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HISTORY
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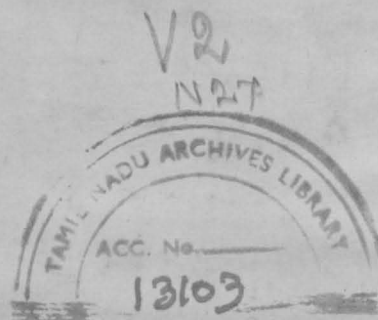
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A Short History of
Hindu India

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A SHORT HISTORY OF HINDU INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

The name India and the extent of country included in it.—The name India means the country of the river Indus. It applied originally, in its true meaning, to the country on both banks of the Indus. The name itself is ancient Persian and was given, probably to that particular part of the country, by the ancient Persians in the immediate neighbourhood. It was carried to Europe by the Greek historian Herodotus, and the historians of Alexander's invasion. The extent of country included in the term India widened from time to time, till, at last now, it applies to the whole country, sometimes even including what used till recently to be called Further India. The native name for this country is Bharatavarsha in Indian literature, and it is derived from one of the early tribes of Aryans, who entered India from the north-west and became very

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distinguished in later times. India or Bharatavarsha is of large extent being equal to the whole of Europe without Russia. It is almost completely cut off from the rest of Asia on the land side by the mountain-mass of the Himalayas in the north, and its off-shoots in the north-west and north-east. On the remaining sides, it is bounded by the inlets of the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. In early times, the principal way of access to India seems to have been the north-west, where the mountains have a number of passes, chiefly through river courses, the north-eastern and the northern sides being much less easy of access. Although there was some communication with the outside world by way of the sea in early times, the sea-way does not appear to have been used quite to the same extent as the land-way until the European nations came into India.

Indian History begins with the coming of the Aryans.—The history of India begins, as far as our knowledge goes at present, with the coming of the Aryans into India. There have been other peoples in the country before the Aryans came in, but they left no enduring record of their civilization so that we may, from those records, learn their history. There was a race of people, however, who probably

came from the west also and who were in India before the Aryans, of whose early history we can learn something. These are the Dravidians, who are found very largely in South India and probably in Bengal as well. Though some of them might now speak an Aryan language, the Southern Dravidians retained their old languages. Their literature available to us at present do not take us back anything like so far as the literature of the Aryan inhabitants of India do. We might therefore say that the history of India begins with the Aryan peoples, and their language and literature. The term Aryan was once applied to all the people speaking the family of languages known as Indo-European, but is now more or less wholly restricted to the Persian and the Indian groups of languages. The peoples speaking these languages seem to have been the longest together and then branched off into two divisions. The Persians occupied Bactria north of the Hindukush and Persia west and south-west of it; the Indian Aryans crossed over the Hindukush (Hindu-killer) and occupied the Kabul valley, and moved thence into the country of the Indus. We cannot say when they actually separated. The most ancient literatures of the two peoples, the Rig Veda (verse-veda) of the Indian Aryans (*circa* 1200 B.C.), and the Avesta, (*circa* 660 to 583 B.C.) give us no

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conclusive evidence as to the time of their separation. The earliest specimens of their languages, however, indicate such near relationship that probably they separated not very long before the earliest Indian literature.

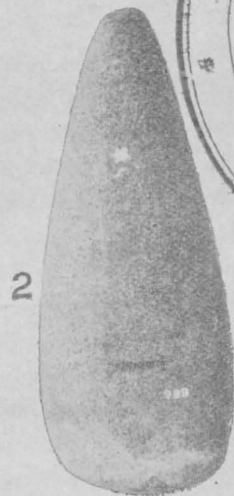
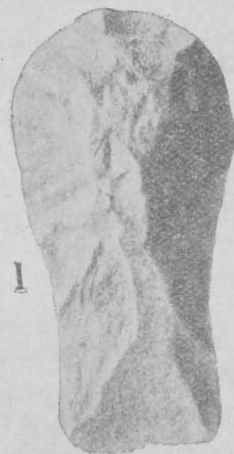
Divisions of India.—The country of India falls into three divisions historically in regard to the progress of Aryan civilization:—

1. North-western India, the country of the Indus and its tributaries. This is bounded on the north and west by the mountainous districts, and on the east by the desert, which separates it from the Gangetic valley. Very probably Gujarat, including in it Kutch and Kathiawar, went along with this in regard to Aryan occupation.

2. The country of the Ganges. The Madhyadesa of the Brahmans, comprised the great plain which constitutes the main portion of northern India.

3. The Deccan or southern India. This is composed of the large triangular table-land, lying south of the Vindhya mountains together with the narrow strip of the coast on either side of this table-land.

The first of these regions marks the first step in the progress of the Aryans from Central Asia to India. All the invaders of India poured in into that region, such as the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Huns, etc. Hence that region now contains



INDIAN PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES.

1. RUDE STONE IMPLEMENT.
- 2 & 3. POLISHED STONE IMPLEMENTS.
4. COPPER IMPLEMENT.

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CHAPTER II.

THE PERIOD OF THE VEDAS.

The Veda.—The Sanskrit word 'Veda' is akin to the English word *wit*, and means literally 'knowledge'. The Veda therefore is applied to a body of literature which the Hindus regard as containing their sacred 'wisdom'. This body is formed of four collections called the four Vedas, on which rest all the chief systems of Indian religion and philosophy. It may also be regarded as the basis of the whole of the Aryan intellectual civilization in India, sacred and secular. The oldest of these collections is the Rig Veda consisting of 1028 hymns intended to accompany the sacrifices offered to their gods by the Indian Aryans. These were composed by families of Rishis or holy men, and were handed down from generation to generation in their families. After a length of time, when they came to be regarded as inspired scriptures, they were collected together and arranged in two ways. One division was according to the authors, and the other according to the gods to whom the hymns in each group were addressed. These hymns have been so carefully handed down that even if all

the books which contain them should be destroyed, it is possible to get the texts from those who know it directly. The work had become too old to be fully understood even so early as 2500 years ago. Orthodox Hindus, believing, as they do now, that they were revealed scriptures, did not apply to the texts the criticism of comparative studies that modern western scholars in the 19th century did. It is as a result of this comparative study that we can understand the historical meaning of the whole collection. Thus examined it proves one of the most interesting and valuable records of antiquity.

The Aryans of the Rig Veda.—We learn from such an examination that the Rig Veda mentions about 25 rivers, most of them belonging to the system of the Indus. We can therefore say that the Aryans of the Rig Veda inhabited that portion of the country which included the south-eastern Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. They came into this region over the passes of the Hindu-kush mountains. They expanded in a south-easterly direction till they established themselves in the plains of the Jumna and the Ganges later on. The civilization of the Aryans that we can recover from a study of the Rig Veda is not a primitive civilization.

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We gather that the Aryans constituted a military aristocracy ruling in the midst of subject peoples of far inferior culture. The first division of the peoples was between the fair Aryans and the dark *Dasyus*—a name of contempt, meaning usually demons. This simple division developed into the complicated caste systems of the present times.

The five peoples.—These conquerors called themselves 'the five peoples' and were divided into tribes, some of which figure in later Indian history. These tribes had each its king; the kingly office seems usually to have passed from father to son. There are a few instances in which it appears that the kings were elected. The tribe was modelled upon the family, and the head of the tribe ruled with the help of a council of leaders who represented the various branches. The state of society may be described as patriarchal, but no longer nomadic; and the people had settled down in villages and had for their occupations agriculture and pasture. Thus organised, these tribes sometimes fought among themselves. They did not always unite against the people among whom they settled.

Their civilization.—The chief weapons they used in war were bows and arrows. Swords, spears and battle-axes seem also to

have been used. The army consisted of foot-soldiers and charioteers. The foot-soldiers were arranged village by village and tribe by tribe. The war-chariots were used by the nobles and carried the driver and a fighting man who stood to the left of the driver. The weaver, the carpenter and the smith seem to have attained considerable skill in their respective occupations. The principal metals used were gold and copper. It seems doubtful if silver and iron were then known. The principal amusements of these people were, hunting, chariot-races and games at dice, which last has always been a besetting weakness of the fighting classes.

Aryan religion.—The religion of the Aryans was a form of worship of nature in which the powers of the heaven, the firmament and the earth were deified. Indra, the god of the storm, is depicted as a giant wielding a thunderbolt. With this he shatters the strongholds of the demons and recovers stolen cows, just as the lightning flash pierces the clouds and brings the rains to earth. Agni, the god of fire, is the sun in the heaven, the lightning in the firmament and the sacrificial fire on the earth, produced mysteriously from the fire-sticks. Sacrifices were regarded as the links

connecting men with the gods, who were pleased with the oblations offered, and returned blessings to the pious worshipper. The blessings prayed for were generally wealth in cows, in horses and strength in the form of stalwart sons. The other aspect of early religious belief, the worship of the departed spirits, is also found in the Rig Veda. The spirits of the departed lived in the 'world of the fathers' where they depend for sustenance on the offerings of their descendants. There is also evidence of the recognition of evil spirits—the demons of famine and disease—whose evil doings can be averted only through the favour of the beneficent deities. Some features of Vedic mythology are found among the mythology of Indo-European peoples. The similarity in point of religion is far greater between the Indians and the Persians. A comparative study of the Avesta, the earliest holy literature of the ancient Persians, with the Rig Veda shows many striking features in common. To give only one example, the Vedic Soma figures as the Haoma in the Avesta.

The hymns of the Rig Veda.—The hymns of the Rig Veda were the work of priestly bards who seem conscious of their poetic skill. Many of the hymns exhibit considerable beauty

and strength. They are thrown in metre and the commonest metres are eight, eleven or twelve syllables to the line. Three or four of these lines make a verse usually. The office of priest required a knowledge of the ritual of the sacrifices and involved some skill in the making of the hymns. The king of the tribe might have been leader in the performance of the sacrifice as in war, but in the time of the Rig Veda already, we see a special class of people set apart for the performance of the ordinary sacrifices in behalf of the king and the tribe. He came to be called Purohit (Latin *præfectus*). This office also had probably become hereditary and grew in importance with the strengthening of the religious tradition.

The beginning of the caste.—Thus, although the caste system, in its modern form, was unknown in the period of the Rig Veda, the social conditions which led to its later development were already there. The first great division was by colour (*varna*) which is synonymous with caste. It is on this basis that the broad division between the twice-born (those who were admitted into the religious community by the investiture of the sacred thread), and the Sudra (servile caste) was made. The first of these classes was further subdivided into the Kshatriyas or the ruling

class, the priests or the Brahamanas, and the tillers of the soil, Vaisyas. This division is found in its preliminary form in other Indo-European communities, and seems merely to show the natural distribution of work in human societies generally.

People of the land.—We learn but little of the people of the land from the Rig Veda. All that we can say about them is that they were a pastoral people possessing large herds of cattle. They had their strongholds for the purposes of defence against enemies. We sometimes come upon contemptuous references to them as 'dark-complexioned,' 'flat-nosed' or 'noseless' race. Their language is referred to as unintelligible, and their religious practices were regarded as abhorrent. Of the rest of India beyond the country of the Rig Veda, we know nothing at this period.

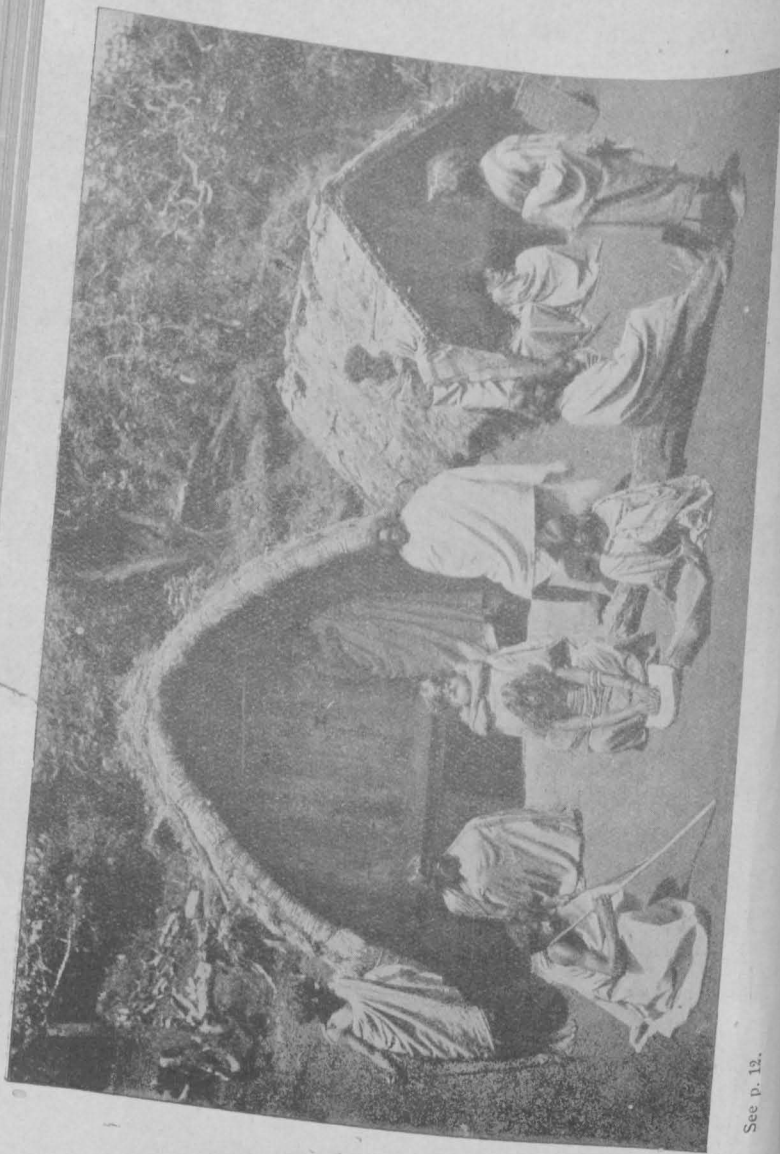
The other Vedas.—The Yajur Veda and the Sama Veda are both of them directly dependent on the Rig Veda. The hymns selected from the Rig Veda for the purposes of any sacrifice were recited by a class of priests called *Hota*. Some of these hymns were selected and appointed for being chanted by another class of priests called *Udgata* (singing priests). These hymns, meant to be sung, are known as a separate collection under the



SCULPTURED DOLMENS (CROMLECHS)

ON THE NILGIRI HILLS.

Negative: India Office.



See p. 12.

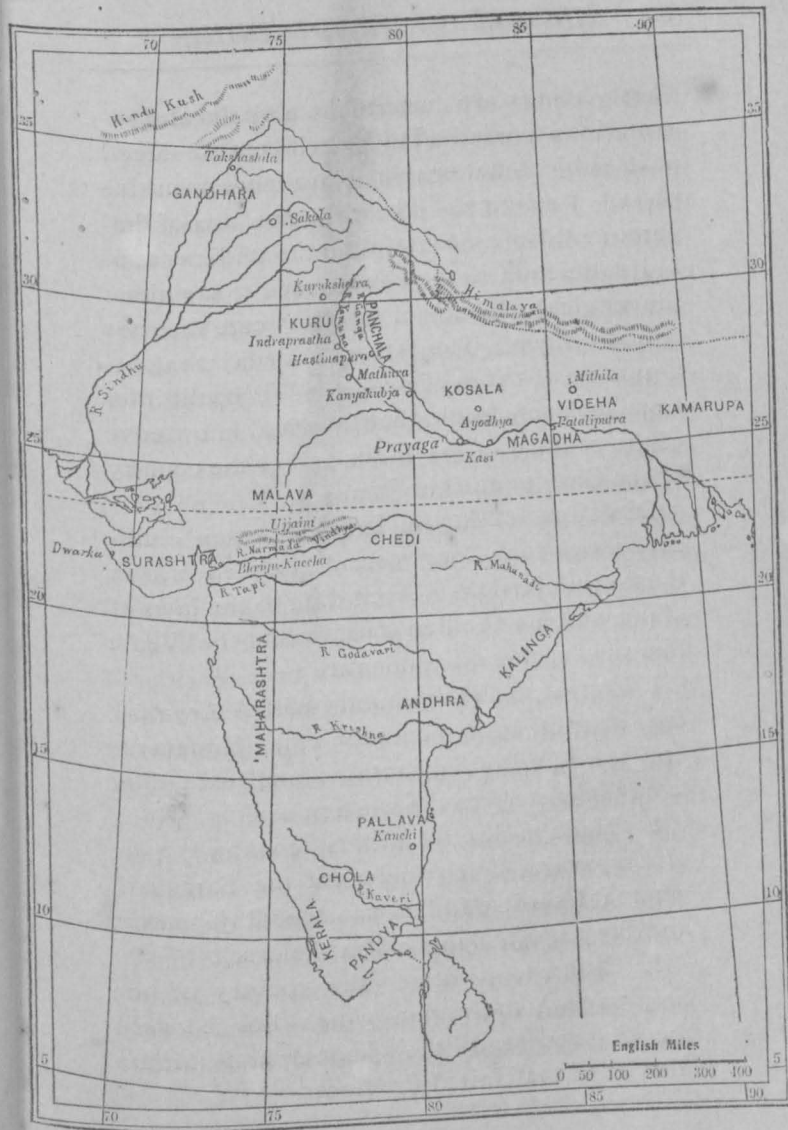
name of Sama Veda. The Yajur Veda on the contrary contains a body of sacrificial formulas. They should be spoken in an undertone by yet another class of priests called *Adhvaryu*, while performing the menial portions of the ceremony. This Yajur Veda is a very important document for the purposes of history. The religion that is taught there is new in many respects, and the religious and social condition depicted also exhibits a complete change from that of the Rig Veda.

The Yajur Veda.—The geography of the Yajur Veda is that of the Kuru-kshetra (the field of the Kurus), the eastern portion of the plain lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna, and the Panchala country to the north-east between the Jumna and the Ganges. This region was bounded on the south by the Saraswati (Sarasuti), on the north by the Drishadvati (Chautang). It was the land called *Brahmavarta* in which the complicated system of Brahmanical sacrifices was evolved, and was regarded in later times as the country of the holy sages. That was also the field of the great battle described in the Mahabharata and which became the political capital of Hindu India.

Religious and social condition in it.—The religious and social conditions reflected in the Yajur Veda differ rather widely from those of

the Rig Veda. The sacrifices had developed into such a complicated system that it sometimes came to be regarded as religion itself, instead of one of the disciplines to obtain the highest objects of religion. Sacrifice was regarded as the means of attaining the supernatural powers which could be used even to compel the gods themselves. We see already in the Yajur Veda the earlier stages of the caste system in the form in which it appears to-day. "There were not only the four great divisions hardening into castes, but a number of mixed castes are also mentioned." While the religious and social systems of the Yajur Veda are to a great extent but a development of the tendencies clearly recognised in the Rig Veda, there is no doubt that they have been considerably modified by the religious beliefs and the social institutions of the non-Aryan inhabitants of India. In some cases, it is possible to trace this influence, such as, for instance, snake worship. There is no trace of this in the Rig Veda but it shows itself in the Yajur Veda.

The Atharva Veda.—The fourth, the Atharva Veda, is not connected with the sacrifices at all. It is a body of hymns more popular in character and representing the old-world beliefs of the ordinary people about evil spirits.



ANCIENT INDIA.

These hymns are most of them spells and incantations to ward off these evil spirits. Much of its subject-matter relates to a more primitive phase of religion. These hymns are of importance also as containing the rudiments of Indian science, as they have much to say about the magical efficacy of plants to cure diseases or avert them. The Atharva Veda mentions a number of tribes of people. We could infer from such references that they had knowledge of the country of the Indus and of the country of the Ganges and the Jumna.

Divisions of Aryan India.—Aryan civilization was for a long period confined within these two divisions. According to the laws of Manu which embodied traditions of the Vedic times even, these divisions are :—

1. Aryavarta (the country of the Aryans), the district lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains and extending from the eastern to the western sea.

2. Madhya-desa (middle country), part of Aryavarta lying between the Sarasvati, where it loses itself in the sands of Rajaputana, and Prayaga (Allahabad on the east).

3. Brahmarshi-desa (the country of the holy sages), the region which lies between the Ganges and the Jumna and Muttra district of the United Provinces.

4. Brahnavarta (the holy land), between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati and may be identified with the modern Sirhind district.

CHAPTER III.

THE BRAHMANAS.

Explanatory treatises.—We have already said that the Vedas were handed down by word of mouth in a number of priestly families or schools devoted entirely to the study of the particular Veda. Each of these schools produced in course of time its own particular text-book. This was, as indeed it was necessary, all in poetry, poetry preceding prose in the development of literature usually. It was only in versions of the Yajur Veda that there was any prose at all. The various collections of the texts of the Vedas required, in course of time, treatises to explain to the priests the significance of that part of the sacrificial ceremony which he was called upon to perform. These treatises or books were called Brahmanas (religious manuals). The contents of these books can be broadly put into three

2.

classes : (1) Directions (Vidhi), (2) Explanations (Arthavada), and (3) Theosophical speculations (Upanishad). As we shall see later on, the last class received fuller development, and formed a class of Vedic literature by itself.

The ritual of sacrifice.—The Brahmanas can be understood only if we had a detailed knowledge of the various rights that went to make a sacrifice. We receive considerable assistance in this respect from the later Sutras or hand-books in which each separate branch of Vedic learning is explained with minute care. The Brahmanas are essentially books for the priests. It is only accidentally that these books give us any insight into the political and social condition of the age. Even in matters of religion, all that they tell us is about the various sacrifices that had to be performed through the agency of the Brahmanas for the welfare of the society. The higher aspects of religion, however, were not neglected in this age. The enquiry into these aspects is preserved in the body of works called the Upanishads.

Aryan civilization of the Brahmanic age.—We can learn from the Brahmanas, nevertheless, of certain matters relating to primitive human culture. There are old-world stories

embodied in them which lead back to a time when human sacrifices were offered. We have stories of the various stages of transition from the human sacrifices to the substitution of other victims, till at last there are people now who could perform sacrifices without killing any animal. We have besides the details of the ceremonies attending the coronations of kings. From these books, we learn the various titles assumed by the kings, the geographical region included within the territory of the great kings, and the various forms of government by means of which the several communities were administered. These books also show that the priests occupied the most influential position in society, that the Aryan influence had extended to taking in some of the peoples of Southern India, and that there were self-governing communities (Svaraj) in the land. One curious fact that we find in these books is that all the Aryans were not Brahmanical. We have reference to some Aryans called Vratyas, who were free-booters, speaking the Prakrits or dialects allied to Sanskrit, and following neither the religion of the Brahmanas nor even understanding their language, Sanskrit. The Brahmanas are of the greatest importance to the student of language as they mark the stages in the change from Vedic Sanskrit to classical Sanskrit.

Their geographical outlook.—The Brahmanas were elaborated in the Kuru-Panchala Desa, 'the country of the holy sages'. The later Brahmanas (*e.g.*, Satapatha Brahmana) give us a wider geographical outlook. In this particular Brahmana of the Hundred-paths we see the advance of the Aryans from the Kuru-Panchala to the country of Videha in North Behar. This could have been only through Kosala. This Brahmana also furnishes various details to show that it formed, at the same time, the basis both for Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand, and the great epic-poems on the other.

Their religion.—In the Brahmanas as a whole, ritualism becomes the dominant feature. Sacrifices are performed and the Vedic *mantras* are recited for their magic value. This marks a great change from the ideas of the Rig Veda, and lies at the root of the later division between the 'Religion of Works' (Karmayoga) and the 'Religion of Knowledge'. We see, however, certain hymns of reflection in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda. These show that the eternal problems of existence (life) and of the higher power (God), had come in for attentive thought on the part of the old Rishis. They were followed by others with their own speculations on the relation of this higher power to the universe and to

man. These, and the theosophical speculations in the Brahmanas already referred to, found special development in certain treatises called Upanishads which come usually at the end of the Brahmanas, and separated from them by another class of books called Aranyakas (Forest-books) which are transitional in character between the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. The whole of the Vedic literature therefore is comprehensively known as the Revelation (Sruti) to distinguish it from the later tradition (Smriti).

The division of Vedic literature.—The whole of Vedic literature falls naturally into two classes, the Vedas and the Brahmanas belonging to the 'Religion of Works', the Aranyakas and the Upanishads belonging to the 'Religion of Knowledge'. This division finds its parallel in the division of a Brahman's life into four stages:

1. Brahmachari; when he lives as a pupil in the family of his Guru, and learns from him the sacred texts and the procedure at the sacrifices.
2. The Grihasta; when he marries and sets up as a householder, religiously carrying out all the domestic rights enjoined upon a family man.

3. Vanaprastha; when after seeing a grandson born to him, he retires to the forest, either alone or accompanied by his wife, to live the life of a retired man devoted to holy thought.
4. Sannyasin; when he gives up all earthly ties and devotes himself entirely to meditation on the Supreme Soul (Atman).

The first two parts of this life correspond to a 'Religion of Works' and the last two correspond to a 'Religion of Knowledge.'

The Upanishads.—The Upanishads, 'Vedānta', as the Hindus call them, should be classed more as philosophy than as religion, but the separation between the two is not in keeping with Indian ideas. Religion is considered as but a necessary preparation for philosophy. Orthodoxy consisted in the unquestioning acceptance of the social system of Brahmanic India, and the religious observances of Brahmanism. Beyond this, free speculation was allowed to the individual whether it led ultimately to Pantheism (the ultimate oneness of the Supreme Soul and the Human Soul), or to Dualism (the Supreme Soul and the Human Soul regarded as distinct entities), or even to Atheism (denial of the Supreme Soul). The Upanishads, as a class, are the

work of poetic seers rather than philosophers. They no doubt contain the main ideas of the later systems of philosophy, though these are not expounded in any order or with full reasons. The 'Religion of Works' was regarded by the authors of the Upanishads to produce earthly happiness, or reward of a heavenly life. The 'Religion of Knowledge', on the contrary, goes beyond either of these, which are alike short-lived, and is devoted to obtaining release (Mukti) from this perpetual succession of birth and re-birth (Samsara), which are the result of 'WORKS'. This release can be obtained only by 'Right Knowledge' which consists of the notion that everything is 'Atman' (World-soul) and Atman is everything. This single doctrine, which forms the main, though not the exclusive, subject of the Upanishads, was developed in wonderful fullness and subtlety, in what is generally known as the Vedānta philosophy.

The intellectual side of Vedic religion.—The earliest of these Upanishads are of about the same time as the later Brahmanas, and represent the intellectual side of religion, as distinct from the ceremonial side of the Brahmanas. The performance of the sacrifices, with all the complicated rituals in it, was entirely in the hands of the Brahmanas. In the

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on the other hand, members of the royal caste and even learned ladies joined. The time of the Upanishads was in fact one of great unrest in matters of religion, and of revolt against the formalism of the Brahmanical system, and leads on naturally to the two chief religious reform movements of Jainism and Buddhism.

CHAPTER IV.

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM.

The reform movements.—The rise of Jainism and Buddhism marks the advent of a period of Indian History when approximately correct dating becomes possible. We have now a body of traditions which would, in certain points, enable us to mark the more important stages in the development of these religions. These two religions differed mainly from the earlier Brahmanism in their rejection of the 'Religion of Works' as a means of salvation. This rejection involves in a way the denial of the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmanas which are the basis of the 'Religion of Works'. To this extent therefore they are outside the pale of Brahman orthodoxy. Their fundamental ideas, however,

are substantially those of the 'Religion of Knowledge', as taught in the Upanishads. We might even say that these ideas are at the root of all Indian religions, and all Indian philosophies. According to them all, the individual soul is fast bound by its own actions (Karma), which bring on a continuous series of births which may never end. The object of one and all of these religions and philosophies is to find the way to put an end to these series of recurring births so as to free the soul once for all from this unending earthly existence. They differ from one another chiefly (1) in the means that they recommend for gaining this freedom; (2) in their outlook upon the nature of the universe and of the individual soul; and (3) in their views as to the existence or non-existence of some being corresponding to the *world-soul* (Atman of the Upanishads). Two Kshatriyas led movements of reform along these lines and each one had his own particular following. The teaching of these two were embodied in two religious systems known to us as Jainism and Buddhism.

Jina-Vardhamana.—The founder of the first was Vardhamana Jnataputra who is called by his followers conqueror (Jina), or

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See p. 27.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA.



THE FIRST SERMON
IN THE DEER PARK, SARNATH.

Negative: Archaeological Survey.

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Jina-Vardhamana.—The founder of the first was Vardhamana Jnataputra who is called by his followers conqueror (Jina), or

the great hero (Mahavira), because he overcame or conquered the human passions and all that they stand for. He lived in the 6th century B. C. He came of the princely tribe of Jnatas, and was related to the ruling family of Vaisali (Basarh) in Videha (Tirhut). The main purpose of his system is to free the soul from its earthly bondage by means of 'Right Faith', 'Right Knowledge' and 'Right Action', called the three jewels of Jainism, and quite distinct from the three jewels of Buddhism. He probably had a comparatively small following in Vaisali and Magadha, but somewhat later in the history of the religion, the chief centre of their activity seems to have been transferred to Malva and Gujarat, where they still form an important section of the community. They have also played an important part in the history of the civilization of southern India, which owes a great debt to them in regard to the great work they did in the development of the early literatures of both Tamil and Kanarese languages.

Gautama, the Buddha.—The founder of Buddhism, on the contrary, was a Kshatriya of the tribe of the Sakyas, by name Siddhartha, the son of the ruler of Kapilavastu. He bore the Brahman surname Gautama,

and was known among his disciples as the Buddha, or 'the enlightened'. He was a younger contemporary of Mahavira, and his field of activity during his life-time embraced the whole of the territory of Kosala (Oudh), with the ruling family of which he was related, and the rising empire of Magadha. His life activity does not appear to have extended much beyond this region, and is bounded on the western side at any rate by the Jumna. The pillar erected on the site of his birth by the Emperor Asoka, was recently discovered, as also various others of the monuments that hold some of his remains. Buddha, like his thoughtful contemporaries, was a pessimist, and regarded the world as unreal; "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity", as he often declared. He sought escape from this earthly existence first by the 'Religion of Knowledge', as taught in the Upanishads. Failing in this he sought it by a course of penance and mortification. Not satisfied even with these, he gave himself up to meditation, and discovered the cause of all existence to be in sorrow. He formulated his doctrines in the first sermon at Benares under the headings (the four Aryasatyani) 'sorrow', 'cause of sorrow', the 'removal of sorrow'; in other words, all existence is sorrow; this

sorrow is caused by the craving of the individual for existence, which leads from birth to re-birth; this sorrow can be removed by the removal of its cause, desire; this removal may be effected by following the eight-fold path, *viz.*, 'Right Understanding', 'Right Resolve', 'Right Effort', 'Right Speech', 'Right Action', 'Right Mindfulness', and 'Right Meditation', 'Right Living'. This is the famous eight-fold path of the Buddhists, which it will be seen was the same in substance with the three jewels of the Jains. Both alike, it will be noticed, differ from the path of the Upanishads, mainly in substituting a practical rule of life, for the abstract attainment of right knowledge, as a means to the attainment of freedom from earthly existence.

The basis of these, congregation not caste. — Both Jainism and Buddhism also differ materially from Brahmanism in regard to their organisation. Brahmanism rests entirely upon a caste basis, and a man's position both in society and in religion is determined by birth; Buddhism and Jainism on the contrary make a wider claim to universality. They declare in theory, that there is no distinction of caste within the religious community. In practice, however, the fairly established social system of the Brahmanic ideal proved

too strong for both these reform movements. The caste system obtains among the Jains at the present day. Buddhism was, on the contrary, absorbed by the caste system in India many centuries ago. Both these religions, Jainism and Buddhism, are congregational; whereas Brahmanism consists of various caste duties performed by the individual for his own benefit, and of various sacrifices and ceremonies performed for the benefit of the community. The congregational and monastic character of both Buddhism and Jainism have had this result: that the most ancient monuments of India teach us something about these two religions and let us know nothing about the Brahmans. This defect, however, can be corrected by a study of Sanskrit literature, which throws valuable light on the religion and social standing of the Brahmans. The language of Brahmanism is throughout Sanskrit; the languages of the scriptures of the other two religions are the vernaculars of the particular district or of the particular period to which they belong.

Their influence upon the History of India. — Buddhism disappeared entirely from India proper at the end of the 12th century, but it still flourishes both in Ceylon in the south,

and Nepal in the north. It holds sway, however, in eastern Asia in two forms, the Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle, with its scriptures in Pali, in Ceylon, Burma and Siam; the Mahayana, or Greater Vehicle, with its literature in Sanskrit, in Nepal and in Tibet, in China and in Japan. It will thus be seen that both Jainism and Buddhism arose in the same part of India and flourished originally in the same region, *viz.*, the districts east of the middle country, the seat of orthodox Brahmanism. They spread subsequently to other regions in India and divided the allegiance, and commanded a following in the whole country, along with Brahmanism. Both these religions produced large bodies of literature, sacred and secular. These are of great importance from the historical point of view as they represent traditions which from their nature should be regarded as independent of the Brahmanical tradition. They thus provide independent evidence regarding the condition of India at the time; where therefore the evidence of these three traditions, literary or other, agree, we may be certain that the resulting condition of affairs is historical. We should not forget, however, that in respect of these three alike, the literatures embodying these early traditions that have come down to us are works of a later age, though obviously based

upon works of a much earlier time. It is therefore difficult to determine always what constitutes old tradition and what alteration these traditions have undergone in later editions.

CHAPTER V.

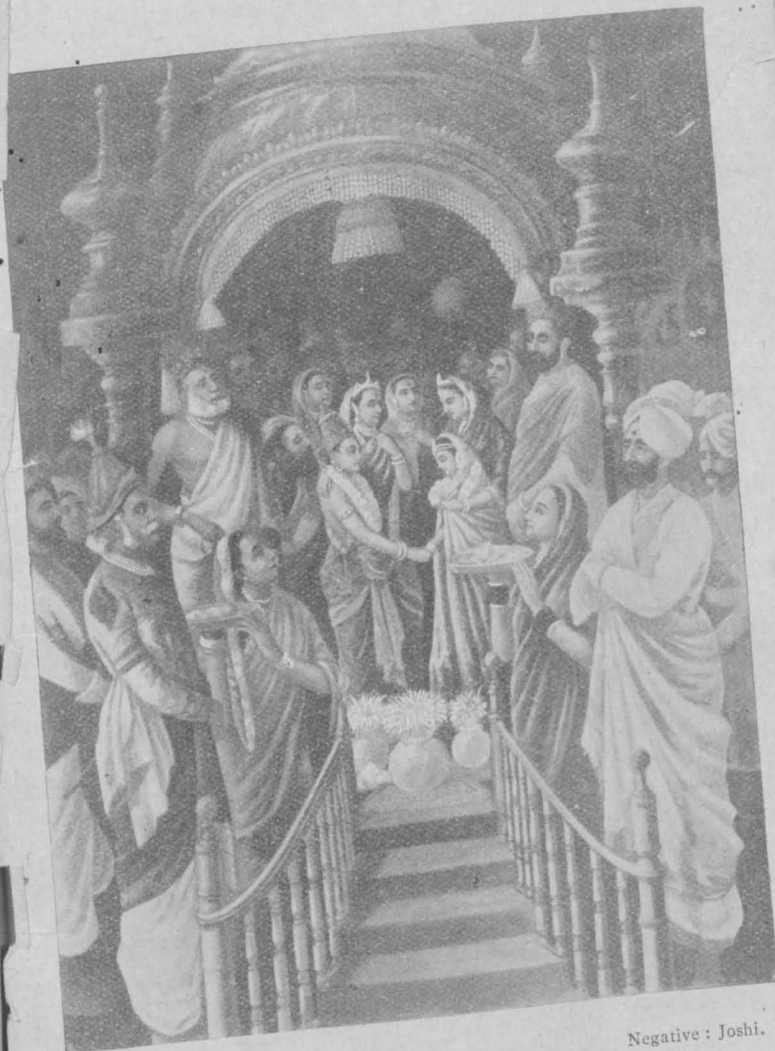
THE RAMAYANA, THE MAHABHARATA,
THE PURANAS.

Their general character. — The last remark is perhaps specially applicable to some of the Brahman sources which are the two Itihasas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the Puranas. These contain undoubtedly old matter reaching back even to the time of the Vedas, but were put together in their present form many centuries later than the events which they describe.

The Mahabharata. — The Mahabharata, a poem recounting the deeds of the descendants of Bharata, contains in its present form one hundred thousand couplets of thirty-two syllables each. It is only about a fifth of this large number of verses that is connected with the main story, the war between the Kurus and the Pandavas. The remaining four-fifths are

made up of episodes (Akhyanas) thrown in the course of the story without any organic connection with the main story. In its present form therefore the Mahabharata is taken to be a work of centuries, the various stages of which could be marked by critical study. The historical ground-work of the story is now believed to be an actual war waged at a remote period between the Kurus and the Pandavas, and an epic poem which forms the nucleus of the Mahabharata, as we have it now, was probably put together at least as early as the fourth century B. C. from traditional war-songs founded on events which took place at a much earlier date.

The Ramayana. — While the story of the Mahabharata relates to Kuru-Panchala, or the middle country, the scene of the Ramayana is laid in districts lying to the east of this region where Buddhism and Jainism prevailed. It celebrates the story of Rama, a prince of the family of Ikshvakus of Kosala (Oudh). Its heroine is his faithful wife Sita, daughter of Janaka the king of Videha (Tirhut). Unlike the Mahabharata, the Ramayana is on the whole a work with greater unity and is probably the work of a single author, Valmiki. Though not altogether free from later additions, the main



Negative : Joshi.

See p. 32. THE WEDDING OF RAMA AND SITA.
From a painting by Ravi Varma.

9 MAY 1927



Negative: Joshi.

RAMA WINNING HIS BRIDE.

From a painting by Ravi Varma in Mysore Palace.



poem forms a consistent whole, and such historical indications as are available in it would seem to show that it was composed probably in the fourth or third century B. C. The characters that appear in the epic, it must be noticed, must be far more ancient, and may be those mentioned in the Upanishads. These epics seem to have pertained originally to the Kshatriyas rather than to the Brahmans, the language is less regular and more popular, and thus differs from that of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. At a later time perhaps, a religious tone was given to it to give the epics a didactic character embodying, as in fact the Mahabharata itself does, a vast encyclopædia of Brahmanical learning.

The Puranas. — The Puranas are closely connected with the Mahabharata and mean 'ancient tales'. There are 18 of them, and these consist mainly of legendary accounts of the regions of the world, and of the stories about the deeds of gods, sages and monarchs in olden times. Works of this description are referred to in the Atharva Veda and the Brahmanas, and they must therefore have been really old. In their present form, however, they are undoubtedly late editions of the old stories. Some of the dynasties mentioned in these are known from other sources to have ruled in the

S. H. H. I.

first five centuries of the Christian era. Others reach back to the 7th century B. C. and even earlier. These family genealogies (Vamsavali or Vamsanu Charita) constitute one of the essentials of a Purana. They are generally thrown in the form of prophetic descriptions of the ages of the world to come, and of the kings who are to appear on earth. They occur in some of the older versions in Puranas, and give some details in respect of the length of reigns and dynasties. To some extent the information thus given finds confirmation in Buddhist and Jain literature, as also later, from inscriptions and coins. Though these genealogies may be corrupt in many respects, the corruption can be discovered and valuable historical information got out of them by careful and critical study.

Jain and Buddhist works.—A similar problem confronts us in respect of Jain and Buddhist works as well. For the earlier period there are the Dipavamsa of Ceylon compiled in the 4th century A. D., and the Mahavamsa compiled in the 6th century A. D., both of them founded on earlier traditional chronicles. They profess to be a record of the history of the succession of Buddhist pontiffs from the earliest times, and go back for the beginning of that history to the arrival of Mahinda in

Ceylon, circa 246 B. C. They terminate with the reign of Mahasena, who came to the throne in the beginning of the 4th century A. D. The early Jain historical literature similarly is embodied in a series of *Pattavalies* or succession lists of the chief pontiffs of the Jains. Perhaps the earliest of them were put in their present form about the 5th century A. D.; but there is no reason to deny their being based on older tradition. A careful comparative study of all these enables us to attempt the reconstruction of the early history of India which may possibly extend to 700 B. C.

The Sutra period.—This is the period, during which the peculiar form of Indian composition called Sutra was adopted in general literary use. This feature is common to these three sects alike, and can be described as an effort at the codification of all knowledge. It embraces all the different branches of learning which were thrown in a form of the greatest brevity for the purpose of aiding the memory. The Sutras are very brief statements which have now become purely mnemonic, and cannot be understood without the help of a commentary. They preserve a wonderfully complete record both of the social and religious life of the Hindus and of their intellectual activity in almost every conceivable direction; but they

are unhistorical in character and rarely throw any light even incidentally on the political condition of the times and countries to which they belong.

Results of comparative study. — We gain from such a comparative study of these sources a general idea of the political condition of Northern India during this period, say the 6th and the 5th centuries B. C. As many as sixteen separate kingdoms are mentioned, the principal among which are Kosala, Magadha and Malva. The most important republican communities that figure in this period are the Lichchavi clans of Vaisali. There are also indications of the rise, during this period, of one kingdom Magadha dominating the rest. In fact the foundation of the first historical empire of Hindustan, the Magadha empire, emerges early in this period.

CHAPTER VI.

SISUNAGA TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Political divisions during the period.—A comparative study of the Puranas on the one side, and the Buddhist and Jain traditions on the other, gives us a certain amount of insight

into the history of India, particularly the northern part of it, during the period *circa* 700 B. C. to the rise of the Mauryas *circa* 325 B. C. The number of kingdoms into which India, north of the Vindhya, was divided during this period is enumerated as sixteen, in various places among these accounts. Of these the most important in the east are Magadha with its capital Rajagriha, Kosala with its capital Sravasti, Kasi with its capital Benares, and Vatsa with its capital Kosambi (near Allahabad), not to mention the minor kingdoms. East of these kingdoms was the tribal republic of Vaisali composed of the Lichchavis, a clan of the Vajjians who had their possessions both in Vaisali and Mithila (Tirhut); south-westward of these was the powerful kingdom of Malva; north-westward of these we find mention of the important kingdom of Gandhara which, if the Ramayana is to be believed, was divided, perhaps later, into two kingdoms with capitals Taxila (Takshasila) and Pushkaravati (Peukelaotis of the Greeks).

The feature of the period. **Magadha and Malva.**—The chief feature of this period of history is the gradual rise of Magadha to the position of an imperial state. The dynasty of the Sisunagas, which, according to the Puranas, was composed of twelve generations, held the

chief power over Magadha during this period. Two of its rulers, father and son, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, were contemporaries both of the Buddha and of Mahavira. Very probably these were contemporaries also of the great Persian king, Darius Hystaspes. While Magadha was engaged in the east, carrying on its wars with the neighbouring kingdoms and the tribal republics already mentioned, Malva several times attempted an invasion of the territories of Magadha itself and could be kept back only with great difficulty. This Malva, however, was able to subdue the smaller kingdoms of the middle country and bring them under subordination to itself. The territory of the Punjab and the kingdom of Gandhara beyond were thus left to themselves and were absorbed in the Persian Empire sometime about 510 B. C., but after 516 B. C.

Across the north-west frontier.—The rise of the Persian Empire in the region between the frontiers of India and of the river Tigris was almost coeval with the period of the rise of the Magadha Empire in India. The portion of Southern Asia, between India and the Mediterranean, falls into well-marked portions, divided by the Persian Gulf and the Tigris, and along a continuous line from the upper Tigris to the Caspian Sea. All west of this line were

the seats of ancient civilization which reach back in history to perhaps 4000 B. C. From 4000 B. C. to about 2300 B. C. is the period when the civilization of the Sumerians was predominant. From about 2300 B. C. to about 1300 B. C. was the period of Babylonian supremacy and from 1300 B. C. to about 600 B. C. that of the Assyrians who had their capital further north than Babylonia. Along with these people, we find in the north-west of the Babylonian territory a race of people called Hittites, and among them a smaller group Mittanni. These people seem to have had the same gods as the Aryans, as one of their inscriptions mentions 'Mitra', 'Varuna', 'Indra', and 'Nasatya' (the two Asvini Devatas), all of them Vedic in character. We are not yet in a position to trace the history of the connection clearly, but this establishes beyond doubt a connection between the two peoples, whatever its nature.

The Persian Empire.—This early connection seems to have been maintained during all the period of the history of the Persian Empire which was founded about the middle of the 7th century B. C. and its greatest monarch before Darius was Cyrus, the Great. This ruler extended his territory both east and west, so that his empire at his death extended from the Hindu-kush to the Mediterranean Sea along

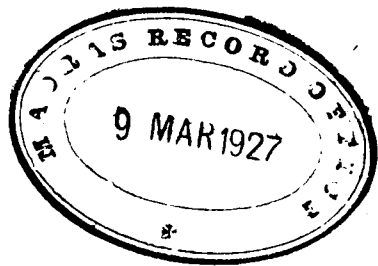
the Syrian coast as well as that of Asia Minor. His son added Egypt to the Empire, but his empire was overthrown by the usurper Darius, a kinsman of the imperial family, who ascended the throne as the result of his efforts. It was he that made a further extension of the empire eastward, and added the province of India to the Persian Empire. This province of India seems to have comprised two divisions, of which one was called Gandhara, perhaps a kingdom nearer Kabul than in later times, and India proper, the territory on both sides of the Indus to the frontiers of the Great Indian desert. In other words, this would have included a part of the North-West Frontier Province, a considerable portion of the Punjab and the whole of Sind. It was under Darius that a Greek mariner by name Skylax sailed down the Indus and returned home by the sea. The province of India probably was a part of the Persian Empire before the days of Skylax. This province paid the highest revenues to the Empire, and must have been the richest and most populous of the provinces of the Empire. Such connection between Persia and India is of the utmost importance as it was through the Persian Empire that the Greeks were brought into touch with the Indians, and this communication between the two gifted branches of the



See p. 43.

DYING ALEXANDER.

UFFIZI, FLORENCE.



REMAINS OF THE THRONE ROOM
OF CHANDRA GUPTA MAURYA.

Sir Ratan Tata's Excavations of Pataliputra.

Aryan race lasted even after the political connections ceased later on. There is a probability that this province of India was reconquered by the Indians under perhaps the last of the Sisunagas. This king of Magadha, by name Mahananda, seems to have continued the work of his father Nandavardhana in bringing all the kingdoms of Hindustan under the Empire of Magadha. The period of the gradual extension of the power of the Sisunagas lasting from *circa* 700 B. C. to *circa* 325 B. C. was thus exactly parallel to the period of the existence of the Persian Empire from about 650 B. C. to 331 B. C.

Sources of history for the period.—For this period we have the 'history' of Herodotus. This work of the 'father of history' has for its principal subject the invasions of Greece by the Persians. In the course of the work, however, many details are found regarding the Persian Empire some of which have relation to India. After Herodotus there was another Greek by name Ktesias, a Greek physician who lived in the court of Persia for 17 years from about 415 B. C. Although much of his work is lost, we get valuable information here and there regarding India in what is left of his work. We can trace therefrom that Gandhara constituted a province during the

reign of Cyrus himself, but this seems clearly to refer to the country on either side of the Hindu-kush. This province of Gandhara figures in the Behistun inscription of Darius of date 516 B. C. In the later inscriptions of Darius, however, those in his palace at Persepolis and on his tomb in Naksh-i-Rustam, the province of Gandhara is found grouped along with three others to constitute the 7th Satrapy (province), while India figures as the 20th. This Indian province was therefore something different from Gandhara, and should have included the Western Punjab and the whole of Sind to the frontiers of the Great Indian desert. During the period of Darius and his immediate successors, India figures as one of the provinces, and Indian contingents take part in the several battles against the Greeks. The conquest by Cyrus of the coast of Asia Minor brought a number of Greek cities there under subordination to him. Other Greeks beyond them were taken by the Persians to be the same people as the Ionian Greeks who had a number of colonies on the Asiatic coast. The Greeks therefore came to be known generally among the Persians by the name Yauna (Ionians), and this name passed into India as Yavana, and designates generally the Greeks

during the last three centuries before, and the first two centuries after, the beginning of the Christian era.

Alexander's invasion.—After Alexander the Great had overthrown the empire of Persia in the battle of Gaugamela on the Tigris in 331 B. C., he took province after province of the Persian Empire and came to the Indian frontier, about 326 B. C. He had to pass through Pushkaravati (Peukelaotis) before he reached the Indus at Ohind. He received the submission of Ambhi (Greek, Omphis) the ruler of Taxila who just before had ascended the throne. He marched further till he met Porus on the banks of the Jhelum. Porus would not submit like his neighbour of Taxila and a battle had to be fought. The battle was at last won by the Greeks, and Alexander was able to carry his conquest further east till he reached the river Beas. He had to return from there, as his soldiers declined to follow him any further.

Eastern Hindustan.—The Greeks called the people that dwelt beyond the river Beas, 'Prasioi' (Sans. Prachyah, the eastern). The Greek and Latin writers speak of them as one nation, and at the time very probably the whole territory was united

under one ruler chiefly through the exertions of the later Sisunagas of Magadha; but Alexander having had to turn away from here, he did not meet perhaps the most powerful Indian State of the time on the field of battle. He placed Porus as ruler over his kingdom, enlarged by further additions, and sailed down the Indus till he reached the mouth of the river, wherefrom, sending a portion of his army under the command of the Admiral Nearchus, he set forward by way of Baluchistan and reached Persepolis after a march which lasted many weeks, and caused a large amount of suffering to the army on the way. He seems to have placed the Indian province under a Viceroy by name Philip, with the king of Taxila and Porus perhaps under his overlordship, with a Governor in Sind. That he appointed Indian rulers over the Indian provinces, in accordance with the practice of the Indians and the teachings of Manu, accounts perhaps largely for the absence of any impression of the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great. As a matter of fact this Indian province broke up in a little more than a year after he had left India when he died, and the only effort at reconquest made by his successor Seleucus in *circa* 305 B. C.

proved a failure. All the states and cities established by Alexander seem by this time to have been absorbed into the Empire of Magadha.

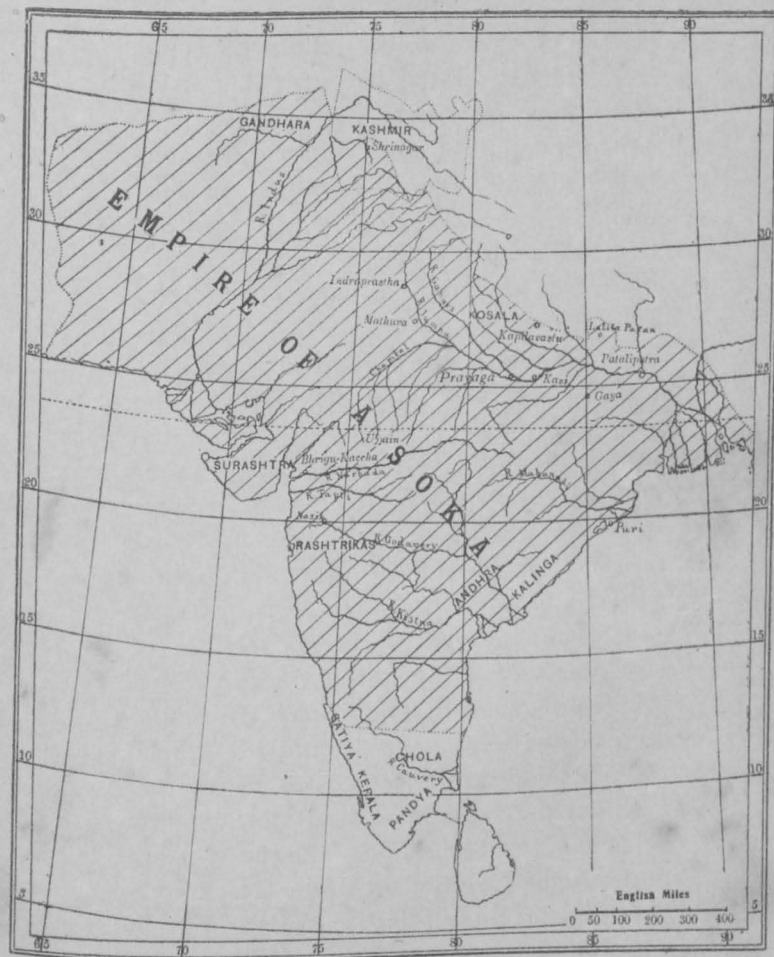
CHAPTER VII.

MAURYAN INDIA.

The founder of the dynasty.—The Empire of Magadha was at this time under a usurper by name Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. According to Indian tradition he was an illegitimate scion of one of the great Nandas whose son or sons he is said to have overthrown. As has been already hinted more than once, the last powerful Nandas, the two predecessors of the father of the Nanda overthrown by Chandragupta, made great efforts, with considerable success, to bring the whole of Hindustan under the suzerainty of Magadha. Perhaps as a young prince, Chandragupta bore his part in this effort, and when he appeared in Alexander's camp in 326 B. C. he might have done so with a view to ultimate usurpation by himself. He probably ascended the throne sometime about 325 B. C. (the ordinarily

accepted date is 321 B. C.), and set about vigorously to complete the work of his predecessors of establishing Magadha as the paramount power in Hindustan. He took advantage of the confusion caused by the death of Alexander to occupy the north-western region also, so that he became the ruler of the whole of Hindustan. After many changes that followed in quick succession the death of Alexander, Seleucus was able to establish himself "king of Asia" about the end of the 4th century B. C., and it seems to be just before this that he made an attempt at reconquering this Indian province. This led to a permanent peace between him and Chandragupta, the most important clause of which was the cession by Seleucus of the whole of Eastern Afghanistan in return for 500 elephants. The treaty was sealed by a marriage alliance, as was usual in those early times, and thus Chandragupta was left in peace to organise his empire as best as he might.

Sources of information for his reign.—We have a considerable amount of information regarding his empire from the accounts that have come down to us from Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus in the



EMPIRE OF ASOKA.

are cut out on rocks, or on pillars of stone specially erected for the purpose. These inscriptions were intended originally to publish broadcast the religious and moral teachings of the Buddha and make them widely accepted. They are therefore very distinct in character from the inscriptions of Darius, which were intended primarily to hand down to posterity a record of the conquests of the great king. The places where Asoka's inscriptions are found indicate in a way the extent of his empire. They are found generally in ancient places of pilgrimage all over India from the North-West Frontier Province in the extreme north to the plateau of Mysore in the south, and from the western extremity of Kathiawar to the eastern limits of Orissa. There might be other versions of these edicts still to be discovered in Eastern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. His neighbouring kings were in the south, the Chola, Pandya and Chera kings, as also another one whom the inscriptions call Satiyaputra, besides the king of Ceylon. On the Western Frontier he had relations with the Greek kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene (Tripoli) to the west of it, Macedonia and even Epirus on the Adriatic coast of the Balkan Peninsula. One of the edicts gives the names of these rulers.

Asoka and Buddhism.—It was in Asoka's reign that Buddhism was carried to Ceylon by a missionary son and a daughter of his, and it is in Ceylon that the earlier form of Buddhism, generally called Hinayana, is preserved yet. The only war which Asoka undertook early in his reign was a war against Kalinga, and he is usually believed to have become a Buddhist in consequence of the horror that he felt at the bloodshed caused in this war. The rest of South India must therefore have been conquered either by him before this war or by one of his predecessors, very likely by his father Bindusara.

Asoka's successors.—Asoka was followed by a number of successors, whose names are mentioned in the Puranas. One or two of them figure as prominent Jains, specially one grandson of his by name Samprati. After a duration of about 137 years the dynasty came to an end. Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of the last of the Mauryas, overthrew his master Brihadratha, the last Maurya, and imprisoned the minister. He then ascended the throne and became the founder of a new dynasty known to the Puranas as the dynasty of the Sungas.

Mauryan government.—Such glimpses as we get of the administration of the vast

empire of the Mauryas show the government then to have been practically what it has been all along. This consisted generally in the recognition of the fullest freedom to govern themselves given to village and town communities. These units were thrown together in varying divisions into districts, provinces and empires. While the empire and the province changed very often, the change affected the smaller divisions but little; hence there has been a wonderful continuity which superficial observers usually note down as the unchanging character of the East. Asoka seems to have aimed at the establishment of permanent peace within the empire as most of his edicts would show. The time had not yet come for the recognition of the principle of permanent international peace, and to that extent Asoka's imperial efforts may be regarded a failure.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE MAURYAS.

Pushyamitra.—The maintenance of peace in India depends on the existence of a

strong imperial power. On the downfall of the Mauryan empire, individual states which had been united under the empire threw off the yoke and struggled to become independent. We have already stated that the last Maurya was overthrown by his general Pushyamitra, the founder of the dynasty of the Sungas. According to the Puranas, this dynasty is said to have ruled for 112 years. His son Agnimitra appears in Kalidasa's drama *Malavikagnimitra* as viceroy of Malva, with a son old enough to lead an army against his grand-father's enemies. His name is Vasumitra.

His wars and empire.—During this period, we have evidence of two or three wars successfully carried on by these Sungas. One of these was against the rising power of the Kalinga (Orissa) ruler by name Kharavela, which did not perhaps end quite successfully for him. Another war had to be undertaken against the advancing power of the Greeks from the north-west, the Greek ruler that figured in this campaign being Menander (Milinda of the Buddhists). These Greeks had attained so much success and occupied so much territory as to have been regarded dangerous to the empire of the Mauryas. This Greek danger was one of the

moving causes of the usurpation of Pushyamitra. A third war was undertaken against Vidharba (Berar in the Deccan) in regard to a disputed succession. Pushyamitra celebrated the Horse-sacrifice (Asvamedha) probably after these successful wars. The capital appears to have been still at Pataliputra, with perhaps the seat of the principal viceroy in Vidisa (Bilsa) in Eastern Malva, even possibly Ujjain. The extent of the Sunga dominions, according to inscriptions and coins, included the ancient kingdoms of Panchala and Ayodhya with what was perhaps Magadha before. This empire, though considerable, was still an empire much reduced from that over which Asoka ruled.

Kharavela.—The kingdom of Kalinga seems to have regained its independence of the Mauryas themselves, as the inscriptions of Kharavela shows. This Kharavela carried on a war probably westwards, and an Andhra king Satakarni is mentioned in this connection. After this he lays claim to having invaded various parts of Northern India three times in succession, with uniform success. From the evidence available, we can date Kharavela about 160 B. C.

The Andhras.—The decline of the Maurya empire is marked in Southern India by the

rise of the Andhra kingdom. The Andhras were probably a Dravidian people, originally occupying the tract of country between the Godaveri and the Krishna, with their capital at Sri Kakulam, not far from Bezwada. The first ruler of this dynasty comes into view about 220 B.C. as a great power with his territories extending in the Deccan almost from coast to coast. The Andhras were probably in subordination to Asoka, from the way they are mentioned in the edicts, and would seem to have asserted their independence soon after his death. The dynasty thus came into importance somewhere about 220 B.C. and continued to be in power till about A.D. 240. The Puranas mention 30 kings of this dynasty and ascribe to them a total period of 456 to 460 years. The Pauranic duration is in many ways supported by the evidence of inscriptions and coins.

The two kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia.—Contemporaneously with the rise of the kingdom of Kalinga and the Andhras in the South, the part of India which was taken from the Greeks by Chandragupta, and which formed a part of the empire of the Mauryas, broke away. While Asoka was

still ruling, two states established their independence of the Greek kingdom of Syria about 250 B.C. One of these was the kingdom of Bactria which takes its name from Balkh in Northern Afghanistan. This kingdom was separated from the Mauryan empire by the Hindu-kush, and was founded by Diodotus and lasted till about 135 B.C. when it was swept away by the incursions of the Sakas (Scythians) from the North. It is the rise of this power that detached North-western India from the Indian Empire. The other was the kingdom of Parthia extending from the south of Persia to the Caspian Sea. This Parthian power also lasted till about A.D. 226 and went out of existence almost about the same time as the Andhras of Southern India. At one time, at the commencement of the second century B.C., the Parthian territory extended almost as far as the river Indus. These two new kingdoms, however, were occupied, throughout the half of their existence, in struggling to maintain their independence against the monarchs of Syria. The last great invasion under Antiochus the Great about 209 B.C. ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of these two kingdoms. Bactria became the centre of Greek influence and that influence

spread into India. The whole of the Buddhist art of Gandhara, as well as that of the coins of the dynasties that ruled in the north-west of India, shows this Greek influence completely. When the Greeks conquered the north-western part of India, it seems to have been under minor Hindu chieftains, the name of one of whom we find mentioned as Sophagasenus (Sanskrit, Subhagasena).

The Kanvas.—During this period of change the imperial power passed from the hands of the Sungas to a Brahman dynasty known in history as the Kanvas. The first of the Kanvas came to the throne in consequence of the murder of the last of the Sungas. This dynasty comprised four reigns and lasted for a period of about 45 years, *i.e.*, from about 73 B. C. to about 28 or 27 B. C. Very little is known of these Kanva kings except the fact that about the last date mentioned above, the dynasty was overthrown by the Andhras. Which of the Andhras actually overthrew the Kanva it is difficult to say in our present state of knowledge of their history.

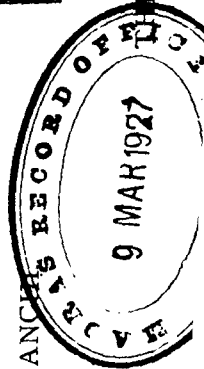
The Andhra kingdom under the early Mauryas.—The Andhra kingdom about the time of Chandragupta is described as a



GATE ENTRANCE,
THE GREAT STUPA AT SANCHI.



THE GREAT STUPA, SANCHI.

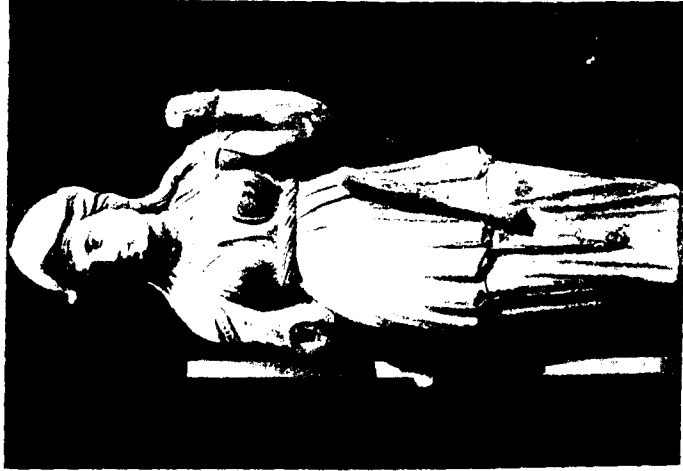




See p. 59.

STATUE OF BUDDHA

AT LORIAN TANGAI, PESHAWAR.
(SPECIMEN OF GANDHARA SCULPTURE.)



See p. 59.

STATUE OF ATHENE

EXCAVATED NEAR PESHAWAR.
(SPECIMEN OF GANDHARA SCULPTURE.)

powerful kingdom by Megasthenes. It included 30 walled towns and maintained an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants, with its capital at Sri Kukulam. Under Asoka the Andhras appear as subject to his empire. When the distant provinces broke away from the empire after his death, these took advantage of the opportunity, and not merely set themselves up independently but even extended their territory so as to take into it soon after, much that belonged to the empire of Asoka. The Andhra empire extended, under the second king by name Krishna, as far at least as Nasik near the sources of the Godaveri. Under the third king Satakarni there was probably a war against the Kalinga kingdom then under its third king Kharavela of the Cheta dynasty. Some generations after this, the Andhras became the imperial power in India. We do not know much about the first 18 rulers of the dynasty while we have very much more information regarding the last 12 who are called the later Andhras, for convenience. According to the Puranas their total period was 460 years. The most remarkable among these later rulers was king Hala, a patron of literature, and himself the author of a Prakrit work, Saptasatika. Two later

rulers, known respectively as Gautamiputra and his son Pulumayi, played a great part in their attempts to keep out foreign tribes which had effected settlements in Western India, in subordination probably to the Parthian sovereigns across the frontiers of India. They perhaps acknowledged the overlordship of the next dynasty of rulers known as Kushanas, the greatest among whom, as we shall see, was Kanishka. The last great Andhra monarch probably ruled from A. D. 173 to A. D. 202. He distinguished himself against the enemies of the Andhras, and extended his influence even beyond the seas, as in some of his coins appears the figure of a ship. We do not know what exactly were the causes that brought about the overthrow of the Andhras. The empire seems to have first broken up into two parts, eastern and western, and ultimately disappeared. Almost at about the same time, the empire of the Kushanas passed out of existence in Northern India. These two events took place almost simultaneously with the rise of a new dynasty in Persia in A. D. 226, the Sassanian dynasty. We do not know whether these three events had any connection among themselves, nor what took place

immediately after, till the rise of the Pallavas to power in Kanchi, and of the Chalukyas in Badami sometime later in the 5th century A. D.

CHAPTER IX.

TO THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS.

Bactria and Parthia.—We have already stated in the last chapter that the Greek kingdom of Asia, under the dynasty founded by Seleucus, broke up about the same time as the empire of the Mauryas in India. Two states which formed part of the former became kingdoms of considerable importance. One of these was in the immediate neighbourhood of India, and arose out of the province of Bactria under the Persian Empire. The other perhaps began with the portions stretching from the Caspian Sea to somewhere near Herat, and extended ultimately to include in it not only the whole of Persia, but even considerable parts of Baluchistan and Southern Afghanistan. This is known in history as the kingdom or empire of Parthia. These two kingdoms, Bactria under a Greek governor who successfully revolted from the

authority of the grandson of Seleucus, and the Parthian under the dynasty of the Arsaces, were constantly exposed to the attacks of various tribes who moved from the western parts of the Chinese Empire, southwards and westwards, for other lands.

New tribal movements.—These were great nomadic or wandering tribes who broke loose from north-western China, and moved on in search of new settlements for themselves and their cattle which formed their wealth. These drove before them, as they moved on, various other tribes already settled nearer the frontiers of these two kingdoms. Under pressure of this movement, the kingdom of Bactria went out of existence after a short duration. Parthia was able to hold its own much longer but made room for at least some of these moving peoples in its own territory.

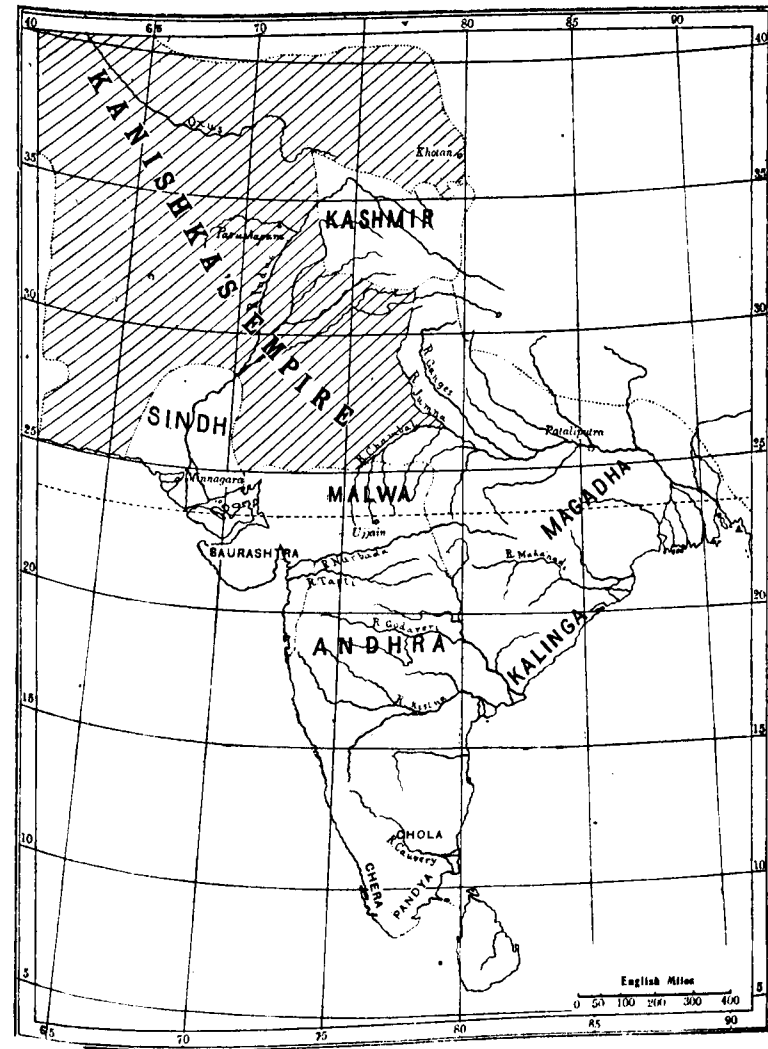
The Sakas and the Yueh-chi.—Of these peoples we have to remember two who came into connection with Indian history. It was a race of people known to the Chinese as *Hiung-nu* (*Hunas*) that set up the disturbance. The Yueh-chi moved before them, and fell upon the Sakas who had probably settled on the northern side of the Jaxartes (*Syr Darya*) and drove them from there.

It was perhaps at this time that they went and settled down in the country which is now Afghanistan and N. W. India. The Yueh-chi that settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the northern frontier of Bactria, ultimately destroyed the Bactrian kingdom itself, and one tribe among them, the Kushanas as they are called, moved into Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab and formed a kingdom of their own. The Sakas, on the other side, seem to have continued under the authority of the Parthians. They seem from time to time to have moved eastwards and formed settlements of their own in Sind, Kathiawar and Gujarat as distinct from those who had already settled in the North-West Frontier Province. It is two dynasties of these Sakas that distinguished themselves against the Andhras, one dynasty in the Deccan under Nahapana, and the other in Malva under Chashtana and his successors, the most distinguished among them being Rudradaman. Simultaneously with these the various Kushan settlements gradually gathered together under a set of rulers, the most remarkable among them being Kanishka.

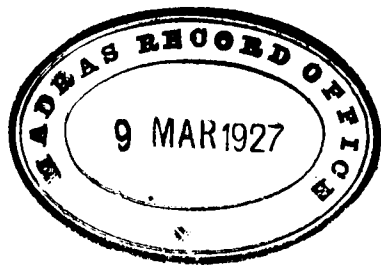
The Kushan empire.—As far as we know at present the various Greek settlements

were overthrown and small principalities were formed by various branches of these Yueh-chi tribes and some Saka tribes before them. These were all gathered together under a powerful ruler, who is believed to be the first ruler of a united Kushan kingdom, which included in it considerable parts of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan on this side of the Indus. By the time that Kanishka succeeded to the throne, perhaps about A. D. 78, the power of the Kushanas extended so far as perhaps to extend their overlordship over the Saka dynasties in India, already referred to above.

Kanishka.—Kanishka, the third ruler of this dynasty, succeeded to a kingdom already brought under one rule by the labour of his predecessors. He was able to extend it to the river Ganges in the east, and made his northern and western frontiers come into touch with the Chinese and Roman Empires respectively. He is, however, known more in connection with his patronage of a new development of Buddhism, known as Mahayana Buddhism, which is the form that religion took then, and which obtains now in China, Japan, Siam and other Buddhist countries. He sent out an expedition against



INDIA IN KING KANISHKA'S TIME.

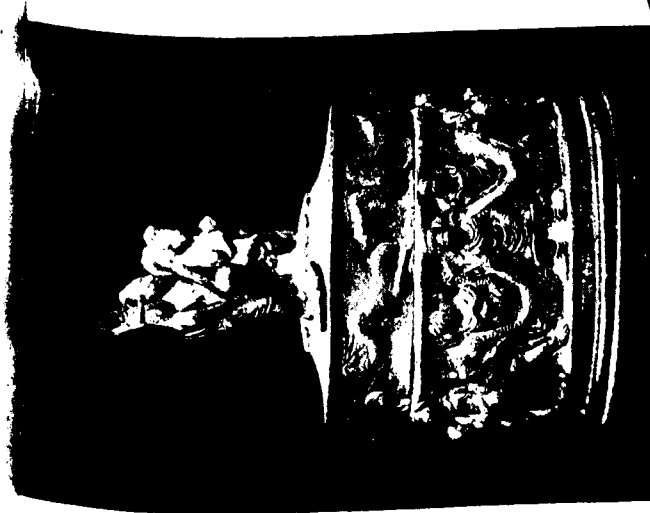


the Chinese, and succeeded where his predecessor had failed. He not only got rid of the obligation to pay tribute to the Chinese Empire, but he constituted also the province of Khotan on the frontier between Tibet and China, subordinate to him. It was probably he that sent an embassy to the Roman emperor Trajan in A. D. 99. It was during the latter part of his reign that a great Buddhist Council was held (4th Buddhist Council) in Kashmere, under the presidency of his religious adviser Parsva. The great Buddhist scholar and divine Asvaghosha lived in his reign and wrote the life of the Buddha, *Buddha Charita*, in Sanskrit epic form. Kanishka's capital was at Purushapura, modern Peshawar, where recently a casket of relics of the Buddha was unearthed. This was enshrined there in a stupa (tope) by Kanishka who built also a very large monastery near it. Some parts of this, at any rate, were in existence when Huen-Tsang visited the place in the 7th century A. D. Kanishka's empire on the western side included Kashgar and Yarkand, in addition to Khotan.

Changed character of Buddhism.—It was from the date of Kanishka's Council that it is generally believed that the

Buddha was made a god amidst a large number of gods of varying degrees of importance. Along with this change came other changes also to meet the demands of popular worship. Various elements, Indian and foreign, went to make up this new Buddhism, which is different in many essential particulars from the Buddhism of the days of Asoka. The Buddha was worshipped, and the Buddhistic pantheon of the days of Kanishka and his immediate successors find visible expression in the sculptures, generally known as the Gandhara sculptures. These works of art show themselves to be more or less a separate branch of the Greco-Roman art.

Kanishka's successors.—We know of three or four successors of Kanishka who seem to have maintained the empire bequeathed to them by Kanishka. Some memorials of their existence are found in coins and monuments, and a few inscriptions. The power of Kanishka's empire began to decline from the last quarter of the 2nd century A. D., just about the same time that the Parthian Empire in Persia and the Andhra Empire in the Deccan began also to decline. The new empire of Persia under the Sassanians began in A. D. 226, just



See p. 63.

CASKET CONTAINING BUDDHIST SCULPTURES

• FOUND IN THE SHAH-JI-KI DHERI STUPA, MAR 1927

NEAR PESHAWAR.

KANISHKA.

INScribed LIFE-SIZE STATUE.

Negative: Archaeological Survey.

Negative: Archaeological Survey.

about the time that both the Kushana Empire in the north and the Andhra Empire in the south of India went out of existence. We do not know for certain whether the rise of this new empire of Persia, or the fall of the previous Parthian Empire, had anything in common with the decline alike of the Kushana power in Northern India, and of the Andhras in the South.

The Sakas.—Of the two branches of the Sakas mentioned already, Nahapana and his successors maintained themselves in the coast region of the Deccan on the western side for two or three generations till they were overthrown by the Andhras, Gautamiputra-Satakarni and his son Pulumayi. The dynasty founded in Malva by Chashtana seems to have had a longer duration, and counted six or seven generations, most remarkable among them being Rudradaman, the Maha Kshatrapa of Malva. He fought successfully against the Satakarnis or Satavahanas, and after a successful battle he entered into alliance with them. It was one of his daughters that was married to the Satavahana king Pulumayi. All through this period the extreme south of India seems to have been left to itself as a separate part of India. As we have already

5.

S. H. H. I.

CHAITYA, AJANTA CAVE IX.

Negative: India Office.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE BUDDHIST CAVE-TEMPLE AT KARLI.

pointed out, Asoka's power did not extend into the interior of this region, although an attempt at conquering the Tamil kingdoms had been made. Failing in this attempt the Southern kingdoms were accepted by the Maurya Asoka as treaty powers. This state of independence of the imperial power, whatever it was, was quite as true in regard to North Indian as to the Deccan powers. These South Indian kingdoms maintained their independence throughout this period. Within this region they had their own wars and alliances, but they on the whole seem to have maintained their territory in sufficient peace to allow of the possibility of considerable communication in the interior for prosperous commerce with the outside world. We do sometimes hear of claims put forward in behalf of these Southern powers, to certain specific achievements against the rulers of Northern India.

The third century A. D., a dark period.—Even in respect of this particular region we lose the light that we have, just about the time that the Kushanas and the Andhras go out of existence; that is just about the middle of the third century A.D. One reason that we fail to have information is the decline of Roman and

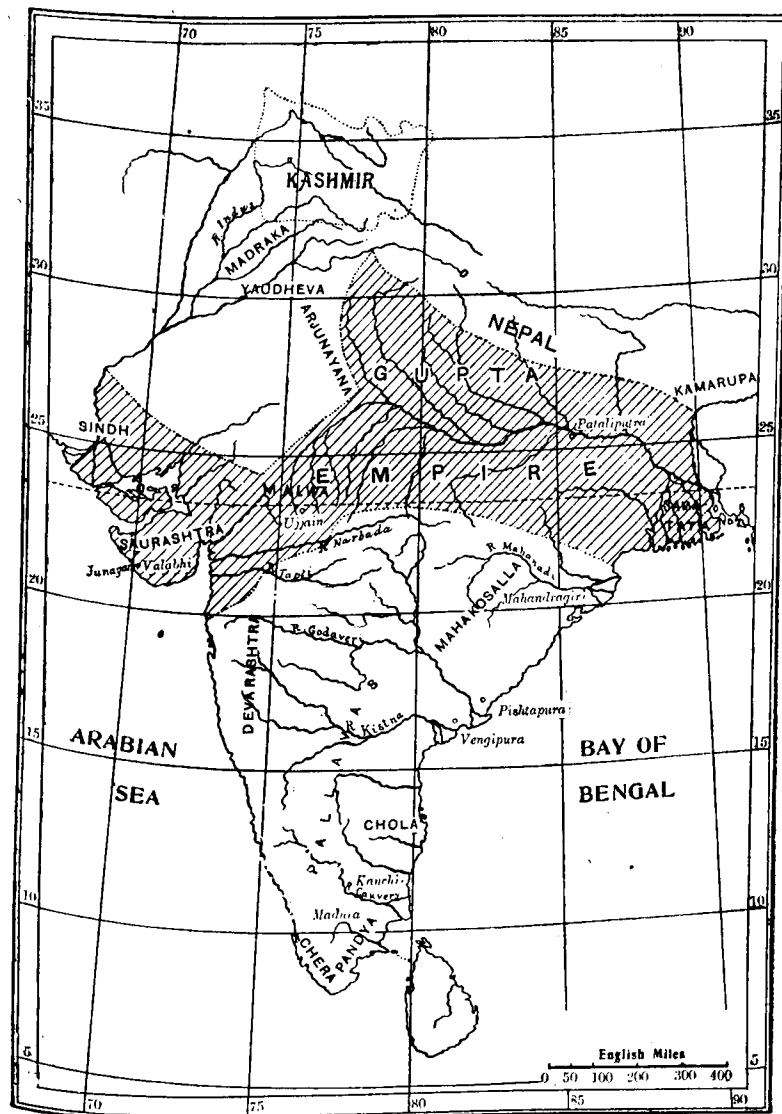
Greek commerce with the coasts of South India, a part of the explanation of this decline being found in the changes which took place in the Roman Empire itself. It is strange that there should have settled over the whole of India this particular darkness at this period for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given. Lack of information is not always lack of history. The decline of the Andhra power seems to have taken place about the same time as the rise of the Pallavas in the south-eastern and southern part of their dominions. It is the extension of the power of these Pallavas that made the ancient landmarks of the Tamil country disappear. We shall take this up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

THE GUPTA EMPIRE.

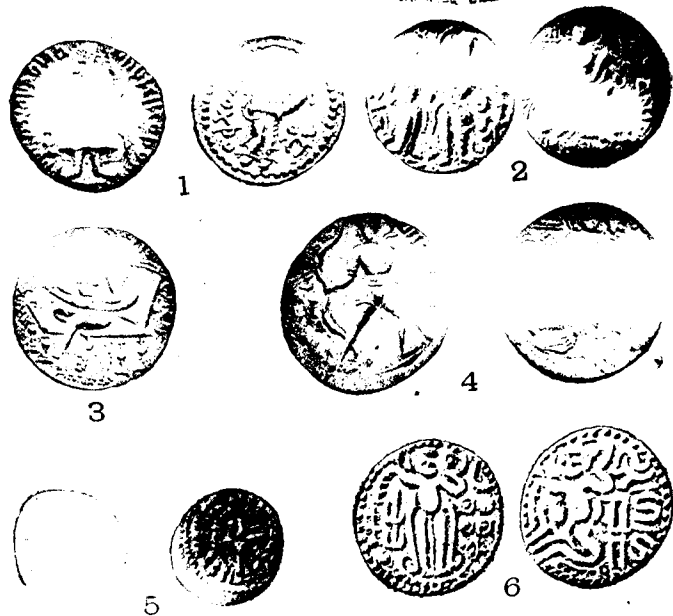
The rise of the Guptas.—We stated in the last chapter that for about a century after the last of the Kushanas, we have no certain information as to the history of Northern India. Almost at the end of this period, in or a little previous to A.D. 319;

a new dynasty emerges into light which is known to history as that of the Guptas. The first important member of this dynasty was one by name Chandragupta, who married a princess Kumaradevi, belonging to the family of the Lichchavis of Vaishali. This marriage led to the foundation of the dynasty, which is one of the greatest Hindu dynasties of Northern India. Chandragupta probably began life as a petty chieftain of some territory in Magadha and rose by this marriage gradually, becoming the sovereign of Maharajas (Maharajadhiraja). It is somewhat peculiar that he struck coins in the joint names of himself and his queen, and his son and successor generally described himself as the son of the daughter of Lichchavis. These facts indicate the importance of this marriage connection. This Chandragupta extended his dominions along the valley of the Ganges up to Allahabad and ruled the territory which included Tirhut, South Behar, Oudh, and adjoining districts. It was probably his accession to the throne that marks the foundation of a new era, the Gupta era, beginning in A.D. 320-21. He died about the year A.D. 330, and was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, the son of the Lichchavi queen.



GUPTA EMPIRE.

Samudragupta.—Samudragupta proved to be one of the greatest sovereigns not only of the Gupta dynasty, but also among Indian sovereigns. Samudragupta was a very accomplished man, skilled in music, poetry and all the arts of war and peace. He was a great conqueror who brought under subjection to him all the kingdoms of Northern India of which nine are mentioned by name. He also similarly imposed his authority upon eleven of the South Indian kingdoms, but restored these to their respective rulers, perhaps placing them under tribute. In his southward march he came by way of the East Coast as far as Kanchi, and returned almost by the same route back to his capital which probably was Pataliputra. Ayodhya and Ujjain were alternative capitals of great importance during this period. His territory at the end of his period of conquests embraced practically the whole of Hindustan as far west as the Punjab, Rajputana and Malva, which at that time appear to have been under the control of various tribes living under republican institutions. Samudragupta's kingdom proper extended from the river Brahmaputra to the Jumna and the Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the



1. A COIN OF KANISHKA.
2. A COIN OF CHANDRA GUPTA I.
3. A COIN OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.
4. A COIN OF CHANDRA GUPTA VIKRAMADITYA.
5. A COIN OF SKANDA GUPTA.
6. GOLD COIN OF RAJARAJA CHOLA.



THE FAMOUS COLOSSAL TRIMURTI
(BRAHMA, VISHNU AND SIVA)
AT THE BACK OF THE ELEPHANTA CAVES.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.

Himalayas in the north to the river Narbada in the south. Surrounded by a string of kingdoms both in the east and the south, which probably were at least nominally placed under tribute, his influence however extended very much beyond these limits. He was in diplomatic relations with the Kushan rulers of Gandhara and Kabul, and with the ruler of Ceylon. Having effected such vast conquests he celebrated the horse-sacrifice, *Asvamedha*, and struck a medal in celebration of this great event.

Personally he was an accomplished man as has been already stated. He seems to have been, in his youth, under the teaching of Vasubandhu, a celebrated Buddhist divine and author. None the less his religion was Brahmanism, as the celebration of the horse-sacrifice would unmistakably indicate. His reign lasted probably up to A.D. 375.

Chandragupta II.—Samudragupta was succeeded by his son who is known to historians as Chandragupta II., son of his queen Dattadevi by name. Chandragupta was already associated with his father in government as Crown Prince (*Yuvaraja*). It is this Chandragupta that assumed the title *Vikramaditya*. It is generally believed now, that it is this title of *Vikramaditya* assumed by

this sovereign, which has given its name to the era going by the name Vikrama, the Samvat Era. He made efforts to complete the empire of his father by extending his conquests towards the south-west as far as the sea by bringing under his empire Malva and Gujarat, and the peninsula of Kathiawar (Surashtra) which had for centuries been under the dynasty of the Sakas, generally called the Western Satraps. This addition he appears to have made during the period A.D. 388 to 401. The extension towards the Arabian Sea brought the Gupta empire into contact with the outside world by way of the sea. We have already pointed out in the previous chapter that there were two branches of the Western Satraps or Sakas, one in Konkhan and the other in Gujarat and Malva, and that the Konkhan Satraps were overthrown by the early Andhra rulers. By this conquest of Chandragupta II., Saka rule in India came to an end. After a long reign, like those of his father and grandfather, Chandragupta died about the year A.D. 413. The capital of the empire under Chandragupta II., was probably Ayodhya, and as has been pointed out already, Ujjain in Malva and other cities like

Kosambi were cities almost of equal importance, as also Pataliputra, the Maurya capital. It was during this reign that the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien travelled in the country. The record of his travel gives a glorious account of the condition of the empire and of its highly civilized and orderly administration. The condition of Buddhism seems to have been prosperous notwithstanding the fact that the ruler himself was Brahmanical in religion.

Kumaragupta I.—Chandragupta Vikramaditya was succeeded about A.D. 413 by Kumaragupta, his son by Dhruvadevi, distinguished as Kumaragupta I. by historians. The reign of Kumaragupta appears to have been a peaceful one generally, and it is at the close of his reign that the great scourge of civilization, the Hun invasions, broke into India, about the middle of the 5th century. Kumaragupta's reign was comparatively speaking a peaceful one till about the year A.D. 450 when a war had to be waged against a powerful nation called Pushyamitras, who inflicted a severe defeat upon the imperial armies. The evil consequences of this defeat, however, were averted by the energy of the Crown Prince, Skandagupta, who, in his preparation to avert this great calamity to his

dynasty, is said to have been driven to the necessity of sleeping for a night on bare earth.

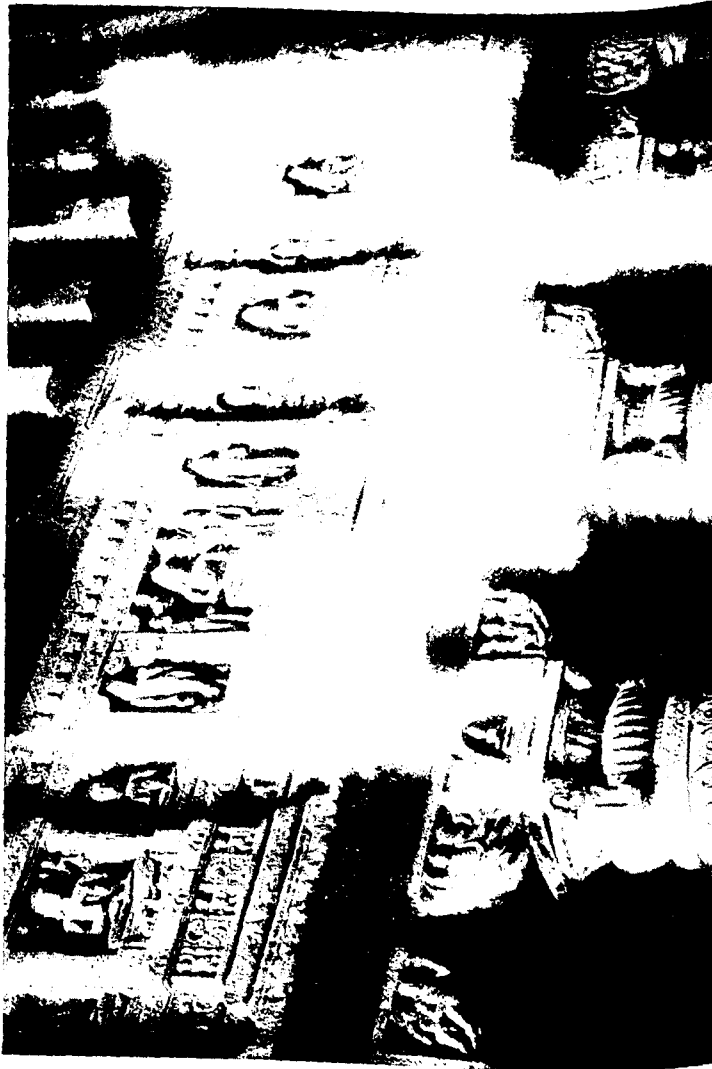
Skandagupta.—This energetic prince succeeded his father a few years later, and had to encounter a far more serious danger, namely the invasion of the Huns from Central Asia. These people who in large tribes moved away from their position in the heart of Asia, divided themselves into two, one branch throwing itself upon Europe, and the other, called the White Huns or Ephthalites, poured into India. For about a century the Huns were a source of constant danger to civilization itself. So far as India was concerned, the power of the White Huns was put an end to finally about the year 540 by the patriotic efforts of the last great Gupta, Narasimhagupta Baladitya, and another great ruler Yasodharman of Malva. Skandagupta's defeat of the Huns inflicted such a check upon them that he regarded himself as having saved the empire from destruction. The inscription describing his victory says that he hastened with the news of the victory to his mother, just as Krishna, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Devaki. He celebrated this victory by erecting a pillar of victory surmounted by a statue of the god Vishnu. This victory



See p. 75.

VERANDAH, AJANTA CAVE I.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



DETAIL OF CARVINGS. AJANTA CAVES.

was in fact great as we find Skandagupta's authority extending to the western extremity of the empire. It is there in Surashtra (Kathiawar) that one of his viceroys repaired the ancient embankment of the Girnar lake and constructed a temple consecrated to Vishnu. Skandagupta's empire extended from the Brahmaputra to the Punjab and Gujarat. In the latter part of his reign, however, say about A. D. 470, the Kushan kingdoms of Kabul and Gandhara were overthrown by the Huns, and this time Skandagupta was not as successful against them as on the former occasion. With his death about A. D. 480 we may date the end of the Gupta empire, although the imperial dynasty lasted through two more generations.

Puragupta and Baladitya.—Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother Puragupta. It was very probably in his reign that the coinage debased in the reign of Skandagupta, perhaps owing to the necessities of war, was reformed and restored to its original condition. Puragupta's rule was a comparatively short one. He was succeeded about the year 485 by his son Narasimhagupta, with the title Baladitya, already referred to in connection with the Huns. He showed special favour to Buddhism, and a beautiful and costly

temple dedicated by him at the Buddhist University town Nalanda, in Magadha, was seen by Hiuen Tsang. But Baladitya's name, however, is handed down to historical fame by his defeat of the cruel Hun ruler Mihiragula about the year A. D. 528. He was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta II. and with him the Gupta empire actually comes to an end, though there was a local dynasty of Guptas in the middle of Hindustan.

The Gupta period.—The period of the Guptas is one of the brightest in the history of Hindu India and is in many ways remarkable. The dynasty lasted from A. D. 313 to almost 550. It had a succession of three or four great rulers whose period of rule occupied more than a century. The majority of the rulers were orthodox Hindus and gave as it were a fresh start to Brahmanism, and Sanskrit literature in all its branches. Several of the older Puranas were put in their final form in this period. Art and architecture received special attention also, and, as has been pointed out already, Gupta influence extended from distant Ceylon in the south to the river Oxus in the north-west.

The Huns.—The empire was subverted by the repeated invasions of the Huns. The check given to their advance in India by

Skandagupta had only the effect of holding back their incursions for a time. They soon however effected a lodgment in the territory round Kabul and Gandhara, superseding the last of the Kushan dynasty there, to enter India from this as a permanent base. We hear of two rulers, father and son, among these Huns, Toramana and Mihiragula. It was this Mihiragula, a very cruel man and persecutor of Buddhism, who was defeated by the combined armies of the Gupta Baladitya and Yasodharman of Malva. Mihiragula formed by treachery a contemporary kingdom for himself in Kashmere and came to a cruel end. One other event which marked the decline of the Gupta empire was the formation of the kingdom of Vallabhi in Surashtra (Kathiawar). This kingdom which was carved out of the western provinces of the Gupta empire lasted till about A. D. 770, and was in a very flourishing condition when Hiuen-Tsang visited India.

The Gurjaras.—Another effect of the invasion of the Huns was the foundation of a Gurjara kingdom in Central India. The Gurjaras are regarded as closely allied to the Huns and founded a considerable kingdom in Rajputana with their capital at Bhilmal, a short distance north-west of

Mount Abu. These were able to form an imperial kingdom with their capital at Kanauj as we shall see further on. They had also a minor kingdom with its capital at Broach. These foreign invaders left various clans and families, particularly in the central region of Northern India, all of which practically became hinduized in course of time. The rank and file of them became the caste of Gujars who are found all over Hindustan. It is from out of these people that there sprang the Rajput families of later India. The White Hun state on the Oxus was put an end to by the incursions of the Turkish tribes in the middle of the sixth century. The extension of this power gave India peace from foreign invasions for very near five centuries, during which time India was left to develop herself in her own way.

The three divisions of India.—Of Northern India we know but little during the later half of the sixth century, which period thus provides another of those dark periods which usually follow a bright epoch in Indian History. One feature is certain, and that is the absence of a paramount power in Northern India. From the period of the Guptas onwards we could speak of the History of India, in three compartments:

History of Hindustan, that is, Northern India; History of the Deccan, the portion corresponding to the Andhra empire; and History of South India, the portion which stood out of the empire of the Mauryas, Andhras and even of the Guptas. We shall take them in this order.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EMPIRE OF HARSHA.

A new dynasty.—When India emerges into light after the half century of darkness referred to at the end of the last chapter, we find it once again under the rule of a powerful monarch, Harsha by name, who ruled from A. D. 606 to 647. The Hun invasions, when they put an end to the imperial Gupta dynasty, perhaps left India under a number of petty rulers. It probably took some time for one power to stand out as the overlord among these little states. The turn came this time to Sthanvisvara (Thaneswar) where a chieftain, allied by marriage to the family of the Guptas, rose into some importance at the end of the sixth century. This chieftain, by name Prabhakara

Vardhana, had to carry on wars to keep out the Huns from the north-west, and to get under his control the rulers of Malva and the smaller provinces immediately adjoining his own paternal state. He had two sons and a daughter, and about the end of his life he sent both his sons at the head of his army against the Huns of north-western India. The elder had marched into the enemy country; the younger, commanding the rear, was advancing more slowly when the news of the last illness of his father took him back to the capital, and before the elder son could return the father had died.

Rajyavardhana.—The elder of the two sons, Rajyavardhana by name, succeeded his father about A.D. 604, but his rule was quite short. His sister had been married to another chieftain belonging to the Maukhari family. He is called Grahavarman and his father's name was Avantivarman. Their capital city was Kanauj. The king of Malva at the time went to war against this Grahavarman, put him to death and threw his queen Rajyasri, the princess of Thaneswar, into prison. The news of this calamity was brought to Rajyavardhana immediately after his accession. Rajyavardhana marched at once to help his sister. He defeated the Malva king, but found that his sister had escaped

and fled into the forest of the Vindhya. Rajyavardhana himself was in turn assassinated by the king of Central Bengal, by name Sasanka. The double calamity came suddenly upon Harsha, the younger of the two sons, who after some reluctance assumed authority, and set out on the march against Sasanka to avenge the death of his brother. Having done what he could to turn out Sasanka from the region of Kanauj, he set forward in a hurry in search of his sister. He at last discovered her, while she was about to commit herself to the flames, in the depths of the Vindhyan forests. He saved her from this immolation, and brought her back to live with him at his capital. All this took place in the year A.D. 606 which marks the commencement of the reign of Harsha.

Harsha's reign.—Harsha had a long reign of more than forty years during which he exerted himself greatly to unite all Hindustan at any rate, under one central authority. He had constantly to be at war and set out at once against Sasanka of Bengal and against some of the Gurjara tribes who had settled themselves in various localities all over the western half of India. Having quieted the

central region and brought Sasanka to a healthy fear of his rising power, Harsha also made an attempt to extend his power to the south of the Vindhyas. In this campaign, which perhaps took place about A. D. 620, his power received a check from the great Chalukya ruler of the Deccan, Pulakesin II. Harsha failed so completely to break through the lines that defended the Narbada frontier of Pulakesin, that he thereafter made no further attempt to extend his territories on that side. He carried his arms further westward, however, and defeated Dhruvasena II. (Dhruvabhata), king of Valabhi, who married his daughter and acknowledged himself feudatory to his father-in-law. The last campaign undertaken by Harsha was against Ganjam, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. In the course of a thirty-five years' period of war, Harsha extended his authority and influence from Assam in the east to Kathiawar in the west, and from the Narbada in the south to the Himalayas in the north. He maintained his authority undiminished in this vast region by constant touring.

Hiuen-Tsang and Harsha.— It was during Harsha's reign that the great Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang came to India and travelled through the country. He spent a number



EMPIRE OF HARSHA.

of years in the territory of Harsha himself, and became a much respected friend of his. From what Hiuen-Tsang says of Harsha's empire we are enabled to form a clear idea of the character of his administration. The administrative arrangements seem to have been framed on benign principles. Taxation was comparatively light, compulsory labour was paid for and such personal services as were exacted from the subjects were placed under restriction. There was liberal provision made for charity to various religious communities. Crimes of a serious character were rather rare, although the administration of criminal law was severe in comparison to what it was under the Guptas in the fifth century. Official records appear to have been kept by special officers. Education was widely diffused, particularly amongst the Brahmans and the Buddhists. King Harsha, like many other Indian sovereigns, was a great patron of learning. He was also a writer of no mean order. There are at least three dramas of his in existence at the present day. The greatest among his court poets was Bana, the author of the historical romance *Harsha-Charita* or 'The Deeds of Harsha', and another great prose work in Sanskrit, *Kadambari*.

Harsha's religious attitude. — During the last years of his life Harsha appears

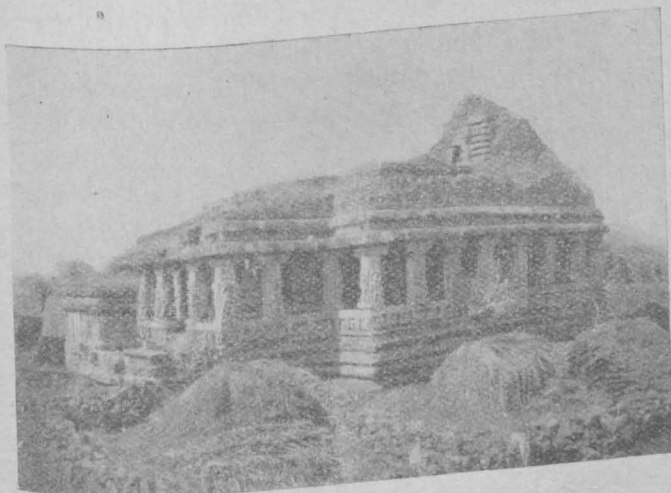
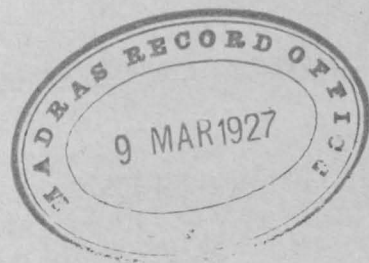
to have been inclined towards Mahayana Buddhism, chiefly through the influence of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang. His sister Rajyasri was a Buddhist all along, and played a prominent part in his patronage of Buddhism. Harsha celebrated, during the period Hiuen-Tsang stayed at his capital, two great religious festivals, one in Kanauj and the other in Prayag (Allahabad), which are described elaborately by the traveller. Large distributions of money and articles of dress were made on the latter occasion. Harsha, like several other Indian monarchs, paid attention to the nobler teachings of all religions alike. Though there was considerable ill-feeling among the various sects that inhabited this vast territory, persecution as such does not appear to have been practised generally. One exception must however be noted. The Bengal ruler Sasanka, already referred to in a connection not very honourable to him, was a staunch worshipper of Siva. He is said to have uprooted the Bodhi tree of the Buddha in Gaya, and to have broken in pieces the stone marked with the foot-prints of the Buddha.

Like Akbar, Harsha brought about disputations among the learned men of the various

CHAPTER XII.

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS.

Between the Andhras and the Chalukyas.—As already pointed out in a previous chapter, from about A. D. 225, when the Andhra dynasty passed out of existence as a ruling power in the Deccan, we lose sight of the history of that region for some time. From the glimpse of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, we find that probably the whole of the Andhra Deccan was parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains among whom the Pallavas stand out prominent in the east, and the Rattas or Rashtrakutas (modern Mahrattas) in the west. In the south-western corner of their territory North Canara and North Mysore, there was a dynasty of rulers called the Kadambas with their capital at Banavasi in Dharwar which is of local importance mostly. After very nearly three centuries of want of history we find a new dynasty working its way to power over the whole of this region. This is the Chalukya dynasty which historians divide into two branches in regard to the places that they ruled, namely, the Eastern



DURGA TEMPLE AT AIHOLE,
BIJAPUR DISTRICT.

religions prevalent in his time. But he seems to have exhibited his partiality for Buddhism rather too plainly; so much so that it is believed an attempt upon his life was made by the followers of a Brahmanical religion for which cruel punishments were meted out. On the occasions of his public assemblies, Harsha's celebrations were attended by all subordinate sovereigns, among them Kumarabhas-kara of Assam (Kamarupa) and Dhruvasena of Valabhi in Western India should be noted. At the end of the great celebration in Allahabad, the traveller Hiuen-Tsang was given an escort and sent on his return journey to China. About the year 641, Harsha sent an envoy to China who returned the following year with a Chinese mission bearing the Chinese sovereign's reply. In the following year the Chinese sent another mission, but before its arrival in India, Harsha had died, A.D. 647. As he left no son to succeed him there was a usurpation and consequent disturbance.

Arjuna, a usurper.—The throne was usurped by one of the ministers of the late king, known as Arjuna or Arunesvara. His bad treatment of the Chinese envoy brought on a war between him and Tibet which was

then subordinate to China. The ambassador at the head of a Tibetan army was able to inflict a defeat upon Arjuna, and took him away a prisoner to China. In the course of this war some parts of India, such as Tirhut, became subject to Tibet, and remained so for some time. The empire formed by Harsha through many years' exertion passed out of existence in this manner, about A.D. 650, and Northern India broke up into a number of small and independent states. The chief kingdoms that composed India immediately after the death of Harsha, and before the coming of the Muhammadans, were Kashmere, Punjab, Sind, Malva, Kamarupa (Assam) and Kalinga. All these kingdoms figure separately in the history of the period that follows. The only successful effort at uniting all these again in one kingdom was made by a Gurjara ruler, about the latter half of the ninth century, by name Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj. But before taking up that story, we shall have to try and learn something of the history of the Deccan and South India during the period of the Guptas and of the empire of Harsha.



See p. 91.

RECEPTION OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE PERSIAN KING
KHUSRU II. BY PULAKESIN II.

and the Western. In point of time also this dynasty is divided into two, the Earlier and the Later Chalukyas. What is said in this chapter has reference only to the Earlier Chalukyas.

The Chalukyas.—The Chalukyas claimed to be of Rajput blood and came into the Deccan table-land from the North. They seem to be in some way connected with one of the tribes of the Gurjaras, and it seems to be from them that the Solankis claim their descent. The first important sovereign of the dynasty was the founder, Pulakesin I. who, about A. D. 550, made himself master of Vatapi (Badami in the Bijapur district), and established a small principality round it. He made efforts to extend his power and is also said to have performed an Asvamedha, or Horse-Sacrifice. His two sons, both of whom ruled in succession, extended his conquests by subjugating various other clans, among them the Mauryas of the Konkhan, the coast region between the Western Ghats and the sea. This probably was a settlement of the ancient Mauryas of the famous imperial dynasty. The second of the brothers mentioned above was ruling ostensibly in behalf of his nephew Pulakesin II. who was too young at the time his

father died. After the death of his uncle he ascended the throne, but the earlier period of his reign was disturbed by other claimants to it from among the sons of his uncle. Having overcome such resistance as they were able to put up against his succession, he was formally crowned in the year A.D. 609, the date of his accession being one year earlier. It will thus be seen that he came to the throne almost about the same time as his great contemporary of the North, Harsha.

Pulakesin II. and the Eastern Chalukyas.

—Pulakesin II. is to be regarded as the greatest among the Earlier Chalukyas. The first twenty years of his reign he devoted to the conquest of all the neighbouring petty states, constituting from out of these an empire. He succeeded so far in this effort that about the year A.D. 620 he was able to defend successfully the Deccan against its invasion by Harsha, the emperor of Hindustan. In the course of his earlier conquests his territory expanded so rapidly (perhaps the enemies he had to contend against in the south and the east were so troublesome), that he constituted the eastern part of his dominions into an important viceroyalty which he entrusted to

his younger brother who is known to history as Vishnuvardhana. This brother had his capital first at Pishtapuram (modern Pithapur). A few years later he made himself independent. The dynasty that he founded is known as the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It lasted from about A.D. 609 to A.D. 1070 when it was united with the then reigning imperial Chola dynasty of the South.

Pulakesin II. and the Pallavas.—After the repulse of Harsha on the Narbada frontier, Pulakesin successfully established himself as a great ruler, and his fame spread so far that he had the honour of receiving an embassy from Persia in the year A.D. 625-26. This embassy is said to be commemorated in a fresco painting in one of the caves at Ajanta. When Hiuen-Tsang passed through his territory, the king was then ruling at a city in the north which is taken to be Nasik. Hiuen-Tsang was much impressed with the powers of Pulakesin. He was also able to see the Ajanta paintings which take high rank as works of art. In the year following Hiuen-Tsang's visit, that is in A.D. 642, there was a great war between the Pallavas, who had established themselves in Kanchi, and the Chalukyas. The Pallavas so far got the

better of the Chalukyas that they marched upon the capital city Vatapi (Badami), set fire to it and created an interregnum for thirteen years, having probably killed Pulakesin in the course of the fight.

Vikramaditya I.—After this interregnum of thirteen years one of the sons of Pulakesin, by name Vikramaditya, succeeded to the throne about A.D. 655, after inflicting a severe defeat upon the Pallavas and capturing Kanchi their capital. It was during his reign that a branch of the Chalukyas established itself in Gujarat, where it resisted the coming in of the Arabs in the next century. The war against the Pallavas continued throughout the rest of the period of the existence of this dynasty, which lasted through four generations after Vikramaditya I. The Pallava capital was several times occupied, and as many times the Chalukyas were beaten back from it. The last such occupation of Kanchi was made by Vikramaditya II., about A.D. 740.

Subversion of the dynasty.—In the middle of the eighth century, *i. e.*, somewhere about A.D. 753, the dynasty was overthrown by a chief who is called Dantidurga. He laid the foundation of a new

dynasty in this region, which lasted from A.D. 753 to A.D. 972, and is known to history as the Rashtrakuta dynasty. During the period of a little over two centuries of Chalukyan rule Buddhism had begun to decline considerably and was gradually being superseded in influence by Brahmanism and Jainism. The Puranic form of Hinduism grew in popularity, and the Jains occupied an influential position in society. To these latter we are indebted for a considerable body of literature, both Sanskrit and vernacular. It is during this period that modern Hinduism takes shape and the worship of Vishnu and Siva claims practically the whole body of Hindus. The central region of the Chalukya territory became in a way the headquarters of Jainism. One event of considerable importance in Indian history during this period was the immigration of the Parsees from Khorasan. These immigrants, according to tradition, fled to India to save themselves from persecution by the Muhammadans, and established themselves first at Sanjan in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, in A.D. 735.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PALLAVAS.

Their origin.—Since the break-up of the Andhra power in the Deccan in the first quarter of the third century A. D., the south-eastern parts of it, particularly the region extending from the Krishna to the South, were in the occupation of a number of chieftains who came to be famous later as the Pallavas. When the Pallava power concentrated so far as to be counted a single dynasty, they came to be known as the Pallavas of Kanchi. The region where they first come into notice is the region known to Tamil literature as the beginning of Vaduga country (the land of northerners). It is this region that has, in later times, been the strongholds of Reddi families, several of whom carry their ancestry to the Pallavas. Who these Pallavas exactly were is not yet a settled matter. There is one school of opinion which says they were foreigners, akin to the Sakas and the Parthians (Pallavas), who came and settled in this region and made themselves independent subsequently. There is another possibility that these were indigenous clans or tribes who

when they assumed possession of the land belonging to the earlier Tamil Tondaman chieftains assumed the Sanskrit name Pallava, the equivalent of the Tamil Tondaman. Whatever it be, we hear of them in this same region, and their grants are issued from two or three capitals, Kanchi, Palak-kada and Dasanapura, all figuring in inscriptions as though they were separate capitals. As far as it is possible to know at present, two or three distinct dynasties of the Pallavas, separated from one another in point of time, get merged about the commencement of the seventh century, or a little earlier, in the great Pallava family of Kanchi. Their exact contemporaries, the Chalukyas of Badami, we dealt with in the last chapter.

The greatest ruler of the dynasty.—The first great ruler of this dynasty was Simhavishnu, whose son Mahendravarman extended his territory first of all towards the south, at least as far as Trichinopoly. He is the ruler to whom must be ascribed the construction of a large number of the cave temples of Southern India. His son Narasimhavarman, known by the title Pallavamalla, was perhaps the greatest of the family. He carried on the work of extension of the Pallava power begun by his father.

The principal enemies he had to contend with were the Chalukyas who ever showed a tendency to advance south-eastwards from their territory. Narasimha had to fight many wars against them, and ultimately was so far successful that he laid siege to Vatapi (Badami), the Chalukya capital, burnt it down, and left an inscription of his on one of the pillars of victory in the town. This occasioned, as already stated, an interregnum (an interval between kings) of thirteen years. The date of this event is about A. D. 642. It was during his reign that Hiuen-Tsang paid his visit to South India and was for some time in Kanchi. Narasimha gave protection to the fugitive king of Ceylon who took part in the sack of Vatapi (Badami). He also sent a naval expedition of considerable strength to set his friend on the throne of his ancestors in Ceylon. One such expedition failed, but the next one succeeded in its object. It was he that planned the construction of the sea-port town of Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram). He was also in his own way a patron of literature. It was during his time and that of his father that two or three of the principal Saiva devotees flourished, namely Appar, Sambandar and Siruttondar. It is just possible that several others of the Saiva,

and some among the Vaishnava devotees are also referable to this particular reign.

Occupation of Kanchi.—Under Narasimha's successors, Kanchi suffered retribution from the Chalukyas who at least on two occasions* occupied it. There are inscriptions of Vikramaditya Chalukya in the town itself, one of which is in the Kailasanatha temple, constructed by Narasimha's grandson, Narasimha II., just about the time that the Chalukyas in the west were overthrown by a rising of the Rashtrakutas. There was also a civil disturbance in Kanchi. The family of Mahendravarman was overthrown and another great Pallava ruler, a member of a collateral family, placed himself on the throne. The name of this great ruler is Nandivarman, who called himself also Pallava-Malla.

The last great Pallava, Nandivarman, Pallava-Malla.—Early in his reign he suffered a defeat at the hands of Vikramaditya II., the last of the Early Chalukyas, who remained for a time in occupation of the town of Kanchi, as stated already. When ultimately the power of these Chalukyas was overthrown by the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga, with the title of Vairamegha, the same policy was continued by him. During a short

reign of two or three years Dantidurga was able to march upon Kanchi and lay siege to it. This war ended probably in a treaty, Nandivarman perhaps for the time being acknowledging Dantidurga as his overlord. Thereafter Nandivarman ruled peacefully for a long time, the duration of his reign being fifty-two years, perhaps more. With his death we might say that the period of the great Pallavas came to an end. They had, during the whole period of their existence, to maintain themselves against two enemies, the Chalukyas in the north and north-west, and the Pandyas in the south. When the revolution in the Chalukya territory gave the Pallavas peace on the northern frontier, they were able to throw themselves whole-heartedly into the war against the Pandyas in the south. The war against them began perhaps under Mahendravarman and continued under his successors. The river Kaveri seems to have been the frontier between the spheres of these two dynasties. Several of the battlefields between them are found close to the river. Three or four successors of Nandivarman, with comparatively long reigns, find mention in inscriptions. In the reign of Aparajita, the immediate successor of Nandivarman, a

great battle was fought at Sri-Purambiya, near Kumbakonam, about A. D. 872, with the Pandya king Varaguna, in which the latter suffered a defeat. This, however, seems to have weakened the power of the Pallavas so much that about the close of the ninth century a new dynasty of the Cholas was able to establish its power so far as to develop into the imperial Chola dynasty of the following three or four centuries.

The Cholas and the Pallava ascendancy.
—During the whole of the period of this Pallava ascendancy in the South, the Cholas seem to have lost their greatness. A considerable part of their territories seems to have been under the direct control of the Pallavas, though they were able to maintain themselves, perhaps as subordinates, it may even be as fugitives, in the extremities of their kingdom. Chola families are mentioned both by Hiuen-Tsang and in inscriptions in the Cuddapah district. The new dynasty rose first in the Pudukota frontier in the south. At any rate, till the battle near Kumbakonam, referred to above, the Cholas did not appear prominently in South Indian History.

The Pandyas and the Pallavas.—In regard to the Pandyas, however, we have

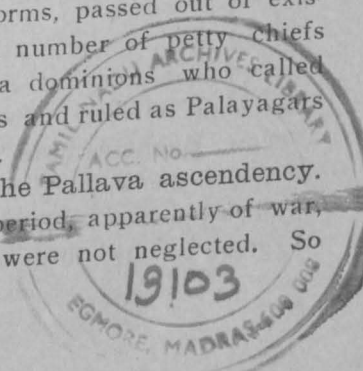
some information that they were able to hold their own, in their distant corner of the South, against the rising power of the Pallavas. Assisted by the constant wars between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, the Pandyas were allowed to remain in comparative peace in their territories. We hear of one great Pandya known generally by the names, Sundra Pandya, Kun Pandya, or by the Saiva title Ninrasir Nedumaran (the Mara or Pandya that stood beautifully erect, having been hunch-backed, or the Pandya of enduring prosperity). He was said to have been originally a Jain, and became a convert to Saivism through the influence of the Saiva devotee Sambandar. He was followed by a succession of rulers who carried on constant warfare on the northern frontier against the Pallavas to keep this aggressive power within their boundary, the river Kaveri, as stated already. It was one of his successors, by name Varaguna, the second of the name, between whom and the last Pallava ruler the great battle near Kumbakonam, referred to above, took place.

The Rashtrakutas and the Pallavas. —While the Pallava power was exhausted by this constant warfare, the weakening was aggravated by three invasions from the

north under the Rashtrakutas, in one of which the Rashtrakuta Govinda III. claims to have levied tribute from one of the rulers of Kanchi. A subsequent Rashtrakuta invasion under Krishna III. ended in the occupation of Kanchi, and Krishna claims to have destroyed even Tanjore. During this period rose another dynasty of rulers, the Gangas of what is now the state of Mysore. The rise of this power on this side, the hostility of the Rashtrakutas and their invasions from the north, along with the attacks of the Pandyas from the south, made it impossible for the Pallava power to continue in existence much longer. The early Chola king Aditya, the first of the name, the son of the founder of the new Chola dynasty, claims to have conquered the whole of the Pallava dominions, which perhaps is historically true. The Pallavas, after a period of about 400 years under this dynasty, and about 600 years in various forms, passed out of existence, except for a number of petty chiefs all over the Pallava dominions who called themselves Kadavas and ruled as Palayagars in various localities.

Monuments of the Pallava ascendancy.

—During this long period, apparently of war, the arts of peace were not neglected. So



far as the visible monuments go, a large number of the existing temples owe their existence, and some of the more ancient ones, considerable extension, to them. Learning and literature seem to have found encouragement also. Buddhists and Jains, and Brahmanical Hindus lived together and flourished. It was from Kanchi that the Buddhist Dharmapala, among others, went to Nalanda to become the chief professor of the University there. Most of the Saiva devotees flourished during this period as also the Vaishnava saints. Several of the Tamil classics of the later schools were written during the time. Having said so much of the Pallavas, we shall revert to the Rashtrakutas to whom we have already made two or three references.

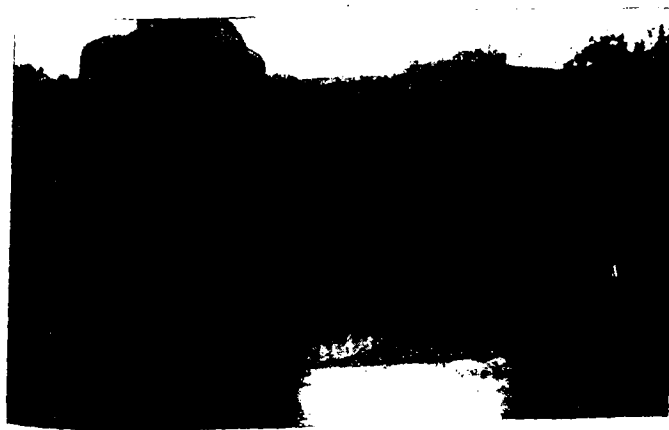
CHAPTER XIV.

THE RASHTRAKUTAS.

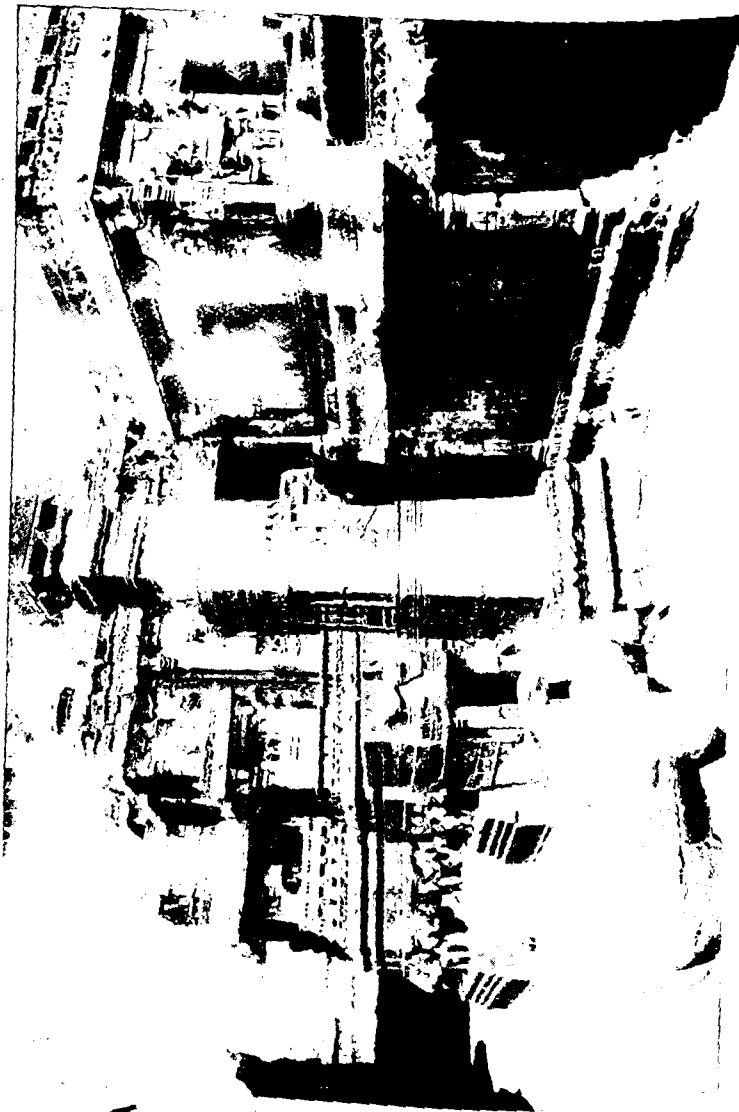
The founder of the dynasty.—As already stated in a previous chapter the Chalukyas were overthrown by a new dynasty founded by the Rashtrakuta or Ratta



THE RATHS OF MAHABALIPURAM,
BUILT IN THE 7TH CENTURY BY A PALLAVA KING.



THE PENANCE OF ARJUNA.
BAS-RELIEF ON ONE OF THE RATHS AT MAHABALIPURAM.

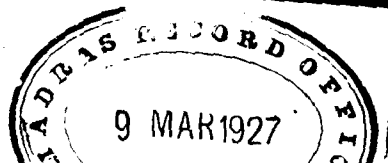


Dantidurga, as he is called. He took possession of Vatapi (Badami) from the Chalukyas and carried his conquests farther afield into the Pallava territory. He laid siege to Kanchi, and perhaps entered into a treaty with the Pallava ruler of the time, Nandivarman. For some reason, he became unpopular and was deposed by his uncle who became ruler instead, under the name Krishna. He is known to historians as Krishna I.

Krishna I.—It was this ruler who completed the establishment of the Rashtrakuta supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of his family went and established itself in Gujarat as well. It was during his reign that the famous monolithic temple of Kailasa at Ellora was constructed. Krishna was succeeded by his son Govinda II. whose reign was very short.

Dhruva.—He was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruva, who was a warlike prince and carried on successful wars. He claims victory over the Gurjara king of Bhinmal (in Rajaputana), known to historians by name Vatsaraja.

Govinda III.—Dhruva was succeeded by his son Govinda, called Govinda III. by historians. He was the greatest king of his dynasty. His power extended from the



Vindhya mountains and Malva in the north to Kanchi in the south. His brother Indra Raja was by him appointed viceroy of Southern Gujarat (Lata). He probably ruled from A. D. 793 to A. D. 815.

Amoghavarsha.—He was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha, who had a very long reign of sixty-two years, from about A. D. 815 to A. D. 877. During this long period he was constantly at war with the Eastern Chalukyas whose capital was now at Vengi (near Ellore). It was this ruler that transferred his capital from Nasik to Malkhed (Sans. Manyakheta; Arb. Mankir) in the Nizam's dominions. Amoghavarsha retired in favour of his son Krishna, the second of the name. Amoghavarsha's patronage of letters was great. Various Jain leaders, such as Jinasena and Gunabhadra, enjoyed the greatest favour in his court. It was one of Gunabhadra's pupils who compiled the Tamil lexicon known as Chudamani Nighantu. Of Krishna II., we know but little.

Indra III.—He was succeeded by Indra III. who had a very short reign of about two years, from A. D. 914 to 916. He undertook a successful expedition against Kanauj, now under a Gurjara dynasty. His attack was so far successful that for a short period

Mahipala, the greatest ruler of that dynasty, was dethroned. It was probably during his reign that Surashtra (Kathiawar) was finally lost to the Gurjara dynasty of Kanauj.

Krishna III.—The next ruler of the Rashtrakutas was Krishna III. who claims to have occupied Kanchi and destroyed Tanjore after a battle with the Chola king Rajaditya, in A. D. 949. For a short time the Chola power seemed quite eclipsed by the successful career of this monarch. His power extended all over what is Mysore now, in addition to the Rashtrakuta dominions proper in the north, and he had probably the northern portions of the Chola territory under his power. He was succeeded by a king named Kakka II. under whom the Rashtrakuta dynasty was overthrown by a descendant of the early Chalukyas, known by the name Taila, the second of the name, in A. D. 973.

The end of the Rashtrakutas. New powers.—The dynasty founded by Taila is known in history as that of the Later Chalukyas or Chalukyas of Kalyani, from their capital city, Kalyan, in the Nizam's dominions. The establishment of this dynasty took place almost at the same time as that of the great Chola dynasty of the South, and of the dynasty of the Paramaras (the

modern Pawar) of Malva with their capital at Dhara. The history of almost the next three centuries is a history of the struggle for empire among these two dynasties in the Deccan and the one in South India. During the whole period of power of the Early Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, the eastern portion of the Deccan was under the branch of the Chalukyas established there by Pulakesin II. They continued to rule through the whole of this period and maintained themselves in independence till they were absorbed into the empire of the rising power of the Cholas about the end of the tenth century.

CHAPTER XV.

KANAUJ.

Early history.—Kanauj, which twice attained to the dignity of the capital of Northern India, once under Harsha and the next time under the Gurjaras, was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Panchala, and is now represented by a petty town in the Farrukhabad district of the United Provinces. This ancient

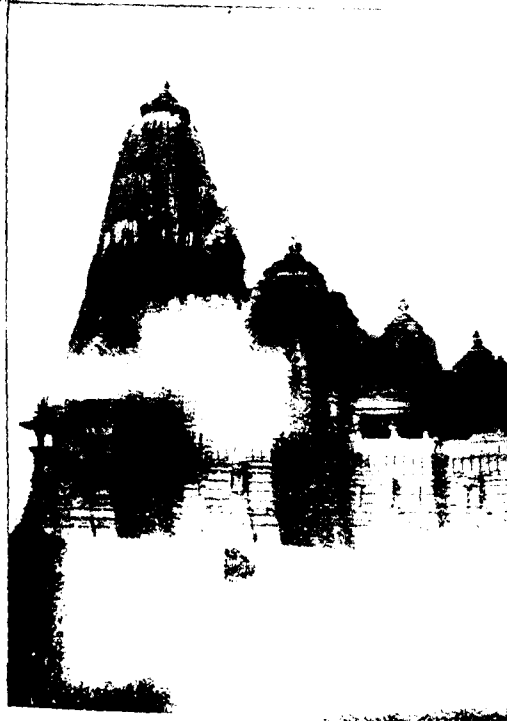
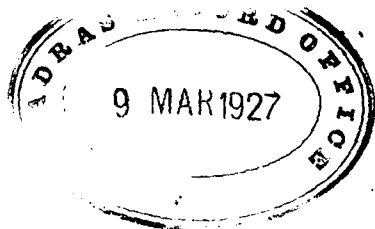


THE TEMPLE OF MARTANDA.

Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.

See p. 107.





THE TEMPLE AT KHAJURAHU,
BUILT BY A CHANDEL KING.

Panchala was divided into two parts: the Northern, with its capital at Ahichchhātra (Ramnagar in the Bareilly district), and the Southern, with its capital at Kampilya (Kampil in the Farrukhabad district). Both these ancient capitals were thrown into obscurity when Kanauj developed rapidly under the empire of Harsha, at whose death a period of disturbance followed, as has been stated already. The usurper Arjuna treated a Chinese embassy disrespectfully and was punished for it by the ambassador with the assistance of the rulers of Nepal and Tibet. This was a period of rapid advance made by Tibet, so much so that practically the whole of the frontier of India on the northern and western side passed under its influence.

Yasovarman.—What exactly took place in Kanauj soon after this incident, we do not know till we come to the reign of a king by name Yasovarman (to be carefully distinguished from Yasodharman of Malva), who sent an embassy to China about A. D. 731. In his reign a war took place between Kanauj and Kashmere. The Kashmerian king Lalitaditya Muktapida defeated Yasovarman (about A. D. 740), dethroned him and carried off as prisoner the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhuti, the author of the Uttara

Rama Charita, Malati-Madhava, etc. Then followed a succession of wars between Kashmere and Kanauj, and Kashmere always had the better of it till at last a ruler of Bengal, by name Dharmapala, overthrew the reigning sovereign at Kanauj, and put on the throne in his stead a relative of the dispossessed royal family, about A. D. 800.

The Gurjara kingdom of Bhilmal.—This king in his turn was deprived of his throne by the ruler of the Gurjara kingdom in Rajputana, about A. D. 816. The latter was called Nagabhata, and had for his capital Bhilmal. He was the founder of the imperial Gurjara dynasty, and it was probably he that transferred the capital from Bhilmal to Kanauj. The Gurjaras were constantly at war with their southern neighbours, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, and the war took on the character of a struggle between the foreign rulers and the native races. Govinda III., the great Rashtrakuta, lays claim to victory against his northern neighbours, the Gurjaras. Beyond this we know nothing of the early Gurjaras till we come to the reign of Mihira Bhoja, the great Gurjara emperor.

Mihira Bhoja.—He had a long reign of about fifty years, beginning about A. D. 840.

His dominions included the Cis-Sutlej states of the Punjab, most of Rajputana, the greater part of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and what is now the state of Gwalior. It is probable that Gujarat and Malva (Avanti) were also under his rule. On the eastern boundary of his empire was the kingdom of Bengal and Behar, ruled over by a dynasty known as the Palas. On the west, it touched upon the territory of the Muhammadan chiefs of Sind, while it had for its immediate rivals the Chandel kingdom of Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand) on the south and the Rashtrakuta in the south-west. The distribution of his coinage indicates that his empire was both vast, and his reign long, though we have no account left to us either of the empire or of the character of his reign.

Mahendrapala.—The next ruler was his son and successor Mahendrapala, who maintained the empire of his father intact. In his reign flourished the famous poet Rajasekhara. Mahendrapala was succeeded by his eldest son, named Bhoja II., who ruled but for a short time.

Mahipala.—He was succeeded by his half-brother Mahipala who suffered defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakuta king, Indra III., and lost the province of Surashtra to the

Rashtrakutas permanently, about A. D. 916. The Sanskrit drama Chandakansikanatakam was first enacted in the court of Mahipala. Devapala, the successor of Mahipala, was defeated by his contemporary, the Chandel king Yasovarman of Bundelkhand. This Yasovarman constructed the great temple at Khajuraho and housed there the image of Vishnu which he compelled the Kanauj king to yield up to him. Under Devapala's successors, the empire lost first Gujarat and then Gwalior, so that the Gurjara empire broke up at the commencement of the 11th century.

End of the Gurjara empire.—During all this period a new force had entered India. The Arabs had effected entry into Sind (A. D. 712), and helped themselves there in alliance with the Rashtrakutas of the south. When the Gurjara power became weak, the armies of Islam began to pour in in larger numbers through the north-western passes, and the kingdom of Kanauj was exposed to the full force of this new Moslem invasion. It is by the overthrow of the empire of Kanauj under a dynasty that succeeded the Gurjara, that the Muhammadans were able to establish themselves in India permanently. The new Rajput dynasty of Kanauj, though entitled to the

first rank nominally, was not able to enforce its superior position and exact always the obedient and willing co-operation of the other Rajput states, and thus fell a prey to the Muhammadans early under its last raja, Jayachand of Kanauj.

Kanauj and the Muhammadan invasions.—During the period, therefore, of Muhammadan invasions, Kanauj was ruled by a succession of kings belonging to the Gaharwar dynasty of Rajputs founded by Chandradeva. The most important member of this dynasty was Govindachandra, grandson of Chandradeva, who ruled from 1104 to 1155. Under him Kanauj attained to some of its past greatness and was regarded as a considerable power by contemporaries. Jayachandra, who was defeated by Muhammad Ghori in A. D. 1194 and whose defeat enabled the Muhammadans to establish themselves, was Govindachandra's grandson. It was a family quarrel between him and Prithivi Raj that led to dissensions preventing the Rajputs from presenting a united front against the Muhammadans. The defeat and death of Jayachandra established Muhammadan rule in Northern India, which gradually developed in the course of three centuries to a complete rule in Hindustan, and later on extended itself southwards

into the Deccan itself. It is their defeat by the Muhammadans at Kanauj that compelled the Rajputs to move into various localities in Rajputana and lay the foundations of the reigning Rajput families of to-day.

CHAPTER XVI.

BUNDELKHAND, CHEDI AND MALVA.

The Chandels of Bundelkhand and the Kalachuris of Chedi.—Before closing the history of Hindu India in the North, we have to take note of two dynasties which ruled respectively in Bundelkhand and Malva. The Chandels of Bundelkhand (Jejakabhukti) come into some prominence when the Gurjara Parihars of foreign origin were overthrown by them early in the ninth century. These Chandels appear first to have acquired a small principality near Chhatarpur and gradually advanced up to the frontiers of Kanauj. In the early part of the tenth century, they threw off the yoke of Kanauj when its king Mahipala was defeated by the Rashtrakuta king, Indra III., in A. D. 916. The first Chandel to assume independence

was probably Harsha. It was his son, Yasovarman by name, that compelled Mahipala's successor, Devapala, to make over to him the image of Vishnu which he enshrined in the temple built by him at Khajuraho. The most distinguished member of the family was Dhanga, son of Yasovarman, who had a long reign and lived to a ripe old age. He bore his part in the league of Hindu princes formed to resist Sabaktigin, about A. D. 989 or 990. His son Ganda figured in the opposition to Mahmud of Ghazni. In A. D. 1023, Ganda's son was compelled by Mahmud Ghazni to surrender the fortress of Kalanjar, upon which depended largely the military power of the kingdom. About this time a new dynasty comes into prominence, the Kalachuris of Chedi. The first ruler Gangeyadeva made an attempt at bringing Chedi to the coveted position of the paramount power in Northern India. His project of empire was taken up by his son Karna, who in alliance with the contemporary ruler of Gujarat, overthrew the great king Bhoja of Malva, about A. D. 1060. Karna himself, however, soon after met with a repulse from Kirtivarman Chandel, who restored the glories of his house. Under the patronage of this Chandel king flourished the

famous Krishna Misra, the author of the allegorical play entitled *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, which was performed at his court in A. D. 1065. It gives in a dramatic form an exposition of the Vedanta philosophy of Sankara. Kirtivarman's successor was defeated by Prithivi Raj in A. D. 1182; and it was from him that Kutub-Uddin Ibak captured Kalanjar in 1203. These Chandel' princes were great builders and constructors of lakes and embankments. Several of the temples in Mahoba, Kalanjar and Khajuraho owe much to them.

The Paramaras of Malva.—During the same period, Malva was under a succession of two or three great rulers, who are known to history as Paramaras (Pawars) of Malva. The dynasty was founded early in the ninth century by a chief named Krishnaraja, and seems to have had its origin near Mount Abu. The seventh in succession from him was the famous Munja who ruled from A. D. 974 to 995. He was not only a great warrior but also a great patron of letters. He defeated Taila, the later Chalukya, six times, but was at last defeated by him, about A. D. 995, taken prisoner and executed. In his court flourished two distinguished scholars of Sanskrit literature, Dhanamjaya and his brother Dhanika.

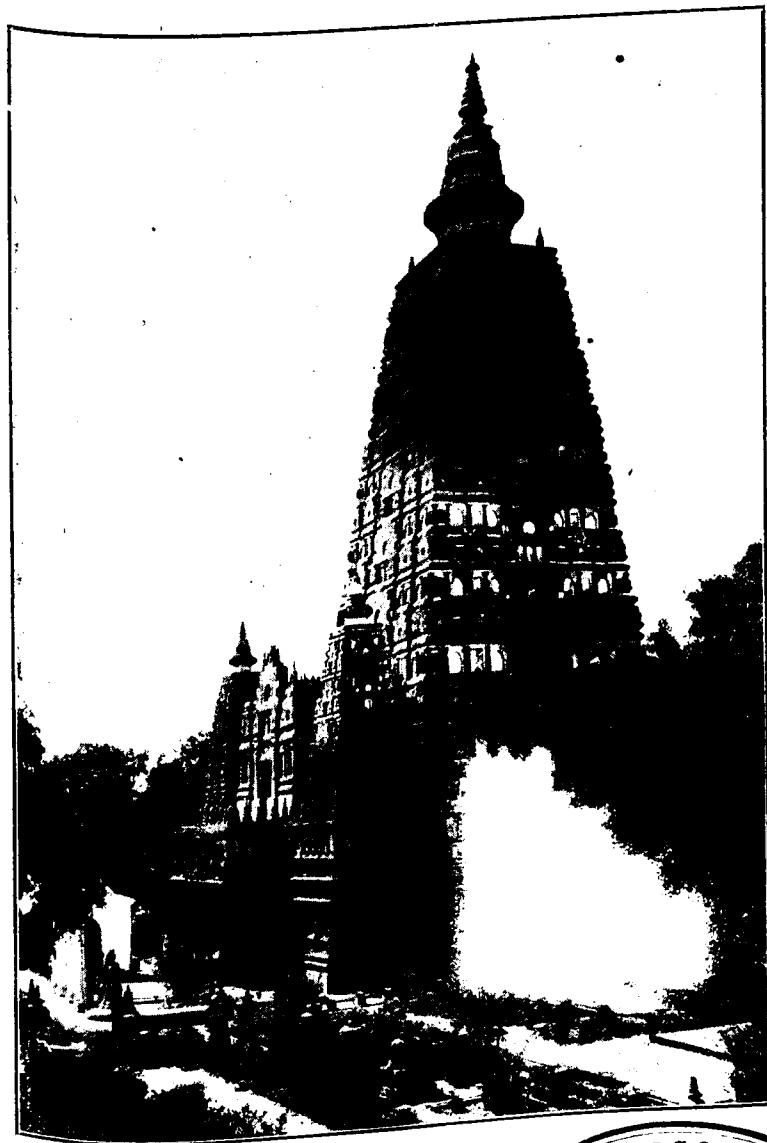
Bhoja.—Munja's nephew was the famous Bhoja, who came to the throne in Dhara about A. D. 1018 and ruled till his death in 1060. He was, like his uncle, both a patron of letters and an active warrior. He had to fight against his neighbours and even against one of the armies of Mahmud of Ghazni. But he is chiefly remembered as a great patron of learning, and an accomplished author. Works on astronomy, architecture, the art of poetry, and other subjects issued from his court. The famous Sanskrit college established by him has now only a mosque to mark its beautiful site. The great Bhoja lake, "a beautiful sheet of water to the south-east of Bhopal, covering an area of 250 square miles, formed by massive embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument, and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the fifteenth century, when the dam was cut by order of a Muhammadan king, and the water drained off."* He died, as stated already, in war against the allied armies of Chedi and Gujarat in A. D. 1060.

* V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 396.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DYNASTIES OF BENGAL.

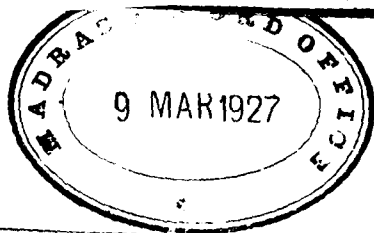
The Palas of Bengal.—At the death of Harsha, as already stated, several of the local rajas asserted their independence. Among them were the rajas of the comparatively remote provinces of Bengal and Behar. We do not know anything of the history of Bengal from Harsha's death till about the end of the century. According to a Bengal tradition, five Brahmans and five Kayasths were imported into Bengal from Kanauj by a king named Adisura, belonging to a dynasty of local rajas in the neighbourhood of Gaur. We know nothing more about this king but the dynasty founded by him is of great importance in the history of Bengal and Behar. The first ruler of importance was Gopala who was elected king of Bengal, which had been suffering from prolonged anarchy. He extended his power to include Behar within his territory, and had a comparatively long reign of more than forty years, beginning from about A. D. 740. He was a great patron of Buddhism. He suffered defeat from the Gurjara king of Rajaputana, named Vatsaraja. Since his name



See p. 117.

BUDDHA TEMPLE, GAUR





THE RAILINGS ROUND THE BUDDHA TEMPLE, GAYA.

Photo. courtesy of the Government of India

and those of his successors contained the affix *pala*, this dynasty is known to history as the Pala dynasty of Bengal.

Dharmapala.—Gopala's successor, Dharmapala, had a much longer reign of sixty-four years: His territory is said to have extended up to Delhi and Jalandhar in the north, and the Vindhya mountains in the south. It was he that dethroned Indra of Kanauj, and placed on the throne in his stead, soon after A. D. 800, another ruler Chakrayudha, as stated already, "with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers, enumerated as Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira kings." Dharmapala seems to have had Pataliputra as his capital for some time about A. D. 810, and built there the famous Buddhist monastery of Vikramasila which included in it 107 temples and six colleges.

Devapala.—Devapala, his successor, is reputed the greatest, at any rate the most powerful, of the dynasty. One of his generals is said to have conquered Assam and Orissa for him. He also was a supporter of Buddhism and is reputed to have destroyed some of the strongholds of the enemies of Buddhism. He is said to have ruled for forty-eight years, but during the latter part of his reign, a

tribe of hillmen called Kambojas made an irruption into Bengal, and set one of their chieftains as ruler. But these intruders were expelled by another Pala ruler Mahipala, the first of the name, who had a long reign of fifty-two years, beginning from about A. D. 980. He is the best remembered of the Pala kings and his power extended from Orissa to Kuch Behar. It was he that is referred to in inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I, as having been overcome by the Chola ruler. During his reign a mission of Buddhist holy men was sent to Tibet, which did much to restore Buddhism in that country. Another mission sent in the reign of his successor from the Vikramasila monastery continued the work and re-established Buddhism firmly in Tibet.

Vigrahapala.—The next ruler Vigrahapala defeated king Karna of Chedi, and died about A. D. 1080. The first of his three sons ruled badly and gave rise to a rebellion by a caste of people called Kaivarta (Kewat caste) who killed this ruler and placed their own chieftain on the throne. One of his brothers escaped from prison and succeeded ultimately in defeating the usurper and restoring himself to the throne of his ancestors. He conquered and added to his ancestral dominion Mithila or North Behar (the modern Champaran

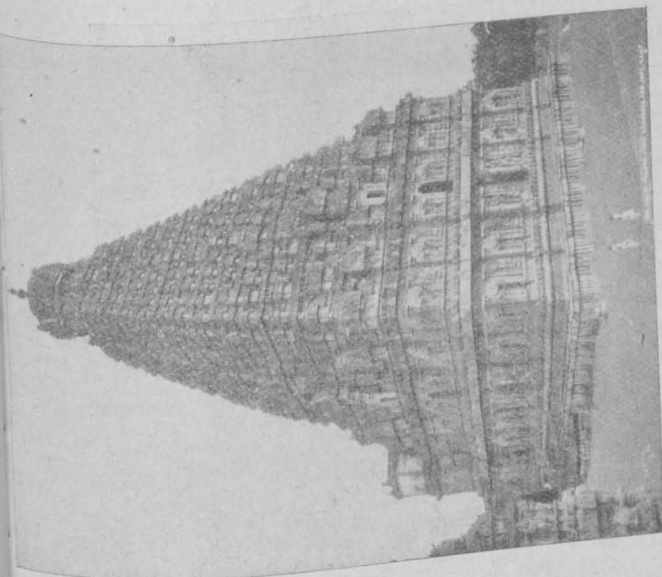
and Darbhanga districts), and even distant Assam was included in his territory. Buddhism flourished in his dominions. He was the last of the great Pala kings. Some of these Palas succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers in India. During the last period of the Pala dynasty, its power was so far weakened that a new dynasty was able to establish itself in Bengal as distinct from Behar. The Palas were patrons of arts and letters. Though no buildings of their age have come down to us, there are tanks constructed by them which testify to their active interest in public works. The Pala kings were zealous Buddhists and liberally patronised the great teachers of the religion they professed.

Anantavarman Chodaganga of Kalinga : the Senas.—About A. D. 1080 when the Kaivarta rebellion had shaken the power of the Palas to its foundation, a powerful king of Orissa (Kalinga), by name Anantavarman Chodaganga, extended his conquests up to the frontiers of Bengal. It was one of his generals, whom he probably sent into Bengal, that laid the foundations of the new dynasty, which is known to historians as that of the Senas. The Chodaganga general Samanta Sena and his son Hemanta Sena do not

appear to have done anything worth recording. But Vijayasena, the third of the dynasty, rose to the rank of an independent ruler early in the twelfth century. It was he that wrested a large part of Bengal from the Palas and established the Sena dynasty firmly. He kept on terms of friendship with the Chodaganga mentioned above, who had a long reign of seventy-one years.

Vellalasena (Ballal Sen).—The kingdom thus acquired by Vijayasena passed down to his son and successor Vellalasena, the most famous of the Sena rulers of Bengal. Vellalasena, otherwise known as Ballal Sen, is believed to have re-organised the caste system and founded the capital Gaur or Lakhnauti, though it is possible that this town was in existence before. The Sena kings were Brahmanical Hindus, and the Hinduism of Vellalasena was what is called Tantric Hinduism.* He is reputed to have sent Brahman missionaries to all the kingdoms along the frontier of Bengal. His reign lasted up to about A.D. 1170, and he was succeeded by Lakshmanasena, the last of the

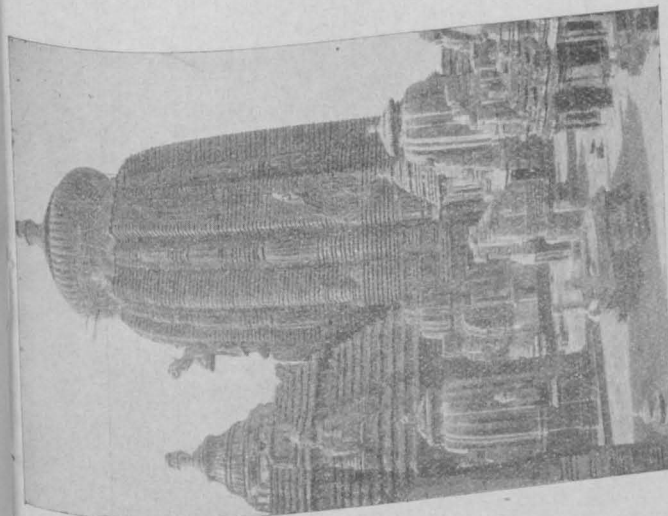
* This is a form of Hindu worship in which magic formulæ and mystic symbols come into use largely with the object of attaining supernatural power, either for its own sake or as a means to the attainment of salvation.



See p. 131.

THE PAGODA, THE GREAT TEMPLE
AT TANJORE.

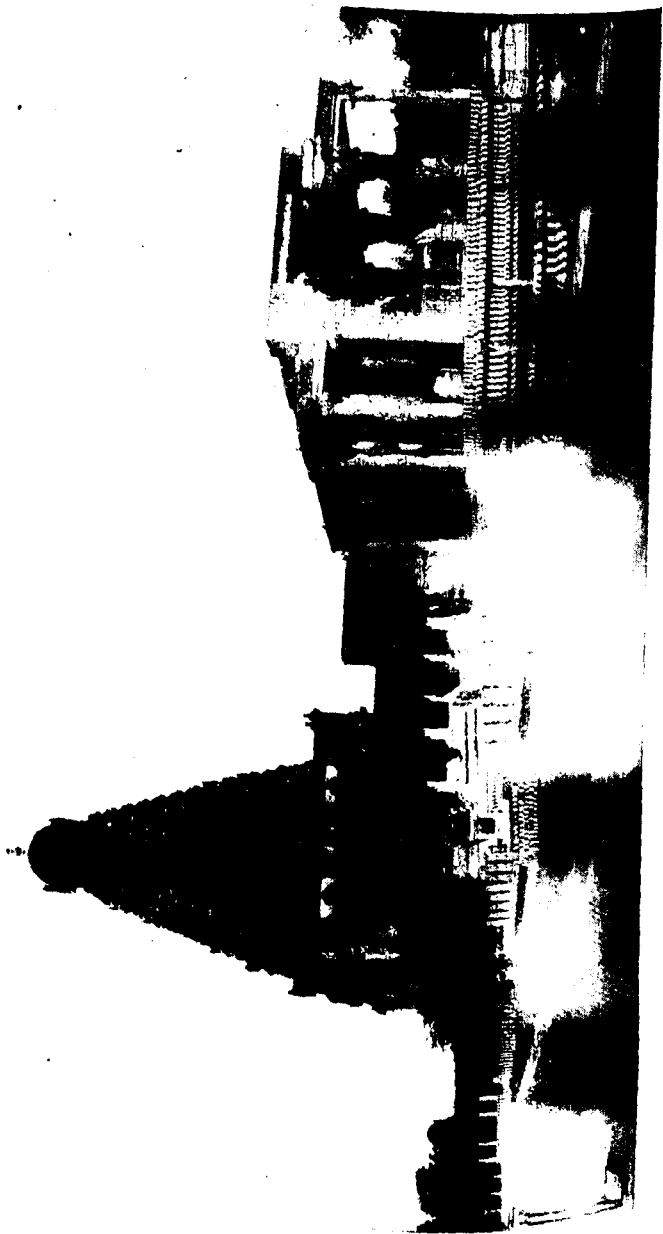
Photo. Bourne and Shepherd, India.



See p. 119.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF SIVA,
BHUBANESHWAR,

BUILT IN THE 7TH CENTURY, A.D.



THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

dynasty, which was overthrown by the irruption of Muhammad Bakhtiyar into Bengal. The capital of the Senas was at Nadiya, which was captured by the Muhammadan general in A. D. 1199. The irruption of the Muhammadans into Behar and Bengal meant such a thorough destruction that Buddhism practically went out of existence in Behar since that date. But such of the Buddhist monks as managed to escape, went into Tibet, Nepal, and Southern India. In Tibet the learned refugees were well received by the Grand Lama appointed by Kublai Khan, and it was their compilation of the Buddhist Encyclopedia that has come down to us in the collection called *Tan-gyur*. This collection was made in the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LATER CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI.

The founder Taila.—As already stated in Chapter XIV, in the year A. D. 973, the Rashtrakutas were overthrown by Taila, a member of the family of the Chalukyas, who thus

founded the family of the so-called Later Chalukyas or Chalukyas of Kalyani. This dynasty lasted practically to the end of the twelfth century. During all this period the rulers of this line were frequently at war as before with the northern powers in Central India for the time being. It was, however, against the southern power of the Cholas that the Chalukyas had to maintain themselves by constant fighting, so that the history of the two centuries of its existence is a history of one long struggle for existence against this southern power. Taila reigned for twenty-four years, and recovered during the period all the territory which belonged to the Chalukyas, with the exception of the province of Gujarat. He defeated Munja Raja of Dhara, as stated already, after having been defeated six times by him. Munja was taken prisoner in battle and executed about the year A. D. 995. Taila himself died two years after.

Satyasraya.—In the reign of his successor, Satyasraya, the Cholas felt themselves sufficiently strong under Rajaraja to begin a war, on the north-western frontier, against the Chalukyas, which lasted more or less actively through the whole of the eleventh century. All through this period of war, the plateau of Mysore and the portion adjoining

it on the north, along the valley of the Tungabhadra-Krishna, was the scene of many a bloody war.

Ahavamalla.—Satyasraya was succeeded by his nephew Jayasimha, who in turn was followed by his son Somesvara I. who is generally known by the title Ahavamalla. In A. D. 1052, he defeated and slew Rajadhiraja, the then reigning Chola king, in a famous battle at Koppam, on the Krishna. Somesvara also lays claim to having stormed the fortresses of Dhara in Malva, the capital of Bhoja, and Kanchi of the Cholas in the south. He died in the year A. D. 1068. He was succeeded by his eldest son Somesvara, the second of the name, who was overthrown by a more talented younger brother Vikramaditya, with the assistance of the Cholas.

Vikramaditya.—Vikramaditya came to the throne in A. D. 1076 and had a long reign of half a century, which was one of comparative peace, though there were occasional wars. It was in his reign that there came into prominent notice the various local dynasties and families among whom the empire was divided soon after the death of Vikramaditya himself. But during his lifetime he was able to keep the empire intact, having fought successfully

against the most powerful among his subordinates, Vishnuvardhana, the Hoysala king of Dvarasamudra in Mysore. It was in Vikramaditya's reign that Kalyani became the actual capital of the Chalukyas. In his time flourished the famous jurist Vijnanesvara, author of the Mitakshara, the chief authority on Hindu law outside Bengal. The great Sanskrit poet Bilhana occupied the position of poet-laureate (Vidyapati) at his court, and composed a lengthy historical poem recording the exploits of his king.

The great viceroys.—After the death of Vikramaditya in 1126, there was a succession of two or three weak rulers. The more important viceroys were gradually gaining so much influence that the empire showed a clear tendency to break up. Among these the principal ones were the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra and the Kakatiyas of Warangal. While the empire was thus hard-pressed by these viceroys, there was a usurpation, for a comparatively short period, during the reign of the nominal emperor Taila III.

Bijjala.—The commander-in-chief of the emperor, Bijjala of the Kalachurya family, became the *de facto* ruler, and as such he was able to preserve for some time the empire from

breaking up. He and two or three of his sons ruled in succession till at last the usurping family was overthrown and the imperial family restored to its position for a short time. It was during the brief period of Bijjala's power that a sect of Vira Saivas, known popularly as Lingayats, came into existence, and became in a short time an important and powerful community in this region. There are tales of persecution of Jains and Buddhists by the Lingayats, and of the Lingayats by the others, but it is a matter of considerable difficulty to know the truth in regard to this. But so much is certain that Buddhism passed quite out of existence, and Jainism decayed a great deal during this period and has not recovered its lost position since. The last emperor died an obscure death about A.D. 1189, and the dynasty may be regarded as having come to an end about that year or the year following.

The break-up of the empire.—What was hitherto the empire of the Chalukyas broke up into three big states, as stated above. The Yadavas had their capital at Devagiri (Deogir of the Muhammadan historians); the Kakatiyas, in the eastern part of the empire had for their capital Warangal to which they

removed early from Anamakonda or Hanumakonda, both of them in the Nizam's dominions; the Hoysalas had their capital at Dvarasamudra in Mysore, in the south of the empire. The region between was parcelled out into a number of petty chiefships, which were gradually absorbed into one or other of these three bigger states. Before proceeding to describe these, we shall take up the story of the Cholas.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHOLAS OF THE SOUTH.

The beginnings.—Among the kingdoms of the South, the Chola kingdom finds reference as early as the sister kingdoms of Pandya and Chera. Its old boundaries are Tirupati in the north, the southern Vellaru in the south; its western boundary varied from time to time, but may be taken roughly to be a line drawn from the Palnis to Karur and up north through the eastern half of the plateau of Mysore; the eastern boundary was the sea. Its most ancient historical capital was Uraiyur, now a village near Trichinopoly. In the

inscriptions of Asoka the name Chola appears, and it seems to have been known to the grammarian Katyayana, a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. The Chola kingdom enjoyed, along with its sister kingdoms, the Greek, and Roman trade in the early centuries of the Christian era and, we may infer also, took part in the earlier trade with Babylon and Egypt on the one side, and with China and the East Indian Archipelago on the other. We do not know, however, much of definite history in regard to the Cholas till we come to the first century of the Christian era, and the first historical Chola is the man known to tradition as the Chola Karikala.

Karikala.—His great achievements are the construction of the embankments of the river Kavery, and of the building of the city port of Kaveripattanam (Puhar) at the mouth of the Kavery river. Tradition says he undertook an invasion of Ceylon and carried off twelve thousand captives whom he put to work in the building of the new city of Puhar. His immediate successor was probably a grandson of his whose contemporaries were the earlier Gajabahu of the Ceylon Mahavamsa and the great Chera Senguttuvan, grandson of Karikala on the mother's side. In the

next generation, the Cholas lose their ascendancy, and the most important sovereign power was that of the Chera. When again we emerge into light after a period of darkness, we find the Pallavas already risen in the north in a part of the territory which belonged originally to the Cholas.

From the fifth to the eighth century.—From the fifth century, or thereabouts, to the eighth or the ninth century, the Cholas were reduced to the condition of an insignificant power so that when Hiuen Tsang visited this part of India, he found the Cholas more known in the Cuddapah district than in the farther south, though it is likely that the Cholas held themselves in some little power in the southern part of their kingdom. When the Pallava power declined from the beginning of the ninth century, the Cholas regained some of their original importance and, about the end of that century, were able to make themselves sufficiently important to exercise an influence upon the politics of the Deccan.

The new dynasty.—The first ruler of this new dynasty was a person known as Vijayalaya who put an end to the Pallava supremacy. This was the beginning of the great imperial dynasty of the Cholas who

ruled over the whole of South India, perhaps with the exception of Travancore, for very nearly four centuries. Vijayalaya's son, Aditya, defeated Aparajita Pallava. He was succeeded by his son Parantaka I, who came to the throne in A.D. 907 and ruled till his forty-first year, that is A.D. 947-48.

Parantaka I.—He completed the conquest of the Pallavas made by his father and carried on a war with the Pandya king, whom he drove into exile, and captured Madura, his capital. He even entered upon a successful war against Ceylon. His reign is of particular importance to the historian as we have fortunately a number of records of his preserved to us which give us a considerable amount of insight into the character of his administration. It was his death that was taken advantage of for a great invasion by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, who, as already stated in Chapter XIV, occupied Kanchi and destroyed Tanjore. It was during this invasion that the eldest son of Parantaka fought and fell in a battle at Takkolam, now a small railway station in the Arakonam-Conjivaram line. The period from A.D. 949 to 985 was a period of great struggle for existence for the

Cholas, as they were attacked simultaneously by the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas on the north and west, and by the Pandyas from the south. The three rulers that succeeded Parantaka fought hard and maintained themselves in their position. With the accession of Rajaraja the Great in A.D. 985, the Cholas stand out as the dominant power in South India.

Rajaraja the Great.—Rajaraja was at the same time a great warrior and a wise ruler. His long reign of twenty-eight years was occupied with a series of wars, particularly in the earlier part, against the enemies of the north-west, the Chalukya successors of the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas. With the aid of his able and energetic son Rajendra, he managed to carry the war into the enemies' country on this frontier and bring it to a certain amount of fixity. On the south, he succeeded more or less in bringing the Pandyas to subordination, and carried his authority by a naval victory even into the Chera country of Travancore. By a stroke of policy he brought the northern kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas of Rajamundri into a family alliance with him and therefore of subordination to him, so that Rajaraja's rule extended over all that is the Madras

Presidency at present, with considerable portions of Travancore and practically the whole of Mysore. The eastern part of the Nizam's dominions also was included in this. By means of his fleet he was able to carry on a successful war against Ceylon, and was in occupation of the island by the twentieth year of his reign. It was in the twenty-sixth year that the famous temple in Tanjore, dedicated to Rajarajesvara or Brihadisvara, was built. It contains on its walls a series of inscriptions detailing fully the endowments made by himself, his sister (married to a Pallava), and his queens, which throw considerable light upon the character and administration of the Chola empire in his days. Talakad was one of his capitals in Mysore, and the rest of the plain districts of Mysore were formed into two other divisions under Chola rule as well. He was a Saiva by religion, but extended his patronage even to the Buddhists, as we had the Buddhist temple in Negapatam, endowed with his sanction, as late as A.D. 1867, till the Jesuit Fathers destroyed it and utilized the material in building a church.

Rajendra.—Rajaraja was succeeded in A.D. 1018 by his son Rajendra who had played a

prominent part in the wars of his father, as stated already. He came to the throne probably a vigorous young man and pursued the policy of his father. He carried his wars farther afield to the banks of the Ganges and fought a successful battle against Mahipala of Kalinga (Orissa). Therefrom he carried his fleet across to Sumatra and captured the ancient capital of Sri Bhoja in it and other ports of importance. A temple at Pagan and a few pillars recently discovered at Pegu are memorials of this conquest of a part of Burma by the Tamils under Rajendra Chola. It is after the war against Mahipala on the banks of the Ganges that he brought the water of the Ganges and poured it into a huge tank constructed by him at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, in order that his old mother may have the satisfaction of bathing in the Ganges without putting herself to the personal inconvenience of having to travel so far. That is what gave him the title Gangaikonda. Another title which also figures pretty largely in South Indian towns or villages is Kadaram-Konda (capturer of Kadaram, the ancient kingdom of the name in Sumatra).

Rajadhiraja.—Rajendra was succeeded by one of his sons Rajadhiraja by name, in A. D. 1035. On the north-western frontier where the

powerful Chalukyas had not reconciled themselves to the definitive frontier that Rajaraja attempted to fix, wars had to be carried on pretty constantly, and wars too of a devastating character, in respect of this particular frontier. The Chalukya ruler during the time was one of their greatest warriors, by name Somesvara, surnamed Ahavamalla (the great in war). Both Rajadhiraja and his younger brother Rajendra went to war against Somesvara, and had to beat him back all the way from the banks of the Palar, and fight a battle with him at Koppam, on the Krishna, near Kolhapur, in A. D. 1052 or 1053. Rajadhiraja fell fighting, and his brother succeeded to the throne and restored the balance in favour of the Cholas. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vira Rajendra, who won a victory against these Chalukyas on the same frontier at Kudalsangamam, identified with a place at the junction of the Panchganga and the Krishna. Vira Rajendra's short reign of about seven or eight years was occupied by these wars, and is also somewhat distracted by disturbances within the empire in favour of a prince, the grandson of the great Gangaikonda Chola by a daughter. For some reason, he seems to have had a very large following in his favour and was able on the death of Vira

Rajendra Chola to get rid of his son who had succeeded to the throne and himself become the ruler of the Cholas.

Kulottunga.—This prince was the great Kulottunga, the son of Rajaraja, the Eastern Chalukya ruler, who was the son-in-law of Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola. The possibility of a struggle in favour of Kulottunga had made Vira Rajendra Chola enter into a family alliance by giving a daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya, the great Chalukya, who was then planning to usurp the throne occupied by his elder brother. The effort of Vikramaditya in favour of his brother-in-law did not succeed, and Kulottunga succeeded to the throne about A. D. 1072 or somewhat later. It was about four years later, as stated already, that Vikramaditya was able to establish himself on the throne of the Chalukyas. The great Chalukya Vikramaditya and the great Chola Kulottunga were contemporaries, and both of them had long reigns. It was in the earlier part of the reign of both, and after one war, that the north-western frontier got more or less definitely fixed at the head of the range of hills leading up to the plateau of Mysore. Kulottunga was known by the name of Rajendra also, and seems to have been regarded as the adopted son of the famous Gangaikonda Chola.

His reign is one of comparative peace. He took efficient steps to organise his vast territories, and put them under a satisfactory administration. With a view to doing this he is said to have planned military colonies in the Pandya country along the road to Kottaru near Cape Comorin. It was he who for the first time made Conjivaram (Kanchi) an alternative capital, perhaps the more regular capital in his time, most of his predecessors after Rajaraja having had Gangaikonda-Solapuram for their capital. One great war which he undertook, other than that against Vikramaditya, was the invasion of Kalinga by his general, the Tondaman Raja, Karunakara. He first defeated and then entered into a treaty with the great Kalinga ruler Anantavarman Choda. In his reign was undertaken a great land survey, not the first survey of the kind, in A. D. 1086, the year of the Domesday Survey in England. He enjoyed the reputation of being known as the Chola who abolished tolls (Sungadavirtta Chola). He was a great patron of letters and a number of Tamil poets flourished in his reign. One thing that stands against his name is the story (which is somewhat doubtful) of the persecution of the Vaishnava teacher Ramanuja, who was pursuing his work of organising the teachings of

Vaishnava sect, and promulgating it in Srirangam. Ramanuja retired to Mysore and was able to return after Kulottunga's death.

Successors of Kulottunga.—Kulottunga was followed by his son Vikrama Chola and with him we might say the Chola power began to show signs of decline. It, however, continued through some generations, and at any rate there was one great ruler known by the name Kulottunga III. who succeeded to the throne about A. D. 1178 and reigned for about forty years. He was a great builder of temples. He had to meet at the commencement of his reign a formidable invasion from Ceylon which he withstood with success. When he passed away and his successor came to the throne, the trouble from Ceylon and the disturbances created by the Pandyas in the south, and the advancing power of the Hoysalas from the north, as also the petty Telugu Chola chieftains from the Nellore district, proved too much for the Chola power to resist. There were besides the disturbances of the subordinate chiefs of the empire within the Chola dominions themselves. Perhaps the Muhammadan invasion under Malik Kafur gave but the finishing stroke to the serious dismemberment of the empire which had already begun, and

the great Chola empire passed out of existence somewhat earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PANDYAS AND THE CHERAS.

The early history of the Pandyas.—Like the Cholas, the Pandyas in the more distant corner of the Peninsula can take their history back to the remotest historical times. But of the real history of the Pandyan kingdom, we know comparatively little even for later periods. If Buddhist tradition is to be believed, the Pandyas were in power when Ceylon was colonized from Northern India. Even Megasthenes heard vague accounts of the power and position of the Pandyas. For undoubted historical references, however, we shall have to come to the commencement of the Christian era. Madura, the capital of the Pandyas in historical times, (Korkai, the port, having been the earlier traditional capital,) was a well known city even to foreign geographers, and the first historical Pandyan seems to be the one who figures in literature as the Pandyan 'victor over the Aryan army'.

He was a contemporary of the successor of Karikala Chola and the father of the Chera ruler Senguttuvan. Tamil literature knows of one other celebrity among the Pandyas and that was the Pandyan, who won a victory over his two neighbours, the Chera and the Chola, at a place called Talaiyalanganam. Not much more is known of this dynasty of rulers during those earlier times except that these two ruled in the period between the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Their territories extended from coast to coast and took in all the southernmost part of the Peninsula. The pearl fisheries of the kingdom were then as famous as they were, according to the accounts we have, in the 13th, 15th, 17th, and even 18th centuries.

The seventh century.—When Hiuen-Tsang was in South India, in A. D. 640, he heard but vague accounts of Madura which flourished in those early times. During the period of Hiuen-Tsang's stay, we get a little more of Pandya history. There was then a Pandyan who is said to have been an ardent Jain. He was converted to Saivism by the Tamil saint Sambandar, who was a contemporary of the great Pallava Narasimhavarman. This Pandya is given credit for

having fought a battle with the Pallavas at a place called Nelveli (with a variant reading Nennmeli). After this ruler, we have now got historical documents which give us a line of Pandyas for seven or eight generations extending from the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the tenth. We do not yet know enough of them historically to be able to give any connected account. We see so much, however, that they were frequently at war with one or other of their enemies, the Pallavas in the north and the Cheras in the west. During this period, the Cholas do not appear to have counted for much. Several battles between the Pandyas and the Pallavas took place along the course of the river Kaveri. Soon after Kun Pandya, the king who was converted to Saivism by Sambandar, there came to the throne a ruler called Arikesarin Parankusa.

Arikesarin Parankusa.—He won a number of victories against the Cheras in particular and seems to have maintained his frontier satisfactorily on that side. The next one of importance was Varaguna Pandyan, the second of the name so far known, who marched as far as the South Arcot district and suffered a defeat at last at the hands of Aparajita Pallava and his allies, among

whom possibly were the Cholas who again rose into some importance. These Cholas were able to overcome the Pallavas first, and the Pandyas next. A Pandya, by name Rajasimha, was defeated, and was obviously glad to enter into a treaty with the great Chola Parantaka, whose successor claims to have destroyed another Pandya. With the rise of this dynasty of the Cholas to power, the Pandyas are thrown into the shade, so much so that during the period of about three centuries and more of the Chola ascendancy, the Pandyas do not exercise much influence upon the politics of South India. It is about the end of the twelfth century that the Chola power showed signs of weakening, and the Pandyas came into prominence.

The Ceylon invasion of the twelfth century.—It was a war between two brothers, rivals for the Pandyan throne, that brought in the great invasion of the Pandya country and of the Chola, by Parakrama Bahu the Great, of Ceylon (about A. D. 1166). The Ceylon army carried everything before it at the beginning of the war, and was beaten back with difficulty by the Cholas. But the weakening of the Cholas in the thirteenth century gave the opportunity to the Pandyas, and one of them

was able so far to restore the Pandya power as to be able in the middle of the thirteenth century to make himself master of most of the eastern coast from Nellore to Cape Comorin.

Sundara Pandya.—This was Sundara Pandya or Jatavarman Sundara, who reigned from A. D. 1251 to 1271. A succession of two or three rulers after him had to maintain their position and make it good as against the Hoysalas who had intervened in behalf of the Cholas before Sundara Pandya himself. The Pandyas entered into a marriage alliance with these Hoysalas, but both alike suffered from the Muhammadan invasions in the beginning of the fourteenth century. When ultimately the Muhammadans under Muhammad Tughlak put an end to the power of Warangal and destroyed Dvarasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas, and marched into the South, Madura came under the occupation of the Muhammadans; and this occupation lasted for about half a century.

The Pandyas under Vijayanagar.—When the Vijayanagar empire rose, almost the first ruler sent out an expedition to the South, which turned out the Mussalman garrison and brought Madura under the control of Vijayanagar. The Pandya dynasty lasted on under a succession of rulers, but with

much reduced territory and power, till the last of them passed out of obscure existence in the sixteenth century and the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Madura was founded. The minor local dynasty of the Pandyas retired then to Tinnevely and continued for another century and a half. That brings the Pandya history to a close. During all this long period, the influence of the Pandyas did not extend at any time beyond the Tamil country.

The Cheras.—Similarly the Cheras, confined in their own little corner of the southwest of Peninsular India, exercised but little influence on the politics of even South India, except occasionally. As we have mentioned already more than once, there was a dynasty of early Cheras, who were powerful enough to achieve the position of ascendancy in Southern India. The greatest among two or three generations of such Cheras was the Chera Senguttuvan, who had his capital at Vanji or Karur on the west coast, in the second century after Christ. The rise to power of the Pandyan victor at Talaiyalanganam sent the Cheras back into their dominions, and the rise of the Pallava power successfully kept them there alone. During all the period of Pallava ascendancy, from about

A. D. 500 to 900, the Cheras figured only as auxiliaries in the various battles between the Pandyas and the Pallavas. Then they seem to come into some little prominence just as the Cholas were rising into importance; but during the period of ascendancy of the Cholas, the Cheras continued in a comparatively subordinate position similar to that of the Pandyas. With the decadence of the Pandya power after the Muhammadan invasion, we hear of the Chera ruler moving forward into the Tamil country so as to be in occupation both of Srirangam and Kanchi. Beyond that they do not appear to have exercised much influence in the history of South India, but have continued in their own corner of the Peninsula even to the present day. The rising power of the Vijayanagar empire came into contact with them only occasionally, so that they continued in the happy position of comparative historical obscurity.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HOYSALAS OF DVARASAMUDRA.

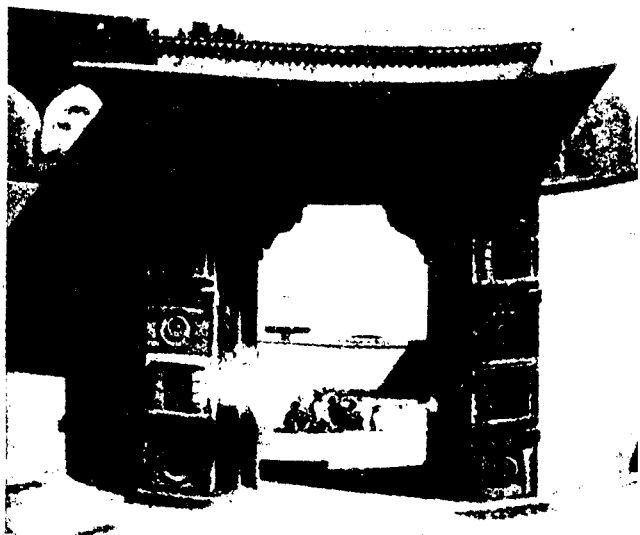
The break-up of the Chalukya empire.—
Having given a very brief account of the three

kingdoms that constituted South India at the period of the Muhammadan invasions, we shall now proceed to give a brief account of the three kingdoms into which the empire of the Chalukyas broke up about the same time. It has been already pointed out that with the death of Vikramaditya, the empire of the Chalukyas began to decline. It grew weaker and weaker rapidly under his successors till at last it was attacked about the same time by the Hoysalas from the west and by the rising power of the Kakatiyas in the east. There was no chance of the empire being saved except by usurpation and this was brought about by the commander-in-chief, by name Bijjala. During a period of a decade and a half, Bijjala and his sons kept the empire from breaking up; but being a usurper from among the officers of the empire, he naturally provoked jealousies which ultimately brought about the subversion of his dynasty. This was followed by a succession of weak rulers of the old line when finally the empire passed out of existence. During all this time, there were three subordinate states of a larger size within this empire which were preparing vigorously for achieving their independence as soon as the opportunity should offer itself.



THE GREAT TEMPLE AT DVARASAMUDRA.

Negative: India Office.



See p. 147.

DOOR OF PADMANI-KI-MAHALL.

Negative: Archaeological Survey.

HOYSALAS OF DVARASAMUDRA. 145

The three new states.—These were the kingdoms of the Yadavas in the north with their capital ultimately at Devagiri (Deogir), the Hoysalas in the south with their capital at Dvarasamudra (Halebid), and the Kakatiyas in the east with their capital first at Hanumakonda and then at Warangal. These three states or dynasties divided the empire of the Chalukyas among themselves, if we neglect from consideration the five or six smaller states which occupied the middle and which ultimately got merged in one or the other of these powerful states in the neighbourhood. In this narration, we shall take the southernmost state first.

The Hoysalas : early history.—The Hoysalas had a comparatively humble origin and belonged to a little village in a mountainous corner of the Mysore state in the north-west of it. The first historical person appears as the general of Vikramaditya. His name was Vinayaditya. It was his son that achieved more distinction under the emperor and he is sometimes described as the right-hand man of that monarch. His name is given in inscriptions as Ereyanga, which would mean red-bodied. He seems to have loyally supported Vikramaditya in his southern campaigns against the Cholas. He had three sons, the first two of whom ruled

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in succession, the third having died while yet his elder brother was alive. The eldest was Bellala I. of whose administration we know comparatively little. He succeeded probably to the possessions of his father and distinguished himself in the southern campaigns of Vikramaditya against the Cholas. He was followed by his younger brother Vishnuvardhana, who was the first great ruler and may be considered the founder of a ruling dynasty, though he did not assume an independent position formally during his life-time.

Vishnuvardhana.—He was a vigorous man, a great general and a man of high administrative ability. With the assistance of his general, Gangaraja by name, he was instrumental in finally driving out the Cholas from the plateau of Mysore and taking possession of Talakad, the Chola capital within the territory of Mysore. It was during his reign that the whole of the present state of Mysore got united for the first time in history under one ruler. He extended his conquests to take in the present neighbouring British districts as well, so that we might consider Salem, part of what is now North Arcot and Chittore, Anantapur and Bellary, practically as belonging to his dominions. On one occasion, while Vikramaditya himself was ruling, he led an expedition against

the imperial headquarters, but was beaten back. He saved himself by retiring into his capital. For the rest of his life, he lived a wiser man and did not make a similar attempt again; but short of this, he was gradually strengthening himself, so that the territory marked off above was substantially united and brought thoroughly under his control. When Vikramaditya died, he was able to push himself forward and by overcoming the smaller chieftains in the middle region, he came into touch with the headquarters of the empire in the Nizam's dominions—Kalyani on the one side, and the Yadavas of Devagiri on the banks of the Krishna on the other. It was during his reign that the great Vaishnava teacher, Ramanuja, sought asylum in his territory and was so successful as to convert Vishnuvardhana to Vaishnavism. Thereafter, for a number of years, he remained in the territory of Mysore an honoured guest of the powerful king till he found it convenient to return to his usual headquarters at Srirangam. About the year A. D. 1136 while Vishnuvardhana was engaged in a campaign on the banks of the Krishna against the Yadavas, he received the glad tidings of the birth of his son. When Vishnuvardhana died about A. D. 1150, he was succeeded by this son, Narasimha by name, who was

a mere lad at the time. The administration continued to be under the guidance of the veteran ministers and generals of his father. Narasimha's reign was not remarkable for much that was actually done, and he was followed after a reign of little more than twenty years by his son Bellala, or Vira Bellala, the second of the name in the dynasty.

Vira Bellala II.—Like his grandfather he was a very vigorous ruler and devoted himself to the extension and consolidation of the kingdom. His principal enemies were a dynasty of the Pandyas, whose territory included within it the eastern half of the present state of Mysore, and a considerable portion of Anantapur and Bellary districts. Their capital was at Uchchangi Durga, which is now in the Bellary district. He put an end to this dynasty and took their capital, and extended his territory in that direction very considerably. He continued the policy of his grandfather in respect of the Yadavas and defeated them several times in the region of the upper course of the river Krishna. He was so successful in his efforts in this direction that when the last nominal emperor, Somesvara by name, passed out of view altogether in A. D. 1189, he thought the time had arrived to declare himself

an independent ruler. This he did after a victorious campaign against the Yadavas in A. D. 1191, and for more than twenty years after, ruled with great success as the first Hoysala king in his own right. His territory extended right up to the Krishna in the north, the southern boundary being Nangali Ghat in the south-east, Kongu in the south and Nilgiris in the south-west.

Narasimha II.—When he died and was succeeded by his son Narasimha II., the northern frontier had been so far settled that Narasimha could push himself out southwards and south-eastwards to intervene with good effect in the war between the last Cholas, whose empire was far gone in breaking up, and the Pandyas. His first intervention was in favour of the last Chola Rajaraja III. against his powerful vassal, a Pallava chieftain, ordinarily known as Kop-Perunjinga. Then again he had to interfere in favour of the same Chola, but this time against the Pandyas on the one side, and the Kakatiyas on the other. This policy of active intervention in the affairs of the southern empire was followed even more effectively by his son Vira Somesvara.

Somesvara.—He was so far successful against the Pandyas and his help was so much needed by the effete Chola rulers that he

established himself in a capital of his own, very near Trichinopoly. This place is mentioned in inscriptions as Kannanur and corresponded to the village which now goes by the name Samayavaram, on the northern side of Colaroon, opposite to the island of Srirangam. The rise of the great Pandya Sundara put an end to the power of the Hoysalas in that locality. But they still held sufficient territory in the Tamil country so that, under Somesvara's son and grandson, Tiruvannamalai, and an obscure village known by the name Kundani, now in the Salem district, were the capitals of the southern division of the Hoysala dominions. Somesvara divided the empire between his two sons Narasimha III. and Vira Ramanatha, who both of them ruled in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Partition of the Hoysala Empire.—To Narasimha he gave the Hoysala kingdom proper and to Ramanatha, who seems to have been born of a Pandya princess, the territory outside on the south. These half-brothers seem to have been hostile to each other, and appear to have fought against each other also in the southern frontiers of Mysore. With the death of Ramanatha and his son, who had a

very short reign, the empire once again united under the last known Hoysala ruler, Vira Bellala III.

Vira Bellala III.—It was under Vira Bellala III. that the Muhammadan invasion under Malik Kafur reached as far south as Dvarasamudra itself. This and the subsequent invasions damaged the Hoysala empire quite as badly as it did those of its neighbours. Vira Bellala III. fought against the Muhammadans and fell in a battle near Trichinopoly. Under his son Bellala IV. it yet retained a nominal existence. A re-constitution of the southern forces of Hinduism took place either in his reign or soon after his death, and resulted in the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar, the story of which we shall tell in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Foundation of the Dynasty.—Another of these feudatory families that established itself independently after the break-up of the empire of the great Vikramaditya Chalukya was that of the Yadavas, generally known as the

Yadavas of Devagiri. They claim an ancestry which takes them back many generations from the time they established themselves independently. We may pass over most of them and be content merely with the history of this family from the time that they became prominent after the last Chalukya ruler. This family is sometimes called the Seuna family and the founder of the dynasty is given the name Seuna, or Seuna Chandra sometimes.

Bhillama.—It was his grandson, Bhillama by name, who is the first sovereign. He is called in Hoysala records the Seuna king. This Bhillama must have been a feudatory of the last Chalukya king, Somesvara IV., previous to the year A.D. 1187. He claims rule over the whole of the *Karnataka* country, two years after this date. Two years after that he is found campaigning against the Hoysalas in the southern Mahratta country in the region of Gadag. A number of battles were fought between him and his Hoysala enemy Vira Bellala II., about the year A. D. 1191. The object of these wars in that region seems to be the reduction of the smaller chieftains who were, like the Yadavas on the one side and the Hoysalas on the other, feudatories of the empire. As a result of these wars Bhillama lost the province of the empire south

of the Krishna and Malprabha to where it joined the Krishna, and at last fell in battle in the year A.D. 1191. It is he that is given credit for having founded the city of Devagiri, which is the modern Daulatabad in the Nizam's dominions. He had to make good his claim not only against the Hoysalas, as mentioned already, but had to fight against the Malavas and Gurjaras on the other side.

Jaituji.—Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaituji, also called Jaitapala and Jaitrapala. He assumed the paramount titles of sovereignty in inscriptions of his time. It was he that appointed Lakshmidhara, the son of Bhaskaracharya, to the position of chief pandit in his service. He is said, both in inscriptions and by Hemadri, to have defeated the Andhras under their king Rudra I. who ruled in Warangal, the third of the great feudatory states which made themselves independent at the end of the twelfth century. One of the records relating to this incident further says that he killed this Rudra in battle, and placed upon the throne Ganapati, his nephew who had been in prison till then.

Singana.—About the year A.D. 1210, his son Singana succeeded him. His records are

found in the southern Mahratta country and in parts of the Nizam's dominions, and even in the northern parts of Mysore. Among his titles figure that of Yadava-Chakravartin. He seems to have been the first Yadava ruler who checked the ambitious progress of the Hoysala king, Vira Bellala II. Singana succeeded in taking back from the Hoysalas some of the territory lost by his father and grandfather, south of the Krishna. His success in this region seems to have been real. He had a province under his control, by name Banavasi, which took into it a part of north-western Mysore also. One of the claims set up in his favour is the erecting of a pillar of victory on the banks of the Kaveri. Campaigns against the Gurjaras, the Malavas and the Telugus are also mentioned. In his reign, for the first time, we get references to campaigns against the Muhammadans, who are called Hammiras. One interesting fact in his reign, in relation to literature, is the statement that Singana's chief astronomer was Changadeva, the son of Lakshmidhara, who, in his turn, was the son of the astronomer Bhaskaracharya. There is a further fact that this Changa founded a college where he taught the *Siddhantasiromani* and other works written by his grandfather and other unnamed relations.

This shows that the family of Bhaskaracharya was a body of astronomers.

Krishna.—About the year A.D. 1247, Singana was succeeded by his grandson Krishna, whose name is also sometimes referred to as Kanhara or Kandhara. During his reign, which lasted till about A. D. 1260, he maintained the Yadava dominions undiminished. We know of no special achievements of his except that he is given credit for all that his ancestors did. He seems to have had occasion to interfere actively in the affairs of the Kakatiyas of Warangal on the one side, and perhaps with the Kalachuris of Central India on the other. Krishna was succeeded in the year last named by Mahadeva, his younger brother.

Mahadeva.—His reign is also comparatively uneventful except that he claims a victory over king Visaladeva of Anhilwad in Gujarat. The usual claims to success against the Telunga, Karnata and Lata are made also in his behalf in the work of Hemadri, who was one of his Mantrins or councillors. The style of buildings that usually go by the name Hemadpanthi seems to have arisen from Hemadri, who was probably a great builder in this style of structure. When Mahadeva died, his son was not allowed to succeed, and

the throne passed after a disputed succession to his nephew Ramachandra, the son of Krishna.

Ramachandra.—He is the man known ordinarily to historians as Ramadeva, whose accession probably took place in A. D. 1271. He enjoyed undiminished authority over the extensive dominions of the Yadavas. Hemadri continued in office as minister and his special charge seems to have been the drawing up of documents. Rama's power seems to have extended right down to the southernmost extremity of the territory of the Hoysalas, as one of his generals, Saluva Tikkama, claims even to have reduced the city of Dvarasamudra. Ramachandra or Ramadeva died in the year A. D. 1309 or 1310, and with him the power of the Yadavas passed out of existence. His son, and probably successor, Sankara, enjoyed some little limited power, but by that time Devagiri had fallen under the rule of the Muhammadans. It is well-known that the first invasion of the Deccan was undertaken by Ala-ud-din Khilji in A. D. 1294 when it was put under tribute. By A. D. 1306 Ramadeva had grown irregular in regard to his payments, and Ala-ud-din Khilji sent down Malik Kafur who subdued the greater part of the Mahratta country and was on the point of taking Devagiri when Ramadeva offered terms of peace. He was taken over

to headquarters and favourable terms were accorded to him. Ramachandra agreed to be a feudatory of the Sultan and for the rest of his life did not do anything to break the peace.

Sankara.—In A. D. 1310, Ramachandra died and Sankara succeeded. Sankara showed himself disaffected at the time when Malik Kafur passed by way of Devagiri on his invasion to Dvarasamudra against the Hoysalas. After Malik Kafur's return to Delhi, Sankara withheld his tribute; and the invasion sent under Malik Kafur to punish him, seized him and put him to death. Soon after Malik Kafur was called back to court and the next six years were occupied in court intrigues.

Devagiri, the first Muhammadan province.—When at last in A. D. 1318 Mubarak placed himself upon the throne at Delhi, he found Devagiri in revolt under Harapala. Mubarak himself led the expedition this time, and after capturing and cruelly putting to death Harapala, constituted Devagiri as the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhya. That put an end to the dynasty of the Yadavas of Devagiri and their kingdom. This part of the empire of Vikramaditya was thus the first to be subdued and made a province of the Muhammadan empire.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL.

Early history.—The dynasty of the Kakatiyas like its two neighbours, the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, had been a feudatory dynasty, first of all probably under the eastern Chalukyas, and later on under the great western Chalukya king Vikramaditya. The part of the territory which belonged to these Kakatiyas was included earlier in the dominions of the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, a dynasty founded by the great western Chalukya Pulikesin II, who appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana as his viceroy in this region with his capital at Rajahmundri. In the course of the tenth century, while the southern Chola power was coming into prominence, the eastern Chalukyas had not the same reasons that they had before, for close connection with the rulers of the western Chalukya dominions which till then belonged to another dynasty, the Rashtrakutas. By this time they perhaps felt they were unequal to either of their powerful neighbours, the new dynasty of western Chalukyas who had their capital at Kalyani in the centre of the Nizam's dominions, and the rising power

of the Cholas in the south. After a war or two, they were so much weakened that their power would have become extinct, as was indicated by the absence of any ruler for a period of about twenty-three years. When they came out of this anarchy as it were, we find them in alliance with the Cholas. The first great Chola emperor Rajaraja entered into a treaty with them, cemented by a family alliance. Rajaraja's daughter married the Chalukya ruler for the time being. From that time onward to the reign of Kulottunga, the great Chola-Chalukya, this relationship continued and the eastern Chalukyas held themselves in subordination to the Cholas. With the accession to the Chola throne of Kulottunga, the two dynasties became united in him, as he certainly was the ruler of the eastern Chalukya dominions and made himself ruler of the Chola empire as well. Under him and under his more powerful successors, this part of South India continued to remain under the Cholas. The possession by the Cholas of this part of India was, however, not unmolested.

Rise to power.—The great Chalukya Vikramaditya often carried on wars in the territory of Guntur and Krishna districts, sometimes with success and sometimes without. It is in the course of these

wars that the first historical person among the Kakatiyas, Beta by name, emerges. Inscriptions give him the title Trailokyamalla, one of the title of Vikramaditya VI. He seems to have been a nominee of Vikramaditya in this part of the country, and when the war went against him he probably changed sides for which he had to make amends by an abject submission. Vikramaditya magnanimously pardoned him and let him rule the portion of which he was perhaps the governor. This was known as the Sabbi, one thousand district. He was succeeded by his son Prola, otherwise Proda, the second of the name. The only record of his reign is dated in the era of Chalukya Vikrama, which was dated in A. D. 1117. Prola probably continued in subordination to the Chalukyas during the lifetime of Vikramaditya and of his successors. He, however, joined the other more powerful feudatories when they rose in rebellion against the third successor from Vikramaditya, Taila III. (A. D. 1151-1163). He was taken prisoner and set at liberty, but Prola had to stand a siege in his turn from a loyal subordinate of the emperor, the Santara chief, Jagaddeva. Prola was able to hold his own during the usurpation of Bijjala. He died by an accident, as it seems, in A. D. 1162 and was succeeded by his son Rudra I. of Warangal.

Rudra I.—It was this Rudra that was the first Kakatiya ruler to come into contact with the Yadavas of Devagiri, and an encounter between him and Mullugi, the predecessor of Bhillama, is on record. When Rudra succeeded to the throne, the Chola power in the south was occupied with its own wars against the rising Pandyas and Ceylon. In consequence a number of subordinates of the Chola empire were able gradually to work their way up to power. One such was a chieftain by name Bhima, who had his capital somewhere near Kolleru. This Bhima figures among the enemies of Rudra. Rudra founded the city of Warangal to which the capital was changed from Hanumakonda. During his time, the Kakatiya kingdom extended from the sea in the east, to the confines of the Chalukya dominions in the west, the Hill Malayavanta in the north and Srisailem in the west. This would mean the eastern half of the Nizam's dominions and the districts of the Madras Presidency in its neighbourhood. Rudra was probably succeeded by his brother Mahadeva, who seems to have had but a short reign. He was succeeded by his son Ganapati. Mahadeva's accession to the throne took place just about the time when both his neighbours,

the Hoysala Vira Bellala and the Yadava Jaituji felt themselves safe in declaring their independence, the latter of these two claimants having overcome a Telunga king and killed him. It was very probably Mahadeva that was thus put to death by the Yadava, and Ganapati succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1198-99.

Ganapati.—Ganapati's was a long reign of sixty-two years which lasted on to A. D. 1260-61. It corresponds to the period when the Chola empire broke up, and his position was, therefore, quite safe on that side. Ganapati's wars were against the Yadavas principally, and both he and the Yadava king Singana claim victories against each other, about A. D. 1235. The attention of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra was directed against the Chola empire, which was fast breaking up, and the most powerful among the Chola feudatories was, as was noted already, Perunjinga, a Pallava chieftain. The Kakatiyas in their turn took advantage of it and marched against the empire of the Cholas, overcoming the minor chieftains in the way, the chief among them being the Telugu Chola dynasty of Nellore. One member of this family was very troublesome to the Cholas. His name was Tikka, and his influence was once so great that he

claims to have defeated the Hoysala Somesvara, captured Kanchi and established the Chola king on the throne. Ganapati had an opportunity to interfere in favour of Tikka's son, and took advantage of the occasion to establish his influence. Thus Ganapati was able to consolidate his dominions by bringing all the Telugu country under his control. About the year A. D. 1249, Ganapati was in occupation of Kanchi against the Chola feudatory Perunjinga. He seems ultimately to have been driven out from Kanchi by Perunjinga, in alliance with the great Sundara Pandya, about A. D. 1250-51. In the course of these wars, Ganapati did not neglect the administration of his territory. We have evidence in his reign of the Kakatiya dominions being a well-ordered kingdom, fostering even a considerable amount of over-sea trade. This was a period of activity in all directions; and when he died after a long reign, he left no son to succeed him.

Rudramba.—He was succeeded, however, by Queen Rudramba, who sometimes called herself Rudradeva Maharaja. There are two opinions in regard to her; one that she was the daughter of Ganapati, and the other that she was his widow. Inscriptional authorities seem to support the former claim. She came

to the throne in A. D. 1261, and ruled till about 1291. At the commencement of the reign there seem to have been some disturbances in the kingdom, which were successfully put down. In these, figures the name of Kadavaraya, the Pallava chieftain, who was mainly responsible for the overthrow of the Chola empire. Rudramba also intervened with effect in favour of Gandagopala of Nellore, who was dispossessed of his kingdom. It was in the reign of Queen Rudramba that Marco Polo visited the Coromandel Coast. This traveller speaks of the enlightened rule of this princess. He says that during the forty years of her reign, she administered the kingdom as well as her predecessors. She was, according to him, a great lover of justice and gave her kingdom peace. Her rule came to an end in A. D. 1291-92, her successor being her grandson Prataparudra.

Prataparudra, Rudra II.—This was the ill-fated ruler, in whose reign took place first, the Muhammadan invasions, and then, the practical annexation of the Kakatiya kingdom by Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. It is from one of the sons of this king that the inspiration for the foundation of Vijayanagar is said to have come by the Muhammadan historians. Prataparudra had to begin by settling

disturbances in Nellore. In A. D. 1308 came the first invasion of the Kakatiya kingdoms by the Muhammadans under Malik Kafur. This was followed by another in 1309, when the city and the fort fared very badly. On this occasion Rudra offered terms of capitulation which were accepted by Malik Kafur. The territory was put under tribute and Malik Kafur left the capital with one thousand camel-loads of booty.

Rudra and his enemies.—It was in the interval between these Muhammadan invasions that the Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekhara found his opportunity to march across the Chola dominions as far as Kanchi, and have himself crowned there in A. D. 1313. Three years after this Prataparudra was able to recover Kanchi by turning out the enemy. Then his general advanced southwards even as far as Trichinopoly. On this occasion, the power of Prataparudra was pushed forward to the south-west also by the occupation of the fort of Gandikota. The latest date so far found for Prataparudra is A. D. 1322-23, when as a result of an invasion by Muhammad-bin-Tughlak he was defeated and taken prisoner to Delhi. He was again put under tribute and sent back to rule his dominions as before. It was while he was still alive that one of his

sons Krishnappa Nayak brought about an alliance between the various chieftains of that frontier with the last Hoysala ruler Vira Bel-
lala III, who laid the foundations of the city of Vijayanagar to resist the further advance of the Muhammadans in the south. The story of this we shall take up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VIJAYANAGAR.

The Empire in the making.— Muhammadan entry south of the Vindhya.— We have already described in Chapter XXII, the circumstances under which the Muhammadans entered India, south of the Vindhya, for the first time under Ala-ud-din Khilji. We have also described briefly the further invasions of that region and the regions further southward of that, and stated that the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhya was constituted out of the kingdom of the Yadavas of Devagiri, under Sultan Mubarak Khilji in A. D. 1318. Having once come into South India and with a provincial headquarters at Devagiri, the Muhammadan rulers at Delhi found it certainly convenient to extend their operations

further southwards from Devagiri as a centre. This went on from time to time till at last, having put Warangal under permanent tribute (A. D. 1323), they carried their depredations as far south as Ramesvaram itself, leaving garrisons in various localities, chief among them being Madura. The character of their conquests was so devastating in regard to property, and so thoroughly subversive in regard to all that went to make up the civilisation of the Hindus, that, as a natural reaction, it provoked the great national movement which ended in the founding of a new imperial city, which became famous in history as Vijayanagar.

The foundation of Vijayanagar.— This movement had its origin under Muhammad Tughlak when he had already conducted two invasions into the south. The famous scheme to transfer the capital from Delhi to Devagiri, and the failure of this project, showed plainly the weakness of the Delhi empire, and that was the signal for the opposition to gather strength and gain the organisation which ultimately brought about this foundation. Among the twenty-three provinces of which the empire of Muhammad Tughlak was composed, there were at least four provinces,

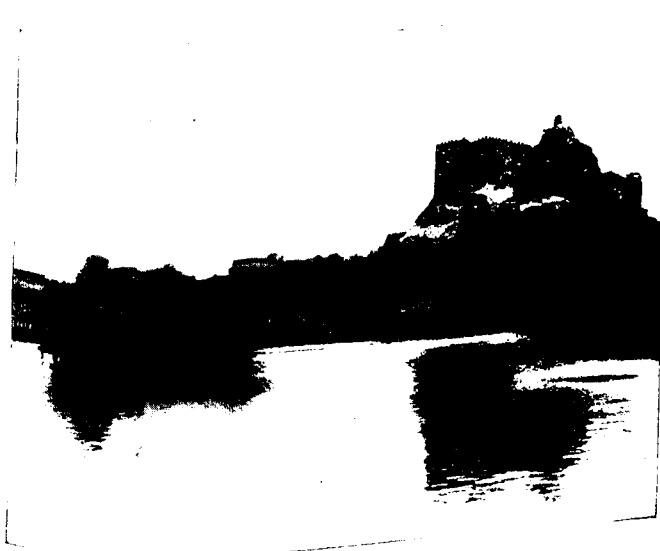
which might be regarded South Indian. Devagiri formed a regular province under a provincial administration. Warangal was in the condition of a subordinate kingdom under its own dynasty. The Hoysalas further south were more than once defeated and their capital city was partially destroyed. Even the Pandyas of the farthest south, felt the pressure of the Muhammadan invasions.

The character of these invasions.—On one occasion when Khusru Khan laid siege to the fort of Warangal, he offered the ruler of Warangal three alternatives, each one of which meant the complete loss of everything that could be regarded as a desirable possession. He was asked to become a Mussalman; failing this, he was to give up all his earthly possessions to 'the faithful'; failing this, he was given the chance of putting his neck under the sword, in the quaint language of Amir Khusru. This indicated to the Hindus of the South what exactly they could expect from further invasions of the Muhammadans, and they naturally put themselves in readiness to do or die rather than submit to this shame. The inspiration for this movement seems to have sprung from one of the princes of Warangal, who did not approve of his father's.



DEOGIRI.

Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.



ROCK FORT AND TEMPLE, TRICHINOPOLY.

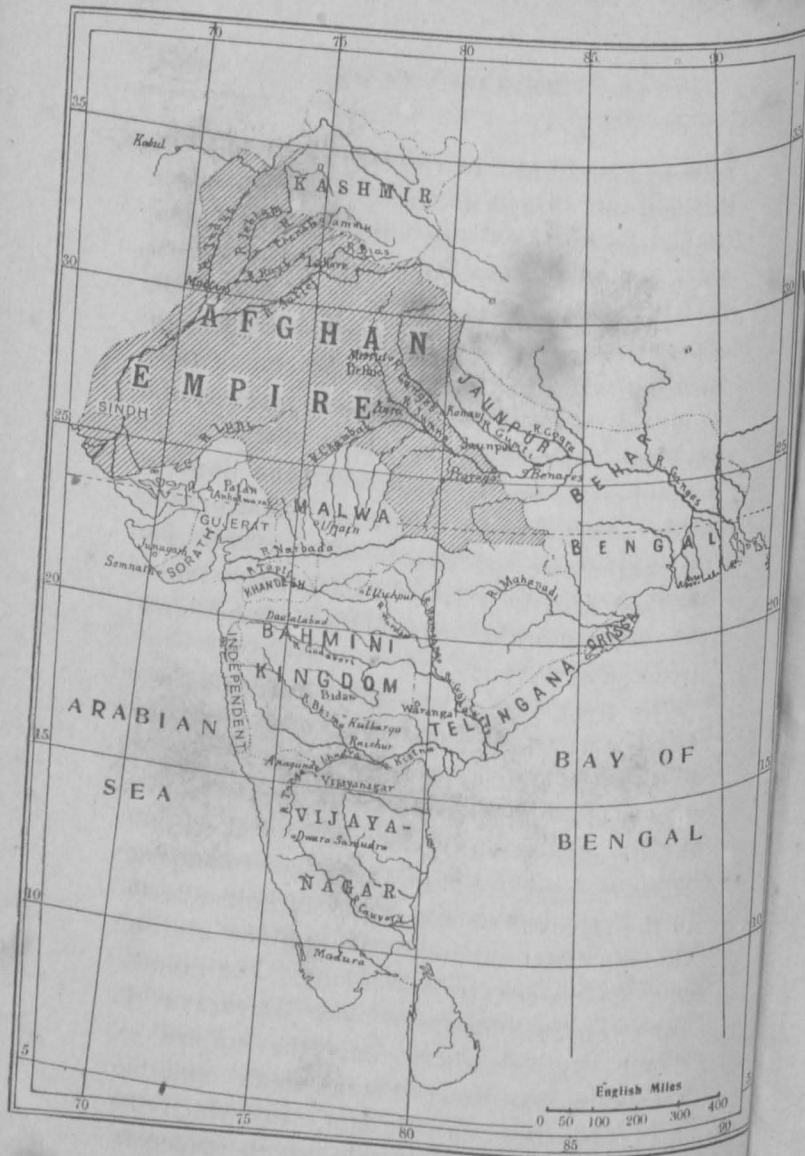
Photo. Johnston and Hoffmann, Calcutta.

extending its power in the south, so that for very near a quarter of a century at the commencement, these were left in peace to carry their project through without opposition from the north.

The sweeping off of the Muhammadan garrisons of the South.—They therefore organised themselves during this period and were ready when the Muhammadan state found itself in a convenient position to move, not merely to oppose it with success, but to take the more thorough-going measure of turning out all the Mussalman garrisons from the south. The most famous among the five brothers was Bukka, and an energetic and enterprising son of this Bukka it was that carried this operation of turning the Mussalman garrisons out of South India with the greatest success. His name was Kumara Kampana, whose office was that of Viceroy of the Maharajya of Mulbagal in south-eastern Mysore. Therefrom, he carried on war up to Madura with the assistance of two able generals, the Brahman Gopana and Saluva Mangu, both of whom distinguished themselves by the restoration to its former greatness of the great Vishnu temple at Srirangam, which had suffered badly in the recent Muhammadan invasions. Bukka died in A. D. 1376. Two

rulers had reigned in the Bahmani kingdom, Ala-ud-din Hassan Gangu and his son Muhammad Shah. The latter tried to extend his power, but was occupied all the time more or less with his war against Warangal. The whole of the south had been brought under the ruler of Vijayanagar by this time, and about four or five years after, the son and successor of Bukka, by name Harihara, the second of the name, assumed all the imperial titles, and threw off openly all subordination to the empire of Delhi, which itself had suffered greatly from a rapid succession of rulers terminating of course in the great invasion of Timur.

The first Dynasty.—Thereafter this new dynasty had to maintain perpetual war against the Muhammadans, in all of which they were able to maintain themselves on the defensive with success, and keep the Muhammadans within their own boundaries in the Deccan. The dynasty of Bukka lasted through half a dozen generations and for very near a century and a half. The greatest ruler of this dynasty was Devaraya II (1421-48), in whose time the empire extended to the most distant south and had a viceroyalty in Madura, to which belonged the charge of 'the southern ocean'.



INDIA IN 1398.

The city had been extended and thoroughly fortified, so that it seemed to the travellers that visited his court, one of the greatest and most splendid cities of the world, provided lavishly with all that went to make life comfortable. Vijayanagar reached the greatest height of its power under him (before the days of king Krishnadeva Raya). He received in 1443 an ambassador named Abdur Razzak, who has left behind him a very good description of the city as he saw it.

The rise of Orissa.—In the course of his reign, a new power comes upon the scene. The earlier rulers of the Mussalman kingdom of Devagiri, the Bahmani sultans, carried on a series of successful wars against Warangal. In the course of their later wars, they called to their aid a new dynasty that had arisen in Orissa. The first enterprising ruler of this dynasty assisted the Muhammadans of the Bahmani kingdom and profited himself very much by so doing. The Muhammadan frontier was extended to the eastern limits of the present Nizam's Dominions. The kings of Orissa had extended their territory to include within it the Madras Presidency coast of Telingana, so that when Devaraya died in A. D. 1449, the kingdom of Vijayanagar came into touch with the Hindu state of Orissa on the

one side, and the Muhammadan Bahmani kingdom on the other, along the Krishna frontier. These two often acted in alliance and were therefore hostile to the empire of Vijayanagar. In this condition the great Devaraya died and his son Mallikarjuna succeeded.

Mallikarjuna.—This son, for some reason, appears not to have commanded the influence that the father did. There seems besides to have been some division of interests within the empire, as between him and a half-brother of his. But the empire was saved from conquest by the enemies from outside, through the exertions of one of its great generals who kept the enemy of Orissa within his territory on the other side of the Godaveri. There appears to have been, some time about A. D. 1466-67, a usurpation by the half-brother referred to above, and that brought about the downfall of the dynasty under which Vijayanagar achieved this prominence. This was not done all at once. This usurping brother ruled for a period of about twenty years when the dynasty was overthrown by the Vijayanagar general, Saluva Narasimha.

The empire at its highest.—**Saluva Narasimha.**—This great general appears to have usurped the throne not with any petty object of making himself great. His motive

seems to have been nothing less than the preservation of the empire. He had to carry on, for half a century nearly, before his usurpation and after, war against both the northern enemies, and he did that with success. At the time of his death, however, the three great fortresses, the keys to the possession of the south, were still in the hands of his enemies. These fortresses were Raichur in the Doab, between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra; Kondavidu at the head of the delta of the Krishna, and Udayagiri in the Nellore district. While his young son succeeded to the throne, on his death-bed he entrusted the charge of the empire to his faithful general Narasa. Both Narasa and his father were trusted generals of Saluva Narasimha all their life long, and Narasa now carried on the administration in behalf of his master's son. He had to fight many times against the Mussalman enemies round about Raichur, and the Orissa king in the region of Kondavidu and Udayagiri. On the whole he maintained himself with success against these enemies. When he died in 1505, his own son, Vira Narasimha, usurped the throne, possibly setting aside the legitimate monarch Narasimha II. This change of succession threw the provinces of the empire into rebellion, which

Vira Narasimha struggled hard during his short reign to put down. He succeeded in most cases, and when the empire passed on to his younger brother Krishnadevaraya, the greatest ruler of the empire, the first thing that monarch had to do was to go against one of the most powerful among the governors, who laid claim to the central region of the empire and had so far made good his claim.

Krishna.—Krishnadevaraya came to the throne in A.D. 1509 and ruled till 1529. He is the man known in popular tradition as Rayar, Rayalu, or Rayaru, and is coupled with Appaji, his minister in many a South Indian tale. He had first of all to turn his attention to set the government in order, which had been somewhat thrown into confusion on account of the late rebellions under his brother. He then marched to Penukonda and farther south, and across westwards to Sivansamudram, where he finally overthrew the rebel chief Gangaraja of Ummattur. He marched northwards further by way of Srirangapatam and came to the Bijapur frontier. Strengthening garrisons already there, he threw in a fresh garrison into Raichur and marched across to Adoni. From there he wanted to proceed against the king of Kalinga

When Tirumalaraya died after about ten years of rule, he was succeeded by the eldest surviving son of his, who suffered some reverses at the hands of the Golkonda Muhammadans at Penukonda. In consequence, either he himself, or his younger brother Venkatadri, transferred the capital from Penukonda to Chandragiri.

Venkatadri.—Under Venkatadri, who came to the throne about 1585, the empire showed a tendency to break up. The Naik of Madura showed himself actually a rebel and his nephew, the viceroy at Srirangapatam, did not show himself more trustworthy. These circumstances, bad enough in themselves, were aggravated by the ambition of one of Venkatadri's brothers-in-law, Jaggaraya by name. This Jaggaraya revolted against the successor of Venkatadri, who was an adopted son, in favour of his own nephew. He managed so far to secure the support of the garrison at the headquarters as to be able to throw the successor of Venkatadri and his family in prison, and bring about a massacre of the royal family, composed of the king, his queens, and three of his sons and a daughter. Through the good offices of a washerman, the founder of the present Venkatagiri family, Yachama Nayaka by name,

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saved one of the children, and the whole empire was divided into two camps in consequence: the loyalist supporters of the boy monarch and Yachama, and those against. Of the former, Yachama and the Nayak of Tanjore were the principal, and practically all the rest of them joined the other side. This civil war weakened the empire very considerably. Venkata's successors were feeble monarchs, who had to transfer the capital from Chandragiri to Vellore for a short while, and then became fugitives in the courts of powerful governors such as those of Ginji, Madura and ultimately the Nayaks of Bednur.

Sriranga.— The last of them, by name Sriranga, passed quietly out of view about 1645-6, five years after the gift of Madras by one of his feudatories of Kalahasti to the English. This brings us practically to the end of the history of Hindu India.

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