol.VI, p.I, pp.881-887

EI. Vol.I. pp.330-338

(2) EI. Vol.XX. pp.134-136

(3) Ibid. p.135

Dr. Chakravarty's suggestion that Bhojavarman was possibly the younger brother of Viravarman, and reigned during the minority of Hammiravarman may explain the omission. (1)

In the Charkhari Plates of Hammiravarman, the ancestors of the Royal family are given full Royal epithets, but Hammiravarman himself is not given the epithets Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara. Hiralal thinks "this indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the Mahārāja while his elder brother Bhojavarma-deva was on the throne". (2) Probably Bhojavarman, the elder brother or the uncle of Hammiravarman, was still alive when the Charkhari Plates were issued, and hence the latter did not or could not assume the full Royal epithets. There is also the possibility that after Viravarman's death, the Kingdom was divided between the two brothers Hammiravarman and Bhojavarman. After Bhojavarman's death Hammiravarman probably took possession of the whole Kingdom.

The epithet Kālanjarādhipati and the discovery of a Satī record (S.1368- A.D.1311) in Ajaygadh mentioning Hammiravarman as the ruling king (3) indicate that he was in possession of Ajaygadh, Kālanjara and the neighbouring places. Another Satī record found in the village Bamhni of the Damoh district, has been noticed by Hiralal. This inscription shows that

(1) ASR. 1935,-1936, p.93

(3) EI. Vol.XX; p.134, fn.2

(2) EI. Vol.XX, p.135

about A.D.1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a Mahārājaputra Vāghadeva under the sovereignty of Kālājarādhipati Hammīravarma. (1) In another Satī record discovered in Patan, (Jubbulpore district), dated in S.1361 (A.D.1304), Vāghadeva is mentioned as a Pratihāra Chief. (2) These records show that even at the end of the 13th century the Candellas were ruling over some parts of their former Kingdom.

The discovery of a Satī record at Salaiya (3 miles from Bamhni) dated in S.1366 (A.D.1309) in the reign of Alayadīn Sutānā (Sultān Alāuddīn) marks the end of Candella rule in the territories of Damoh and Jubbulpore, which must have occurred in either A.D.1308 or 1309, (3) but they probably continued to rule in Kālānjara and Ajaygadh.

In the absence of any Moslem claim of success, it is generally believed that the Candellas remained in possession of Kālānjara and Ajaygadh during the period c.1240-1540 A.D. Smith stated that princess Durgāvati, who married Rājā Dalpat Sā of Garha Mandla about A.D.1545, is recorded to have been the daughter of the Candella Rājā of Mahoba, and identified the Rājā of Mahoba with Kīrat Rāi the Rājā of Kālānjara who was killed when Sher Shah besieged the fort of Kālānjara in A.D. 1545. (4) The name Candella survives as a clan name in

(1) EI. Vol.XVI, p.10, fn.4 (3) Ibid.

(2) Ibid. p.11. fn.1. (4) JASB. Vol.L, p.42.

different parts of present day Central India and a Zamindari family of Bengal claim descent from the imperial Candellas (1). But after Hammīravarman they ceased to be of any importance in the politics of Northern India, and are no longer our concern.

(1) DHI. Vol.II. p.185

C H A P T E R VICANDELLA ADMINISTRATION :

The essential features of ancient and early mediaeval Indian administration are well known to all students, and eminent scholars have discussed its various aspects and have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the subject. These works are, however, mainly concerned with the general administrative system of the period, without detailed study of the system prevalent in any given Kingdom with its own special political, geographical and socio-economic problems. In the previous chapters we have traced the rise and fall, and the successes and failures of the Candella dynasty, and we now trace, on the evidence of epigraphic, literary and other sources, what form of administration the Candellas had and how it functioned during a period of about four hundred years.

Most of the authorities on ancient Indian administration declare that a State (Rājya) is constituted by seven elements, viz, Svāmin (ruler or sovereign), amātya (minister), janapada or rāstra (the territory of the state and its people) Durga (fortified city or capital), kośa (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), danda (army), mitra (friends or allies). These seven parts are called āngas or Prakritis. (1) The Candella inscriptions indicate that they had the same concep-

(1) For full references see HDS. Vol.III, p.17.

tion of the state, and that their kingdom was administered on this principle. Thus the Mau Stone inscription states that "Kirtivarman defeated the host of enemies, together with all the six internal enemies (ṣaḍcbhirevāntaraṅgaiḥ) and day by day rendered more prosperous the seven constituent parts of the kingdom (aṅgāni sapta) together with virtue".(1). We can thus consider Candella administration under these seven heads.

I. THE KING:

Sukra compares the seven aṅgas of the kingdom to the organs of the body, viz, 'the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, ally the ear, treasury the mouth, army the mind, capital and rāṣṭra are hands and feet.' (2). In the Candella ^{Kingdom} State the king was the head of the state and administration. The inscriptions show that the ideal of kingship in the Candella Kingdom was very much the same as found in the sacred literature. An inscription describing the qualities of Harṣa Candella says, "In him were fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship and heroism, vigour radiant with the

(1). EI, Vol. I, p.198, vs. 8. - Desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy are the six internal enemies. - EI, Vol. I, p.203, fn.63.

(2). Śukra I, 122-124.

qualities of goodness, and mature patience by nature, contentment and desire for victory, modesty and self confidence. He who (was) afraid to offend against the law, anxious to worship the feet of Viṣṇu, the enemy of Madhu, unacquainted with wicked utterances, abashed when his own excellencies were enumerated, void of calumnious speech, and mute by birth to utter untrue words". (1). Another inscription praises a Candella king as "Intelligent, devoted to the law, valorous, speaking the truth, subduing the senses, grateful, causing joy to good men (and) of auspicious aspect". (2).

The king was expected to rule the kingdom according to the laws of the sacred texts, and the Candella inscriptions often mention this fact. A Khajuraho inscription states that Harṣa "the most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law". (3). Dhāṅga is also praised for acting in accordance with the law. (4). It can hardly be expected that all the

(1). EI, Vol. I, pp.126, 131-132, vs.19-20.

"Yatra śrīśca sarasvatī ca śahite nītikramo vikramastejah satva(ṭva) gūṇocjva(jjva)lam pariṇatā kṣāntiśca naisargikī, santoṣo vijigīṣutāca vinayo mānaśca punyātmanas|tasyānan-taguṇāsya Vismāyanidheḥ kinnāmavastu stumaha.

Bhīrūdharmāparādhe madhuripu-carāṇārādhaneyam satṛṣṇaḥ pāpālāpenābhijño nijaguṇaganānāprakrameśvapragalbhāḥ sūnyah-pe(pai)ḥ sūnyavādenṛtavācanasamuccāraṇe jātimukhaḥ".

(2). IA, Vol. XVI, p.205, lines 5-6.

(3). EI, Vol. I, p.126, vs. 20.

(4). IA, Vol. XVI, p.204, line 14.

Candella kings possessed all the high qualities demanded of them. But that kings like Dhāṅga, Vidyādhara, Kīrtivarman and others had qualities of statesmanship, heroism, self confidence and intelligence is evident from their achievements both in the political field and in other respects. In ancient India,, especially in the early mediaeval period, the fortune of a dynasty largely depended on the personality of the king, and the reign of a king without the necessary virtues often caused disaster, as happened during the reigns of Devavarman and Paramardi.

Besides being the administrative head of the state, the king was the military leader of the country and led continuous dynastic struggles for supremacy and sometimes even for existence; ^{thus} the generalship of the king was of great importance. We know that Vidyādhara led his army against Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Kīrtivarman fought against Lakṣmīkarṇa to win back the independence of the dynasty, while Paramardi's lack of martial spirit and courage has been severely condemned by traditional writers. No doubt the king was helped by his ministers and military officers in carrying out operations on the battlefield, but the final decision as to tactics and strategy depended primarily on the king, and an important instance of such a decision without the approval of ministers and others, is given

by Paramardi's offer of submission to the Moslems in A.D.1202.(1).

Like all other Hindu kings of the middle ages, the Candellas were greatly influenced by the stories of the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, and they were often compared with the famous characters of the two epics. A Khajuraho inscription says that Nannuka's prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna. (2). The same inscription states that Vākpati by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings Pr̥thu and Kakustha (3). The rules of conduct as depicted in the two great epics often guided the attitude of the king towards his subjects, and a Candella king claims to have surpassed even Yudhiṣṭhira by his fame and good acts. (4).

Dr. Beni Prasad says that "It was not long before public opinion and political philosophy held up to admiration the ideal of 'the big kingdom', 'the kingdom extending up to the sea', 'the universal dominion'. Constant efforts were made to realise the ideal in some practical form or other in reality or name". (5). The Candella inscriptions often mention

(1). Supra, pp.133-134.

(2). EI, Vol. I, P.141, vs.15.

(3). Ibid, vs. 16-17.

(4). EI, Vol. I, P.200, vs.31.

(5). SAI, p.4.

this ideal, and the rulers of the dynasty sought to achieve Sāmrājya and extend their kingdom. An inscription states that Dhāṅga, having defeated the king of Kanauj, obtained exalted sovereignty. (1). Vijayapāla is said to have reached even the Southernmost part of India, like Rāma on his warlike expeditions. (2). Similar references are found in other inscriptions.

The Śukranītisāra lays down that the king should personally inspect villages, towns and districts every year. (3). Manu states that Royal officers have a natural tendency to be corrupt and oppressive; the king should, therefore, go on tours every now and then to find out whether people are pleased or displeased with them. (4). This advice was regularly followed by the Candella kings. Almost all the Candella copper plates discovered record grants made by the kings while on tours of inspection in various parts of the kingdom, and some of them are issued from obscure villages.

It was always considered the duty of Hindu kings to support learned Brāhmanas, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to religious and educational institutions, and to advance learning in every way. According to Śukra, the king should look out for educated men and appoint them to

(1). EI, Vol. I, p. 197, vs.3.

(2). EI, Vol. I, pp. 141-142, vs. 20.

(3). Śukra, I, 751-752.

(4). Manu, VII, 123

offices suited to their education, and he should honour every year those who attained eminence in learning and the arts, and take measures for the advancement of these activities. (1). No better instance of the practical application of these ideals in the early mediaeval period, can be found than that of the Candella kings. Not only did great kings like Dhaṅga and Madanavarman grant lands to the Brāhmanas, but even lesser kings like Vīravarmaṇ and Hammīravarmaṇ continued this custom (2). It is striking that Trailokyavarman granted land at a time (A.D.1205) when he was engaged in the most difficult task of winning back Kālañjara and other lost territories from the Moslems (3). That the kings patronised poets and other learned men is evident from the frequent references to ministers and other officials as Kavi, Bālakavi, Kavindra, Kavicakravartin, etc, in the Candella inscriptions. (4). The appointments of suitable men for suitable posts are recorded in the inscriptions, and will be discussed below. For their patronage of art and architecture the Candella rulers can be ranked among the most famous of Indian monarchs, their greatness attested by the magnificent temples and sculptures of Khajuraho.

The earlier Candella kings are given the simple Royal epithets viz, Nṛpa, Bhūpa, Rājā, Kṣhitipa, Mahīpāla, etc.

(1). Śukra, I, HDS, Vol. III, p.164.

(2). EI, Vol. XX, 737-741, 132-136.

(3). EI, Vol. XVI, pp.272-277.

(4). EI, Vol. I, p.129, vs. 47, p.211, vs. 30-31.

After their declaration of independence during the reign of Dhāṅga (c.A.D.954-c.1008), they assumed the full imperial titles, viz, Pb. M. P. Pm. Kālañjarādhipati. Only in the Rewa inscriptions, Trailokyavarman is endowed with the Royal epithets given to the Kalacuri kings, viz, 'Pb.M. P. Pm. Aśvapati Gajapati Narapati Trikalīṅgādhipati' and in one of the plates he is also called 'Kānyakubjādhipati' and 'Trisatirāiyādhipati' (1). In his own inscriptions, however, Trailokyavarman is given the usual Candella epithets. In the Charkhari Plate of Hammīravarman, the predecessors of the king are given the epithet Śāhi along with the usual titles. Rai Bahadur Hiralal rightly suggests that "the insertion of the title Śāhi against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence". (2).

The succession to the throne was hereditary, and in the inscriptions the successor usually refers to himself as 'meditating on the feet of' his predecessor. When the king died childless, the younger brother succeeded to the throne. This happened in the case of Vijayasakti who succeeded his elder brother Jayasakti. The accession of Prthvīvarman, the co-uterine brother of Sallakṣaṇavarman after the death of the latter's son Jayavarman also indicates the order of succession. (3)

(1). EI, Vol. XXV, pp.1-6; IA, Vol. XVII, pp.232, 236.

(2). EI, Vol. XX, p1134.

(3). EI, Vol. I, p.198, 203, vs.12.

The accession of Kīrtivarman is a possible instance of the usurpation of the throne, but Kīrtivarman was certainly a member of the Royal family. The powerful vassals and ministers probably had some influence on a question of disputed secession, but no definite indication of this is available from the inscriptions.

Nothing is known about the position of the queen in the affairs of the state. But if there be any truth in the traditional stories of the part played by Malandevī, Paramardi's queen, in carrying out negotiations with Pṛthvīrāja, organizing defence and making decisions on important problems, the Candella queen had great influence on administrative affairs. The only queen recorded to have taken active part in the benevolent activities of Royalty is Kalyānadevī, the chief queen of Viravarman. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription states that she built a well with perennial water at a spot that was guarded by strong men, excavated a tank for the supply of water, and also built a hall at Nandipura. (1).

The king had absolute authority on all the affairs of the state, but like other rulers, the Candella king had also a council of ministers, of whom one was the chief minister (mantrīmukhya). In military and foreign affairs he was

(1). EI, Vol. I, P.328, vs. 18-20.

assisted by the Senāpati and the minister for peace and war (sāndhivigrahika). The spirit of toleration and respect for other religions is striking among the Candella kings. As will be shown in our chapter on Religion, the Candella monarchs, though themselves worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu, patronised Jainism and Buddhism and carefully safeguarded their interests. The granting of land for the maintenance of the dependents of persons killed in battle (1) shows that the families of those fallen in the wars were cared for and that the king was not indifferent to the needs of his subjects.

II. THE MINISTERS:

Ministers were one of the most important parts of the state body politic. In the Candella state the ministers formed an integral part of administration and were largely responsible for the welfare of the state.

Ancient law writers generally prescribe that ministership should be hereditary, if the son was as capable as his father, though the Rājanītiprakāśa states that the hereditary principle was to be given up, if the son or grandson of a former minister had not the necessary qualifications, but that such a descendant was to be appointed only in such state work as was suited to his attainments (2).

(1). EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-277.

(2). HDS, Vol. III, pp. 107-108; Rājanītiprakāśa, p.176.

This practice of hereditary succession to ministerial posts where the son was of suitable ability was strictly followed in the Candella state. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman and the Bagheri stone inscription of Paramardi give the genealogy of two families of ministers who worked under different Candella kings, and also throw some light on the qualifications and duties of these ministers and the principle of appointment.

The Mau stone inscription mentions one Prabhāṣa who was of religious merit, excellencies, and eloquence; whom good men wanted to see for their welfare. He was "a leader of those who are free from all deceit, (and) highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (Nayaprayoga-gahantē Sudakṣa)". Prabhāṣa, "having been duly tried (Parikṣācakre), was appointed chief of all the ministers (akhila mantrīmukhya) by Dhāṅga and Gaṇḍa; (and) the tree of government which had struck very firm roots, when it was made to grow by being sprinkled with the water of his policy, always bore to those two kings the fruit of the three objects of life (Trivargaphalada)." (1). Prabhāṣa's son was Śivanāga, who had sacred knowledge like Dhiṣṇana (Brhaspati). "As soon as he (Śivanāga) had assumed the post of minister (Saciya) (he) alone, by his excellent conduct, gradually made

(1). EI, Vol. I, P.199, vs. 20-22; the three objects of life are virtue, wealth and pleasure. - EI, Vol. I, P.204, fn.70.

the government of the king Vidyādhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth". (1).

Sivanāga's son was Mahīpāla, who "sustaining, to its full extent the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla, he in whom valour was united with a blameless policy, became the standard of comparison among good ministers (Śusaciveṣu babhūvanidarśanaḥ)", (2). Mahīpāla's son was Ananta, whose younger brother was Yogesvara. After praising the good qualities of Ananta and his family the inscription records, "(Being the king's) councillor in the very high office of counselling (manṭrīmanṭrādhikare sumahati), the very heart (of the king) in secret confidential matters (Hṛdayam gūḍheviśrambhakṛītye), constantly a leader of horses and elephants among enemies, a superintendent of the forces of the town (Purabalādhyakṣya), an unrivalled protector, a vanquisher of adversariesthe sole chief of all horses in what affairs was he not the approved minister of king Kīrtivarman?". The next verse states that when a king has for his guide a minister of such great qualities, nothing is too high for that king to obtain. So, for having such an adviser, the fame of Kīrtivarman surpassed even that of Yudhiṣṭhira. (3).

(1). Ibid. vs. 23-24.

(2). EI, Vol. I, P.200, vs.26.

(3). Ibid. vs. 27-31.

Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna were the three sons of Ananta, and as king Sallakṣaṇavarman admired distinguished qualities, he, after properly trying the three brothers, appointed them in offices suitable to wise, upright, and valiant men. After the death of Ananta, Gadādhara was appointed in the office of Pratihāra (Chamberlain) by king Jayavarman (1).

Gadādhara "being a hereditary servant, born in a noble lineage, upright, of clear intellect (s'uciṣamalamatiḥ), versed in sciences (śāstravid), tried by practice (niṣṭakarmā), eloquent (vāgmi), clever (dakṣha) resolute (pragalbha), expert in maintaining elephants, horses and chariots, skilled in archery (kṛtāstra), secret in council (mantregūḍha), endowed with affection and other qualities he subsequently was appointed chief of the ministers (manṭrīmukhya) by the illustrious king Prthivivarman". He continued to hold the post in the reign of Madanavarman and by applying the six expedients (ṣaḍaḡunādiprayoga) "he made the king's sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella". (2).

This inscription thus gives us the names of Candella ministers from the reign of Dhaṅga to Madanavarman, i.e. a period of about 200 years (C.950-C.1140). Before we discuss the other aspects of the above verses, the following genealogical

(1). Ibid, p.201, vs. 36-37, 40. The verses are fragmentary here, but there is no doubt that the person referred to is Gadādhara and this is supported by the reading of the following verses.

(2). EI, Vol. I, P.201, vs.41-42.

table of ministers, and the position occupied by them under different kings will help us to study the subject more clearly.

<u>FAMILY OF MINISTERS</u>	<u>OFFICIAL POSITION</u>	<u>KING</u>
Prabhāṣa	Mantrīmukhya	Dhaṅga and Ganda.
Śivanāga	Saciva	Vidyādhara
Mahīpāla	Saciva	Vijayapāla
(2) ————— (1)		
Yogeśvara Ananta	Saciva (of various departments).	Kirtivarman
(3) ————— (2) ————— (1)		
Pradyumna Vāmana Gadādhara	Pratihāra	Jayavarman
	----do----	Prthvīvarman
	----do----	Madanavarman

It is significant that only Prabhāṣa and Gadādhara are called Mantrīmukhya, and the others are only Sacivas, though Ananta was in charge of various departments. It seems that either the Royal records did not rigidly differentiate the ministerial titles, or the others were only ministers, the post of Prime minister being occupied by a member of some other family. The second assumption is supported by two other Candella inscriptions. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman records that from the race of Vāstavya Kāyasthas, sprang a matchless person named Jājūka "to whom even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly sped the fourteen sciences, and all

the arts together". He was endowed with the title of Thakkura and was appointed by king Gaṇḍa to superintend at all times the affairs of the state (sarvādhikarakaraṇeṣu). Gaṇḍa honoured him with the grant of a village. (1).

- (1). EI, Vol. I, P.333, vs. 5-7. The fourteen sciences are 4 Vedas, the 6 Vedāṅgas, the Mimāṃsā, Naya Dharmasāstra and the Purānas - EI, Vol. I, P.336, fn.49.

This Ajaygadh inscription gives a genealogy of the Vāstavya Kāyastha family, some of whom occupied high positions in the state administration under different Candella kings.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>KING</u>
Jājūka	Sarvādhikākarana	Gaṇḍa
Mahesvara	Visiṣa	Kirtivarman
Gadādhara	The first two were Pratihāras. Mālādhara was only a warrior, (vīra).	Paramardi
Jaunādhara		
Mālādhara		
Ālhu	Pratolī	----do----
Sobhana	No post	
Vidana	No post mentioned but was probably a minister.	Not mentioned.
(1) Vāse	Vāse was vis'isa of Ajaygadh. Ānānda was Durgadhikari of Ajaygadh.	Trailokyavarman.
(2) Ānānda		
Rucira	No post mentioned.	
Gopati	Bhāndāgārapati and Kośadhikārādhipati.	Bhojavarman
Mahipāla Subhata		

- According to Dr. N.P. Chakravarty, who visited Ajaygadh, the person named in vs.23 was called Ashan and not Rucira, and he was the son of Vāse and not of the latter's brother Anānda, as held by Kielhorn. ASR, 1935-36, p.93. EI, Vol. I, pp. 333-335.

After the death of Prabhāsa, Jājūka was probably the Prime minister of Gaṇḍa and he continued to occupy the post during the reign of Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla, i.e. for approximately 33 years. He was thus chief minister while Śivanāga and Mahīpāla of the family of the former chief minister Prabhāsa were subordinate ministers. The Prime minister of Kīrtivarman was Vatsarāja who is mentioned in the Deogadh Rock inscription as the Amātya mantrīndra of the king. He is said to have wrested from the enemy a whole district (maṇḍala) by his counsel and valour and to have built the fort of Kīrtigīri. (1). It is to be noted that Gadādhara of the Mau inscription was only a Pratīhāra in the reign of Jayavarman and subsequently became the chief minister during the reign of Madanavarman and Prthvīvarman. This indicates that one of the essential qualifications needed to be a Prime minister was experience and proved ability.

The principle that one should not be appointed to a high office without proved efficiency, even though born in a family of ministers, was thus apparently followed by the Candella kings. The omission of any administrative title with the name of Yogesvara (the younger brother of Ananta) may be another instance of the practical application of this principle. Pradyumna and Vāmana, the two brothers of

(1). IA, Vol. XVIII, pp.238-239.

Gadadhara were merely appointed 'to suitable offices of the state', and that only after being properly tried. This was apparently an application of the Kauṭilyan doctrine that Amātyas are to be tested by upadhās i.e. by tempting them as regards dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya (fear), and to be employed if found honest after only one of the four tests, while mantrins were to be appointed only if their integrity and loyalty were proved by all the tests combined. (1).

Another echo of Kauṭilya's polity is found in Gadādhara's application of the six guṇas. The six guṇas, as defined by Kauṭilya are, Sandhi, alliance or agreement; Vigraha, hostility; āsaṇa, an attitude of indifference; Yāna, preparing for attack on one's enemy; Samsraya, seeking the support of another powerful king; and lastly, Ḍvaidhībhāva, making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another (2). The success achieved by Madanavarman is attributed in the Mau inscription to the success of the six expedients of Gadādhara, his chief minister (3).

Another list of hereditary ministers is found in the Bagheri inscription of Paramardi. This inscription mentions one Lāhada who was placed at the head of his ministers, (mantrinām dhuri) by king Madanavarman (4). Lāhada's son

(1). Kauṭilya, I, 10; HDS, Vol. III, p.105, NIA, Vol. II, 1939-40, pp.204-207.

(2). Kauṭilya, VII, 1; HDS, Vol. III, p.223.

(3). Supra, p. 169.

(4). EI, Vol. I, p.210, vs.19-20

was Sallakṣana through whom Paramardi became a lord of the earth with three eyes, and having placed the burden of government in Sallakṣana's arms, he enjoyed his time in other recreations. Sallakṣana subdued seditious people, removed the distress of the subjects and was full of excellent qualities. His son was Puruṣottama, who, though a youth, was appointed chief of his ministers by king Paramardi. (1).

The duties entrusted to the Prime ministers according to the inscriptions agree with the suggestion of Śukra that the chief minister must be Sarvadarśī, i.e. the superintendent of the whole administration (2). Besides being the administrative head, the Prime minister of the Candellas had also to look after military and even religious affairs, and the king largely ruled by his counsel.

It is evident from the inscriptions that, besides the Prime minister, there were other ministers of the state in charge of various departments. No writer excepting Śukra specifies the different portfolios of the councillors. According to Śukra, the ministry, whose strength was to be ten, was to consist of Purohita, Pradhāna, Saciva, Mantri, Prādvivāka, Pandita, Sumantra, Amātya, and Dūta, but Śukra adds that according to some, the Purohita and the Dūta were

(1). Ibid, pp.210-211, vs. 22-24, 28.

(2). Śukra, II, 168-173.

not to be members of the ministry (1). In the Candella inscriptions, the offices of Purohita, Saciva, Paṇḍita, Amātya and Dūta are mentioned. Śukra defines Pradhāna as the Prime minister, Prādvivāka, the minister of justice and Sumantra the minister of the treasury. (2). So the Mantrimukhya, Dharmādhikāra and Bhāṇḍagārika or Kosādhipati of the Candella inscriptions may be regarded as respective synonyms of Śukra's Pradhāna, Prādvivāka and Sumantra.

Dr. Kane is right in suggesting that Thakkura was a mere title and not an office, whereby the holder was entitled to wield some kind of power in the state (3). In some Candella inscriptions, the ministers and other officers are given this title. (4).

Śukra calls the revenue minister Amātya and Dr. Altekar believes that his duty was "to have a correct inventory of villages, towns and forests in the country and of the income expected from each. His office also had an accurate account of the land under cultivation, and land lying fallow, as also of the expected produce from the different mines". (5). But Dr. Kane's view that the words Mantrī, Saciva and Amātya are usually interchangeable, though sometimes distinguished (6),

(1). Śukra, II, 141-143, 145-147.

(2). Śukra, II, 168-173.

(3). HDS, Vol. III, p.984.

(4). ASR, 1935-6, p.90, 92.

(5). SGAI, p.125.

(6). HDS, Vol. III, p.104.

seems applicable to the Candella administration. These three titles were frequently used in the inscriptions, and the duties and qualifications associated with their bearers indicate little difference among them.

Panditas are mentioned in nearly all the copper plates as the donees, and the term did not regularly indicate a ministerial post. Learned Brāhmanas well versed in Dharmasāstras and other sacred literature were apparently given this title and were patronised by the king. Similarly, the Purohita probably performed the religious ceremonies of the palace and the Panditas and Purohitas must have had some influence on the administrative affairs relating to religion and similar functions.

Another important officer of the state was the minister of foreign affairs. The Bagheri inscription of Paramardi records that one Gadādhara of the Gauda family, who was a supreme chief of poets (Kavicakravartin), the first among the learned (Vidyāvataṁsa), was the great minister of peace and war (Sandhivigraha-mahā-Saciva) of Paramardideva (1). Another inscription mentions a Sāndhivigrahika as one of the witnesses of a mortgage deed. (2). According to Śukra, the foreign minister was to be well versed in the fourfold policy of Sāma (conciliation), dama, (appeasement), danda (war) and bheda (causing dissension in the enemy camp) (3). It is

(1). EI, Vol. I, p.211, vs.30.

(2). EI, Vol. XXV, p.2.

(3). Śukra, II, 191-193; SGAI, p.123.

difficult to ascertain how much authority the minister could exercise in the affairs of peace and war. At a time of continuous dynastic struggle, it seems unlikely that the king and the Prime minister would have left any matter of real importance for a lesser minister to decide.

No definite reference to any minister of justice has been made in the Candella inscriptions. The question whether the Dharmalekhins who wrote the copper plates were judges or ministers of justice is discussed below.

III. TERRITORY OF THE STATE:

According to Amarakośa, the words Deśa, Rāstra, Visaya and Janapada are synonymous (1). Epigraphic usage of these words is not uniform. Dr. Altekar rightly concludes that the size of the administrative divisions varied in different countries in different centuries, which makes generalisation very dangerous. The Bhuktis under the Pratīhāra empire, according to Dr. Altekar, were rather comparable to Commissioner's Divisions than provinces, and the smaller kingdoms like those of the Candellas, Caulukyās and Pālas were divided only into districts and their subdivisions (2). In the Candella inscriptions, the terms Janapada and Rāstra are not found and

(1). HDS, Vol. III, p.138.

(2). SGAI, pp.156-157.

it seems that the state was usually termed Jejakabhukti. In the Bhagalpur Plates of Nārāyanapāla, the sequence of local divisions is given as Bhukti, Viṣaya and Maṇḍala. (1). As the Candella records do not refer to any territorial division as Bhukti, it is apparent that the whole country was originally a Bhukti of the Pratihāra empire, and after becoming independent the Candellas did not adopt any new terminology for their state. The terms Viṣaya and Maṇḍala are often found in Candella records and were also in use under the Pratihāras. The Semra grant of Paramardi records the confirmation of a grant made by Madanavarman of villages in different Viṣayas; here sub-divisions of the Viṣayas are called Pancēla, grāma, pattana, dvādasāka and aṣṭādasāka. (2). Two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman record the gift of two villages within two Pattalas (3) and this supports the view that Pattala was ^{also} one of the divisions of local government and comprised a number of villages (4).

Thus, on the evidence of the inscriptions, the territorial divisions of the Candella kingdom can be defined as follows. The state as a whole was known as Jejakabhukti, and was sub-divided into many districts, called Viṣayas or Maṇḍalas. These were in turn sub-divided into Patt^ālas which comprised several grāmas. The terms Aṣṭadādasāka, Dvādasāka, etc., were used to

(1). IA, Vol. XV, pp.304-310.

(2). EI, Vol. IV, pp.153-170.

(3). IA, Vol. XVII, pp.230-236.

(4). SAI, p.449.

mean a unit of eighteen villages, twelve villages and so on. The word Pañcela is not known from other inscriptions, but it possibly means a group of five villages.

Very little is known about the heads of these territorial sub-divisions. Most probably the Viṣayas or Maṇḍalas were in charge of vassals or Sāmantas of the king. In the Prabadhocandrodaya, Kīrtivarman's vassal Gopāla is called as Sakala-Sāmantacakracuḍāmaṇi, i.e. the chief of the circle of Sāmantas, and is also said to have been engaged in the 'conquest of the world' of Kīrtivarman (1). The Prthvīrāj Rāso and the Lay of Āchā also refer to various fiefs of the Candella kingdom governed by Sāmantas of the king. The accounts of Rāso and the Lay of Āchā can hardly be used as sources of administrative history, yet in the absence of any well known terms such as Viṣayapati or Maṇḍalika, it can be reasonably assumed that each district was governed by a vassal. It is striking, however, that the well known term Sāmanta is not found in inscriptions. Sometimes a member of the Royal family was placed in charge of a district. We know that Kanhapa or Kṛṣṇapa, the brother of Dhāṅga was in charge of a district near Jhansi and Dudhai, and that he called himself a Nrpa. His successor Devalabdhi continued to rule the district, at first under his uncle Dhāṅga

(1). Supra, pp, 102-103.

and afterwards under his cousin Gaṇḍa. (1) A Satī record shows that about A.D.1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbalpore districts were governed by one Mahārājaputra Vāghadeva of a Pratihāra family under the sovereignty of Hammīravarma. (2) Rājaputra usually means a prince of the Royal family, but Vāghadeva of the above inscription was most probably a prince of a feudal house; ^{such princes} who were often employed in high administrative posts. (3)

The villages were probably ruled by some sort of village council comprised of the important members of the village, viz, Brāhmanas, Vaidyas and other respectable dignitaries, and the head of the Council was apparently mentioned in the Candella grants as the mahattara (elder of a town or village).

IV. THE FORTS OR FORTIFIED PLACES:

Forts constituted one of the most important elements of the early mediaeval state, and ancient authorities have stressed their necessity and importance at length.

Yājñavalkya^v says that forts are meant for the safety of the King, the people and the treasury. (4) Manu advocates the construction of forts because a single archer under the shelter of the fort wall can fight a hundred of the enemy and a hundred can fight ten thousand. He says that a mountain fortress is the best of all (5) Brhaspati quoted by the

(1) Supra. pp. 55-56.

(2) EI. Vol. XVI, p.10, fn.†.

(3) SAI. p.405.

(4) Yājñavalkyasmṛti. I. 321

(5) HDS. Vol. III, p.178

(5) Manu. VII, 74

HDS. Vol. III, p.178

(5) Manu. VII, 74

HDS. Vol. III, p.178

Rājanītiprakāśa says that the king should construct a fort with walls and a gate for the protection of himself, his wives, the people and the wealth accumulated by him. (1) Kautilya advises the construction of forts and the establishment of the capital in one of them. He says that in the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom forts should be built for offering resistance to the enemy on ground naturally fitted for the purpose. (2).

The importance of the forts of Kālañjara, Ajaygadh, Mahoba and other places in the Candella State is clearly evident from its political history. The whole history of the dynasty has centred round the historic fort of Kālañjara and to a lesser degree, the fort of Ajaygadh. Time and again the fortune of the dynasty depended on the possession of Kālañjara. The extraordinary importance of forts in the Candella State was due to the geographical situation of the country and the method of warfare followed in that period. Dr. Kane rightly observes that "the capital mirrored the prosperity of the country and if properly walled also provided security." (3) Central India is mountainous, crossed by the ranges of the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur, and the whole region is interlaced with innumerable rivers. The mountain fortresses of Kālañjara, Ajaygadh,

(1) Rājanītiprakāśa, p.202

(3) HDS. Vol.III, p.178

(2) Kautilya, II, 3, 4,

Mahoba and other places provided security for the state and its people and made access to the heart of the country very difficult. So the physical features of the country gave unusual importance to the construction and maintenance of forts in the Candella Kingdom and hence the kings paid much attention to this aspect of administration and national security. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Viravarman praises Trailokyavarman as "a very creator in providing strong places (durgapraavidhānavedāḥ)". (1) A minister of Kirtivarman is recorded to have built the fort of Kirtigiri. (2)

The forts were governed by an officer appointed by the King. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman states that one Ananda, born in the Vastavya Kayastha family of Jajuka, was appointed by Trailokyavarman as the governor of the fort of Jayapura (Durgadhikari). Ananda is credited for reducing to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Savaras and Pulindas. (3)

Mahesvara, an ancestor of the same family, was thoroughly familiar with every branch of letters and possessed many other good qualities. After serving Kirtivarman, he received the title of Visisa of Kalanjara along with the grant of a village from the King. (4) Ananda's elder brother was called Vase

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.327, vs.7

(3) EI. Vol.I, p.334, vs.21-22

(2) IA. Vol.XVIII, pp.238-239

(4) Ibid. p.333, vs. 8-9

for his excellent qualities and "the minds of the people as well as that of King Trailokyavarman were about to prove submissive to him". Considering him competent for the work, Trailokyavarman appointed him in the office of Visiṣa over the fort named Jaya, and gave him a village for ever. Vāse built a beautiful temple and a tank. He is also praised for defeating and killing Bhojuka, an enemy of Trailokyavarman. (1)

The office of Visiṣa is not known to have been found in the inscriptions of any other dynasty. Dr. Ray believes it to be an administrative post, but he does not offer any suggestion as to the exact nature and duties of this officer. (2) The visīṣa does not seem to have been a civil officer for both Maheśvara and Vāse were appointed viṣiṣas of the forts of Kālañjara and Ajaygadh and not of any administrative division. The Visiṣa cannot have been the governor of the fort, because the same inscription specifically mentions Ānanda (Vāse's brother) as the Durgādhikāri of Ajaygadh fort. Dr. Altekar believes that in ancient Indian States there was probably an inspector general of forts at the capital. (3) The Visiṣas of the Ajaygadh inscription may have had some such office, but on the other hand Vāse appears to have been appointed over one fort only. It may well be that the rank of Visiṣa was rather a title

(1) Ibid. p.334, vs.16-19. The proper name Vāse is evidently from an old vernacular and we cannot definitely establish how it indicates its owner's "excellent qualities". It may well be a tadbhava form of Brhaspati or Vāsudeva.
 (2) DHNI. Vol.II, p.701, fn:2. (3) SGAI. p.145.

of honour or a sinecure than governmental post.

V. THE TREASURY:

Śukra mentions the treasurer as one of the ministers of the King and a Candella inscriptions shows that this was the case in their State. The Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Bhojavarman states that Subhata, one of the members of Jājūka's family, "eagerly striving to benefit others (and) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, became permanently the Chief Superintendent of the treasury (Kośādhikārādhipati) of the illustrious King Bhojavarman." The next verse praises Subhata, the lord of the treasury (Bhāṇḍāgārapati), whose only thought was for right and prosperity, and "who, though at the head of all weighty affairs, is both trustworthy and full of knowledge, and who, as minister (saciva) of the illustrious King Bhoja, is widely famed for qualities and who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end, and is a very store of benevolence." (1).

Śukra calls the treasurer Sumantra, whereas here Subhata is mentioned as Kośādhikārādhipati and Bhāṇḍāgārapati; but that he was one of the ministers is specifically mentioned. It is well known that Kośādhikārādhipati and Bhāṇḍāgārapati were usually two different officers of the treasury, but this inscription gives Subhata both the titles, which indicates that the Candella

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.335, vs.29-30.

administration was not as highly developed as many others in ancient India. The inscription does not give much information about the functions of the lord of the treasury and storehouse. According to Kauṭilya, the superintendent of storehouse shall supervise the accounts of agricultural produce, taxes coming under the state and country-parts, commerce, barter, begging for grains (prāmityaka), grains borrowed with promise to repay (āpamityaka), manufacture of rice, oils, etc., accidental revenue, statements to check expenditure, and recovery of past arrears. (1) As all the enterprises of the state were in some way concerned with the economy of the country, it is apparent that the Treasurer's views and recommendations were carefully considered by the King and the Council of ministers.

A Candella Copper Plate was composed by Akṣapaṭalika Yaśobhata. (2) As Akṣapaṭala means "Account Office" or "Record Office", the Akṣapaṭalika must have been an officer or clerk of this. This Akṣapaṭalika of the Candella inscription does not appear to have been the akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa of Kauṭilya, whose duty was to enter numerous matters in the accounts, recover the King's dues from the sureties of servants, to check embezzlement and to recover fines for loss due to neglect or fraud. (3)

It is evident from the Land Grants that Bhāga, Bhoga,

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- (1) Kauṭilya, II, 15. - Kauṭilya mentions the superintendent of storehouse as Kostāgarādhyakṣa.
 (2) EI. Vol. XX, p. 128
 (3) Kauṭilya II, 7.

Kara, Hiranya and Sulka were the chief sources of revenue.

Kara means taxes in general, while Bhāga (share) usually means the King's dues on land, trees, drugs, cattle, ~~wealth~~, etc.

The Amarakośa takes Bali, Kara, and Bhāga as synonyms. (1)

Sulka usually means the tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise exported from or imported into the kingdom, (2) *or from district to district.*

The word Hiranya has two senses, "gold" and "money" or "cash" whether in gold, silver or copper. (3)

Here it may imply the royal rights over treasure trove and mines of precious metal. In some inscriptions the Bhogas are called Astabhogas, which are enumerated as - the King's rights over nidhi (treasure trove), niksepa (what is deposited on the land), vāri (water), asman (stones and mines), aksinī (actual privileges), āgāmi (future profits), siddha (what is already brought under cultivation), sādhyā (waste land that may in future be turned into cultivable land). (4) Though the Candella Copper Plates do not enumerate the eight Bhogas, it is probable that the word Bhoga actually included all these eight rights.

The Charkhari Plate of Devavarman adds to the taxes mentioned above, the right to receive daṇḍa or fines, and dāya, or the property of one dying without heirs. (5)

(1) HDS. Vol. III, p.190

(4) EI. Vol. XV, p.22;

(2) Śūkra, IV, 2, pp.212-213

HDS. Vol. II, pt. II, p.865

(3) HDS. Vol. III, p.124, fn.164

(5) EI. Vol. XX, p.128

According to Kautilya Sulka was levied at the city gate. (II.21)

The Copper Plates give us some interesting information about the main agricultural products of the country and the state's claim over these products, the mines and other commodities. The Mahoba Plates of Paramādi record the gift of land by the King "along with the temple and mansion (samandirprākāram), with the rights of easement (sanirgamapravesam), with trees and plants such as Sāl, sugar cane (ikṣu), cotton (karpāsa) flowers, hemp, mango, madhūka etc., with forests, mines (khani), hollows, quarries, and iron etc., with animals, deer and birds, aquatic or otherwise and other objects within the boundaries".(1)

Vaidya thinks that because the above things were important agricultural products of the country, they have been specially mentioned in the inscription. (2) Dr. Altekar is doubtful whether the state claimed ownership in these trees growing in private lands and he suggests that it probably had claims only on mango and madhūka groves on waste lands (3). Mines were regarded as state property, some worked by the government and the others leased out to people who had to pay a heavy excise duty; only in the lands granted by the King could the donee dig the ground for metals without the payment of any fee.(4) That the state had claims over mines and useful metals is known

(1) EI, Vol.XVI, pp.13-14

(3) SGAI. p.211

(2) DHI, Vol.II, pp.460-461

(4) SGAI, p.205.

from inscriptions and works of ancient writers. As the Candellas are not known to have any extensive foreign trade or any other special source of income, it can naturally be expected that the state claimed some right over the chief agricultural products of the country.

The economic condition of the Candellas in general must usually have been very prosperous. The construction of the beautiful temples, massive tanks and water reservoirs, and forts of Khajuraho, Kālañjara, Mahoba, Ajaygadh and other places, testifies to the vast amount of wealth that was in the treasury. Vidyādhara's preparation against Sultān Mahmūd must have cost him an enormous sum of money. It is significant that most of the Candella temples were built between c. A.D. 950 - 1050, the best period of the dynasty both politically and economically. The wealth of the Candellas is also indicated by the fact that even as late as in A.D. 1233, the fifth share of the booty of Kālañjara, which was the perquisite of Sultān Iltutmish, amounted to twenty five lakhs of coins. (1)

VI. THE ARMY:

The army or military department was a vital part of the state administration, and according to Sukra, about 25% of the revenue was to be spent on the fighting forces. (2) In

(1) Supra. p. 138

(2) Sukra, I, pp. 631-635

the early mediaeval period the importance of the army was greater than ever before, and all the dynasties had to maintain large armies for their security. The main threat came from the neighbouring rulers and the Moslem invaders.

The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Kṛṣṇa Misra mentions the use of Chariots in the battlefield and another inscription mentions a minister as expert in riding chariots. (1) But chariots were obsolete by this time and it is clear that the reference to them was merely conventional. Bows and arrows, spears and swords were the principal arms of the army. Elephants and horses played a dominant part in war and the importance of the elephants has been stressed by various authorities. According to Kautilya and other sources, the destruction of the enemy's forces and victory depended on elephants, (2) though one Mahābhārata passage states that an army in which the infantry predominates remains firm but that cavalry and chariots are only efficient when there is no rain. (3) Vidyādhara, according to Moslem historians, collected a vast army against Sultān Mahmūd in A.D.1022, the figures of which, given by different accounts, are as follows (4)

Nizāmmudīn ...	36,000 horsemen,	145,000 foot soldiers,	390 elephants
Ibn ul Athir .	56,000 cavalry,	184,000 infantry,	746 -do-
Gardizī	36,000 -do-	145,000 -do-	640 -do-
Fdrishta	36,000 -do-	45,000 -do-	640 -do-
		(Dr. Ray rightly corrects it as 145,000)	

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.201, vs.41

(2) Kautilya II,2: VII. II;
HDS. Vol.III, p.203

The general agreement among the Moslem historians regarding the vast numbers of the army tends to suggest that these figures are not excessively exaggerated. But even if we reduce the number by half, as Cunningham believes we should, it was just two-thirds of the strength of the Sikh army left by Ranjit Singh, and greater than the Gwalior army which opposed Lord Ellenborough. (1)

The head of the army was the Senāpati. According to the Agni and Matsya Purānas, the Commander in Chief must be either a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. (2) Śukra says that a Kṣatriya should be preferred as Senāpati, but if a valiant Kṣatriya be not available, a Brāhmaṇa may be chosen, but a Vaiśya or a Sūdra should not be selected. (3) Reference to a Senāpati is found in one Candella inscription, where King Paramardi is recorded to have granted land to a Brāhmaṇa Senāpati named Madanapālasarman. (4) The Candella inscriptions do not mention any officers in charge of the departments of the army, but a Prime minister is praised for having qualities fitting him for managing all the departments, and another minister is described as in charge of horses and elephants. (5)

From previous page :-

(3) Śāntiparva, 100, 24; c.f.; HDS. Vol.III, p.203

(4) DHNI. Vol.II. p.690, fn.2; Supra, p

Above :-

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.78

(2) HDS. Vol.III, p.127

(3) Śukra, II, pp.865-866

(4) IA, Vol.XXV, p.207

(5) EI. Vol.I, p.200, vs.30;
p.201.vs.41.

It is thus evident that the military department was not clearly separated from civil administration, and officers like the Prime minister and other ministers were expected to know the art of warfare and to lead the army in the battlefield if necessary.

The Durgādhikāri and Visīśas were undoubtedly concerned with the military department and took part in actions. Forts were an essential part in the scheme of national defence, (1) and as we have already seen, were specially important to the Candella army. (2)

The word Rāuta is very often found in the Candella inscriptions. One Rāuta Sihada, who was Ksatriya by caste, built a cautra in Jayapuradurga for all people. In the same place another Rāuta built a well on the road during a famine, for the use of all people. (3) A Rāuta, born of a Brāhmaṇa family, is mentioned in a Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman. (4) An Ajaygadh Rock inscription concludes with the line, "during the office of the Rāuta, the illustrious Jetana (Rā(uta) Śrī Jetana Vyāpāre) in the reign of illustrious Vīravarman". (5) Cartelli^eri regarded Rāuta as a Prakrit or hybrid form of Rājaputra, implying that Rāuta of the Semra Plates of Paramardi was a title given to a Brāhmaṇa. (6)

(1) SGAI, p.145

(2) Supra, pp, 181-182.

(3) ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.49-50

(4) IA. Vol.XVII, p.235

(5) EI. Vol.I, p.328

(6) EI. Vol. IV, p.154

The term Rāuta cannot have been a mere title, for two other inscriptions show that the Rāuta was a military officer, who could either be Brāhmana or Kṣatriya by caste, or a distinguished horseman or trooper. (1) In the Garra Plates, Trailokyavarman grants land by way of maintenance for death (mr̥tyuka-vr̥ittau) to Rāuta Sāmanta, whose father Rāuta Pāpe was killed at Kakadādhaka in a fight with the Turuṣkas. (2) King Vīravarmān is also recorded to have granted land to one Rāuta Abhi, for performing a deed of valour in battle. (3) That the Rāutas were concerned with military affairs is apparent from these two inscriptions, and the reference to a Rāuta Jetana as an administrative officer can be easily explained; hence such officers often worked both in the civil and military departments. It is also possible that Jetana was an old Rāuta who was appointed by the King to a civil office.

The word Mr̥tyuka-Vr̥itti is not found in any other inscription. According to Dr. Barnett it was a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kanarese is styled nettar-godage 'blood gift', (4) and this interpretation appears to be borne out by the context. This inscription shows that Trailokyavarman followed the high principle that it is the duty of the King to support the wives of those who meet death or calamities in the King's service. (5)

(1) Kittel-Kannade - English Dictionary.

(2) EI. Vol. XVI, pp. 275-276

(3) EI. Vol. XX, pp. 132-133

(4) DHNI. Vol. II, p. 723, fn. 2. The term might also be tentatively explained as a grant of land for life, as distinct from the

Kautilya prescribes land grants to various officers as emoluments, but without power to sell or mortgage. He says that the sons and wives of those who die while on duty should get subsistence and wages. (1) Śukra strongly objects to the granting of land to officers and says that even if the King does so, the land should be held only for the lifetime of the officer. (2) The land given by Trailokyavarman to the Rāuta whose father was killed in the battle is without conditions and is given for ever; so also is the grant made by Hammīra-varman to one of his valiant Rāutas. These indicate that sacrifice of life or gallantry on the battlefield was honoured by the Candella Kings, and in recognising their service, the Candellas went even further than the ~~earlier~~ authorities advocated.

VII. THE FRIENDS OR ALLIES:

The seventh or the last constituent part of the state was mitra, i.e. friendly rulers of other countries. It is, however, extremely doubtful how far this element of the traditional classification corresponded to actual conditions in the early mediaeval period. After the fall of the Pratihāra empire, the chief ambition of all the dynasties was to become

(4) from previous page continued..
usual form of grant in perpetuity.

(5) HDS. Vol.III, p.152.

(1) above
Kautilya, II, I; HDS Vol.III, p.152 (2) Śukra I, pp421-422

the paramount power in North-Western and Central India at the expense of the others. No king could rely on the friendship of another. Vidyādhara Candella, we know, was respected and assisted by Arjuna, the Kaccapaghāta ruler of Dubkund. Kīrttirāja, the Kaccapaghāta ruler of Gwalior may also have been in friendly terms with him. But they were actually tributaries of the mighty Vidyādhara, rather than allies. (1) Immediately after Vidyādhara's death the Kaccapaghātas of Dubkund transferred their allegiance to the powerful Bhoja Paramāra. Bhoja Paramāra and Gāṅgeyadeva were also on friendly terms with Vidyādhara; but this relation was due to fear, as is clearly stated in a Candella inscription, and Gāṅgeyadeva's attack on the Candella Kingdom only a few years later reveals the nature of this friendship. (2)

Kīrtivarman also entered into an alliance with the Caulukyās, Paramāras and Pālas. The object of this alliance was to defeat Lakṣmīkarna, the common enemy. Once this was achieved the alliance broke to pieces, as is evident from Madanavarman's wars with the Paramāras and Caulukyās. (3) Jājjaladeva, the Kalacuri ruler of Ratnapura, refers to friendship with the Candellas. (4) This was probably a tribute to the newly obtained success of the Candellas against Lakṣmīkarna,

(1) Supra, pp. 90-91 (2) Supra, pp. 91-92; 94-95
 (3) Supra, pp. ~~91-92; 94-95~~ (4) EI, Vol. I, p. 35, vs. 21.
 118-119; 122-123.

and we hear nothing more about the friendship between the two dynasties. The alleged friendship between the Gāhāḍavālas and the Candellas, as we have already seen, is very doubtful. Thus we have hardly any evidence of lasting friendly relations between the Candellas and any other kings. A study of the political history of the period makes it abundantly clear that no king could count on the friendship of another at that time, and the alliances made during the period may be regarded as an exposition of the last of the six guṇas advocated by Kauṭilya, dvaidhībhāva, making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another.

VIII. WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY:

The undertaking of works of public utility was highly recommended by moralists from very ancient times. The Viṣṇu Dharma Śāstra states that "one who digs a well for the public is saved from the fruit of half his sins when the water has begun to flow forth." (1) Bāna mentions that the Smṛtis enjoined upon men the foundation for public use of halls, shelters, wells, gardens, embankments, etc. (2) Some writers even say that the reward of sacrifices is only heaven, but by pūrta, i.e. consecration of temples, tanks and gardens, one is released from

(1) Ch. 91, 1-2; c.f. HDS.Vol.II, pt.II, p.890

(2) Kādambari, para.44.

Sāmsāra. (1) This shows that charitable works for the use of the public or large sections of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices, in the gifts of which only the Brāhmanas benefitted.(2)

That works of public utility, especially ~~that~~ for irrigation, were extensively carried out in the Candella Kingdom, is known from inscriptions of the dynasty. In a Khajuraho inscription, Yaśovarman is praised for building a temple and excavating a tank (taḍāgārṇavam).(3) Vīravarman's queen Kalyānadevī is recorded to have built a well (kūpa), a tank (kāśāra) and a hall (maṇḍapa). (4) One Pāhila made a gift to Brāhmanas of a number of gardens (vāṭikā) (5) and Kokkala in his inscription records the grant of certain buildings for Brāhmanas. (6) Vatsarāja, a minister of Kīrtivarman, built a flight of steps (ghāṭa) apparently for a vāpi. (7) A minister of Madanavarman is praised for building a temple, and a tank (taḍāga) and for executing other works of piety.(8) A Rāuta built a sirothā (of doubtful meaning) for all people, and another Rāuta built a cautra. (9) A third Rauta built a Bauli (well) for the use of all, beside a road during a famine. (10)

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- (1) HDS. Vol.II, pp.II, p.890 (6) EI, Vol.I, p.150
 (2) Ibid (7) IA, Vol.XVIII, pp.238-239
 (3) EI, Vol.I, p.144, vs.38 (8) EI. Vol.I, p.202, vs.46-48
 (4) EI. Vol.I, p.328, vs.18-20 (9) ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.49-50
 (5) EI, Vol.I, p.136 (10) Ibid.

According to the Smrtis, water reservoirs dug out by men are of four kinds, viz. kūpa, vāpi, puskarinī and tadāga. Kūpa is usually defined as a well of five to fifty cubits in length or diameter. Vāpi is a well with a flight of steps on all sides or on three, two or one side only and its mouth varies from 50 to 100 cubits. A puskarinī (pond) is between 100 to 200 cubits in length or diameter, and a tadāga is from 200 to 800 cubits. (1) As we have already seen, the Candella inscriptions record the construction of all kinds of water reservoirs, except the puskarinī.

In the Sabhāparva, the king is advised to look after the irrigation of the land so that agriculture may not depend on the rains alone. (2). Sūkra says that the king should see to the adequate supply of water in the country by digging wells, wells with steps, tanks, lakes, etc. (3) The great attention paid by the Candella Kings to this problem is testified by the number of tanks and lakes that still exist in different parts of the former kingdom of the dynasty. In Mahoba the Rahilya Sāgar and a fine temple on its embankment are regarded as monuments of the reign of Rāhila. The Kirāt Sāgar, one and a half miles in circumference, is known to be the work of

(1) HDS. Vol.II. p.II, p.893

(2) HDS. Vol.III, p.162

(3) Sūkra, IV,4, 125-29.

Kīrtivarman. Madanavarman also caused the excavation of lake, three miles in circuit, which is known as Madanasāgar. This is the most picturesque of all the lakes. A tank in Ajaygadh is known to have been built by Paramardi. The Vijaya Sāgar, apparently named after Vijayapāla, is very deep and is about 4 miles in circuit. Another small lake, the Kalyān Sagar, was probably built by queen Kalyānadevi. (1).

IX OTHER OFFICERS OF THE STATE:

In some cases the officials who drafted the Candella Copper Plates call themselves Dharmalekhin (2). Dr. Ray thinks that they were probably law writers, (3), but Cartillieri translates Dharmalekhin as the recorder of Charitable gifts (4). The Dharmalekhin of the Semra Plates of Paramardi is said to have rendered meritorious services and is praised as a collection of all good qualities (sakalagunagananam). (5). The Dharmalekhins were probably a class of professional clerks who wrote the grants in accordance with the sacred laws, and were apparently expected to know the art of drafting legal documents and charters.

A Khajuraho inscription of Dhāṅga was composed when "the illustrious priest of the Royal household Yaśodhara was acting in the office of Dharmādhikāra". (6). The Dharmādhikārin

(1). IA, Vol. XXXVII, p.132;
ASR, Vol. II, pp. 439-440

(2). IA, Vol. XVI, p.208, line 19.
EI, Vol. IV, p.170, line 124.

(3). DHNI, Vol. II, p.707.

(4). EI, Vol. IV, p.156.

(5). EI, Vol. IV, pp.156,170

(6). EI, Vol. I, p.146, vs.56

was no doubt a judge, but it is difficult to say whether he was the Chief Justice, since it is not clear that his post was a unique one.

The Prabodhacandrodaya and the inscriptions mention the pratīhāra (chamberlain), whose duty was to present visitors or guests to the king. As the pratīhāra was very near the king's person (1) and was often present on important occasions, his post was a prominent one. The pratīhāra of king Paramardi is praised as "beloved of good men", "a favourite counsellor (sacivavirāma)", and "a wise man" (2). The same inscription states that the brother of this pratīhāra shared work with him and always delighted in deeds of war, and that the two brothers fought on the Kālañjara mountain (3). This indicates that the Pratīhāras had to take part in battle if situation demanded. There was probably more than one Pratīhāra as appears from one Candella inscription which mentions a Mahāpratīhāra (4).

A Khajuraho inscription of Dhāṅga was written by Karaṅika

(1). EI, Vol. I, p.206, vs. 40.

(2). EI, Vol. I, p.333, vs.10.

(3). Ibid. vs.11.

(4). The Kālañjara Pillar inscription of Madanavarman mentions the names of Mahāpratīhāra Saṅgrāmasiṃha and Mahānācanī Padmāvati. According to Cunningham they were the two permanent attendants attached to the Nilkanṭha shrine - one being the chief door keeper, and the other, the chief of the dancing girls. (ASR, Vol. XXI, p.34) - but Dr. Ray's suggestion that Saṅgrāmasiṃha was an official of the state and Padmāvati was the chief court danseuse seems more probable. (DHNI, Vol. II, p.705).

Jauddha who knew the Sanskrit language (saṃskṛtabhāṣāvidūṣa). (1). One of the Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman was also written by a Karaṇika (2). Kielhorn translates Karaṇika as a writer of legal documents (3), but he was more probably a government servant in charge of registration or of a state department or office (4).

The writers of some of the Candella inscriptions are also mentioned as Kāyasthas (5). A Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman was drawn up by the Kāyastha Muktasimha, "by whom the reign of the child prince was made a prosperous one, and his fame spotless" (6). According to Dr. Kane, the Kāyastha was a scribe or writer in the revenue department of the king (7). Dr. Beni Prasad believes that a number of secretaries or clerks were attached to the central and to the subordinate offices, and were subdivided into grades, and that Kāyastha was the general term applied to them. (8). The Rewa inscription, however, strongly suggests that the Kāyasthas were not merely scribes or clerks, but had considerable administrative power. It is, of course, possible that the Kāyasthas were usually civil officers or clerks, but Muktasimha enjoyed some special power and privileges, probably for his past services and experience. It may also be that

(1) EI, Vol. I, p.129, vs. 48.

(2) IA, Vol. XVII, pp.236

(3) EI, Vol. I, p.135.

(4). SAI, p.407; HDS, Vol. III, p.979.

(5). EI, Vol. I, p.147;
IA, Vol. XVII, p.234.

(6). IA, Vol. XVII, p.231-234

(7). HDS, Vol. III, p.979.

(8). SAI, p.406.

Kāyastha had already become the name of a caste and had no governmental significance.

The Āṭavikas mentioned in the Copper Plates were government officers in charge of forests and wild tribes, and some authorities mention the Aṭavi or āṭavika as one of the six kind of troops (1).

The administration of the streets or wards of the towns (Pratoli) was entrusted to an officer who lived in the fort, and whose duty was to keep down wickedness (2).

Other people in the service of the state known from the inscriptions are, - Sūtradhara, architect or builder of temples, (3), citrakāra, painters who were "well versed in the science of all arts" (4). Rūpakāra, who built images and also engraved inscriptions (5). The engraver of an inscription is also mentioned as Uccakāra (6), and the composers of inscriptions are often referred to as Kavi, Kavīndra (lord of poets), and Bālakavi (young poet, perhaps a beginner) ^{and as} ~~who were~~ very learned in grammar (śavdānusāsanavidāh). (7). Five inscriptions of Paramardi's reign were engraved by one Palhana, who in an

(1). The other five are - maula (hereditary), bhṛta or bhṛtaka or bhṛtya (hired troops), srenī (guilded troops) mitra (troops of an ally or friendly power or feudatory), and amitra (troops that once belonged to the enemy) - HDS, Vol. III, p.200.

(2) EI, Vol. I, pp.333-334, vs.13. (5) EI, Vol. I, p.129

(3) EI, Vol. I, p.146, vs.60; (6) EI, Vol. I, p.328, vs.22
ASR, Vol. XXI, p.49.

(4) MASI, No. 8, p.2.

(7) EI, Vol. I, pp.129, 211

inscription of A.D.1165 calls himself a pītalahāra (brass worker); in A.D.1170 he calls himself a śilpin (artist); in 1172 he calls himself a vijñānin (skilful artist), while in two inscriptions of A.D.1175 and 1177 he calls himself a Vaidagdhī Viśvakarman (a master of art and craft). His inscription of A.D.1177 (i.e. his last inscription) does not, however, show much improvement in his engraving (1). The engraver of a Rewa Plate of Trailokyavarman was the grandson of a worker in iron (ayaskāra) (2).

(1). EI, Vol. XX, p.128; XVI, pp. 9-10; EI, Vol. IV, pp.156, 170

(2). IA, Vol. XVII, p.236.

C H A P T E R VII

SOCIETY, RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE
AND SCULPTURE

(i) SOCIETY:

The Candella inscriptions throw very little light on the social structure of the Kingdom and only a few passing references are found, mostly in the Copper Plates and inscriptions of the ministerial families. Even the contemporary Sanskrit drama, Prabodha Candrodaya is not of much use for a study of the social conditions, though it is of value for our section on Religion. However, with the help of the scanty materials available, we shall try to outline the essential features of Candella Society.

In our period, the supremacy of the Brāhmanas and the great honour and privileges enjoyed by them are clearly evident. In the inscriptions the Brāhmanas are mentioned with their Sākhā, Gotra and Pravaras. The Semra Plates of Paramardi record grants made to no less than 309 Brāhmanas, all of which are mentioned with their Gotras, Pravaras and Sākhās. (1) The constant emphasis on the Gotra and Sākhā shows that the orthodox Brāhmanical system was fully in force.

(1) EI. Vol. IV. pp. 158, 170-174; EI. Vol. XX. pp. 127-128, The gotras most often mentioned are Bharadvāja, Vasistha and Kṛṣṇātreya.

That the Brāhmanas devoted themselves to religious studies is known from the inscriptions, one of which states that a Brāhmana donee "was ever ready to expound the Vedas, the Vedāngas, Itihāsa, the Purānas and Mīmāṃsā, and was devoted to Sat-Karma". (1) Other inscriptions and the Prabodha Candrodaya also praise the Brāhmanas for their knowledge and education. But it cannot be said that they devoted themselves only to the study of religious books. Inscriptions clearly mention other activities of the Brāhmanas, and, as we have already noticed, they often acted as Senāpatis, Dharmādhikārīns, and Rāutas in the Candella Kingdom. (2) The Bagheri Stone inscription of Paramardi gives the genealogy of a Brāhmin family, who served as officers of the Candella Kings for five generations. (3)

The Candella inscriptions often mention the Brāhmanas as Paṇḍita, Thakura, Bhaṭṭa etc., which, from the contexts, were no doubt titles, and not surnames as suggested by Vaidya, (4) though they certainly became surnames in more recent times. The donees, who were always Brāhmanas, usually came from Agrahāras often called Bhaṭṭagrahāras or Bhaṭṭagrāmas, terms applied to the villages granted to Brāhmanas by the kings or others.

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- (1) EI. Vol. XX, pp. 126-128. The six duties of Brāhmanas are, 'studying or repeating the veda (adhyayana)', 'teaching the vedas (adhyāpana)', 'offering sacrifices (yajana)', 'conducting them for others (yājana)', 'giving (dāna) and accepting gifts (pratigraha)'.
 (2) Supra, 190, 191, 198. (3) EI. Vol. I, pp. 207-214
 (4) DHI, Vol. II, pp. 376-377

Only two specific mentions of the Kṣatriya caste are found in the Candella records. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Paramardi's time records the building of a cautra by one Rāuta Sihada, son of Rāuta Santāna of the Kṣatriya caste. (1) Another inscription refers to a Rāuta who was also a Kṣatriya (2). This apparent rarity of Kṣatriyas is satisfactorily explained by Mr. Seth's suggestion that the Kṣatriyas had lost the custom of maintaining caste divisions, and thus the practice of mentioning their caste was not popular during this period. The Kula or family became the most important factor in their lives and this resulted in the extinction of the previous practice of mentioning the caste. According to Mr. Seth, the rise of the new dynasties in Northern India in the middle ages, chiefly contributed to the importance of the Kula or family (3).

This contention is strongly supported by the Candella epigraphic records, which put great stress on the Vāṃśa or Kula of the people mentioned in the inscriptions. Kings, ministers and others mostly mention their respective families, but not their caste. All who enjoyed high position in society, except the Brāhmanas, wanted their families to be known, and always enthusiastically enumerated the good qualities and deeds of

(1) ASR. Vol. XXI, p. 49-50. The word 'cautra' is not satisfactorily explained. It was probably a rest-house for pilgrims.

(2) Ibid, p. 49

(3) IC. Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 52-53.

their stock. An inscription of a Grahapati family (i.e. Sūryavaṁśa) gives us some idea of the ideals of a good and respectable family. This states that one Atiyaśoṅgala of the Grahapati family supported the families of friends and dependents, excavated tanks full of water and built temples, and thus became honoured and famous. His son Māhāṣṭa secured the three objects of life (i.e. religion, wealth and pleasure) in a blameless manner. Māhāṣṭa's successors, Jayadeva and Sekkalla, were famous for their good deeds. Sekkalla's son Kokkala was endowed with good qualities, and always bestowed food, clothes, horses, couches, seats, umbrellas, shoes, grains and dwelling places on worthy recipients. He was also engaged in other works of piety and built a wonderful town with high archways and gates of great value. (1) A Rewa grant of Trailokyavarman gives a similar genealogy of the family of Mahārānaka Kumārapāla of the Kaurava Vaṁśa, who were probably Kṣatriyas. (2)

Candella epigraphic records indicate that by the beginning of the 11th century, the Kāyasthas had become one of the main castes in this part of India, and the Rewa Stone inscription of K.C.800 gives a mythical account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste. (3) The prominence gained by the Kāyasthas as a caste

(1) EI. Vol.I, pp.149-150

(2) ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.142-148; IA. Vol.XVII, pp.230-234

(3) EI. Vol. XXIV, pp.108-109

is evident from an inscription which runs as follows :-

"There were thirty six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them (Karanakarma-nivāsapūta) (and) more (than other towns) endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as the abode of gods, was Takkārikā, an object of envy....(And) in this (town) which by crowds (of students) was made to resound with the chants of the Vedas, there were born in the Vāstavya family those Kāyasthas whose fame has filled (and rendered) white like swans all the worlds, illumining the quarters." (1) This inscription shows that the Kāyasthas, like the Kṣatriyas, were even more proud of their families than of their caste; and in a grant of Paramardi, the writer calls himself a member of the Vāstavya Vamśa without mentioning his caste. (2) The Kāyasthas no doubt enjoyed a high position in Society, and were apparently regarded as a class of intellectuals, who, besides having knowledge of the ancient books, knew the art of civil administration.

No mention of the terms Vaiśya and Śūdra is found in the inscriptions, which indicates that the people of the low castes were known by their profession rather than by their class. This is supported by the Dahi Plate of Viravarman, which records that before making a land grant Viravarman assembled all the local

(1) EI. Vol.I, p.333, vs.2, 4.

(2) EI. Vol.IV, p.156.

Brāhmanas, Kāyasthas, Harkāras, cow-herds, goat-herds, orchard-keepers and all other classes, high and low. (1) Other Copper Plates also mention the people by their profession, viz: , dūtas, Vaidyas, mēdas, chandālas, etc.

Though there is no direct evidence of the nature of the caste system at that period, yet it is apparent that it had become very rigid and any suggestion of its abolition or comment on its nature was regarded as reprehensible if not sinful, especially by the Brāhmanas. A veiled attempt to justify the caste system is found in the Prabodha Candrodaya, where Mahāmoha (i.e. great illusion) questions the justice of class distinctions between human beings who are formed with bodies possessing the same organs. (2) This shows that according to Kṛṣṇamīśra, only people suffering from illusion could raise such questions, and to show the baseness of Mahāmoha's ideals, the latter is presented as disputing the moral of the principle that the wife should belong only to the husband. (3) Kṛṣṇamīśra was a staunch Vaisṇavite and it is only natural to find him denouncing one who is not a worshipper of Viṣṇu and one who opposes the caste system. This passage shows, however, that even at this late period, equalitarian criticism of the caste system was not completely unheard of.

(1) ASR. Vol.XXI, p.75.

(2) II, pp.69-70; Trns.p.17.

(3) Ibid.

Practically nothing is known of the position of women in Candella Society. Queens have been mentioned in a few inscriptions, but only one is recorded to have done something for the people. (1) The Lay of Ālhā and the Prthvīrāj Rāso often mention the women, especially of the Royal household, who sometimes had great influence on the affairs of the country. It is, however, impossible to make any generalisation out of these traditional accounts.

Apparently marriage was strictly confined to people of the same caste, as is shown by a Khajuraho inscription, which states that Harṣa Candella married a suitable lady of equal caste, who sprang from the Cāhamāna family. (2) The practice of the Satī rite is recorded in many inscriptions.

A general picture of the society is depicted in an inscription which states that Harṣa's fame had spread, "in the halls of princes, where sages dwell, where good people meet in the village, in the assemblages of the lowly, among the rows of shops of merchants, where streets cross, where wanderers talk together on the road, and in the huts of the dwellers of the forest." (3) This classification of Society based on profession, education and environment, is perhaps not far from Indian Society as it is today.

(1) EI. Vol. I. pp. 327-328

(2) EI. Vol. I, p. 126, vs. 20-21

(3) EI, Vol. I, pp. 128-129, vs. 40

(ii) RELIGION:

The Candellas were devout worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The majority of the inscriptions begin with an invocation of either of the two gods and most of the temples of Khajuraho are dedicated to them. In the inscriptions Śiva is variously worshipped as Mahādeva, Viśvanātha, Mahesvara, Kedāra and Vṛṣabha. An image of Nandi, one of the two chief attendants of Śiva, and an image of a bull, the Vāhana of Śiva, have been found at Khajuraho. (1) The Copper Plates of the dynasty refer to Śiva as one who holds the moon (from whom the Candellas claimed descent) on his head. The biggest temple of Khajuraho is dedicated to Śiva and is nowadays known as the Kandāriya Mahādeva temple. A large number of Śiva lingams have also been found in Khajuraho.

Viṣṇu is also often mentioned in the inscriptions, and many images of him have been found in the Candella country. The Caturbhuja temple of Viṣṇu is one of the best known temples of Khajuraho. (2) The Narasiṃha, 'The Man Lion incarnation', the Varāhāvatāra, 'The Boar incarnation', and the Vāmanāvatāra, 'The Dwarf incarnation', were the most popular forms in which Viṣṇu was worshipped in the country. He is also mentioned as

(1) ASR. Vol.II, p.423

(2) Caturbhuja is further epithet of Viṣṇu.

the destroyer of enemies and as Vāsudeva, a title generally at this time applied to his most famous incarnation, Kṛṣṇa.

The allegorical Sanskrit drama, Prabodha Candrodaya of Kṛṣṇamīśra tries to show the greatness of the Advaita system of philosophy, and it propagates devotion to Viṣṇu (viṣṇubhakti) as the only true religion. The reader of the Prabodha Candrodaya may be inclined to think that Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were two distinctly separate religious doctrines in the Candella country. But this is far from the truth. In the inscriptions, Viṣṇu and Śiva are often mentioned with the same respect and devotion, and there are inscriptions which begin with the invocation of Śiva and later praise both Śiva and Viṣṇu. (1) A temple of Khajuraho was dedicated both to Śiva and Viṣṇu, (2) and images of one god have often been found in the other's temples.

Other gods frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, or to whom temples have been dedicated, or whose images have been found, are, - Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sūrya, Indra, Candra, Kṛṣṇa, Rāmacandra, Brahmā, and Hanumān, the monkey god. (3) The consecration of images in temples (devatā pratiṣṭā) was recommended in the Purānas as a work of great religious merit, and especial emphasis was put on the consecration of the images

(1) EI. Vol. I, p. 327

(2) IA. Vol. XXXVII, p. 132

(3) Pārvatī was also known in the Candella Kingdom as Kālī, Ambikā, Tārā, Trīpūrā, Kāmākṣyā, Harasiddhi, Cāmundā and Kālikā.

of Viṣṇu and Śiva, and of the Śivaliṅgam. (1) The Candella Kings followed this practice and inscriptions of the ministers and other important dignitaries record the erection of images and temples. (2) "Abandoning of the body" in Sacred Water after attaining a very old age, as was done by Dhāṅga and Kīrtivarman's minister Ananta, was one of the religious customs prevalent in the country. (3)

The granting of lands to Brāhmanas was regarded as the highest act of religious merit in ancient India. Ancient law writers say, whatever sin a man may commit when in straightened circumstances, he is purified therefrom by making a gift of only as much land as would be covered by the hide of a cow. (4) One sacred text says that "gifts of gold, cows and land save even the wicked." (5) The Candella Copper Plates show that the Candella Kings granted land in strict accordance with the rites prescribed in the sacred literature. Yājñavalkya states that apart from the daily duty of making gifts, gifts must be made on special occasions and if so made are more meritorious than the gifts made daily. (6) According to Laghu śātaṭapa "a gift must be made on the first day of each ayana (the sun's passage to the north or south), at the beginning of Śadaśīti and while an eclipse of the sun or moon is in progress and the rewards of the

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- (1) HDS. Vol.II, pt.II.pp.896-897 (4) HDS.Vol.II,pt.II pp.858-9
 (2) ASR.1935-36,p.92; (5) Ibid, p.859
 EI. Vol.I, p.211,vs.25-26, (6) Yājñyavalkya I. .203
 p.335, vs.31
 (3) EI. Vol.I, p.206

gifts made on those occasions are inexhaustible." (1) The Candella inscriptions often mention the kings making gifts of gold, cows, corn, umbrellas, etc. to Brāhmanas, but all the Copper Plates discovered show that the grants were made on auspicious days. One of the two land grants of Devavarman was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. (2) The purpose of the land grant was to acquire religious merit not only for the donor but also for his parents and the Candella Grants also mention this. Before donating land the king had to go through religious ceremonies; the verses recording these ceremonies usually run as follows :- "The King had bathed according to the rule in the water of a sacred ūrtha, had satisfied gods, men and manes, had worshipped, after an adoration of the sun, the lord of the movable and immovable, the divine husband of Bhavānī, and had offered an oblation in fire." The gift was completed by the donor's pouring out of water, purified by the Kuśa grass, on the hands of the donee and the latter's expressing his acceptance by uttering the word Svasti. (3)

According to the ancient law writers, the donor of land enjoys bliss in heaven for sixty thousand years and he who destroys (or resumes) the gift or who abets its destruction dwells in hell for the same period. (4) The Candella Copper Plates also record

(1) HDS. Vol. II, pt. II. p. 852
Laghu śātātapa (145-153)

(2) IA. Vol. XVI, p. 206

(4) HDS. Vol. II, pt. II. pp 862-3

(3) JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
(4) HDS. Vol. II, pt. II. pp 862-3

The other occasions of land grants were
Sankranti, Full-moon day, Puṣyārka (3) JOUPHS. Vol. XXIII, pts I & II
p. 248; EI. Vol. IV, p. 155

that the grant is not to be taken away or to be resumed and ~~it~~ asks future Kings to protect it. Of the fifteen Candella Copper Plates found, only one is a confirmation of a grant made by a former king. (1) This indicates that land grants were generally respected by later kings, and no confirmation was necessary at the beginning of a new reign.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that different schools of philosophy, such as Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Mahābhāṣya, etc., were well-known to the learned people of the country. But the Mōslem invasion and the existence of various doctrines antagonistic to the fundamental ideals of the Vedas fostered the growth of a sense of unity among the followers of the different philosophies. This is clearly stated in the Prabodha Candrodaya which says, "When a common enemy attacks the śāstras, which though descended from the same source, are at mutual variance, they form an auspicious coalescence; and thus notwithstanding the internal disagreement of the śāstras, which proceed from the Vedas, they all unite in defending the vedas, and in repelling the materialists." (2)

Buddhism and Jainism were also prevalent in the Candella Kingdom, and many magnificent Jaina and Buddhist temples are still in existence in Khajuraho. Statues of the Buddha and the

(1) EI. Vol. IV, p. 158

(2) V. pp. 173-174, Trns. p. 62

Buddhist goddess Tārā have been found. (1) and references to Sāntinātha, Sambhanātha, Ādinātha and Pārsvanātha, the Jaina tīrthan̄karas are found in some Jaina inscriptions. As in all other parts of India, Buddhism was on the decline in the Candella country, and a reference to this is found in the Prabodha Candrodaya. After the success of Viveka over Mahāmoha, it is said that the Saugatas fled into Sindhu, Gāndhāra, Magadha, Āndhra, Hūna, Vaṅga, Kalinga and country of the Mlecchas. The heretics, the Digambaras and the Kāpālikas fled to Pañcōla, Mālava, Abhīra and to the sea coast. (2) The place names are of little importance, but the passage itself indicates the predominance of Brāhminism over other religions at that time.

As a staunch Vaiṣṇavist, Kṛṣṇamīśra had great hatred and contempt for any other religion, and this is often reflected in various passages of his drama. In one place Sānti (Peace), seeing a Digambara Jaina, says to her sister Karuṇā (Mercy), "He is Digambara Siddhānta, sent by the great King Mahāmoha, who by all means ought to be kept at a distance, and we should turn our backs to avoid the sight of him." (3) The hatred for Buddhism is expressed when a Buddhist Bhikṣu says, "How excellent is the religion of the Saugatas, which grants both sensual enjoyments and eternal felicity; it permits us to

(1) MASI. No.8.

(2) V. pp.176-177 Trans. p.63

(3) III, p.100, Trns. p.31

inhabit elegant houses and to possess women obedient to our wills; it removes the restriction as to the time of eating; it allows us to recline on soft beds and to pass the shining moonlight nights in amours with young damsels." (1) Besides condemning these two religions, Kṛṣṇamīśra attempts to show the contempt of the Jainas and Bauddhas for each other. A Kṣapanaka asks a Bhiḅṣu, "How do you know that Buddha is omniscient?", to which the Bhiḅṣu replies that it is written in the Holy Book. The Kṣapanaka then scornfully says that "If you believe in the omniscience of the Buddha upon his own declaration, then I am also omniscient, for I know that you, your father, grandfather and ancestors to several generations were my servants." The Bhiḅṣu is naturally enraged and he curses the Kṣapanaka as a sinner, devil and impure fellow. (2)

The picture of the religious life of the state, as painted by Kṛṣṇamīśra, is not only coloured by his fanatic zeal for Vaiṣṇavism, but is entirely misleading. Far from a relation of mutual hatred and jealousy, one of the most outstanding features of the Candellas was their wonderful spirit of religious toleration. Dr. Beni Prāsad says that "as a rule, Hindu monarchs, even burning enthusiasts like Aśoka, tolerated all creeds, preached toleration and even went to the extent of patronising

(1) III. pp.104-105, Trns. p.34

(2) III, pp.108-109, Trns. pp.36-37

sects other than their own" (1). Epigraphic and other evidence shows that the Candellas carried out a similar religious policy. There are many Jaina and Buddhist temples in Khajuraho which were built side by side with the Brāhmanical temples. Commenting on the striking similarity in the magnificence, architecture, and designs of the temples of the different religions, Fergusson says, "It looks as if all had been built by one prince, and by some arrangement that neither sect should surpass or be jealous of the other". (2). Even when granting villages to the Brāhmanas, the Candella kings scrupulously safeguarded the interest of the land belonging to temples or shrines of other religions (3). The Khajuraho Jaina temple inscription records a number of gifts made by one Pāhilla, "who was held in honour by Dhānga and was a devotee of the lord of the Jinas". The inscription also mentions one Vāsavacandra who is described as the Mahārājaguru (4). Dhānga's respect for Pāhilla (apparently a Jaina) and the indicated presence of the Royal priest at the time of a gift made by a Jaina are very significant, and this further points to the extent of privilege and protection enjoyed by the people of other sects, in the Candella state.

iii. ARCHITECTURE:

The history of the Candellas cannot be completed without a few

(1). SAI, pp.505-506.

(3). EI, Vol. XX, p.129.

(2). HEAIA, p.49.

(4). EI, Vol. I, p.136.

pages on the contribution made by the dynasty to Indian architecture. Many scholars have briefly discussed the magnificence of Candella architecture and its importance, but, as Smith suggested nearly 50 years ago, the remains of the Candella temples at Khajuraho are worthy of a fully illustrated volume.

All the important Candella temples, about thirty in number, are in Khajuraho, the religious capital of the dynasty. The temples are in fairly good condition, and their preservation is mainly due to the geographical position of Khajuraho, which did not come in the way of the Moslem iconoclasts and is still difficult of access. The inscriptions and the architectural style of the temples show that they were constructed during c.A.D.950 to c.A.D.1050, i.e. the most flourishing period of the Candella dynasty, the time of Dhaṅga and Vidyādhara. The political success of these two kings naturally increased the wealth of the kingdom, and this was spent by the kings for the construction of the magnificent temples in their religious capital. Smith believed that the temples were erected by order of the Candella kings (1), whereas Percy Brown thinks that the kings only extended their patronage to the temples (2). It is very difficult to ascertain whether the kings actually ordered the temples to be erected or were merely keen patrons of their construction; but

(1). Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p.116.

(2). Ind. Arch, p.133.

the very close relation between the fortunes of the Royal family and the building of the temples is evident from the fact that not a single important Candella temple is known to have been constructed after c.A.D.1050, i.e. the time from which the Candella kingdom began to decline in power.

The most significant feature of the Khajuraho temples is that they are almost equally divided between the three sects, viz. the Saivists, the Vaiṣṇavaists and the Jainas. No Buddhist temple has been found, but the presence of the religion is known from the discovery of four Buddhist images (1) and other antiquities. One of the temples, the Ghantāi, was once thought to be a Buddhist shrine, but is now known to be a Jaina temple (2). The style and architecture of the temples of ^{the} three sects are strikingly similar. The similarities are so great that even the peculiarities of other Jaina temples of the period, such as courtyards with circumambient cellae, and the prominent domes, are not found in the Jaina temples of Khajuraho. These temples, according to Fergusson, must have been constructed in an age of extreme toleration, when any rivalry that existed must only have been among the architects, who vied with one another to build the most beautiful and the most magnificent temple (3). This conclusion is strongly supported by other evidence which has

(1) MASI, No. 8.

(2) ASR, Vol. II, p.431; Ibid, 1904-1905, pp.5-6.

(3) HEAIA, pp.49-50.

been discussed above (1), and it also supports the contention of Smith and Benjamin Rowland that the variety of styles which may be distinguished depends not on sectarian differences, but mainly on date and locality (2). Some of the temples are so similar to each other that only when the sculptures are examined, can the actual dedication of the temples be ascertained (3).

The architectural style of the Khajuraho temples differs considerably from that of other Hindu temples. The Khajuraho temples are not within the usual surrounding wall, and are situated on a level platform high above the ground. The temples are not as large as most other famous Hindu temples, especially those in Southern India, but are admirable for their elegant and graceful design and well-proportioned construction. They are usually divided into three main compartments, the cella or garbhagrha, the assembly hall or mandapa and the portico or ardha-mandapa. As well as these three, there are the ante-chamber to the cella or antarāla, and the transepts or mahāmandala with a processional passage around the cella. Percy Brown rightly believes that this wonderful planning of the temples was due to the fact that those who built them had experience in the practical requirements of the structure (4) [Plate. No.1.]

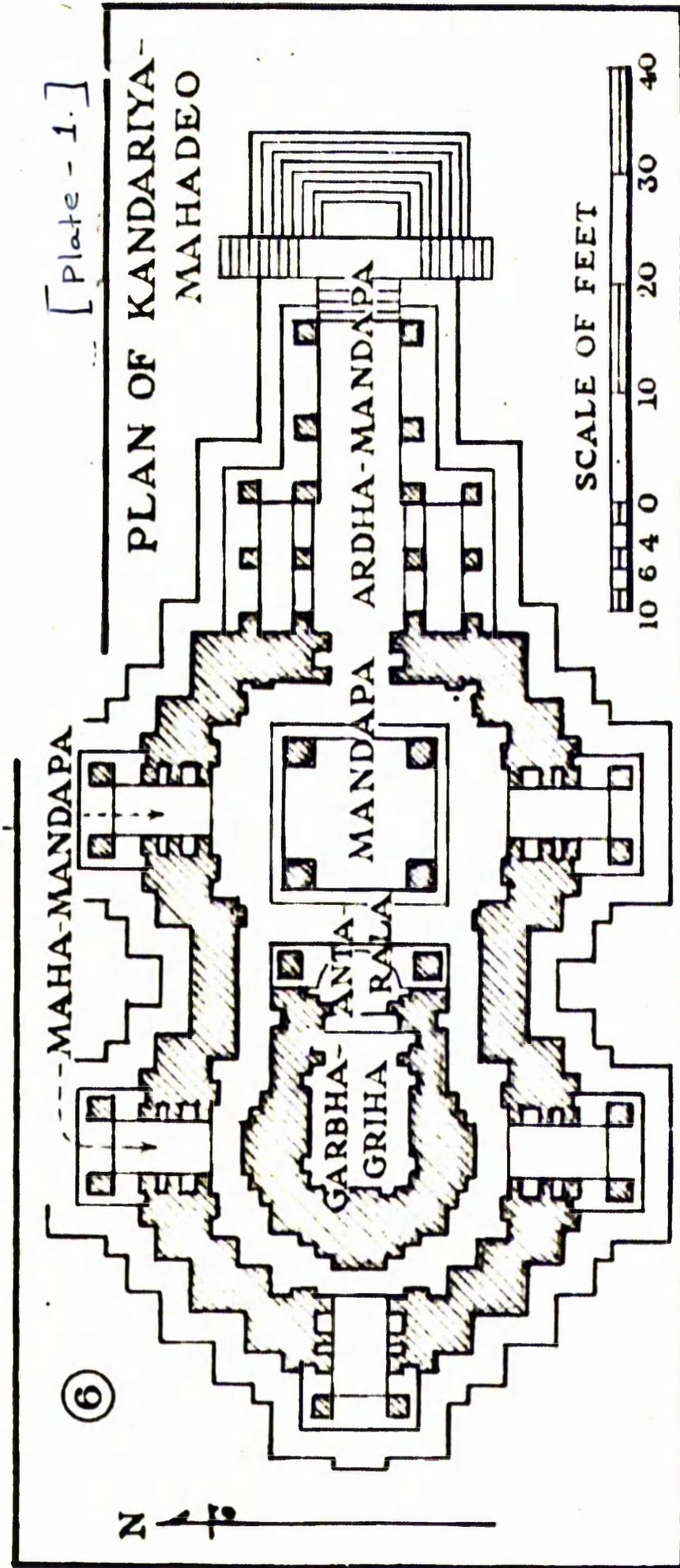
(1). Supra. pp. 216-217 (2). Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p.113;
The Art and Architecture of India, p.173.

(3). HEAIA, p.141.

(4). Ind. Arch. p.133.

[Plate - 1.]

PLAN OF KANDARIYA-
MAHADEO



MAHA-MANDAPA

ARDHA-MANDAPA

MANDAPA

ANTA-RALA
GARBHA-GRIHA

SCALE OF FEET

10 20 30 40

6

N

The three main parts of the exterior of the buildings are the high basement storey, above which are the walls and openings of the interior halls, surmounted by the roofs culminating in the impressive śikhara. The whole trend of the upper construction is towards height. Each of the compartments of the temples has a separate roof, the Śikhara being the highest of all; next in height is the central hall and the portico is the smallest and lowest in size and height. "Unlike the Orissan type, which is pyramidal, the Khajuraho roofs are domical in contour, but their surface texture in horizontal strata is much the same" (1). It is said that the culmination of the Indo-Aryan genius in architecture was attained in the Khajuraho temples (2). The spires or Śikharas of Indo Aryan temples are the most outstanding feature of the buildings, and the best examples of these, Percy Brown believes, are to be found in Khajuraho, where the Śikharas with their flowing profiles, are more beautiful than the Orissan type. The beauty of the Khajuraho śikhāras is chiefly in the design and distribution of the Ūrasringas, i.e. the miniature small towers connected with the main Śikhara (3). These Śikharas, Havell thinks, symbolise the universal sovereignty of the deity worshipped (4). Their upward thrust is accentuated by the miniature Śikharas which buttress the central tower, but the crowning discs (āmalaka) of these projections break the

(1) Ind. Arch, p.134. (2). The Art and Architecture of India, p. 173.

(3) Ind. Arch. p.134. (4) A Handbook of Indian Art, p.68.

upward movement and remind the observer that the divine is to be found on earth as well as in heaven. The effect of the whole is one of organic and natural growth. The temples seem intimately at one with the earth, suggesting a range of mountains, leading up to a high peak, or a series of gigantic symmetrical anthills. They provide striking instances of the feeling of unity with nature, a feature of much Indian art, even at its most florid (1).

The parallel friezes which conjoin and follow the alternate projections and recesses of the walls of the Khajuraho temples largely add to their beauty and imposing appearance from outside. "Peopled with groups of statuary moulded in high relief and in relief and in dimensions rather less than half life size, these friezes present a moving pageant and never ending procession of life-like forms, shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest" (2).

The temples have only one entrance, on the East, the access to which is by a steep flight of steps. The doorways of the buildings are masterpieces of architecture, which, Percy Brown aptly remarks, appear "more like ivory carving, or even a hanging drapery than chiselled stone". (3).

The halls of the temples are superbly decorated with sculptures. The Mandapas are quite small, and the weight of the overhead structure is supported by four pillars, and four beams in the shape of a square framework under the ceiling. The

(1) I am indebted to Dr. Basham for this idea.

(2) Ind. Arch, p.134.

(3) Ibid.

pillars and the ceiling of the Maṇḍapa are decorated with dwarfs accompanied by gryphons at the angles, and in the spaces between these figures are figures of charming women. [Plate No.2.]

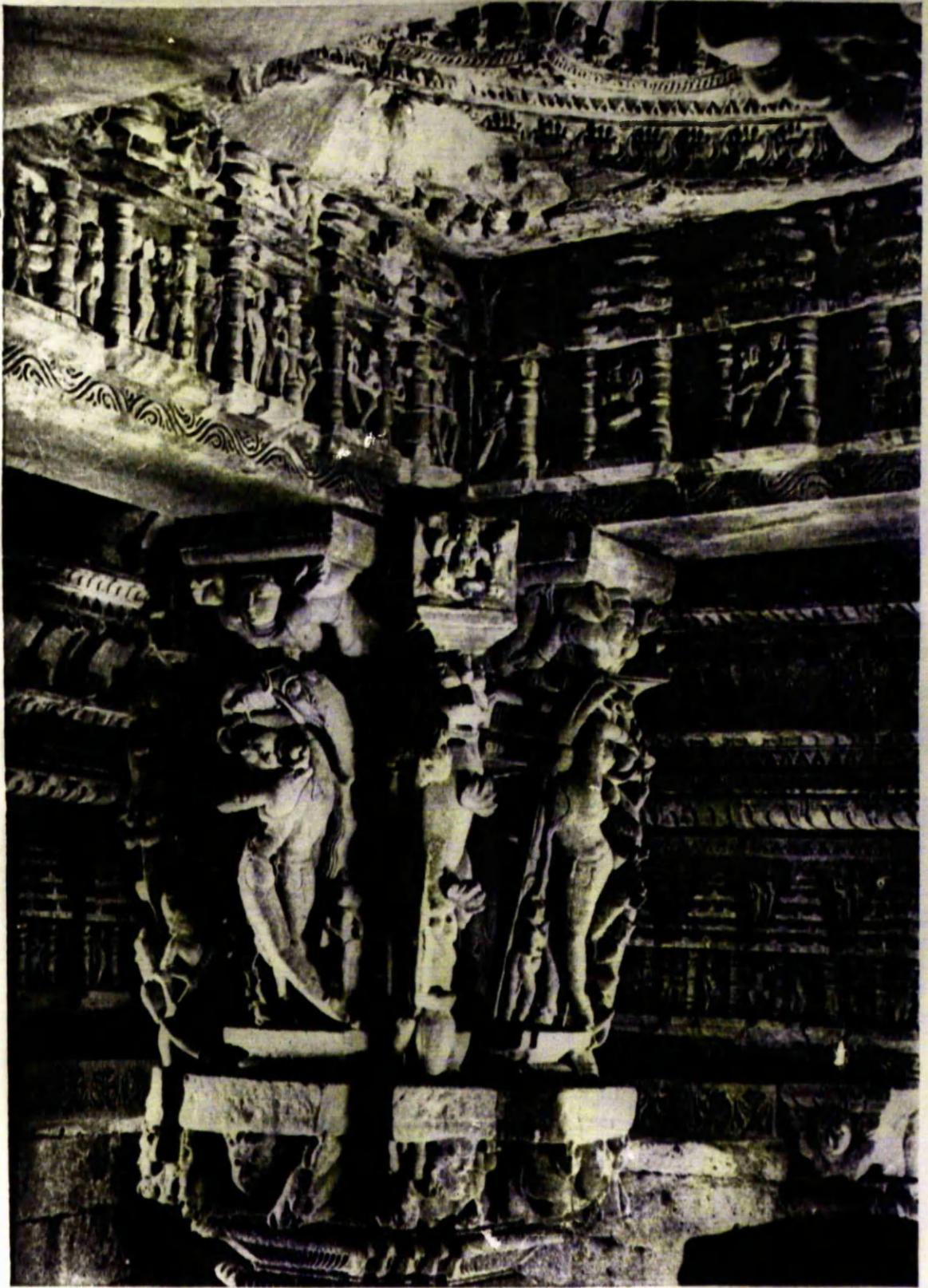
The ceilings of all other compartments are richly decorated with various figures, but these are hardly visible in the semi- or total darkness.

The largest and most imposing of all the temples of Khajuraho is the Kaṇḍāriya Mahādeo, which is 109 ft. in length, 60 ft. in breadth and 116½ ft. in height. It has six compartments, viz. the portico, main hall, transepts, vestibule, sanctum and ambulatory. The Śikhara is very elegant and graceful and is built up of miniature repetitions of itself. The recessed ceilings of the temple are beautiful and efficiently varied. The walls are full of sculptures. Cunningham counted 226 statues inside the temple and 646 outside, a total of 872, most of which are from 2½ to 3 ft. in height. A marble Uṅgam of Mahādeva is over the centre of the entrance to the sanctum, and there is a small figure of Śiva, with figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on either side, suggesting the absence of narrow sectarian differences. (1).

[Plate. No.3.]

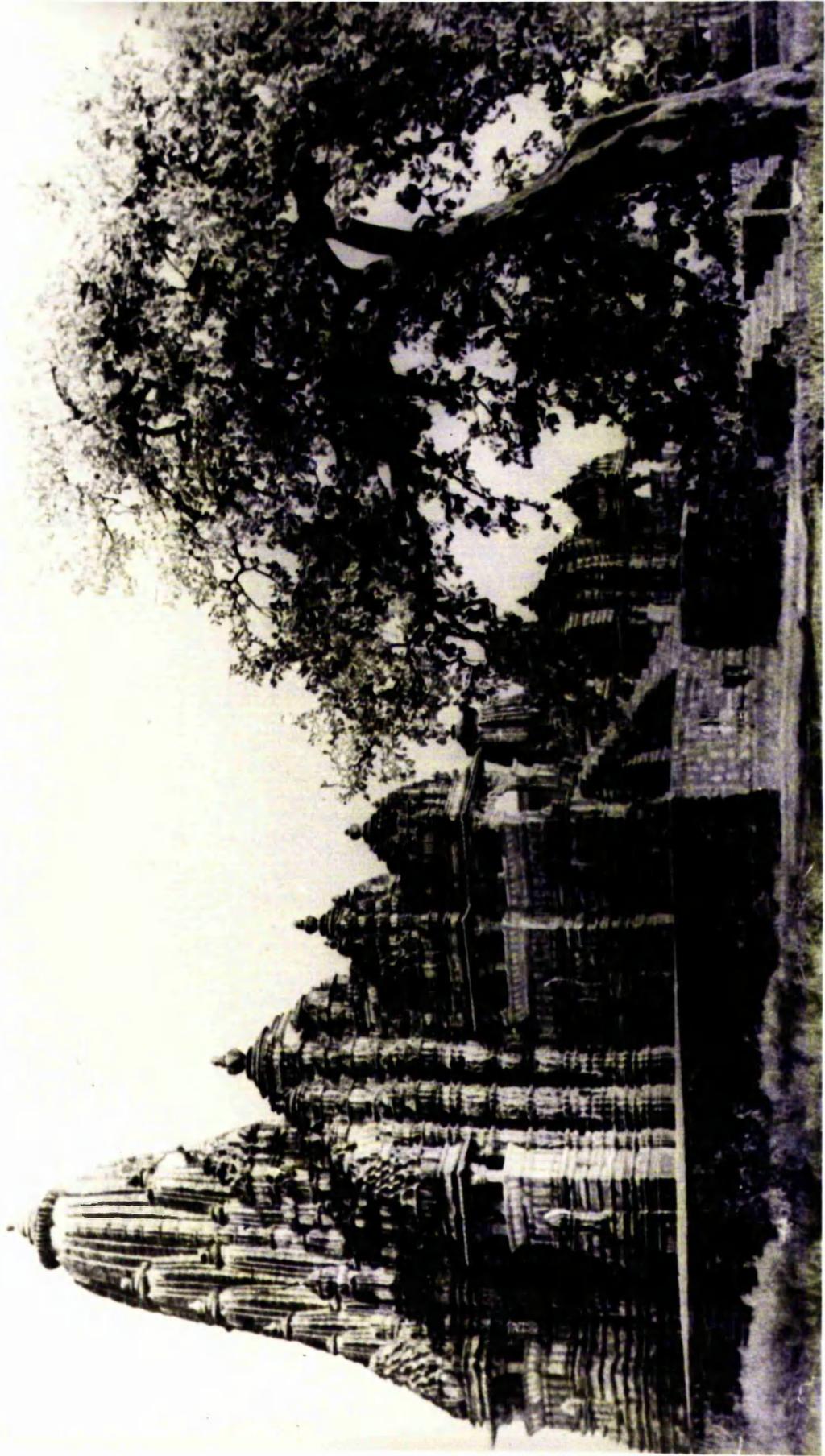
The temple of Caturbhuja (a name of Viṣṇu) is the chief of the Vaiṣṇava group. The temple contains a four-armed figure with three heads; the middle head being human and the other two

(1) ASR, Vol. II, pp.419-421. Ind. Arch. p.136.



[PLATE - 2.]

PILLAR AND CEILING DECORATION OF
KHAJURAHO TEMPLE.



[PLATE-3.] KANDĀRIYA MAHĀDEO TEMPLE.

leonine, i.e. Narasiṃha or the Man Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is an inscription in the temple giving the genealogy of the Candella rulers up to Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga with the date A.D. 954 (1), which suggests that the construction of the temple began in the reign of Yaśovarman and was completed in the reign of his son Dhaṅga. The temple is 85 ft. in length and 44 ft. in breadth, and its architectural style is similar to that of the Kandāriya Mahādeo temple. This temple and another known as the Viśvanātha temple, probably had small supplementary shrines at each corner of their platforms and were examples of the pañcāyātana or five shrined type (2).

The largest and finest of the Jaina temples is the Pārśvanāth temple which is 62 ft. in length and about 31 ft. in breadth. The plan and architecture of these are identical with those of the Hīndu temples described above, except that it is built to suit the requirements of Jaina ritual (3).

Of the other important temples of Khajuraho, mention may be made of the Chasonat Joginī (64 Goblins) temple, the Mahādeo temple, the Devī Jagadambī temple and the ruined shrine of Ghantāi. This is probably so called from the bells sculptured on its pillars, of which only twelve, over 14 ft. in height, still stand supporting a flat roof. The pillars are very elegant and magnificent in detail and the doorway is rich with its lovely curves.

(1) ASR, Vol. II, p. 426.

(2) Ind. Arch, p. 136.

(3) HEAIA, p. 50; Ind. Arch, p. 136.

(4) ASR, Vol. II, p. 431, Ind. Arch, pp. 136-137.

A few Candella temples survive in Mahoba, the most important of which are the temple at the village of Rāhīṣīlya, and the Kakra mah or Kakra temple which is 103 ft. in length and 42 ft. in breadth. The name of Kakra is said to refer to Śiva and there is evidence that a lingam originally stood in the middle of the sanctum. The decoration and architecture of the temple are much inferior in quality to those of the temples of Khajuraho (1).

iv. SCULPTURE:

It has already been noticed that the magnificence and splendour of the Khajuraho temples are largely due to their sculptured adornment. Smith, who visited Khajuraho, said that the number of figures are far greater than appears in photographs, "But this peuple de pierre as M. Le Bon calls it, was designed for the purpose of architectural decoration in the mass, not as an assemblage of individual works of fine art" (2). It is not very difficult to explain the development of sculpture to such a high degree of perfection, for, as Dora Gordine says, "In great periods of art sculpture and architecture have always been closely allied. Sculpture did not have to struggle for a setting but found its natural and indispensable place in the architecture of the age". (3).

(1) ASR, Vol. II, pp. 441-442.

(2) Fine Art in India and Ceylon, pp. 126-127.

(3) JRAS, 1941, p. 43.

From its central position, Khajuraho absorbed influences from both east, i.e. Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, and west, i.e. Gujrat and Rajasthan, in its sculpture. Stella Kramrisch divides the sculpture of Central India into two broad divisions - the Candella school and the Haihaya school. Though these divisions are named after two important dynasties, Dr. Kramrisch points out that the rulers only played the part of patrons and did not in any way interfere with the trend of art (1). The Candella school stretches from Khajuraho and Mahoba to Bharatpur in the west and up to Allahabad in the east. The Haihaya school covers the region south of Allahabad up to Jubbalpore. Though open to the same influences from east and west, Dr. Kramrisch believes that the two schools are clearly differentiated. "While in the Candella school the fundamental forces of Indian plasticity are still active, and overcome new obstacles by approved methods, the Haihaya craftsmen allow novel problems to sink into old forms." (2).

The figures of the Khajuraho temples are mostly sculptured in recesses or corners where they are hardly visible. Dr. Kramrisch explains the motive behind this as that "they are not so much meant to be seen as known to be there. A preconceived order, and an inexhaustible supply of form and figure are taken for granted by the devotee". (3).

(1) Ind. Sc, p.8.

(2) Ibid. pp. 8-9.

(3) Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1933-34, Vols. I and II, p.97

Among the innumerable sculptures of Khajuraho there are many figures of animals, mainly the Sārdūla (tiger), the vāhana of Dūrga, the Vṛṣa (bull) the vāhana of Śiva, the Mūsika-vāhana of Gaṇeśa, Hanumān the monkey god and Garuḍa. The numerous animal sculptures suggest a revival of the practices of the art of the Indus valley. It is significant that the Khajuraho animals are without their respective gods, suggesting that divinity was thought to inhere in the animals themselves.

The free-standing sculptures of Khajuraho are also master-pieces, which are not only minute in detail but convey a sense of pulsating life. The best example of this sensitiveness is the Maithuna couple with attendants. The heads of the couple are beautifully moulded and, "the subtly expressive back of the woman is bent like a bow, tense and vibrating with sensitive life, yet it does not lose for a moment the static serene quality of sculpture" (1) [Plate No. 4.]

Lively expression, and graceful yet strong form is found in another female figure, which as Dora Gordine says, the sculptor "caught in the middle of a movement of exquisite rhythm" (2) [Plate No. 5.]

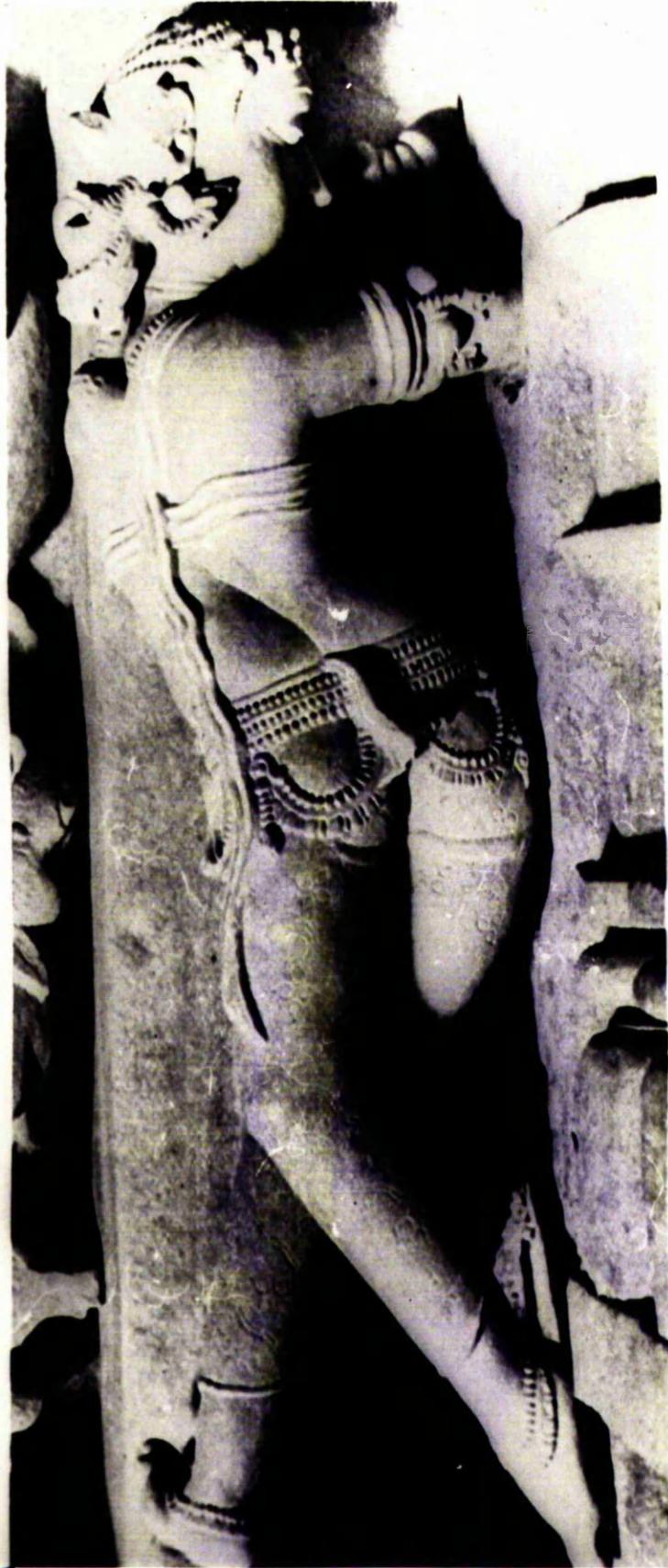
The four Buddhist statues found at Mahoba are outstanding pieces of Candella sculpture. These are better than many of the statues of the contemporary Buddhist school of Magadha and

(1). JRAS, 1941, p.44.

(2). Ibid. p.46.



[PLATE - 4.] MAITHUNA COUPLE.



[PLATE-5.] A FEMALE FIGURE.

and certainly better than many of the same period found in Sarnath (1). The statue of Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara is singularly beautiful with its superb curve of the body, charming pose, and above all, its lively celestial expression. This statue may well be ranked as one of the best specimens of Indian sculpture. [Plate No. 6.]

(1) MASI, No. 8, p.1.



[PLATE - 6] STATUE OF SIMHANĀDA AVALOKITESVARA.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANDELLAS

The Candella dynasty arose in the first quarter of the 9th century and survived as a powerful independent Royal family until the close of the 13th century. At first owing allegiance to the Gurjara Pratihāras, the Candellas became independent when the Pratihāras passed into decline in the second half of the 10th century. About the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century, Candella rulers were able to establish their supremacy over large parts of Central India. The boundaries of the Candella Kingdom usually extended from the Betwa River on the west to the Vindhya mountains on the east, and from the Jumna on the north to the Narbada River on the south.

The Candellas owe their importance to three basic factors - geographical, political and social and cultural.

(i) GEOGRAPHICAL:

In assessing the importance of the Candellas in relation to the history of India in general and to the history of Madhyadesa in particular, we must first consider the geographical importance of the region over which they ruled. Central India is practically a 'medley of interlaced territories', traversed

by a large number of rivers and mountains. The Sind, the Betwa, the Dhasan, the Son and the Ken are the main rivers in the Eastern tract of Central India. Bundelkhand (modern Vindhya Pradesh) is traversed by the Panna range from south-west to north-east, and the Vindhyas make the region almost unassailable from the south. (1)

This geographical configuration largely influenced the history of the Candellas. The Kingdom stood very close to that fertile region of North-Western India which lay to the north of the Jumna and the Ganges; while the country itself, divided by numerous ranges of hills, the spurs of the Vindhya mountains, made it almost impregnable. The position of the Candellas was further strengthened by the possession of the important and almost inaccessible forts of Ajaygadh, Mahoba and Kālañjara. The importance of these three forts to the Candella Kingdom is clearly evident from the history of the dynasty, and mention has already been made of the physical features of these places. (2) Especially important was Kālañjara, which is "about 800 ft. above the plain. The lower part of the ascent is tolerably easy, but the middle portion is very steep, while the upper part is nearly perpendicular and quite inaccessible." (3) Unfortunately, for all its

(1) Census of India, 1931, Vol. XX; Central India Agency, Pt. I Report, pp. 2-3.

(2) Supra. pp. 17-18

(3) ASR. Vol. XXI, p. 21

inaccessibility, the fort of Kālañjara had a serious drawback. The water supply of the fort was uncertain, (1) and the failure of water supply compelled the Candellas to surrender to the Moslems in A.D.1202. (2)

In spite of all its advantages, the geographical position of the Candella country had, however, a great disadvantage. It was very difficult for the ruler of such a region to build up a durable empire, owing to problems of communication and administration of such a hilly region, and the security of the kingdom depended almost entirely on the forts of Kālañjara and Ajaygadh. Once these were taken the whole region lay open to an invader. Moreover, the hilly tribes of the region often caused trouble in the kingdom, and the reference to the subjugation of the Śābaras, Pulindas and Bhillās in a Candella inscription (3) indicates a lack of strong local administration in outlying districts. The resounding success of the Kalacuris in the east during the reigns of Gāṅgeyadeva and Lakṣmikarna, and the success of Prthvirāja Cāhamāna in the west can partially be attributed to the failure of the Candellas to build up a strong defence on their frontiers. A durable and strong all-round empire in India could only be acquired by a power which held the more fertile and level region of the Gangetic doab.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Supra. p.134

(3) EI. Vol.I, p.334, vs.22.

(ii) POLITICAL:

The internal history of the Pratīhāra family in the first half of the 10th century (c.908-c.960) seems to have been a story of continued family dissension coupled with foreign invasion. This made the authority of central government extremely weak. The consequence was that the different provinces which had so long acknowledged allegiance to the central authority found an opportunity of making themselves independent. The contemporary Candella King Harṣa played an important part in the political affairs of that time. By re-establishing the Pratīhāra King on the throne of Kanauj, Harṣa raised the Candella family to a prominence which was further enhanced by his son and successor Yaśovarman. Yaśovarman inflicted a very severe blow on the rapidly declining power of the Pratīhāras by capturing the important forts of Citrakūṭa and Kālañjara.

By this time Indian history had entered a new phase. Owing to internal disorder, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas could not play any further important part in Northern India. The Pratīhāra empire was crumbling. Fortune favoured the feudatories with golden opportunities, and the Candella rulers Harṣa and Yaśovarman made best use of them. After the conquest of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, although the Pratīhāra emperor continued to enjoy the imperial title, it was Yaśovarman who was the de facto ruler of the empire. "The period of transition and

political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun. " (1)

The Gurjara Pratīhāras left a legacy of imperial ideas, and their empire may be regarded as the first great political entity created out of the large number of foreign settlers in India who appear after the break up of the Gupta empire. It was in fact the first Rājput empire, the forerunner of the later Rājput Kingdoms of the Candellas, Cāhamānas, Caulukyās, Kalacuris, Paramāras, Gāhadavālas and other minor families, who appeared on the scene and fought among themselves for the hegemony of North-West and Central India that was lost with the decline of the Pratīhāras.

The decline of the Pratīhāras coincided with a revival of the Pālas of Bengal under Gopāla II, (c.921-978) who again tried to enter the political stage of Northern India. This brought them in conflict with the Candella rulers Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga, whose inscriptions claim victories over the former. The attempt of the Pālas, however, failed and the fight for supremacy was confined to the Rājput dynasties.

Among the princes of the various dynasties that were struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratīhāra

(1) DHNI. Vol.II, p.1212

Princes', (1) the most outstanding was the Candella ruler Dhaᅅga. There is no doubt that Dhaᅅga inherited a position which had been strongly founded by his father Yaśovarman. The empire was further strengthened by Dhaᅅga with the annexation of the fort of Gwalior and extension of the dominion in all directions. But before the Candellas could firmly establish themselves as the supreme power in North-West India they had to contend with the Moslems.

It has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the Pratīhāra empire owed its birth to a struggle against aggressive Islam which sought to penetrate into Western India through Sind. During the two centuries of their rule the Pratīhāras never forgot their mission, and successfully resisted the Moslem attacks at a time when they seemed irresistible. (2) After the decline of the Pratīhāras this heavy burden fell on the shoulders of the Śāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab, and with the fall of the Śāhis the Candellas had to face the invasion of redoubtable Sultān Maᅅmūd. Dhaᅅga, however, did not come into direct conflict with the Moslems, as the latter were too deeply engaged in war with the Śāhis to attack him.

Dhaᅅga's successor Gaᅅᅅa had a very short reign. He was succeeded by Vidyādhara, who was undoubtedly the most powerful

(1) DHNI. Vol. II, p. 212

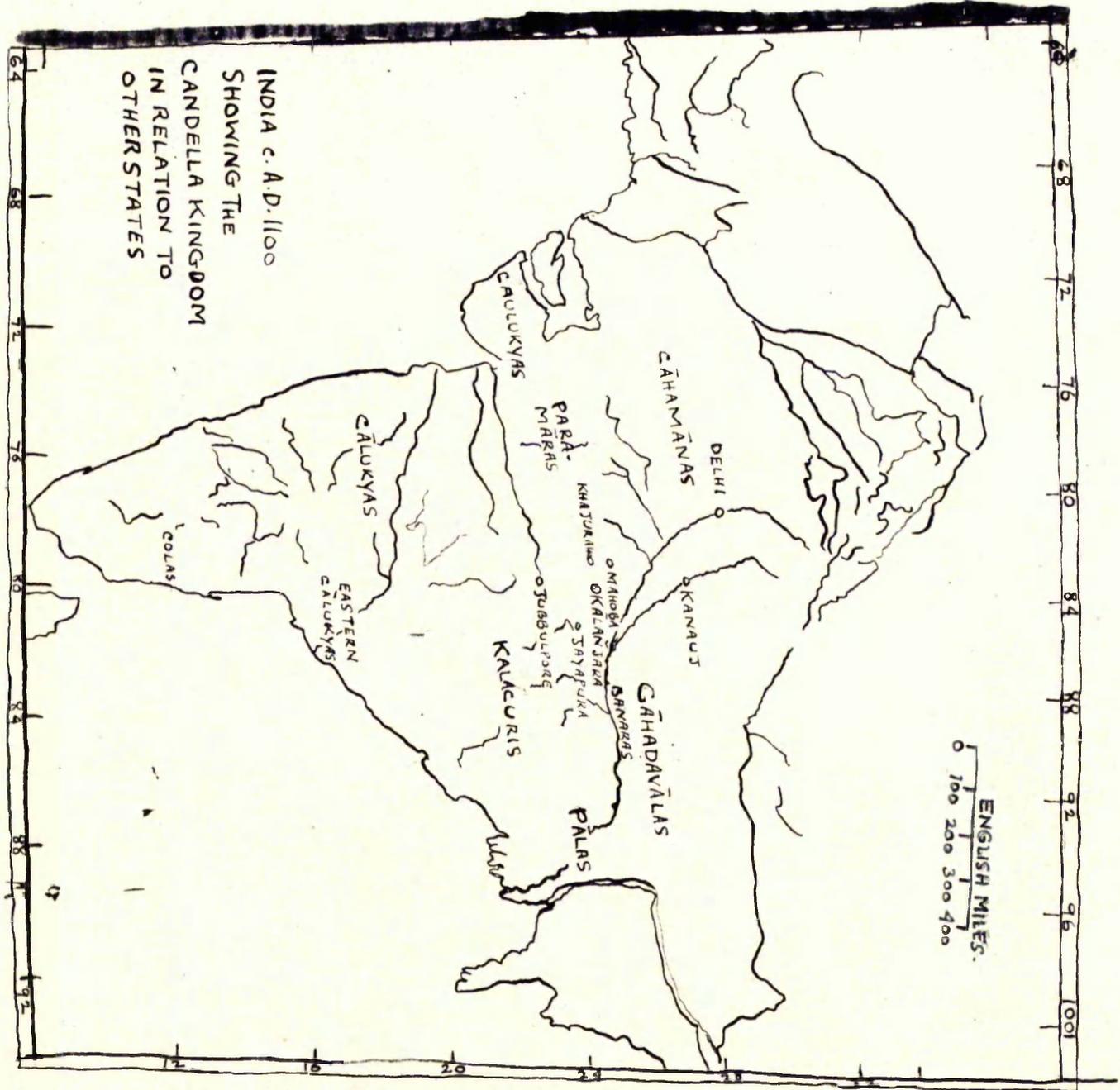
(2) JDL. vol. X, pp. 71-72

prince of his time. Vidyādhara realised that a fight with the Moslems was inevitable for attaining imperial power. The slaying of Rājyapāla of Kanauj was only a stepping stone to his ultimate object, which could not be achieved without including the Gangetic doab in his kingdom. Sultān Maḥmūd understood Vidyādhara's intention, and wasted no time in attacking the Candella Kingdom. Vidyādhara was probably not unprepared. The vast army he collected for the battle suggests that he was fully alive to the consequences of his attack on Rājyapāla. Maḥmūd's first invasion was not fully crowned with success. He had to undertake a second expedition after two years. No doubt Maḥmūd succeeded in his attempts, but his campaign against Vidyādhara was not as spectacular as his other successes. Nevertheless, Vidyādhara's ambition received a severe setback. The failure of Vidyādhara was very unfortunate, for, as Dr. Ray says, the Candellas might have succeeded in combining a considerable portion of Northern India under their rule, "and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period. Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks have ever produced." (1)

The significance of this period of Candella history, from the reign of Dhāṅga to that of Vidyādhara (c.950 - c.1025), lies

(1) DHNI. Vol.II, p.1214

INDIA c. A.D. 1100
 SHOWING THE
 CADELLA KINGDOM
 IN RELATION TO
 OTHER STATES



in the fact that the mantle of imperialism which had dropped out of the hands of the Pratihāras, seems to have fallen on those of the Candellas. But this position the Candellas were not destined to enjoy for long. Vidyādhara's successors were weak and unworthy of the situation, and, almost with Vidyādhara's death, the supremacy in Northern India passed out of the Candella hands.

During the reigns of Vijayapāla and Devavarman the Candellas not only lost the initiative in the struggle for supremacy, but also virtually lost their independence to the Kalacuris, who were then the dominant power in the North-West India. The accession of Kīrtivarman to the Candella throne was marked by a revival of the Candella power and the decline of the Kalacuris. The failure of Lakṣmikarna Kalacuri to build up a strong empire in Northern India was due to the alliance of other Rājput dynasties against him, and Kīrtivarman Candella played a prominent part in bringing about the downfall of Lakṣmikarna. But Kīrtivarman could not establish the Candellas as the supreme power in Northern India though he provided an opportunity for his successors to do so. The weak reigns of Sallakṣanavarman, Jayavarman and Prthvīvarman, however, saw this opportunity lost and the Gāhadavālas, under the

strong rule of Govindacandra (c.1114-1155) emerged as the strongest power.

The reign of Madanavarman once again revived Candella hopes of gaining supremacy over other dynasties and establishing an empire in Northern India. Inscriptions of Madanavarman show that he spared no energy to extend the Candella Kingdom in all directions. The consequence of such an expansion was obvious, Madanavarman came in conflict with the Gāhadavālas and the Caulukyās. The conflict with the Gāhadavālas was only the continuation of a struggle that started soon after the death of Kirtivarman. This tragic quarrel between the Candellas, Gāhadavālas and the Caulukyās was very unfortunate for the future course of Indian history. The Moslem invaders had been having a very lean time since the death of Sultān Mahmūd. A united effort of Govindacandra Gāhadavāla, Jayasimha Siddharāja and Madanavarman Candella, aided by the other Hindu dynasties, might easily have ousted the Moslems from India once and for all. But that was not to be, and dynastic struggles took the place of any united action by the Hindu dynasties. The result was that none of the dynasties could achieve their ambition, and in course of half a century one by one they fell easy prey to the Moslem invaders. By the beginning of the 13th century the Cāhamānas, the Gāhadavālas and the Caulukyās had succumbed to

the Moslem invaders. The turn of the Candellas came in A.D.1202, when the fort of Kālañjara fell to Qutubuddin and Paramardi died. Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman, however, succeeded in winning back the fort of Kālañjara from the Moslems within three years and continued to rule as an independent King. By A.D.1212, large parts of the Kalacuri territories were annexed by Trailokyavarman. In A.D.1233 Trailokyavarman probably resisted another Moslem attack on his kingdom. But these successes were hardly of any real importance. With the failure of Prthvirāja Cāhamāna in the battle of Tarain in A.D.1192, the fate of all the Hindu dynasties was virtually decided and the hope of a strong united empire in Northern India was lost for a long time to come. Like some other Rājput dynasties in different parts of Northern India, the Candellas continued to rule in Bundelkhand until the 14th century, but their great days were over.

From this summary of their history it is clear that the part played by the Candellas in the politics of Northern India was by no means a small one.

(iii) SOCIAL and CULTURAL:

A study of the history of all the Rājput dynasties dispels many misconceptions about the Indian social structure which prevail in the minds of orthodox Indians even at the present time.

Researches on the origin of the Rājput dynasties have produced results of great importance. Thus it has been found that in spite of the Rājputs' claim to Aryan descent, they are really of diverse origin. The Candellas, for instance, claim to be Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, and there are people who are inclined to accept this claim. But, as we have seen in our chapter on their origin, the Candellas, like some other Rājput tribes, are to be traced to the aboriginal or non-Aryan elements in the Indian nation. Similarly, other Rājput families have their origin in later immigrants into India, such as the Sakas, Yavanas, Hūṇas, Gurjaras, etc., and some may have originated from the Kṣatriya community of earlier times. The assimilation of aboriginal tribes like the Gonds and Bhars in Indian society is almost conclusively proved by the researches on the origin of the Candellas.

In the cultural field, especially in architecture and sculpture, the contribution of the Candellas is very important. The 10th century, which saw the tripartite struggle between the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas, the decline and downfall of the Pratihāra empire and the rise of the other Rājput dynasties after a period of trouble and turmoil, was hardly the time for achievements in the sphere of art and architecture. But towards the close of this century some kind of order came to be established with the emergence of the new states. All

the Rājput Kings were patrons of art and architecture. Almost all of the early mediaeval works of architecture in North-West and Central India, now mostly in ruins, were built by various Rājput Kings. But of all the Rājput dynasties of this period the Candellas made the greatest contribution to early mediaeval architecture. There was at least a partial revival of culture in Madhyadesā under the Candellas. Their contribution to Hindu architecture can best be summed up in the words of Cunningham, "Of the famous dynasty of Chandel Rājputs, the remains are more numerous and more interesting than those of any other ancient family. The remains of the powerful Gupta dynasty are more important, but they are at present confined almost entirely to coins and inscriptions, while those of the Chandels include some of the most magnificent and costly temples in Northern India." (1)

C O N C L U S I O N :

In conclusion a few words may be said on the trend of events in North-Western and Central India during the transitional period between c.916 and c.1200. If we take a superficial view it is very difficult to understand the real force of the ideas which were directing the political activities

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(1) ASR. Vol.II, p.415

of the Rājput dynasties, and we incline to agree with Smith that this was a period when "India reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy". (1) If, however, we study the history of the period from a different point of view, we can understand the significance of the dynastic struggles. The object of these struggles was the establishment of another imperial power. In other words, an age of struggle for hegemony followed the fall of the imperial Pratīhāras. For a while one of the dynasties achieved their ambition, but only to lose it again to a coalition among the other dynasties whose independence were threatened. Unfortunately these coalitions broke down as soon as the common enemy was defeated. For more than two centuries this struggle continued until the Moslems, largely helped by the situation which we have described, established their authority in Northern India. Thus the legacy of the empire left by the Pratīhāras continued even after their decline. It is in this idea of Empire that we are to find the significance of the inter-State struggles of the 11th and 12th centuries. It is strange that the Rājput dynasties, who could combine so well against another strong dynasty, did not or could not combine their forces against the Moslems. The alliances that were made against the Moslem invaders were of a very loose nature without any real unity or whole-hearted

① EHI, P, 371

concerted action. The collapse of the Rājput dynasties marks the end of Hindu rule and the beginning of Moslem supremacy in India. Thus the history of the Rājput dynasties of this period is of great importance, for it links the period of the Pratihāras with that of the next great North Indian empire - the Sultanate of Delhi.

A P P E N D I X

No. I.

COINAGE of the DYNASTY

The Candellas ruled as an independent dynasty for about fourhundred years (c.950-1308), but not many of their coins have been found. It is surprising that no coins of such powerful Kings as Dhāṅga and Vidyādhara are known. The coinage of the dynasty starts with the reign of Kīrtivarman (c.1060-c.1100) and continues up to the reign of Vīravarman (c.1250-1286).

In our chapter on the political history of the Candellas we have seen how, after Vidyādhara's death, they were defeated by Kalacuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva (c.1015-1040), and afterwards virtually became feudatories of Gāṅgeya's son and successor Lakṣmīkarna (1040-1072), until their fortune was revived by Kīrtivarman. (1) The coins of the Candellas, which are almost exact copies of the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, are important evidence of the success of the Kalacuris.

Gāṅgeyadeva ruled from C.1015 to 1040, and was a contemporary of the Candellas Vidhyādhara and Vijayapāla. Gold, Silver and Copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have been found. On the obverse of his coin is inserted the name of the King in

(1) Supra, pp.94-108

Nāgarī characters, in three lines on the larger coins and two on the smaller. On the reverse is the figure of a four-armed goddess seated cross-legged, holding up a flower in her upraised right hand and with a nimbus round her head. (1) Cunningham called the goddess Pārvatī, (2) but it has been rightly suggested that the figure is of Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune. (3). Gāṅgeya's coins are found in all the denominations, viz: one dramma, half dramma and quarter dramma. No coins of Gāṅgeya's successors have been found, and as Cunningham pointed out, "This abstinence on the part of his successors is the more remarkable, as the suite of coins described above seems to form a perfect monetary system in all three metals." (4) The answer probably lies in the fact that Gāṅgeyadeva minted a large number of coins and this was further increased by the foreign coins accumulated by Lakṣmīkarṇa from the countries he conquered. These were perhaps enough for their successors who did not issue new coins. (5)

The gold and silver coins of the Candellas are exact copies of the coins of Gāṅgeya, the name of the King only being different, and Smith rightly suggested that Kīrtivarman Candella adopted and introduced the coinage of Gāṅgeyadeva after defeating Lakṣmīkarṇa Kalacuri. (6). In the Candella

(1) CMI. p.72

(2) Ibid.

(3) IA, Vol. XXXVII. p.147;
JNSI, 1941. Vol. III, p.25

(4) CMI. p.72

(6) IA. Vol. XXXVII, p.147

(5) Eight gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva had been found in the village of Isurpur, Tahsil Rehli of the Saugor District. These 8

copper coins on the other hand the figure of the goddess has been replaced by a figure of Hanumān under a canopy. According to Smith this Hanumān type was probably suggested by the boar-headed figure on the Śrīmad Ādivarāha drammas of the Pratihāra ruler Bhojadeva I, to which it bears a great resemblance. (1) Prof. V.V.Mirashi believes that the Hanumān type was evolved in the Candella Kingdom, where the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey god is found in a stone inscription. This type of coin was copied with a slight variation by Jājjaladeva I of Ratnapura, after he formed an alliance with Sallakṣaṇavarman Candella. On Jājjala's coins the god is two-armed as on Candella coins and appears to be trampling on a demon. On the coins of Jājjala's successor the god is four armed. (2).

As the Candellas were once feudatories of the Pratihāras, it is not unlikely that the Ādivarāha type influenced the Hanumān type of Candella coins, but the discovery of one large image of Hanumān in Khajuraho seems to support the view that the Hanumān type was evolved in the Candella Kingdom.

We have, however, noticed in the British Museum one copper dramma of Madanavarman and two other copper drammas in which the name of the king is obscure, which have the figure

(5) from previous page:-

coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. These 8 coins are thick and are half an inch in diameter. It has therefore been suggested that they were struck by Karna, the son and successor of Gāṅgeya. JNSI? Vol.III, 1941, p.26.

(1) Ibid.

(2) JNSI, Vol.III 1941, p.35, fn.62.

of the four armed goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other. (1) The figure of the goddess on the copper dramma of Madanavarman is very crude, but ~~the figure~~ on one of the illegible coins (2) is very clear. It thus seems that the Lakṣmī type of Gāṅgeyadeva was adopted by Madanavarman and later Candella Kings on their copper coins as well as the new type of Hanumān. It is, however, possible that these three coins, though made of copper, were plated with silver and were used as silver coins. But in course of time the silver plating of the coins wore off and they now appear as copper coins.

The larger gold coins, i.e. the drammās, usually weigh between 60 to 63 grains, the half drammās about 30 grains, and the quarter drammās 15 grains. The weights of the silver and copper coins are similar. Cunningham and Smith believed that the larger gold coins had their descent from the Greek drachma and were struck to that standard. (3) Cunningham's and Smith's terminology for the Candella coins as dramma, half-damma and quarter dramma is very reasonable if we compare the weights of these coins with those of the Greeks. Unfortunately, Candella inscriptions do not mention any particular

(1) British Museum, Ex. Cunningham, 1914.

(2) One of the names appears to be Viravarmmadeva.

(3) ASR. Vol. X, p.27;
CCIM, Vol. I. pp.251

coin, but refer to money or wealth as "dhana".

Smith was not very certain whether any of the dynasties really struck a silver coinage, for, much of the gold coinage is so largely alloyed with silver that it is difficult to decide whether it was actually intended to be coin of silver, and he suggested the possibility that "coins which seem at first sight to be silver were regarded officially as gold." (1) The existence of Candella silver coin was for long known only from one silver coin of Jayavarman mentioned by Cunningham. (2) But all doubts regarding its existence were removed by the discovery of 48 silver coins of Madanavarman, (of which 8 were drammas and 40 quarter drammas) in September, 1913. (3).

We may offer a tentative solution to the question why no coins of any Candella King before Kirtivarman have been found. The Pratihāras had struck a large number of coins which, with the beginning of their decline, gradually began to come into the possession of their powerful feudatories. Naturally, a large number of Pratihāra coins were in circulation in the Candella Kingdom during the reigns of Dhāṅga and Vidyādhara. Moreover, as Smith pointed out, "they probably utilised chiefly the various sorts of Indo-Sassanian drammas in base silver, such as are mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription." (4) So Dhāṅga

(1) CCIM. Vol.I, pp.251-252

(3) JASB, New Series, Vol.X, 1914
pp.199-200

(2) CMI. pp.77-78

(4) IA. Vol.XXXVII, p.147

and Vidyādhara did not need to issue their own coins. Vidyādhara spent an enormous amount of money for his struggle with Sultān Mahmūd, and this must have had an effect on the economic condition of the country. It was during the reign of Vidyādhara's successor Vijayapāla (c.1030-1050) and the latter's successor Devavarman (c.1050 - c.1060) that the Candellas were decisively beaten by the Kalacuris and virtually lost their independence, until it was won back by Kīrtivarman (c.1060 - c.1100). Kīrtivarman probably found it necessary to issue new coins for two reasons. Firstly, the old Indo-Sassanian and Pratīhāra coins were not enough for the country after a long period of political turmoil and economic degradation. Secondly, Kīrtivarman issued new coins in his own name to proclaim himself as the independent Candella King, and the proud victor of the mighty Lakṣmī-Karṇa. This trend of political developments, we believe, explains the absence of any Candella coin before the reign of Kīrtivarman.

No. II.

The identification of the Candella Trailokyavarmadeva (1202 - c.1250) with the Trailokyavarmadeva of the Rewa grant dated in V.S.1297 (A.D.1240) and Trailokyamalla of the Rewa inscriptions of (K.C.) Samvat 963 (A.D.1212) and V.S.1298 (A.D.1241): (1)

In Chapter V, we have provisionally accepted the identification of Trailokyavarmadeva Candella, with the Trailokyavarmadeva and Trailokyamalla of the three Rewa inscriptions, dated A.D.1240, 1239 and 1212. But this identification is not free from difficulties, and we propose to point out the main objections, which need satisfactory explanations, before this identification can be put beyond suspicion.

Firstly, no other Candella ruler was ever endowed with the Royal epithets of these inscriptions, viz, Pb. M... P. Paramamāheśvara Trikalingādhīpati nijabhūjo - pārjita Asvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatrāyāyadhīpati and "Kānyakubjādhīpati" and "trisati - rājyādhīpati". While accepting the suggestion that the titles of the Kalacuri Kings have simply been transferred to the new ruler, it must be pointed out that, in this period, kings of one dynasty often conquered territories of another dynasty, but are never known to have assumed the full imperial titles of the country conquered.

 (1) ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.142-148; IA. Vol.XVII, pp.224, 230-234;
 EI. Vol.XXV. pp.1-6.

Secondly, we have no Candella inscription or tradition, or any Moslem account that refers to this success of Trailokya-varman Candella. The Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Viravarman praises Trailokyavarman for saving the country from the Moslems, but it does not record his success over the Kalacuris. Hiralal's suggestion that the Candellas did not think it worth while to keep a record of their victory, is not ^{wholly} satisfactory. The panegyrists were very eager to praise any achievement of their King and his ancestors. Even a mere raid has often been recorded as a triumphant victory. So the virtual annexation of the whole kingdom of the Kalacuris would hardly be omitted as unworthy of mention.

Thirdly, it is strange to find the Rewa inscription of A.D.1212 state that the feet of a Saiva ascetic were "devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailokyamalla". (1) Trailokyavarman could not have conquered the Kalacuri Kingdom before A.D.1211. (2) It is not altogether surprising for a victorious king to be mentioned as "worshipping the feet" of an ascetic of the conquered country, less than a year after his conquest; but it is very strange that the ascetic in question should have to mortgage his property for financial reasons so soon after receiving the homage of the conqueror. Dr. Chakravarty

(1) EI. Vol.XXV, p.5.

(2) Supra. p.140

himself has pointed out that the Śaiva ascetic Vimāla Śiva of this inscription, belonged to the ascetic line of the Mattamayūra, who were held in great reverence by the Kalacuri rulers of Tripuri. (1) It therefore seems that the Kalacuris were so impoverished that they could no longer patronise the ascetic, unless indeed they had by now vanished altogether.

Fourthly, if Trailokyavarman was fond of high epithets or his new subjects wanted to eulogise him, why do they only call him "Kānyakubjādhipati", without mentioning "Kālañjarādhipati", an epithet which Trailokyavarman actually deserved?

Finally, it is significant that no inscription of Trailokyavarman's successors has been found in the Kalacuri Kingdom, nor do they make any claim to rule over it. In the absence of any definite evidence, the possibility that Trailokyamalla or Trailokyavarmadeva was a successor of Kalacuri Vijayasimha, or that he was a usurper from the south, who took possession of these territories and ruled for some time, cannot be ruled out. But in the light of our present knowledge, the arguments in favour of the identification of Trailokyavarmadeva Candella with the Trailokyamalla and deva of the Three Rewa inscriptions, are stronger than the other possibility mentioned above, especially because no other King with that name is known to have ruled at that time.

(1) EI. Vol. XXV, p. 4.

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE CONFLICT
BETWEEN PRTHVĪRĀJA AND PARAMARDI :-

The story of the conflict between Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna and Paramardi Candella, is well known from the two traditional works, Cand Bardai's Prthvīrāj-Rāso, and the Lay of Ālhā.(1) In Chapter V we have already discussed the causes and consequences of this Candella-Cāhamāna conflict, with the help of tradition and epigraphic evidence.

The main story of Prthvīrāj-Rāso is well known to students of Indian history, and many scholars have commented on the historical value of this work. The Lay of Ālhā, though less well known, is also very interesting, and has been translated in English ballad metre by the late W. Waterfield, and published with an introduction by Sir George Grierson, on the historical background and the importance of this work. It is unnecessary to repeat the opinions of scholars on the date, and importance of these traditional works, and it is not intended to make exhaustive comments on these points. In the following pages we would confine ourselves to the Mahoba episode (i.e. the struggle between the Candellas and the Cāhamānas) with an eye to glean historical facts as far as possible.

(1) Said to be written by Jagnaik, sister's son of Parmāl -
LOA, Intd. p.10.

The account of the conflict between the two dynasties, as given in the Rāso, is as follows. (1)

The Cauhān ruler of Delhi, Pr̥thvīrāj, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded soldiers who had helped the retreat of the Cauhān ruler, took refuge in a garden of Parmāl, but were assailed and put to death by the Chandel King. To avenge the death of his soldiers, Pr̥thvīrāj invaded the territory of the Chandels, whose soldiers were cut to pieces at Sirswa, the advanced post of Paramāl's Kingdom. The Chandels called a council, and by the advice of Paramāl's wife (the Chandel queen) Malandevī, demanded a truce of the Cauhāns, on the plea of the absence of the Mahoba heroes Ālhā and Udal. Pr̥thvīrāj accepted the proposal and a temporary truce was made.

Chand then narrates the story of Ālhā and Udal, the two great Banāphar heroes, and the cause of their banishment from Mahoba. According to Chand, Jasrāj, the Banāphar, once saved the sovereign of Mahoba from the wild race of Gonds and captured Gārha, their capital. In gratitude Parmāl bestowed many presents on Jasrāj, and the queen Malandevī made no distinction between Ālhā and Udal, the two sons of Jasrāj, and her own son. Now the fief of Ālhā and Udal was the fortress of Kālañjar, where their sovereign Parmāl, happening to see a fine mare belonging to Ālhā, desired to possess her,

(1) Henceforward we shall mention Paramardi as Parmāl, Candella-Chandel, Cāhamānas - Cauhāns, in accordance with the traditional names.

and being refused, compelled the two brothers to leave the Chandel country. On their retreat the two brothers burnt the estates of the Parihār Chief, who had instigated their banishment. With their mother and families they went to Kanauj, where Jaichānd, the Gāhadavāla King, received them cordially and assigned lands for their maintenance.

Chand's account now refers back to the actual conflict between the Chauhāns and the Chandels. Jagnākh, the Chandel bard, reached Kanauj and stating all facts to Ālhā and Udāl and their mother Dewaldī, begged them to return at the behest of the Chandel Queen. At first Ālhā and Udāl, remembering the injustice done to them, refused to go back to Mahoba and fight for Parmāl. Ālhā said that for the Chandels he had beaten the Moslems ten times, subdued Dhārā, Antarvedī, Mālava and half of the Punjab, but in return for all these triumphs they were banished by their sovereign. Their mother Dewaldī, however, rebuked her sons and persuaded them to go back to Mahoba. They all went back after a warm send-off from Jaichānd, who also gave them 50,000 soldiers and many valuable presents. On their return home Ālhā and Udāl were heartily welcomed by the Chandel King and the Queen and the people.

The great battle between the two dynasties now began. Parmāl had an army of 100,000, and in his army was his son

Brahmānanda and a Pāṭhān named Talhan Khān with 20,000 cavalry. At first Parmāl became nervous and thought of buying peace. But Ālhā and Udāl strongly urged for war and the final decision went in their favour. The frightened Parmāl took shelter in the fort of Kālañjar with 20,000 soldiers. The Chandel army under the command of Ālhā and Udāl put up a gallant resistance, during which Udāl was killed in a heroic fight. Brahmājī (nanda?) the prince was killed by Pṛthvīrāj, and Ālhā retired to the forest with his Guru Gomokhnāth. Kālañjar was besieged and looted by the Cauhāns. Parmāl was captured and taken to Delhi. Pṛthvīrāj appointed Pajjunrāi as the Thānāpati of Mahoba. (1)

The story of the Lay of Ālhā is similar to that given in the Pṛthvīrāj Rāso in its earlier part, but it differs in the later part. According to this tradition, Māhil, a Parihār Chief, who was the brother of Parmāl's queen Malhnā, (Malandevī in the Rāso) was an arch enemy of the Chandels and continually conspired with Pṛthvīrāj and other enemies of the line to overthrow them. In the Pṛthvīrāj Rāso also Māhil is described as a conspirator against the Chandels, but it does not mention so many incidents of his conspiracy as does the Lay of Ālhā. The Lay of Ālhā states that Parmāl's son Brahmā (Brahmānand) and

(1) Rāso-Canto LXIX (p.p. 457-473); Tod.Vol.II, pp.715-23.

Brahmājit in the Rāso) married Beṭā the daughter of Prthvīrāj, against the latter 's wishes. (1) But once the marriage was solemnised, Prthvīrāj and Parmāl were on friendly terms and the former even helped the Chandels against one of their enemies. (2) These facts are not mentioned in the Rāso.

The real cause of the conflict between the Cauhāns and the Chandels, as indicated by the Lay, was Prthvīrāja's desire to capture Sirsa, a strategic point between Mahoba and Delhi, where a number of roads met. In this respect the Lay of Ālhā agrees with the Prthvīrāj Rāso. Parmāl was a vassal of Jaicānd and was helped by the latter with a large army; even Lākhan, the nephew and heir of Jaychānd, joined Ālhā and Udāl to fight against Prthvīrāj. (3) The first attack of the Cauhāns was repulsed by Ālhā, Udāl and other Mahoba heroes, and Prthvīrāj had to retreat after suffering great casualties.

The accounts of the Rāso and the Lay of Ālhā mainly agree up to this stage. The Rāso states that Ālhā and Udāl succeeded in checking Prthvīrāj's attack at first, but afterwards Prthvīrāj defeated the Chandels. Thus, according to this account, there were two phases of the same invasion. But according to the Lay of Ālhā there was a second struggle between the two dynasties for an entirely different reason. Parmāl wanted to bring back

(1) Canto VI, pp.196-99

(2) Canto VIII, pp.203-11.

(3) Canto XV, p.251.

Belā, his daughter-in-law, (the daughter of Prthvīrāj) to Mahoba, but this was refused by Prthvīrāj. So Brahmā (the son of Parmāl) went to bring back Belā from Delhi by force, and was killed in his attempt through the conspiracy of one of the sons of Prthvīrāj. Hearing this news Mahoba was stricken with grief and Belā decided to burn herself on the pyre of her husband and become a Satī. When the pyre was ready, Belā asked for sandal wood, which Udāl brought from the sandal grove of Prthvīrāj after a great struggle. But the wood was damp, so Belā asked Udāl to bring the sandal wood pillars of Prthvīrāj's throne from Delhi. Udāl succeeded in his task after much bloodshed and the pyre was about to be lit by Ālhā when Prthvīrāj arrived with a large army. He said that he could not allow Ālhā, a Banāphar of low origin, to light the pyre of his daughter, and this started the furious battle between the two armies. While the battle was on, the pyre was lit accidentally and Belā and her husband were consumed in the fire. In the battle thousands were killed including Udāl, the son of Prthvīrāj who conspired to kill Brahmā, and many other heroes. At last Mahoba fell, and when Parmāl heard the news, he refused to eat and after fasting for thirteen days gave up his life. Since then no kings have reigned in Mahoba. (1)

The accounts of Prthvīrāj Rāso and the Lay of Ālhā are almost useless for historical studies. The stories are so

(1) Canto XVIII to XXIII, pp.259-273

fantastic and unhistorical, that it is futile to treat them on a par with the actual story known from the evidence of inscriptions and Moslem accounts. Yet we think that they vaguely refer to historical facts and certain assumptions can be made with the help of inscriptions and other literary evidence.

Firstly, both these two works mention Māhil a Parihār Chief, who continually conspired against the Candellas and tried to bring about the downfall of the dynasty. The stories are no doubt exaggerated, and in most cases without foundation. But we know that the Candellas had overthrown the Parihārs in the 9th century A.D. (1) when they became rulers of Mahoba and other places. It is not impossible that the Parihārs had not forgotten this and tried to take revenge.

Secondly, one of the motives behind Prthvirāja's conflict with the Candellas may have been his desire to capture the forts of Sirsa and Mahoba. Though the Lay of Ālhā presents Paramardi as a vassal of Jayaccandra, yet it states that the latter at first refused to allow Ālhā and Udal to go to the help of Paramardi when Mahoba was attacked. Udal asked Ālhā to come with him to Mahoba, but Ālhā excused himself on the pretext that Jayaccandra would not give him leave. At Udal's challenge he

(1) Supra, p.21

went to Kanauj and asked permission to go to save Mahoba. Jayaccandra at first angrily refused and even put Ālhā in confinement. Jayaccandra, however, was persuaded to change his mind and he allowed the two brothers to go to save Mahoba and himself gave them a large army. (1) This incident supports our assumption that the Gāhadavālas and the Candellas were not on very friendly terms, (2) otherwise why should Jayaccandra refuse to help Paramardi, his vassal, in his fight against Prthvīrāja, the most dangerous enemy of the Gāhadavālas? The actual incident narrated probably never happened but it shows that the later bards, who composed the Lay of Ālhā, were themselves confused about the relations between the Gāhadavālas and the Candellas.

Finally, these two traditions help us to form an idea of the character and personality of the Candella King, Paramardi. Throughout the whole Mahoba episode, both these works present him as an inefficient, cowardly king, who could easily be persuaded by evil counsellors. The Rāso states that he banished Ālhā and Udāl, the two great patriots, at the instigation of Māhil, the conspirator. The Lay of Ālhā also refers to Parmāl being persuaded by Māhil. Paramardi is also said to be utterly irresolute, unable to decide anything by himself. It was left for the Queen Malandevī to organize the defence

(1) Canto. XV. p.251

(2) Supra, pp. 131-133

and carry out negotiations. Even when Ālhā and Udāl arrived with a large army, Paramardi was too nervous to fight with Prthvirāja and took shelter in the fort of Kālañjara. The Lay of Ālhā gives an interesting story of Parmāl's cowardliness. Parmāl was sent for to perform the Samdhorā rites in the marriage ceremony of Belā and Brahmā. When he came, Prthvirāja told him that it was the custom of his family that Paramardi (as the father of the bridegroom) must first fix a betel leaf on Prthvirāja's chest. When Parmāl saw Prthvirāja with his chest a good yard wide, and his eyes flaming like torches, he was so frightened that he got into his palanquin and fled back to his camp. Then "as the elder is the same as father", Ālhā was sent for and he performed the rite. (1) In another place Ālhā says that "Paramardi is a cowardly traitor, who stirred no hand to save Malkhan, although so near". (2)

The stories are no doubt imaginative and Ālhā and Udāl have been painted as great heroes at the expense of Paramardi and others. But we think that there is at least some truth behind all these stories and that Paramardi probably proved himself cowardly and inefficient at a time of grave difficulty and danger. The Moslem chronicles also state that Paramardi

(1) Canto. VI, p.198. - The Samdhorā is the formal mutual recognition of the relationship between the two father-in-laws. Between the two there is generally a mutual exchange of presents, and of clothes and garlands. - Ibid, fn.1.

(2) Canto XV, p.251.

offered submission to the Moslems in A.D.1202, when Kālañjara was beseiged by Qutbuddīn. But his minister disliked the offer of submission, and after Paramardi's death the Hindus continued the resistance gallantly and were killed in the process. (1) There is no inscription recording any achievement of Paramardi's, but it is known from inscriptions that he was decisively beaten by Pr̥thvirāja. The traditional account corroborated by Moslem chronicles, and the silence of the inscriptions indicate that Paramardi was weak and inefficient, and his martial spirit was not up to the standard set by Rājput traditions.

In conclusion, a few words may be added on an important question which often haunts the mind of the students of Indian history. There are scholars who believe that Pr̥thvirāja was helped by the kings of other dynasties in the battle of Tarain, in A.D.1192. Prof. D.R.Bhandarkar states that "He (Pr̥thvirāja) solicited the Kings of North India to join his confederacy, and they all did except, of course, Jayaccandra". (2) No epigraphic record or traditional account supports this view. From the Pr̥thvirāj-Rāso and the Lay of Ālhā, we know that Pr̥thvirāja was in hostile relations with most of the dynasties of the

(1) Supra. pp. 133-134.

(2) Pr. Tr. of the 4th Ornt. Conf. 1926, Vol.II, p.762.

time. He was in conflict with Paramardi and there can be no doubt that the Candellas did not come to his aid. Pr̥thvīrāja's relations with the other contemporary rulers were no better. Cand gives an account of his conflict with the Caulukyās, Gāhadavālas, the ruler of Chanderi and other Kings. The only king with whom Pr̥thvīrāja had very friendly relations was the Chitor ruler Samar Simha. In most cases, the account of the Rāso is unhistorical, often confusing names, dates, places and events. But in spite of all these defects and inaccuracies, the Rāso at least helps us to form an idea about Pr̥thvīrāja's relations with his neighbours. The loyal vassals of Pr̥thvīrāja are even said to have been dissatisfied with his policy, and they blamed him for troubles in the Cāhamāna Kingdom. (1) A study of the period shows that the weak Kalacuris under Vijayasimha (1175 - 1210) could not possibly have sent any help. Apart from the account of the Rāso, the Vyayaga Pārtha - parākrama, according to Dr. Ray, indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cāhamāna Pr̥thvīrāja and the Caulukya Bhīma II (c.1178 - 1241). It is also said that the Ābu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the Pa Caulukyās, "repulsed a nocturnal attack of the King of Jāngala". (2) The above evidence confirms the hostile relations

(1) Rāso, Canto LXVI, pp.385, 387-388, 400-410.

(2) DHNI, Vol.II, pp.1085 - 1086; Gaekwad ornt.series No.IV 1917, pp.ii, 3.

This one act drama was written by Prahlādāna, a Paramāra prince of Candrāvātī and Arbuda - DHNI.II, pp.917-18.

between the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas at that time. Thus, in the absence of any help from the Gāhadavālas, Candellas, Kalacuris, and the Caulukyas, it can hardly be said that the Kings of Northern India joined the confederacy of Prthvirāja. To conclude in Dr. Ray's words, "It must remain an interesting historical speculation, whether a common front presented by the later Yāminis, Cāhamānas, Gāhadavālas and the Candellas could have stemmed the advancing tide. But there is no evidence that they realized their danger or that they showed any tendency to combine their forces." (1)

(1) DHNI. Vol.I, pp.541-542

NO. IV

THREE UNPUBLISHED CANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS:(i) CHHATARPUR INSCRIPTION OF MADANAVARMAN OF THE YEAR SAMVAT 1203 - [Plate 7]

This inscription 'incised on the pedestal of an image of Sāntinātha' was noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty in Archaeological Survey Reports, 1935 - '36 (p. 94), but he did not give any facsimile.

The inscription is in Nāgarī script and records the execution of some pious act (? the setting up of an image or images) by one Lakṣmīdhara, born in a renowned Jaina family, who always bowed before Sāntinātha. The inscription gives the genealogy of Lakṣmīdhara's family and was set up in the reign of King Madanavarman, in the year Samvat 1203, on the 9th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on Monday, i.e. Monday the 10th February, A.D.1147. The first two lines of the inscription are ^{generally} ~~almost~~ illegible, ^{but} ~~and not~~ ^{wholly intelligible,} but the next two lines are clear and readable. The actual inscription is of no importance, but its discovery in Chhatarpur shows that by A.D.1147, Madanavarman had succeeded in recapturing that district, which was lost to the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindacandra some time before A.D.1120, the date of his Chhatarpur Copper Plate. (1)

(1) EI. Vol. XVIII, pp. 224-226; Supra, pp. 114

T E X T

1. Jagālāptarthānvaye sādhu Svayambhūvarmma-vatsalah | Tat
sutau svāminā~~mā~~ ca Devasvāmi *gunānvitah* | *Devasvāmi*
2. Sutau (?) jyeṣṭhau (?) sūbhacandrodaya-Candrakah Kāritanda-
Jagannātham sāntitā^vccojitontagah (?) // Dharmāsevi 18
3. Sata Sadevavānvaye (?) Sādhu Jinacandra-tat-putra-
Hariscandra-tat-sutau Lakṣmīdhara-śrīśāntinātham
pranamati sādah |
4. Lakṣmīdharasya dharmma Samvija (ya) śrīman-Madanavarmma-
deva-rājye Samvat 1203 Phā [lgune] Sudi 9 some.

(ii) TEHARI COPPER PLATE OF TRAILOKYAVARMAN OF THE
YEAR SAMVAT 1264 - [Plate 8]

This inscription was noticed by Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur, as Copper Plate No. 50 in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-1947 (published in 1952). The inscription is here edited from a photograph kindly sent by Dr. Patwardhan with the following remarks :- "This is a single, thick, heavy plate which measures $14\frac{1}{4}$ " by $10\frac{1}{2}$ " and weighs 275 tolas. It required a little flattening before its impressions could be taken. There are some holes along the edges probably intended to fix the plate on a wooden board. A small piece is chipped off at the left-hand corner. In the centre at the top is the figure of a seated Gajalakṣmī

and a crescent moon above her head. The³plate contains 19 lines of writing, engraved only on one side."

The Copper Plate is in Nāgarī script. The letters are clearly engraved except for the last two lines where they become almost illegible. The Copper Plate records the gift of a village called Mamḍauragrāma in the Viṣaya of Vaṭavāpi(?) by King Trailokyavarmmadeva. The donee was one Brāhmana Nāyaka Kuleśarmman of Raikura of Vatsa gotra and Vājasaneya Śākhā with five Pravaras, the son of Nāyaka Gayādhara, grandson of Rāuta Sihaḍa and great-grandson of Rānaka Naumrahana. The Copper Plate was issued from Tiharī and is dated in Samvat 1264, bhādravadi 2, Friday, written both in words and figures, which corresponds to September 11th, A.D.1207. (1)

Tiharī is only a few miles to the west of ~~Chhatrapur~~, which shows that in A.D.1207, Trailokyavarman's kingdom included the districts of ^{Lalitpur and Orkha} ~~Jubbulpore and Damoh~~ in the ~~west~~. It is interesting to note that three members of the same Brāhmana family have been designated differently as Rānaka, Rāuta and Nāyaka respectively. This supports our contention that these were not surnames, as Vaidya suggests (supra. p.204) but official titles given to various officers of the State, probably for their distinguished service.

(1) According to the tables of Sewell and Dikshit.

गुणवन्निहायमाह्लादशब्द्विभक्तिस्वरशि

मत्प्रवर्द्धमन्तविर्वापिक्रियताजिह्वाम्

रस्रमिषदास्कोमहाराजशिराजपथमस्य

प्रशरकमहाराजोविंशतप्रमथपरशर

साराज्ञशिराजप्रमथस्वरपरममाहस्ववस्य

कर्मसिपमडर्षिपुस्तकत्रयापतापितसकलचिद्व

वेकलविविकनिम्नोक्तमन्त्रसंज्ञेनोक्तवाचिनि

मन्यानपिकृताक्तोस्विकाद्रात्रहतापघ्नक

तिवाह्वरुंसविदितोह्यामनिलिखिताश्रामं

बहुतलवर्द्धमेनरिंदागोर्वंशं इरुदोहोल

ऊगारं क्रितिक्रयण ह्यादिर्विनाविर्भाव

श्वरशीमदनवन्मादसपादानुश्रुतात्स

परनर्दिदवपादानुश्रुतात्परममहाप

ऊवाक्षयतिशीमातेलाश्रुतवम्मादवादि

ऊकालवर्द्धमन्त्रसंज्ञेनोक्तवाचिनि

ऊवात्पतातोह्याणानुश्रु

ऊमन्त्रवर्द्धमन्त्रसंज्ञेनोक्तवाचिनि

ऊमन्त्रवर्द्धमन्त्रसंज्ञेनोक्तवाचिनि

[PLATE- 8.] TEHARI COPPER PLATE OF TRILOKYAVARMAN

T E X T.

1. Ōm Svasti[ⁱⁱ]jayaty āhlādāyan viśvam Viśveśvara-siro-
dhṛtaḥ.[ⁱ] Candrātreya-narendrāṇām vaṃśas' candra idā
(for yo) jivalaḥ [ⁱⁱ]
2. Tatra pravard(dha)māne virodhi-vijaya-bhrājiṣṇu-
Jayas'akti-Vijayas'aktyādi-vīrāviraḥbhāva-bhāṣva-
3. re Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Srī-
Madana^ovarmmadeva-pādānudhyata-Parama-
4. bhataṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Srī-
Paramarddideva-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ma-
5. hārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramamāheśvara-Srī-
Kālañjarādhipati-Srīmat-Trailokyavarmmadevo vi-
6. jayī(?)sa eṣa durvī^vṛpahatara-p^{tāpa}ratāpita-sakala-ripu-
kulaḥ kuḥlavadhūm^{va} vasundharān(m) nirākulī-paripālayan
na-
7. vikala-viveka-nirmmalī-kṛta-matiḥ Sihadauni-Sainye Vata-
vāpi-viṣayāntaḥ-pāti-Maṇḍāura-grāmapagatān brāhmaṇān
anyā(m)śca
8. mānyān adhikṛtān kuṭumvi[^]-kāyastha-dūta-ve(for vai)dya-
mahattarān Meda-candāla-paryantān sarvān samvo(for bo)
dhayati samājñāpaya-

9. ti. Vāstuvah sa vṛditam yathopari-likhito(') yam grāmah
[sa]-jala-sthalaḥ sa-sthāvara-jaṅgamah sva-sīmāvachinnaḥ sādha-ū-
10. rddhvo-bhūta-bhaviṣyad-varṭtamāna-niśeṣādāya-sahitaḥ pratiśiddha-
cāṭādi-pravesās' cābhiḥ Tiharī-samāvāse vatuḥ (or catuḥ?)
saṣṭya vi-
11. kasata-dvayo yeta(for yāta) sahasratame(for tama) samvatsare
Bhādrapa(de?)-(m)āsi kṛṣṇapakṣe dvitīyāyān(for ām) tithāv
ahnato'pi samvat 1264 bhā-
12. dra vadi 2 Śukravāre Raikaura-vinirgatāya Vatsa-gotrāya
Cyavan-Aurmma(va)
Vatsa-Bhārggava-Dyava(?), Naurmma(?) -yā(for Jā) madagnya-pañca-
pravarāya Vājasaneyā-sākhā(ya)
13. (s)thāyine Rānaka-Naumrahana-prapautrāya | Rāuta-Sihada-pautrāya
Nāyaka-Gayādharma-putrāya Nāyaka-Kulesārmanevra(for brā)hmanāya
sā-
14. sanam kṛtvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir ājñā-sravana-vidhiyai
bhūtvā bhāga-bhoga-paśu-hiraṇya-kara-sulma(for Ikā)di-
sarvaṇasmai samupanetavya(m)
15. Tadenam asya(?) grā(ma)-samandira-prākāram sa-nirggama-pravesān
sa sa(r)vvāśanekṣu-karppāsa-kusuma-saṅmra-madhūkādī-bhūruha-
sa-vana-kha-
16. ni-nidhānam sālaha(?) -lavana llādyākara-sa-mrga vihaṅgama-
jalacaram-sāg(M?)ākulam aparairapi sīmanta(r)ggatair
vvastubhiḥ sahita(m)

17. [sa-bāhy] ābhyantarād ayam bhujjānasya na kenāpi vā(for bā)
dhā kāryā.atra ca rāja-rājapurūṣādibhiḥ svam svam ābhāiryam(?)
pariharttavyam mida (īdam) ātmadāna
18. manā na yā tibhāvibhir api bhūmipālaiḥ
pālanīyam / pañcāsaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi-ā-va(s)ati-bhūmidah
āchetā cānumantā ca tānyeva
19. na dhā-ta ... mī ... prati ... bhūmīgāmi(1)
Sva hastō yam rāja śrī Trailakyavarmma ...

(iii) Panna Candella Inscription of Samvat, 1366.

- [Plate-9.]

This Inscription was first noticed by Dr. N.P. Chakravarty in the ASR Report of 1935-36. It was engraved below a group of images carved on a block of stone lying near a waterfall. According to Dr. Chakravarty the inscription indicates that it originally belonged to the fort at Ajaygadh. It is in Nāgarī Script.

According to Dr. Chakravarty's reading the inscription, dated in Samvat 1366 Śrāvāna Sudi 10 Guraw (Thursday, 17th July, A.D. 1309) "records that the images were caused to be made by Suhadadēva, the son of Ashau and the grandson of Vāse, born in

(1) The last two lines are illegible. But comparing with other Candella Plates it is evident that the Plate ends with the customary verse, viz. "Uktamca saṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi Svargē vasati bhūmidah / āchetā cānumantā ca tānyeva narake vaset" etc.

the Vāstavya Kāyastha family and belonging to Jayapura in (?) Kālamjara". (1). The persons mentioned in the inscription were rightly identified by Dr. Chakravarty with the persons with the same names and of the same family known from other Ajaygadh Fort inscriptions mentioned by Dr. Chakravarty himself. (2). On the left hand side the name of Devalladevi is engraved.

We, however, have failed to find the name of Suhadadeva in this inscription and think that the name of the person who actually caused these images to be set up is not mentioned. If we read the word Rudradevesasya in line 3 as 'Suhadadevesasya', it would mean that Suhada's image was set up by a descendant of the family, which is highly improbable and does not agree with Dr. Chakravarty's reading. We think that the reading of the word as 'Rudradevesasya' gives a much better meaning.

The inscription was presumably set up in the reign of Hammīravarman (1288-c.1310). As to the political importance of the inscription it may be pointed out that this inscription of the family of ministers shows that Ajaygadh was in possession of the Candellas at least up to A.D.1309. Moreover, the presence and setting up of the inscription in

(1) ASR - 1935-36, p.94.

(2) Ibid. pp.92-93.

[PLATE- 9.] PANNA CANDELLA INSCRIPTION OF SAMVAT 1366.



Ajaygadh may be regarded as a further evidence of the transfer of the ^{capital} Ga by the Candellas from Kālañjara to Ajaygadh. (See Supra, p.147).

Text.

1. Om Siddhih || Sam 1366 Śrāvāna sudi 10 Gurau Kāśyapānvaya-
kāyastha-Vāstavya vamsē Kā-
2. lañjara-Jayapurayo Prato^(for to)likānvita-vatubhāge (?) Thakura-
SriVāse pautrena Thakura Asau putrena Pamsa^{?for}(ca)
3. Rudradevesāsya (1) mūrti-prabhṛiti samasta-pratimah
kāritah.

(1) We cannot trace the phrase Pañca-rudra elsewhere. It may refer to the five images of Siva. We are tempted to emend the text to Vamsā rudra, "Rudra, (the patron deity of) the family"; but the first aksara is definitely pa.

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- 29 Mahoba Stone inscription of Paramardi's reign, of the
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(The King's name is not mentioned in the inscription).
- 30 Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Paramardideva's time dated
in V. S. 1243 - ASR. Vol.XXI, p.50, Plate XII, C.
There is another inscription in the same place dated
in V.S.1227. Both these two inscriptions do not
mention the King's name. Cunningham reads the date
of the second inscription as V.S.1237 (ASR. Vol.XXI,
pp.49-50); Kielhorn reads it as 1227 (EI. Vol.V,
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45. Dahi Grant of Viravarmadeva, of the year V.S.1237. - ASR. Vol.XXI, pp.74 - 76
46. Gurha Sati Stone inscription of the reign of Viravarmadeva dated in V.S.1342. - EI. Vol.V, p.35, No.242.
47. Kālañjara Stone inscription of Viravarmadeva (undated) - JASB. Vol.XVII, Pt.I, pp.317-320; ASR. Vol.XXI, p.39 Kielhorn noticed another Kālañjara inscription in EI. Vol.V, Appendix p.35, No.241. In line three this gives the date V.S.1340, but does not give the King's name. Cunningham noticed another stone

inscription at Ajaygadh, dated in V.S.1372. But as Viravarman ceased to rule before V.S.1345, Cunningham assumed the existence of one Viravarman II - See ASR. Vol. XXI, p.54. Dr. Ray thinks that there is some mistake in the reading of the date or the name of the King. - DHNI. Vol.II, p.732, fn.4. But the possibility of a second Viravarman ruling after the reign of Hammiravarman cannot be ruled out.

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- 49 Ajaygadh Rock Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (undated) - EI. Vol.I, pp.330-338;
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- 50 Ajaygadh Stone inscription of Bhojavarman, of the year V.S.1345; - JASB. Vol.VI, Pt.I, pp.881-887, Plt.XLVIII
- 51 Ajaygadh Satī inscription of the reign of Bhojavarman, dated V.S.1346 - Mādhurī, Vol.V, Pt.2, No.2,
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- 53 Bamhni Satī inscription of the reign of Hammiravarmadeva, of the year v.s.1365. - EI. Vol.XVI, p.10, fn.4.
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