CHAPTER-III

HISTORICAL STUDY OF CHANDELA'S DYNASTY
CANDELLA KINGDOM
IN THE 10TH AND 11TH CENTURIES A.D.

English Miles

0  50  100  200  500

1  Kalanjara
2  Khajuraho
3  Mahotsavanagore
4  Mau
5  Pachar
6  Garha
7  Nanyaura
8  Charkhari
9  Deogadh
10 Augasi
11 Ajaygadh
12 Chhatarpur
13 Semra
14 Ichchhawar
15 Rewa
16 Saugor
17 Jhansi
18 Dahi
19 Garha
20 Dhudhai
21 Penne
22 Kanyakubja

FIG: 31
The death of king Harsha in A.D. 648 was followed by the collapse of the Kanauj Empire. The throne was usurped by his minister Arjuna. Owing to the unfriendly way in which he greeted a Chinese embassy, the usurper was attacked by a Chinese force; and suffering a crushing defeat, was sent as a prisoner to the Chinese Emperor. The removal of the strong hand of Harsh, as Mr. Vincent Smith points out, loosened the bonds which restrained the disruptive forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their normal result; a medly of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in unceasing internecine war.

The period now under review practically covers the middle ages, and it may be well to indicate the main characteristics of the period in a few introductory words, before proceeding to deal, in some what greater detail, with some of the leading matters requiring our attention. For some five hundred years—from the sixth to the eleventh—centuries—India was practically free from foreign invasion; with ample opportunities to work out its own destiny. The sixth century was, as we have seen, a period of the seventh century, the great figure of Harsha, of
Kanauj, appeared on the scene, the last native paramount sovereign of Northern India. The history of next three hundred years, 650 A.D. to 950 A.D. is obscure, with little to guide us but tradition and a few coins and inscriptions. It is clear, however, that there was no political cohesion, no dominating personality to give some degree of unity to the scattered and too often warring elements of which India is composed. As Mrs Steel has remarked, "a thousand names jostle each other in common place confusion. In the Chaos of conflicting claims, any attempt at classification is hopeless". In the north, however, the Chandelas and various Rajput tribes came into prominence (Fig. 3.1) and in the south the Chalukyas were powerful until the middle of the eighth century, when they were eclipsed for more than two centuries by their feudatories the Rashtrakutas (H. S. Shalia: 1984).

3.2 THE AGE OF RAJPUT MAHARAJAS

From 950 to 1200 A.D. is a period of reconstruction, and the political history of the north revolves around a number of powerful Rajput clans which stretched from the Rann of Cutch to Rohilkhand, and ultimately succumbed to the Muhammadan invaders after a long and grave resistance. In the Deccan, towards the end of the tenth century, the Chalukyas again rose to power, but in the latter part of the eleventh century their power was crushed by the Hoysalas in the south an enterprising and war like race of Mysore professing the Jain faith, and by the Yadavas to the
north, descendents of their own feudatory nobles with territory in the direction of Nasik. In the extreme south there are the three Dravidian kingdoms of very ancient tradition, Pandya, Chola, and Chera, as well as the realm of the Pallavas or an intrusive foreign and non-Dravidian race, of Scythian or Parthian origin. Towards the close of the tenth century a Chola king overran almost the whole of the southern India. Throughout the whole of this period Buddhism steadily decayed, until it became practically extinct. Jainism flourished in particular localities, while Hinduism, in its sectarian and philosophical aspects, firmly established itself in the minds and hearts of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land. Of great influence in this direction was the vigorous proselytism of Kumarila-Bhatta of Bihar, in the eighth century, and of the great south Indian philosophers, with their rival schools of Hindu thought Sankara, who flourished in the ninth century, and Ramanuja in the twelfth politically, India was hopelessly divided during the medieval period, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on account of Mohammedan raids. The plains of northern India were a battle field, but it is clear that religiously the north and the south exercised a powerful religious influence on each other. Such seem to be the main facts political and religious, to be for me in mind in the period now under consideration. These we shall now refer to in more detail. (I.S. Bhatia; 1984).
The Empires of Nagacha and Kanauj represented the achievement of the Aryan race and genius. Harsha's death left the subject kings and tribes masterless. These tribes, mainly aboriginal or foreign, were split up into innumerable small communities in perpetual conflict, unable to establish any political cohesion, and without any genius for empire.

The absorption and assimilation of these aboriginal or foreign masses within the Hindu fold was the task of Neo-Hinduism a last mainly accomplished between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D. and it was so thoroughly done that we now find throughout Northern India a Hindu population fairly homogeneous in blood, culture, and religions, and differing markedly from the degraded tribes that still haunt the outskirts of civilization. The transition was affected by a three-fold movement; religious, social, and political. The religious movement consisted in the substitution of the popular and non-Aryan cults for the Vedic or Aryan (H.S. Bhatia: 1984).

Under Brahmanical guidance, aboriginal deities, demons, and cults found shelter under the wing of Vedic or Brahmanical gods and forms of worship. The evolution of Neo-Hinduism as a religious had been taking place for many centuries, making great progress in the Gupta period. The social movement resulting in the assimilation of aboriginal and foreign elements, took
place in the medieval period. The history of caste is very obscure, and much still remains in dispute; but the main outlines may be sketched as follows: The original constitution of both Aryan and Dravidian society was tribal, but while the Aryans were exogamous, and readily married the women they captured even from the aborigines, the Dravidians were endogamous and although they married outside their village, yet they married within their tribe. Now, caste is the solvent of the tribe, and it is a creation of the Aryans, proud of their ancestry, their fair complexion, their superior civilization, and their possession of the Vedas, the styled themselves the twice-born. Those aborigines whom they permitted to associate with themselves were Sudras; outside these were the unspeakable barbarians. The same pride which dictated the privileges of the twice born created an aristocracy of priests and warriors. This four fold didivision of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vlsyas and Sudras remained not altogether intact but still in force until the seventh century A.D. After that we find a new division. Instead of twice-born Aryan and the Sudra Dravidian, we have only the pure and the impure. Purity of blood or food or occupation form the new standard of society. And the standard by which this new society is judged is the standard of the kingdom of Kanauj. From Kanauj kings invited Brahmins to Gujarati, to Bengal, to Orissa, to reform the barbarous customs of their people. The father we depart eastwards or westwards from Kanauj and the Doab, the famous "Middle
country" the lower is the caste, by whatsoever name it may be called. The process by which the tribal divisions were split up may be seen at work in the present day. Under the attraction of the superior Hindu civilization, and the teaching of vagrant, Brahmans or ascetics, the upper classes separated themselves from the lower, imitated Hindu modes of life, assumed the status of a caste, were supplied with a mythical genealogy by the Brahmans, and were recognised as an integral part of the same Hindu community. The process was repeated until the lowest alone were left, and they were reduced to the condition of serfs. The transition was effected under the supervision of the Raja, who, guided by the Brahmans, became the source not only of precedence but of caste. But this change does not imply an immediate abandonment of the ancient Dravidian endogamy. That depended upon time and circumstance. The Ancient Aryan exogamy had always allowed men to marry women of a lower class under certain conditions, and as the Aryan influence prevaled among the upper classes of the new society, so the tendency of exogamy spread. Throughout the middle ages we find a certain freedom of exogamy in full force; as it is in some places at the present day. The new society thus formed rested mainly upon a classification of occupations. The higher the caste the more numerous and more honourable were the occupations open to it. So completely did this classification by occupation supersede the old racial divisions that even among the Brahmans we find septs which have
no claim to the rank except their priestly avocations. The
lower castes, on the other hand, remained endogamous trade guilds,
with inherited rights and a corporate government. Thus, between
the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., the old racial divisions
passed away and a new division came in founded upon status and
function.

The political movement that helped to effect the
assimilation of the aboriginal and foreign elements was the rise
of the Rajputs. There is an ancient Indian tradition that when
the Brahman Parasu-Rama "Rama with the axe" had destroyed the
race of the ancient Kshatriyas for disputing with the Brahman,
and men were left masterless, the gods, with a view to repair
the evil, brought forth out of the cauldron of fire in Mount
Abi, the abode of the holy Vishis, in Rajputana, the four most
famous of the Rajput clans, the Jatns, the Jats, the Solankis,
and the Chauhans. The legend is probably intended to
show that the pure Aryan Kshatriyas of Aryan times were replaced
in the middle ages by the Rajputs—"Sons of Kings", warriors of
foreign or mixed origin. It is highly probable that the Rajputs
represent a considerable body of the Ancient Kshatriya clans of
the Aryan tribes, but modern research indicates that there are
large scythian or Hun elements in certain Rajput clans; it would
appear that Brahman, Shars, Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, and Huns have
all contributed to the Rajput clans. This much is certain that
though they are of mixed origin, all these clans in due time
became homogeneous through intermarriage and the adoption of common customs. In religion they were zealous Hindus, and revered the Brahmins; Mr. Kennedy writes: They were all distinguished by their clan feeling, their implicit obedience to their chief, while claiming the equality of blood relations, their sense of communal property. They married their daughters into a higher clan, and took their wives from a lower one. They had the same feeling regarding the honour of their women; the same customs of widow-burning and of the jonar, the holocaust of females in a beleaguered fort. They all refused to perform the menial work of an agriculturist. It is this code of honour, these common customs, which made them homogeneous and unique (R.C. Bhatia: 1964).

The Rajput clans made their first appearance in the eighth and ninth centuries. From Rajputana they entered the Punjab and in the 10th century made their way to Kashmir. About the same time they spread north and east from southern Ghud, and later made themselves masters of the central Himalayas. Throughout the medieval period, the Rajput clans were the Khatriyas of Mewar, and the whole political history of the time centres around them.

Every tribes which exercised sovereign power or local rule for a considerable period joined itself to them. They recognised to title-deeds except their swords, and were constantly seeking for new settlements. They are found everywhere,
from the Indus to Bihar, but their original homes were two—
Rajputana and the south of Oudh. All we can do is to refer very
briefly to a few of the more important states and dynasties of
the period (A.S. Natial 1954).

3.3.1: The Gurjara and Rathors of Kanauj

The Kingdom of Kanauj, which had reached the height of
its prosperity in the seventh century under King Harsha, retained
much of its importance during the Mediaeval period, although in
territory it was confined to the Doab and southern Oudh as far
as Benares. In the second half of the ninth century A.D., it
was ruled over by a powerful Gurjara king, Brhoja who made himself
master of the whole country from Gwalior to the Himalayas. The
capital city of Kanauj on the left bank of the Ganges became
unrivalled for its greatness and its wealth, and its fame as a
civilising influence increased by the migration of large bands
of Brahmins, Kshatriya, and other castes, to as far as Gujarat
on the western coast, and Bengal and Orissa on the east. In
1019 the city fell before Mahmud of Ghazni and twenty years
later Jaichand; a chieftain of the Guhjarar or Rathor clan
seized the throne and his line continued to rule at Kanauj
down to 1194 A.D. when the last of them, also named Jaichand,
was defeated and slain by the Mohammedans under Muhammad Ghori.
His descendants moved westward and founded the Jodhpur state.

3.3.1.1: The Poonars of Malwa and the Solankis of Gujarat: The
historic kingdom of Malla, the ancient Avanti, with its capital Ujjain, associated with the name of Vikramaditya, was during the medieval period in possession of a famous Rajput clan, the Paramaras or Powers, who ruled for about four centuries (800 A.D. to 1200 A.D.), with their capital at Ujjain and afterwards at Dvara or Dhar. Another famous Malla city was Chandravat in the vicinity of Mount Abu. The most renowned of the Malla monarchs during this period were (a) Munga (974-995) in whose reign the authors Dhananjaya Dhanika, and Malayudha flourished and who was ultimately defeated and slain by Taila, the Chalukyan king, on his southern border, and (b) his more famous nephew Bhoja, who reigned from about 1010 to 1050 A.D. and whose fame in Indian literary tradition as warrior, author, and patron of letters is second only to that of Vikramaditya. A treatise on poetics is ascribed to king Bhoja himself, as well as one on astronomy. The JAINASANA DVARANINAMA or "Thirty-two Tales of the Throne" are legendary stories regarding Vikramaditya of Avanti, related by thirty-two statues standing round the old throne of that famous monarch, to king Bhoja of Dvara, to discourage him from sitting down on it. The work is ascribed to Keshamanka, and was probably composed in the time of Bhoja from older stories in the Mahara-shtra dialect. At the court of Bhoja, too, lived Damodara Misra, author of the Hanuman-Nataaka, or the play of Hanuman dealing with the story of Rama in connection with his ally Hanuman, the monkey chief. In the twelfth century, the Purnaw kingdom of
MALWA was overthrown by another powerful Rajput clan, the solankis of Gujarat and Kachchatar and in the course of the conflict the captured Malwan king was carried about in a cage by the solankis and their celebrated king and magician Siddharaja. In the previous century the solankis had suffered severe reverses, their capital being taken by the somars, and the famous temple of Somnath on the Kachchar coast plundered by sahrud.

3.3:III: THE REMARKS OF DELHI: The country around Delhi was occupied by a Rajput clan, the Somars. According to Hindu tradition, Delhi has, from time immemorial, been the site of a capital city. The city of Indraprastha was according to the story of the Mahabharata, founded by Yudhisthira and his five brothers, the Pandavas, and the neighbourhood village of Inderpat preserve the name. So far as verifiable history, however, is concerned the importance of Delhi begins about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., when the fort of Delhi Lalkot, was built by a chieftain; Anang-Pal, who may have belonged to the dispossessed Gujar family of Kamauj. His descendants, known as Somars, reigned at Delhi had no son and he married his daughter to the son of the Chauhan Raja of Ajmer, with the result that, in the son of this marriage, the celebrated Prithviraja, the union of the two kingdoms was effected about 1170 A.D.

3.3:IV: THE CHAUHANS OF AJMER AND THE CHANDELAS OF BURDELKHAND: The large and powerful clan of the Chauhans had their power
centred around the famous salt lake Sambar in Rajputana (between Jaipur and Jodhpur) with Ajmer as their capital. Their chief cities, like Sambar and Ajmer, were centres of a great caravan trade. Towards the end of the eleventh century the disunited Chauhan septs were consolidated under a cultured and powerful king, Visaladeva (Gisalde) who, among many other similar conquests, took Delhi, and had his son married to the Tomar king's daughter. The product of this union, as already stated, was Prithviraje, who became ruler of Sambar, Ajmer and Delhi. He is the hero of popular legend in Northern India and his fame is celebrated in the sixty nine books of the Prithviraj Rasa of the poet Chand Bardai. Among his many exploits was his abduction of, and romantic elopement with, the not unwilling daughter of the Rathor Jaichand of Kanauj. Refusing to appear as a tributary king at the court of Kanauj when Jaichand, in the pride of his heart, was celebrating the horse-sacrifice and setting up the claim to be universal sovereign, Prithviraje visited in disguise, and fell in love with the king's daughter. That nothing might be lacking in the due performance of the Asvamedha ceremony, Jaichand had set up a statue of the absent prince and assigned to it the menial office of doorkeeper. To the consternation of all the fair princesses, passing by the living princes present, placed her marriage Garland round the statue of the gallant Chauhan prince, who duly carried her off having his way through the masses of his enemies. Another exploit of Prithviraj was his overthrow of
the Chandel king of Mahoba and Kalinjar in the country of Bundelkhand.

During this period, until their overthrow by Prithviraj in 1182, and the capture of their chief cities Mahoba and Kalinjar by the Muslims in 1203 A.D., the Chandel Rajputs exercised paramount power in Bundelkhand, and their dominions extended from the Jumna to the Betwa. Their principal cities, notably Khajuraho, were adorned with beautiful temples covered outside and inside with elaborate sculptures. The neighbourhood of Mahoba is covered with architectural antiquities prominent among which are artificial lakes, formed by banking up valleys with masonry dams on an isolated rock at the termination of the Vindhyas range, and overlooking the plains of Bundelkhand, is the famous fort of Kalinjar, which has played a prominent part in history from the period of the Mahabharata down to the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. Closely connected with the Chandels are the Kalachuris of Shedi and the Kashwahas of Gwalior and Marwar, a Rajput clan to which belong the modern chiefs of Jaipur and Alwar, for three centuries, but in 1129 A.D. Taj Khon (Shhula Rai) the bridegroom prince, for love of the fair Khonzi, devoted a whole year of his honeymoon and as a result his throne was usurped during his absence by his nephew, a member of the Jarihar clan. Shhula Rai then migrated westwards and founded the Jaipur state. Returning to the story of Prithviraj, he was for a time the Champion of the Hindus against the
Muhammadan invaders, and he succeeded in inflicting a crushing
defeat on the forces of Muhammad Ghori, but the Muhammadan
raiders ultimately proved too strong for him and he and his son
were slain in battle, and Ajmir and Delhi were taken (1193 A.D.).
He was the last Hindu king of Delhi and with his fall and, later,
that of his rival Jai Singh of Manauj, the medieval period of
Medieval India was at an end.

3.4 CHANDRA PRATAP CHANDRA

The earliest traditions of the Chandela family as
recorded in their inscriptions trace its origin to the moon,
implies that it was connected with the ancient lunar race of
Ksatryas. The Bateswar inscription of Ratmardih states, "From
the eye-locus of Arti was born the god (The moon borne on the
head of Siva, the husband of Parvati (Epigraphia Indica: 1892)
the armament 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 Chandratreya princes,
who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the host of
enemies. (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Another Chandela inscription
records that Brahman from his own mind created Marichi and
other sages. The most distinguished among these sages was Arti,
from whose eye sprang the Moon and whose son was the sage
Chandratreya, the progenitor of the distinguished race called
after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts. (Epigraphia Indica; 1892). Other Chandela inscriptions also allude to this same story.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Chandelas to the moon. According to one legend, originally given by the bard Chand the Chandelas were descended from Hemavati, daughter of a brahmane Suronita of Indrajit, the Gehwar Raja of Banaras. “Hemavati was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rati Talab, she was seen and embraced by Chandrama; the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemavati cursed him “why do you curse me”? said Chandrama “your son will be lord of the earth and from him will spring a thousand branches”, Hemavati enquired, “How shall my disonour be effaced when I am without a husband”? ‘Fear not’ replied Chandrama “your son will be born on the bank of the Karnavati River; then take him to Chajuraaya and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will reign, and will become a great king. He will posses the philosopher’s stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of Kalanjar he will build a fort. When your son is 15 years of age you must perform a Bhanda Jag to wipe away your disgrace, and then leave Banaras to live at Kalanjar.

According to this prophecy, Hemavati’s child, like another Chandrama was born. At 16 years of age, he killed a
tiger, when Chandrama appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone and taught him polity (Rajniti). Then he built the fort of Kalanjar, after which he went to Kharjurpur, where he performed a sacrifice (Jag or Yajnya) to do away with his mother's shame, and build 85 temples.... Lastly, he went to Mahotsava, or Mahoba, the place of Chandram's great festival, which he made his capital (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903 & F.N. Wright: 1873).

There is yet another legend regarding the origin of the dynasty. According to this, the original birth place of the Candela was Kalenjara. "The king of that fort one day asked his family priest that was the day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (Puramasi), where as it was really the Amavas 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 expulsed her from his house; so she wandered into the jungle and there her child was born. There is Banaphar Rajput 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 Ram, he is now worshipped as Maniya Deva (W. Crooke: 1896). The girl's son became the founder of the dynasty."
Modern scholars do not place any reliance upon the connection of the Chandelas with the lunar race of Ksatriyas. Dr. Vincent Smith called the story of Chand 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 "Rajputs and adding respectability by inverting a Brahman ancestress." (V. A. Smith: 1906). Smith thought that the Chandelas were in origin a non-Aryan people, associated with the aboriginal Gonds and Bhars. For his assumption, Smith depended on the following arguments:

(i) The Chandelas are admittedly of impure descent, but have no connection with the immigrants from the north-west such as the Hunas, who are largely represented by the fire descended Rajput such as the Saharanas.

(ii) The local traditions of the many villages over which the Chandelas ruled mention the Gonds, Kols, Bhils, Bhars, Chamars etc. and other low caste and out caste peoples as the original occupiers of the land. For these reasons Smith believed that the Chandelas were "a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the personnel of the local court, but who never relinquished the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty".

...
(iii) In Madura there is a temple of Maniya Deo, the tutelary deity of the Chandela kings. Smith stated that the image of this deity is akin to those of the Conds, a fact which further supports his assumption.

(iv) The poet Chand associates Maniyagarh (Traditionally the original home of the Chandelas) with a Cond chieftain.

Moreover, the story of the marriage of Durgavati of the Chandelas with the Raja of Garha Mandla, according to Smith, shows the prevailing intercourse between the Chandelas and Conds even as late as the 16th century. Relying on these arguments, Smith strongly suggested that the myth of the union of Hemavati with the moon was invented to conceal the fact that the Chandelas readily sprang from an aboriginal stock. As the Cahaswaras preceded the Chandelas, Smith believed that it is very likely that the Chandelas are the result of crossing Cahaswara with Bhar and Cond blood. He, however, was more inclined to the view that the Chandelas were originally Hinduised Conds, but added that, as the Conds and Bhars are said to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance. (V.A. Smith: 1908 & Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: 1877).

Mr. R.V. Russell (1916) supports the view of Smith and takes the Chandelas to be a section of one of the indigenous tribes which rose to power. But while Smith is inclined to the view that the Chandelas are originally Conds, Russell thinks
that they sprang from the aboriginal Bhars. He puts forward
the following arguments in support of his conclusion.

According to traditions, the Gonds came from the south
and practically never penetrated into Bundelkhand, Saugar and
Dumoh being almost their furthest limit to the north-west. The
Gonds have no tradition to their dominance in Bundelkhand and
their existence is first recorded several centuries after the
commencement of the Chandelas 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 Saugar and many
old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in
Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are
ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable
advance in civilization". Russell on the basis of Local tradition;
believes that the Gaharwars with whom the Chandelas are legendarily
connected, were an aristocratic section of the Bhars. Smith
himself said that the shrine of Maniya Deo, discovered by him in
the Hamirpur district, was in a village reputed formerly to have
been held by Bhars (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:1877).
The instance of the marriage of Rani Durgavati in the 16th
century, and Chand's story of Chandela Raja Kirat Singh's hunt-
ing at Faniyagarh with the Gond Raja of Garha-Mandla can hardly
be satisfactory evidences of a racial connection between the
people does not agree with what facts have come to
two tribes. Moreover, the Modern Chandelas and Chaharwaters of Mirzapur which was formerly in chief seat of the Bhars while the Gonds have never been either numerous or important in Mirzapur. Russell suggests that "the Chandelas may have been simply a local branch of the Chaharwaters, who obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi; or in some other manner, as has continually happened in the case of other clans. The Chaharwaters were probably derived from the Bhars (R.V. Russell: 1916).

The view that the Chandelas are by origin Gonds or Bhars, has not remained unchallenged; Mr. C.V. Vaidya (1924) has taken strong exception to it and has vehemently criticised Smith. About the legend of the origin of the Chandelas, Vaidyas says that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from vedic times; and lead to no inference either as to baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. These stories are to be set aside as mere fancies. Vaidya points out that the Chandelas are not regarded as a clan of impure descent. Among the list of 36 Royal families mentioned by Chand, the name Chhand is among the very first. Vaidya believes that this name stands for Chandelas. Moreover the name Chandela is mentioned by Tod as occurring in the Kumarpala Sanskrit Mass. List incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the names of the 36 traditional Rajput families. Epigraphic Indica (1898) evidence shows inter-marriage between the Chandelas and another well known Rajput dynasty. Vaidya does not agree with Smith that because the
Chandellas originated in the midst of the Gonds they were Gonds themselves. He says that the instinct of the Rajput leads him to go into wild regions inhabited by aborigines and carve out a small kingdom if he has no room in the Aryan country. Referring to the belief of Chandella zamindars of Mahoba that their family are autochthonous (V.A. Smith: 1905). 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, "Infact the Chandelas have been in Cond land at Maniyagarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Rashan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land, viz., the Panjab and the Gangetic valley". He rejects Smith's arguments based on the tutelary deity Maniya Deo (or Devi) and say that the statement that the deity is akin to Cond deities is vague, and even if it be accepted, it does not prove that the Chandelas are themselves Gonds. The story that in the 16th century Maniyagarh was associated with a Cond chief has nothing to do with the origin of the Chandela dynasty. Vaidya says it is very strange that the story of Rani Durgavati, which proves the greatness and purity of the dynasty, should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary (C.V. Vaidya: 1924).

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 Hemavati's union with the moon was an attempt to conceal the low origin of the Chandellas is quite reasonable. Moreover, as pointed out by both Russell and Vaidya, the story of Kirat Singh's hunting at Maniyagarn with a Gond chieftain and Rani Durgavati'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 Chandela, it is to be remembered that Chand's epic is unreliable and very late. The Kumarapala-Charita was written in the 12th century A.D. which time the Chandela had perhaps succeeded in passing themselves off as good Ksatriyas. Another weakness of Vaidya's arguments is that he has mainly tried to count exact the view of Smith, rather than put forward evidence to support his own hypothesis that the Chandelas were originally Ksatriyas and that they probably came to Mahoba during the Mysana or Muna invasions of India.

Whatever may be the weakness of Smith's arguments, his assumption that the Chandelas sprang from aboriginal Gonds and Bhars seems quite feasible. Kielhorn's suspicion that the name Chandratraya taken by the members of the family is a later word; which owes its origin to the desire of having a more sanskritic name (F. Maisey: 1848) supports Smith's theory. Dr. R.C. Majumdar also subscribes to Smith's view. Analysing the causes of the
supermacy of the Brahmanas in the early mediaeval period, he
suggests that the Chandellas, though ranked as Ksatriyas were
originally aborigines and were later incorporated in Aryan
society. As these kings had no glorious traditions behind them,
they looked up to the Brahmanas for the social prestige and
status which only the Brahmanas could give (F.C. Majumdar: 1952).

It is also significant that both the legends connect
the Cauharwars with the origin of the Chandelas. Considering the
close association of the Gonds, Bhars, Cauharwars and early
Chandellas and especially the similarities between the Saharwars
and the Chandellas as builders of embankments one cannot but suspe-
ct a relation between the two.

We are inclined to agree with Russell that the Chandellas
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 Dhasan
river. (V.A. Smith: 1877).

Probably the strongest argument in favour of this view
is the similarity between the Bhars and the Chandellas as great
builders, which suggests that the latter continued the traditions
of the former the origin of the Chandellas dynasty are based on
local traditions; legends and later literary works. There is really no evidence reliable enough to lead to any definite conclusion. The opinions expressed are more hypotheses, and the possible truth may ultimately lie in Smith's suggestion that as the Condás and the Bhars seem to have been closely akin; the Chandelas may have shared both Bhar and Cond blood (V.O. Smith: 1908).

3.5

2.5:1 \textbf{NANUNKA:} According to traditions current in Mahoba and the neighbouring villages a Gaharwar Raj preceded at some undefined date the rule of the Chandelas. Practically nothing is known about the early Gaharvars 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 for beyond its immediate neighbourhood.

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

The town of Panwar, situated about 27 miles west-northwest of Mahoba is said to have been founded by a Parihar Thakur in A.D. 903. Part of the town of Mahoba, according to Smith,
till very recently was remembered as the Parihar's quarter. The traditions of some other villages mention early Parihar occupation of Manoba and the surrounding places. Relying on this evidence, Smith believed that the Parihars actually preceded the Chandelas (V.A. Smith: 1877). The Parihars, according to the Manoba Kavirangos, were overthrown by Chandela Candravarman in 677 Samvat (V.A. Smith: 1877) of an unspecified era.

The Chandela inscriptions however, do not mention any king of that name. The earliest inscription of the dynasty is the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga of Samvat 1011 (A.D. 954) (Epigraphic Indica: 1892). This and other later records, after mentioning the names of mythical figures, refer to Nanmika as the first important member of the family. Thus Nanmika appears to be the first historical king of the Chandela dynasty. Dr. Ray suggests an agreement between tradition and epigraphy by taking the name of Candravarman as a more biruda of Nanmika. He, however, does not accept the tradition that the founder of the dynasty overthrew the Parihars, but argues that from about this time to the beginning of the 10th century, the Gurjara-Pratiharas were at the height of their power and could not have been driven out of this place by the Chandelas (H.C. Ray: 1931). While accepting Dr. Ray's conjecture that Candravarma was the biruda of Nanmika, it may be pointed out that minor branches of the Pratiharas settled in different parts of India at that time. Hence it is quite possible that the Chandelas overthrew a
Nannika was at first probably a feudatory of Nagabhata II (615-631 A.D.) (1931). Nagabhata's successor was Paramahadeva, a weak ruler, whose short reign (633-636 A.D.) set a great criss in the Pratihara fortunes. The twelfth verse of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja Pratihara probably implies that Paramahadeva freed his country from the yoke of notorious and cruel foreign soldiers. (Archaeological Survey Report; 1903). Dr. Ray underlines that the enemies referred to here were the pahidas, who must have caused very serious disturbances (Journal of the Department of Records; 1923). Paramahadeva being unable to cope with the danger single-handed is reported to have collected the aid of his feudatories (R.C. Dirji; 1937), we may assume that Nannika, being one of these feudatories, helped Paramahadeva in this crisis. This may have increased his power and prestige, but, as Dr. Ray warns, it would be very risky to assume that Nannika enjoyed independent sovereign power (S.C. Ray; 1931). In all probability, he was no more than a powerful vassal of the Pratiharas.

3.5: NANNIKA: Nannika's son and successor was Vakpati. The Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D. 954 states that from Nannika was born the illustrations Vakpati, whose spotless fame spread in all the three worlds with the rays of the sun. He is also said to have defeated all his enemies and made the Vindhyas his
pleasure-mount (W.C. Benett: 1872). Another inscription calls him a Ksitiga and praises him for excelling the mythical kings Trichu and Kakastha, in valour and wisdom (W.C. Benett: 1872). As is evident from the inscriptions; Vakpati does not seem to have made any great achievements, although he may have somewhat extended the Chandela dominion, presumably towards the Vindhyā.

3.5:II: Jayasakti and Vijayasakti: Vakpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. The Khajurahi inscription of A.D. 954 records, "as the moon and the Kaustubha (a rose) from the ocean of milk, so were born from that name of wonder (Vakpati) two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise, 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 (W.C. Benett: 1872). Jayasakti is also mentioned as Teja and Jejja in other inscriptions (W.C. Benett: 1872) while Vijayasakti is mentioned a Vijaya; Vijja and Vija (W.C. Benett: 1872). As has already been stated, the Chandela principality of Vijayasakti, who is mentioned in another inscription; which says that, like Rama in his war like expeditions, he reached even the southernmost point of India (W.C. Benett: 1872). Dr. P.C. Majumdar thinks that the epithet "Suhrude-upakriti-daksa" shows that Vijayasakti undertook this expedition for the benefit of an ally (Epigraphic India: 1892).
3.5:IV: RAHILA: Vijayasakti's son and successor was Rahila. The Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga informs us that the younger of the two brothers, i.e. Vijayasakti, begat a son named Rahila, thinking of whom his enemies enjoy little sleep at night (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). The same inscription praises him as a great warrior destroying his enemies by the wind of his unappeased anger (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). Another inscription says that he favoured his friends and punished his enemies (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). The poet Chand ascribes the foundation of the town Rasin in the Banda district the full name of which is Raja-vasini, to Rahila-Varmen (Indian Antiquary: 1886). No historical facts can be derived from these conventional praises. Rahila was no more than one of the early Chandela feudatory rulers under the Pratiharas, and it was only during the reign of his son and successor, Harsa, that the Chandela family became really important.

3.5:IV: HARSHA: The Khajuraha plate of Dhanga states that "In the exalted family of the venerable sage Candratreya, the crestewel of the three worlds, there was a prince, the illustrious Harsadeva, a tree of paradise to those attached 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, who inspired fear by his terrific array of troops, who had made tributary sovereigns, was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of
the summer sun, which is fierce with its burning orb, which
scorches with its rays the mountains. (Indian Antiquary: 1872).
It is evident from this inscription that Harsa was regarded as
one of the important and powerful kings of the dynasty. He
reigned at a period when events of great importance were happen-
ing on the stage of Northern India and the Chandela ruler played
no minor part in the affairs of the time.

By this time the Gurjara-Pratiharas had succeeded in
making themselves a paramount power in northern India. But their
supremacy was seriously challenged by the Rastrakutes and the
Palas. Since the death of Mahendrapala (893-907) the position
of the Pratiharas was gradually worsening, after the death of
Mahendrapala there was possibly some trouble between Bhoja-II
and Mahipala over the succession to the Pratihara throne.
Bhoja-II, who appears to have succeeded Mahendrapala had a
short reign (c. 906-914). He was succeeded by Mahipala (c. 914-943).

The internal disorder coupled with external aggression
imperilled the Pratihara empire. The situation reached its
climax when, some time in A.D. 916-917, the Rastrakutes under
their king Indra III (c. 915-917) undertook an expedition against
the Pratiharas. The Rastrakuta army completely devastated
Kanauj and the Pratihara ruler Mahipala saved his life by flight.
The great humiliation suffered by Manipala at the hands of the
Rastrakutas is known from an account of the Kannarese poet Pampa,
who says that Narasimha, a Calukya feudatory of the Rastrakutas
but to flight the army of the Ghurjjara-raja and terrified the king so much that the latter fled in consternation 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest (H.C. Ray: 1936). The Pratas of Bengal did not remain idle and, taking advantage of the situation, recovered parts of Bihar from the Pratiharas. The reappearance of Prata inscriptions in the Gaya district at this time proves their success against their western rivals (H.C. Ray: 1936).

Mahipala in his attempt to recover the lost kingdom, sought the help of his feudatories. That the help of the Chandela ruler was sought is known from a fragmentary Khajuraho inscription which says that a Chandelas king placed Ksitipaladeva again on the throne (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). This Ksitipaladeva is identified with the Pratihara Mahipala and this identification is accepted by all scholars. The name of the Chandela king who helped Ksitipala is lost. Kielhorn takes this prince to be Harsadeva (Epigraphic Indica: 1872) while Hoerle takes him to be Harsa's son and successor Yasovarman (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: 1904).

Harsa had matrimonial relations with the Cahamanas. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 states that Harsa married with due rites a suitable (lady) of equal caste named Kanvaka; sprung from the Cahama family (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). These matrimonial alliances with the Kalachiris and the Cahamanas undoubtedly increased the social prestige of the Chandelas and helped Harsa 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 Harsa, 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 Visnu; 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
(Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Undoubtedly, Harsa founded the future
greatness of the Chandela dynasty. Without openly defying the
Gurjara Pratiharas, he brought the Chandelas into the forefront
the left a great debt of unity for his son and successor Yasov-
varman to utilise.

3.5:VI: YASOVARMAN: The Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D. 1002,
states that Harsa's wife Kancuka bore of him a son named
Yasovaramadeva, who was pious and munificent and who firmly
established his rule by subduing other king (Epigraphic Indica:
1872). He is also mentioned as Laksavarman in the same Chandela
inscription (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). No inscription of Yaso-
Varman himself has yet been discovered, but in the Khajuraho
stone inscription (A.D. 954) of his son Dhanga, a glowing account
of his achievements is given. Mielhorn took this inscription to
be of Yasovarman himself, but as it ends with an account of Dhangar and his achievements there is no doubt that it was set-up during his reign.

Yasovarman is also praised for making Yamuna and Ganga his pleasure lakes and encamping his army on either banks of the rivers unimpeded by enemies (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). In spite of the usual exaggeration and poetic world-play, it is evident from these verses that Yasovarman undertook expeditions indifferent directions with considerable success. He had built up a strong military power on the foundation laid by his father, Harsha. The Ptalikaras had suffered severe blows and their downfall was almost complete. The Malaviras were subdued and decline had set in with the Malavanahas. The chandelas were virtually independent and transformed into one of the strongest powers in Northern India. They were about to enter on the greatest and the most splendid period of their history.

3.5:VII: MAIMDA: Yasovarman was succeeded by his son Dhangar, 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 (Yasovarman) a son, causing joy to the people the illustrious Dhangar, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth” (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). His mother was queen Rupadevi (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). From the Rudhai inscriptions we know of another son of Yasovarman, named Krishnapa.
These inscriptions record the erection of a temple by one Devalabdi of the Chandela family, the son of illustrious, Krishnapa and Asarva and the grandson of Yasovarman (F. Maisey: 1846). Cunningham's identification of this Yasovarman with the Chandela ruler Yasovarman has been accepted by all scholars. In the Jhansi fragmentary inscription, one Kanhapa is mentioned as a Tripa, and seems to have founded a city which was his capital. As this inscription mentions the Chandela rulers Vijaka and Dhanga, Dr. Chakravarty identifies Kanhapa with Krishnapa of the Dudhai inscriptions (Archaeological Survey Report of India: 1936-37). He was probably a younger brother of Dhanga and was in charge of some district near Jhansi.

It is clear that Dhanga was a very powerful king and was the greatest ruler of his time. He had firmly consolidated his position in central India, and may 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 a great patron of art and architecture. The claim of the Mau inscription that Dhanga obtained exalted sovereignty (Samrajya) is not an idle boast. Undoubtedly the mantle of Imperialism had fallen from the Pratiharas upon the shoulders of Dhanga Chandela.

3.5:VIII: GANDA: Dhanga's son and successor was Gandadeva. No inscription of this king 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
Kirtivarman says that from Dhanga "there sprang an ornament of the earth, called the illustrious Ganda, an unrivalled hero, who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). 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 (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

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 Vidyadhara was ruling in A.D. 1019, and it is possible that Vidyadhara succeeded two years earlier i.e. A.D. 1017. If the suggestion that Dhanga died some time after A.D. 1008 be accepted, we have for Ganda a short reign of eight or nine years from about A.D. 1008-1017. Ganda is identified by many scholars with the Indian prince Nanda, mentioned by some Moslem historians; who fought with Sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1019 and 1022. As will be this identification is not correct and the Nanda of the Moslem historians was not Ganda, but his son and successor Vidyadhara.

3.5: IX: Vidyadhara: An inscription of Kirtivarman records that Ganda's son and successor was Vidyadhara "who gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies (Epigraphi Indica: 1872). Vidyadhara was the most powerful ruler of his time and his reign marked the zenith of Chandela 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
Chandela princes and their allies. The moslem historians give
a detailed account of Sultan Mahmud's conflict with Vidyadhar;
which was the most important event of his reign and of the
history of north-western and central India at that time.
Vidyadhar; who had thus the unique distinction of being the
only Indian ruler who effectively checked the triumphal career
of Sultan Mahmud and saved his kingdom from wanton destruction
by that ruthless conqueror (R.C. Majumdar: 1952).

Vidyadhar was a ambitious and powerful king who
started where Dhanga had left off. Vidyadhar succeeded in-
gaining supremacy over the Kalacuris and the Paramaras; the two
most powerful dynasties of that times.

3.5X: \textit{Vijayapala}: Vidyadhar's son and successor was Vijayapala (F. Maisey: 1848). No inscription of his reign has been
discovered but he cannot have ruled before A.D. 1022, the last
known date of his father, Vidyadhar of after A.D. 1051, the
first known date of his successor Devavarmanova, we get no
information of Vijayapala'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
(\textit{Epigraphic Indica}: 1872) but, ironically, we have other evidence
to show that the decline of the Chandelas started from his reign.
During Vijayapala's reign, the Chandela's probably also lost the control which Vidyadhar Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that "taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyadhara's successors, Thoja, may have extended his influence in the north up to Patan, and the statement of the prasastikara possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhinanyu's subservience to the great Paramara (R.C. Ray: 1931).

Thus, in spite of the absence of any direct evidence, we have reason to believe that immediately after the death of Vidyadhara, there was a change in the fortunes of the Chandelas. The empire founded by Dhanga and expanded by Vidyadhara 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 Chandela suffered a complete eclipse.

3.5:XI: DEVARMAS. In an inscription dated V.S. 1107 (A.D. 1051) of the Chandela dynasty, the ruling prince is named Devavarmadeva, son of Vijayapala and grandson of Vidyadharadeva (Indian Antiquary: 1873). The inscription names the mother of Devavarmadeva as huvanadevi (Indian Antiquary: 1873). In later Chandela inscriptions, the name of Devavarmadeva is omitted from the family geneology. These inscriptions mention Kirtivarman as the son and successor of Vijayapala (R.C. Ray: 1931). As Devavarmadeva in his own inscription is also mentioned as a son of Vijayapala, it is clear that Kirtivarman and Deva-
verman were brothers. But the omission of the latter's name from all Chandella inscriptions seems very strange and suspicious. In fact, until recently, but for the contemporary inscription of Devavarm man 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. 1106 i.e. A.D. 1052. (Census of India: 1931).

3.54 XI: DEVAVARMAN. Devavarm an was succeeded by Kirtivarm an. The mausoleum inscription states that from Vijayapala was born Kirtivarmadeva who was a though virtue itself descended there... to destroy the sin of the Kali age (Epigraphic India: 1872). An other Chandella inscription says that from Vijayapala sprang the illustrious Kirtivarm an; who was endowed with all the virtues of Bharata (Epigraphic India: 1872). Kirtivarm an is generally regarded as a younger brother of Devavarm an, and for the omission of the latter's name from Kirtivarm an's inscriptions it is suspected that Kirtivarm an's accession to the throne was not a peaceful one. The inscription of 'Prabhusa-cendra-daya' allegorically represents the conflict between the step-brothers Viveka and Bhurshasa, and the play ends with the triumph of Viveka. This allegory may well allude to the conflict between Devavarm an and Kirtivarm an. The inscriptions of the family make no mention of any political achievement to the credit of Vijayapala and Devavarm an. Moreover, they omit the name of Devavarm an, 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.

3.5:xIII: SALLAKSANAVARMAN: Kirtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallaksanavarman. The Kaustone inscription records that Sallaksana "always kept 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 stone of arts and 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." (Epigraphic Indica: 1672).

3.5:xIV: AJAYGACH: The Ajaygach inscription of Viravarman states that after Sallaksanavarman "the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose only glory was victory (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). The only epigraphic record of Jayavarmadeva is the Khejuraho stone inscription dated in V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1117) which constitutes an appendix to a longer inscription of King Dhanga (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). This renewed inscription neither mentions the kings who ruled between Dhanga and Jayavarmadeva, nor records any achievement of the latter. It is clear that Jayavarman's reign was not very successful, and a Kalanjara inscription indicates that Jayavarman; being wearied of government, abdicated the Verman probably indicates that he suffered at the hands of the Chadanaale ruler Govindacendra.
3.5:XV: PRITHIVIYARMAHAN: The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman says that "after Jayavarmadeva; the king Prithivivarman the colterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallaksana-varman, bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). It is thus clear that uncle succeeded the nephew and Smith suggested that Jayavarman left no capable issue. Nothing is known about Prithivivarman hated the ill-behaved; delighted the worthy people spent money on good causes. Protected all beings and secured propriety of conduct. It does not seem that he succeeded in restoring the position of the Chandelas, and it was left for his son and successor Madanavarma to revive and expand the empire again.

3.5:XVI: MADANAVARMAHAN: Prithivivarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarmanadeva. 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.

3.5:XVII: YASOVARMAHAN: Most of the Chandel inscriptions mention Paramardideva as the successor of Madanavarman. But the Baghari 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 (Yasovarman). Yasovarman, who was an ornament of
great rulers, causing joy to the people. whose fame, spreading
in the three worlds with the love lives of the Jasmine and the
moon, made the hair, appear while and thus caused the unprece-
dented notion—that people before they had attained to old age,
had, als, turned grey (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

3.5:XVIII: Paramardiveya: Yasovarman was succeeded by his son
Paramardideva. The time during which Paramardi ruled the
Chandela kingdom is one of the most important periods of Indian
history. Twelve inscription of Paramardideva's reign have been
discovered and from these we know that he must have ruled more
than 35 years (1165-1202). The two most important events of his
reign were his conflict with the Chahamanas of Delhi and Ajmer
and the Muslim invasion of Kalanjara of A.D. 1202 resulting in
the defeat and death of Paramardi.

3.5:XXI: Traidokya Varmadeva: According to the evidene, Paramardi
was succeeded by Trailokyava Varmadeva. The Garra Grant of
Trailokyavorman mentions Paramardi as the immediate predecessor
of Trailokyavarma and gives the latter all the royal epithets;
via: Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja-Parameshvara-Paramamahesvara
Kalanjarachhipati (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Eight inscriptions
of 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 it seems that Trailokyavorman
succeeded Paramardi very shortly. After A.D. 1202.
Traillokyavarman's assumption of the little Kalanjar Adhipati, in the Gerra inscription, it can be assumed that he succeeded in recovering Kalanjara from the Muslims before A.D. 1205. That this was not an idle boast like that the some other kings (Bombay Gazetteer: 1948).

3.5:XX: **VIRAVARMAN** : Traillokyavarman's son and successor was Viravarmadeva. Nine inscriptions of his reign have been discovered which are dated between the years A.D. 1254 and A.D. 1286.

3.5:XXI: **BHOSHAVARMAN** : Viravaran was succeeded by Bhosavarman. Three inscriptions of Bhosavarman reign have been found in the Ajayadgh fort, of which one 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) respectively. Nothing is known from these inscriptions except the names of certain ministers and officers, but they indicate that Bhojavaran ruled over the territories surrounding Ajayadgh.

3.5:XXII: **HARRIRAVARMAN** : Bhojavaran was succeeded by Harmir-Verman. The Charkhari plate of Harmiravarmadeva is dated 11th September A.D. 1289 (V.S. 1346) (Epigraphic Indica: 1672). As the Ajayadgh Sati record of Harmiravaran's predecessor Bhoja-Verman is also dated in samvat 1346, Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that there was a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhojavaran and died in the same year before the date of the issue of the Charkhari Grant. But the Sati record of Bhoja-
Vamani's reign is dated V.S. 1346 Margabati (di) 14 Budha; corresponding to Wednesday 24th November, A.D. 1288, whereas the Chakhari Grant of Hammiravarmadeva is dated V.S. 1346 Bhadrapada Sadi 12 Ravi Pusya- Naksatra 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 3 years (1286-1289). As the Chakhari Grant of Hammiravarman does not mention Bhojavarman the relation between the two is not known. Dr. Chakravarty's suggestion that Bhojavarman was possibly the younger brother of Viravarman, and reigned during the minority of Hammiravarman may explain the omission.

In the Chakhari plates of Hammiravarman, the ancestors of the royal family are given full royal epithets, but Hammiravarman himself is not given the epithets Maharaajasahasra Durgesvara. Hiralal thinks "this indicates that either he was full conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a number little, or that he was never recognised as the Maharaja while his elder brother Bhojavarmandeva was on the throne (Epigraphic Indica: 1901)." Probably Bhojavarman, the elder brother or the uncle of Hammiravarman, was still alive when the Chakhari plates were issued, and hence the latter did 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 Kalanjaradhipati and the discovery of a Sati record (S. 1366 = A.D. 1311) in Ajaygadh mentioning Hammiravarman as the ruling king. (Epigraphic Indica: 1931); indicate that he was in possession of Ajaygadh, Kalanjara and the neighbouring places. Another Sati record found in the village Bamhi of the Damoh district has been noticed by Hiralal. This inscription shows that about A.D. 1308, portion of Damoh and Jubbalpore districts were governed by a Maharajaputra Vaghadeva under the sovereignty of Kalanjaradhipati Hammir- Varman (Epigraphic Indica: 1903). In another Sati record discovered in Patan, dated in S. 1361 (A.D. 1304), Vaghadeva is mentioned as a Pratihara chief. (Epigraphic Indica: 1903). These records show that even at the end of the 13th century the Chandela were ruling over some parts of their former kingdom.

The discovery of a Sati record at Salaïya (3 miles from Bamhi) dated in S. 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of Alayadin Sutana (Sultan Alauddin) marks the end of Chandela rule in the territories of Damoh and Jubbalpore, which must have occurred in either A.D. 1308 or 1309; but they probably continued to rule in Kalanjara and Ajaygadh.
In the absence of any Moslem claim of success, it is generally believed that the Chandelas remained in possession of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh during the period c. 1240-1540 A.D. Smith stated that princess Barsevati, who married Raja Balpata of Garha Mandla about A.D. 1545; is recorded to have been the daughter of the Chandola Raja of Mahoba, and identified the Raja of Mahoba with Vrat Tal and Raja of Kalanjara who was killed when Sher Shah besieged the fort of Kalanjara in A.D. 1545 (V.A. Smith: 1877). The name Chandela survives as a clan name in different parts of present day central India and a zaminder family of Bengal claims descent from the imperial Chandelas (G. V. Vaidya: 1926). But after Hammiravarman they ceased to be of any importance in the politics of northern India; and are no longer our concern.
CANDELLA GENEALOGY

Nammuka (c. 831 A.D.)

Vakpati

Jayasakti  Vijayakshi

Yasovarman (c. 925 A.D.)

Dhanga (c. A.D. 950-c. 1008)

Ganda (c. 1008-c. 1017)

Vidyadhara (c. 1017-c. 1029)

Vijayapal (c. 1030-c. 1050; Asvamedha)

Devalabdhi

Devavarman (c. 1050-c. 1060)  Kirtivarman (c. 1060-c. 1100)

Sallakasanavarman  Prithvivarman (c. 1120-1129)

(c. 1110-c. 1120)

Jayavarman (c. 1111-c. 1120)

Kirtivarman (c. 1129-c. 1162)  Pratapa

Yasovarman

Yasovarman

Namaratdi (c. 1165-1202)

Trilokyavarma (c. 1203-c. 1210)

Viravarma (c. 1250-c. 1266) = Kalyandadevi

Bhojavarma (1286-1288)

Hammiravarma (c. 1289-90-1306 A.D.)


6. Epigraphic Indica: (for full list of Chandela inscriptions are following):


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