Chapter XII.
Social and Economic Conditions.

The Candella records do not contain sufficient information about social life or organisation. The picture that can be drawn on the basis of the data furnished is more or less a conventional one and does not present any distinctive feature worth mentioning.

Names of the four varnas, the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra occur in the Candella records. The position of the Brāhmaṇa in society was the highest, and life was to be in accord with the 'Dharma', or the sacred laws of the Hindus.

The Candella Rājputs must have regarded themselves as true representatives of the Kṣatriya caste, but their origin was obscure. They claim to be descended from the Moon God (Candra Vamsā), and call themselves 'Candrātrayās' in their own records. The parmar Rāṣō refers to them as the Kṣatriya of a high order (कृष्णकृष्ण)1. They depended on the Brāhmaṇas for the recognition of their social status, and tried to win their support and confidence by expressing their loyalty to 'Dharma', and anxiety not to violate in any way (bhūtur-dharmmāparādhe)2. As required by Śastric injunctions they also took up the responsibility for upholding the social structure based on caste. In the matter of adminis-

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1. I,V.121,P.R.,p.12.
tration too the Candella rulers were very often guided by Brahmin ministers and counsellors, who appear to have exercised their personal influence on the royal actions, and measures which contributed not only to the expansion and consolidation of political authority but also the strengthening of the Brahmanic hold on society.

In the legendary Parmāl Rāso certain duties are expressly stated as constituting the code of honour applicable to the Kṣatriyas. 'Svāmīhīta' or welfare of the master is pointed out as the supreme objective of a Kṣatriya. The warrior should, if required, freely lay down his life ('svāmīhīta tana diyava' (P.R.,p.96); 'Pahile svāmīhīte ēsī diya phiri pucchava mama vatta' (P.R.,p.79). It was commonly believed that if one died fighting for the king, one would have a place in the heavenly world, and on the other hand, if one betrayed the cause of the master his place would be in the hell (P.R.,p.72, v.59)

To kill or strike soldiers already wounded or those who had taken shelter, was considered unworthy. This is condemned in the Rāso (P.R.,Pp.42-47,v.67-68). To march against an enemy without exhausting the armoury of peace was also not considered advisable or proper. A messenger was to be sent to him, as the Rāso says, with an ultimatum asking for a peaceful surrender (P.R.,Pp.71-72,95). If the enemy did not agree, then only a military attack was to be launched.
If he wanted time to prepare himself to meet the attack, truce was granted. When Prthvīrāja reached the outskirts of Mahobā with his strong army, Parmāl wanted a two month's time to recall his military leaders, Ālā and Udal, which was readily agreed upon by the former (P.R., pp. 97-102).

The extreme fidelity of Kṣatriya wives is shown by the Parmāl Rāso referring to instances of their self-immolation on the funeral pyres of husbands dying in the battle field (P.R., p. 86).

The Brahmanas generally kept themselves engaged in the performances of six-fold duties ('ṣaṭ-karmaṁ-bhirataḥ', 'ṣaṭ-sukarmaṁsuratāṁ bahuṁrutatāṁ'), as enjoined in the sacred texts, yajana, yajana, adhāyana, adhāyana, dāna and parivraha. Rai Bahadur Hiralal takes the prominent mention of the expression 'Ṣaṭ-karmaṁ-bhirata' to stand for six yogic practices, which are more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six duties of a brahmin.

Grants of lands and dwellings were made to Brahmanas of renowned 'gotras' and 'praveras', well-versed in the Vedic rituals. The Candella rulers offered sacrifices (hutabhuji hutvā) before ceremonially making grants and endowments on auspicious occasions like the solar eclipse (rāhugraheśa-dvākāreśa-Semrā plate), the lunar eclipse (somagraheśa-

4. E.I. XX, P. 126.
Iochâwâr plate and Chârkhâri plate, V.S. 1108, (râhugraste niśākare’-Nânyaora plate ’A’), the full-moon day (’Mâghemâsi pûrṇimāyām-Augasi plate); (’Kârâtika paurṇamâsya’-Nânyaora plate ’A’), the Samkrânti (’Makaragate savitari’-Mahobâ plate), the death anniversary of parents (’âṭmâya-mâtuh sâmavatsarika’ -Nânyaora plate ’B’), Pusyanaksatre (Chârkhâri Plate of Hâmâravarman), eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kârâtika (Pachâr plate) and the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra (Chârkhâri plate of Parmârdideva). It thus appears that injunctions of the sacred Brahmanical literature about the efficacy of ‘dânas’ (gifts), made on holy occasions were duly observed by the Candella rulers.

Gifts to Brahmans included land and dwellings as well as gold, money, grain and cows. In case of land grants official documents inscribed on copper plates (tâmrakam, tâmrpaṭṭam and sâsanam) were generally issued. Tulâpurusa dâna is referred to in verse 52 of the Khajurâho Record of V.S. 1059. It is one of the Mahâdânas prescribed in the Smrâties, when gold and valuables weighed against the person of the donor were donated to brahmins. The Parmâl Râso refers to ‘Bhândayajña’ the ritualistic forms of which are not mentioned. But it appears from the Râso that

6. E.I., I.P. 146.
on the occasion temples were to be erected and donations made to brahmins.

The Candella kings were very active in erecting temples of Śaiva and Vaishnava worship, for which learned brahmins were appointed as priests. They also took particular interest in settling brahmins of the Vaiṣṇava schools. It may be concluded that the Vedic study was zealously encouraged and patronage was extended by the state to teachers engaged in keeping the lamp of Vedic learning burning in the country.

Obedience of the pupils to their teachers was referred to indirectly in the fragmentary Mahābā inscription (Gurumapāsta...śiṣyavad). Pupils in the traditional brahminical manner resided with their teachers, and the latter's dwelling places are stated in a Candella record to have resounded with the chants of the Vedic hymns by crowds of students. (‘Dvijāśreyasya, 'Tasyām ārutaninana-sāṃghanā-dityam'). These perhaps refer to educational institutions which grew up in the dwelling places of brahmin teachers.

Subjects comprised in the course of study included Sanskrit language and literature (Samskrta bhāṣā and sāhitya) in all its aspects, viz., Kāvya, alamkāra, chanda and lakṣmaṇa (Chārkhāri Plate, V.S.1108.L.8), Grammar (Śabdānusāsana) and Śruti, particularly the Vaiṣṇava and the Chāndogya.

sakha. The Bābhrccaya ṣakha has also been mentioned in the Chārkharī plate of V.S.1108 (L.16). Familiarity with the science of polity and economics (Artha-śāstra) and Law(Dharmaśāstra) with their later commentaries, is clearly indicated by the frequent references to be found in the inscriptions to technical terms and doctrines connected with those branches of learning. Sometimes the sciences to be studied are mentioned as being fourteen in number, 'Vidyāscaturdasyakalā'. These must have been the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, Mimamsā, Nyāya Dharmaśāstra and purāṇa. The brahmin teachers were 'ever ready to expound fully different subjects, viz., the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa and purāṇa (Veda-Vedāṅga-Itihāsa-purāṇa mimamsā vyākhyātātpara — Chārkharī plate of Devavarman - L.17. 'Āstravidya' or the science relating to military weapons and their use, was a subject which must have been cultivated particularly by the warrior class. But even the Kāyasthas who were not warriors professionally are known to have been well versed in the use of weapons, as the Ajaygadh record of the time of Bhojavarman shows.

Brahmins with diverse designations, such as, Dvivedi, Trivedi, Caturvedi, Śrotriya, Agnihotri, pandita, Dikṣita, Rāuta and Thakkura, figure in the Candella records. The terms 'Śrotriya' and 'Agnihotri' might be applied to all brahmins, who performed the duties of their caste, and possessed requisite qualifications. But the brahmins were not engaged only as teachers and priests, they were also employed in high administrative offices. Some
brahmin families were hereditarily engaged in administrative duties, such as, those of the Chief Minister, the Minister of War and Peace, the Privy Councillor, &c. The office of the Court Poet (Kavi) was also generally held by the Brahmins. Poet Rama of the Śabara vāṃśa was the composer of the Khajurāho Inscription of V.S.1059 (V.58). The services of the brahmins particularly in the administration of justice were valued. Their intimate acquaintance with the sacred laws must have been esteemed as a special qualification for the performance of judicial duties. The Khajurāho Inscription refers to the appointment of a royal priest, Bhaṭṭa yaśodhara, as the Dharmādhiḥkāra. Even the army was not closed to the brahmins, if they were qualified. There is an instance of a brahmin, Madana-palaśarman, being appointed as a Senāpati (Icchēwār Plate). In local administration too brahmins held an influential position as orders regarding royal grants were to be communicated to them like other public officials.

It is difficult to say if the Kāyasthas had already been formed into a caste. But the functions attributed to some Kāyastha dignitaries in the Candella inscriptions were certainly of great influence and responsibility. Special importance attaches to a Kāyastha, descended from Vāstu, and hence called the Vāstavya Kāyasthas, dwelling near Kālañjar. The Ajaygadh record of Nāna, a minister of the Candella King Bhojavarmā, refers to the origin of
the Kayasthas from the Sage Kaśyapa (v. 14). 'Gauda Kayastha vaṃśa' is referred to in the Khajurāho Inscription of v. S. 1011 (Karanika Jaddha, son of Jayanāga of Gauda), and of v. S. 1059 (Kayastha Jayapāla of Gauda country). Another Candēla Inscription from Ajaygadhr of the time of Bhojavaran refers to the theory of sanctity of 36 towns, which was due to the Kayasthas (Satrīṁśatīḥ-karana-karma-nivāsapūta-āsanpurah) residing in those places. One of the towns as mentioned in the record is Takkārikā which, however, is not identifiable.

The Kayasthas, according to the Smṛtis, were royal officials engaged in the act of scribes, writing state documents, or maintaining public accounts. Karanaś also denote a group of officials like the Kayasthas, discharging almost identical duties and responsibilities. It may not be unreasonable therefore to presume that the two expressions were used to denote the same group of people. In addition to the usual functions of the Kayasthas, i.e., those of the scribe, the writer of documents and the keeper of accounts, of which there are ample evidences in the Candēla records, they were often entrusted with highly responsible duties, connected with the offices of the Saśīva, the Pratihāra, the Kośādhipati, and, as indicated in the Ajaygadhr Rock Inscription of Bhojavaran. Distinguished members of the community were decorated with the title of 'Viśīṣa' of the Kālaṇjara or of the Jayapura forts. Two such

8 E.I., I.P. 337, v. 2.
cases are mentioned in the Ajayagad Record. Maheśvara, the son of Jējuca, was made the Viśiṣa of Kālanjara by King Kirtivarman (v.8), and later Vāse or Vāseka was appointed as the Viśiṣa of Jayadurga (Ajayagadh) by Trailokyaivarman (v.17). The Ajayagad Inscription pays eloquent tribute to their military achievements thus, Jaunadhara, the brother of Gadadhara, the royal chamberlain, fought at Kālanjara with conspicuous distinction (v.11), and his younger brother, Malādhara, was also a well-known warrior of his time (v.12).

Inferior castes seem to be referred to in a general way by the comprehensive term, 'Samkīrvnavarṇā', used in the Khajurāho records of v.S.1059 (v.59). Presumably there were other social groups in the Candella territory, but they are not enumerated. The Medas and the Candālas were known, and however low their social status may have been, they were not ignored as they were given a place in the conventional list of officials and communities, occurring in connection with grants. The Chārkharī Plate of v.S. 1346 includes Nāpita (barber), Mahara and Dhivara (fisherman) in the list.1

Marriage and position of women:— Marriage within one's own caste (varṇa) seems to have already become the general rule. Candella Harṣa married a suitable lady of equal caste (savarnā), named Kaṇchuca, from

the Cāhamāna family: Yaśovarman had for his wife, Puppā, hailing from a noble family (mahāvamsa samutpannā). The chief Queen of Candella Viravarman was Kalyanadevi, the grand daughter of Sri Cādalā of the Dādhi-ci-vamśa, an object of reverence for the Kṣatriyas (bhuja janmavandyah-Ajaygadh Rock Inscription of v.S.1317). The brahmin ministers of the Candella rulers were also careful in selecting brides from equally illustrious families (mahāvamsa. v.33, sat-kula.v.34 - Mau Candella Inscription).

Polygamy in the princely society is indicated by the expression, 'Spatni'(co-wife) (Khajurāho Rock Insc. v.S.1059.,v.59). The Ajaygadh Record refers to Kalyanadevi's recognition as the Chief Queen (Virarājno mahisitvamāpta), which implies the existence of other queens of lesser rank. The Chief Queen (Mahisi) enjoyed a distinctive position even in the royal court. Reference may in this connection be made to the part played by Mālharadevi, the queen of paramardideva during Candella-Cauhān conflict. Brahmins also could take more than one wife. Ananta, the most favourite minister of Kirtivarman had two wives, as stated in the Mau Record.

10. Ibid.,I,P.126,v.21.
15. P.R.,P.97.
16. E.I.,I, P.200,v.34.
The use of 'Sindura' (vermilion) on the forehead by married women must have been very popular, as it is repeatedly mentioned in the Candella records. The married women are described as 'Simantini' (Khajuraho Insc. V.S.1059.,v.13). On the death of the husband it was the custom, as it is now among Hindu women, to remove the sindura mark (niḥsindurita; simurabhūsaṇavivarjitāmasyāpadmam), along with the jewellery, such as, necklaces of pearls &c., (utsaṇṭahāra-valayam-kucamandalam).

External signs by which widowhood is indicated in Hindu society seem to have been widely in use in the Candella country, and with these signs must have been also associated the usual austerities which a Hindu widow is required to perform.

The puranic ideal of womanly chastity and devotion to the husband was upheld. If an ideal marriage in the royal family was to be depicted the Candella court-poet would find ready illustrations in the divine couples, Girijā and Śiva ("Stānoḥśarīrārdhakam...Girijām"), and, Śrī and the enemy of Kaitabha, i.e., Visnu ('Śrīrīva-Kaitabhāre'). Reference may in this connection be made to the marriage of a Candella princess. Nāṭṭā or Nāṭṭākhya-devi, as described in the Benares Grant of Kalacuri Karnapan.

18. Ibid.,P.129,v.41.
Devotion of Arundhati and Anusuya to their husbands, Vasishtha and Atri, the great Puranic sages, are also cited as ideals in the Candella records ("Vasishtha-dayita" - Ajaygadhi Record, V.S.1317, v.16; "Anusuya" tri-maneriva - Mau Record, v.33).

To protect a married woman from all kinds of danger and harm was apparently regarded as a sacred duty. In the Candella records the kingdom is compared to a 'Kulavadhu' to be defended by all means. The kulavadhu's life and security were so much valued because she and her husband were partners, bound up with ties of common duties, and because by bearing children she was an instrument of perpetuating his line, and the repayment of the debt which he owed to his ancestors. The birth of a son raised the status of the housewife, and was an occasion for jubilation. Kañchukā, the queen of the Candella king Harsa, by giving birth to the prince, Yaśovarmen, came to deserve the esteem and honour enjoyed by Krishna's mother, Devaki, and she walked with her head erect (putrorjanmanatam-śirah).

Women generally had to stay indoors in their own apartments (antahpurikā), not accessible to the outsiders, where they kept themselves occupied with their household duties. Some of the Candella queens however seem to have taken part in public affairs, or took interest in enterprises beneficial to the people. The Parmāl Rāsa eloquently refers to the influence of the queen of Parmāl Candel (Parmanarddīṣaṇa) in court-

20. E.I., I.P.128.
life as well as in the administration of the state. Kalyāṇadevi, the queen of Vīravarman, undertook some works of public utility, such as the construction of a well and a mandapa, or rest-house for the pilgrims. The enlightened outlook of Queen Kalyāṇadevi as depicted in verse 17 of the Ajayagādh Record (V.S.1317) indicates that the queens, particularly the Mahīṣī or the Chief Queen, had to be well-educated.

When women of royal family were captured by the enemy after a military victory, resulting in the death of their husbands, poets sympathise with the agony of their widowhood, which sometimes accentuated by the humiliation suffered through imprisonment. What is suggested is that they were so devoted to their husbands that they would rather die than surrender themselves to their captors. It is to be observed however, that the authors of the inscriptions of the Candella rulers were careful in avoiding suggestions which might reflect on the moral character of their victorious patrons, when they described the sufferings of these women. The object was to give an impressive account of their valour and might.

The picture that is furnished by the Candella records is that of women in high society. It is not therefore possible to form any definite idea about the life of women in general, who must have all likelihood been contented with their domestic duties.

22. Ibid., p.145, v.46.
Offering of water to the deceased parents on the occasion of their death anniversary and on occasions of the performance of meritorious acts, like grants of lands to brahmins and scholars, find repeated mention in the Candella records. Besides 'Sāmvatsarika' of the mother of Devavarman referred to in the Nāmyaura Grant of V.S.1107, we find the use of the expression 'Samantarpya' and 'pitṛtarpanam kṛtvā' (offering of water to parents) before the recording of grants of lands of brahmins.

Among popular festivals and recreations mention may be made of 'yātrā'. When the splendid temple of Viṣṇu was erected by Yaśovarman at Khajurāho there were great festivals (yātrā) in which gods also participated (yātrāsu yatra tridiva-vasatayo vismay-ante sametah. V.42 Khajurāho Inscription of V.S.1011).

Special amusements and sports, probably amorous in character (surata-krīḍā) were provided by pleasure-mounds and lakes, respectively called, Krīḍāgiri and Kalisarasi. They were entertained by Kirāṭa women singing to the accompaniment of peacock's dances. Some kind of popular folk-songs was probably sung on these occasions, to which royal patronage was extended:

23. E.I.,I.P.129.
The cultured people enjoyed performances Sanskrit dramas. A highly philosophical drama written by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Miśra, named Prabodhacandrodaya (Rise of the Moon of perfect intelligence), was staged in the presence of King Kṛtivarman and his courtiers at the instance of Śrī Gopāla, a 'sahaja-suhrt' of the king.

Economic Condition.

Agriculture must have been one of the principal occupations of Bāṇelkhand during the Candella period, as in other parts of India. The 'hala' or plough is prominently mentioned as an instrument of cultivation. Land was measured according to the number of ploughs used in cultivating it. The system of measuring land on the basis of its 'seed capacity' was also in vogue. The equation between the 'hala' measure and the measure based on 'seed capacity' was also known. Thus 7½ dronas of land was identical with 10 halas (Sārddha-drona-sapta parikalita prastha pratyeka vādha vyavasthāyā daśa-halāvacchinnā-bhūmiḥ-pachār plate).

The 'drona', or course, was a kind of a dry measure of weightment of agricultural products and each drona contained 16 'prasthas'. The instance cited shows that it was usual that one 'prastha' of seed was to be sown broadcast (vāpagatya) on each 'vādha' of land. Vādha, evidently, was the unit of the measurement of land surface. Hence 7½ dronas of seed mean 120 prasthas, cultivable by 10 halas, i.e., 12 prasthas or ⅛th of a drona of seed for each hala of

land. This is more clearly explained in the Mahobā plate of Paramardideva, which refers to "pādona-drona catuṣṭayā parikalita prastha pratyeka vādha vyavasthayā daīrghyayā vādha 10 vistare vādha 6 jātavādha śaṣṭhyān-vatā”. i.e., 60 prasthas of seed (‘pādona’ being less by a quarter or 4 prasthas i.e., 64-4 = 60 prasthas) to be sown in 5 hahas of land at the rate of one prastha of seed per square vādha of land.

Attention was paid to irrigation work for the facility of cultivation. The Khajurāho Inscription of v.s.1011, for example, refers to the construction of embankments to divert the course of a river (v.26), evidently for the benefit of the peasantry concerned. Expressions like ‘-nālā’(canals), ‘puskarīnī’(tanks) and ‘bhītī’(embankments) are met with in different Candella records. These were usually located near the cultivable plots of land, apparently to supply water to the fields.

Arts & Crafts.

There were men engaged in occupations other than agriculture also. Various crafts and professions are mentioned in the Candella records, and these may have been generally followed on a hereditary basis gradually developing caste-like features in their respective organisations. The inscriptions refer to Rūpakāra(sculptor), Pitalakāra, Pitalahāra (brazier) Sūtradhāra (architect), Vaidya (physician), Aśva-vaidya (veterinary surgeon), Nēpita(barber), and Dhīvara(fisherman).

27. E.I.XVI,P.12,L.11-12.
The epithet 'Silpin' was not probably applied to a craftsman until he became an expert in his line. The title 'Vijnānān' was apparently superior to the title 'Silpin'. This was reserved for those senior silpins only who attained further skill and efficiency in their respective crafts. Pālhaṇa, the engraver of the Semrā plates of V.S.1223, is described as merely a metal-carver, pitalakāra. But the Icchāwār Plates of V.S.1228, issued about five years later, mention him as a 'Silpin', and further experience for about two more years made him a 'Vijnānān', as claimed in the Mahobā plate of V.S.1230. In the Pachār Plates of V.S.1233 and the Chārkharī Plates of V.S.1236, the same craftsman has been mentioned as a 'Vaidagdhi-viśvākarma-ma', a master of the art and craft. Probably by then he had reached a stage in his career when his knowledge was not confined to the bare technicalities of the craft, but embraced a wider field, including the aesthetic aspect of the craft, which was recognised by the aristocratic patrons of art and culture. Rai Bahadur Hiralal observes that no improvement in the skill of this particular individual is discernible in the workmanship of the plates mentioned above.  

It is also noticed that Rāma, the builder of the well and the mandapa at the Ajaygadh fort during the reign of Candella Vīravarman, is described as 'Vaidagdhi' in the inscription on a stone in the same fort (V.S.1317). Sutradhara Chiccha, who built the Khajurāho

29. E.I.,I.P.328,v.22.
Temple, was 'Vijnāna-viśvakarttā', as mentioned in the Khajurāho stone inscription of V.S.1059.3

Trade.

Prominent traders or bankers, who were known as Śreṣṭhis, occupies an influential position due to their wealth and organisational leadership. Sometimes they came forward with donations with a view to the maintenance of religious establishments or to set up images of deities for public worship. Most of the gifts recorded were made by the Śreṣṭhis of the Grahapati family, who were worshippers of Jīnanātha. It seems that the trade was mostly in the hands of the Jains, who formed a wealthy community in the Candella territory. That they exercised some influence even in the Candella court is evident from epigraphic records. The Khajurāho Jain Temple inscription of V.S.1011 describes one pāhila of the Grahapati family as held in honour by King Dhānga (Dhāngarājena mānya)3, and the Darbāt Sāntināth image inscription of V.S.1132 refers to Śreṣṭhis pāhila and Jīju as hereditary ministers (kula-matyavrṇda) of King Kirtivarman.32

There were markets (āpasa) in the towns, in which there were streets of shops where wares were kept for sale (vanijānām viśhipathe).

30. Ibid., p.146, v.60.
31. Ibid., p.136.
The coins of the Candella rulers are available from the middle of the 11th century A.D. Early Candella rulers have not left any coinage of their own. It has been supposed, however, that the Gādhiyā coins may have been used by them as serving the purposes of a metallic currency until they introduced their own coinage. The terms 'pala' and 'Hāṭaka', mentioned in some of their inscriptions, have been taken by some to denote 'gold pieces'. But there is no independent evidence in support of the presumed use of 'pala' and 'hāṭaka' as coin denominations in any period. 'Pala' is known to be a unit gold measure, while the dictionary meaning of 'Hāṭaka' is 'gold'.

Kīrtivarman is found to have been the first Candella king to strike coins in his own name. His gold coins, both dramma (app. 63 grains) and half-dramma (app. 31 grains), are very similar in design to the coins of the Kalacuri ruler, Gāṅgeyadeva. The reverse of these coins shows a rudely executed figure of a goddess, generally seated cross-legged, identified with Lakṣmī or pārvatī. On the obverse is inscribed the name of the Candella ruler in bold characters. Probably the original Kalacuri types, to which these Candella coins bear kingship, were in circulation in the Candella dominion when it came under the temporary occupation of Lakṣmī Karna. After domination from the clutches of the Cedis.

34. E.I., I.P. 143, V. 33.
35. Ibid., p. 146, V. 52.
36. I.A.XXXVII., p. 147.

They were later imitated by the Candella rulers after they had recovered their
The dramma coins of Kirtivarman (Gk. Dramma standard) are not very rare, according to Smith, but there are only three specimens of his half-drama coins (one in the Indian Museum, one in the British Museum and one in Hoey's Cabinet). The next ruler, Sallaksana, continued the same series of gold coins. His drammis are very rare, but five of his quarter-drammas are noticed by Smith. Sallaksanaavarman spells his name as 'Hallaksana' in the coin-legend. His copper coins present a unique feature, 'Hamuman (the monkey-god) under a canopy' is found in place of the Lakshmi figure on the obverse. For the next ruler, Jayavarman, we have as many as eleven Hanuman-type copper drammis (60 grains). Dr. A.S. Altekar refers to an unique 'Ardhha-drama' coin (30 grains), belonging to this ruler; it has the figure of the 'Hanumán in flying pose' on the reverse. It is a die-struck coin. Cunningham noticed a silver coin of Jayavarman in the collection of the British Museum, but it can not be traced now. Copper coins of the usual Hanumán type are also available for the reign of Prthvivarman. One such coin, weighing 16.2 grains, probably one quarter of a piece, was now acquired by the British Museum.

The largest number of available Cambella coins belong to Madanavarmman. These may be classified according to their denomination:—(i) Gold drammis, (60 grains), (ii) Gold quarter drammis, (15 grains) and (iii) Copper quarter drammis, (15 grains). Cunningham

38. JNSI, IV, p.33
noticed two gold drammas, six gold quarter drammas and two copper quarter drammas, during his tours in Bundelkhand. V.A. Smith notices one gold drama and two gold quarter drammas in his C.C.I.M. Later 48 more gold coins (charge, weighing between 14.17 to 16.07) were found in a hoard in a village named Panwâr in the Teonthâr tehsil, of the Rewâh state. So far no silver coin of this king has been noticed, excepting a single doubtful one, viz., a quarter drama in the collection of Mr. Hoey. But this may have been made actually of heavily alloyed base gold, like many of the Candella coins.

For the long reign of paramârdi we have however, a solitary specimen of a base gold drama (61.4 grains) from Khajurâho, of the usual Laksmi type.

Later, Candella rulers, who revived the political power of the dynasty after it had suffered serious reverses at the hands of the Cauhâns, continued to issue coins of their own. We have specimens of gold and copper drammas of Trailokyavarman. Though the findspots of the gold coins are not known, a copper one was discovered in the Banda district, which may be presumed to have been included in Candella dominion in the early part of the 13th century A.D.


The last Candella king, for whom we have independent coinage, is Viravarman. A unique gold dramma of this prince was discovered at Khajurāho, and now preserved in the Indian Museum cabinet.\textsuperscript{41} Very recently another gold coin of Viravarman has been noticed by Mm. Mirashi in the Journal of the Numismatic Society, Vol. XVI.\textsuperscript{42} It was found from the ancient site at Tripuri, the capital of the Kalacuri rulers, near Jabalpur. The coin weighs 47 grains, and is 7" in diameter. The legend inscribed on the coin, as read by Mm. Mirashi is "Śrīmed-Virava(r)ma-dha(rā)devo". The epithet 'dharādeva' (a divinity on earth) in the coin-legend has been explained by Mm. Mirashi as being regarded as a god.

\textsuperscript{41} C.C.I.M., P.254.
\textsuperscript{42} pp.236-38.