

# History of India.

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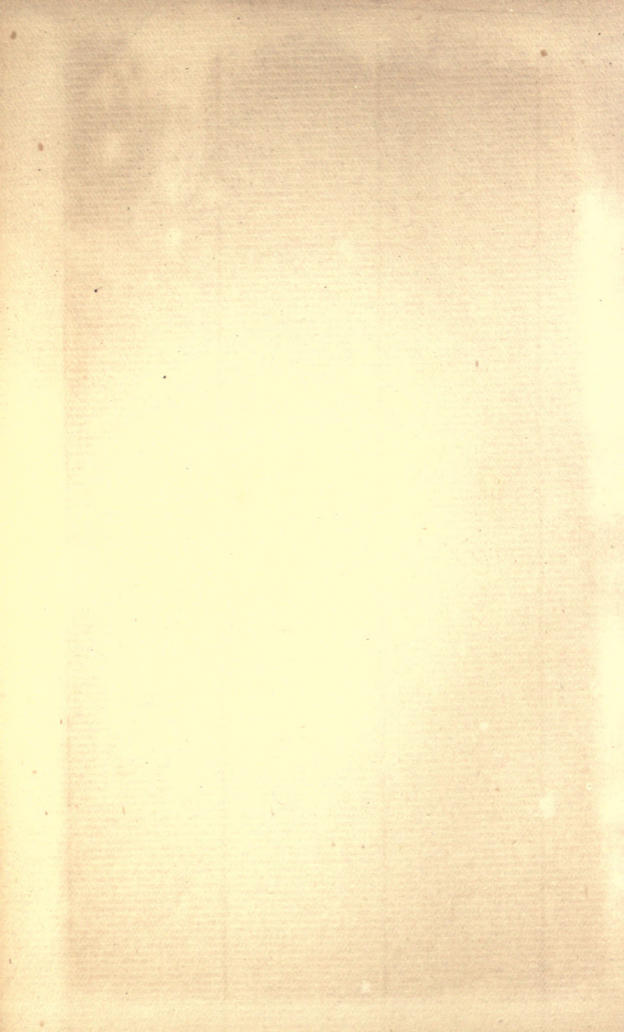
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HIS MAJESTY, EDWARD VII., AND  
QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

# A HISTORY OF INDIA

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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IN writing this History, the chief points the authors had in view were to present it in an interesting narrative form, as well as in agreement with the results of modern research,—in both respects (as they believe) a new departure.

The numerous inscriptions, coins, and manuscripts, discovered in late years, as well as a more extended study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian Literature have brought to light a mass of new facts which have greatly modified many hitherto accepted views of Indian history. Having for many years acted as Philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Numismatist Advisor to the Government of India, the first of the joint-authors has had special facilities for the study of the new information. To those who are not familiar with the latter, his presentation of the earlier history of India, comprising the first three Empires, may come as a surprise. Lengthy references to authorities, and discussions of rival, and (it may be) discredited theories would obviously be out of place in a short School History. But in order to assist Teachers who may be desirous of further informing themselves, a selected list of the best and latest writings on Indian Antiquities has been added.

The history of the Fourth and Fifth Empires has been written after consulting standard works on the periods concerned, and the events recorded are those which have been established by the investigations of discriminative and competent scholars of Indian History.

*May 1904.*

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.  
HERBERT A. STARK,

2004609

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- (3) 1890. O. Schrader and F. B. Jevons : Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples.

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- (2) 1900. E. Washburn Hopkins : The Great Epic of India.
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 (11) 1895. H. Kern : Manual of Buddhism. (In Cyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research).

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- (5) 1889-1893. Sir A. Cunningham : In Numismatic Chronicle.
- (6) 1886. P. Gardner : Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings in India. (British Museum Catalogue).

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Numerous articles on points of detail by Messrs. Bendall, Bhandarkar, Bühler, Fleet, Hara Prasada Shastri, Hoernle, Hopkins, Hultsch, Jacobi, Kielhorn, Levi, Senart, Stein, and others, may be found in the following periodicals :

- (1) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (2) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- (3) Journal of the Bombay Branch of No. 2
- (4) Journal Asiatique (French).
- (5) Journal of the German Oriental Society.
- (6) Journal of the American Society.
- (7) Indian Antiquary.
- (8) Epigraphia India.
- (9) Vienna Oriental Journal.
- (10) Archæological Survey Reports of Sir A. Cunningham, J. Burgess, and others.
- (11) Numismatic Chronicle.
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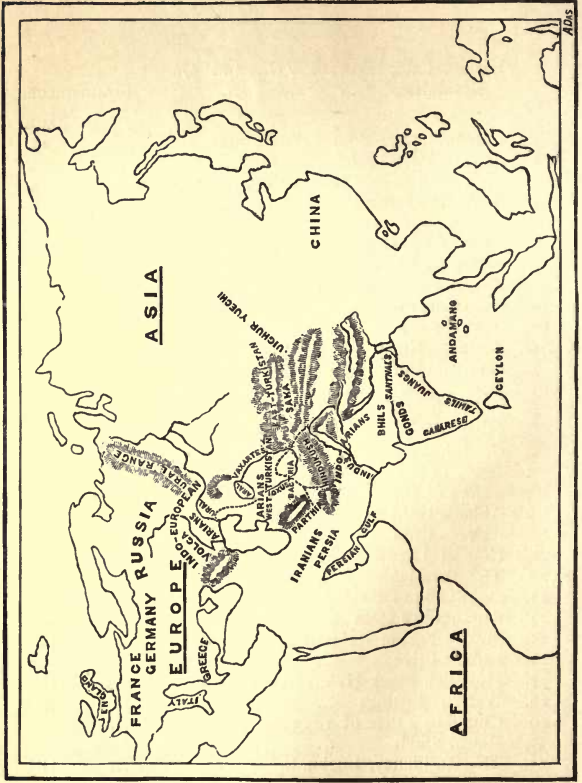
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Map of the Aryan Dispersion.

# A HISTORY OF INDIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### The Pre-historic Period : The Aborigines.

*Before 1500 B.C.*

**I**NDIA is our home-land. But, though the land is one, its inhabitants are of many races, many languages, and many religions. In this respect India is quite different from most other countries of the world. For example, take France or Germany: their people are of one race, one language, and one religion. But then, both countries are much smaller than India, which is indeed about seven times as large as either France or Germany. In fact, it is rather larger than the whole of Europe, with Russia excluded. If now you compare it with Europe, the difference disappears; for Europe, like India, has many races, languages and religions. The reason of this manifoldness is the same in both cases; it is the result of the wholesale migrations that often took place in ancient times.

In the earliest ages of which we know anything at all, India was inhabited by certain tribes, who were distinguished by very dark skins and flat noses. We call them Aborigines, that is the people of the beginning, because we do not know whence and when they came into the country. There are certain points which seem to connect them on one side with the native races of Australia, and on the other with the Finno-Tataric races in the north-west of Asia. But this goes back to a time when the earth's

surface had not yet attained its present state of distribution of land and water. Of India, in its present state, the earliest inhabitants known to us are the so-called Munda races. They still survive in the wilder parts of the country, and are represented by the Bhils, Kols, Santhals, Juangs and other uncivilized tribes of Central India. To them also belong the natives of the Andaman and other neighbouring islands, and the Veddas of Ceylon. They were savage people, living in small bands in the dense jungles and forests which then covered most parts of India. Their occupation was to hunt wild animals, or to raid upon one another, which they did with weapons made of stone. They lived on the wild produce of the jungle, on roots and fruits, and raw flesh, and they knew neither the breeding of cattle, nor the tilling of land ; nor had they any settled laws or forms of government. They made pots of clay, and baked them in fire. They buried their dead, and over their graves they set up upright slabs of rock or circles of stones. It is from these, and the things dug up in them, that we are able to form some idea of the life and the customs of the wild Aborigines.

But there were other aboriginal inhabitants of India, who were not so wild. These were the **Civilized Aborigines.** Dravidians, such as the Tamils, Kanarese, Gonds and others. At the present day they form the prevailing population of southern and central India ; but in the pre-historic age of India they were spread over the northern part as well. They inhabited everywhere the plains and valleys of the large rivers, which they had cleared of forest, and made fit for the cultivation of land and for the breeding of cattle. They lived in settled communities, under fixed laws and government. They possessed fortified strongholds as a protection against the raids of the surrounding wild tribes. They wore garments, used implements and weapons of bronze, and put on ornaments of gold. Their religion included a phallic cult as well as the worship of snakes and

trees, which things were at first repugnant to the Aryan invaders, though later on, when the latter amalgamated with the Dravidians, they were admitted under the worship of Siva. It is probable that they carried on a brisk maritime trade to the Persian Gulf from the western shores of India, and that in connection with it, perhaps in the 7th century B.C., they invented the rudiments of the Indian system of writing. Most of these things we know from incidental statements in the Vedic hymns which show that the Dravidians possessed a degree of civilization equal to, if not higher than, that of the Aryan tribes which invaded their country and conquered them.

## CHAPTER II.

### **The Pre-Vedic Period : The Aryans in their Original Home.**

*Before 1500 B.C.*

In the same pre-historic period there lived a hardy race of nomads in the extensive steppes of Southern Russia in Europe, along the banks of the river Volga. They were mainly a fair-skinned people, with well-shaped noses and handsome faces. They wandered from one pasturage to another with their flocks of cattle, goats and sheep, transporting their families and goods in light waggons drawn by horses. Rivers were crossed by them in boats cut out from the trunks of trees which grew along the banks. The milk and the flesh of their herds served as food, and of the skins they made for themselves simple garments, as well as of the hair or wool which they spun and wove in a primitive fashion. They also kept bees for the sake of the honey, from which they prepared an intoxicating drink called mead. They used implements of stone, and weapons of copper with which they defended themselves against the depredations of wolves and bears and other wild animals. While temporarily settled on a pasturage, they dwelt in huts made of wood and loam, or in cavities dug in the ground. At such times they raised small crops of barley and millet which they roasted and crushed to bake into cakes, and they also trafficked by barter with neighbouring races for such things as their own steppes did not produce. The sky, the sun, the moon, the dawn, fire, wind, and thunder seemed to them gods ; and accordingly they feared and sought to propitiate them. They had no priests, but cunning men among them claimed by sorcery to control the gods and to heal diseases.

Their men got for themselves wives by capture or purchase. The husband had an absolute right of sale or death over his wife and children; and for the widow it was considered proper to die at the grave of her husband. They lived together, two or three generations, in a joint-family. Several such families made up a clan, and several clans formed a tribe. From among the clan-lords, one was chosen chief or king of the tribe, to administer its common business, and above all to act as supreme commander in war.

In course of time the race multiplied to such an extent that the pasturage of the common area did not suffice for the needs of all the tribes. This may have been about four thousand years ago. So those tribes who lived on the borders of the area, made up their minds to seek new homes in other parts of the world. Those living on the western border went south-west into Europe and settled in England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece and elsewhere. But one large tribe which frequented the pasturages on the south-eastern border at the head of the Caspian Sea, and whose members called themselves Aryans, crossed the Ural river into Asia, and wandered south-east into the steppes of Western Turkestan, between the Caspian Sea and the river Yaxartes or Sir Darya. Here the Aryans were settled for some centuries.

**Dispersion of  
the Indo-Euro-  
peans.**

## CHAPTER III.

### The Vedic Period : The Aryans in the Punjab.

*About 1500—1000 B.C.*

By about 1500 B.C., the Aryans, in their new home on the northern side of the Hindu Kush, had multiplied to such an extent that once more they found it necessary to divide. Accordingly they crossed the mountain barriers on their south ; and while one portion, called the Iranian, wandered westward and settled in Persia, another portion, known as the Indo-Aryan, migrated southwards into India. Here they occupied the country on both sides of the Indus and as far as the Jamna, that is, eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. Within this new home, the Indo-Aryans remained settled for several centuries, probably down to about 1000 B.C. But it must not be supposed that the settlement was effected in the space of a few years or without any trouble. On the contrary, fierce fights took place with the aboriginal race that already occupied the country.

It has been explained in Chapter I., that the aboriginal Dravidians were a comparatively civilized people. In this respect they were hardly inferior to the invading Aryans ; but the latter were a more hardy race, stronger both physically and mentally. So it is no wonder that the Dravidian civilization was overwhelmed by that of the Aryans. The most striking evidences of this fact are that the Aryan language entirely ousted the Dravidian, and that the Dravidian people, though numerically far superior, were entirely subjected to the Aryan domination, and incorporated into the Aryan community, of which henceforth they formed the lowest or Sudra class. At the same time, the incorporation of such a numerous class could not

**First Aryan  
Immigration.**

**Conflict with  
the Dravidians.**



but leave its mark on the physical constitution and the social organization of the Aryans. At the first contact with the aboriginal population, the distinction of colour was a marked feature. In the Vedas the Aborigines are described as *Krishna* or dark, or as being of the *Dasa-varna*, that is, the enemies' colour, in contrast to the *Arya-varna* or friends' (*i.e.*, fellow-clansmen's) colour, which was fair. But by the end of the Vedic period, the distinction of colour had practically disappeared. For though the word for colour (*varna*) survived as a general term for caste, it was no longer used as a mark for distinguishing one caste from another.

Caste, in the proper sense, as we shall see in Chapter IV., arose in the next period ; but the necessities and vicissitudes of **Origin of Classes.** the Aryan migration led to the rise of "classes," which did not exist in the original European home. There, apart from differences in wealth, all the individual nomads were equals ; the only approach to a distinct class was made by the magician or sorcerer, who got his living not by cattle breeding but by ministering to the religious instincts of his clansmen. But when the Aryan people, in the course of their wanderings, passed from the steppes into a country of mountains and forests, they had to exchange a nomadic life for that of the *Vaisya*, or settler, whose occupation was to clear the forest and till the ground. Moreover, though to ward off raids at first every man had to be a warrior, yet when it came to regular fierce warfare with the aborigines of other countries, the necessity arose for a class of men who devoted themselves to the practice of arms. Being the fighters for, and the protectors of, the people, under the leadership of the *raja*, or chief, they came to occupy a privileged position as being the *rajanya*, or the chief men, *i.e.*, the nobles. The long course of successful wandering and warfare naturally led the Aryan to a higher conception of his gods, to whose favour he felt that he owed it. Out of mysterious powers to be feared,

the gods grew to be, for him, personal and beneficent beings, worthy of receiving his *brahman*, that is, prayer and praise. Simultaneously the wizards of old grew up into a class of cultured Brahmans, whose business it was to compose hymns in praise of the gods and to sacrifice to them. Thus by the time the Aryans were established in India, about 1000 B.C., they were divided into three classes, the Rajanya, Brahmana, and Vaisya, to which the subject Aborigines were added as a fourth class of Sudras. These classes, however, had not yet become castes; for the Brahmans, though very influential, were not yet the dominant class, nor was it impossible to pass from one class into another.

The high-water mark of the culture reached by the Indo-Aryans in the person of their **The Rigveda.** Brahmans, is exhibited in the *Rigveda*. This is a collection of upwards of a thousand skilfully composed hymns, mostly, though not exclusively, of a religious import. For that early age, their literary excellence is astonishing; few compositions comparable to them can be found among any other people. The collection must have been finished as early as 1000 B.C., and has since been handed down with scrupulous care and accuracy. Most of the hymns of the collection appear to have been composed in the extreme eastern portion of the area occupied by the Aryans, that is, not far from the right bank of the Jamna, in the district of Thanesar, south of Ambala, between the two small rivers, the Sarsati and the Chitang. Hence this district was called the *Brahmavarta* or the home of the *Brahman*, i.e., of the Vedic hymns of prayer and praise. It was also named *Kurukshetra*, that is, the land of the Kurus, who were one of the most distinguished tribes among the Aryans of India.

From the *Rigveda*, which is a contemporary work, we are able to gather a trustworthy account of the state of civilization of the Aryans **Aryan civilization.** between three and four thousand years

ago. The following are some of the main features. Their social division into four classes has been already mentioned. As to their political organization, it remained practically unchanged, and consisted of tribes, clans, and joint-families. Though they were conscious of their unity in race, language, and religion, there was no cohesion between the tribes, though for temporary purposes they readily formed confederations. Just as the government of the joint-family was patriarchal, so that of the tribe was monarchical. The king being once elected by the clans, the office generally became hereditary. His power, however, was limited by the will of the people expressed in the *Samiti* or tribal assembly. The settlements were villages, consisting of houses made of wood, with the domestic fire in the middle. There were no towns, though there were fortified enclosures on hill-tops, made of earth and stones, and stockaded. Ordinarily, however, these were not inhabited, but used only as places of refuge during raids or floods. In manners and customs we notice an advance in refinement. As to marriage, contract takes the place of capture or purchase; the wife occupies a position of greater honour in the household; when the husband dies, she is no longer expected to cremate herself with him. The commonest crime appears to have been cattle-lifting; and the commonest vice, gambling, and in connection therewith ruinous debts, and indulgence in *soma* and *sura*, two kinds of spirituous liquor. The chief articles of food were milk, *ghee*, and grain of various kinds; flesh, especially of bulls which had been sacrificed, was also eaten, but only on ceremonial occasions. The chief occupations were cattle-breeding and agriculture, and at certain times, of course, warfare. The first of these was their principal source of wealth; accordingly the cow enjoyed an almost sacred veneration. As to industries, such as those of the carpenter, smith, potter, and tanner, they were only just beginning to arise; for, as a rule, every household supplied its own needs, especially by weaving clothes, and

making utensils of clay, wood or metal. There existed much trade in the form of barter. In this the cow formed the measure of value ; though payment was often made in gold ornaments and jewelry. Silver was not known, but copper, and perhaps iron. Of these latter metals the implements of agriculture were made as well as the weapons of war, ploughs, spears and axes. But the principal weapon was the bow and arrow. In war-time the leading warriors went to battle in chariots, protected by coats of mail and helmets, but never on horseback. In times of peace the chariot was used for racing. This was a favourite amusement, as well as dancing in the open air, and music performed on the drum, the flute, and the lute. The religious beliefs were undergoing a change. Some of the earlier gods were fading away, and others were coming into prominence. As a natural consequence of their life of migration and warfare, Indra, the god of battles, is now the favourite and national god. Other chief gods are Varuna, the god of law and order, the Maruts or storm-gods, and especially Agni (fire) and Soma (a certain plant), the gods of the great fire and *Soma* sacrifices. Vishnu and Siva are hardly yet known ; nor do any images or temples seem to have existed. The gods had each a distinctive attribute ; but they had several attributes also in common. When the hymns were composed, these *general* attributes were uppermost in the mind of the poet, and so people conceived the idea that the many gods they adored were but the various aspects of One Divine Being who was present in every part of the universe. Here we see the first beginnings of that philosophic thought which was so greatly developed in the next period, and which has ever distinguished the Aryans of India.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Brahmanic Period : The United Indo-Aryans in Northern India.

*About 1000—550, B.C.*

In the preceding chapter we have seen the Aryans fully established in the Punjab at about 1000 B.C. It was about this time that an event occurred which not only led to a further extension of the Aryan occupation of India, but also produced those great changes in the physical appearance and the social organization of the Aryans which transformed them into the Indo-Aryans, and, apart from their language, render them so thoroughly distinct from their kinsfolk dwelling in Europe.

**Introductory  
Remarks.**

This event, as the linguistic and ethnic conditions of India seem to indicate, was a second irruption of Aryans into India. Of the Aryan stock which remained behind in the mountainous regions of Western Turkestan just north of the Hindu Kush, another portion appears gradually to have migrated directly south into the Punjab, through the passes of Chitral and Swat. In the course of this migration it absorbed most of the aboriginal population of those parts, and in doing so adopted some of its peculiar practices. Among these may be specially mentioned polyandry and witchcraft, as testified by the *Mahabharata* and the *Atharva Veda*. In the plains of the Punjab, the new-comers came into contact with the earlier settlers ; and a sharp struggle for the possession of the country ensued between them. The former worked themselves into the midst of the latter like a wedge, forcing them to spread out further in all directions, especially, at first, towards the east, along the valleys of the Jamna and the Ganges, and later also

**Second Aryan  
Immigration.**

across the Vindhya range into the valley of the Narbada. The ultimate result, however, of the conflict was that the two contending parties, together with their allies among the aboriginal races, were welded into one people, with new physical characteristics as well as a new and unique civilization, which is known as Brahmanic. All this had come to pass about 500 B.C.

In the period of conflict one of the most important of the contending tribes was that of the Bharatas, to which the Kurus, or Kauravas, belonged. From this circumstance the great epic, known as the *Mahabharata*, that is the Great Battle of the Descendants of Bharata, takes its name; hence, also, India, as the home of the united parties, is known as *Bharata-Varsha* or the land of the Bharatas. A reminiscence of the conflict is preserved in the *Rigveda*. Some of its hymns speak of a great battle—in which the Bharatas took a prominent part—as having occurred on the banks of the Ravi, between king Sudas and a confederacy of ten kings. In the *Mahabharata*, another great battle is described as having lasted eighteen days near the banks of the Jamna, and as having been fought between Yudhishthira, king of the Pandavas, and one hundred Kaurava princes. The former with their polyandric customs represent the new-comers, while the Kauravas are the earlier settlers; and it may be that the initial stage of their conflict is described in the *Rigveda*, while the *Mahabharata* has preserved a tradition of its final stage, which resulted in the formation of the united Indo-Aryan people. In any case, the fact that both contending parties are represented as having been Bharatas, shows that the conflict was one between two branches of the same Aryan stock. The story of the conflict itself is very ancient, but in the *Mahabharata*, which was composed in the subsequent period (500 B.C.-500 A.D.), history is treated poetically. Two points, however, we can clearly discern from it: the growth

**Conflict of the earlier and later Aryan Immigrants.**

of a common national feeling, and the rise of large monarchical states.

We find the names of aboriginal tribes fighting side by side with the Aryans as friends and brothers. The old Vedic terms of *krishna* or dark and *dasa-varna* or enemy-colour, which the fair-skinned Aryans contemptuously applied to the aboriginal races, are disappearing. The Aryans and Aborigines are merging into each other, and becoming the Indo-Aryan people—one in national feeling as well as in outward appearance.

The Indo-Aryan People.

Side by side with this evolution, we observe a growth in political organization. The small tribal communities of the Vedic period are now crystallizing into larger territorial states, which give place, as we shall see in the next period, to far-reaching empires. These states possess regular capital cities, and are ruled by *Maharajas* or Great Kings, instead of, as hitherto, by mere *Rajas* or Chiefs. Thus we find a confederate kingdom of Panchala or the five cities, in the middle of Northern India, in what are now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Some of its capital cities were Kanyakubja (or Kanauj), Kausambhi, and Mathura, the Chief of the last of which was Krishna, who afterwards, for some reason no longer ascertainable, came to be deified as an incarnation of Vishnu. To the east, Panchala was bordered by the kingdom of Kosala, the modern Oudh, with its capital at Ayodhya, and, further on, the Republic of Vaisali, forming a curious exception to the general monarchical organization. In Kosala once reigned the famous king Dasaratha, and his still more famous son Rama, who also afterwards came to be deified as another incarnation of Vishnu. His victorious march through Southern India to the conquest of Ceylon, poetically described, forms the other great Indian Epic, called the *Ramayana*. Still further to the east two more kingdoms arose; those of Videha and Magadha, the modern North and

Formation of States.

South Bihar. The former is famous through its great king Janaka, the father of Sita, who was the queen of Rama and the heroine of the *Ramayana*. With Magadha was joined the kingdom of Chedi, or the country round Jabalpur and Bilaspur, under the great king Jarasandha, who is a prominent figure in the great conflict of the two Aryan branches. Further southwest came the kingdoms of Nishadha and Vidarbha, on the two sides of the Narbada, in Central India, roughly corresponding to Southern Malwa and Berar. They are the scene of the beautiful *Nalopakhya*, the epic tale which narrates the fortunes of Nala, king of Nishadha, and his consort Damayanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha. Numerous legendary stories of this kind have survived in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, but of the real history of those kingdoms we know practically no more than their names, and the fact that they were formed, partly by conquest, but probably more so by peaceful colonization in which the forceful Aryans prevailed. Everywhere the latter constituted the ruling class, and their language and civilization superseded everything that existed before.

The form of government in these states was autocratic. The king's power was not limited by any assembly either of the whole people or of the ruling class. He kept a council of ministers and a staff of officers, but they held office at his pleasure. His rule was benevolent or tyrannous, according as his character was good or bad, strong or weak, observant of law and custom or the reverse. There was no lack of warfare, but it generally took place on the borders; it was the business of the king, and of the ruling military caste and their mercenaries. The ordinary population was considered neutral by both sides, and, on the whole, was allowed to live in the undisturbed pursuit of agriculture, trade, and industry. The whole population was practically divided into two classes. One was the ruling class, consisting of the

Political and  
Economic Con-  
dition.



martial Kshatriya and the learned Brahmana castes. Both were exempted from the payment of taxes, and ordinarily the king and the government of the country belonged to the former. The other, which was the subordinate class, was constituted of what were collectively called the Vaisya and Sudra castes, that is, of the numerous castes into which the peasants, merchants, craftsmen and labourers of every kind were divided. They had to pay the taxes for the cost of the upkeep of the government, the wars, and the king's court; but, on the other hand, they were exempted from military service, and were allowed the peaceful pursuit of their daily business, and in many cases, the accumulation of much wealth.

It was especially in the central part of Northern India that the conditions above described prevailed; that is, in that part which embraces most of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. This is the *Madhya-desa* or Mid-land, which was celebrated as the centre and nursery of Brahmanism. It was undoubtedly that part of India which was most thoroughly aryanized; where the Brahmanic civilization developed; and whence it gradually spread over the whole of India. The most striking feature of this Brahmanic civilization is its system of caste. The history of its origin has been always, even in ancient times, a matter of much speculation. In the previous chapter we have seen how the vicissitudes of the Aryan immigration into India tended to divide the people into four classes. Among these a very influential position was naturally held by the Brahmans, that is, by those who possessed the *brahman* or religious lore, and performed the sacrifices, on which, for the Kshatriya or martial class, success in war, and for the ordinary population, prosperity in agriculture, pasture, and industry was believed to depend. With the increasing complexity of the political and economic conditions, this feeling of dependence on the Brahmans naturally became increasingly strong. At the same time, as with

The System of Caste.

the expansion of the Aryan occupation of India the absorption of aboriginal people into the Aryan community grew larger, the desire of the ruling class, that is, of the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, grew stronger to preserve the purity of their Aryan descent through the prevention of intermarriage and social contact ; and this policy, of necessity, tended to make each class a hereditary institution. Thus the combined action of the feeling of dependence and the principle of heredity (*jati*), resulted eventually in the establishment of that system of caste, in which the Brahmanas are supreme, and all classes are divided from one another by the inseparable barrier of birth and the prohibition of intermarrying and eating together. It is probable that it was the Brahman class who first succeeded in forming themselves into an exclusive caste ; but the example of such an influential class naturally proved infectious, and thus their policy filtered downwards through all classes, till finally it embraced the whole Indo-Aryan community, including the aboriginal elements incorporated in it. It is not fair to say that the pride and self-interest of the Brahmanas caused them to build up the caste system. The Brahmanas are no more responsible for it than any of the other classes, except in so far as they may have originally set the example. Being the only class with literary culture, they systematised the process which was going on all around them, and recorded it in their books of religion and law. As a matter of fact, their systematised theory of four castes does not agree with the reality. Though the divisions of the ruling class, the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, especially the former, are real castes, the two divisions of the ordinary population into Vaisyas and Sudras are only theoretic abstractions. As to that population the truth is that it consists of a very large number of real castes, which are based on grounds of race and occupation, and enjoy varying degrees of social rank.

Simultaneously with caste, there grew up the other

institution of *asrama* or the methodical division of one's life. It was to consist of four stages : (1) study (*brahmacharya*) in one's youth, (2) founding a household and exercising a profession (*grihastha*) in manhood, and (3) meditation either as a settled recluse (*vanaprastha*) or (4) as a houseless wanderer (*samyasin*) in old age. This institution had a somewhat similar history to that of caste. Started by the Brahmans, it was more or less copied by the other castes ; but it never obtained the same absolute hold, as caste did, on the imagination and practice of the people.

It was a natural consequence of the priestly function of the Brahman class that literary culture first grew up among them. It was their duty to preserve the ancient hymns without which no sacrifices could be offered. To this end they made a *Samhita* or collection of all the *Rich* or Vedic verses then known to exist, and this collection is known as the *Rigveda*. Further, as the verses were used in different sacrifices for which different rituals were wanted, they sorted the hymns so as to form three different *Samhitas* or collections. Thus arose the collection of *Yajus* or sacrificial formulas, called *Yajurveda*, and the collection of *Saman* or sacrificial chants, called *Samaveda*. Later on, there was added a fourth collection of *Atharvan* or incantations, called *Atharvaveda*. Moreover, since the ancient Vedic hymns were by this time becoming unintelligible, the Brahmans were obliged to spend much labour and ingenuity in explaining them. Thus there grew up a number of theological works, under the name of *Brahmana*. Again, the constant occupation of the Brahmans with religious matters, naturally disposed them to pursue speculations regarding the nature of God and the World, and the relation of these to each other. This study gave rise to the theosophical and philosophical treatises, known as the *Aranyaka* and *Upanishad*.

The growth of the Brahmanic literature was accompanied by a growth of Brahmanic religion and religious practices. The crude polytheism of the Vedic period gradually assumed a monotheistic aspect. The chief gods of that period, Indra and Varuna, sank into the lower position of the subordinate gods of the sky and the sea; and Brahma rose into prominence as the Supreme God who is the *Prajapati* or lord of the creation. Later on, there developed a great division of the people into Vaishnavas and Saivas, according as either Vishnu or Siva, both originally Vedic deities, were adopted as the Supreme God. But practically this division only represents two different views of the same religion—one more tender and refined, the other more coarse and passionate; and this fact is typified in the so-called Indian Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, that is, the Supreme God in his three manifestations of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. The Saiva form of the Brahmanic religion, however, more distinctly preserved traces of the incorporation of aboriginal beliefs in the worship of the *Linga* and the reverence paid to the Snake. As to the exercise of this religion, whether Vaishnava or Saiva, it consisted in the mere mechanical performance of elaborate sacrifices, or of *Yoga*, that is, asceticism, of various grades of severity. In either case, the principal object of the worshipper or the ascetic was to secure from his God some worldly advantage.

By the side, however, of this prevailing ritual or practical view of religion (*karma-khanda*) there always existed among the more spiritual members of the Indo-Aryan community a speculative view of it (*jnana-khanda*). For them the aim was, not the attainment of earthly happiness, but the release from mundane existence by the absorption of the individual soul into the *Atman* or World-Soul, and this absorption was to be attained by means of *jnana*, or correct knowledge, of the nature

**Popular Religion.**

**Philosophic Pantheism.**

of things. This, and not sacrifice, they maintained, was the *Vedanta*, that is, the real end or aim of the Veda. This was the view of the few, the pious and thoughtful, who, abandoning the performance of sacrifices, often retired from the world to live as recluses in the forest. They held that the visible world was nothing but an illusion (*maya*) of the ignorant, that in reality there existed but one (*atman*) who was All in All; and that the attainment of this conviction (*jnana*) led to the true deliverance (*moksha*). Accordingly they advised a life of contemplation; for a life of action (*karma*), as it tended to keep a man in a state of ignorance, could not result in his deliverance from misery, but only in a continuous series of re-births, more or less full of misery according as his good or bad actions had preponderated. This is the famous Brahmanic doctrine of transmigration (*samsara*) and its cause (*karma*), which gradually became so firmly established in the whole Indo-Aryan community that, as we shall see in the next chapter, it was accepted by Buddha without question, and included by him in the fundamental tenets of his religion.

## CHAPTER V.

### The Early Buddhist Period :

### The Greek Invasion, the First or Maurya Empire, and the Rise of Buddhism.

*About 550—150 B.C.*

**Introductory Remarks.** The preceding chapter has shown us that, during the Brahmanic period, the Indo-Aryan occupation of India had extended to the borders of Bengal and the valley of the Narbada. In the period we are now considering it spread still further to the east over Bengal, and to the south over the whole of the Deccan and as far as Ceylon. It was, however, in the main, not an occupation by armed conquest, but a peaceful subjection of the whole of India to the morally and intellectually more powerful Indo-Aryan civilization. The only parts which formed an exception were the wilder regions of Central India. Here the aboriginal inhabitants remained in their ancient savage condition. Also in the kingdoms of the east coast and the south, such as those of the Andhras, Cholas, Keralas, and Pandyas, which correspond to a part of Haidarabad and to Madras, Mysore and Travancore, though the Brahmanic laws and customs prevailed, the government remained in the hands of the Dravidians, and their languages (Tamil, Telugu, and others) maintained their ground.

**The Kingdom of Magadha.** The spread of the Brahmanic civilization was much assisted by the fact that gradually nearly the whole of India came under one political rule. We have seen how in the preceding period, a large number of states arose of varying sizes. Gradually one state among them became the most powerful and brought under its subjection

the weaker states on its borders. The process, once begun, went on in ever widening circles, till at last a great empire was formed which embraced nearly the whole of India. It extended from beyond the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, and from the Himalayas down to modern Mysore, where it adjoined the Dravidian kingdoms of the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas. This was the First Indian Empire, and the nucleus from which it grew up was the kingdom of Magadha or South Bihar. At the beginning of this period, that kingdom was ruled by a Kshatriya dynasty, called Saisunaga, the fifth king of which was Bimbisara, a contemporary of Buddha of whom some account will be given presently. He ascended the throne about 543 B.C., and his capital was Rajagriha. He was murdered by his son Ajatasatru, who succeeded him about 491 B.C. This king was a strong and aggressive ruler, and it was he who made a beginning of the empire by conquering the two neighbouring states, the great kingdom of Kosala and the republic of Vaisali. To enable him to do so, he built the strong fort Pataliputra, near the site of the present Patna. His grandson Udayin raised a city round it, and made it the royal residence. Thenceforth it remained, for many centuries, the capital of the empire. With Udayin, about 459 B.C., the Kshatriya dynasty appears to have come to an end. The history of its extinction is very obscure; but one thing is certain, that the Nanda dynasty, which now came to rule the Empire, belonged to the Sudra caste. We know this from the Greek historians of Alexander's invasion of India, which took place towards the end of the Nanda rule.

To that celebrated invasion we must now turn our attention. From the inscriptions of Darius Hysdaspis, the Achemenian king of Persia, we know that he extended his empire as far as the Indus. This appears to have happened about 509 B.C. When the Persian empire was overthrown by the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great, the latter

**Alexander's Invasion of India.**

attempted to push the limits of his empire still further into India. He crossed the Indus in the spring of 326 B.C., at Ohind, not far north of the modern Attock. The country between the Indus and Jehlam peacefully submitted. There the Greeks, for the first time, saw the Brahman Yogis whose ascetic practices and strange doctrines caused them much astonishment. Between the Jehlam and the Chenab lay the country of the Pauravas. Their king, called Poros by the Greeks, was the first to offer a stout resistance to the invader ; but he was totally defeated in a great battle, fought at Jehlam, on the left bank of the river of the same name. After this victory, Alexander met with no serious opposition, till he reached the fortified town of Sangala, probably not far from Amritsar. This was the capital of the Kathaeans, or Kathis as they are now called, who formed a kind of republic. With some difficulty the town was captured, after which Alexander continued his march eastward to the right bank of the Bias. Here his farther progress towards the Ganges was arrested through the opposition of his own Macedonian troops. They had heard of the existence of a formidable "Eastern" power, which was preparing to bar their progress. This was the Magadha empire of the Nandas. So, being already worn out with the fatigues of the long campaign and the hardships of the Indian climate, they refused to march any farther. Alexander, after fruitless attempts to turn them from their purpose, was obliged to retrace his steps to the Jehlam. There he embarked on a fleet and sailed down to the mouth of the Indus. On the way he captured the fortified capital of the Malla tribe, probably the modern Multan, and subdued the principalities on both sides of the old course of the Lower Indus.\* Thus he had now completed the conquest of Sindh as well as of the Punjab. In order to secure his

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\* The old course of the Indus and its tributaries is shown on Map II. The present course and coast-line are indicated by dots.





Indian Copper Coin of Alexander.

hold on these two provinces, he founded several new cities, or rather fortified Greek settlements, among them Nicaea, Alexandria, and Patala, in the upper and lower Punjab, and in Sindh respectively. Having thus, as he thought, firmly established his conquests, he marched back to Persia. But his expectations were not realised. On the civilization of India, as we shall see later on, his invasion left a permanent mark, but politically his conquest did not endure.

Poros had been taken prisoner in the great battle on the Jehlam ; but Alexander, who admired his personal bravery, had appointed him civil administrator in the Punjab under the Greek Governor Philip. In 323 B.C., Poros was treacherously slain by Philip's successor Eudemos. This murder provoked a national revolt, which was headed by a young adventurer, called Chandra Gupta Maurya. He succeeded in putting an end to the Greek domination, and in making himself the ruler of the Punjab and Sindh. He was a native of Magadha, and a distant connection of the Nanda dynasty ; but having quarrelled with his royal relatives, he had been obliged to flee for safety to Greek territory. Having now expelled the Greeks and acquired some power, he determined to revenge himself and conquer the kingdom of Magadha. In this enterprise he easily succeeded ; for the Nandas were detested on account of their tyranny. In 321 B.C., he captured the capital Pataliputra, and deposing the Nandas, he became the founder of the famous Maurya dynasty. Soon afterwards, about 311 B.C., the Greeks under Seleukos, known as Nikator or the Conqueror, who had succeeded to the eastern portion of Alexander's empire, made an attempt to reconquer the lost provinces on

#### The Maurya Empire.



Asoka's Pillar.

the Indus. But the attempt utterly failed, and the result was that Seleukos had to cede to Chandra Gupta not only the Punjab and Sindh, but also eastern Afghanistan. Fortified by this success, Chandra Gupta proceeded to reduce to vassalage the greater part of India. We do not know the details of his campaigns, but the result was that he built up the First Empire of India, which in extent fully equalled the present British Indian Empire with the exclusion of Burma. It reached its greatest size in the time of his grandson, Asoka, who added the east coast to the Empire by the conquest of the kingdom of Kalinga, that is, Orissa and the Circars. Asoka had the habit of causing his "Edicts," as they are called, to be engraved on boulders, or on pillars of stone, or in caves, all over the empire. Many of these still exist, and are witnesses to the wide extent of the Maurya empire. They are found on the right side of the Indus, in the middle of Mysore, on the east coast near Ganjam, and in the Nepalese Terai, north of Basti. They prove that the Maurya empire embraced the whole of India, approximately down to Madras, as well as eastern Afghanistan.

Asoka ascended the throne in 272 B.C., but, apparently his succession being disputed by an elder brother, he was not formally crowned till four years later. He began his rule in the spirit of his grandfather, Chandra Gupta, by the conquest of Kalinga. But the horrors of that war, and the admonitions of Buddhist monks made such an impression on his mind as to cause

an entire change of character. He even went so far, in the 12th year of his reign, as to become a Buddhist monk. He also now adopted the new name Piyadassi, or the Gracious, by which he calls himself in his Edicts. For the remainder of his reign, which is said to have lasted altogether 41 years (272-231 B.C.), he became one of the most beneficent rulers that India has seen. His Edicts give us a vivid picture of the care which he bestowed on the administration of his empire. He planted trees along the roads, dug wells and canals for irrigation, built rest-houses for travellers and hospitals for the sick, and held regular assemblies at intervals of three or five years for the proper instruction of his officials. He maintained a special staff of high officers to watch over the interests of the poor and the aged, to mitigate the severity of the criminal laws, and to restrain the excessive destruction of animal life. With regard to the last point he set a personal example by abolishing the customary royal hunting parties and replacing them by pilgrimages. In one of these pilgrimages, in the 21st year of his reign, he visited the birthplace of Buddha at Rummin Dei in the Nepalese Terai, and there



View of Rummin Dei and the Asoka Pillar.

set up, in commemoration of his visit, an inscribed stone-pillar, which still exists, to mark the spot where Buddha was born. The propagation of Buddhism was a particular object of his solicitude. He sent missionaries not only into the remoter parts of his empire, such as Gujarat, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Nepal, but also into the independent kingdoms of South India and to Ceylon. In the latter

country, Asoka's son, or, according to another tradition, younger brother, Mahendra, is said to have introduced Buddhism. It is not improbable that but for Asoka's missionary efforts, Buddhism would never have spread much beyond the limits of Magadha, nor have become one of the most wide-spread religions of the world.

Asoka's excellent policy appears to have been continued by his grandson, Dasaratha. **Asoka's Successors.** This we may perhaps conclude from his inscriptions that still exist carved on the walls of the Nagarjuni caves near Gaya, which he caused to be constructed for the benefit of Buddhist monks. But after him the dynasty rapidly declined, and after another three or four feeble reigns, Brihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, was dethroned by his rebellious general Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. This happened about 185 B.C.

A point of particular interest with regard to Asoka is that, in the 13th of his Rock-edicts, he names five Greek kings as contemporaries of himself. One of them is Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, who was a grandson of Seleukos Nikator, the contemporary of Asoka's grandfather, Chandra Gupta. It is this double synchronism which has enabled us, with the help of the Greek dates which are well known, to fix, in the otherwise undated history of ancient India, a central date from which we can calculate approximately, backwards and forwards, the dates of many other important events.

The foundation of the First Indian Empire of the Mauryas was only one of the two great events of this period. The other was the rise of the two great monastic systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. **The Rise of Buddhism and Jainism.** It has already been shown in the account of the preceding period that there existed small groups of men who, dissatisfied with the popular religion of polytheism and sacrifice, had withdrawn from the world to devote them-

selves to a monastic life of religious speculation. Such speculation was at first closely connected with the study of the Vedas. Hence, naturally, the men who adopted the monastic life were mostly drawn from the Brahman caste who were the guardians of the Vedic lore. But as yet they lived by themselves or in small independent groups. There was no general organization or "Order" to which all these Brahmanic monks belonged. The innovation, introduced by the founders of Buddhism and Jainism, consisted just in these two points: that they organized all their followers into a regular Society or Order, and that, being Kshatriyas themselves, they drew their followers mainly from the Kshatriya and the other non-Brahmanic classes of the people. They did not refuse to admit Brahmans into their order, but within it they rejected all Brahmanic pretensions to superiority. This policy, no doubt, produced a certain degree of antagonism between their Societies and the general Brahmanically constituted community around them. But it is quite erroneous to look upon them as revolts against the tyranny of caste. They never thought of rejecting the system of caste as a regulating factor of the general community outside their own Order.

Siddhartha—better known as Gautama—the founder of Buddhism, and Mahavira the founder of Jainism, were scions of princely houses. They were contemporaries, though Mahavira was somewhat older than Gautama and died some years before him, about 490 B.C., at the age of 72. Gautama died, 80 years old, about 483 B.C. Not much is known of Mahavira's personal history. He belonged to the Naya or Nata clan of Kshatriyas, who were settled near the large town of Vaisali, now represented by the village of Besarh, about 27 miles north of Patna. That town was the capital of a small oligarchical republic, and Mahavira was the younger son of one of its ruling *Rajas* or chiefs. At the age of thirty he retired from the world, and joined a small monastic

**Mahavira and Jainism.**

community of Parsvanath which lived near Vaisali. From this Society, however, he separated after two years, in order to establish another of his own with more stringent rules of conduct. In a long wandering life of 42 years he succeeded in gathering a considerable following of monks in the principal towns of North and South Bihar. At first they were known as the *Nirgranthas*, or men who have discarded all social bonds; but after Mahavira's death, when they spread over the whole of India, they became known as the Jains. Under that name they still exist among us in India. Mahavira claimed to be a *Jina* or Spiritual Conqueror, just as Gautama claimed to be a *Buddha* or an Enlightened One. Hence their respective followers are known as the Jains and the Bauddhas or Buddhists.

Gautama belonged to the Sakyas, one of the proudest of the Kshatriya clans. This Life of Buddha. clan was settled in a small territory

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between the upper Rapti and the Gandak. Their capital was Kapilavastu, which stood on the site of the present village of Piprahva, in the north-eastern corner of the Basti District in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The actual spot where Gautama was born was the Lumbini Park, about six miles north-east of Kapilavastu, in the Nepalese Terai. It is now called Rummin Dei, and is marked by a still existing, inscribed stone pillar erected by Asoka. He was born as the eldest son of Suddhodana, the *Raja* or chief of the Sakya clan. As heir to the chieftainship and the son of a wealthy family, he was provided with everything that man could wish to make him happy. But Gautama was naturally of an observant and thoughtful disposition. The sight of so much decay and suffering around him excited his compassion, and set him thinking how the ills of life might be cured. He cared more for meditation in solitude, than for the youthful sports of his princely companions. His father, who was afraid of his monkish predilections, married him to a fair and loving Sakya princess; but this bond had no permanent effect on Gautama. When he was 29 years old—soon after a son had been born to him, and thus the succession had been secured—he finally resolved, in spite of the tears and entreaties of wife and father, to renounce his position and his home and to adopt a monk's vocation. He went to North Bihar, where he attached himself successively to two Brahman ascetics renowned for their wisdom. Their teaching, however, did not satisfy him; and now he commenced a seven year's life of wandering and severe asceticism, in the hope of discovering the truth regarding the cure of the ills of life. His austerities gradually reduced him almost to a skeleton, and brought him to death's door. But they did not give him the knowledge he sought, and the conviction was forced on him that he was on a false track; so he returned to a reasonable mode of life. Then at the end of the seventh year, when he was 36 years old, one night as he sat



Buddha under the Tree.  
(From an ancient sculpture.)

under a pipal tree in the neighbourhood of Gaya, absorbed in solitary meditation, there suddenly came to him, like a revelation, the solution of his problem. We shall see presently what that solution was. In the meantime, overjoyed by his discovery, he got up, took food and drink, and spent a month in the recovery of his strength. Then he set out, to proclaim to the world the great revelation which he had received. But before doing so, he had to overcome a

great temptation, suggested, as he thought, by Mara or the Evil One. The exaltation caused by his discovery was naturally followed by a reaction of despondency and doubt as to whether he should ever be able to persuade his fellowmen of its reality. But with his returning bodily strength, the temptation gave way to an abiding confidence in the success of his missionary enterprise. The first place which he visited was Benares. Here he secured his first disciples, and founded his Society or "Order" of monks. Thence he wandered up and down the country, from town to town, and village to village, through the whole of South and North Bihar, and as far as his native Sakya country. In this way he went on for forty-four years, wandering and preaching; and his Order grew apace in numbers. At last he died, eighty years old, in Kusinagara, about 483 B.C. His body was cremated with much ceremony, and his relics were distributed among his adherents. His princely Sakya relatives carried their share—a few bits of bone—to Kapilavastu, where they enclosed it in a stone box,



and built over it a huge *stupa* or pyramidal monument. This is the Piprahva Stupa the ruins of which still exist, and there Buddha's bones have recently been again brought to light in their stone box.



View of the oldest Stupa at Sanchi.

But what was Buddha's great discovery ? We shall try briefly to explain it. We have seen how sensitive Gautama was to the misery **Buddha's Doctrine.** which he saw everywhere around him ; the labour and oppression of the poor, the rivalries and disappointments of the rich ; sickness, old age and death for all. It was not merely the physical suffering that moved him, but even more the mental suffering of men. "Whence comes all this misery ?" he asked himself, and his reply was : "All men strive after an enjoyable life, and in the universal struggle for it they cannot but hurt one another ; no one can secure the good things of this world but at the expense of others ; hence comes the general misery." "But how can this evil be remedied ?" So Gautama asked next. Several replies were possible. The ordinary man said : "Death will end man's misery and bring him peace." "Not so," objected Buddha, "for there is the transmigration of souls caused by *Karma* or the acts, good or bad, of one's life. When a man dies, he is only re-born into another life of misery ; and so onwards without end." Here comes in that

belief in transmigration which had grown up in the preceding period, and in which Gautama as firmly believed as did all his contemporaries. But there was another reply given by the Brahmanical monks. They said that a man's misery is caused only by his ignorance. If he once comes to understand that the whole visible world is but an illusion, and that he himself is really one with God or the World-Soul who exists in perfect happiness, then his misery disappears. This was the reply which Gautama received from the two Brahmanical teachers to whom he first applied for enlightenment. It did not satisfy him ; it seemed to him rather a mockery. For whatever he might *think* about the reality of the world, he could not help *feeling* the reality of the misery of life. So Gautama went in search of a truer reply. At last he found one ; and it was a very simple reply. It was this : " Seeing that the misery of life is caused by man's striving after the good things of this life, let him give up that striving, and then he will have peace." Gautama tried this remedy in his own case, and he found that it was true. He knew the secret of deliverance. He now was *Buddha*, that is, " enlightened." But there still remained a fourth question : " How is man to give up the striving after the good things of life ? " Buddha replied : " He can do so by self-discipline ; he must train himself to it by being right in the following eight points :— in belief and desire, in speech and act, in life and work, in feeling and thought. In short, there is enough in the world to satisfy all ; therefore, let a man exercise self-denial, contentment, and consideration for others. Living thus, he will attain peace," or *Nirvana*, as Buddha called it. It will thus be seen that Buddha's system was a thoroughly practical one ; not one of religion, but of morality. It was summed up by him in the so-called " Four Truths," and the " Eightfold Path," above explained. No doubt, his system had also under its surface deeper thoughts which were summed up in the so-called " Chain of Twelve Causes." But this philosophy

was taught by him only to his more advanced disciples, and it need not detain us here. It will now be understood that Buddha did not mean to teach a new religion in opposition to the prevailing popular Brahmanism. What he wanted to do was to found a Society of men who should take a vow to practise a righteous life, such as he conceived it. That character of a monastic Order his Society retained in India for many centuries. Gradually, as his teaching spread to peoples who were not Indians, a kind of deification of Buddha sprang up, and his system turned into a popular religion. This, however, is a development which took place in the succeeding period, as will be explained in Chapter VI.

Up to the time of Asoka the Buddhist Order was practically confined to Bihar, outside of which Brahmanism prevailed. But through the missionary efforts of Asoka after his conversion to Buddhism, the latter faith spread over the whole of India. A few words may here be said regarding the condition of Indian civilization under the Brahmanic influence. One of the most striking points is the rise of Sanskrit as a literary language, distinct from the older language of the Vedas, and the upgrowth of a Sanskrit Literature. We have seen in the preceding period that the study of the Vedas was the special function of the Brahmans. Now, the Vedas could not be studied without a knowledge of grammar. Thus teachers of grammar arose in the Brahmanic schools, who laid down rules as to what was to be considered the correct form of their language. The most successful among these teachers was a grammarian named Panini, who probably lived about 350 B.C. He wrote a text-book, called the *Ashtadhyayi*, that is, the book of eight chapters. It superseded all other textbooks on grammar, and thenceforth no book was considered as written in Sanskrit, that is, in "refined" or "correct" language, unless it conformed to his rules. For some centuries, however, Sanskrit remained the exclusive property of

Sanskrit  
Language.

the Brahmanic schools. Outside these schools, in the king's offices, and in the schools of the Buddhist and Jain monastic Orders, the language spoken by the people of the country was used for literary purposes. Thus most of the Edicts of Asoka are written in the popular language of Magadha, commonly called Pali or Prakrit ; so also are the early Sacred Books of the Buddhists and the Jains. It was only in the course of the next period that Sanskrit was generally adopted as the language of all public and private records.

Though the art of writing, as we shall see, was not unknown in this period, it was not yet admitted as a means of instruction in the Brahmanic schools. Everything was done by memory. But by this time the details in ritual and custom, preserved in the *Brahmanas* and in floating tradition, had grown to such enormous dimensions, that memory, unaided, was unequal to the task of mastering them. Hence it became customary in the schools to compile short Manuals, called *Sutras*. They are so famous for their excessive conciseness that the whole period has sometimes been called the Sutra Period. Such manuals were compiled for every department of knowledge which was taught at that time. Thus we have the *Srauta Sutras* or Manuals for performing Sacrifices ; the *Grihya Sutras* or Manuals of Domestic Rites ; the *Dharma Sutras* or Manuals of Civil and Criminal Law. We have also a Sutra on Astronomy ; and Panini's Grammar itself is a Sutra. The whole of this technical literature came to be known by the name of *Smriti*, or Tradition, to distinguish it from the literature of the preceding period which was looked upon as *Sruti*, or Revelation. But "light literature" was not neglected by the Brahmans. It was in this period that the scattered legends and ballads, which described stirring incidents of the early history of the Indo-Aryans, were collected to form the two celebrated epic poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. By the side of this

#### Sanskrit Literature.

Brahmanic literature there gradually grew up a large body of Buddhist and Jain literature which dealt with the peculiar beliefs and practices of those two monastic Orders. That of the Buddhists known by the collective name of the *Tripitaka*, or Three Baskets, while the Sacred Books of the Jains are called *Agamas*, or Traditions.

All this literature enables us to form a fairly accurate opinion of the religious, social and intellectual condition of the people at this period. For the time of the great Maurya empire especially we have also the witness of Asoka's inscriptions and of the reports of Megasthenes. The latter was a Greek who resided for several years in Pataliputra as the ambassador of Seleukos, a Greek king, to the court of Chandra Gupta. From these sources we know that the Brahmanical system of caste was at this time flourishing throughout India. It governed not only the social relations of the people, but also the civil and criminal administration of the country. The different castes were differently taxed. The criminal laws were cruelly severe, but the penalties were lightened in proportion to the offender's caste. The general government of the country was a pure autocracy of the king or emperor, more or less tempered by respect for the customary Brahmanical laws, or by fear of the ruling classes, or, as in the case of Asoka, by natural kindness of heart. As to the popular religion, the people were divided mainly into the great sections of the Vishnavas and Saivas. By the side of the Brahmanical schools there existed numerous individuals or groups of men, devoting themselves to religious speculation and ascetic practices. Their object was the same as that of Gautama Buddha—to find a way of salvation. But they searched for it in opposite directions. Some were followers of the so-called *Vedanta*, and their speculations were theistic, while the others followed the so-called *Sankhya*, which was a kind of atheistic speculation. Both also practised *Yoga*, or ascetic exercises, by which they thought their

**Social Condi-  
tion.**

minds became better fitted for contemplation. But at this time these philosophies had not yet formed regular Schools. Hence there did not yet exist any philosophical *Sutras* or Manuals. The earliest known Manual of this kind is the *Yoga Sutra*, composed by Patanjali, quite at the end of the period, about 150 B.C.

In educational matters there was considerable activity. The Brahmanical schools formed something like Universities, where the Vedas or Theology, Law, Medicine, Grammar, Astronomy, and many other sciences were taught. Among these Universities the most celebrated was that of Taxila, in the Punjab. It was frequented by young men from Benares and other distant parts of India. The number of these Universities was limited, but by their side there existed numerous elementary schools in all towns. They were kept by Brahmans for the benefit, principally, of the mercantile and land-holding classes. The subjects taught in them were Writing, Arithmetic and Account-keeping. The art of writing had been introduced into India towards the end of the preceding period, probably about 600 B.C. At that time a maritime trade was carried on from Broach and other ancient ports in the Gulf of Cambay above Bombay, through the Persian Gulf, to Babylonia. In that trade an early form of the Aramæan script was used. This, no doubt, the Indian mariners learned and brought with them to their Indian home. Here it was taken up by the Brahmans who kept the elementary schools. In their hands it underwent considerable alterations to suit the requirements of the Indo-Aryan language; and thus it became an entirely new kind of writing, which is known as the *Brahmi*. It was primarily made in the interest of the Indian merchants and their inland trade. Through them the knowledge of it was gradually diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country. At the beginning of the fifth century B.C. it was already known as far

**Education and  
the Art of Writing**

north as the Nepalese frontier ; for the oldest known Brahmi inscription has been found on the box in which Buddha's bones were buried by his Sakya relatives

in the Piprahva Stupa about 483 B.C. About two centuries later (260-240 B.C.) we find the Brahmi script in general use throughout India, as shown by the Edicts of Asoka. At this time, however, we find also an alternative script in use in the north-western frontier provinces of Asoka's empire. This kind of writing, which is now known as the *Kharoshthi*, is only a slight modification of its Aramæan original ; but being rather unsuited to the Indo-Aryan language, it soon fell into disuse, and was entirely for-



Inscribed Casket of Buddha's Relics.

gotten. On the other hand, the Brahmi which is a truly Indian invention maintained its ground, and has become the parent of all the varying scripts which, at the present day, are current in India.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Later Buddhist Period : The Parthian and Turki Invasions, and the New Buddhism.

*About B.C. 150—A.D. 300.*

**Introductory  
Remarks.** The preceding chapter has brought us down to the end of the First Indian Empire about 185 B.C. During the whole of the period which we shall now consider, India was politically in a very perturbed condition, and the exact sequence of events is, to some extent, still uncertain. The causes of the troubles were partly internal dissensions, and partly foreign invasions. The foreign invaders, this time, did not come from Europe, but from Central Asia, and belonged to two different races, the Parthian, and the Turki or, as it is often called, Scythian. It was not till the beginning of the next period that India was once more united in the Second Empire of the Guptas, which, in its extent, equalled the First Empire.

**Causes of the  
Disruption of the  
First Empire.** What the causes of the internal dissensions were we do not exactly know. One principal cause appears to have been the antagonism of Brahmanism to Buddhism and Jainism. For Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, is said to have been a bitter persecutor of the Buddhists, who, as we have seen, were much favoured by the Maurya dynasty. The general dissatisfaction, thus created, soon led to the disruption of the Empire. The outlying provinces on the east, south, west, and north-west separated, and formed themselves into independent kingdoms, so that practically only the central portion, Bihar and Oudh, remained to the Imperial dynasty.



The immediate cause of the disruption appears to have been a difference between Agnimitra and Yajnasena Satakarni. The former was a son of Pushyamitra, and, as Viceroy, administered the western province of Malwa. The latter was the governor, or vassal king, of the southern province of Vidarbha and Andhra, that is, the present Central Provinces, Berar, and Haidarabad. The territories of the two governors adjoined each other, and an ill-considered attempt at a matrimonial alliance on the part of Agnimitra led, about 168 B.C., to a war between them. Satakarni's territory bordered on the eastern province of Kalinga, that is, on Orissa and the Circars. Of this province, at that time, King Kharavela was the ruler. He was a devoted adherent of the Jains, and this may have induced him, as we know from a rock-inscription of his, to go with a large army to the assistance of Satakarni. The allies were not only unsuccessful, but, in the result, the assistance rendered by Kharavela to the rebellious vassal, led, in 162 B.C., to a war between himself and his suzerain, the Sunga Emperor, Pushyamitra. In this war, by a successful expedition into the very heart of the empire, which led him to the capital Pataliputra on the banks of the Ganges, Kharavela compelled the Emperor, in 158 B.C., to sue for peace and acknowledge his independence.

**The Independence of Kalinga,**

In the meanwhile, the fortunes of the Empire had been equally disastrous on the extreme north-western frontier. About the events in this region we have the contemporary evidence of numerous coins, and of the celebrated grammarian, Patanjali. It appears that about 180 B.C., Demetrios, the Grecian king of Bactria, or Western Turkestan, had invaded and conquered the two north-western provinces, Afghanistan and the Punjab. About 185 B.C. they were wrested from him by a rival called Eukratides. At the same time, another Græco-Bactrian prince,

**The Græco-Bactrian conquest of the Western and North-Western Provinces.**

Menander, or Milinda as he was called in India, invaded the province of Sindh. The immediate cause of his attack appears to have been a difference with the Sunga governor, Vasumitra, concerning a horse. In order to celebrate the success of Agnimitra in the war with the allied governors of Andhra and Kalinga, it appears that his father Pushyamisra wanted to perform the great Asvamedha or "horse-sacrifice." The horse for this solemnity was to be supplied by Agnimitra's son, Vasumitra, who was the governor of Sindh, and the quarrel with Menander somehow arose on this account. Menander not only conquered Sindh, but the adjoining western provinces of Gujarat and Malwa. He even carried his victorious arms as far as Ayodhya in Oudh, to which he laid siege, and Sakala, near Amritsar, in the western Punjab. Thus he built up a very widely extended dominion, over which he appears to have ruled for many years, down to about 130 B.C.

In the meantime there had appeared on the borders of India a formidable foe who soon overthrew the whole of the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms. These were the Sakas, a section of the great Turki, or Scythian, race. Their original settlements had been in Eastern Turkestan. Thence they were driven out, about 180 B.C., by the so-called Yuechi, another section of the same race. They migrated to India, probably across the passes of the Karakorum Range, and through the valleys of the Indus. Having reached India, one portion marched west into Afghanistan, conquering the numerous small Græco-Bactrian sovereignties which had established themselves after Eukratides' death, under Strato, Lysias, and other princes. They chiefly settled in the western part of Afghanistan, which hence came to be called *Sakasthana*, or the country of the Sakas, being the modern Seistan. The best known of their kings, about 100 B.C., was Azes. The other portion of the invading Sakas occupied the Punjab, and gradually extended their conquest over the whole of the territory once belonging to Menander,

#### The Saka Invasion.

*i.e.*, Sindh, Gujarat and Malwa. Each of these provinces was ruled by a governor, or Kshatrapa (Satrap) as he was called. From two inscriptions of Shodasa, the Satrap of Multan, and Liaka, the Satrap of Taxila (Shah Dheri in the Punjab), we know that, about 100 B.C., this portion of the Sakas was ruled by a king called Mogas or Maues.

We have now followed the fortunes of the Sunga Empire down to about 100 B.C., and traced its extensive losses in the east, west, and north-west. Not long afterwards it lost also its great southern province of Andhra, now forming the present Central Provinces, Berar and Haidarabad. From the accounts in the *Puranas* it appears that, about 119 B.C., a *Sungabhritya*, or Minister of the Sunga Emperor, Vasudeva by name, who was a Brahman of the Kanva family, usurped the Imperial power. For forty-five years he and his descendants, known as the Kanvayana dynasty, ruled the empire, just like the Peshwas in later times, while the members of the Sunga dynasty continued to be the nominal sovereigns. The establishment of this Brahman rule apparently only served to intensify the prevailing sectarian animosity. Anyhow, about 74 B.C., Simuka, the *Andhrabhritya*, or governor of the Andhra province, revolted. He subverted both the actual Kanvayana and the nominal Sunga dynasties, and himself seized the paramount power. With this event the First Indian Empire became extinct; the central portion, Bihar and Oudh, now sank to the position of an insignificant province, while in the west, south, and east respectively the great kingdoms of the Sakas, Andhras, and Kalingas, took its place. Of the subsequent fortunes of the central portion nothing definite is known until the rise of the Second Indian Empire of the Guptas in the next period. From the confused account in the *Puranas* only this much may be concluded, that

**The Revolt of  
Andhra, and the  
Extinction of the  
First Empire.**

the unhappy country was torn by a succession of internal contests of rival factions belonging to different castes and tribes. Of the fortunes of the Kalinga kingdom also nothing is known for many centuries, till about 610 A.D., when we find it ruled by Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty.

Let us now return to the history of the Saka kingdom. We have seen that it was divided into a number of "Satrapies," subject to a paramount sovereign who called himself the "King of Kings."

**The Parthian Invasion and the Vikrama Era.**

On the west it was adjoined by the Parthian kingdom, which at that time was in a state of great political disorder. The exact cause of the occurrence we do not know, but from extant coins it appears that, about 60 B.C., Arsaces Theos, or the Divine, a scion of the Arsacide dynasty of Parthia, invaded the Saka territory. To meet this attack the Sakas had naturally to withdraw their forces from the eastern parts of their kingdom. The opportunity, thus created, was utilised by the warlike clans of the Malavas to combine and rise against their Saka satrap. A great battle was fought by them, as it is said, at Karor in the Punjab, in which the Sakas were totally defeated. This was in 57 B.C., and it is from this epoch of the Malava rising against the Saka rule, that the Malava or, as it is now called, the Vikrama era dates. It has received the latter name from a king, Vikramaditya, who, as we shall see in the next period, also achieved at the head of the Malava clans a great victory over the Huns about A.D. 533. The Saka kingdom, which was thus attacked both in the east and west, fell to pieces. In its place arose the Indo-Parthian kingdom, which, however, itself enjoyed but a very short period of existence. This kingdom reached the zenith of its power and extent under Gondophares, whose long reign, according to a still existing inscription, began in 21 A.D. But not very long after him, it was overthrown by the second Turki invasion of the Kushanas.

We have seen that about 160 B.C., the Sakas were driven out of their original settlements in Eastern Turkestan by the Yuechi, another section of the same Turki race.

**The Kushana Invasion and the Saka Era.**

The Yuechi in their turn were expelled by the Uighur, or Usun, a third section of that race, and migrated into Western Turkestan, which they gradually occupied in force on both sides of the Oxus. The Yuechi were divided into five tribes, the principal of which was the Kushana. About 60 A.D., the chief of the latter, Kadphises I., having united the five tribes into one kingdom, proceeded to conquer Afghanistan, and then to attack the Indo-Parthian kingdom in India. The troubles thus created in that kingdom, were utilized by its Saka Satraps in Gujarat for the assertion of their own independence. This was in 78 A.D., and it is from this epoch, therefore, that the so-called Saka Era dates. Kadphises I. eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Indo-Parthian kingdom, and in establishing in its place the Kushana empire. Of India, however, that empire never included much more than the Punjab and Kashmir, while its larger portion lay outside India; for this reason it cannot strictly be classed as an Indian empire. Its widest extent was reached under Kanishka, who, as we know from certain inscriptions, came to the throne about 125 A.D.

He added Kashmir to the empire, and pushed its Indian frontier as far as Mathura. He became also a convert to Buddhism, and in commemoration of the fact struck medals bearing Buddha's effigy. About 152 A.D. Kanishka was



Kanishka's Gold Coin of Buddha.

succeeded by Vasishka, who was followed by Huvishka and Vasudeva. The combined reigns of the last-mentioned three kings lasted down to about 225 A.D. The

subsequent course of events is not well known, but this much is certain that the Kushana empire gradually broke up. This was due, at first, to the conquest of the new Sassanian dynasty of Persia, which was founded in 226 A.D., and finally to those of the Second Indian Empire of the Guptas, which arose in the next period.

The confederacy of the Malava clans, as we have seen, succeeded in throwing off the Saka yoke in 57 B.C. They appear, as we know from their coins, to have preserved their independence for nearly 200 years. Afterwards, about 130 A.D., we find them again subject to the rule of a Saka Satrap, named Chasthana, who was known to the celebrated contemporary Greek geographer, Ptolemy, under the name of Tiastenes. The Saka rule does not appear to have ever been entirely subverted in Gujarat. On the contrary, the Satraps of that province continued to rule in dependence on the Indo-Parthian "King of Kings" and, as we have seen, they succeeded in establishing their independence in 78 A.D., during the last struggles of those kings with the Kushana invaders. We know from certain inscriptions that in 119 A.D., Gujarat was ruled by an independent Saka Satrap, called Nahapana. He was succeeded by the above-mentioned Chasthana, who again reduced the Malavas to his rule, and thus became the founder of the "Great Satrapy" or kingdom of Surashtra, which included both Gujarat and Malwa. The dynasty which he founded, and the members of which adopted the title of *Maha-kshatrapa* or Great Satrap, is commonly known as that of the "Western Satraps." Their success in establishing their rule was no doubt greatly assisted by the fact that by this time they had become entirely Indianized. For all the members of the dynasty, after Chasthana, bear Indian names, such as Jayadaman, Rudradaman, etc. The last mentioned is famous for his Junagarh rock-inscription of the year 150 A.D., in which he celebrates his public works

of utility and his victories over the Andhra king, Satarkarni. There were altogether twenty-seven members of this dynasty. The last of them, called Rudrasimha, reigned well into the next period, down to 409 A.D., when the "Great Satrapy" was annexed to the Second Indian Empire by Chandra Gupta II.

In the beginning of its existence the "Great Satrapy" had to fight repeatedly for its independence against a formidable foe on its eastern frontier. Here lay the great kingdom of the Andhras. The origin of this kingdom is still imperfectly known. It appears that at the time of the Maurya Empire, the southern portion of the latter, lying between the Narbada and the Kistna, was occupied by three Aryan colonies of Kshatriyas, the Rathiyas (or Rashtrikas), Satiyas, and Andhras, who formed the ruling class in its western, northern and eastern parts respectively. The chief among the Rathiyas were called Maharathiyas, and from them their country took the name of Maharashtra. But while their country, as well as that of the Satiyas, became so thoroughly arianized that they adopted the Aryan language (Marathi) of their rulers, the eastern portion, ruled by the Andhras, remained, as we saw in Chapter V., partially Dravidian, and retained its Telugu language. These Andhras had their capital at Dharnikot, near the mouth of the Kistna, but gradually they extended their possessions westwards and northwards, so that, as early as 300 B.C., as we know from the reports of Megasthenes, they ruled a powerful kingdom. Later, as we know from Asoka's Edicts, their country formed the southern province of the Maurya Empire. Still later about 74 B.C., as we have seen, the *Andhrabhriyas*, or Andhra governors, revolted and founded an independent kingdom which soon became the most powerful in Southern India. In its best days it extended from the Vindhya in the North to Mysore in the South, and from the eastern coast to the borders of the Great

**The Kingdom of the Andhras, and the Kalachuri Era.**

Satrapy in the west. It thus included the whole of the Maharashtra country, where there was a second capital at Paithan on the upper Godavery. Its rulers were known as the Satavahana or Salivahana dynasty. Under the 13th king, Satakarni Gautamiputra, and his son, Pulumayi I. Vasishthiputra, the Andhra kingdom attained the zenith of its power. The former was the contemporary of the Satrap Nahapana, whom he defeated about 126 A.D., and the latter is mentioned by Ptolemy as the contemporary of the Satrap Chasthana, about 140 A.D. Their long and brilliant reigns of about 50 years were followed by a series of others, mostly short and feeble, and the dynasty came to an end with Pulumayi II., about the middle of the third century A.D. Little is known as to the exact circumstances under which the event occurred. As in similar cases, the kingdom ended with a general disruption. In the north, besides some smaller Rashtrakuta principalities, the country of Chedi, (now Berar and the northern part of the Central Provinces) appears to have asserted its independence under its own kings of the Kalachuri dynasty. This happened in 249 A.D., and hence that year is the epoch of the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era. In the south, apparently about the same time, there arose, beside the smaller principality of the Kadambas with their capital at Banwasi, the kingdom of the Pallavas. The chief capital of this kingdom was at Kanchipur (Conjevaram) near Madras, while it had two others, at Vengi near the modern Ellore, and at Badami near the upper Kistna. It included, therefore, practically all the country between the Godavery and the Kavery. Though little is known about the Pallavas, they must, for a long time, between the third and sixth centuries A.D., have ruled a powerful kingdom, which even entertained intimate relations with Ceylon. But all these states into which the great kingdom of the Andhras had split up were eventually, as we shall see in the next chapter, brought into subjection to the Second Empire of the Guptas.

Having traced the political history of India, we



must now briefly turn our attention to the general condition of the people during this period. Here the most important event is the complete transformation of Buddhism from a mere monastic order into a new popular religion. This transformation, in its turn, gradually changed the whole condition of Indian religion, society and thought. It finally resulted, as we shall see in the next period, in that complex form of Indian civilization which is summed up in the term Hinduism.

**General Condition of the People.**

Primitive Buddhism, as before explained, was a system of practical ethics, of self-discipline and regard for others, superadded to the ancient religious speculations of the Brahmans regarding the destiny of man. This two-fold teaching was the product of Indian thought, and harmonised with the feelings of the Indian people. But when it came to be propagated among peoples whose mode of thought and aspirations were entirely different from the Indian, it necessarily underwent an essential change. This propagation, as we have seen, had begun under Asoka. His missionaries carried Buddhism into the north-western provinces of his empire, into the Punjab and Afghanistan. Here it came into contact with the Grecian culture, which, since Alexander's invasion and under his successors (the Græco-Bactrian kings), had been in the ascendant in those regions. Later on, when those regions were occupied by the Sakas and Kushanas, Buddhism, along with the Grecian culture, was readily adopted by these uncivilized Turki people. To them Brahmanism, with its exclusive caste system, was repellent, while Buddhism with its good-will toward all men, naturally proved attractive. But to meet their aspirations the Buddhist teachers had to teach something simpler than pure Buddhism. These people did not want a system of ethics, but gods whom they could see, and to whom they could pray. So Buddha was gradually changed into a divinity, and the prevailing Greek Art supplied

**Rise of the New Buddhism.**

his images, which hitherto had been unknown in Buddhism. The latter, once a select order of ascetic monks, now grew into a new popular religion, with a pantheon of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas and attendant deities and demons, whose images were adored in spacious temples, with pompous ceremonials, and in noisy festivals. This new Buddhism, as it embraced the whole people, was called the *Mahayana*, or the Great Vehicle, in contrast with the *Hinayana*, or the Little Vehicle, of the primitive Buddhism, which had been only for the select few. Just as the emperor Asoka had been the patron of the latter, so now the emperor Kanishka became the patron of the former. Under him, a council of Buddhist leaders took place at Jalandhar in the Punjab, where apparently the Canon, or the collection of the Sacred Books of the Mahayana, was fixed; and thus the new Buddhism received its official sanction. Asvaghosha, the poet and patriarch, who was a contemporary of Kanishka, wrote for it a book of devotion, called *Buddha Charita*, being a legendary Life of Buddha. Its great apostle, about 180 A.D., was the celebrated Nagarjuna, who wrote the *Prajnaparamita*, or the Perfected Wisdom, a book which was regarded as the highest authority on the Mahayana form of Buddhism. In the course of his long life, Nagarjuna spread the new Buddhism throughout the whole of India. It was only in Ceylon that the older form, the Hinayana, survived. There it exists to the present day, while the Mahayana has perished in India.

Though the new Buddhism enjoyed the general favour of the Indian people, it must not be thought that Brahmanism was entirely abandoned. On the contrary, both systems received from the kings gifts of land and property, and the people still resorted to the Brahmans for all domestic rites at births, marriages and deaths, and lived under their rules of caste. The evidence of this is contained in the famous *Manava Dharma Shastra* or

**State of Brahmanism.**

Code of Manu, which was compiled about 200 A.D., and which records the system of Brahmanism as it existed in this period. But, no doubt, Buddhism had the lion's share of popular favour; and it thus roused the jealousy and even the hatred of Brahmanism, which circumstance, as we have seen, did not remain without its effect on the political history of India. Another effect of the general favour shown to Buddhism, was the neglect of the Vedic sacrifices and ceremonials, the decay of the Brahmanic schools, and the indifference to the Sanskrit language and literature. On the other hand, with reference to philosophy and religious speculation, Brahmanism, roused no doubt by the rivalry of Buddhism, developed a high degree of activity. We have already noticed, in the preceding period, the beginnings of the Vedanta, Sankhya, and Yoga philosophies. In the course of this period, two new systems branched off from the theistic Vedanta: (1) the *Purva Mimamsa* or the Primary Enquiry, which treats of the spiritual value of the Vedic sacrifices; and (2) the *Uttara Mimamsa* or Secondary Enquiry, which is merely a fuller development of the older pantheism of the Vedanta. Similarly two new systems branched off from the atheistic Sankhya: (1) the *Vaiseshika*, treating of physics and psychology, and (2) the *Nyaya*, treating principally of logic. Thus there were now six distinct philosophical schools, each of which was provided with its own *Sutra* or Manual.

**Brahmanic  
Philosophy.**

While Brahmanism thus devoted itself to the pursuit of the mental sciences, it was in keeping with the practical character of the new Buddhism that it no less fostered the arts and the applied sciences. Medicine, Architecture and Sculpture attained a high degree of perfection during the period of the Kushana empire. At Kanishka's court, there flourished the great physician Charaka, whose *Samhita* or general Text-book on Medicine is still

**Arts and  
Sciences.**

considered a standard work in India. No less renowned is the *Samhita* or general Text-book of the great surgeon Susruta, which is said to have been revised and enlarged by Nagarjuna. Under the influence of Greek teachers of Art, and in the service of the New Buddhism, there arose in Afghanistan and the Punjab the famous Gandhara School of Architecture and Sculpture. It built magnificent *Chaityas* or temples, and *Viharas* or monasteries, and decorated them with numberless statues of the Buddhist pantheon, and scenes from its mythology. A similar school of a more Indian style flourished in Central India, where the still existing ruins of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amravati, Nasik and other places, testify to the skill and enterprise with which the Buddhist artists built with stone, or carved in rock.

## CHAPETR VII

### The Early Hindu Period :

#### The Second or Gupta Empire, and the Brahmanic Revival.

*About 300—650 A.D.*

The great event with which this period opens is the establishment of the Gupta or Second Indian Empire. India which, at the end of the preceding period, we saw broken up into a number of large kingdoms, was now reunited by it under one all-embracing rule. But this rule lasted only a little more than two centuries, after which India relapsed into its former condition of political disunion. At first there was a number of large states ; but these, as we shall see in the next period, in their turn broke up into smaller units, and the condition, thus created, of mutual distrust, rivalry, and warfare, rendered India unable to withstand the shock of the great Muhammadan invasion which, at last, surprised it near the end of the 12th century.

**Introductory  
Remarks.**

As has been said, after the fall of the Kanvayana dynasty in 74 B.C. the old Maurya Empire had gradually shrunk to the small, insignificant province of Magadha, or Bihar.

**The Gupta  
Dynasty.**

This country had been the nucleus of the First Empire ; it now became also the starting point of the Second Empire. About 280 A.D., there lived in Magadha a person called Gupta. He probably belonged to the Sudra caste. How it happened we do not know ; but in the troubled political condition of that time, he came to the front, and succeeded in raising himself to the

position of *Maharaja*, or king, of Magadha. His grand-



Gold Coin of Chandra Gupta and his  
Lichhavi Queen.

son, Chandra Gupta I., contrived to marry a princess of the powerful clan of the Lichhavis of Nepal. The access of influence, thereby acquired, enabled him to extend his dominion as far as Prayaga, or Allahabad, and thus to make

the first beginning of the great Gupta Empire. This was in 320 A.D., and it is, therefore, from this year that the so-called Gupta era dates. But it was his son, Samudra Gupta, who was the real founder of the Empire. He was not only a great soldier, but also an accomplished man of letters. He transferred his capital from Pataliputra, or Patna, to Kausambhi, probably near the present Satna, or Bharhut, about 90 miles south-west of Allahabad. There his son, Chandra Gupta II., set up a pillar, now standing in Allahabad, on which he engraved a record of his father's conquests. From this record we know that, in the course of his long reign of upwards of 50 years (about 326-375 A.D.), Samudra Gupta subjected to his rule the whole of the Indian peninsula from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, with the exception of Gujarat and the Punjab in the west, and Bengal proper in the east. Even these provinces were afterwards added to the empire by his son Chandra Gupta II. (375-413 A.D.). This we know from a record on the Iron Pillar at Delhi, which was incised after his death in memory of his exploits. It will thus be seen that, as to its mere geographical limits, the Gupta Empire exceeded that of the Mauryas in extent. But on the other hand, it did not possess the same compactness, nor the same stability. Over a very large portion the rule of the Guptas was only indirect, or even nominal. Their actual rule

never extended beyond that part of Northern India which we call Hindustan. The states of the Deccan, such as the Kalachuri and Pallava, were only feudatory, and those of the extreme south, as well as the Punjab, Bengal, and Nepal paid only a nominal tribute. This explains why the Gupta Empire had such a precarious existence. Under Chandra Gupta's son, Kumara I., (413-455 A.D.), as we know from an inscription of his son, Skanda Gupta, the empire was reduced to great straits. The exact circumstances of the decay we do not know, but the probability is that it was due to inroads of the so-called Little Kushans.

The great Kushana empire, as we have seen in the preceding period, gradually broke up after 226 A.D. About 430 A.D., it enjoyed a short-lived revival in Gandhara, or eastern Afghanistan, under the name of the Little Kushana kingdom. This kingdom conquered Kashmir and the Punjab, and might have given much more serious trouble to the weak Gupta Empire, if it had not met with a stronger rival in the Huns. These were a people of Mongol race, who, coming from Central Asia, not only overthrew the kingdom of the Little Kushans, but also, as we know from an inscription of their king, Toramana, penetrated into India as far as Eastern Malwa. Here they were defeated, about 470 A.D., by Kumara Gupta's successor, Skanda Gupta, who drove them back to the Indus, and thus re-established the Gupta Empire. But about 505 A.D., under Skanda Gupta's successor, Narasimha Gupta, they renewed their invasion. This time they were led by Toramana's son, Mihiragula, who succeeded for a short time in holding Malwa. He was noted for his cruelties, and it was, no doubt, his cruel rule which provoked a revolt of the Malava clans. They rose under their chief Yasodharman, and aided by Dronasimha, the king of Valabhi (or modern Gujarat) inflicted a crushing defeat on the Huns which broke their power. This great victory took place about 533 A.D. at Mandasor in Western Malwa. It procured for Yasodharman the

title of Vikramaditya, or The Sun of Valour, and for the Malava era its new name of the Vikrama era by which it is now known.

But the victory had yet more far-reaching results.

The Malava Dynasty. The Gupta dynasty, under Narasimha's son, Kumara Gupta II., had grown so feeble that Vikramaditya set it aside, and seizing the imperial power himself founded the Malava dynasty. The rule of this dynasty forms one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the Indian people.



Kashmir Coin of Vikramaditya.

Vikramaditya was equally great as a patron of learning, as an administrator, and as a soldier. He not only re-asserted the imperial authority throughout his wide dominions, but, as we know from still exist-

ing coins as well as from the *Rajatarangini* or Chronicles of Kashmir, he also extended their limits by the conquest of the latter country. On a still existing pillar which he set up at Mandasor, he recorded the proud boast that he had not only defeated the Huns under Mihiragula, but that he also ruled a wider empire than ever the Guptas had done. After a long and prosperous reign of about 50 years he was succeeded, about 583 A.D., by his son, Siladitya, who was a man of a very different character. The unpatriotic reversal of his great father's anti-Hunic policy provoked against him a hostile combination of some of his foremost vassals. The confederates were headed by Prabhakara Vardhana, the powerful chief of Thanesar, who was related by marriage to both the imperial houses of the Guptas and Malavas. The civil war which now ensued resulted, about 593 A.D., in the temporary dethronement of Siladitya. Though subsequently he succeeded, with the help of Pravarasena II.,



the Hunic king of Kashmir, in practically retrieving his position, he was defeated, in 606 A.D., by Rajya Vardhana, the elder son of Prabhakara, in a great battle, which put an end to the Malava empire. On entering Kanauj after the battle, the victor was treacherously murdered by his enemies. His younger brother, the famous Harsha Vardhana, now assumed the direction of affairs, and fixing his capital at Kanauj, determined to re-unite the imperial power in his hands. In this enterprise he came into collision with Pulikesin II., the Chalukya king of the Deccan, who had attempted to assert his power in the province of Malwa. Harsha Vardhana checked his encroachments, but when he attempted to pursue his advantage to the south of the Narbada, he was totally defeated by Pulikesin II., in 610 A.D. Consequent on the victory Pulikesin assumed the imperial titles, and thus inaugurated the great division of the Second Empire into those of the South and the North. In Northern India, on the other hand, Harsha Vardhana was altogether successful in establishing his imperial authority. The last to be subdued by him, about 635 A.D., was Dhruvasena, the rebellious king of Valabhi (or modern Gujarat). The peace and prosperity in which Harsha Vardhana henceforth ruled the empire, was signaled, in 640 A.D., by a great religious convocation which he held with much pomp in Prayaga, and which was attended by all his vassal kings, and by the most celebrated doctors of the Brahmanic and Buddhist persuasions. Thus in spite of his partial failure in the South, Harsha Vardhana's rule over the Northern Empire forms another brilliant epoch in the history of India, and hence the year 606 A.D., which is the year of his accession, has become the starting point of the so-called Harsha era. Unfortunately the prosperity which Harsha had created did not outlast his reign. When he died in 646 A.D., the throne was usurped by one of his

**The Kanauj  
Dynasty.**

**Division of the  
Second Empire  
into those of  
the North and  
the South.**

Brahman ministers. It so happened that just at this time an envoy—Wang Hiuen Tse by name—of the Chinese Emperor, was passing through Tibet and Nepal on his way to the Indian Emperor, Harsha. On his arrival, he found the Emperor dead, and himself most inhospitably received. His escort was massacred by the usurper, but he himself escaped to Nepal. This treachery led to a joint Tibeto-Nepalese war of vengeance, in which the usurper was captured and sent to China. As to the Indian Empire, the effect of the war was a complete anarchy, of which Dharasena IV., the king of Valabhi, at once took advantage, assuming the imperial titles and thus inaugurating the permanent separation of the kingdom of Valabhi from the Northern Empire.

We will now briefly pass in review the general condition of the people during this period. Its distinguishing feature is the revival of Brahmanic religion and literature, and the rise of Hinduism through the blending of Brahmanism with Buddhism. The latter, as we have seen in the preceding period, had gradually changed into a popular religion, and had almost monopolised the popular favour. Brahmanism now made a determined effort to recover lost ground, by imitating and adopting Buddhistic beliefs, rites and practices, such as faith in numerous male and female deities, worship of their images, pilgrimages to their shrines, and so forth. In this effort it fully succeeded, and the result was a thorough transformation of Brahmanism, and the upgrowth of that mixed civilization which is known as Hinduism. The revival of Brahmanism commenced with the rise of the Second Empire and the Gupta dynasty. Samudra Gupta revived the famous horse-sacrifice and struck a gold medal to commemorate it. On their coins the Gupta emperors describe themselves as *parama-bhagavata* or foremost devotees of Vishnu, or Krishna. In their time the practice arose of recording on copper-plates the grants of land

made to Brahmans for the maintenance of temples and the service of images.

Many of these medals, coins, and copper-plates still exist as witnesses to the religious condition of Northern India at that time. Moreover, we have the account of an eye-witness in the reports of the Chinese



Samudra Gupta's Medal of the Horse-sacrifice.

Buddhist pilgrim Fahian. He traversed the whole of Northern India between 400 and 411 A.D., and found Brahman shrines and Buddhist temples flourishing side by side in all its large towns. Rather more than two centuries later, we have the account of another Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang. In 640 A.D., he was present at the great religious convocation at Prayaga above-mentioned. He travelled over a large part of the peninsula, and though he everywhere found many of the finest Buddhist temples already in a ruined state, he nowhere indicates the progress of any violent or warlike conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism. This shows that the latter was not, as has sometimes been erroneously supposed, stamped out by Brahmanist persecution, but that its disappearance was the natural result of a gradual and peaceful assimilation of the two systems so as to produce the new system of Hinduism.

Coincident with the revival of the Brahmanic religion was the revival of Sanskrit Language and Literature. From the time of the Guptas we find Sanskrit gradually displacing the Prakrits, or vernaculars, in all records, public and private, and in every branch of literature, and this not only among the Brahmanists, but also among the Buddhists and Jains. From this time dates the religious and social literature of the new Brahmanism, the eighteen *Puranas*, or cyclo-

The revival of Sanskrit Language and Literature.

pædias of knowledge, the metrical *Dharma Shastras*, or law books, and the numerous original *Tantras*, or books of religious formularies. In these works learned Brahmans sought to popularise the beliefs and practices of the rising Hinduism. The *Vayu Purana*, the earliest of them, was probably compiled about 320 A.D., under Chandra Gupta I. About that time begins the period of what is called the 'Classical' Sanskrit Literature. It enjoyed two particularly brilliant epochs—one in the Second Empire under Vikramaditya of Malwa about 533-583 A.D., and the other in the Northern Empire under Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj about 606-646 A.D. Both these emperors are celebrated as patrons of learning and learned men. Harsha, indeed, is himself said to have been a poet, and to be the author of the romantic drama *Ratnavali*, or the Pearl-Necklace, which reflects the court and harem life of his age. Vikramaditya's court is said to have been adorned by 'Nine Gems,' or men of great learning. The following famous writers, certainly, belonged to his age: Varaha Mihira, who wrote the *Brihat Samhita*, a sort of cyclopædia of all knowledge; the great astronomer, Brahma Gupta; and the three poets, Bharavi, the author of the epic poem *Kiratarjuniya*; Subandhu, the author of the romance *Vasavadatta*; and above all Kalidasa. The last is the greatest of India's poets. Some of his best works are the romantic drama *Sakuntala*, or the love story of King Dushyanta and the forest maiden Sakuntala; the epic poem *Raghuvamsa*, or the life of Rama and the history of his race; and the lyric poem *Meghaduta*, or the Cloud Messenger, being an exile's message sent by a cloud to his wife dwelling far away. The age of Harsha was no less distinguished by its circle of cultured men. We have here the two grammarians Vamana and Jayaditya of Kasi, or Benares, who wrote the *Kasikavritti*, the celebrated commentary on Panini's Grammar, and the two poets Bana and Dandin, the authors respectively of the romance *Kadambari* and

the story book *Dasa Kumara Charita*, or the Adventures of the Ten Princes. But the most eminent among them was Bhartrihari, who was equally great as grammarian, philosopher and poet. Besides other works he wrote the *Bhattikavya* in which he illustrates the rules of Sanskrit grammar by means of an epic poem on Rama, and the *Niti Sataka*, or One Hundred Verses on conduct, in which he inculcates maxims for the guidance of daily life.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### The Later Hindu Period :

### The Rajput States, and the Early Muhammadan Invasions.

*About 650—1200 A.D.*

**Introductory Remarks.** In the preceding period we have seen how the Second Indian Empire, founded by the Guptas, became divided into the two empires of the South and the North. At the end of that period we saw the beginning of the disruption of the Northern Empire by the loss of the kingdom of Valabhi. In the present period we shall see how the Northern Empire steadily went on disintegrating into a number of still smaller kingdoms or principalities. The cause of this general break-up was the rise to political power of the Rajput clans. These clans appear to have been the natural outcome of the settlement in India of the vigorous foreign races of Huns and Gurjaras, and of their subsequent blending with the martial and ruling native clans of India. With their youthful vigour these newly formed Rajput clans pushed themselves into the political forefront, swept away the old effete empire, and replaced it by a large number of smaller kingdoms and principalities. The mischief of this new development, however, was that the mutual rivalries and hostilities, engendered between the numerous Rajput dynasties, rendered it impossible for them to oppose a united front to the great conqueror of India, Muhammad of Ghor, at the turn of the 12th century.

**The Later Gupta Dynasty, and the** At the beginning of this period the Northern Empire was shorn of its westernmost provinces, that is, of Gujarat, and also as we shall see presently, of Sindh and the

Punjab. It embraced more or less securely the rest of India north of the Narbada, comprising Hindustan in its widest sense, and Bengal. In the reduced empire, the anarchy following the death of Harsha Vardhana appears to have resulted in the ascendancy of a collateral branch of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Its founder was Krishna Gupta, who under his imperial relatives held a subordinate position in Malwa. It was Aditya Sena, the seventh in descent, who, about 670 A.D., assumed the imperial titles.\* His successors continued to hold them for nearly

### Disruption of the Northern Empire



Gold Coin of Jaya Gupta.

two centuries. The last, whose name is actually known by an inscription, was Jivita Gupta, who reigned about 740 A.D., but, as we know from the coins of Jaya Gupta and Hari Gupta, the dynasty must have continued for several

generations after him down to about 840 A.D., though its rule was now limited to the eastern portion of the empire, Bihar and Bengal.

The course of events that led to the break-up of the Later Gupta Empire is not exactly known. But we know from a contemporary Jain record that in 783 A.D. there existed two large kingdoms, one with its capital at Kanauj, the other at Ujain, their territories being divided, roughly speaking, by the Jamna and Ganges. The ruler of the latter kingdom was Vatsaraja, the chief of the Gurjara tribe. This tribe appear to have come into India in connection

### The Gurjara Empire and the Tomaras of Kanauj.

\* These were *Parama-bhattaraka*, *Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara*, which are usually translated "the Most-Worshipful, the Great King of Kings, and the Supreme Lord." The assumption of these titles is a useful guide in tracing the vicissitudes of the Empire.

with the Huns. It settled partly in the Punjab, a portion of which is still known after them by the names of Gujarat and Gujranwala, and partly in Rajputana, which in ancient times was also called Gujarat. From Rajputana they began to spread eastward into Malwa and Central India where Vatsaraja made his capital at Ujain. About 843 A.D., his great-grandson, Bhoja I., as we know from his land-grants, overthrew the other great kingdom north of the Jamna, transferred his capital to Kanauj, and assumed the imperial titles. Under him the Gurjara empire reached its zenith, embracing the whole of Hindustan in its widest sense, and being bordered in the east by the kingdom of Bengal, in the south-east by the kingdom of Chedi, and in the south-west by the kingdom of Anhilwad, or the modern Gujarat. Soon afterwards, however, it began to decline rapidly. Under Bhoja I.'s grandson Bhoja II., about 913 A.D., Yasovarman, the chief of the Chandel Rajputs, set himself up as independent ruler of Bandelkhand with imperial titles. Bhoja II.'s son, Mahipala, about 917 A.D., nearly lost his empire in a disastrous war with Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta ruler of the Southern Empire. Though he ultimately recovered the northern portion of his empire, he lost the southern province of Malwa and the western province of Rajputana to the chiefs of the Parmar and Chohan Rajputs respectively, the former of whom assumed the imperial titles. The rulers of the Gurjara empire, which was now reduced to the dimensions of a mere kingdom of Kanauj, are commonly known as the Tomaras. The fierce rivalry, which henceforth raged between the Tomara and Chandel Houses with regard to the possession of the imperial dignity, prevented any effective resistance to the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni, who captured and sacked Kanauj in 1019 A.D. The enfeebled kingdom continued to exist under Trilochana Pala till about 1040 A.D., when the Tomara dynasty was finally overturned by Chandra Deva, the chief of the Gaharwar Rajputs. The possessions of the then reigning Tomara king, Ananga Pala,



MAP II.



Map illustrating Chapters IV to IX.



became now limited to a small principality in the western extremity of his original kingdom, where he founded Lalkot, or the Fort of Delhi. Here his descendants ruled for sometime longer, till finally, in default of male issue, about 1170 A.D., the principality merged into that of the Chohan Rajputs of Ajmir.

The principality of Ajmir had always formed the south-western frontier of the Northern Empire. It had been held by the chief **The Chohan of Ajmir and Delhi.** of the Chohan Rajputs from the time of the rise of the Gurjara power, about 780 A.D. Their dynasty comprised an unbroken line of twenty-five princes, who all maintained a high reputation as powerful lords of the Western Marches, and from about 950 A.D., under Simharaja, held a practically independent position. Somesvara, the twenty-fourth of the line, married the only daughter of Ananga Pala II., the last of the Tomara chiefs of Delhi. His son thus became the ruler of the two united principalities of Ajmir and Delhi. This was the celebrated Prithiraj, whose defeat near Thanesar, 1192 A.D., at the hands of Muhammad Ghori, has become famous as marking the epoch of the Muhammadan conquest of India.

The Gaharwar dynasty, which was founded by Chandra Deva, ruled the greatly reduced kingdom of Kanauj down to the time of **The Gaharwars of Kanauj.** the Muhammadan conquest. Its kings still laid claim to the imperial titles, although the kingdom comprised no more than the country lying, roughly speaking, between Etawa and Benares north of the Ganges. The last of the line was Jaya Chandra. With him the last remnant of the old Northern Empire disappeared in 1194 A.D., when it was annexed to the Muhammadan Empire of Muhammad Ghori.

We have stated that Yasovarman, the Chandel chief of Bandelkhand, with his capital at Mahoba, had assumed independence about 913 A.D., and had set himself up **The Chandels of Mahoba.**

as a rival to the Gurjara Emperor. In consequence his dynasty found itself involved in perpetual wars with one or other of his neighbours who also claimed the imperial crown. These were, in the north, the Tomaras and Gaharwars of Kanauj, in the south-west, the Parmars of Malwa, and in the south, the Kalachuris of Chedi. The pretensions of this dynasty were finally extinguished by Qutbuddin Aibak, who, under Muhammad Ghorī's orders, reduced it to subjection in 1193 A.D.

At the time of the disruption of the Gurjara Empire, about 917 A.D., Malwa fell to the share of the Parmar clan of Rajputs. Their chief, Krishnaraja, assumed the imperial titles, and founded the Parmar dynasty. The pretensions to empire, as usual, involved the dynasty in almost perpetual warfare with its neighbours. The kingdom attained its widest extent under Harsha Deva, the third in descent, who, as we know from inscriptions and coins, about 971 A.D., made an expedition into the Southern



Deccan Coin of Harsha Deva.

Empire, and plundered the wealth of Malkher, the capital of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. But the best-known prince of the dynasty is Bhoja, the celebrated patron of learning, whose long reign, from about 1010 to 1055 A.D., forms the most brilliant epoch in this period of Indian history. Though repeatedly the victim of Muhammadan raids, the dynasty preserved its independence down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when its country was annexed to the Muhammadan Empire by Muhammad I., of the Khalji dynasty.

It will be remembered that the Later Gupta dynasty continued to rule in Bihar and Bengal down to about 840 A.D. About that time it appears to have been overturned

**The Palas of Bihar and Bengal.**

by a local chief of Bihar called Dharma Pala, who resided at Mungir (Monghyr). He assumed the imperial titles and founded the so-called Pala dynasty. This dynasty seems to have never relinquished its allegiance to Buddhism; and it was owing to its patronage that Bihar remained the last refuge of that system in Northern India up to the very time of the Muhammadan conquest. The case was different with the Bengal portion of its territory, which was lost to Buddhism in the latter half of the 11th century. The reason appears to have been that, at the time, Bengal was administered by governors who belonged to the zealous Brahman family of the Senas.

One of these, Vijaya Sena, about 1095 A.D., made himself independent of the Pala sovereigns; and his grandson, Lakshmana Sena, ousted them even from Tirhut or North Bihar. This was in 1119 A.D., and hence that year has become the epoch of the so-called Lakshmaniya era which is specially current in Tirhut. But only eighty years later, in 1199 A.D., Bihar and Bengal were conquered by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar, one of Muhammad Ghor's generals. It was thus that the rule of the Pala and the Sena dynasties was extinguished at the same time.

**The Senas of Bengal.**

It was shown at the end of the preceding period, how, at the time of the anarchy consequent on Harsha Vardhana's death, the kingdom of Valabhi, or modern Gujarat, was definitely separated from the Northern Empire by Dharasena IV. of the Valabhi dynasty. This dynasty was so called, because it had its capital at Valabhi, the modern Wala in Kathiawad. It was founded, about 495 A.D., by Bhatarka, the chief of the Mihira, or Mair clan, probably a Turki clan which had come in with the Sakas, but had in the course of time become hinduized. Bhatarka had been appointed *Senapati*, or Military Governor, by the early Guptas. His grandson Dronasimha, was pro-

**The Kingdom of Gujarat under the Valabhis and the Chalukyas.**

moted to be *Maharaja*, and Dharasena IV., the twelfth in descent, as we have seen, assumed the imperial titles in A.D. 646. His successors continued to hold that dignity till about 770 A.D., when the Valabhi dynasty became extinct with Siladitya VI., the nineteenth in descent. The exact cause is not known, but it was probably effected by an Arab expedition from Sindh. On the retirement of the Arabs, the throne was seized by a Chavada chief, who made his capital at Anhilvad or Patan. His dynasty reigned down to 941 A.D., when it was supplanted by Mularaja I., the chief of the Solanki, or Chalukya, Rajputs. These Rajputs appear to have been a branch of the Gurjara tribe; for they gave to the country into which they migrated the name of Gujarat by which it is now known. Mularaja's father is said to have come originally from the kingdom of Kanauj, where his ancestors, for several generations, had held the Katak, or fort, of Kalyana. It is not impossible that they were a collateral branch of the Gurjara imperial dynasty. Be that as it may, Mularaja's father migrated to Patan, and married the daughter of the last Chavada king. On the latter's death, Mularaja seized the throne. His Solanki dynasty continued to rule Gujarat with the imperial titles down to the very end of the thirteenth century, when their country was annexed to the Muhammadan Empire by Muhammad I. of the Khalji dynasty.

It remains to describe the fortunes of Sindh and the

**The Southern Empire under the Early Chalukyas.**

Punjab—originally also provinces of what was once the great Northern Empire—and their conquest by the Muhammadans. But before doing so, it will be convenient briefly to relate the history of two other territorial divisions of India, namely the Southern Empire and the Kingdom of Chedi. We have seen that the Southern Empire was founded about 610 A.D., by Pulikesin II., of the Chalukya dynasty. The Chalukyas were a Rajput clan whose original seat was in the North. Thence for some reason, no longer known,

they had migrated South under their Chief, Pulikesin I., about 550 A.D., and settled in Maharashtra, which they appear to have wrested from the Kalachuris and Rashtrakutas. Pulikesin I. even extended his conquests farther South over the Kadamba principality and a large portion of the Pallava kingdom, making Badami his capital. But it was not till Pulikesin II., the sixth of their dynasty, that, by his victory over Harsha Vardhana about 610 A.D., the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the Southern Empire was achieved. Pulikesin II., was a vigorous and powerful monarch under whom the Southern Empire attained its widest extension. He subjected to his rule the whole of southern India, from sea to sea, and from the Vindhya to Cape Comorin. But he found that it could be maintained only by constant wars with the neighbouring kingdoms of Malwa and Chedi in the North, and with his vassals in the South, the Pallava, Chola and Pandya kings, who were persistently endeavouring to assert their independence. Therefore, about 630 A.D., he divided his empire, giving the eastern portion to his younger brother Vishnu Vardhana. For himself he retained the West, whence his descendants are known as the Western Chalukya dynasty. This was much the larger portion of the empire, consisting of Maharashtra together with the suzerainty over the vassal kingdoms of the South. It was this claim to suzerainty, especially over the powerful Pallava kings, which eventually proved the ruin of the dynasty. For though Kirtivarman II., the fifth in succession from Pulikesin II., succeeded in subduing the Pallava king Nandipotavarman, he was so weakened by the effort that, about 753 A.D., his rule was overthrown by his rebellious feudatory Dantidurga, who thus became the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. After a time that dynasty threw out several branches reigning

The Western  
Chalukyas: c.  
630-753 A.D.

The Rashtra-  
kutas: c. 753-  
973 A.D.

in different parts of the country, the capital of the paramount line being at Malkher. It attained its greatest power during the long reign of Amoghavarsha (814-877 A.D.). He not only maintained his suzerainty over the Gangas of Talakad (Mysore) and the Pallavas of Kanchipur, and apparently the Cholas and Pandyas of the extreme South, but also held in subjection the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi; so that, at this time, the Rashtrakuta empire had practically the same extent as that of the Early Chalukyas under Pulikesin II. After him, however, the Rashtrakuta power gradually declined, till, about 973 A.D., Tailapa II., a descendant of the Early Chalukyas, and related by marriage to the Rashtrakutas,

succeeded with the help of the Northern Yadava feudatories of Devagiri, in overthrowing Kakka II., last of the Rashtrakutas, and founding the Later Western Chalukya dynasty. The strongest member of this dynasty was Somesvara I. (1040-1069), but its hold on the empire, even in its palmyest days, was imperfect: and after Somesvara I. it grew still more feeble. This was owing to the rise of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, the present Halebid, and the Cholas of Kanchipur and Tanjore. The Hoysalas held northern Mysore as feudatories of the Chalukyas.

The Hoysalas: They rose to power, by the conquest of their fellow-feudatories, the Western Gangas of Talakad in southern Mysore. In 1173 A.D. their Chief, Ballala II., assumed independence, and even proceeded to contest with his suzerain for the possession of the imperial power. It was a long contest, in which the Chalukya emperor was assisted by Bhillama, his Yadava feudatory of Devagiri; but, about 1210 A.D., it ended with the signal defeat of Ballala by Singhana, the grandson of Bhillama. This victory finally disposed of the pretensions of the Hoysalas, though they continued to reign as feudatories down to the Muhammadan conquest in 1327 A.D. But a more important result



of the victory was the transfer of the imperial power from the Chalukyas to the Yadavas. The latter were a Rajput clan who are said to have migrated, about 825 A.D., from Mathura into the Deccan to their new seats about Devagiri. Here, known as the Early Yadavas, they lived as the trusty feudatories of the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta dynasties down to the end of the twelfth century, when, under the name of the Later Yadava dynasty, they rose under Singhana to supreme power. Singhana (1210-1247 A.D.), and his grandson Krishna (1247-1260) were two powerful monarchs, who appear to have succeeded in re-uniting, for the third time, what were the original territories of the Southern Empire of Pulikesin II. Their descendants reigned down to 1307 A.D., when as we shall see in the next period, the reigning Yadava prince Ramadeva was compelled by Malik Kafur to submit to the Muhammadan Empire. Nominally the dynasty continued to reign till 1318 A.D., when Hara Pala, the last of the Yadavas, was cruelly slain by the Emperor Mubarak Shah, against whom he had rebelled.

**The Yadava  
Dynasty: c.  
1210-1318 A.D.**

About 630 A.D., as has been mentioned, Vishnu Vardhana, the younger brother of Pulikesin II., had become the independent sovereign of the eastern portion of the Southern Empire. His kingdom comprised the country lying along the lower courses of the Godavery and Kistna rivers, and had Vengi for its capital. There his descendants, known as the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, reigned, without any conspicuous influence on the course of the history of the empire, down to 1070 A.D., when their kingdom became merged into that of the Cholas. About the early Chola kingdom very little is known. It acknowledged, more or less definitely, the suzerainty of the Southern Empire, down toward the end of the tenth century. At that

**The Eastern Cha-  
lukya Dynasty:  
c. 630-1070 A.D.**

**The Chola King-  
dom: c. 985—  
1319 A.D.**

time, Rajaraja I., as the result of successful wars with the Western and Eastern Chalukyas, founded a great independent Chola kingdom, making Kanchipur his capital. His policy of marrying a daughter to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaladitya led, in 1070 A.D., to the union of the Chola and Eastern Chalukya territories in the person of Vimaladitya's son Rajendra, known as Kulottunga Chola I. The latter's descendants ruled the united kingdom down to about 1250 A.D., when it appears to have become subject to the suzerainty of the great Yadava Empire under Krishna. Finally it shared the fate of that state in being annexed to the Muhammadan Empire as a result of the expeditions of Malik Kafur and Malik Khusru to the Malabar Coast in 1311 and 1319 A.D.

The kingdom of Chedi corresponded roughly to modern Berar and the Central Provinces. Being thus wedged in between the territories of the Northern and Southern Empires, it occupied a somewhat unique position as an independent kingdom between them. We have seen, at the end Chapter V., how it arose on the disruption of the great kingdom of the Andhras. Next it was absorbed into the Second or Gupta Empire and followed all its vicissitudes. On the division of that empire into those of the North and the South, it was annexed to the Southern Empire by the Early Chalukyas. Nothing is known about its subsequent fortunes till about 875 A.D., when Kokalla I., the Chief of the Haihaya Rajputs, who had married his daughter to Krishna II., of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, appears as an independent ruler, bearing the imperial titles and founding the Kalachuri dynasty. As usual, the claim to imperial rule involved his successors in continual wars with all the neighbouring kingdoms. The most powerful among them were Gangeya and Karna (about 1019-1122 A.D.). The former, as we know from Alberuni, reigned about 1030 A.D., and the influence which his rule exercised may be seen from the

fact that a new type of coin which he introduced was thereafter adopted by his northern neighbours, the Tomara kings of Kanauj and the Chandel kings of Mahoba. It was about this time that the sway of the Kalachuris was extended southwards over Telingana, which gave them one of



Gold Coin of Gangeya Deva.

their titles "Lords of Trikalinga." Subsequently, in the twelfth century, they divided into two branches reigning in the eastern and western portions of the country, with Ratanpur and Tewar (close to Jabalpur) as their respective capitals. At the same time, about 1150 A.D., the southern portion, Telingana, assumed independence under its own Kakatiya dynasty, who made their capital at Warangal. About 1210 A.D., the whole territory became subject once more to the Southern Empire under the Yadava Singhana. Ultimately, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, sharing the fate of that state, it passed into the power of the Muhamadan Empire under the Khalji dynasty.

**The Kakatyas  
of Warangal: c.  
1150-1325 A.D.**

We will now turn to the history of Sindh and the Punjab. We have learned already that these provinces had been lost to the Northern Empire at the opening of the present period. The early history of Sindh is not yet fully known. But it would seem that at the time of the Hunic invasion, about 500 A.D., the famous Mihiragula of the Jabula clan, whom the Greeks knew as Gollas, established his rule over the country. His hinduized descendants, known as the Raya dynasty, are said to have reigned down to 631 A.D. In that year Chach, their Brahman minister, usurped the throne; but his Brahman dynasty was very short-lived. It was extinguished by the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 A.D.

**The Kingdom of  
Sindh and the  
Arab Conquest.**

under Dahir, a son of Chach. In that year Muhammad-i-Qasim was sent by Hajjaj, the Arab governor of Babylonia, to inflict punishment on Dahir for the piratical seizure of an Arab ship at Debal, a little east of the present Karachi. After storming Debal, Muhammad marched up the old course of the Indus to a fort called Rawar, near Bahmanabad. Here Dahir was defeated and slain in a great battle, and his queen, Rani Bai, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, after the capture of the fort burned herself on a funeral pyre. Aror, Dahir's capital, as well as Multan, after prolonged sieges, capitulated; and these successes completed the conquest of Sindh. Thenceforward it formed a province of the Khalifat, or Arab Empire, till, in 871 A.D., it was separated into two independent kingdoms with their capitals at Multan and Mansura. After a long term of comparative power and prosperity, they both fell into disorder in 935 A.D., through the settlement in them of the Qarmatians, a heretical sect of Muhammadans. Finally, in 1010 A.D., they were overthrown by the famous Mahmud, the orthodox Muhammadan ruler of Ghazni.

The early history of the Punjab is no less obscure than that of Sindh. So much, however, is certain that, together with Gandhara, or eastern Afghanistan, it formed a kingdom which was ruled by a dynasty of so-called Turki Shahis, residing in Kabul. Possibly their rule was only a revival of the kingdom of the little Kushans, which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, had been temporarily overthrown by the Hunic invasion about 470 A.D., or they may have been a Hunic dynasty. Be that as it may, the rule of the Turki Shahis endured till about 880 A.D., when, as we know from Alberuni's account, it was supplanted by their Brahman minister Lalliya (usually, but wrongly, called Kallar). He founded the so-called Brahman Shahi dynasty, which made Waihand, on the Indus, their

**The Kingdom of the Punjab, and the Turki Conquest.**

capital. Bhima Deva, the fourth of the line, appears to have been set aside, about 960 A.D., by the Rajput prince Jaya Pala, possibly a hinduized descendant of the Kushan dynasty. Under him the kingdom became limited to the Punjab, and its capital was transferred to Lahore. This happened in 979 A.D., as the result of an unsuccessful war with Sabuk Tigin, the Samanide Governor of Ghazni, who extended his territory up to the Indus. The Rajput dynasty finally succumbed, in 1021 A.D., to the repeated attacks of Mahmud, the son and successor of Sabuk Tigin. This celebrated Sultan was the real founder of the Ghaznawide dynasty and empire. Having made himself independent of the Samanides, by conquering nearly the whole of their empire in Turkestan and Persia, he proceeded to extend his dominions into India, which he is said to have invaded no less than seventeen times. With the exception of three, all these campaigns were devoted to the conquest and permanent annexation of the frontier kingdoms of Sindh and the Punjab. The former, as we have seen, was reduced in 1010 A.D. Jaya Pala, of the Punjab, was defeated in 1001 A.D., and unable to bear his disgrace, he is said to have burned himself to death. His son Ananda Pala was defeated in 1009 A.D. Trilochana Pala, who succeeded in 1013 A.D., was also defeated and driven to take refuge in Kashmir. Thence, as we know from the *Rajatarangini*, or the Kashmir Chronicle, he attempted in 1021 A.D., with the support of a Kashmirian army, to recover his kingdom. But the crushing defeat which Mahmud inflicted on him and his allies put an end to his life as well as to his dynasty. Though a son of his, Bhima Pala, escaped from the disaster, the Punjab formed henceforth a part of the Ghazni empire, and was administered by Muhammadan governors.

In the campaign of 1009 A.D., after the death of Ananda Pala, Mahmud had captured Nagarkot, or the Fort of Kangra. Here, for generations, the wealth of the kings of the Punjab and their chiefs

**Mahmud's Campaigns against the Indian Kingdoms.**

had been stored. The whole of this treasure—an incredible amount of jewels, money, and objects of silver and gold—was looted by Mahmud, and transported to Ghazni. The sight of it served to whet the appetite for plunder, and crowds of Turkis and Afghans flocked to Mahmud's standard. With an army thus swelled Mahmud set out on his three expeditions into the interior of India. They were, as a matter of fact, only far-reaching raids, undertaken with no aim at conquest, but simply for the sake of plunder and the satisfaction of a vow, made at the beginning of his reign, that every year should see him wage a holy war against the "infidels" of Hindustan. The first campaign, 1018 A.D., was directed against the kingdom of Kanauj. Marching by way of Mathura, which he captured and plundered of the fabulous wealth of its temples, he advanced on Kanauj. Its king, Jaya Pala, had fled. His capital, with its seven forts, was taken in one day, and all its gorgeous temples were utterly despoiled. After treating similarly some other neighbouring towns, Mahmud returned to Ghazni. The second campaign, 1022 A.D., was directed against the kingdom of Bandelkhand, where Mahmud besieged Gwalior and Kalinjar. Its king, Ganda, saved himself only by buying off the invader with an enormous ransom. The third campaign took place in 1026 A.D., and had for its objective Somnath, the holy city of Gujarat, which lay at the furthest extremity of the Kachh peninsula on the sea-coast, and was strongly fortified. There stood one of the most sacred temples of the Hindus, enshrining a far-famed *Linga*, a conical stone of great size, visited by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, and served, so it is said, by a thousand Brahmans who guarded its countless treasures of jewels and money. Mahmud captured the town with great slaughter, and sacked the temple. The great *Linga* was cast down and broken into three pieces which were sent to Ghazni, Mecca, and Medina, as witnesses of Mahmud's zeal for the Faith. The sandalwood gates

of the temple, also, were carried off to Ghazni, and a



Indian Coin of Mahmud.  
(Struck at Lahore, 1027 A.D.).

million pounds worth of treasure is said to have rewarded the "Idol-breaker," by which name Mahmud became henceforth known. It was his last and most noteworthy achievement. He died four years afterwards, in 1030

A.D. His successors continued to reign for about 150 years after his death; but their power steadily waned. They were at last expelled from Ghazni, and their dominion limited to the Punjab. The last of the dynasty was Khusrau Malik. With him the line ended, 1186 A.D., in the general conquest of India by Muhammad Ghorî.

A survey of the general condition of the people in this period may now be given. The process of assimilation of Brahmanism and Buddhism, which was already in full operation in the preceding period,

**The Establishment of Hinduism.**

now ended with the complete establishment of Hinduism. A principal agent in effecting this result was the institution of rival monastic Orders among the Brahmanists. The beginning was made, about 800 A.D., by the famous Saiva reformer, Sankara Acharya, and his immediate disciples. They founded the four Saiva Orders which are known as the Dasanamis; and these Orders, in their turn, led to the creation of the Vaishnava Orders. All these Brahmanist Societies carried on, among the mass of the people throughout the whole of India, a most effective propaganda in rivalry with the Buddhist and Jain monks. The difference between the two parties of rival monastic Orders ultimately became one of mere scholastic doctrine. In their outward manifestation, so far as it affected the mass of the people with regard to religious worship and social order, they both constituted but one system of Hinduism. Of this

system we possess a valuable contemporary account by the celebrated Arab historian Alberuni, in his *Tahqiqul Hind*, or Indian Research, which he completed in 1031 A.D. As a natural consequence of its development, the old Brahmanism, as well as Buddhism, died out ; neither of them exist any more in India. Hinduism, however, possessed the inherent weakness of being a compromise between two decaying systems. This showed itself particularly in the decay of religion and its forms of worship, and in the ascendancy of the Sakta sect and its religious practices, which consisted mainly in the worship of Saktis, or female deities, and were of a kind that dared not show themselves in the light of day. It is a form of sectarian religion which is still only too widely prevalent, particularly in Bengal, and its influence is only now beginning to wane with the progress of modern enlightenment.

The establishment of Hinduism had another result. The cultivation of Classic Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which had owed its rise to the early fervour of the Brahmanical revival, began to decline in this period. Still, from time to time, we meet with striking exceptions. Thus we have the two great champions of Brahmanism, Kumarilla Bhatta, about 725 A.D., and Sankara Acharya, about 800 A.D., who wrote the *Tantra Varttika* and the *Brahmasutra Bhashya*, the standard commentaries respectively on the Mimamsa and Vedanta philosophy. As representatives of light literature we have, about 735 A.D., Bhavabhuti, the greatest dramatist next to Kalidasa, who, among other works, wrote the romantic drama *Malati Madhava*, or the love story of the princess Malati and a young scholar Madhava ; about 860 A.D., the poet, Magha, who wrote the epic poem *Sisupalavadha*, or the slaughter of Sisupala by Vishnu ; about 910 A.D., the dramatist, Rajasekhara, who wrote several plays of exquisite lightness and grace ; and about 1100 A.D., the lyric poet,

Condition of  
Sanskrit  
Literature.



Jaya Deva, the author of the famous *Gitagovinda*, or Song of Krishna's love for Radha. In the first half of the 11th century especially, as we have already seen, the court of Bhoja Deva, the Parmar king of Malwa, was a great centre of Sanskrit learning. He is himself said to have been a poet, and like Vikramaditya and Harsha Vardhana, to have delighted in collecting learned men around him.

As the establishment of Hinduism had marked the earlier part of this period, so its later part was distinguished by the introduction of **The Introduction of Islam.** Muhammadanism. The advent of Islam in India was co-incident with a revolting departure from previous methods of warfare. Wholesale massacres of the male population of forts and towns, such as occurred at the time of their capture by Muhammadan armies, were a feature hitherto unknown in purely Indian warfare. Yet it would be wrong to set it down altogether to the account of the faith of the invaders. It was rather due to the fierceness of the natural temperament of the Arab and Turki races who were unable to brook stubborn resistance, and were apt to be carried away beyond all bounds by savage resentment. Massacres in cold blood, or wanton cruelty, cannot be proved in the cases of Muhammad-i-Qasim and Mahmud of Ghazni. On the contrary, there is evidence of much toleration. To those who submitted liberal terms were granted. Acceptance of the Muhammadan faith was not enforced on the general population, whatever may have been the case with individuals. Apart from the actual moment of conquest, when temples were destroyed or turned into mosques, the institutions of Hindu worship and caste were not interfered with. The Brahmans and their temples were not only tolerated, but even protected, and the Hindu forms of administration were largely retained. All that was exacted from the Hindu population was the payment of the *jiziya*, or poll-tax. This, no doubt, was a heavy impost, but, on the other

hand, it gave exemption from compulsory military service. Nor did intellectual culture suffer through the change of rulers, except in one point. Wherever Islam became dominant, it was no longer Sanskrit but Arabic and Persian literature and science which enjoyed its patronage. At the very time when Sanskrit letters

**Arabic and Persian Literature.** flourished at the court of King Bhoja Deva of Malwa, the court of Mahmud in Ghazni became a brilliant centre of

Persian learning. Two of the best known among the many men of culture whom Mahmud assembled round him, were Alberuni, the eminent chronologist, who has already been mentioned and who wrote both in Arabic and in Persian, and the poet Firdausi, who wrote the celebrated Persian epic, called the *Shahnama* or the Book of Kings, the great store-house of the ancient traditions of Persia.

## CHAPTER IX.

### The Early Muhammadan Period : The Muhammadan Conquest, and the Third, (First Muhammadan) or Turki, Empire.

*About 1200—1525 A.D.*

The preceding period has already given us a glimpse of the impending conquest of India by the Turks. It has shown us how ill India was prepared to meet that crisis.

Introductory  
Remarks.

We have seen it divided into a number of smaller kingdoms, which had portioned among themselves the imperial inheritance, and were fighting with one another for the imperial crown. In the north there were five such kingdoms : those of Bengal, Kanauj, Bandelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat. Their rulers each claimed to be the rightful "Emperor." Foremost among them was the king of Kanauj, whose claims, as the direct representative of the older empire, were popularly considered the best. But his power was not equal to his pretensions. The Chohan lords of his Western Marches, Delhi and Ajmir, were growing in importance and inclining to throw off the overlordship of Kanauj. Intent upon nursing their mutual jealousies, the kings and chiefs of Northern India failed to detect the danger to their common country that was growing up on its western borders in the rising empire of the Turks.

In the midst of Afghanistan, in the mountains of Ghor, to the west of Ghazni, there lived a hardy race of Tajiks, or men of mixed Arab descent, under a chief called Suri. One of his descendants, Alauddin, known as *Jahansoz*, or the World-burner, on account of his ferocity, revolted in 1155 A.D., against his Ghaznawide overlord

The Muhamma-  
dan Conquest.

and drove him into the Punjab. His nephew, Ghiyasuddin, finally overturned the empire of Ghazni, and founded that of the Ghoris. This happened in 1186 A.D., when Muizuddin, the brother and co-regent of Ghiyasuddin, generally known as Muhammad Ghorî, conquered the Punjab, the last remnant of the once powerful Ghaznawide empire. Its province of Sindh had already been annexed by him in 1182 A.D. He now took in hand the conquest of the Hindu kingdoms on his eastern frontier. With a large army of Turkis, Afghans, and Tajiks he set out eastward. Prithiraj, the Chohan lord of the Western Marches, Delhi and Ajmir, assembled all his feudal chiefs with their Rajput levies to meet the attack. Twice the opposing armies met on the same battlefield near Thanesar. The first time, in 1191 A.D., Muhammad Ghorî was defeated and retired to Ghazni, but in the following year, 1192 A.D., he returned, and this time totally defeated Prithiraj who was captured and soon afterwards slain. The immediate result of the victory was the capture, in 1103 A.D., of Delhi and Ajmir, and the annexation of their territories. The further prosecution of the conquest was entrusted by Muhammad to his most capable general Qutbuddin Aibak, a Turki slave. This general first turned his arms against the kingdom of Kanauj, the ruler of which, Jaya Chandra, it is said, had refused to come to the assistance of his contumacious vassal, Prithiraj. Jaya Chandra was defeated and slain, in 1194 A.D., in a battle near Etawa, and, as a result, the whole of his kingdom, as far as Benares, fell into the power of Qutbuddin. The latter now despatched Muhammad-i-Bakhtiya, who held a subordinate command under him, to continue the eastward conquest of the kingdoms of Bihar and Bengal, while he himself undertook the task of reducing to submission the kingdoms of Bandelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat. In this, however, he was only partially successful. For those three kingdoms maintained themselves in a state of semi-independence down to the time

of the Khalji dynasty, in the beginning of the 14th century. By the year 1205 A.D., the conquest of the whole of Northern India was practically completed. In the following year, 1206 A.D., Muhammad Ghori was murdered in his tent beside the Indus by some Musalman heretics, or, as others say, by a band of Hindu Khokhars.

The Ghoride Empire, founded by Muizzuddin Muhammad, did not outlast his death.

It separated into two parts. The western portion, beyond the Indus, passed to his son, while of the eastern portion

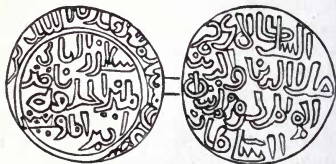
Qutbuddin Aibak assumed the sovereignty, and thus became the founder of the Third Indian, or First Muhammadan, Empire in India. His line, known as that of the Turki Slaves, and comprising ten Sultans, ruled down to 1290 A.D. But the only two important ones, beside himself, are the third, Shamsuddin Altamsh (1210-1236 A.D.), and the tenth, Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287 A.D.). Aibak was only the nominal ruler of Northern India ; his actual rule extended no further than Hindustan. In the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab, as well as in Bihar and Bengal, his governors exercised practically independent sovereignty ; and the Hindu rulers of Bandelkhand, Malwa, and Gujarat were never fully subjected. Altamsh, a Turki slave and son-in law of Aibak, was engaged, throughout his long reign of 26 years, in constant wars with his contumacious governors and the irrepressible Rajput kings. When at last, 1235 A.D., he succeeded in making his authority respected, he enjoyed his success only one year, dying in 1236 A.D. Exactly the same state of things repeated itself after his death. Under his immediate successors, in spite of the able, but too short, reign of his daughter Raziyyat, the imperial authority again declined ; and Balban, a Turki slave and father-in-law of Mahmud, son of Altamsh, had to go once more through the wearisome process of reconstruction. He performed his task with conspicuous ability, first for twenty years as the all-powerful minister of Mahmud I.

(1246-1266 A.D.), and then for another twenty years as sovereign in his own right (1266-1287 A.D.). He has earned for himself a reputation for cruelty; and the extreme severity of his treatment of his foes is undeniable. But it only reflected the manners of his time, and though it may not be justified, we can understand it in view of the extreme difficulties of the emperor's position. He had to protect his western frontiers against the repeated inroads of the savage Mughal hordes of Chingis Khan's successors, and within the empire he had to suppress the chronic disaffection of the Hindu chiefs, and keep down the pretensions of his overbearing Turki governors and landholders. All this had to be done at one and the same time; and this sufficiently explains Balban's severity, without which he could not have succeeded as he did. Yet his success did not long survive him. After a feeble reign of three years, his worthless grandson Kaiqobad was put to death, in 1290 A.D., by his great officers of state, who conferred the crown on one of themselves, the pious and kindhearted Jalaluddin.

As emperor, Jalaluddin styled himself Firuz Shah II. He was a Turki of the Khalji clan, and his line accordingly is known as the Khalji dynasty. This dynasty reigned for 30 years (1290-1320 A.D.), and comprised six members. Among these there was only one who is of real importance—the third of the line, Alaud-din Muhammad I. (1296-1316 A.D.). During his long reign of 20 years the empire attained its greatest power and its widest extent. In his personality and rule we find, in most respects, a curious repetition of Balban. He was as able and as strong as Balban, and even more cruel than he, and like him he reorganized an empire which he had received in a process of disintegration. Having stepped to the throne over the body of his uncle, whom he had treacherously murdered, he energetically set about the reconstruction of the empire. In 1298

**The Khalji Dyn-  
asty (1290-1320  
A.D.)**

A.D. Gujarat was re-conquered, Rajputana in 1300, and Malwa in 1304. The mighty Mughal hordes, which in repeated invasions had ventured to advance to the very gates of Delhi, were finally beaten off in 1303 A.D. Intermediately, Muhammad I. cruelly suppressed a serious mutiny of his troops and several revolts of his own kinsmen and nobles. At the same time he introduced administrative reforms regulating agriculture and trade, and by these means he effectually secured the stability of his rule. Having accomplished all this, he again put his hand to the ambitious plan of conquering Southern India—a plan which he seems to have cherished from the days of his capture of Devagiri in 1294 A.D. This



Gold Sikandar as-Sani Coin of Muhammad I.

is shown by his assuming the title of *Sikandar as-Sani*, or the second Alexander, on the exceedingly numerous gold and silver coins which he struck from the plunder of the vast

wealth of that place. He now despatched his general, Malik Kafur, on four expeditions into the Deccan. In these he successively reduced to subjection the Yadavas of Devagiri in 1307 A.D., the Kakatiyas of Warangal in 1310, and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra in 1311. He even made a plundering raid as far south as the Malabar coast, near Madura. These expeditions, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, put an end to the old Southern Empire of the Hindus. They raised Muhammad I.'s reign and the first Muhammadan Empire to the zenith of their glory. The latter empire now rivalled that of the Guptas by embracing nearly the whole of India; but as was the case with the Gupta Empire its sway was neither effective nor enduring. South India acknowledged it only so long as she was over-awed by the imperial

troops, and the outlying provinces, such as Bengal, respected it hardly more than in name. Muhammad I. whose master mind alone held the empire together, died of dropsy in 1316 A.D. After him, under his profligate and faithless son Mubarak, there ensued a general breakdown, both internal and external, which culminated in 1320 A.D. in the extraordinary usurpation of the throne by Mubarak's favourite, the utterly depraved and low-caste Hindu, Khusru. A reaction was not long delayed. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, the governor of the Punjab, came to the rescue, and defeated and executed the usurper in the same year.

Seeing that the Khalji House had been exterminated by the usurper, Tughlaq himself was called to the throne by the nobles and officers of state. According to Ibn-Batuta he was a Karauna, *i.e.*, of mixed Turki and Indian descent, and he thus became the founder of the Karauna or Tughlaq-Shahi dynasty which reigned for nearly a century, 1320-1414 A.D. It gave to India, in Muhammad II. the son of Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.), the most striking figure among the rulers of the first Muhammadan Empire. He was a man of high culture, great intellect, and indomitable will. His conduct was full of contradictions, acts of extravagant generosity alternating with others of incredible cruelty. Ibn-Batuta, the Arab traveller, who visited his court in 1333 A.D., tells us that "at his gate there might always be seen some faqir whom he had enriched, or the corpse of some one whom he had slain." His mind was that of a genius with a strain of madness. The most striking administrative acts of his reign were the attempted removal, in 1339 A.D., of the capital from Delhi to the more centrally situated Devagiri which he re-named Daulatabad, and the attempted enrichment, in 1327 A.D., of the national exchequer by the introduction of a brass token currency. Both ideas were excellent in conception. Muhammad II. rightly saw that a

The Karauna or  
Tughlaq Shahi  
Dynasty (1320-  
1414 A.D.)





Brass Token of Muhammad II.

vast and imperfectly welded empire such as his, required a central capital and a well-filled treasury. But the projects were enforced with so little foresight and brought so much suffering on the people, that they utterly failed,

and had to be abandoned. When he recognized their failure, Muhammad II., was honest enough to frankly abandon them. But the mischief was done; nor could he repair it by the confirmation of his sovereignty, which he secured in 1340 A.D., from the Khalifah of Egypt. It resulted in the ruin of the magnificent empire which he had inherited from his father. Bengal in 1339 A.D., and the Deccan in 1347, declared themselves independent; and when Muhammad II. died in 1351 A.D., Oudh, Malwa, Gujarat and Sindh were in revolt. The further disintegration of the empire was for a time averted by the long and prosperous reign of his cousin, Firuz III. (1351-1388 A.D.). This mild and pious sovereign made no attempt to recover the lost provinces, but applied himself, with the help of his wise Wazir, Maqbul Khan, to the better development of those that still remained to him. His chief measures for this purpose were the abolition of certain oppressive taxes, the construction of the still-existing Great Jumna Canal and other irrigation works, the reclamation of waste lands, and the founding of new towns, colleges, *serais* and other public buildings. On the other hand, the mildness of his rule, combined with his system of granting whole provinces in fief to successful courtiers, directly contributed to the final break-up of the empire, which ensued soon after his death in 1388 A.D. His sons and grandsons, six of whom reigned after him, were unable to maintain their authority over the Viceroys of Oudh, Malwa, Gujarat, and the Western Marches. Between

1394 and 1401, these, one after the other, turned their fiefs into independent kingdoms. They thus reduced the imperial possessions so much that these hardly comprised more than the home province of Delhi, that is the Doab and Rohtak. The general turmoil of the time reached its climax in the fearful invasion of Timur, the celebrated Mughal leader, who captured Delhi in 1399 A.D. The invasion lasted only six months; but the incredible devastation which Timur left in his track, earned for him the name of "the Scourge of God."

With the death, in 1412 A.D., of Mahmud II., a grandson of Firuz III., the empire virtually came to an end. In mere name, it is true, it continued to exist for a little more than another century, but in reality it was now divided into a number of independent kingdoms. These were the territory of Delhi, which nominally represented the Empire, and the kingdoms of Oudh, Malwa, and Gujarat. To them must be added the kingdoms of Bengal and the Deccan, which, as we have seen, had already become separate under Muhammad II.

In 1414 A.D. Khizr Khan, who had been the governor of Multan, took possession of Delhi, and founded the so-called Sayyid dynasty. It numbered four members, whose feeble efforts were limited to keeping a hold on the small territory which still laid claim to the name of "Empire." It was put an end to in 1451 A.D., by Bahlol Lodi, the Afghan governor of Lahore. During his long reign of 38 years he succeeded in re-annexing to the Empire the kingdom of Jaunpur. But the revival of its authority did not outlive his reign, and under his son Ibrahim II., the third and last of the Lodi dynasty, the First Muhammadan Empire was finally extinguished in 1526 A.D., by Babar, who founded the Second Muhammadan Empire of the Mughals.

The kingdom of Jaunpur roughly coincided with

**The Dissolution  
of the Third  
Empire.**

**The Kingdom of  
Delhi (1414-1526  
A.D.)**

what is now called Oudh. It had been one of the great fiefs of the empire, whose governor, Malik Sarwar, assumed independence in 1394 A.D., during the troublous time under Firuz III.'s feeble successors. He founded the so-called Sharqi, or Eastern, dynasty, which included six members. Only one of these, however, the third of the line, Ibrahim, was of any importance. He greatly extended his borders, and at one time came near to making himself Emperor of Delhi. His long reign of 39 years (1401-1440 A.D.) is distinguished by the erection of some of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture, such as the Atala Mosque, with which he adorned his capital Jaunpur. After him the dynasty rapidly declined, till, in 1487 A.D., the kingdom was re-annexed to the Empire by Buhlol Lodi.

**The Kingdom of Oudh - Jaunpur (1394-1487 A.D.)**

The kingdom of Malwa arose in 1401 A.D., when its governor, Dilawar Khan, said to have been a descendant of the old Ghori Emperors, made himself independent. The Ghori line, however, was supplanted in 1436 A.D., by the Khalji dynasty of Mahmud. Under these two dynasties, the kingdom of Malwa, owing to its position between the warring states of Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarat, was able to maintain only a precarious existence, down to 1530 A.D., when it was annexed by the neighbouring kings of Gujarat.

**The Kingdom of Malwa (1401-1530 A.D.)**

The latter province broke away from the Empire as an independent kingdom about the same time as Oudh and Malwa. Zafar Khan, to whom Firuz III. had granted the fief of Gujarat, assumed independence, in 1396 A.D., under the style of Muzaffar I. For nearly two centuries thirteen of his descendants ruled the kingdom, down to 1572 A.D., when it was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal Empire. The greatest among them was Bahadur Shah (1526-1536 A.D.), who annexed the kingdom of Malwa. In 1535 he lost his territories to Humayun, but re-

**The Kingdom of Gujarat (1396-1572 A.D.)**

covered them in the same year with the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom he ceded the island of Diu.

The empire had never had, for any length of time, an effective control over Bengal. Its governors ruled mostly in a state of semi-independence. In 1338 A.D., however, the governor of Eastern Bengal assumed full independence; and in 1339 A.D., the governor of Western Bengal followed his example. Both portions of Bengal were united in 1352 A.D. under the rule of Shamsuddin Ilyas; and his dynasty continued to reign, with a short interruption of about three years, down to 1487 A.D. Thenceforward Bengal was ruled successively by four different dynasties, down to 1576 A.D., when it was annexed by Akbar to the Mughal Empire.

Equally weak was the hold of the empire on the Deccan. In 1347 A.D., Hasan Gangu, the Bahmani, assumed royalty at Khulbarga. His dynasty, known as the Bahmani, reigned for nearly two centuries. Under Muhammad II. (1471-1481) the kingdom attained its widest extension, and included the whole of the Deccan north of Mysore. Shortly afterwards, however, it began to fall to pieces, through the different provincial governors assuming independence. Thus there arose five new states. These were :—

1. Berar, under the Imad-shahis (1485-1572 A.D.).
2. Ahmadnagar, under the Nizam-shahis (1490-1636 A.D.).
3. Bijapur, under the Adil-shahis (1490-1680 A.D.).
4. Bidar, under the Barid-shahis (1492-1609 A.D.).
5. Golkonda, under the Qutb-shahis (1512-1687 A.D.).

All these states, as we shall see in the next chapter, were ultimately absorbed into the Mughal Empire.

The country to the south of the Bahmani kingdom had attained its independence somewhat earlier. It

was in 1326 A.D. after the subversion of the Hoysala kingdom by Muhammad II., that a Hindu chief, called Harihara I., was appointed by him to govern a part of the country. About 1343 A.D., having formed a confederacy of Hindu princes, Harihara I. expelled the Muhammadans, and greatly enlarged his territory. His nephew, Harihara II., about 1379 A.D., assumed independent royalty, making the newly-founded town of Vijayanagar his capital. He gradually enlarged his kingdom so much that it embraced not only Mysore but also practically the whole of India to the south of it. For about two hundred years, during which it was ruled by two different Hindu dynasties, it maintained its power in constant warfare with its northern Muhammadan neighbours. At last it was overpowered, in 1565 A.D., in the battle of Talikot, by the combined armies of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. But the Muhammadan confederates, divided by mutual jealousy, were unable to annex more than a very small part of the kingdom. The rest of its territory remained in the hands of petty Hindu chiefs, while a representative of the old dynasty removed to Chandragiri, and there founded a new line of petty kings. It was from a member of this line that the English received, in 1639 A.D., a grant of the site of Madras.

**The Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar (1339-1565).**

The establishment of the Bijapur State has a special interest through its connection with the foundation of the Portuguese Eastern Empire. The Portuguese, as will be more fully told in Chapter XI., first arrived in India in 1489 A.D., in which year Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of a petty Hindu state. Failing to establish themselves there, they proceeded, under the celebrated admiral Alfonso d' Albuquerque to Goa, which was comprised in the Bijapur territory. This place was captured by them in 1510 A.D., and henceforth formed the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India.

**The Arrival of the Portuguese.**

It remains briefly to review the general condition of the people during this period of Turki rule. The form of Government was autocratic; the emperor's will was absolute. In theory, no doubt, it was restricted by the equitable principles of Muhammadan law, but there was no means of enforcing on the emperor those restrictions. Whether his rule was benevolent or oppressive depended entirely on his personal character. On the other hand, in either case, it affected equally the Muhammadan and the Hindu; religion made no material difference. Moreover, the arbitrary and oppressive nature of the Turki rule made itself felt principally in relation to those who were in a position to exercise any political influence. The condition of the ordinary population, as we know from contemporary writers, such as the Arab Ibn-Batuta (about 1340 A.D.) and the Italian Nicolo Conti (about 1430 A.D.), was practically free from oppression. Of course, this remark applies more particularly to such benevolent reigns as those of Firuz II. of the Khalji and Firuz III. of the Karauna dynasties. But the mischief of the despotic Turki rule was that the periods of benevolent reign only served to encourage the numerous Rajput chiefs to attempt independence, and the Muhammadan grandees to intrigue against the throne. These in their turn, necessarily produced reigns of excessive cruelty and oppression such as were those of Muhammad I. of the Khalji and Muhammad II. of the Karauna dynasties. It was this regular alternation of benevolence and tyranny which caused the ruin of the Turki Empire.

Islam, as we have seen in the last chapter, was introduced only in a limited sense by force. The Hindu population was offered the choice of conversion or the payment of the poll-tax. In the former case the converts enjoyed the privileges of the ruling class, and it can readily be understood that not a few of the old ruling classes

**The Condition of the People under the Turki Empire.**

**The spread of Islam.**

among the Hindus preferred the adoption of the Muslim faith to sinking into the abject position of a subject class. In addition to these Hindu converts, the invading armies themselves gave rise to considerable colonies of Turki and Afghan settlers. Both causes combined explain the large proportion of Musalmans in the population of those parts of India which came under the direct rule of the Turki Empire. Outside its limits, in such provinces as, for example, Rajputana, Bandelkhand and Mysore, where the old Hindu ruling houses continued to exist in semi-independence, the religious and social state of the people remained practically the same as before the Muhammadan conquest. Even in the empire proper, though the Hindu was regarded with some contempt, he was, ordinarily, not treated with hostility. He was liable to the *jiziya*, but he was not molested in his religion or in his social customs. In fact many Hindus were employed, and rose to high offices, in the revenue and accounts departments of the Government; and though in civil cases, as a rule, the Muhammadan law was administered by the Qazi, criminal and administrative cases were dealt with by the emperor's officers in accordance with a kind of common law, founded on old Indian custom and the sovereign's discretion. The prosperity of the country is evidenced by the private and public buildings, irrigation works, bridges, *serais*, and hospitals which were constructed throughout the empire.

Hinduism, which we saw established in India in the course of the preceding period, naturally declined with the advance of Islam. It was only in the extreme south, in the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, beyond the depressing influence of the Muhammadan Empire, that it showed any signs of vigorous life. There we find, about 1380 A.D., the two famous brothers Madhava and Sayana—both ministers at the Vijayanagar court. The former wrote the *Sarvadarsana Sangraha*, or Compendium of All Speculations, and other philosophical works,

Hinduism and  
Sanskrit  
Learning.

while the second was the author of the celebrated commentary on the *Vedas*. To the same southern kingdom Hinduism owed its eventual revival in Northern India. Ramanuja, the great Vaishnava reformer, lived there in the 12th century, and from him were spiritually descended Ramananda in the 14th, and Vidyapati and Chaitanya in the 15th, centuries—the three apostles of Vaishnavism in Hindustan, Bihar and Bengal respectively.

Many of the Muhammadan rulers of this period—emperors as well as kings—were great patrons of art and learning. Numerous Persian historians flourished at their courts. Every great reign had its own historian. Among the more prominent literary men may be mentioned Minhajuddin the historian (about 1240 A.D.), Amir Khusrau the poet (1300 A.D.), and Ibn-Batuta the traveller (about 1335 A.D.). Some of the most beautiful architectural monuments were erected during the period. Thus in 1235 A.D., the famous Qutb Minar near Delhi was built by Altamsh in memory of the Musalman saint Qutbuddin. In 1498 Ibrahim, the Sharqi king, erected

the beautiful Atala Mosque in Jaunpur, and in 1526 A.D., Nasrat Shah of Bengal, built the so-called "Great Golden Mosque" at Gaur. The Emperor Altamsh started a new Indian



Tanka of the Emperor Altamsh.

currency of broad silver pieces, called Tanka, which are the ancestors of the modern rupee. The Empire even gave birth to a new language, the well-known Urdu or Hindustani, which still serves as a kind of *lingua franca* for the most part of India. It arose in the 13th



century, after the conquest of the old Hindu kingdom of Kanauj, from the vernacular dialect of which it was formed by combination with the Persian language of the Muhammadan conquerors.

## CHAPTER X.

### The Later Muhammadan Period.

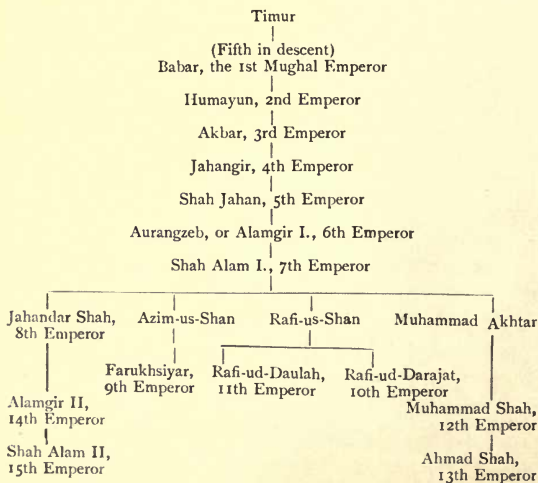
#### Section I.

#### The Fourth Indian, Second Muhammadan, or Mughal, Empire

1526—1803, A.D.

It has already been mentioned that in 1398 Timur invaded India. He did not, however, gain any territories. It was left for one of his descendants to establish a glorious empire such as had never yet been in Hindustan. This descendant was Babar.

#### THE HOUSE OF TIMUR.



**BABAR, 1526-1530.** Babar, *i.e.*, the Lion, was born in 1482, and was the fifth in descent from Timur. When he was only twelve years of age his father died, and he began to rule the small kingdom of Farghana on the Yaxartes, 1494. He conquered Samarkhand in 1497, and Kabul in 1504. Then in 1526, at the head of a large army, he entered India with his son, Humayun; defeated Ibrahim Lodi II. in the First Battle of Panipat; and seized the throne of Delhi, putting an end to the Lodi Dynasty. The time was favourable for invasion; for the land being divided between Muhammadan kings and Hindu rajas, there was no great power to resist him. The brave Rajputs of Chittor, under Rana Sanga tried to check him; but they were defeated in the battle of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, 1527. Babar died in 1530, shortly after he had subdued Bihar.

Babar was a man of culture, and he has left us a charmingly written autobiography. His account of India and its peoples is not flattering. But it must be borne in mind that his connection with this country began only in the last twelve years of his life, and that it never became his home. Had he lived longer in India and seen more of the people over whom he ruled, he would probably have altered his views and early impressions. He did not have the opportunity of introducing a system of government, and the provinces which he acquired in India were bound together merely by the fact that they belonged to a common master.

**HUMAYUN, 1530-1556.** Babar was succeeded by his son Humayun, the story of whose reign, however, belongs mainly to Kabul. As soon as he came to the throne he had to give up that kingdom and Western Punjab to his brother Kumran. He was thus cut off from the land of his fathers, while at the same time he had powerful enemies to encounter in India. Sher Khan, an Afghan of the Sur clan, putting himself at the head of his tribes-men in Bengal, took up arms against Humayun, who was eventually obliged to flee to Persia.

When he reached Amarkot in Sindh, a son—the famous Akbar—was born to him. Sher Khan assumed the rule of India, but he died of injuries received in the storming of Kalinjar (1545). His son Islam Shah succeeded him, and ruled for eight years (1545-1553), and the throne then passed to Muhammad Adil Shah. This king left all real power in the hands of his Hindu Wazir, Hemu. Naturally rebellions arose. Ibrahim Sur seized Delhi and Agra, but he did not long enjoy his new possessions, for they were taken from him by Sikandar Sur\* who had already proclaimed himself king in the Punjab. News of all this, and of other rivalries reached Humayun in Persia, and he regarded it as a favourable opportunity to try to win back India for himself. Accordingly, in 1555, he came thither with his son, Akbar, and a large army which he had received from Shah Tahmasp, the Shah of Persia. He retook Kabul; regained the Punjab through the exertions of his son Akbar; defeated Sikandar Sur, and again sat on the Mughal throne at Delhi. Six months later he died of a fall. His brave and wise son, Akbar, now became Emperor.

AKBAR, 1556-1605. It will be remembered that when Humayun set out from Kabul to win back India from Sikandar Sur, Akbar and Akbar's Ataliq, Bairam Khan, were with him. They were both sent by him to crush Sikandar Sur in the Punjab. Akbar had followed Sikandar as far as Kalanaur when the news of Humayun's death arrived. Meanwhile Hemu, the former Wazir of Muhammad Adil Shah, was marching on Agra with a large army to re-establish the Sur Dynasty, and Kabul itself was in a state of revolt. Akbar immediately gave up his operations against Sikandar, and hastened to save Agra from Hemu. By the time the young

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\* Sher Shah, Islam Shah, Muhammad Adil Shah, Ibrahim and Sikandar were all Suris and of the same clan. Muhammad Adil and Islam Shah were brothers. Ibrahim and Sikandar were nephews to Sher Shah

prince got to Jalandhar, Hemu had taken Agra, an advantage which he improved by occupying Delhi, and by proclaiming himself Raja. Akbar pressed on to Delhi, defeated Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat, 1556, and recovered Agra. This done, with Bairam Khan, he turned upon Sikandar Sur, and eventually became master of the Punjab. In 1560 he took over the government of his kingdom from his Ataliq, who had hitherto ruled in his name. This displeased Bairam Khan. He revolted; was defeated; and pardoned. He set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca; but was killed on the way by an Afghan whose father he had put to death.

Having established himself upon the throne, Akbar now began to consolidate his empire.

Up to 1567 he was occupied in settling his eastern territories around Allahabad, Benares, and Lucknow. Then he took Rajputana from Udai Singh, the chief of the Rajputs. To cement a friendship with these brave people, he married two Rajput princesses, one of whom became the mother of Jahangir. In 1572 Gujarat was annexed in spite of the strenuous opposition of Surat and Broach; and Akbar found himself master of Western India. Broach and Surat were next added to his kingdom. Thus in the eighteenth year of his reign Akbar ruled over Kabul, the Punjab, North-Western India, Western India and Central India. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were still independent, under Daud Khan, a king of Afghan birth. Akbar determined that they should form part of his empire, and he led his army to Patna. The city fell, and all Bihar became his. Daud was pursued as far as Cuttack, and Bengal too acknowledged the rule of Akbar. Thus by 1571 all India north of the Vindhya Mountains belonged to the Mughal Empire. Daud again revolted in 1577, and was put to death. On his death Orissa passed into Akbar's hands. Revolts, however, took place in this and in various other parts of the country

**Akbar's Minority.**

**Akbar Extends his Empire.**

till 1580; but from that date till 1586 there was practically peace within the empire. Akbar next took



Akbar's Gold Medal commemorating the Fall of Asirgarh.

Kathiwar, Sindh and Kashmir. Later on, in 1600, in order to secure his southern frontier, he annexed the province of Kandesh and a portion of Berar in the northern part of the

Deccan. In Kandesh he captured the famous rocky fortress of Asirgarh, and in Berar, the celebrated stronghold of Ahmadnagar. Here the warlike queen, Chand Bibi, made a stubborn resistance. In the closing years of his reign his son, Salim, afterwards known as the Emperor Jahangir, rebelled; but was forgiven. Akbar died in 1605, at the age of 63 years.

Akbar was above all things bent upon consolidating his empire. He felt that if there was ever to be rest and peace in the land there must be only one master in it. He determined to be that master. So he waged war, and annexed territory after territory, in order that he might ultimately establish peace. As soon as he gained a new tract of country he tried to win the good will of its people by respecting their religion, and by arranging marriages between the daughters of the conquered Houses and the princes of his Court. To the influential men of newly-acquired countries were given important offices in his army and government. To surround himself with a body of loyal nobles, drawn from every race, he established a feudal aristocracy, called *mansabdars*. They enjoyed their salaries, or grants of lands, at the emperor's pleasure, and in return rendered him military service. Moreover, the families of the conquered were not allowed to be sold into slavery. By such measures he converted enemies into allies, and robbed defeat of much of its bitterness. He withdrew the *jiziya*, and abolished all taxes on Hindu

pilgrims, as well as all inland tolls. He tolerated all religions, for he felt that there was some truth in every Faith. He examined all creeds, and taking from each what he thought good and true, he made the Din-i-Ilahi, or the Divine Faith, of which he was the head. The learned in his court, met week by week in the Ibadat Khana to discuss questions on religion, politics and philosophy. Thus Akbar was farsighted and original in his policy. Instead of driving his adversaries to desperation by the severity of his measures, he reconciled them to their defeat by letting them practise the religion and customs of their forefathers so long as they recognised in him their sole and paramount ruler. And so successfully did he gain the loyal adherence of various castes and creeds that during his reign India was free from foreign invasions and enjoyed a season of internal tranquility.

Akbar rewarded merit in Hindus no less than in Muhammadans. To Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Todar Mall, Jhi Mall and Birbal—all Hindus—he gave high commands in his army and influential places at his Court. Moreover, he

Some celebrated men of Akbar's Court.

encouraged learning. The two brothers, Faizi and Abul Fazl, were his intimate friends. Faizi was a poet, and had a valuable library of manuscripts. Abul Fazl wrote in the *Akbar Namah*, a history of Akbar's reign. Badauni wrote his *Muntakhahab-ut-Tawariq* which gives us an account of Akbar's religious views, as also sketches of the famous men of his reign.

Akbar reformed the way in which the taxes of his empire were gathered. Before his reign it had been the rule for the governors to gather the taxes of their own provinces, pay themselves and their army, and then send the balance to the Emperor at Delhi. Under the advice of his great Hindu minister, Todar Mall, all taxes were now paid into the Royal Treasury at Agra, so that all payments might be made from there. That

Akbar's Revenue System.



Akbar's Coin.

the rents paid for land might be fair, he had the country surveyed, and he took rent in money instead of in grain. The taxes of 1594 gave him an income of Rs. 36,000-000.

Akbar attempted reforms also in social matters.

**Social Reforms.** He would not allow people to be tortured to extract a confession ; he forbade animal sacrifices, and child marriage. He made widow-marriage lawful, and although he could not stop *Sati*, he commanded that the widow was not to be forced to burn herself with her husband's corpse.

**JAHANGIR, 1605-1627.** Salim, the favourite son of Akbar, succeeded his father, and assumed the title of Jahangir, that is to say, the Conqueror of the World. He formed a striking contrast to his father, being wilful, indolent and self-indulgent. His temper

**His character.**

**Nur Jahan.**

was violent and uncertain. He was prone to be arbitrary. He was addicted to strong drink, but could abstain from it when occasion demanded sobriety. As he grew older and approached the end of his reign his habits improved. The change in his character was largely due to the influence which his beautiful wife, Nur Jahan, (The Light of the World)

had on him. For the greater part of his reign, with the help of her brother, Asaf Khan, she practically ruled the empire. This was possible because Jahangir was too fond of wine and too indolent to trouble himself with the weighty matters of government. He openly recognised



Coin of Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

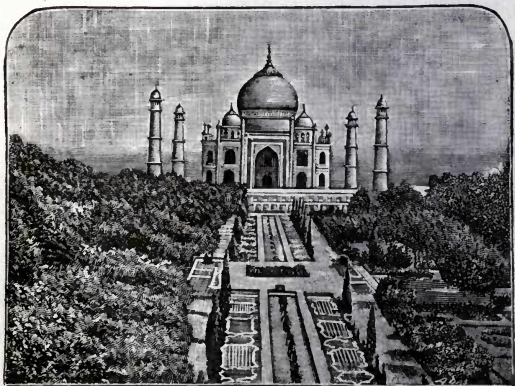


his queen's share in the administration of affairs by placing her name on the coins of the realm.

In 1605 King James I. of England sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to the Mughal Court of Delhi. He was received with much courtesy by Jahangir, but he entirely failed in the object of his mission—to secure protection against the exactions of Mughal officials.

Embassy of Sir  
Thomas Roe.

Jahangir had sufficient good sense to continue his father's policy of religious toleration. On the whole the earlier part of his reign was peaceful and prosperous ; but later on the question of succession stirred up jealousy and hatred in his sons. The second of them, Shah Jahan, plotted and planned incessantly to gain the throne. His ambition was gratified as soon as his father died.



THE TAJ MAHAL.

SHAH JAHAN, 1628-1658. Although Shah Jahan

gained his throne by his undutiful conduct to his father, he was in the main a kind and just man. He treated Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Under him the Mughal Empire saw happy days. In 1637 he conquered Ahmadnagar, which had so long and so bravely retained its independence. He deputed his son Aurangzeb to wage war against Bijapur and Golkonda. The English who had come in 1600, were now extending their trade, and in 1640 they made a factory for themselves at Hughli.

Shah Jahan was fond of outward show. He adorned Agra and Delhi with many noble buildings. At Delhi he erected the Jumma Masjid—one of the largest and most beautiful mosques in Asia.

**Shah Jahan  
adorns Delhi and  
Agra with noble  
Buildings.**

He constructed the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, and the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, in the same city. At Agra he built the Moti Masjid, and the Taj Mahal. The Taj is built over the grave of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, being overlaid

with white marble. In the Diwan-i-Am he placed the famous Peacock Throne. It was made of gold, and was set with so many precious stones that it was worth an enormous sum of money. It is



Gold Coin of Shah Jahan.

now in the Shah's palace at Teheran.

When Shah Jahan became feeble through old age, rather than be deposed by his son—as he had deposed his father—he practically retired from public life, and committed public affairs to his eldest son, Dara. But this prince's brothers, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad, were not prepared to let him ascend the throne without

**Shah Jahan  
abdicates.**

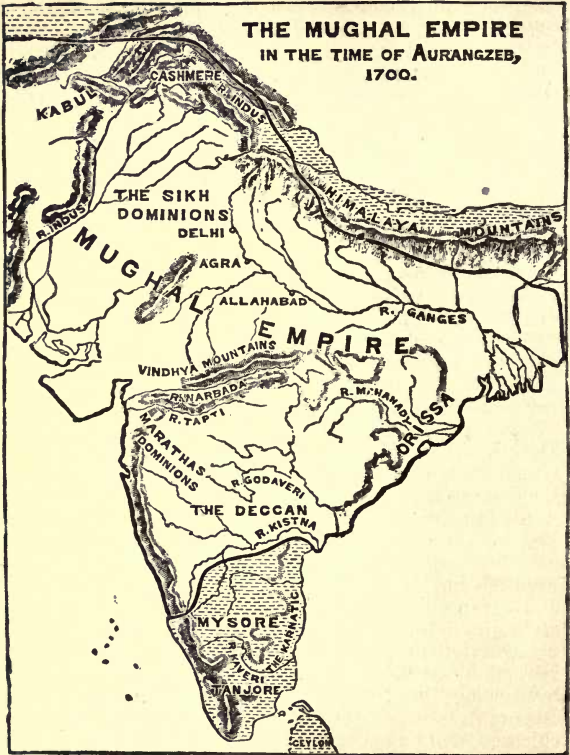
making a bid for it themselves. They fought against him, and then with one another. Finally Aurangzeb seized the palace, placed himself on the throne, 1658, and sent his father to prison. Though kept captive, Shah Jahan was kindly treated, till his death in 1666. Dara and Murad were put to death; Shuja escaped to Arakan, and was never heard of again.

AURANGZEB (or Alamgir I)—1658-1707. As a young man Aurangzeb had taken a conspicuous part in his father's government. When only eighteen years old he had been employed as governor of the Deccan; but he had resigned the appointment to become a hermit. The attractions of asceticism, however, had quickly faded, and within a year he had re-entered his father's service as governor of Gujarat. Then from 1647 to 1652 he had been engaged in expeditions into Balkh and Kandahar. The campaigns, though unsuccessful, had afforded him a military training in consequence of which he had next been set to the task of reducing the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bidar in the Deccan. He was occupied with the conquest of Bijapur, when his father's illness compelled him to leave that kingdom to the tender mercies of Sivaji, in order that he himself might enter upon the fratricidal struggle which gave him the throne.

**Aurangzeb's share in Shah Jahan's government.**

Encouraged by the withdrawal of the Mughal troops from Bijapur, Sivaji became more daring, and began to raid even the Emperor's territories in the Deccan. Success smiled upon him for a time. He defeated Aurangzeb's army at Poona, and requited his known bigotry by sacking Surat, "the Gate of Pilgrimage to Mecca." But eventually the tide of war turned against the Maratha chieftain, and he had to sue for peace. He surrendered several of his forts, and his professions of submission were rewarded with the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. He actually proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to

**War with the Marathas in the Deccan.**



the Emperor. But Aurangzeb treated him slightly, and the "mountain rat" in indignation escaped to his forts in the Western Ghats, more determined than ever to be an implacable enemy. He accordingly resumed hostilities, and so prospered that the Emperor was compelled to acknowledge him as a Raja, and to pacify him with an extensive *jagir* in Berar. But the love of adventure and plunder was too strong in Sivaji for him long to lead a peaceful life. He summoned his followers and pillaged Surat, Kandesh and Broach, enriching himself with *chaut* (i.e., one-fourth of the revenues) as he went along. Death, however, now cut short his career, and his son, Sambhaji continued to harass the Mughal Emperor. Aurangzeb finally decided that his own presence in the Deccan was needed before the Marathas could be repressed, and so he proceeded thither to take command of his troops. He pursued his enemies through the Konkan. But it was not of much use. The Marathas never fought a pitched battle. Their plan was suddenly to fall upon unsuspecting foes, scatter them, and overspread the country, burning, pillaging and destroying all that came in their way. As unexpectedly as they appeared so suddenly they dispersed, and gathered again in their mountain recesses. Deprived of all means of direct retaliation, Aurangzeb decided upon crippling their resources by annexing Golkonda and Bijapur which paid them tribute. Both kingdoms were accordingly annexed, and their Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi Dynasties came to an end. The Maratha cause was not now prospering; but worse was in store, for in 1659 Sambhaji fell into the Emperor's hands, and was put to death. Still the Marathas were far from crushed. For seventeen years longer they continued to be a thorn in Aurangzeb's side, and, indeed, when he died in 1707 he was still in harness, vainly trying to hunt them down from their rocky retreats. It was during this struggle, in 1690, that he granted the English land at Sutanati, our modern Calcutta.

Aurangzeb's external wars occurred in the earlier years of his reign. One was a campaign under Mir Jumla to reduce Assam. It ended in disaster. The other was an invasion of Arakan in 1666 by Shayista Khan, governor of Bengal. Arakan was annexed, and piracy in the Bay was put down.

To understand Aurangzeb's statesmanship it is necessary to remember that he was an intolerant Muhammadan of the Sunni Sect. He was a pronounced Image-Breaker, and the relentless persecutor of

**Character and Policy of Aurangzeb.**

all who belonged to a different Faith. The result was that his religious zeal wrecked his kingdom. Instead of adopting the conciliatory policy of Akbar, or the good-natured indifference of Jahangir, or the splendid magnificence of Shah Jahan, he pulled down Hindu temples, and on their sites, and with their materials, he raised Muhammadan mosques. Not satisfied with this assertion of his own religion, he revived the hated *jiziya*, and re-imposed taxes on Hindu pilgrims. The strength of Akbar's government lay in his policy of uniting naturally hostile elements into a peaceful organism. Aurangzeb began the disintegration of the Mughal Dynasty by resolving that organism once more into its antagonistic constituents. Wrote a contemporary Muhammadan historian: "Every plan that he formed came to little good; every enterprise failed"—failed because the Emperor had not the goodwill of his subjects. When he lay dying there was disorder in the north; the Marathas were making a desert of the Deccan; the Rajputs were

in open rebellion; the Jats had taken up arms near Agra; the Sikhs were turbulent in Multan; and the imperial army was ready to mutiny for arrears of pay. He



Aurangzeb's Coin.

meant to be a righteous and impartial ruler, but he was blinded by his bigotry. He trusted no one; and no one loved him. He was obliged to protect himself by maintaining a large standing army, and by surrounding himself with a host of civil officers and retainers who owed their all to him. And even in this his method differed from Akbar's policy. Whereas the latter had secured the loyal adhesion of Hindu chiefs and nobles by giving them responsible and honourable posts in his army and government, Aurangzeb showered his favours only upon Muslims of low and obscure origin. He made them *mansabdars* or Amirs, and gave them grants of land and handsome incomes. In return they were bound, in feudal fashion, to supply the Emperor with soldiers in time of war: otherwise they were free to do their own pleasure. With no restraining power to hold them in check, they exacted money from their hapless tenants, whom they cruelly oppressed. The peasants and labouring classes lived in constant fear. They buried their money; wore scanty clothing; and lived in mean dwellings so as not to excite the greed of the Amir who ruled them. And thus it was that while the Emperor piously dispensed strict justice at Delhi, corruption and misery prevailed in the land. The Empire had not fixed its roots in the hearts of the people. It could have no stability, and it had none. By an iron will Aurangzeb, the most powerful of all the Mughals, had ruled over more extensive possessions and commanded larger armies than Akbar, but when he died, the Empire, which had already in his old age begun to slip from his hands, passed to a line of degenerate successors who had not the genius which alone could save it from ruin.

The death of Aurangzeb was as usual the signal for rivals to contend for the vacant throne. Muazzam brushed aside his younger brothers and had himself crowned as Bahadur Shah. But he had entered upon a thorny way. He had to deal with the Marathas, who were still

The Emperors  
after Aurangzeb.

warring in the Deccan. But they were not now united, for a rivalry had sprung up among them for the chief command. One of the claimants to that distinction, Sahu, son of Sambhaji, was a captive of the Mughals. Bahadur Shah restored him to liberty on the condition that he would not disturb the peace of Delhi; and the Marathas in fighting out their own differences ceased to be a danger to the Empire. Bahadur Shah next pacified the Rajputs, and for the time being checked the Sikhs by leading two expeditions into the Punjab. He was succeeded by Jahandar, Farukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. But they were mere tools in the hands of two nobles, the Sayyid brothers, Abdulla and Husain Ali, who played the part of King-Makers. Meanwhile the Empire was crumbling to pieces.

Of the Provinces that had been taken by the Mughals, the Deccan and Oudh were the first to free themselves of the Delhi Court. From 1720-1748, the Deccan was ruled over by the Nizam-ul-Mulk, while the Governor of Oudh made himself king of Oudh (1732-1743). The Sikhs had already tried to throw off the yoke (1710-1716), but had failed. However, Rajputana and Jodhpur became free by 1750. Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji, strengthened himself in the fort of Satara, and wrung *chaut* and *sirdesmukhi* from the Deccan, Gujarat, Malwa (1743), and Orissa (1751), and tribute from Bengal (1751).

The Mughal Empire which had been much weakened by these losses, now received a death-blow from enemies that came from other lands. The first of these was Nadir Shah of Persia. He made up his mind to enrich himself by robbing the Mughals at Delhi. Getting his soldiers together, he marched through the mountain passes into the Punjab without meeting with any opposition till he reached Kurnal, when he defeated the Mughal troops (1739). He made the emperor, Muhammad Shah, join

**The Downfall  
of the Mughal  
Empire.**

**Invasion of  
Nadir Shah.**



him and march with him to Delhi. Its citizens created a riot and killed some of the Persian troopers. Nadir thereupon let his soldiers massacre the inhabitants of Delhi, and the emperor's money and jewels, the glorious peacock throne, the wealth of the nobles, and the goods of the common people were plundered. Nadir had now gained his object, and, that being so, he was willing to return with the booty he had taken. But before leaving India he made a show of being very kind to Muhammad. He made a treaty with him, and put him on the throne of Delhi. He told the nobles that he would avenge any disloyalty to the emperor whom he had set up. But he really wanted the Koh-i-Nur, a great diamond which Muhammad wore on his head; and so he ended the farce of enthroning the unhappy Mughal by exchanging turbans with him. He then returned to Persia.

After a few years the Marathas revolted under Baji Rao. On his death, his work was carried on by his son, Balaji. The latter took *chaut* from Bengal, and won Malwa

Marathas exact  
Chaut.

(1743) and Orissa (1751) from the Mughals. In 1747 Ahmad Shah Abdali, who ruled after Nadir Shah at Kandahar, made his first inroad into India. In 1751 he again invaded Hindustan, and took the Punjab from his namesake, the Emperor Ahmad Shah. The Rohillas rose against the latter and defeated his forces. Then

Invasions of  
Ahmad Shah  
Abdali.

he was dethroned (1754), and Alamgir II. was crowned in his stead. In his fourth invasion (1759) Ahmad Shah carried off whatever wealth Nadir Shah had left. After which he returned home, having shattered the Mughal Empire. In 1756 Delhi was again sacked by Ahmad Shah, and now, in 1759, Alamgir II. was murdered by his wazir, Ghaziuddin. The Marathas meanwhile had

Closing years of  
the Mughal  
Empire.

conquered a portion of Northern India, and had taken Delhi. Ahmad Shah Abdali, however, led a large army

of forty thousand Afghans against them. The two armies met at Panipat (1761), and the third battle of that name was fought. The Marathas were signally defeated. Ahmad Shah Abdali then returned to Afghanistan, leaving Ghaziuddin to rule for him at Delhi, and the true heir to the Mughal throne, Shah Alam II., was sent into exile. Meanwhile the British, under Clive, had gained power in the land, and till 1771 Shah Alam II. lived at Allahabad as a pensioner of the English. He then found allies in the Marathas, who restored to him part of his kingdom. But they really kept him prisoner at Delhi till 1803, the year in which Lord Lake broke their power in the Second Maratha War. Akbar II. reigned only in name from 1806 to 1837. His successor, Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the last of Timur's line, joined the rebels in the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), and was exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1862. Thus ends the history of the once glorious Empire of Delhi.

## Section II.

### The Rise and the Fall of the Marathas.

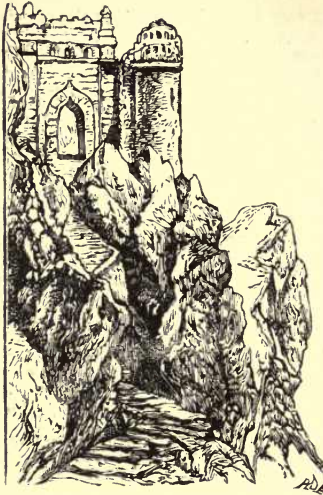
While Shah Jahan reigned at Delhi, in Maharashtra—the country bounded on the north by the Satpura mountains, on the South by Haidarabad, on the west by the Arabian Sea, and on the east by Bengal and Bihar—the Marathas were growing into power. They were Hindus by religion, and were at first a race of strong farmers who lived in the plains of the Deccan, and on the mountains of the Konkan between Goa and Surat. They had been subdued by the early Muhammadan invaders of India, and from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb part of Maharashtra was subject to the Mughal Empire, while the rest of it was ruled over by the Muhammadan Kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. They became great under Shaji Bhonsla, a chief who owned forts at Poona and Junir. In 1634 Shaji Bhonsla aided Ahmadnagar and Bijapur against the Mughals. His son, Sivaji, succeeded him; and by his cleverness as a soldier, Sivaji made the Mughals fear the Marathas.

**The Marathas  
become an im-  
portant Power.**

Sivaji was born in 1627, the year in which Jahangir died. From his very boyhood he joined in plunder and bloodshed. He could neither read nor write. But at the age of sixteen he was already the leader of a band of robbers, and had set himself to repair his father's mountain forts. From these he used to attack the dwellers of the plains, plunder them, or take *chaut* and tribute, and then return to his mountain fastnesses. The Sultan of Bijapur at last sent a powerful army under Afzal Khan against him. Sivaji pretended to be humbled. He begged for pardon, and promised to become an ally. He asked for a friendly meeting with Afzal Khan, so that he might

**Sivaji.**

make peace with him. The general fixed the time and place of meeting. Sivaji came to the spot at the right



SIVAJI'S FORT AT RAJGARH.

time. He assumed penitence: but while speaking to him, he suddenly killed Afzal Khan with a weapon which he had hidden in his clothes. Without delay the Marathas fell on the soldiers of Bijapur, and, having no leader, they were beaten. In 1664 Sivaji sacked Surat. Two years later he made himself Raja, and began to coin money. But the tide of war turned against him; he lost several of his fortresses, and was glad to come to terms with Aurang-

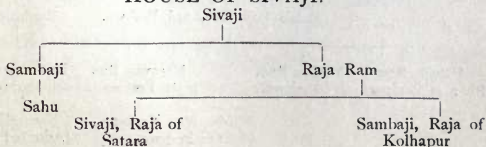
zeb. He went to Delhi to pay homage to the Emperor who had made him Viceroy of the Deccan. But when he got there, he found that he was really a prisoner. He, however, contrived to escape, and raised a revolt in the Deccan. After giving much trouble to the Mughals he went back to his capital at Rajgarh. Here he enthroned himself with great pomp. He weighed himself against gold, and divided the precious metal among the Brahmans of his court. He got rich offerings from many rajas, and the English sent him costly

gifts from Bombay. The rest of his reign was spent in fighting for or against the Mughals according as he was paid. He died in 1680, and was succeeded by his son, Sambhaji, (1680-1689), who was a weak prince, and altogether unfit to rule. He was often at war with the Portuguese and the Mughals. At last he fell into the hands of Aurangzeb, who put him to death. His son Sahu, a child of six years, was kept captive till the death of Aurangzeb. He was then set free on promising not to take up arms against the Emperor (1707). He was crowned at Satara. But a childhood spent in the royal harem at Delhi, had taken away from him all courage and love of power. Although he was Raja in name, all real power was in the hands of his Brahman Minister, Balaji Vishwanath, who was called Peshwa. So powerful did the Peshwa become, that in the reigns of the heirs of Sahu the Peshwa's power passed from father to son. Sahu's generals gained much territory, but he himself went mad, and the Peshwa thenceforth appropriated the kingly functions. Finally when Sahu died in 1748, his son was thrown into prison by the Peshwa, who moved the capital from Satara to Poona, and himself reigned there.

BALAJI VISHWANATH, 1712-1721, was an exceedingly able man. It will be remembered that the six successors of Aurangzeb were mere toys in the hands of two powerful nobles, and were set upon the throne, or removed from it as these pleased.

The First Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath. 1712-1721.

### HOUSE OF SIVAJI.

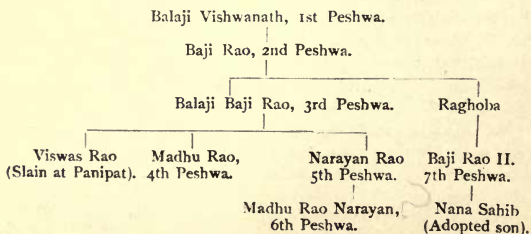


Thus when Balaji Vishwanath took up the government for Sahu, Sayyid Husain Ali and Sayyid Abdullah were playing the part of "King Makers" with respect to the Mughal Empire of Delhi; and when they promoted Muhammad Shah to the throne in 1719, they were opposed by a combination of other nobles. To Balaji Vishwanath this seemed a favourable opportunity to push forward Maratha interests, and he accordingly led an army to Delhi in support of Sayyid Husain. In return, he received, in 1720, the right to *chaut* from the Deccan, and control of the districts from Poona to Satara.

BAJI RAO, 1721-1740, succeeded his father and acquired for himself the distinction of being the greatest of all the Peshwas. He entered upon a war against the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and wrested from him all Malwa and the tract of country between the Narbada and the Chambal. He overthrew the Nizam-ul-Mulk who came to the assistance of the Emperor, and made him pay a penalty of fifty lakhs of rupees. He then raised his hand against the Portuguese on the west coast, and took Bassein from them. His next effort was in the direction of winning the Deccan ;

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#### THE HOUSE OF THE PESHWAS.



but the Nizam of Haidarabad was more than a match for him, and he was obliged to come to terms with him.

BALAJI BAJI RAO, 1740-1761, occupied his years of office with three wars—two against Salabat Jang, the Nizam of Haidarabad, and the third against the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Abdali. In the first of these wars the Nizam, with the help of French troops under Bussy, defeated the Marathas: but in the end the Nizam had to cede much territory to the Peshwa. Eight years later Salabat Jang attempted to take Ahmadnagar from the Marathas: but his expedition failed, and he suffered a severe defeat at Udgir, and lost to the enemy all the north-western portion of his kingdom. Meanwhile the Peshwa's brother, Raghoba, invaded the Punjab (1758) which the Afghan King, Ahmad Shah Abdali, had recently wrested from the Mughal Emperor. The several Maratha Chiefs, who had combined, as will be presently detailed, into a powerful confederacy with the Peshwa as its head, stood by Raghoba. The anger of Ahmad Shah Abdali was roused, and he came with a powerful army to punish the insolence of the Marathas. The Peshwa was down in the south fighting with the Nizam, and so Ahmad Shah had no difficulty in defeating the combined forces of Sindhia and Holkar. But the Maratha Chiefs made another and more determined effort to withstand the invader, and secured the assistance of 200,000 Pindaris. It was, however, of no avail. They experienced a still more signal defeat, and their prospects of becoming the paramount power in India were considerably diminished.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of a confederacy of Maratha Chiefs. They were:—

**The Third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. 1740-1761.**

**The Maratha Confederacy.**

1. Sahu, grandson of Sivaji, and Raja of Satara.
2. Sambaji, also a grandson of Sivaji, and Raja of Kolhapur.
3. Sindhia, Raja of Gwalior.
4. Holkar, the Raja of Indore, and a rival of Sindhia.
5. Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, the Karnatic and Orissa.
6. Damaji Gaekwar, Raja of Baroda.

Had these chieftains held together, they would have formed a powerful combination. But, unfortunately for the Maratha cause, they were jealous of one another, and often questioned even the supremacy of the Peshwa. A house, divided against itself, cannot stand, and the quarrels which the Maratha Chiefs had among themselves ruined the national prospects.

MADHU RAO, 1761-1772, became Peshwa when he was only seventeen years of age. During his minority his uncle, Raghoba, acted as his guardian. The greater part of his rule was taken up with successful wars against the Nizam of Haidarabad, the Bhonslas of Berar, and Haidar Ali, the Sultan of Mysore. During his time a very remarkable woman, Ahalya Bai, of the family of Holkar, ruled at Indore. For her commander-in-chief she had a talented soldier, Tukaji Holkar, whom she adopted as her son. She was altogether a model queen, and she raised Indore to a position of honour among the Maratha States. She died in 1795, and is even now worshipped in Malwa as an incarnation of the Deity.

NARAYAN RAO, 1782-1795, the younger brother of Madhu Rao, succeeded him. He was, however, murdered at the instance of Ananda Bai, the ambitious wife of Raghoba, who desired to see her husband installed as Peshwa. No sooner had Raghoba proclaimed himself as such, than Nana Farnavis, one of the chief ministers at Poona, produced Madhu Rao Narayan,

**The Fourth Peshwa, Madhu Rao, 1761-1772.**

**Maharani Ahalya Bai and Tukaji Holkar.**

**The Fifth Peshwa, Narayan Rao, & Civil War on his death. 1782-1795.**



a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and claimed the Peshwaship for him in 1794. There was immediately a division in the Maratha camp. Some of the Chiefs disliked Raghoba and supported the infant heir, while others of them refused to believe that the child was really Narayan Rao's son, and prepared to support Raghoba. To settle the dispute, an appeal was made to arms, and civil war began—the First Maratha War. An account of the conflict will be given when we come to the administration of Warren Hastings. Suffice it here to say that at its conclusion, Madhu Rao Narayan was created Peshwa, and Raghoba was given a handsome pension.

Meanwhile, the Maratha army, chiefly under the leadership of Sindhia, had overrun Northern India, captured Delhi, and obtained possession of the person of Shah Alam II., the Mughal Emperor. Sindhia, after this, made himself independent of the Peshwa. He, however, died in 1794, and Nana Farnavis was left without a rival. This enabled him to turn his attention to the Nizam of Haidarabad, who had allowed his tribute to fall into arrears—the tribute he had arranged to pay after the battle of Udgir. Nana Farnavis summoned the Maratha Chiefs to assist him against the Nizam, and they loyally responded. The contending armies met at Kurdla, and the Nizam was entirely defeated. Madhu Rao Narayan did not long enjoy the watchful care of Nana Farnavis; for, giving vent to a fit of ungoverned anger because his whims were thwarted, he killed himself.

**The Battle of Kurdla, 1795.**

BAJI RAO II., the son of Raghoba, now became Peshwa, 1795. The jealousies of the Maratha Chiefs continued, and the tendency now was to question the supremacy of the Peshwa. And so it was that Jeswant Rao Holkar, son of Tukaji Holkar, took up arms against both Sindhia and the Peshwa. In distress the latter appealed

**The Seventh Peshwa, Baji Rao II, 1795, & the Second & Third Maratha Wars.**

to the English for help, which was afforded him on his signing the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The result was that the English were drawn into the Second Maratha War in which they fought against Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghujji Bhonsla. The story of this war, and how it developed into the Third Maratha War with Holkar, will be fully related when we come to deal with the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley. It is sufficient here to say that the Maratha Chiefs were defeated, and that the Third Maratha War completely wrecked their Confederacy.

But in the Maratha Confederacy itself, there were internal causes which would eventually have wrought its ruin. Among these may be mentioned the action of Sindhia in making himself independent of the Peshwa, and indeed his rival. Another cause was the struggle between Raghoba and Nana Farnavis as to who should succeed Narayan Rao as Peshwa. A third cause was the civil war of Bajji Rao II. with Jeswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindhia. A fourth cause lay in the circumstance that while the Peshwas were Brahmans, some members of the Confederacy were of lower caste. Finally, in the eyes of all India, he was paramount who had the Mughal Emperor for his prisoner. In 1795 the Marathas had had possession of his person; but in the course of the Second Maratha War, 1803, Shah Alam II. fell into the hands of the English, and then it was that the last semblance of power deserted the Marathas.

## CHAPTER XI.

### The Early Period of the Company.

#### Section I.

#### The First European Settlers.

1498—1783.

In some of the preceding chapters, mention has been made of certain European nations, from which it will have been inferred that they were already in the country. It is now time to relate when and why they came.

In very early times, India was known to Europe. The Romans traded with it, and the Greeks, as we have seen, actually invaded it. Alfred the Great of England

**Europe and India  
in Early Days.**

sent a nobleman of his court as an ambassador to one of its princes. But Europe was so far from India, and navigation was so full of danger, that it was no easy matter for trade to be carried on between the two. Besides this, the nations of Europe were so occupied with their own wars and other affairs, that they did not have the desire or the opportunity to trade. But when, at the close of the fifteenth century, people had recovered from the strain of constant warfare, a great wish filled the minds of many in Western Europe to find a way to India by sea.

In 1497, under the patronage of King John II. of Portugal, VASCO DA GAMA tried to reach India by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. This he accomplished in 1498, landing at Calicut. Here he was kindly received by the Zamorin or Hindu Raja, and returned to Portugal with a rich cargo of spices and precious stones. Encouraged by these results, the King of Portugal in 1500 sent a

**The Portuguese  
in India.**

larger fleet on the same errand, under Pedro Alvares Cabral. He effected a safe landing, and established a factory or agency at Calicut, for the sale of Portuguese wares and the purchase of Indian commodities. It ought to be noticed that, at this time, the bulk of Indian trade was in the hands of the Muhammadans, or Moplas, as they were called. Naturally they resented the arrival of the Portuguese, in whose favour part of the commerce of the coast began to be diverted. They used their influence with the Zamorin so successfully that when Vasco da Gama revisited India in 1502, this king quarrelled with him. But Vasco da Gama made allies of the Rajas of Cochin and Cannanore, and with their assistance, he defeated his former friend in battle. The King of Portugal did not approve of what Vasco da Gama had done, and recalled him from India, replacing him, in 1505, by FRANCISCO D' ALMEIDA, under the name and style of Governor and Viceroy of the Portuguese in India. Almeida carried on a profitable trade for his master; and when he returned home, ALFONSO D' ALBUQUERQUE filled his place. The latter was a very successful ruler, and having won Goa for Portugal in 1510, he died there five years later (1515). After a lapse of nine years Vasco da Gama was again sent out to be Viceroy; but he died at Cochin in the following year (1525).

By this time the Portuguese owned many towns on the coast from Diu in Gujarat to Quilon.

**Portuguese Possessions.**

The chief of these were Bassein, Bombay, Goa, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Calicut, and Cochin. Besides these, St. Thomé and Masulipatam, and Negapatam, all on the East Coast, were theirs, as also was a large part of Ceylon. Their chief port was Diu, and Goa was their capital. Not satisfied with these possessions, they warred against Gujarat and Malabar, and entered Sindh in 1556. But they had no success. In 1560 an Archbishop was sent to Goa, and from this time the Portuguese tried to

convert the people of the country to Christianity. They were very cruel to those who would not accept this religion, and so they began to be hated by both Hindus and Muhammadans. This hatred was one of the causes of their downfall in India. Another cause was the arrival of the Dutch and the English in 1600.

Like the English, the Dutch at first tried to reach India by passing through Behring Straits. But in this they failed. Cornelius Houtmann then, in 1596, attempted the southern route; but landed at Bantam in Java. From this place he took home a cargo of spice. He made another expedition in 1599, and with the help of the natives he took away from the Portuguese several of their towns in the Molucca Islands. The Dutch had previously conquered a part of Ceylon, and became by 1605 the greatest maritime nation on Indian waters. But the rivalry between them and the English in the Eastern Seas led to much fighting, and they eventually massacred the English at Amboyna in 1623. This act of cruelty did not mend matters, and the two nations continued in open hostility until 1689, the year in which William of Orange became King of England. But long before this date the power of the Dutch in the East had been declining, chiefly through their greed and cruelty. Their hopes of an Indian Empire were put an end to by Clive, who, in 1758, took Chinsurah, their capital in Bengal, away from them. At present the Dutch own no lands in India.

#### The Dutch in India.

The British, as has been said, visited India in very early times. William of Malmsbury records that in 833 A.D. King Alfred sent Sighelmus, Bishop of Sherburn, to present gifts at the shrine of St. Thomas near Madras, and that he came back with spices and gems. Then in 1496 John Cabot was sent to find a way to India; but he discovered Newfoundland. When Queen Mary came to the throne, she sent Sir Hugh Willoughby to see

#### English attempts to reach India

if he could get to India through Behring Straits. But he and his crew perished in the Arctic Seas. Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin—all celebrated English navigators—attempted the same voyage, but they met with no success. For a time people gave up the idea of reaching India by crossing the seas. It seemed easier to do so by land through Persia. Accordingly, in 1583, John Newbery, William Leeds, and Ralph Fitch sailed to Syria by the Mediterranean Sea, and reached Ormuz by way of the Persian Gulf, Aleppo and Bagdad. Here they were thrown into prison; but on being liberated, they sailed to Goa, the chief town of the Portuguese. At the last mentioned city they were cast into prison; but escaping, they travelled over a great part of India. From Agra Newbery went back to England *via* Persia. Leeds became jeweller to Akbar. Fitch visited Benares, Bhutan, Hugli, and Ceylon, and finally reached home in 1591. The accounts which he gave of all he had seen in India, of its wealth and plenty, quickened anew public interest in that country, and without delay several ships, under the guidance of Lancaster, were sent out round the Cape. Lancaster's expedition was a failure; but Queen Elizabeth in 1599 despatched John Mildenhall to the Emperor Akbar. Nothing was gained by his visit. Not to be beaten by these repeated failures, a Company was formed—the great East India Company—in 1600. Lancaster again led a new fleet into Indian waters and this time his perseverance was rewarded, for he came back with a rich cargo of calicoes and spices.

Gratified by this success, the Directors of the East India Company sent out ships every year till 1610. The Dutch were, at this time, the undisputed masters of the Eastern Seas, and they resented the intrusion of the English. They had already crushed the Portuguese, and they now entered upon active hostilities against the English. They met their ships at sea, and often captured them. King James I. thought that it would be a great

**The East India Company and the Dutch.**

gain to enter into an alliance with the Mughal Emperor. And so in 1615 he sent Sir Thomas Roe as the English ambassador to Jahangir. The latter received the embassy kindly, but no practical good resulted. The ill-feeling between the English and the Dutch continued to grow, and culminated, as already stated, in the massacre of the English by the Dutch at Amboyna in 1623.

But for all that the English Company went on prospering. It had a factory at Gombroon, and another at Surat which became their capital. On the Coromandal Coast factories had been established at Masulipatam, Pulicat, Armagaon, Pipli, and Madras (1639). In 1656 an English doctor cured the child of the Nawab of Bengal, and the grateful prince made a gift of Hugli to the Company. Then factories were set up at Patna and Casimbazar. In 1662 Charles II. married Catherine of ~~Holland~~, and received Bombay as her dowry. In 1668 he transferred it to the East India Company, who made it their western capital. About this time the French came to trade in India, and leaving the history of the English for the present, let us turn to the new arrivals.

English  
Settlements.

It was not possible that the French could escape the ambition to trade with India as the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English had done, or were doing. And so it was that in 1667 Louis XIV. despatched an expedition under FRANCIS CARON to open up a trade with India. Caron touched at Cochin, and by the end of the same year the first French factory was established at Surat. He next obtained permission from the King of Golconda for the French to trade in that king's dominions, and to erect a factory at Masulipatam. Not content with such gradual progress, he conceived the idea of ousting the Dutch from their possessions in Ceylon. He accordingly led an expedition against them; but his hopes of acquiring a ready-made business were disappointed. The Dutch defeated him at Point de Galle, and though

Arrival of  
the French.

Portugal.

Trinkamali fell into his hands, he again lost it to his enemies. When the war ended, the only gain from the loss of much money and many lives was the small and unimportant town of St Thomé near Madras. The home Government considered that Caron had been a failure, and he was replaced by Martin.

MARTIN'S policy was to secure the prosperity of the French Company by being on friendly terms with all around him. The French had come to trade, and trade depends upon peace. He accordingly entered into negotiations with Sher Khan Lodi of Bijapur in the Karnatic, and purchased from him Puducheri (Pondichery), Villanur, and Bahur. Pondichery was excellently situated and healthy. While it was protected against the monsoon, it also afforded a safe landing place, and was besides a convenient point from which to traffic with the interior. So it was made the capital of the Indian possessions of France. Martin fortified it, and raised regiments of native soldiers.

But trouble was at hand. In 1675 Sivaji, the powerful Maratha chief, made a raid into the Karnatic for plunder. Sher Khan Lodi fled before him, and he turned upon the French on the pretext that they were the allies of Sher Khan. Martin, however, warded off the danger which threatened by prudently acknowledging the superiority of the Marathas, and by paying Sivaji a sum of money for the retention of Pondichery, and for permission to continue to trade in the Karnatic.

It must be noted that, during this period of history, when any two nations went to war in Europe, it meant that they had to fight against each other also in India. About this time war broke out between the French and the Dutch on the Continent, and so the hostilities extended to India. The Dutch had not forgotten how Caron had attempted to expel them from Ceylon, and were glad of an opportunity to pay off an old score. They promptly landed at Pondichery, and took it. But



four years later the European war was brought to a close by the Peace of Ryswick, and as one of the conditions of the treaty was that Pondichery should be restored to the French, it was given back to them.

Some years previous to this, 1688, the Emperor Aurangzeb had given Chandarnagar in Bengal to the French; and their affairs had so prospered that when in 1701 the title of Governor of Pondichery was conferred on Martin, he ruled over tracts of land at Masulipatam, Surat, Chandarnagar, Balasore, Dacca, Patna, and Casimbazar. During his administration, which continued till his death in 1709, trade flourished, and the French were courted by Indian princes. But when Law succeeded Martin, things went badly with the French Company, and its trade declined. A reaction, however, set in in 1721 when Lenoir assumed the government, and prosperity once more returned.

The next French governor was DUMAS. He resumed the policy of Martin, and through Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, he obtained from Muhammad Shah of Delhi permission to coin money. He lent his troops to a claimant to the throne of Tanjore, and received in return the town of Karikal and ten villages adjacent to it. The Mughal Empire, it will be remembered, was at this moment passing through a severe crisis, for Nadir Shah had invaded India. As though this were not enough, the Marathas, jealous of the Emperor's growing influence in the south, raided the Karnatic, 1736, and completely defeated Dost Ali. The near and distant relatives of the Nawab, as also many minor chiefs of the neighbourhood, flocked into Pondichery for protection against the dreaded enemy. Protection was afforded them by Dumas, who saw in this a means of extending French patronage, and an opportunity of bringing into his debt those who, later on, might be of signal service to the French. As was to be expected, the Marathas demanded that the refugees should be delivered to them,

and when Dumas refused to comply, Sivaji threatened to raze Pondichery to the dust. But Dumas pacified him, and the Maratha chieftain was content to return home with what booty he had gained. The princes who had thus been delivered from the hands of the Marathas, were naturally full of gratitude to the French, and they repaid their protectors by making them grants of land. Safdar Ali, son and heir to the late Nawab of the Karnatic, added to the French possessions, and the Mughal Emperor conferred upon Dumas the title of Nawab, and created him a Commander of 4500 Horse, both of which dignities were to be transmitted to his successors. After a most distinguished career Dumas retired in 1741, and the celebrated Dupleix became Director-General of the French Possessions in India.

## Section II.

### Struggle Between the English and the French.

1741—1783.

DUPLEIX had hitherto been in charge at Chandarnagar. When he took up the reins of government, the War of the Austrian Succession was brewing in Europe, and neither England nor France could spare either money or forces for operations in far-off India. Foreseeing what was likely to happen when war was declared at home, Dupleix at once began to enter into alliances with the princes around him, and to cut down the expenses of the French factories. The most important of his new allies was Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Arcot and the landlord of the English. As soon as the expected war—the War of the Austrian Succession—broke out in Europe, the English attacked Pondichery. Dupleix appealed to the Nawab to forbid his tenants, the English, to attack the capital of his allies, the French. The Nawab complied; but, his prohibition notwithstanding, the English blockaded Pondichery, and were on the point of taking it, when La Bourdonnais opportunely arrived with a French fleet. To draw their foes away from Pondichery, the French made up their minds to lay siege to Madras. It was now the turn of the English to appeal to the Nawab to protect his tenants. But he was not in sympathy with them; besides, he wanted the French to take the city, for Dupleix had promised to give him the town as soon as it was wrested from the English. So Madras fell into the hands of the French, and its garrison were made prisoners of war. But now that he had got Madras, Dupleix changed his

Dupleix.

First Karnatic War.

mind, and decided to keep it. This roused the indignation of the Nawab, and he sent his son, Maphuz Khan, with troops to compel its promised surrender. But the French were nothing daunted. They took the field, and defeated their late friend and patron in the decisive battle of St. Thomè. This battle had important results. Hitherto the English and the French had been contented to be the vassals of the Nawab. Now the position was inverted. The Europeans were proved to be so strong in arms as to be able to defeat powerful Indian rulers. They needed no longer to sue for protection, but could instead dictate terms even to the mighty Nawab of the Karnatic himself. As for Dupleix, his ambition was kindled, and henceforth it became his set purpose to bring all Southern India under the sway of France.

The French already owned enough territory in India to make them wish for more. With Pondichery, Madras and Karikal in his power—if Dupleix could only crush the British, the French would indeed be supreme. The Englishmen who escaped when Madras had been taken had strengthened themselves in Fort St. George. Without loss of time Paradis was sent to drive them from the fort. But he was destined not to succeed, for an English fleet appeared opposite Pondichery, and the French had to hasten to the protection of their own capital. The war had reached this point when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed in Europe in 1748, and as one of its conditions was the mutual restitution of all conquests, the First Karnatic War terminated with the English and French giving each other back what each had gained in the war.

Now that they were at peace between themselves and with their neighbours, the French and the English had more soldiers in their pay than they knew what to do with. But it was not long before they found occupation for them. In 1748 the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of the

**Second Karnatic War.**

Deccan, died at Haidarabad. Among other descendants he left two sons, Nadir (or Nazir) Jang, and Salabat Jang, and a grandson, Muzaffar Jang. Nadir Jang had been disinherited by his father, who, passing over his other son, Salabat Jang, had left his kingdom to Muzaffar Jang. Nazir Jang, however, was not disposed to give up his claim without resistance. So he made preparations to fight for his rights, and he appealed to the English to take up his cause. This they agreed to do. Muzaffar Jang forthwith enlisted the co-operation of the French. And so the old rivals were once more pitted against each other. But another complication now arose. When Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, had been taken prisoner by the Marathas, the nawabship had been conferred on Anwar-ud-din. Anwar-ud-din died at this time, and immediately the succession to the throne of Arcot was disputed by Chand (or Chanda) Sahib, son-in-law of Dost Ali, and Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din. Chanda Sahib secured the support of the French, while the English ranged themselves on the side of Muhammad Ali. There was thus a strong combination of forces in which the English, Nazir Jang and Muhammad Ali opposed the French, Muzaffar Jang, and Chanda Sahib. Thus began the Second Karnatic War which was to settle the succession to the thrones of Haidarabad and Arcot.

At the beginning of the war the French had much success, and Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoli, leaving Nazir Jang alone in the field. The French and their allies concentrated against Trichinopoli, and were not far from taking it when Clive came to the rescue by suddenly capturing Arcot. Things now went badly for the French, and when Clive won the decisive battle of Srirangaon, 1752, and Chanda Sahib was slain, Muhammad Ali was left without a rival in the Karnatic. The war, however, lingered on, and after varying fortunes on both sides, the French suffered a crushing defeat at Trichinopoli, and were glad to come to terms. The

French Government at home was by this time weary of a profitless and expensive war. Dupleix was recalled, and Goheheu was sent out in his stead, with express commands to speedily make peace. The terms upon which hostilities ceased were that Muhammad Ali was to be Nawab of Arcot, and Muzaffar Jang Subahdar of the Deccan, 1754.

But peace was not long to continue. In 1756 war, the Seven Years' War, again broke out in Europe between the English and the French, and so hostilities between them were resumed in India. The French general, Lally, promptly took Fort St. David, captured Arcot, and laid siege to Madras. Meanwhile the English were not without their successes. They obtained possession of the Northern Circars, and induced the Subahdar of the Deccan to desert the French, and throw in his lot with them. Moreover, Colonel Eyre Coote worsted the French at Wandiwash, 1760, and gained Arcot, Devicota. and Karikal. But now what had happened before happened again. In Europe peace was restored by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and Pondichery was given back to the French. The war, however, had shattered their power in India.

The English, on the other hand, prospered more than before. In 1765 the Mughal Emperor conferred on them sovereign rights over the Northern Circars; and as Muhammad Ali ruled over the Karnatic by their permission, the East India Company was practically, if not actually, master of all Southern India from Orissa to Cape Comorin. Here, in the south, Clive and Coote carried all before them, and in Bengal, Warren Hastings was building up a lasting empire. While he was Governor-General of the British possessions in India, Chandarnagar and Pondichery were captured from the French in the course of the Second Mysore War. They were, however, subsequently restored when the Treaty of Versailles was

**Final Triumph  
of the English  
over the French.**

signed in Europe, 1783. But from this time the French gave up all hope of acquiring an empire in India, and all that now remains to them in this country is Chandarnagar, Karikal, Mahe, Ganam and Pondichery.

### Section III.

#### Robert Clive and Warren Hastings.

1744—1778.

In 1744 Robert Clive came to Madras as a writer, or clerk, in the service of the East India Company. But subsequent events proved that the council chamber and the battle-field were his proper place. For the better understanding of the history of the times let us take a general survey of India, and recapitulate much that has already been narrated.

It will be remembered how in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal Empire had begun to decline; and how the little that was left of it had been shattered in 1739 by the invasion of Nadir Shah. It has been seen how various soldiers of fortune, on the fragments of the Mughal Empire, set up kingdoms for themselves in Oudh, Rohilkhand, Bengal, and the Deccan. Meanwhile, the warlike Marathas acquired for themselves province after province in Southern, Western, and Central India; and the Sikhs disputed the sovereignty of the Punjab with the Emperor Ahmad Shah. The Deccan, which included the Northern Circars and the Karnatic, was in the hands of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who also claimed Trichinopoli. The Nawab of the Karnatic was his vassal; but Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin were independent kingdoms.

The other powers in the south were the English and the French. The former had their head-quarters at Madras, and were the tenants of the Nawab of the Karnatic. The French capital was Pondichery. Both nations had come merely to traffic in the land, but they were drawn into the quarrels which the Indian princes had with one another, and were also subject to the





ROBERT CLIVE.



results of political conflicts in Europe. And so in one way or another they had gained a footing in the country.

The circumstances under which the English and French were ranged against each other in the First Karnatic War have already been explained; and the results of that war will be remembered. Dupleix and Clive took part in the struggle, for they came to India within a few months of each other. When Paradis took Madras in 1746 Clive was there, as also in the campaign by which the English attempted to restore the King of Tanjore to the throne of which the French had deprived him. He was likewise present in the army that resisted Dupleix before Trichinopoli. Hitherto, as occasion demanded, Clive had passed from the chair in his office to the battle-field; but now he finally resigned his clerkship, and entered the army. It was at this time, while the French were threatening Trichinopoli in the Second Mysore War, that he restored the prestige of the Company by capturing Arcot. His next achievement was to win the Battle of Sriramgaon, 1752, after which the French surrendered at Trichinopoli, and Chanda Sahib was killed at the gates of his palace. Clive's health now broke down, and he had to return to England; but he went with the satisfaction of knowing that but for him Dupleix would have founded a French Empire in Southern India.

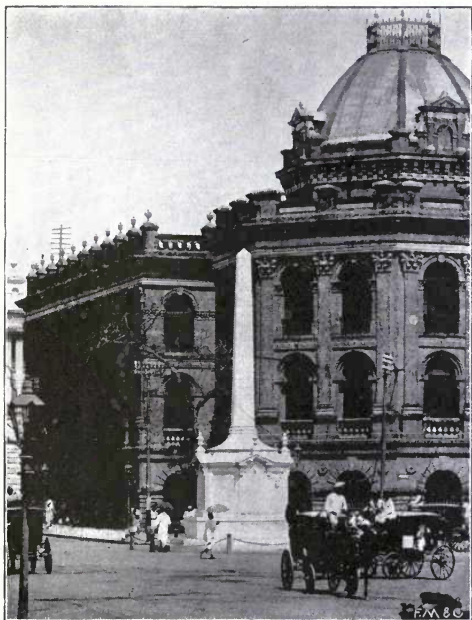
**Clive's First  
Period.**

The year 1754 saw Clive back as Governor and Commander of Fort St. George, with succession to the Governorship of Madras. At that time war with France was proceeding, and he was on the point of wresting the Deccan from French influence, when peace was concluded in Europe, and hostilities in India had to be dropped. And it was just as well, for Bengal demanded the immediate services of Clive. In 1750 a young clerk had come to Calcutta—Warren

**Clive's Second  
and Hastings's  
First Period.**

Hastings. For the superior parts that he exhibited, he was posted in 1753 to Kasimbazar, near Murshidabad, the capital of Bengal. Three years later Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, died, and was succeeded by his grand-son, Siraj-ud-daulah. This young man picked a quarrel with the English, suddenly seized their factory at Kasimbazar, and marched his prisoners—Hastings among them—to Murshidabad. He then moved against Calcutta, whence most of the English factors fled to Falta. Calcutta fell before the Nawab, who entered the city and demanded from the Governor, Mr. Holwell, the money in the Company's Treasury. Failing in his attempts to find where the money was secreted, he permitted 146 English prisoners to be shut up in a small dungeon, ever since known in **The Black Hole.** history as the Black Hole. It was the month of June, and as might have been expected, when next morning the only door to the room was opened, but 23 of the victims were dragged out alive. Among the survivors was Holwell, who was put in irons and conveyed to Murshidabad. Clive was at Madras when news came of this calamity in Bengal. Forthwith he and Admiral Watson were despatched to take vengeance; but they did not reach Bengal till December. Watson demanded from Siraj-ud-daulah compensation for the losses that had been inflicted on the English; but he remained defiant. So the army of retribution retook Calcutta, and captured the French town of Chandarnagar—for the double reason that the Seven Years' War was going on in Europe with the English and the French on opposite sides, and that the latter had become the allies of the Nawab. Meanwhile this ruler was not without secret enemies. His Commander-in-Chief, Mir Muhammad Jafar, was in league with the English, who had promised to put him on the throne of Murshidabad. This arrangement had been made through the agency of Umachand (Amin or Amir Chand), a wealthy merchant of Calcutta.

**Umachand.**



The Replica of Holwell's Black Hole Monument erected in Calcutta by Lord Curzon, 1902. In the background is the Council Chamber of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.



But at the last moment Umachand threatened to reveal the secret to Siraj-ud-daulah unless a sum of 20 lakhs were paid him. The position in which Clive found himself was most critical. He resolved to fight the blackmailer with his own weapon, and thus was led to the questionable act of palming off on Umachand a false document which promised him the hush-money he demanded. The Company's army then marched on, and met the troops of Siraj-ud-daulah at Plassey. There the historic Battle of Plassey was fought on the 23rd June, 1757, and Siraj-ud-daulah fled from the field—outmatched

**Plassey and its Results. 1757.**

by the daring of Clive, and betrayed by the treachery of his own Commander-in-Chief. For, as the result of the battle began to declare itself, Mir Jafar withdrew his followers and went over to the enemy. The English were now supreme in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and Mir Jafar became the Nawab at Murshidabad. For his elevation he ceded to the English all the lands south of Calcutta, delivered into the hands of his patrons all the French factories in Bengal, and paid down ten millions of rupees. Of Siraj-ud-daulah it only remains to relate that he fled from Plassey to Rajmahal; that he was there captured and brought down to Mir Jafar, who pitilessly put him to death.

Clive was now free to turn his attention to the French, who, taking advantage of his absence in Bengal, had under Lally **Coote and Lally.** captured Fort St. David and Arcot, and were besieging Madras. Colonels Forde and Coote were despatched from Bengal, and, defeating the French in several engagements, gained possession of the Northern Circars. The Subahdar of the Deccan, too, threw over the French, and entered into an alliance with the English.

While these events were transpiring in the South, Mir Jafar began to realise that he had promised what he could not fulfil. In **Mir Jafar.** paying the price of his nawabship he had exhausted his

treasury, and he could see no way of replenishing it. The recurring demands for money which he made on his wealthy subjects had driven them into discontent, so much so, indeed, that the Raja of Purnia and the Governor of Bihar went into open rebellion. Nor were his difficulties decreased by a threatened invasion of Bengal by a son of Shah Alam of Delhi. In his heart of hearts Mir Jafar longed to rid himself of his dependence upon the English, but the present stress of circumstances obliged him to apply to them for help against his mutinous vassals. Clive accordingly led an army to Patna, and entered the city in triumph. While he was thus engaged, Mir Jafar took advantage of a war between the English and the Dutch in Europe, and prevailed upon the latter to assist him in getting free of his bondage to the Company. The Dutch were only too willing to engage in hostilities with their country's enemy; but they were easily routed at Biderra near Chinsurah, and Mir Jafar found himself in a worse plight than before. Clive at this time went to England for a second time, and left Mr. Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, in charge until Mr. Vansittart arrived to dictate terms to Mir Jafar. The latter, in despair, resigned his nawabship, and was removed to a suburb of Calcutta, while his son-in-law, Mir Kasim Ali, was elevated to the vacant office. He contracted to pay off the debts of his father-in-law, to endow the Company with the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, and to contribute five lakhs towards the expenses of the war in the Karnatic. Hastings, who was stationed at Murshidabad during these years, rendered valuable service in putting these negotiations through, and he was rewarded with a seat in the Calcutta Council.

Mir Kasim was an upright and firm ruler, and as he had undertaken heavy monetary responsibilities, he was determined to improve his revenue by all lawful means. His efforts to do so brought him into conflict with the Company.



The Company was exempted from all tolls and transit duties on articles of commerce. But it was never intended that the private trade of the Company's servants should escape taxation as it was doing. He, therefore, brought the personal trade of Englishmen under the same rates as those levied on every other trader. But he was deprived of his dues by what he considered the dishonesty of English traders, who hoisted the Company's flag on their boats to protect their private trade from taxation. This practice told against other traders who could not escape the transit duties, and Mir Kasim felt that the only thing he could do under the circumstances was to abolish all tolls and taxes on river commerce. This he accordingly did. The Calcutta Council protested; but the Nawab remained firm. The relation between him and the English became more and more strained, till finally war was declared (1763). The English took Patna, but the Nawab drove them from the city, and sent more than two hundred European prisoners to his capital which now was at Monghyr. The Company's troops then defeated the Nawab at Geriah, and captured Monghyr; but before they could enter the city, Mir Kasim had all his European prisoners—men, women, and children—massacred. Major Adams now retook Patna, and Mir Kasim fled for protection to his late enemy, Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, with whom the homeless emperor, Shah Alam, also was finding shelter. By this act he was considered to have vacated the nawabship of Bengal, and so Mir Jafar was reinstated. The war against Mir Kasim continued. He and his allies were finally beaten at the Battle of Buxar, 1764, and Allahabad was taken. Shuja-ud-daulah's hopes of making conquests were now forever extinguished, and the hapless Shah Alam threw himself on the mercy of the victors. In the following year the Nawab Wazir was obliged to sue for peace, for Oudh was overrun by the Company's troops. The terms to which Shah Alam had to agree were

that Chunar should become a British possession, and that the provinces of Kora and Allahabad should be administered for him by the Company, who were also to receive from him a sum of fifty lakhs. Moreover, the whole of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were to be given to the English in return for an annual tribute of twenty-six lakhs.

While these arrangements were proceeding, Hastings went to England; but within a few months Clive came back, as Governor of Calcutta, to the scene of his former labours and triumphs. This was his third stay in India, and he devoted it to the introduction of several important reforms. After remodelling the army, he put a stop to the private trade of the Company's servants. To compensate them for it, and to remove from them all temptations to receive bribes, he increased their salaries. When Mir Jafar died in 1765, he set up that nawab's son, Najm-ud-daulah, in his place, but the conditions under which he ruled were greatly altered. He was to exercise only the powers of *Nizam*, and to be responsible for the peace of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, for the administration of justice in the courts, and for the enforcement of obedience to law. The company reserved to itself the *Diwani* of the provinces, that is to say, its business would be to collect the revenues, make all payments, and remit the surplus to its own treasury. This Dual System of Government did not work for very long, for within a few months Najm-ud-daulah ceded his *nizamat*, and was content to be a cypher in return for an annual allowance.

The arduous toils of the years 1765 and 1766 completed the ruin of Clive's health, and, having accomplished his life's work, he left the service of the Company, and returned to England in 1767. Here his health never returned; and eventually, in 1774, he put an end to himself.

While Clive and Warren Hastings were away from India fresh complications took place in southern India, where Muhammad Ali was Nawab of the Karnatic, Nazir Ali was Nizam of the Deccan, and Haidar Ali was Sultan of Mysore. In 1767 the Marathas invaded Mysore, and were bought off by Haidar Ali, who then attacked the Nizam. The latter, it will be remembered, had broken with the French, and was an ally of the English who had contracted to assist him against his enemies. Accordingly, Colonel Smith was sent to support him; but he treacherously turned upon the English army, and combined with Haidar Ali. He was soon driven to sue for peace; but Haidar Ali had still to be taken into account. He pressed Madras so hard, that in 1769 the English signed an inglorious treaty by which they pledged themselves in future to fight for the Sultan when he was engaged in war. But it soon appeared that they had made a rash promise; for in 1770 the Marathas again invaded Mysore, and were assisted by Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic. Now this nawab was a vassal of the English, and for them to join Haidar Ali against the Marathas meant that they must fight against their ally. This they felt they could not do, and so they did not aid the Sultan against the Marathas. The result was that the invaders appropriated half of Mysore, and Haidar Ali never forgave the English for failing him in the hour of his need.

In the previous year Hastings had returned to India as a Member of the Madras Council. In 1771, however, he was sent to Calcutta where Verelst had been succeeded by Cartier as Governor. On assuming the Governorship of Calcutta, he immediately carried out the instructions which he had received from the Directors of the East India Company, and proceeded to take over Bengal and Bihar absolutely, and to abolish the shadow of power which was all that now belonged to the nawab

**First Mysore  
War, 1767-1769.**

**Hastings'  
Second Period.**

of Murshidabad. These provinces, accordingly, passed into the actual possession of the English, and parcels of land were farmed out to men of means for a fixed annual rental. This was the origin of the Zemindars of Bengal and Bihar. At the same time civil courts were established in each district, from which appeals lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat or Chief Civil Court at Calcutta, where also the Sadr Nizamat Adalat, or Chief Criminal Court, was founded. For the administration of justice, Hindu and Muhammadan laws were codified. Lawlessness of all kinds, including *dakaiti*, was firmly put down. By these measures Hastings laid the foundations of righteous rule over the lands which Clive's sword had won.

As a result of the Battle of Buxar, 1764, Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, had made over the districts of Kora and Allahabad to Shah Alam, and it was agreed that the English should hold them in his favour, and pay him annually twenty-six lakhs for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. But when the Marathas entered Delhi in 1770, Shah Alam accepted their offer to restore him to the throne of the Mughals, and he transferred to them the districts of Kora and Allahabad. As a matter of fact, when he went to Delhi, he found that he was a prisoner, and Hastings, therefore, felt himself justified in refusing to continue to him the twenty-six lakhs for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and further in making over, through the Treaty of Benares, 1772, Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. In this same year the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the English joined hands to help the Rohillas against their oppressors. The Marathas were driven beyond the Ganges, and the Rohillas were no longer in danger. But now, instead of paying the Nawab Wazir the money agreed upon as the price of his help, they entered into negotiations with the Marathas themselves. A combination between the two endangered Oudh and Bengal, and to Hastings it appeared that the only

**The Rohilla War, 1772.**



WARREN HASTINGS.



alternative was to conquer Rohilkhand whose chiefs had broken faith with their ally. So the Nawab Wazir entered Rohilkhand, and with the assistance of the Company's troops defeated the Rohillas at Katra, and Rohilkhand changed masters.

These and other similar matters made it quite clear that the East India Company was something more than a mere body of traders.

**Regulating  
Act of 1773.**

It was to be included among the ruling powers of the land; and it was proper that Parliament should control its political affairs. Accordingly the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed. It established the High Court of Calcutta as the supreme court for all India. The Governor of Calcutta was made Governor-General, and was to direct the Company's affairs at Bombay and Madras with the assistance of a Council of four members. In practice, however, the Act did not work well, and Hastings found himself thwarted at every turn by Philip Francis, a Member of his Council, and his bitter enemy. Francis and two other members formed a perpetual majority, and did all they could to insult and humiliate Hastings by opposing him in every matter. For instance, when Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh died, he left the province to his son, Asaf-ud-daulah. The Company was in honour bound to

continue to him the terms which had been settled by treaty with his father. But in spite of Hastings's protests, the Francis majority in Council revised those terms, and imposed harder ones on him. He was compelled to pay off his father's debts to the Company, to increase by 50,000 rupees the monthly subsidy for a British garrison in Oudh, and to agree that the revenues of Benares should be paid direct by his vassal Chait Singh to the English and not through him. Now this was altogether unfair; for Chait Singh's grandfather had acquired his property under the Mughals, and was a vassal of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and an ally of the English inasmuch as

**Asaf-ud-daulah  
and Chait Singh  
oppressed by  
the Council.**

he was under promise to assist the Company with troops in time of need. But more than this, Hastings's protests notwithstanding, the Philip Francis majority permitted Asaf-ud-daulah's mother and grandmother, the Begums of Oudh, to appropriate about two crores of rupees which Shuja-ud-daulah had left in his treasury. They already had large and valuable estates, and by Muhammadan law they had no right to Shuja-ud-daulah's treasure. While Hastings was fighting for a just cause, his personal enemy, Nanda Kumar, accused him before his Council of various acts of fraud, oppression, and corruption. Hastings refused to be judged

**Nanda Kumar.** by his Council, and referred the matter to the Board of Directors. But Nanda Kumar fell into the pit which he had dug for Hastings. He was found guilty by the Supreme Court at Calcutta of obtaining a large sum of money from the estate of a dead man by means of a forged bond. The punishment of forgery in these days was death, and Nanda Kumar was sent to the gallows. It was maliciously said that Hastings had contrived the removal of a man dangerous to him. But it has been clearly established that Hastings was as innocent of the charges brought against himself as he was unconnected with the fate of Nanda Kumar.

During this year, 1773, the Maratha Peshwa, Narayan Rao, died, and his uncle, Raghunath Rao (or Raghoba as he is commonly called) was made Peshwa. But **First Maratha War, 1775.** Nana Farnavis produced a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and determined to secure the Peshwaship to him. The various Maratha chiefs entered the lists on different sides, and civil war began. Raghoba applied for help to the English at Bombay, and they agreed to assist him if he would give them Bassein and Salsette. This he readily promised to do. Meanwhile war continued in Europe between the English and the French; and as the English had joined Raghoba, the French took up the cause of Nana Farnavis. And so the First Maratha



War began. It opened favourably to the English who took Salsette, Pondichery, and Chandarnagar. Colonel Goddard marched against Poona, but as Raghoba was poorly supported Goddard was hemmed in by the army of Nana Farnavis, and had to retreat to Wargaon. Here a Convention was signed by which the English restored to the Peshwa all that they had won in Western India since 1765. Raghoba had taken shelter with the English at Surat. Nana Farnavis demanded his surrender, and taking advantage of the known hatred which Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore, bore to the English, he invited the Sultan to make common cause with him against them. Haidar Ali readily consented, and invading the Karnatic devastated it. Thus the Company was embroiled in practically two wars—one in the west against the Marathas, and one in the south against Mysore. Goddard redeemed his good name by taking Ahmadabad, defeating Sindhia and Holkar, and capturing Bassein. Meanwhile Haidar Ali routed Colonel Baillie's forces at Conjiveram. But this was balanced by the rock-perched fortress of Gwalior being carried by the Bengal army. The Marathas now suffered defeat, and were ready to accept terms. Accordingly the Treaty of Salbai was signed, 1782. By it the Marathas undertook never more to enter into alliance with the French; to permit no nation other than the English to trade in their territories; and to give Raghoba a pension of four lakhs a year. The English retained Gwalior, but restored Bassein and Gujarat to the Peshwa for whom Nana Farnavis had fought. Thus ended the First Maratha War; but as Haidar Ali was still in the field the Second Mysore War continued.

Freed from the struggle with the Marathas, Hastings was now able to give all his attention to the war in the south. While the Treaty of Salbai was being negotiated Haidar Ali took Arcot, and began besieging Wandewash, and threatening Madras. Coote, gaining a signal victory

Second Mysore  
War.

at Porto Novo, hastened to the assistance of Madras. The prospects of the English, however, began to improve when they won the battles of Pollilur and Shalingarh. But a new diversion was caused by a war breaking out in Europe in which England fought against Holland and France. It spread to India where the Dutch and the French offered assistance to Haidar Ali, with the result that the field had to be taken against them. In 1781 Negapatam and Trincomali were taken from the Dutch, but in the following year Trincomali and Cuddalore were lost. Haidar Ali now died at Chittur, and in his turban—so it was said—was found a paper in which he directed his son, Tipu, to make peace with the English. But if the Marathas had laid aside their arms because of the Treaty of Salbai, the French were still waging war; and Tipu determined to fight on with their help. As has been elsewhere related Bussy commanded the French forces, and several battles were fought with varying results, till the Treaty of Versailles terminated the warfare between the English and the French. Though left alone, Tipu did not yield till Mangalore was taken from him. Then he signed a treaty at that place, and each side had its former possessions restored.

The Treaties of Salbai and Mangalore mark an era in Indian history. Single-handed the English had triumphed over the combined armies of the Marathas, the French, the Dutch, and Haidar Ali. This finally established their superiority. The surrounding powers saw that a quarrel with the English would plunge them into a costly war, and that the probabilities of success were against them. The Marathas realised that it was vain to endeavour to build a Hindu Empire on the ruins of the dominions of the Great Mughal.

But the prolonged wars by which this prestige was won had emptied the Company's treasury. The proprietors of the Company grumbled at heavy expenditure and no profits, and Hastings began to look

**Hastings' Dealings with Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh.**

about for means whereby to replenish the Company's coffers. It seemed to him that Raja Chait Singh of Benares, and the Begums of Oudh had behaved in such a way during the recent wars as to justify him in punishing them with heavy fines. The conditions under which Chait Singh ruled from 1775 have already been stated. From that date his vassalage had been to the English, and not to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. He had, moreover, bound himself to supply the English in times of pressing need with money and men. During the late wars with the Marathas and Haidar Ali, Hastings had called upon Chait Singh to send some troops. He had sent none. Were his breach of faith to be allowed to pass unvisited, other tributary chiefs might follow his example. This was obviously a serious matter; and after some parleying, Hastings imposed a fine of 50 lakhs on him. Chait Singh hesitated; Hastings proceeded to Benares to exact the penalty. He met the Raja at Buxar, where the latter behaved with such insolence, that he was made a prisoner in his own place. He, however, managed to escape to Ramnagar, and put himself at the head of an army part of which had been sent him by the Begums of Oudh. He was encountered by Popham at Bijaigarh, and defeated. Popham's soldiers looted all the treasure they found, and Hastings therefore gained nothing for the Company. But the province of Benares was given to Chait Singh's nephew on the condition that the revenue which his uncle had been accustomed to pay was to be doubled.

It has already been related how the Begums of Oudh had, with the consent of the Council, but against law and against Hastings's wish, possessed themselves of about two crores of rupees which Shuja-ud-daulah had left on his death, and which in justice belonged to Asaf-ud-daulah. Deprived of nearly half his patrimony this prince was not able to pay his dues to the Company, indeed, year by year he was sinking deeper and deeper into the Company's debt. He reminded Hastings of

the circumstances under which the Begums had deprived him of his birthright. Left to Hastings they would never have had the money, and now that the Francis majority no longer hampered him, Hastings was willing to undo a shameful wrong. Besides this, the Begums had assisted Chait Singh in his rebellion, and it was necessary that they should be punished. He therefore signed the Treaty of Chunar which gave Asaf-ud-daulah permission to resume the *jagirs* of the Begums, and to recover from them the two crores of rupees of which they had deprived him. The Begums did not meekly submit. They fought against Asaf-ud-daulah, but he prevailed, and in addition to resuming their *jagirs* he took away from them the two crores of rupees. Hastings, however, saw that they were provided with liberal pensions. Asuf-ud-daulah now paid his debt to the Company.

In 1784 Pitt's India Bill was passed by Parliament. Recognising the great political power that the East India Company had become it was now  
**Pitt's India Bill.** put under the direct control of a Board of Ministers.

Early in the following year Hastings laid down the reins of office in favour of Sir John Macpherson, and returned home. His career, if full of anxiety and toil, had been a distinguished one. When he came to Bengal in 1772 he found the province in disorder and distress. Lawlessness prevailed on every side; the strong ever oppressed the weak. The Nawab of Bengal's officers and the servants of the Company plundered the peasants, and had no respect for authority. There was no proper form of government. Before he left these shores he had extended the influence, the prestige, and the honour of the Company. He replaced disorder by a set form of government and an established code of laws. His wisdom and foresight were so great that the Indian Government of to-day is essentially the system which he introduced.

**Summary of  
Hastings's Work.**

But he was not honoured as he deserved to be. His many enemies, instigated and tutored by men like Philip Francis, impeached him before the House of Lords for his dealings with Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh, and for the Rohilla War. For seven long years the trial lasted, and he was in the end honourably acquitted on every charge that his enemies had preferred against him. For a century his fame has been tarnished with the suspicion that he was responsible for the execution of Nanda Kumar, and for all the misery that men of the Francis type had charged him with producing. But recent investigation has endorsed his acquittal by Parliament, and to-day we remember him among the greatest men whom England has ever sent to India. It is true that the expenses of a protracted trial ruined him, for he did not return home, as many others did, fabulously rich. But before he died in 1818 he had the satisfaction of knowing that his nation honoured him. For when he was 80 years old he was summoned to give evidence on Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and as he entered the House, the members rose, removed their hats, and stood in silence.

**The Impeachment of Hastings.**

## CHAPTER XII.

### The Later Period of the Company.

#### The Building up of the English Empire in India.

##### The Governors-General after Hastings.

1785—1858.

SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, 1785-1786. Sir John Macpherson acted as Governor-General for twenty months; but nothing of any importance took place while he managed the affairs of the Company. It was, however, very evident that Tipu, though defeated, was not crushed, and that he was only waiting for something to occur that would give him an excuse for declaring war upon the English.

LORD CORNWALLIS, 1786-1793. Lord Cornwallis came to India with the determination to keep out of wars, and to reform the Company's service. It will be remembered that both Clive and Warren Hastings tried to put down bribery and private trade, and that they did not meet with complete success. Cornwallis took more active steps to purify the service, and though he made himself unpopular by his measures, still he had the satisfaction of putting an end to the bribery and corruption that had hitherto been common in the Company's service.

Tipu Sultan was still eager for war, and so he made an unprovoked attack on the Raja of Travancore, knowing that he was an ally of the English. Of course there was no help for it but to take up the cause of the Raja; and so began the Third Mysore War, 1790-1792. The Nizam of Haidarabad was jealous of Tipu, and the

**The Third Mysore War. 1790-92.**

Marathas were bitter against him for his cruel persecution of Hindus in the Deccan. It was, therefore, no difficult matter for Cornwallis to gain the co-operation of the Nizam and of Nana Farnavis. When all was ready Cornwallis went to the south, and himself conducted the war. Bangalore was taken by storm in 1791, and Tipu retired for shelter to his capital,



Seringapatam. The city was on the point of capitulating when Tipu sued for peace, which was granted him

on condition that he ceded to the English the districts of Dindigal, Baramahal, and Malabar ; that he restored Coorg to its Hindu Raja ; that he paid a heavy fine ; and that he delivered up two of his sons as hostages. Having concluded this war, Cornwallis turned his attention to the reformation of the Civil Service, and to the permanent settlement of the land revenues.

While the Mughals ruled, the taxes on land had been arbitrary, and the ryots never knew what would be exacted from them. They, therefore, did not feel secure, and had no wish to improve their fields or to reclaim jungles and uncultivated areas. Things were somewhat better when the English acquired the Diwani of Bengal in 1765, for then the land taxes were fixed by annual or five yearly assessments. The Company's servants collected the revenues, and after deducting the Company's share of the taxes, handed the balance over to the zamindars. In 1789 a change was made by which the zamindars themselves collected the revenues, and paid its share of the income to the Company. But in 1793 Cornwallis decided upon fixing the revenues of Bengal once for all so far as the Company was concerned. He accordingly directed the zamindars to give the ryots *pattas* of their lands, and to levy the land tax fairly. When this was done the ryots, feeling safe against exactions, began to clear jungles and reclaim swamps. They soon became a contented peasantry, and the zamindars grew into a body of loyal and respectable gentry. While the natives of the soil gained by the Permanent Settlement, as it is called, the British have in the end lost much revenue. For whereas the value and area of rented land has increased immeasurably, and zamindars are realising greatly increased incomes, the Government of to-day is receiving just the same revenue as it did in 1793. But, if there has been a loss in money, there has been an incalculable gain politically. The foundation of all government is in the goodwill of the subjects, and the

**The Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793.**



Permanent Settlement of Bengal has bound the people in loyal devotion to the British Government.

The Civil Service was full of inconsistencies. Some rules prevailed in some places, other rules in other places. The result was that the servants of the Company had no proper set of laws for their guidance. Cornwallis desired to introduce more order and uniformity. He therefore published a Code "which defined and set bounds to authority, created procedure, guarded against miscarriage of justice, and founded the Civil Service of India as it exists to this day."

**Reforms in the Civil Service.**

SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793-1798, was the next Governor-General. He meant to follow a non-intervention policy, that is to say, he did not think it right for the English to take sides in the quarrels of Indian princes, or in any way to try to arbitrate between them. This may at one time have been possible; but previous Governors-General had promised certain rulers, *e.g.*, the Nizam of Haidarabad, to help them in the event of their being attacked by another power. The observance of a non-intervention policy necessitated inaction, and in such cases inaction amounted to a breach of treaties. The Marathas were quick to observe that the new Governor-General would not act as a check on their ambitions, and they saw in the present a favourable opportunity for combining to crush the Nizam of Haidarabad. Nana Farnavis led the forces of the Maratha Confederacy, and the Nizam suffered a fatal defeat at the battle of Kurdla, 1795, and was obliged to cede to the victors much of his territories, and to pay them three crores of rupees. But later experience of Indian politics convinced Sir John Shore that a policy of non-intervention was a mistake. Accordingly, when the misrule of Oudh became intolerable, he deposed the Nawab Wazir, and set up Saadat Ali in his stead.

**Adopts the Policy of Non-intervention.**

THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, 1798-1805. Lord Mornington, who was afterwards created Marquis of Wellesley, succeeded. The non-intervention policy of Shore had led Tipu Sultan to cherish the idea that he might do as he pleased without running any risk. He even dared to intrigue with the French against the English. To counteract their union Wellesley immediately entered into a treaty with the unfortunate Nizam of Haidarabad, by which the latter agreed to dismiss all French officers in his army, to employ no Frenchmen in his kingdom, and to accept an English army of 6000 Sepoys, with English commanders and artillery, for his protection against external wars. Two years later his much dreaded enemies, the Marathas, threatened to invade the Deccan, and the Nizam, greatly alarmed, asked for an increased force, offering to give the Company all he had conquered from Tipu, and to submit all his disputes to British arbitration.

Meanwhile Napoleon Bonaparte was in Egypt, where eventually Nelson so completely broke the power of the French. Tipu wrote to him inviting him to land at Mysore, and join him in waging war upon the English. Wellesley felt that no time was to be lost, and, supported by the Nizam and the Marathas, he promptly sent General Harris into Mysore. Tipu's army was defeated at Malvelli, and his capital Seringapatam was besieged and taken (1800). Tipu himself was slain in the breach by which the British entered the city. So ended the Fourth (and last) Mysore War. Kanara, Coimbatore, Darapuram, and some other portions of Mysore were annexed; Gooty and Gurramkonda were made over to the Nizam, and what remained of Tipu's dominions was given to the descendant of the old Hindu Rajas of Mysore. Thus not only was a troublesome neighbour blotted out, but also French influence received another fatal blow.

While war was preparing between Tipu Sultan and

the English, Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Karnatic, thought he would secure himself by joining what appeared to him to be the stronger side. And so he entered into negotiations with Tipu. For thus forgetting his treaty obligations to the Company, on the conclusion of the late war, the entire civil and military government of the Karnatic was assumed by the English, who, on Muhammad Ali's death, allowed his heir one-fifth of the annual revenues. At the same time by the consent of the princes of Tanjore and Surat these territories practically passed into the hands of the Company. The province of Oudh had always been the cause of more or less anxiety; for beside its own unsettled internal condition, it was the only door through which the British possessions in Bengal could be invaded. A threatened invasion by Zeman Shah brought things to a head, and feeling that the Nawab Wazir, Saadat Ali, could not possibly repel the invader, Wellesley demanded of the Wazir that he should pay for the maintenance of a larger British subsidiary army for the protection of Oudh. After some resistance the Wazir signed the Treaty of Lucknow in 1801, by which he ceded sufficient of his territory to pay for the up-keep of an increased British force in Oudh. Whatever may be thought of Wellesley's dealings with the Wazir, he at any rate was satisfied with the reflection that whereas he had found Oudh a danger to the British in India he had converted it into a safeguard and a support. And as we look into the past we are forced to the conclusion that if Wellesley had at this time taken complete control of Oudh, perhaps the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 would never have occurred.

**Dealings with  
Oudh and other  
States.**

On the death of Nana Farnavis there was a general scramble among the members of the Maratha Confederacy for supreme power. Now Holkar prevailed over Sindhia, and now Sindhia triumphed over Holkar; and between the

**Second Maratha  
War, 1803.**

two the Peshwa, Baji Rao II., was in a very difficult position. In 1802 he was in the power of Sindhia, so that when Holkar defeated his rival, and entered Poona, he made Warnak Rao Peshwa. Baji Rao II. fled to Bassein, and there appealed to the English for help. His petition was favourably received, and he signed the Treaty of Bassein by which it was agreed that an English force was to be always retained in the Peshwa's dominions; that part of these dominions was to be given to the Company for the maintenance of this force; and that the Peshwa would enter upon neither treaties nor wars without the approval of the English. This Treaty of Bassein marks an important stage in the history of the British in India; for whereas previously to it there had existed a British Empire *in* India, the treaty gave them the Empire *of* India.

As soon as the Marathas found that the exiled Peshwa had been taken under the protection of the Company they were alarmed, and, forgetting their own petty jealousies and differences, they made a strong combination against the common foe whose armies had subdued the Nizam, and crushed Tipu. But General Sir Arthur Wellesley (brother to the Governor-General, and better known in history as the great Duke of Wellington who won the Battle of Waterloo), took Ahmadnagar, and defeated the combined forces of Sindhia and Bhonsla at Assaye, and the army of the latter at Argaon. The fortress of Gawilgarh was next captured, and Bhonsla, laying down arms, signed the Treaty of Deogaon, by which among other things he gave up all claims to *chaut* against the Nizam, and ceded a tract of country including Cuttack. Thus ended the war in the Deccan. Meanwhile, the army of Sindhia held out in northern India where General Lake took Aligarh, and won the battle of Delhi. After releasing the aged Emperor, Shah Alam, from the imprisonment which he had experienced for some years at the hands of the Marathas, Lake added the capture of Agra to his previous

successes, and finally annihilated the army of Sindhia at the battle of Laswari. This chieftain had no alternative but to come to terms, and he signed the Treaty of Surji Arjangaon, by which he gave the English the tract of land between the Ganges and the Jamna, as well as other portions of his dominions, including Ahmadnagar which was made over to the Peshwa, Baji Rao II. Moreover, as the French had assisted him in fighting, he was obliged to contract never to allow the subjects of any nation at war with the English to live in his kingdom. So concluded the Second Maratha War, which began and ended in 1803.

But though Bhonsla and Sindhia had been humbled, Holkar had yet to be disposed of. He had not taken any part in the Second Maratha War; but he had been by no means idle. He had employed the interval in gathering together an army of 80,000 trained soldiers, and when he considered himself strong enough to take the field even against the English, he began to ravage Malwa and Rajputana. Now, the Rajput Chiefs were British allies, and the only reply he gave to remonstrances from Calcutta was to sack Ajmir. War was now inevitable. Accordingly, three British armies moved against him from different directions. Lake advanced from Delhi; Colonel Murray from Gujarat, and Colonel Monson from Central India. Monson, worsted in every engagement, was obliged to retreat to Agra, but Murray gained possession of Indore, Holkar's capital. Holkar then laid siege to Delhi, but abandoned it on the approach of Lake. The English army then triumphed at Dig and Laswari; but the attempt to take the fortress of Bhartpur failed, and its raja was given favourable terms. The progress of the war, however, had convinced the Gaekwar of Baroda that the English were irresistible, and he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Company. Holkar was now the only member of the Maratha Confederacy who was outside such an

**Third Maratha War, 1803-1804.**

alliance, and though he was single-handed in the strife he bravely kept the field. By this time the Court of Directors had grown weary of Wellesley's ceaseless wars, and he resigned. But in order to trace the present war to its close let us anticipate events. When Sir George Barlow came as Governor-General in 1805 he brought with him the distinct order that peace should be made without delay. And so, although Holkar could not have held out much longer, the war was concluded on the easiest terms by Barlow, who to pacify Sindhia gave him Gohud and Gwalior.

When Wellesley came to India, what with Tipu Sultan and the French and the Marathas, the land was rent by war. By his aggressive policy he destroyed the Muhammadan power of the south; he finally extinguished the hopes of the French, and he drew into subsidiary alliances every member of the Maratha Confederacy excepting only Holkar. In the time of Mughal prosperity, peace had been introduced by the presence of one dominant Emperor, and Wellesley was convinced that the only means by which peace could again be procured was by some one power again becoming supreme. He determined that the English should be that power. His administration was guided by this leading idea. To what extent he was right has been proved by the subsequent history of our country; for with the exception of the Sikh Wars and the Sepoy Mutiny, India has since known no internal disturbances of any importance. That his views were not shared by his countrymen in his own days has already been noticed, but as regards the results of his policy there can be no difference of opinion. He acquired for England the Empire of India. By the many subsidiary alliances which he made he created a system of imperial rule, and extinguished the last lingering hopes of the French and the Dutch in the East. For this achievement he holds a high place among the architects of British

Estimate of  
Wellesley's  
Work.

fortunes in India. He changed the character of the East India Company from a mere body of traders to a Government with imperial responsibilities, and he has therefore been aptly called "the Great Pro-Consul of India."

LORD CORNWALLIS (again) 1805. Cornwallis, whose previous administration had proved his desire to promote peace and to develop the resources of the British possessions in India, was sent out to succeed Wellesley. He had clear instructions to terminate the wars with the Marathas; but before he could accomplish anything he died at Ghazipur, and was buried there.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW, 1805-1807. It has already been mentioned that as soon as Sir George Barlow came he made peace with Holkar, and to such an extreme did he carry the non-intervention policy, that when Sindhia and Holkar wreaked their revenge on the Rajputs, he left them to the tender mercies of the Marathas—Wellesley's compact with them notwithstanding.

At Vellore the sepoy's grew discontented, and, urged by the descendants of Tipu, they massacred 113 European soldiers in the garri- **Vellore Mutiny,**  
son. The mutiny was easily put down, **1806.**  
and Tipu's family was removed to Bengal. Sir George Barlow was recalled as having been an unsuccessful ruler.

LORD MINTO, 1807-1813. Encouraged by the inactivity of the English, who now allowed the non-intervention policy to regulate all their dealings with native rulers and races, bands of outlaws began to flourish in Western and Central India, where they devastated the country, and made the people homeless. But when Bandelkhand, which bordered on British territory, became the scene of pillage and the murder of inoffensive people, Lord Minto thought it was better

to put down these outlaws than to wait till they actually raided British territory. He accordingly sent troops after them, and in 1812 they were suppressed, Kalingar was taken, and the country pacified. At the same time a protective treaty was made with Ranjit Singh of Lahore, by which the latter bound himself not to interfere with the Sardars of the Cis-Sutlej States.

War was at this time going on between England and France, and it was feared that the French would make one more effort to drive the English out of India. As a safeguard, Lord Minto sent embassies to the courts of Sindh, Kabul, and Persia, whose rulers in consequence engaged to have no dealings with the French, nor give them any assistance. But it was felt that something more definite than this should be done to check the French and the Dutch, who had begun to waylay British ships on the high seas, and plunder them. Mauritius and its adjacent islands belonged to France, and from them the piratical vessels started on their errands of spoliation. To put a stop to the loss thus caused to the Company's trade, Minto sent an expedition against Mauritius, and took it and its neighbouring islands from the French. Similarly the Dutch were stripped of their possessions in the East Indies.

Another important event took place in 1809. Hitherto, it will be remembered, the East India Company had held the monopoly of Indian trade. That is to say, no private person or body of merchants was allowed to carry on commerce with India. Parliament now withdrew from the Company the exclusive right which it had hitherto enjoyed of trading with this country. From this time the East India Company ceased to be a company of merchants, and the Government of its possessions became its chief function.

**Embassies to Sindh, Kabul, and Persia.**

**Abolition of the Company's Monopoly.**



LORD MOIRA (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), 1813-1823. On the retirement of Minto Lord Moira succeeded. He found that he was called upon to deal with a certain class of dangerous brigands and warlike men, known respectively as the Pindaris and the Pathans. Added to the restlessness which these enemies to peace created, there was the growing turbulence of the Marathas. The weakness shown in Lord Minto's dealings with Holkar and Sindhia, encouraged in the Marathas the notion that the time was near at hand when they would avenge the past, expel the English from India, and once more restore the days of Sivaji. Their acts of defiant lawlessness knew no bounds. In the Pindaris and the Pathans they found allies ready to receive their assistance, and quick to do their bidding. The Pindaris flourished in the valley of the Narbada. They were descended in most instances from soldiers who had been in the Mughal army during its palmy days. The robber instinct was so strong in them that they could not lead peaceful lives. Under the leadership of chiefs like Amir Khan, Karim Khan, and Chitu, they yearly set out on their hardy ponies to burn, plunder and destroy. Their depredations extended from Mysore to the basin of the Jumna. They had no form of government nor any definite policy, but joined Holkar or Sindhia as best suited them, or as either was the more likely to win. In 1809 they had raided Gujarat; in 1812 they had pillaged Mirzapur; and now, in 1816, they came like a swarm of locusts into the Northern Circars, and Moira felt it was time to extirpate them.

The Marathas,  
Pindaris, and  
Pathans.

The Pathans were a more respectable and better organised body of freebooters. The Pindaris attacked villages and their helpless inhabitants; the Pathans preyed upon governments and princes. They lived by plunder and disorder, but they rendered implicit obedience to their leaders, chief among whom was Wasil Muhammad.

What with the Marathas, the Pindaris and the

Pathans, Central India was indeed in a sad plight. The native states were demoralised ; society was disorganised ; the peasants and artisans had no heart to carry on the duties of their daily life. While robber bands infested the country, the local armies themselves existed only to trample on the people. In a word, government there was none. Like Wellesley, Hastings felt that the only salvation of India lay in the arising of some one paramount power whose mighty arm would be strong enough to keep under the warring elements and protect the peasantry—a power which by alliances and force of arms would build up an empire even greater than that of the Mughals. But before he could dispose of the Pindaris and the Pathans, his attention was demanded in another direction.

Of late the hardy mountaineers of Nepal, known as the Ghurkas, had taken to making incursions into the valley of the Ganges which belonged to the English. When they were remonstrated with, they became more daring and defiant, and it was evident that nothing short of war would persuade them to mend their ways. Accordingly, the deep jungles of the Himalayas were entered by a British army under command of General Ochterlony. The rugged mountain sides were of great advantage to the Ghurkas who were quite at home in the precipices and ravines of the greatest mountain range in the world. At first the war could hardly be said to be going well with the English ; for although they took the fort of Kalanga, they experienced a reverse at Jaitak ; nor did the occupation of a portion of the Terai, and the co-operation of the Raja of Sikkim, compensate for this misfortune.

The news of the failure of English arms in the war against the Ghurkas naturally encouraged the Marathas, who like the Pathans and the Sikhs began to give fresh signs of activity. The Pindaris, too, finding the English sufficiently occupied with the Ghurkas,

prepared to make a raid into British territory. Altogether the outlook was far from pleasant. But internal dissensions weakened the counsels of the Marathas, and a threatened attack on Ranjit Singh, the leader of the Sikhs, by the Amir of Kabul prevented the Marathas and the Sikhs from entering upon hostilities against the English. The Pindaris did not feel that they could defy the English alone, and so they too held back from doing any mischief. Hastings, with a feeling of relief, bent all his energies to the war with the Ghurkas. To cause a diversion, with the help of Rohilla levies, he invaded the Nepalese province of Kumaun, and drove the Ghurkas out of it. The tide of war now turned in favour of the English, and their further successes gave them possession of all Nepal west of the river Kali and Jaitak. The Ghurkas now came to terms, and signed the Treaty of Segauli (1816). By it a frontier was defined, and the Terai was restored to Nepal for an annual tribute of two lakhs. The Raja of Sikkim and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh were rewarded for the support they had given. Ever since this time the Ghurkas have been loyal to the English.

Now that the Ghurka War was over, Hastings was able to give his attention to the **Pindari War**, Pindaris. His first care was to deprive **1817.** them of allies, and so he entered into subsidiary alliances with Malwa, Bhopal, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Baji Rao II, (the Peshwa), and Amir Khan, the Chief of the Pathans. Hastings himself took command of the army, and deprived the Pindaris of the help which Sindhia was ready to give them, by making the latter come to terms at Gwalior. The Pindaris who had been watching the progress of events could no longer remain inactive, and raided Bundelkhand. At the same time the Peshwa and Bhonsla assisted them, and the Fourth Maratha War began. But Hastings pressed the Pindaris till, in 1817, they were driven out of Malwa and beyond the Chambal. They then sued for peace, and have since never caused

further trouble. To Amir Khan the Principality of Tonk was given. The Rajput Chiefs were rewarded for their loyal support, and a British Resident was stationed at Ajmir.

In their anxiety to see the end of the British in India, the Marathas, as has been said, openly gave help to the Pindaris. Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, throwing aside his treaty, attacked the British Residency at Poona. Sindhia was not able to do much mischief, for he was still overawed at Gwalior. Bhonsla's contribution to the war was inconsiderable, for at the very outset he was crushed. His grandson was put on his throne, and kept under British control. Holkar's troops were put to flight at Mehidpur, 1817, and the young Mulhar Rao Holkar became a ward of the Company. Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, was driven from Poona, defeated at Ashta in 1819, and Satara was annexed. He then surrendered; his entire dominions were taken from him, and he remained a state prisoner at Bithur until his death. The war was now over, and the Marathas had been finally crushed.

With the return of peace Hastings was able to give internal affairs his attention. He knitted the various independent states together by entering into alliances with them, and the British Government of India may be said to have at this time received its character—an Imperial federation of friendly states clustering round one central paramount power. Then, with respect to the courts of the land, the magistrates were required to do the duties of both judges and collectors of revenue. Hastings opened schools for the education of Indians, and he gave freedom to the vernacular press. The result was that five native journals began to be printed and published. It is from this time that the moral and intellectual advancement of the people of the country has been recognised as a duty of the State, and their claim to

**Fourth Maratha War, 1817-1819.**

**Hastings's internal measures.**

participate in the work of the British Government has been held as an axiom.

LORD AMHERST, 1823-1827. Between the departure of the Marquis of Hastings and the arrival of Lord Amherst there was an interval of seven months, during which Mr. Adam acted as Governor-General. As soon as Amherst arrived he found himself drawn into a war with Burma. For some years past the Burmese had been disturbing the peace of eastern India by making destructive raids into British territory. Finding that active measures were not taken against them, they became more and more daring, and put a climax to their insolence by claiming Chittagong, Dacca, and Murshidabad as being parts of their ancient kingdom. Finally they seized and ill-treated British subjects, and it became evident that nothing short of war would persuade them to live at peace with their neighbours. Lord Amherst, accordingly, made preparations for an expedition into Burma, and British troops were soon in possession of Rangoon and Kemendine. But they suffered a defeat at Ramu. This reverse, however, was speedily compensated by the conquest in 1825 of Assam, Cachar, and Manipur, and by the occupation of Pegu, Arrakan, and Tenasserim. Then came the fall of Donabyu, and the capture of Prome, the capital of the King of Ava. Finding his losses thickening around him, this monarch thought it time to make peace. So he ended the war in 1826 by signing the Treaty of Yendabu by which he ceded Assam, Arrakan and the coast of Tenasserim. He also undertook not to interfere with Manipur, Cachar, and Jaintia; to pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees; and to receive a British resident at his capital.

When the Marathas were finally overthrown the Raja of Bhartpur arranged with the English that his son Balwant Singh

**First Burmese War, 1824-1826.**

**Capture of Bhartpur, 1826.**

should succeed him. But when the Raja died in 1825 his brother, Durjan Sal, usurped the throne. Lord Amherst at first remonstrated with him; but, as he remained defiant, Lord Combermere was sent to dislodge him from Bhartpur. The eyes of all India were turned with the keenest interest to this stronghold, for it was considered impregnable—more especially as in 1805 Lord Lake had failed to take it. But it was now captured; Balwant Singh was set on its throne; and English prestige was restored. Lord Amherst improved the occasion by going to Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mughals, and there issuing a proclamation that the East India Company was the paramount power in India.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828-1835. Although Lord William Bentinck was appointed Governor-General in 1827, he did not come out till the following year. During the interval of twelve months Mr. William Butterworth Bayley acted as head of the Indian Government.

Bentinck had formerly been Governor of Madras and so he had the advantage of some knowledge of Indian affairs. The First Burmese War had drained the Company's treasury, and Bentinck's express orders from the Court of Directors were to cut down expenditure and increase the revenues. He found two directions in which a saving might be effected—one in the army and the other in the civil service. Hitherto soldiers on active service had been given an extra allowance called Batta, or more correctly *Bhatta*. For some years past the Directors had objected to the payment of Batta, and so Bentinck reduced the amount of the allowance, in spite of the discontent his order created. Furthermore, every appointment in the higher grades of the civil service had hitherto been reserved for Englishmen. Bentinck felt that educated Indians

**Reduction of Batta, and the Admission of Natives into the Public Service.**

would do the work efficiently and on much smaller salaries. He, therefore, threw open various departments to natives, and found competent men in the pupils, among others, of David Hare and Henry Derozio. This measure, without in the smallest degree lowering the efficiency of the civil services, resulted in a great reduction of expenditure. Then again, in casting about for means whereby to increase the revenues, Bentinck thought of the opium traffic of Malwa. He made the manufacture of opium a government monopoly, and there was an immediate addition to the income of the Company. Having by these measures restored the balance between income and expenditure, he was free to work out certain important social reforms.

Owing to the breaking up of such bands of men as the Pindaris, and the lack of work for those who had been in the various armies of Indian chiefs, the country abounded with men for whom a peaceful life had no charm. These restless spirits gathered together in Central India, and became the terror and curse of the land from Haidarabad to Oudh, and from Bandelkhand to Rajputana. They went by the name of Thags. Murder was part of their religion, and plunder their sole occupation. They wandered from place to place without anything to betray who they were. They joined themselves to travellers, gained their confidence, suddenly strangled them, and, having robbed the corpses, buried them in the jungles. With the help of Major Sleeman, Bentinck determined to stamp them out. Within six years their bands were broken up, several thousands of them were captured; many of them were hanged, and more of them were transported.

**Suppression  
of Thagi.**

For centuries it had been the practice for a Hindu widow to burn herself with her husband's corpse. The English had always revolted against such a cruel custom, and Bentinck thought it ought to be put down.

**Suppression  
of Sati and  
Infanticide.**

Leaders of Hindu society, like Dwarkanath Tagore and Rammohan Roy, asserted that it was opposed to the teachings and spirit of Hinduism. As a matter of fact it had already been disallowed by the French, the Dutch, and the Danes in their Indian territories, and even in English possessions where a firm hand ruled. Bentinck, after much careful consideration, made a law by which any one assisting at a Sati, as the practice of widow-burning was called, or any one concealing a Sati, was guilty in the sight of the law, and was liable to severe punishment. He also forbade the murder of infant daughters. In this humane work he received valuable help from many distinguished English officers including Colonel John Sutherland, by whose influence with the bigoted Rajput Chiefs these cruel practices were peaceably suppressed in Rajputana, where they had been most prevalent.

Having introduced these benevolent reforms, Bentinck directed his attention to other matters. In 1830 he concluded a commercial treaty with Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Maharaja of Lahore.

On the eve of his retirement from the country Lord Amherst had visited Simla which had recently been acquired. In 1830 Bentinck purchased the remainder of the hill from the Maharaja of Patiala, and made Simla the summer residence of the Governor-General. Five years later he bought Darjeeling from the Raja of Sikkim, and thus he gave British India two of its most popular hill stations.

In 1833 Parliament renewed the Charter of the East India Company for another twenty years. By the terms of the new Charter the Company retired from trade, and became a Government pure and simple. The monopoly of the trade of India had already been withdrawn, and now the trade with China was thrown open to all

**Treaty with  
Ranjit Singh.**

**Simla and  
Darjeeling.**

**Renewal of the  
Charter, 1833.**



comers. The administrative affairs of the Company were placed under the control of Parliament, which guaranteed it against all losses. Our country has greatly benefited by this Charter; for since it her Government has not been cramped by commercial considerations when these have clashed with the interests of the people. By it the welfare of Indian subjects, and not dividends to share-holders, has been the only anxiety of our rulers.



Company's Pice of 1833.

In every age and in every country the language of the rulers has been the official language of the country. In the early Hindu period we have seen that this was the case with Sanskrit; and when the English came in the time of the Mughals, they found that Persian was the language of the courts of the country. Though the British had become the paramount power they had not altered the legal language; but Bentinck thought it time that Persian should give way to English. Accordingly, in 1835, he made English the official language of British India, and a knowledge of it a qualification for admission into the public services. The indirect results of this measure have been far-reaching. A study of English literature has brought with it an appreciation of Western ideas, and in a country, such as ours, with its numerous creeds and tongues, the introduction of a common language has done perhaps even more than the railway and telegraph system to bind the peoples of

**English made  
the Official  
Language.**

India and Great Britain into one great brotherhood. Had Indians continued to be taught only Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic, they could never have taken a share in the Government of India as they are doing to-day.

The time, however, had come for Bentinck to lay down his office. How grateful our country is to him may be read on the monument which chiefly Hindu subscriptions raised to him in Calcutta :—"Who never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the natives committed to his charge."

**Retirement of Bentinck, and his services to India.**

**SIR CHARLES METCALFE, 1835-1836.** Pending the arrival of Bentinck's successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe took up the duties of Governor-General. He gave freedom to the Indian Press; that is to say, authors of books and editors of newspapers were no longer required to obtain permission to publish what they wrote. This was a great gain; for now everyone could say what was in his mind, and government received much help from what the public thought on matters of common interest.

**Liberty given to the Indian Press.**

**LORD AUCKLAND, 1836-1842.** On arrival, Lord Auckland was drawn into a war with Afghanistan under the following circumstances. From the time of Ahmad Shah, Afghanistan had been ruled by its own Amirs whose authority had extended even over the Punjab. But, as has already been related, Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Chief, had recently gained possession of the Punjab. The succession to the Afghan throne was now being disputed by Shah Shuja, a descendant of Ahmad Shah, and Dost Muhammad, a nephew of Ahmad Shah's Com-

**First Afghan War.**

mander-in-Chief. Believing Shah Shuja to be the rightful heir, and anxious to have a friendly Amir in Afghanistan, Auckland persuaded Ranjit Singh to help him in securing the throne to Shah Shuja. Accordingly, an English army was sent into Afghanistan, and Shah Shuja was enthroned. But as he was not acceptable to the Afghans, the war had to be carried into Kabul. Ranjit Singh died at this time, and so the English troops unassisted by the Sikhs, marched on Ghazni which fell before them. Shah Shuja was enthroned with pomp, and his rival, Dost Muhammad, fled. But the latter did not give up fighting, for he had many followers who preferred him to Shah Shuja. In 1840, however, he was taken prisoner, and was sent to Calcutta. It was not wise to force a king on a people who did not want him; and the result was that for two years the English had to hold Afghanistan by the presence of an army and of a Resident—Sir William MacNaghten. But in the hearts of the Afghans there still was war. Suddenly they murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, the Political Agent. Dost Muhammad's eldest son, Akbar Khan, invited MacNaghten to a friendly meeting, and while saluting him, treacherously murdered him. Meanwhile General Sale was hard pressed, being indeed cooped up in Jalalabad. On all sides the enemy, led by Akbar Khan, thickened, and the English soldiers, to some extent panic-stricken, were glad to accept any terms offered them. They were allowed to retire from the country on condition that they left behind them their guns and treasury; that they paid a heavy fine; and that they gave four officers as hostages. If they satisfied these demands they were promised a safe retreat. It was the depth of winter. The country was a net-work of mountains. The British soldiers were ill clad, and many of them perished in the severe cold. To add to their sufferings the faithless enemy began to fire upon them from the heights above. They had no means of defending themselves, for they had given up

their guns. They were now in the Kurd Kabul Pass, and their case was desperate. Akbar Khan made a proposal. It was that the ladies in the English camp should be placed in his care. There seemed no choice left but to consent. So the women were committed to his protection, and he sent them on to Kabul. But the worst had yet to come. On the following day, as the British were marching, the enemy fell on them in a narrow pass, and cut them to pieces. Of the 16,500 who had started in retreat from Kabul, one solitary man, Dr. Brydon, reached Jalalabad to tell the story of the sad fate of the Indian army.

Never had such a disaster overtaken British arms in the East. The only bright spots in the surrounding gloom were Jalalabad where General Sale was making a brave defence, and Kandahar where General Nott was nobly holding out. The Home Government blamed Auckland for the course of the war, and he was recalled.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, 1842-1844, was sent to retrieve British honour. He despatched General Pollock, through the Khaibar Pass, into Afghanistan, and on the advance of the latter the enemy retreated from Jalalabad, and raised the siege of Kandahar. Generals Pollock and Nott moved from different directions against Kabul, destroying every fortress in the line of their march, including the fortress of Ghazni, whose English garrison had at an earlier stage of the war been almost annihilated. Kabul was then taken, and its bazar was blown up. The Afghans were now in a mood for peace. It was clear to Ellenborough that Dost Muhammad was the only man who could govern them, and as they wanted him to be their king he was released from his imprisonment in Calcutta, and reinstated on the throne of Afghanistan, so that the condition of affairs before the war was restored. But the friendship of the Afghans was lost to the English.

No sooner was the war with Afghanistan brought to a close than Ellenborough had to turn his attention to Sindh, whose rulers were Baluchi Chiefs. Lord Minto, it will be remembered, had made a friendly treaty with them ; but the reverses which the British had experienced in Afghanistan encouraged them to try to rid themselves of their obligations to the English. They, therefore, made an attack on the British Residency. Sir Charles Napier conducted the war for Ellenborough, and signally defeated the Amir of Sindh in the battles of Miani and Haidarabad. The Chiefs of Sindh were sent as prisoners to Benares, and Sindh itself was annexed.

**Annexation of Sindh, 1843.**

Scarcely had the war with Sindh been concluded when Ellenborough was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Gwalior. A dispute between rival chiefs as to who should be Regent to the young Sindhia, plunged Gwalior into civil strife, and the danger was lest there should be a general rising in Northern India. Ellenborough felt this must be averted ; and so he sent Lord Gough with an army against the contending parties in Gwalior. Gough won the battles of Maharajpur and Panniar, and thus put himself in a position to settle the disputes which had involved the State in war. No regent was appointed ; but a council of six Maratha nobles was created to manage the affairs of the State, and an English force was stationed in Gwalior to ensure the continuance of peace.

**Gwalior taken under British protection.**

The Directors at home did not approve of the annexation of Sindh, and Ellenborough was recalled. However, to have restored the Company's prestige in Afghanistan was an achievement with which he had every reason to be satisfied.

**LORD HARDINGE, 1844-1848.** However much they may have wished it, it seemed impossible for the

English to abide in India at peace with their neighbours. Scarcely was one war over than they found themselves face to face with another. On arrival, Hardinge recognised that a Sikh war was not very far off, for of late the Sikhs had become more and more hostile.

The Sikhs were originally a sect of Jats and Rajputs. Their creed, a refined type of Hinduism, was first formulated by Nanak Shah, a religious reformer who was born near Lahore in 1469. The Mughals persecuted them, so much that in self-defence they developed into a political brotherhood composed of twelve clans. Through their bravery they eventually overcame the Muhammadans of the Punjab, although these greatly outnumbered them. In all they had ten great leaders. Govind Singh, the tenth, gave them a military constitution, and welded them into a united whole by abolishing the distinctions of caste. Ranjit Singh, their celebrated chief, was born in 1780. In 1800 he ruled the Punjab for his Afghan master. But ridding himself of the latter, he set up his own kingdom in that province, and eventually extended his sway over Multan, Peshawar, and Kashmir, so that at last only the Sutlej separated his territories from those of the English. Indeed, in 1830 Bentinck thought it prudent to conclude a commercial treaty with him. As long as he lived the Sikhs held together as a united people; but when he died, in 1839, there was a struggle among the powerful nobles for supremacy. At last in 1845 by common consent Ranjit Singh's infant son, Dhulip Singh, was placed on the throne, and the chief Sikh Sardars formed his Khalsa or Council of State. The English formally acknowledged him as the Sovereign of the Sikhs, and his mother as the Queen Regent.

The Queen-Regent and the Khalsa were soon convinced that they could not control the army, and that, if it were not engaged against a foreign foe, it would turn upon

**First Sikh War,  
1845-1846.**



RANJIT SINGH.





the Khalsa itself, and plunge the Punjab into civil war. The army was accordingly led across the Sutlej into English territory, and so began the First Sikh War. Hardinge had, however, in anticipation of the event, moved his forces unobserved towards the Sikh frontier, and was therefore ready for the Sikhs. He immediately proclaimed the Cis-Sutlej States annexed, and within nine days of the Sikhs' crossing the Sutlej, General Gough defeated them in the battle of Mudki. The English army in quick succession added the victories of Ferozpur, (1845) Aliwal, and Sobraon (1846). The loss of life at Sobraon was ghastly ; for after the battle the Sikhs attempted to escape by a bridge over the Sutlej. The bridge gave way, and thousands of them were precipitated into the river. The English artillery fired on them from the banks, and between the bullets and the stream they perished ; but not a man surrendered. The English then pushed on to Lahore, and a deputation of Sikh chiefs, headed by Gulab Singh, sued for peace. The Treaty of Lahore was then signed. By it the tract of country between the Bias and the Sutlej was ceded to the English ; one-and-a-half crores of rupees were paid to them as an indemnity for the war ; Gulab Singh was set up as the independent Raja of Kashmir in return for an annual payment of 75 lakhs of rupees ; and the size of the Sikh army was reduced. But Imamuddin, the Governor of Kashmir, refused to admit Gulab Singh's title to the throne of Kashmir. Troops were sent against him, and he was obliged to yield. A Second Treaty of Lahore was then made. By it the Government of Lahore was to be carried on on behalf of the minor Maharaja, Dhulip Singh, by a council of native nobles under the direction of a British Resident.

The continued misrule of Oudh seemed to call for rebuke, and Hardinge warned the King of Oudh, that if he did not abide by the treaty made with Wellesley in 1801, and govern his kingdom properly, the

**King of Oudh  
warned against  
Misrule.**

English would be obliged to interfere in the interests of his subjects. •

Before returning to England Hardinge attended to other matters. He began the Ganges Canal to ward off famines in the Doab, and continued the work of putting down sati, infanticide, and the practice of offering human sacrifices among the Khonds of Orissa. While he was Governor-General the cultivation of tea was begun in Assam, the tax on salt was reduced, education in English was systematically encouraged, and Indians were more largely admitted into the public services.

**Reforms and Material Progress.**

LORD DALHOUSIE, 1848-1856. The administration of Lord Dalhousie, one of the greatest of all the Governors-General, may be summed up in the three words—Acquisition, Consolidation, Development. He annexed perhaps more territory than any of his predecessors. He knitted together the scattered British provinces by a net-work of railways and telegraph wires. He did much to increase the trade and the material prosperity of the country.

**Characteristic Features of Dalhousie's Rule.**

Though overthrown in the First Sikh War, the Sikhs were by no means crushed. The several divisions of the Punjab had been placed under Governors, or *Diwans*, who were responsible to the British Resident at Lahore. This officer called upon Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan, to render an account of his administration. Mulraj preferred to resign. On this Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were sent to take over the government and fortress of Multan. But it had all been arranged beforehand, and as soon as these officers assumed control of public affairs they were murdered. News of this reached Lieutenant Herbert Edwards at Dera-Fateh-Khan. But the rebellion of one man had now grown

**Second Sikh War, 1848-1849.**

into a revolt of the Sikh Confederacy. The Afghans, smarting under their late humiliation, readily lent their assistance to the Sikhs. Lord Gough did not at first grasp the seriousness of the position, and he omitted to make preparations on a sufficiently large scale. However, Lieutenant Edwards held the enemy in check till Gough's army took the field. Multan was then captured, 1848, and Mulraj gave himself up to the English. In the following year the Sikhs were defeated at Chillianwala and Gujarat. They then submitted at Rawal Pindi, and the Afghan contingent was pursued to the Khaibar Pass. The war over, Dhulip Singh was given a liberal pension; the Punjab was annexed, and put under a Board of Control consisting of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Charles Mansel. Moreover the Sikh army was disbanded, but its best men were formed into a military police. The Khalsa also was broken up, and its members reduced to the position of private persons. Ruled by the Sikhs the Punjab had groaned under the burden of forty-eight taxes; Dalhousie reduced them to six. A careful survey was made of the province, and the land tax was fairly levied. In other directions the development of the province was assisted. The Bari Duab Canal was excavated; the Grand Trunk Road was extended across the Punjab; and education was attended to by the State. In 1852 the Board of Control was dissolved, and John Lawrence was made Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

The Raja of Sikkim in 1849 seized some English travellers. As a punishment Sikkim was taken from him. **Sikkim Annexed.**

The king of Burma, in violation of the Treaty of Yendabu, ill-treated British subjects at Rangoon, and, when called upon to redress the wrongs of English merchants, he took no notice of the demand. Friendly negotiations having had no effect, in 1852 an expedition was sent against him, and in a short time Martaban, **Second Burmese War, 1852.**

Rangoon, Prome and Pegu were taken from him. Dalhousie stopped the war at this stage, being of opinion that the Burmese King had been sufficiently punished. A proclamation annexing all Lower Burma was published, and the greater part of the English army was withdrawn. From this time the southern part of Burma has prospered.

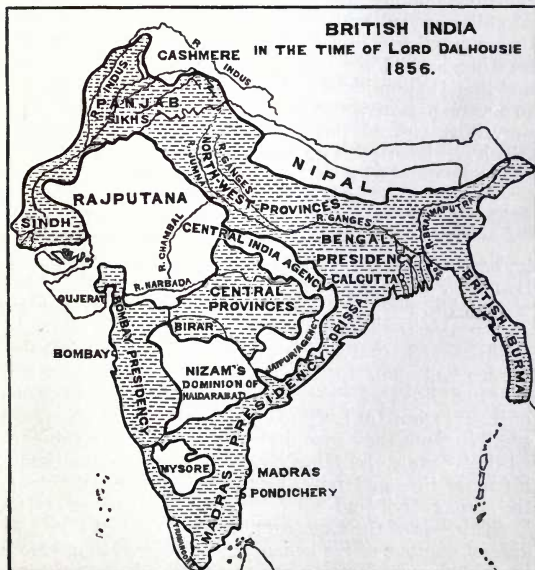
According to a long established Indian practice, dating from the time of Akbar and Aurangzeb, when a Hindu prince held his principality in subordination to, or as a gift from, the paramount power, in event of failure of male heirs of his body, he was allowed to adopt a son; but the condition of this son's succession to the principality was that the adoption should have obtained the consent of the paramount power. In the absence of that consent the personal property of the deceased prince was inherited by the adopted son, but not the principality, which reverted to the paramount state. At all times the latter reserved to itself the right of withholding its consent to an adoption, and, when the consent was not given, of resuming the subordinate principality. This is known as the Doctrine of Lapse.

Lord Dalhousie came out with instructions to strictly follow the Doctrine of Lapse, and, by resuming all petty states to which there were no heirs of the body, to remove intermediate powers between the British government and the people, wherever it would benefit the latter. In carrying out this principle Lord Dalhousie annexed several minor states. The Raja of Satara on his deathbed adopted a son, 1848, without the consent of the British Government. The child was given his adoptive father's personal property, but not the subordinate state of Satara, which was annexed. The matter was referred to the Court of Directors, who ruled that "the territory of Satara has lapsed by failure of heirs to the Power who bestowed it, and we desire

**The Doctrine of Lapse.**

**Dalhousie annexes many States.**

that it be annexed to the British dominions." On similar grounds, Sambalpur, Jhansi, Udaipur, Tanjor, parts of Sindh, Cachar, Orissa, and Nagpur were annexed, and the pensions of the Nawab of the Karnatic and of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II., lapsed, while for arrears of payments due for the maintenance of British troops quartered in his territories, the Nizam of Haidarabad ceded the Assigned Districts to the Company.



Lord Dalhousie has been much condemned for his "wholesale annexations." But he is hardly to be blamed for acquiring so much territory. He was a servant of the East India Company, and all that he did was loyally to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors. It should be remembered that he did not invent the Doctrine of Lapse; that he did not interfere with the Hindu right to adopt a son to inherit the private estate of the deceased, and to perform the *shradh* ceremony; that according to law and custom no adoption carried with it the right to inherit succession to a subordinate principality, except the adoption had been made with the consent of the paramount power; and that Dalhousie did not interfere with the succession to sovereign native states. The Court of Directors and prevailing custom should be saddled with the odium which has been piled on Dalhousie.

The annexation of Oudh was for different reasons. The Province of Oudh had been guaranteed to the Nawab Wazir, (afterwards known as the King of Oudh) by Wellesley's treaty of 1801, only so long as he ruled Oudh well. Bentinck, Auckland and Hardinge had each in turn warned the King of Oudh that if he did not reform his government the Company would be obliged to interfere. Dalhousie felt that action could no longer be delayed. Things had come to such a pass that he wrote to the Court of Directors, "were it not for the constant presence of British troops at Lucknow, the people of Oudh would speedily work their own deliverance." He recommended that "while the King should be permitted to retain his royal title and rank, he should be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of Oudh in the hands of the Company." The Court of Directors did not approve of his leniency, and ordered him, before he laid down office, to annex Oudh. It was accordingly annexed in 1856.

**Defence of Dalhousie's action in annexing States.**

**Annexation of Oudh, 1856.**

It was Dalhousie's great anxiety that a change of masters should not injure subjects. He everywhere set the rents and the administration of justice on a proper footing, but he nowhere interfered with the customs, religions and habits of people. These last continued in the full enjoyment of their rights, and in addition were freed from the oppression which they had only too often experienced from native rulers. District officers were appointed to preside over the law courts, over the gathering in of revenue, and over the police. Most of the newly-acquired territories were made into Non-Regulation Provinces.

Having completed his work of acquisition, Dalhousie began to consolidate. He united the scattered parts of the British possessions by railways and by the telegraph system. He introduced cheap postage, and constructed roads, canals, court-houses, jails, and other public buildings. Education was made a Department of the State, and Government officers were appointed to look after the primary and secondary schools that sprang up everywhere. Lord Halifax, in 1854, drew up a scheme of education based upon the modern vernacular languages of India, and its adoption eventually led to the founding of Universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Trade and industries were encouraged in every possible way. Slavery was abolished, and agriculture was promoted. Appointments in the Civil Service were thrown open to the natives of India, and Indian Members were admitted to the Legislative Council. Dalhousie tried to reorganise the native army, and to increase the number of English regiments in the country; but the Directors did not consent to his proposals.

In 1856 Dalhousie retired from his arduous duties. He had greatly increased the British possessions in India. Where there had been misrule and tyranny he

**Non-Regulation Provinces.**

**Consolidation and Development**

**Estimate of Dalhousie's Work.**

substituted good government and equal laws. By the iron bands of railway lines and telegraph wires he linked province to province. By a system of cheap postage he facilitated the interchange of thought. By his roads and canals he assisted trade. By introducing a common system of state education he created a oneness between divergent creeds and races. By allowing Indians into every department and grade of the Civil Service he satisfied the ambitions of all classes of people. These statesmanlike measures rank him with Hastings, Clive, Wellesley, and Bentinck, and entitle him to a foremost place among the Governors-General of India.

LORD CANNING, 1856-1858. Owing to Dalhousie's measures, when Canning arrived there was in the minds of Hindus and Muhammadans a suspicion that the British Government was determined by indirect means to subvert the religions of the country, and that national customs were in danger of being undermined. In addition to this, the application of the Doctrine of Lapse had greatly alarmed the chiefs and princes, many of whom believed themselves to have been unjustly deprived of their lawful inheritance. There was also a vague expectation in the air because of the prophecy that the hundredth year after the battle of Plassey would see the end of British rule in India. The sepoys knew that they outnumbered the European soldiers in the ratio of five to one, and that miles of country intervened between one English garrison and another. The army, too, had been denuded of its British officers, many of whom had been given civil and political appointments. More than this; the recent Burmese War had greatly irritated the sepoys, for they held that they had enlisted exclusively for internal warfare, and not for service beyond the seas—crossing the seas being believed to be forbidden by the Hindu religion. Again,

**Threatened War with Persia.**

**Causes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.**



many regiments were composed of men who came from the same locality, who were related to one another, who were of the same caste, and who could therefore easily combine for any purpose. The annexation of Oudh had sent adrift 50,000 Indian soldiers who had committed no fault. All this combined to fill the sepoy with discontent. They were thus ripening for mischief when the rumour was spread that the British Government was conspiring to rob them of their caste by greasing the cartridges of the guns with fats that offended Muhammadans and Hindus alike, and that the flour supplied to the Hindu sepoy at Cawnpur was mixed with bone dust of the sacred cow.

While these grievances were rankling in the minds of the sepoy, their officers and the civil authorities suspected nothing. Before leaving the country Lord Dalhousie had advised the Home Government to increase the number of British soldiers in the Indian army, so that they might in an emergency hold the sepoy in check. But his advice had not been heeded. It is true that at more than one place the sepoy had been somewhat insubordinate; but no serious view had been taken of their conduct, and they had been leniently treated. And yet there were events transpiring which should have put the English on their guard. At Meerut a religious mendicant publicly preached rebellion, and Dandu Pant, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa, and better known in history as Nana Sahib, made a tour of Delhi, Lucknow and Kalpi, sowing the seeds of insurrection as he went. And so it was that the British dreams of security were rudely brought to an end one Sunday evening by the sepoy of Meerut shooting down their officers; killing every European man, woman, and child they met; breaking into the jail and releasing the prisoners; and spending the night in plundering the city. Before the news of the rising could be sent anywhere, the insurgents hurried on to Delhi, and being there joined by the sepoy

The Sepoy Mutiny begins.

of that city, they murdered the Europeans of the place. It was very evident that their next move would be to take possession of the arms and ammunition stored there by the English. But Lieutenant Willoughby was determined that the powder and shot should not fall into their hands. To defend the arsenal against them was out of the question, so he set fire to the powder, and was blown up together with 2000 of the rebels. Delhi, however, was in their possession, and the Mutiny rapidly spread from province to province, and from city to city. Rohilkhand was ablaze; Jalandhar, Bundelkhand, and Jabalpur were in rebellion. The Rani of Jhansi behaved with savage ferocity. In what is now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the people themselves joined the sepoys. Lucknow was besieged, and Cawnpur was at the mercy of Nana Sahib and his general, Tantia Topi. Though the South Maratha Country sympathised with the sepoys, its soldiery remained inactive. Through the influence of Sir Salar Jang, Haidarabad remained peaceful. At Peshawar, Barrackpore and some other places the sepoys were disarmed before they could rebel. The Sikhs, who might have been expected to join the insurgents held aloof, and the Punjab remained loyal.

Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpur were the main centres of the Mutiny. At the last-mentioned city some 400 English soldiers entrenched themselves with their wives and children, and for a time bravely withstood the fierce assaults of Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi. When they felt they could no longer hold out, in despair they accepted the offer of safe conduct to Allahabad which Nana Sahib offered them. They were led to the *ghat* where boats were in readiness for them. But as they pushed into midstream the treacherous enemy from the banks of the river opened fire on the defenceless boats. About 206 men, women, and children were made prisoners, and killed with every conceivable form of cruelty. Their corpses were thrown promiscuously into

**The Mutiny at  
Cawnpur, Delhi,  
and Lucknow.**

a well. Two days after this tragic occurrence, Havelock arrived with a relieving army, and Nana Sahib fled. What became of him is not exactly known, but it was at the time believed that in the forests of Nepal he was devoured by a tiger. At any rate he was never heard of again.

Meanwhile at Delhi, the 30,000 rebel sepoys in possession of the city were being besieged by only 7000 British troops under General Nicholson. At length Delhi fell, but not till Nicholson had been killed. The Emperor, Bahadur Shah, and his two sons were made prisoners. He was transported to Burma, and the ring-leaders of the mutinous sepoys at Delhi were shot. The fall of Delhi was a turning point in the history of the Mutiny.

As has already been observed, in Oudh the mutineers were joined by the people. They were misled into rebellion by the Talukdars, who had become disaffected owing to the annexation of the province. At Lucknow



THE RESIDENCY LUCKNOW.

Sir Henry Lawrence had fortified the Residency, and in it the rebels, who were being daily reinforced, besieged about 1700 Europeans. Early in the siege Lawrence was killed; but the beleaguered British bravely held out. After three months a relieving force under Havelock, Neill, and Outram arrived. But the investment of the Residency continued. Neill fell. In an underground chamber the ladies and children dwelt for the six dreary and anxious months that the siege continued. The Residency yet stands, and its grey walls riddled by bullet and cannon ball, bear silent but impressive witness to the fury of the mutineers. As last, in November 1857, Sir Colin Campbell cut his way through the enemy, and relieved the all but exhausted garrison. The sepoy fell back on Bareilly, but were expelled from there, and were pursued from place to place till they escaped to Nepal.

Sir Hugh Rose was meanwhile dealing with the Mutiny in Central India. He took Kalpi, and laid siege to Jhansi, whose cruel Rani had eagerly combined with Tantia Topi. The Maharaja of Gwalior, who had thrown in his lot with the English, was defeated by this Maratha general, who forthwith assumed the Government of the place. Sir Hugh Rose, however, defeated him at Morar, and retook Gwalior. Sir Robert (afterwards Lord) Napier came upon the rebel army under Tantia Topi between Gwalior and Agra, and all but annihilated his forces. Tantia Topi escaped from the battlefield, but he was later on betrayed, and hanged for his share in the massacre at Cawnpur. It was now April of 1859, and the Mutiny was practically stamped out.

Lord Canning dealt leniently with the mutineers, most of whom he believed had been misguided into rebellion. A general pardon was proclaimed to all who threw themselves on the mercy of the English. The lands of the disloyal Talukdars were confiscated, and the ringleaders were put to death. These mild measures displeased many, and earned for the Governor-General

**India taken over  
by the British  
Crown.**

the nick-name of "Clemency Canning;" but in truth the epithet is a tribute to his wisdom and humanity. His mercy did more than anything else to pacify the country, and to make it the loyal India of to-day. In 1858 an Act was passed by Parliament abolishing the East India Company and transferring the government of India to the British Crown in the person of Queen Victoria. The Governor-General was created Viceroy, and was made responsible to the Secretary of State for India, who was put at the head of a Council appointed to manage Indian affairs. On the 1st November, 1858, Queen Victoria's Proclamation was read with due ceremonial splendour at every civil and military station. It guaranteed to the people fair and equitable treatment; it assured the nobility that all treaties and engagements made with them in the past would be respected; the Doctrine of Lapse was declared to be abandoned, and adoption in the event of failure of natural heirs was admitted to confer on the adopted the right of succession to the *guddee*. The Public Services were without reserve thrown open to any natives of India, who by their education, ability and integrity might be capable of performing duties that had hitherto largely been discharged by Europeans.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### India under the Crown.

#### The Fifth or British Empire of India.

#### The Viceroys of India.

1858—1903.

LORD CANNING, 1858-1862. The Queen's Proclamation made India a dependency of England, and Canning was created Viceroy. As soon as peace was restored, he travelled over Northern India, and reassured the princes and people whose cities he visited. At Agra he held an assembly, or *darbar*, of Indian chiefs who had been loyal during the Mutiny, and rewarded them with titles and decorations. His next anxiety was to recoup the vast sums which the rebellion had cost. An income tax was imposed, customs duties were revised, and professions were required to pay a license. Then in 1859 a Rent Act was passed in the interests of ryots, and in the following year the Indian Penal Code, which Lord Macaulay had drawn up, was used in all Criminal Courts. The Sadr Courts were abolished, and the High Court of Calcutta was established.

LORD ELGIN, 1862-1863. Lord Elgin, who had been Governor of Canada in America, was appointed to succeed Canning. During his short rule of eighteen months he had to put down a rising of the Wahabis, a fanatical sect of Muhammadans. While touring in the North-West of India, he became seriously ill, and died at Dharamasala. There he was buried. Before the next Viceroy could come out, Sir William Denison, the



QUEEN VICTORIA.





Governor of Madras, acted at the head of the Indian Government. It looked as though fresh trouble was at hand, for the Raja of Bhutan raided the Duars, and treated with scorn the ambassador who was sent to remonstrate with him.

LORD LAWRENCE, 1864-1869. Sir John Lawrence, who had so ably ruled in the Punjab during the Mutiny, was selected to be the next Viceroy, and was created Lord Lawrence. He was very averse to wars, and though he might have found reason for entering upon hostilities with Afghanistan, he desisted. It was, however, otherwise in the case of Bhutan. The conduct of the Raja of that land could not be tolerated, and an expedition was sent against him. After a brief but brave resistance he was overthrown, and the Bhutan Duars were annexed, 1864. Two years later a terrible famine occurred in Orissa, and in spite of all that was done to supply its people with grain, thousands died of starvation.

LORD MAYO, "The Conciliator of Princes," 1869-1872. As already hinted, Sher Ali, the new Amir of Afghanistan, had had a **The Provincial Contract System.** misunderstanding with Lord Lawrence, and Mayo thought of restoring friendly feelings by inviting him to a meeting at Ambala. Sher Ali came, and was treated with special honour; but he went back dissatisfied. The Viceroy then turned his attention to internal reforms and improvements. For some years past the income of the Government had fallen short, chiefly because the Local Governments made no attempts to save expenditure that could well be avoided. The reason of their extravagance was that any savings they might effect lapsed to the Government of India. To remedy this Mayo devised what is known as the Provincial Contract System, according to which a certain portion of the revenues and of other incomes is allotted

to the Provincial Governments for five years at a time. From this allotment they have to meet their expenses, and if there be any balance left, they may use it for the benefit of the Province concerned. This system with unimportant modifications continues to this day, and by it the money affairs of the Government have caused little, if any, anxiety.

Mayo next remodelled the Supreme Council. He divided the affairs of the Government into seven Departments—Foreign; Public Works; Home; Revenue, Agriculture, Commerce; Financial; Military; and Legislative. The Head of each Department was given a seat on the Supreme Council of which the Viceroy himself was President. Every Member was responsible for his own Department, but he had the benefit of the advice of the other Members assembled in Council. By this means the various parts of the machinery of the Government were made interdependent, and assisted to work together in harmony.

In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 it was declared that the governments of the several Princes and Chiefs who then governed their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the dignity of their houses should be maintained. Lord Mayo recognised that this meant that an area of about 600,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50 millions, governed by Feudatory Chiefs was part and parcel of the British Indian Empire, and that the Queen had made herself responsible for its welfare. He therefore laid down the following maxims for future dealings with Feudatory Chiefs:—(1) The misrule of an Indian Chief was never to be made the excuse for annexation. (2) Where there was bad government the Chief might be replaced by his heir, whose government—if he were a minor—should be placed under a Native or an European Regent. (3) The younger Native Chiefs should be educated under

**Mayo Remodels  
the Supreme  
Council.**

**Dealings with  
the Feudatory  
States.**

the direction of British officers, and be taught their responsibilities to their subjects and to the British Government. In working out this policy Mayo took in hand the 187 chiefs of Kathiawar, established a College for them, and gradually introduced among them a better system of government. So also the State of Aliwar was placed under a Native Council of Management. It did not take long for the Feudatory Princes to appreciate the work that Lord Mayo was doing for them, and the genuine grief that filled them when they heard of his assassination by a felon on the Andaman Islands, was only one proof out of many that by his death they felt they had lost a true friend.

To avoid friction between England and Russia on account of Afghanistan, Lord Mayo by skilfully conducted negotiations had the Amir's boundaries fixed.

**Boundaries of  
Afghanistan  
defined.**

The Viceroy now devoted himself to the extension of railways, and to the improvement of the means whereby, in times of deficient rainfall, water could be supplied to the districts where there was drought. To afford education to the masses was his wish, and he so improved the Department of Public Instruction that he studded Bengal with primary schools in which all classes were taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Knowing how the people of this country yield an affectionate loyalty to the person of their ruler, he arranged for a visit to India by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria. The tour of the Duke touched the hearts of the Queen's Indian subjects, and put a seal to the peace that prevailed in our land.

**Railways, Canals,  
and Education.**

**Visit of the  
Duke of  
Edinburgh.**

Lord Mayo was a man who wanted to see things for himself. Early in 1872 he started on a tour to Burma, the Andaman Islands, and Orissa. But he did not get further

**Lord Mayo  
assassinated.**

than the Andamans, for as he was leaving the shores of Viper and Ross Islands, one of the convicts—whose condition in exile he had gone to ameliorate—stabbed him, and all India went into mourning for one of her most sympathetic and noble-hearted Viceroys.

LORD NORTHBROOK, 1872-1876. The year after Northbrook's arrival he was called upon to combat a severe famine that prevailed in Bengal. Relief works were opened, grain was imported from Burma, and every effort was made to save life. In 1875 our Emperor, Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, paid India a visit. People of all classes combined to give him a royal welcome. Before retiring in the following year Lord Northbrook set Indian finances on a firm basis.

LORD LYTTON, 1876-1880. In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, and at a great *darbar* held at Delhi Lord Lytton published to all Indians that they were ruled over by their own sovereign. At the same time the Proclamation of 1858 was confirmed, and the bond between England and India was thereby more closely drawn.

Ever since the time of Lord Lawrence the relations between Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan, and the English had been strained. For military purposes Quetta had lately been occupied as an outpost. To this the Amir objected, and regarded it as a menace to him. He accordingly entered into negotiations with the Russians, and received the Czar's ambassador with marked honour at Kabul. As a matter of political necessity Lord Lytton sent an English envoy to Sher Ali, but the Amir refused to receive the British ambassador. This could not be tolerated, and war was declared. An English army marched into Afghanistan, and before the close of 1878 Jallalabad and Kandahar were in the possession of the English, and Sher Ali fled to Balk. Here he

**The Second  
Afghan War,**

died; and in the following year his son, Yakub Khan, sued for peace, and the Treaty of Gandamak was signed. He agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul, and was in turn acknowledged as Amir.

But the presence of a British Resident at the capital of their country was distasteful to the Afghans, and suddenly the soldiers of the Amir attacked Sir Louis Cavignari, who was Resident, and his attendants, and killed him and them. This act of treachery necessitated a renewal of war, and Sir Frederick (now Lord) Roberts marched on Kabul, and took it. At the same time Sir Donald Stewart won a decisive battle at Ahmad Khel, and Yakub Khan was brought down to Calcutta as a prisoner. This incensed the Afghans, and the whole country rose up in arms. At this time a change occurred in the Ministry in England, and Lytton resigned the Viceroyalty. Lord Ripon took up the office thus vacated, and continued the war which he had inherited from his predecessor in office.

**The Third Afghan War, 1879-1881.**

LORD RIPON, "The Conciliator of the People," 1880-1884. Shortly after Lord Ripon's arrival he received the unwelcome news that the English army had been defeated at Maiwand by Ayub Khan, a brother of the captive Amir. General Roberts, however, saved the position by marching from Kabul to Kandahar, and by completely routing Ayub's army. Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, was then placed on the Afghan throne, and the war having ended, the English troops were withdrawn.

**Third Afghan War Continued.**

Lord Ripon felt that the time had come when Indian municipalities might be given a larger share in the guidance of local affairs. In 1882 he, therefore, passed the Local Self-Government Act. Since then public opinion has gained more and more weight, and the extended liberty which was at this time given

**The Local Self-Government Act of 1882.**

to the Indian Press has allowed of the free discussion of matters connected with the public welfare. As Representative Government and Education go hand in hand, Ripon improved the quality of the education imparted in Indian schools. In all matters he showed himself to be in deep sympathy with the ambitions and aspirations of the Queen's Indian subjects, and when he retired in 1884 his departure was much regretted.

**LORD DUFFERIN, 1884-1888.** Of late years Russia had been so extending her territory that she had now come to the confines of Afghanistan. Indeed there was a likelihood of her taking Herat itself. Such a measure would of necessity produce complications which had better be avoided. Lord Dufferin with masterly diplomacy secured the appointment of a Commission of English and Russian officers who defined the boundaries of Afghanistan. The hands of the Indian Government were at this time strengthened by the offer of troops by the Feudatory and other Chiefs in event of a war with Russia. To mark its appreciation of the loyalty of the native states the Government sanctioned the maintenance of an Imperial Service Contingent in the more important Feudatory States.

For some years past the government of Upper Burma had been going from bad to worse. King Thebaw recked little of treaties and less of good government. He permitted British traders to be molested, and bands of robbers to infest the land. Not content with what they could plunder in Burma itself, these made incursions even into British territory. The Viceroy appealed to Thebaw to set matters right, but he insolently threatened to invade British India himself. General Prendergast was sent with an army against him. Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, was taken without a blow; Thebaw was deposed; and his kingdom annexed, 1886.

The entire country of Burma was constituted a Chief Commissionership. But since 1897 it has been ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor, and is now in a prosperous condition.

LORD LANSDOWNE, 1888-1894. The new Viceroy completed the defences of the Afghan frontier, and assisted the Feudatory Chiefs in organising the Imperial Service Corps to defend that frontier. In Manipur there was an unimportant rebellion which was easily suppressed. The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged, and the elective system for the return of certain members for those Councils was introduced. The National Congress was inaugurated, and since then it has met year by year to discuss matters of political and social importance. The Government by its resolutions is helped in its efforts to rule India for the benefit of her many millions.

LORD ELGIN II., 1894-1899. A disturbance at Chitral, on the Afghan side of the north-west frontier, led to an expedition, which resulted in the English occupying that distant out-post. The bubonic plague now broke out in India, and in spite of all that science and sanitation can do to check its spreading from cities to rural tracts, it still prevails. In 1897 a severe famine occurred in the Central Provinces, Bihar, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Public generosity and relief works saved many lives that must otherwise have been lost. But the misfortunes of Lord Elgin's incumbency were not yet ended. In 1897 an earthquake of considerable violence visited North-Eastern India and caused great loss of property, and damaged many public works and railways. In the same year the fierce tribesmen of Tirah, towards Afghanistan, raided British territory, and the Tirah Campaign was undertaken to restore order. In this it succeeded.

LORD CURZON, 1899—to the present time. The first public duty that Lord Curzon was called upon to perform was to organise relief for one of the severest famines that have ever visited India. The unity of the British Empire all the world over was illustrated in a remarkable manner by the large sums of money that were sent from every part of that Empire for the supply of food to the millions who were starving. This same feature of our times was again emphasised by contingents from the Indian army being sent to help England's troops in the Transvaal

The Delhi  
Durbar, 1903.

and in China. Queen Victoria died early in 1901, and on the 1st January 1903 Edward VII. was proclaimed Emperor of India at a Durbar



Victoria Rupee of 1901.

at Delhi. Nothing in modern times has approached the splendour of this Durbar. All important Indian rulers and chiefs, as well as many of the nobility of the land, were summoned to it, and future years will prove the value of the Durbar in consolidating the Indian Empire, and in creating a feeling of brotherhood throughout the length and breadth of our native land.





LORD CURZON.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### India, Past and Present.

In addressing the vast concourse of Indian nobles and potentates assembled at the Delhi Durbar, speaking of the people of India, Lord Curzon said :—"To the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy ; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges ; to others it opens ever-widening avenues of honourable employment ; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering ; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace."

It is difficult for us in these days of security to realise what an invasion from Persia, Afghanistan, or Central Asia meant. It signified not merely a host of 20,000 to 100,000 foreign soldiers "on the march, paying for nothing, and eating every town, and cottage, and farm-yard, burning and slaughtering on the smallest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country." For instance, when Nadir Shah invested Delhi, in a single forenoon 8000 men, women, and children were sabred, and the city was pillaged, and set on fire in several places. Within a few years of the departure of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah made no less than five inroads into India, and his troops for a series of weeks made Delhi the scene of every atrocity. His Afghan cavalry meanwhile scoured the country, slaying, burning, and mutilating, in the smallest village as in the largest town. His horsemen suddenly swooped down

**Freedom from  
Invasion.**

upon the sacred city of Muttra while it was thronged with thousands of peaceful pilgrims who had swarmed to it for a holy festival. Before the devotees could escape, they were burnt within their houses, or massacred in the streets, or carried away into captivity. Such was the condition of Upper India not 150 years ago. Nor did other parts of the country fare any better. Fierce aboriginal tribes, like the Koch and Ahams, from time to time devastated Assam. Warlike neighbours like the Burmese overran Eastern Bengal and laid it waste. Southern Bengal as also the Coromandal and Malabar Coasts fell an easy prey to pirates, who sailed up the large rivers, burned peaceful villages, and put to the sword inoffensive peasants. All this is now changed. The mountain passes of the Himalayas are no longer an open door to enemies in the north; the eastern tribes, as well as the Burmese, are subject to British rule; and piracy is a thing of the past.

Great as was the suffering caused by the unprovoked incursions of foreigners, greater was the misery produced by internal wars. It is said that Muhammad Shah, Sultan of Gulburga once had a quarrel with the Raja of Vijayanagar, and that he did not sheath his sword till 50,000 of his enemy's subjects had been killed. The Marathas gave the country no rest. "Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettledrums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyena and the tiger." Nor were the Pindaris less of a scourge to the land. Chitu led an undisciplined army of 25,000 ruffians into the Nizam's territories, and there they burned, destroyed and slaughtered as far south as the Krishna. They then entered the Northern Circars, and not a town or village escaped the horrors of their cruel greed. Then, too, the death of

a Mughal Emperor was the signal for a civil war in which neither side showed any mercy. Of the twenty princes who succeeded Aurangzeb, fourteen met violent deaths; four were blinded, and two died in prison. The tale of misery was completed by the depredations of the Pathans, the *thags* and the *dacoits*. How many deaths and how much misery they were responsible for will never be known. Very different is it now. The Marathas, Pindaris, Pathans, and other avowed enemies of peace no longer fill the land with bloodshed. War between two Indian princes can no longer be resorted to, and struggles for vacant thrones do not occur. The domination of the English has brought to an end civil discord and anarchy.

It is the natural right and privilege of every man to call his life and property his own.

But this was precisely what no one could do a little over a century ago.

**Their rights and privileges guaranteed to all.**

In those days one's life might be taken

at any moment, and of all investments landed property was the least secure. The usual price of a field was the crop standing on it. And even at that price it was often dear, for before it could be reaped, down would come a swarm of Marathas or Pindaris, slay the owner, and carry off his ripened corn. People were glad to escape with their lives, and leave their homes and belongings to the enemy. Owing to the frequency of invasions, the borderland between Afghanistan and India was a silent waste. Along the foot of the Himalayas a belt of land, measuring 30,000 square miles was delivered over to wild beasts. Vast tracts of country in Assam and Bengal had no inhabitants. By the sea coast and in the deltas of the larger rivers many thousand square miles were depopulated by the ravages of pirates. Owing to the general insecurity no one had the heart to grow more than what would suffice for actual needs. No industries flourished, and trade there was none. People feared to come together and form towns or large

villages. They preferred to live in small and scattered groups so that they might not attract the attention of a greedy foe. It is very different now. The once barren wildernesses of the Himalayan borderland smile with fields of grain, and tea-plantations dot the slopes of the mountains themselves. Waste lands and swamps are being everywhere reclaimed, and land is now the safest of all investments. It is difficult to buy a field for even twenty crops. Though parts of the country are overcrowded, people do not all seem willing to try their fortunes in uncultivated tracts. They prefer to live in their native towns or villages, being as averse to leaving their homesteads as they were formerly afraid to inhabit them. Hence populous towns and villages have sprung up in abundance, and the great problem of the day is to raise from the fields enough for the wants of so many millions.

Their rights and privileges have been guaranteed not to the masses only, but also to the princes and native rulers in the land. The unsettled condition of the country in former days involved the smaller princes and rulers in ruin, for their wealth, supposed or real, made them the prey successively of Mughal, Maratha and Pindari. Repeatedly it was their fate to ransom their lives by paying all that they possessed. Their estates were often confiscated for no just reason, or they were thrown into prison and their lands given to another. But since Queen Victoria in 1858 abandoned the Doctrine of Lapse, and Lord Mayo made it law that on no account was an Indian Chief to have his territories annexed, the native rulers in our country have enjoyed security to a degree formerly unknown by them. They show their gratitude by their loyalty and devotion to the Crown. Many of them maintain Imperial Service Troops with which to help the British Government in time of necessity, and Lord Curzon has recently created a career for princes by establishing a Cadet Corps for the sons of Indian chieftains.

*Agriculture, Trades and Industries.*—Security of life and property is the foundation upon which the British have built their Government of India. The remarkable development of agriculture during the last hundred years is only a result of continued peace and security. Rulers and people alike have a permanent interest in their possessions; population has increased; and commerce and trade have become possible. Waste lands have been brought under the plough, and the poorest man endeavours to obtain the best return from his fields, for he knows that what he does not require for his own use he can readily sell in the market. In large towns and populous cities mills and factories give the labouring classes an industrial career. British capital has opened out tea and coffee plantations, cotton and jute mills, oil and coal mines, indigo and opium factories, not to mention potteries, rope works, quarries, and other lines of business which provide work for millions. In 1902 there were 525,252 acres under tea, which produced 188,589,261 lbs of tea, and gave employment to over 875,000 coolies. Coffee plantations in the same year covered 219,293 acres, and produced 30,306,239 lbs., and gave a living to not less than 50,000 labourers. Jute was in the same year grown on 2,106,300 acres and yielded 5,328,000 bales, and provided many thousands with work. In 1902 there were 335 coal mines in which on the average 98,312 labourers were daily employed, and which yielded 7,424,480 tons of coal. It is not necessary to give details of every trade and industry, but some idea may be formed of the enormous proportions to which commerce has grown when in 1903 Calcutta alone had a trade valued at 119 crores.

The blessings  
of peace.

*The Post and Telegraph Departments.*—The expansion of trade and commerce has necessitated rapid means of communication, and cheap modes of carrying goods. In 1837 the Postal Department was established. Before that date there was no general system of postal

service in India. Government had its own arrangements for the conveyance of State letters and parcels, and private persons were, as a matter of favour, allowed to use the Government Service. In the absence of railways and steamers, letters were carried by country-boats, *dâk-garis*, horses, camels, and runners. There were no postage stamps, and the charge from Calcutta to Bombay was one rupee per tola. Now a letter can be sent to England for one anna, and a post card to Bombay costs only one pice. The total length of mail lines is now about 180,000 miles, and more than 5,000,000 letters, newspapers, and parcels are carried by the post in a year. The operations of the Post Office include the making or the realising of payments; the banking of savings; the distribution of quinine; and the insurance of letters and parcels. Fifty years ago there was some uncertainty as to whether, at the end of several weeks, a letter would reach its destination: now we post our letters confident that in a day or two they will be correctly delivered. In the year 1901 the sum of Rs. 106,821,235 was held in favour of depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank.

Intimately associated with the Postal Service is the Telegraph Department. We owe its introduction to Dr. O'Saughnessy, a Professor of the Medical College at Calcutta. He first experimented in telegraphy at the Botanical Gardens on the opposite side of the Hugli, and in 1851 he worked an experimental line of 82 miles with such success that Lord Dalhousie connected Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Peshawar and Madras with telegraph wires. In 1855 private messages were received for transmission. Now some 50,000 miles of telegraph wires intersect the land, and a message can be flashed from Cape Comorin to Peshawar in a few minutes for a fee of four annas only. The benefits of the telegraph system are inestimable, and the service it rendered during the Mutiny of 1857 has established its political importance.



*The Expansion of Commerce.*—The Postal Department could not do its work without railways, nor could commerce be carried on in its present proportions without trains. In former times the journey from Calcutta to Bhagalpur occupied two months by boat : now the distance is covered in less than fifteen hours by train. Travelling has become not only rapid but easy. The wayfarer of a hundred years ago had to risk encounters with wild beasts and bands of desperate robbers. The difficulties of the way were increased by bad roads, or famine-stricken districts, or swollen rivers. Railways have altered these conditions, and have made journeying safe and cheap. Merchandise of all kinds is now carried great distances at very moderate rates. The first railway, 20 miles in length, was opened in 1853 between Bombay and Thana. The next year the East Indian Railway conveyed passengers from Howrah to Pandua, a distance of 38 miles. In 1856 the Madras Railway ran to Arcot, 65 miles. At present India is covered with a network of railways measuring 26,955 miles, and in 1903 no less than 210 million passengers travelled in trains, and 47 million tons of goods were carried. The profits of the year amounted to 232 lakhs of rupees. Over 3 million people are employed in working railways, and when it is remembered that 5,573 miles are now under construction, it will be seen that many thousands, who might otherwise be in want, are enabled to provide themselves with food.

*Inland Roads and Canals.*—Railways have opened up the country to trade. In former times the cost of carrying grain, etc., to markets was so great, that traffic in local produce was impossible. Now all that a trader has to do is to buy his grain in the villages and convey it to the nearest railway station. This has encouraged husbandmen to grow in their fields more than they require, so that they may sell the surplus, and with the money thus obtained procure for themselves some of the necessaries and comforts of life. Railways have,

therefore, called into existence innumerable roads and their feeders. Before the British Government was established there was not a single good road in the country. But from the time that Bentinck began the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi, Local Governments, District Boards and Municipalities have been so busy in making roads that it is comparatively easy to carry the produce of distant fields to the railway. Where roads do not exist, canals supply a water-way upon which boats and steamers carry country produce to trading centres.

*Emigration.*—Mention has already been made of the great increase there is in population, and it has been observed that one of the most difficult problems of the day is to feed the millions of India. It is calculated that there is an increase of 20,000,000 souls in every ten years. The growing population may be provided for by waste lands and swamps being converted into fields; by agricultural methods being improved so that the same area of fields may produce grain more abundantly; and by the excess of population emigrating to less thickly inhabited parts of the country. The reclamation of land proceeds slowly. The people are too conservative to improve their modes of cultivation; and emigration affords only a partial solution of the difficulty. Some progress, however, has been made in all these directions. The waste lands along the base of the Himalayas have been reclaimed for the plough: but still 107,525,236 acres in British India await cultivation. In all schools the elements of agricultural knowledge is being taught, particularly in rural tracts, and it is hoped that more information on the subject may lead to improved husbandry. Emigration proceeds upon a small scale to Assam, and to such places as Mauritius, Demerara, and Trinidad. In 1900 there were 62,732 emigrants to Assam, and 22,498 emigrants to the colonies. But most emigrants return to their native homes after a term of years, and emigration therefore

does not in any great degree afford relief to congested areas.

*Education.*—Peace is conducive to the spread of learning. Under no Indian dynasty was the education of subjects regarded as a duty of the state. Whatever of learning there was it was confined to the Brahmins who cultivated Sanskrit, and to the Mullahs who made a study of Arabic. Education for the masses never existed. In 1781 Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah, and in 1813, when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed, a clause was inserted requiring not less than a lakh of rupees to be spent every year in the diffusion of knowledge. When Bentinck ruled, education in English was for the first time generally imparted, and in 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded. In later years universities have been added at Allahabad and Lahore. Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon extended education to the masses, and now we have in British India 3,184,000 pupils in 92,000 primary schools, 259,412 pupils in 5,032 secondary schools, and 17,148 students (including 177 girls) in 180 colleges. The expense to Government for education amounted in 1902 to about 110 lakhs of rupees, which amount was required to supplement the fees of pupils and the subscriptions of persons interested in the spread of education. The Universities are meanwhile preparing men for a share in the service of Government and for practising the learned professions.

*Religions Toleration.*—Every one is entitled to his own religious views and convictions. In former days this was not admitted by the rulers of the land, and there existed odious taxes such as the *jiziya* and taxes on pilgrims. Hindu persecuted Muhammadan, and Muhammadan persecuted Hindu. But now the British Government allows every man to follow his own religion without let or hindrance. Missionaries preach Christianity, just as Muhammadans, or Buddhists, or Brahmos endeavour to spread their respective Faiths. In the

eyes of British law all religions are equal, and no man's religion or caste is considered a disqualification for service under Government.

*Police.*—The Police is maintained for the preservation of peace and for the suppression of crime. The policemen of the Mughal Empire were an undisciplined, half-starved soldiery, who lived upon what they could extort from the people. Now the policeman receives a monthly salary, and is kept under strict discipline. His duties are to check and trace crime, to aid the meting out of justice, and to report breaches of law. For protection against robbery and murder each person pays the Government a monthly Police Tax of less than 1 pice. We now have court houses, and jails, and *thanas*. In the time of the Mughals "the prisons themselves were ruinous hovels, whose inmates had to be kept in stocks and fetters, or were held down under flat bamboos, not on account of their crimes, but because, from the insecurity of the jails, the jailor had no other means of preventing their escape." Compare with this the treatment of prisoners in our modern jails. Theft and crimes against person have sensibly diminished, and although the Police is capable of improvement, through its organisation there is now less crime in India than in England.

*The Dispensing of Justice with an even Hand.*—The Mughals had no system for their law courts. Judges were not salaried, nor were they watched and corrected by superior courts. They were merely sellers of decisions, and earned their living by accepting payment alike from plaintiff and defendant. They were guided by no codes of criminal or civil laws, nor was any adequate opportunity of defence given to the accused. We now have our lower and our higher courts, so that an appeal from a subordinate magistrate lies to his superior. The law makes no distinction between rich and poor. There is the same law for all. The powers of magistrates are restricted according to their rank, and every

one charged with crime is allowed to defend himself by employing advocates learned in the law. Judges and Magistrates are paid suitable and sufficient salaries, and they are upright and just.

*Social, Religious and Political Progress.*—In India social life is inseparable from religious rites and observances. While the manners and customs of a nation may undergo changes, its religious teaching permits of little, if any, modification. Under such circumstances religion inevitably acts as a check upon the introduction of innovations in national customs and practices. In India if this were not the case it is certain that the social advancement of its people would have kept pace with the material development of the country. And yet unmistakably the feeling is yearly gaining ground that the time has come for the old order of things to give way to the requirements of new surroundings. The study of Western literature has familiarised the people with new modes of thought and with new standards of life; commerce with other countries has brought into their homes commodities formerly unknown; and contact with Europeans has enlarged their outlook. The rigid exclusiveness of a century ago has disappeared, and in our schools pupils of all castes sit side by side and receive the same instruction. Passengers of all grades of society crowd together into our trains. Members of formerly despised classes fill offices of trust and honour in the State. Under the stress of circumstances the old barriers that separated the people into unsympathetic groups are being gradually removed. The lower orders have risen in the social scale, and though caste distinctions continue, much toleration is evinced. Then, too, at the conclusion of its sessions the National Congress is accustomed to resolve itself into a Social Conference for the discussion of such subjects as the remarriage of child widows, the education of women, and the propriety of crossing the seas. Briefly the general tendency is in

favour of allowing persons greater freedom in the details of every day life.

In Religion there has been of necessity but little to call for remark. The British Government of India is neutral in religious matters, and allows its subjects the fullest freedom in the exercise of their Faiths. Where, however, the claims of humanity have demanded it, the Government has intervened, and *thagi*, *sati*, infanticide, human sacrifices, and hook-swinging have been suppressed. There is now a spirit of enquiry abroad, and people diligently study their Sacred Books in preference to accepting as final the dogmatic teachings of others. Newspapers and journals discuss questions of religion, and missionary attempts are being made to prevent people from falling away from their ancient creeds. A religious movement analogous to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century has taken place, and the Sadharan Brahma Somaj and the Adi Brahma Somaj have issued as theistic rehabilitations of Hinduism.

It is, however, in the sphere of Politics that the greatest progress has been made. Apart from the share that state servants of all grades have in the administration of the land, non-officials also participate in the conduct of public affairs. By the creation of municipal towns and of District Boards, Self-Government has in some measure been introduced. A certain number of seats on the Provincial Legislative Councils is reserved for non-official Indians who are returned by the votes of constituents. Moreover, as occasion arises the Viceroy appoints Indians as Additional Members of his Council. All Bills are published before they are finally made law, and newspapers and public bodies have an opportunity of criticising the measures which Government has in contemplation. The Indian National Congress assembles annually to ventilate the aspirations and the desires of the people, and political work is diligently carried on throughout the year by influential bodies such, for example, as the British Indian Associa-

tion and the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta.

The Mughals were as much foreign rulers of India as are the British. With the solitary exception of Akbar, no Mughal Emperor admitted the Hindus or the Muhammadans of the country into the Services of the State. The English, however, have been more wise and liberal. They have from the earliest time of their occupation of this land employed native labour. At first Indians were given only subordinate posts, but now there is nothing to exclude them from the best appointments. Lord Curzon has recently explained that there are two principles which regulate the recruitment of the Indian Civil Services. "The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, the members of which are entrusted with the responsible task of carrying on the general administration of the country, though open to such Indians as proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule be held by Englishmen ... the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created, and are responsible for, it. The second principle is that ... the Government shall, as far as possible, and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because its general policy is to restrict rather than extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence in the service of the State."

**Avenues of  
Honourable  
Employment.**

But clerkships and Government appointments happily are not the ambition of all. Many prefer to enter the learned professions, and be physicians, surgeons, lawyers, civil engineers, electricians, and journalists. In pre-English times these avenues of honourable and remunerative employment did not exist. Then, too, there are

many other openings for men of education and influence. They may as Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Commissioners, and Members of District Boards, assist the Government in its scheme of Local Self-Government.

We have so far been considering those who have the blessing of health and are able to work. What about those that are afflicted with sickness and bodily infirmities? For such people in bygone days there was no provision made by the ruling dynasty. But now we have hospitals and many charitable institutions. In 1898 there were 2211 hospitals which treated 348,000 in-patients and 18,588,000 out-patients. Zenana hospitals are provided in several towns, and medical relief is thus carried to women whose social restrictions prevent their appearing in public. Besides hospitals for general complaints, there are lunatic and leper asylums, cholera hospitals, plague hospitals, small-pox hospitals, alms houses, homes for the aged, and orphanages for the fatherless. They are maintained by the Government at a great expense, and they succour individuals who are in distress. There are, however, occasions when, not isolated individuals only, but a whole population is plunged into a sea of suffering. Too much or too little rain brings on a famine, and millions, who from year to year depend entirely upon the season's crop of paddy, are doomed to starvation. In every country there is a percentage of the population that goes through life on insufficient food. In India out of 300 millions 40 millions are believed to have but one meal a day. During a famine they have to go without even that meal. Famines have occurred in India for centuries. One is said to have begun in Maharastra in 1396 and to have lasted twelve years. In 1556 another prevailed in the Mughal districts east of Delhi. The sumptuous Court of Akbar did nothing to feed the hungry. In 1770 a worse famine visited Bengal, and Warren Hastings spent the sum of Rs. 90,000 in relieving

**Mercy in the  
Hour of  
Suffering.**



the helpless inhabitants. There were no roads, and no means of promptly distributing rice to the famine stricken. Obviously Rs. 90,000 was nothing in comparison to the money that should have been spent, but Hastings's action marked a great change. It publicly accepted for the Government the responsibility of rescuing people from the pitiless cruelty of famine. His successors have inherited that responsibility, and in the famine of 1874 a sum of 40 million rupees was spent in feeding the ryots. In the famine of 1897 Rs. 53,256,080 were expended, and on an average 2,778,000 sufferers were daily provided with food. The loss of life was comparatively small.

But Government is not supine in years of plenty. It does not wait till calamity has overtaken its subjects. It does all it can to prevent disaster. Against plague and cholera sanitation is insisted on; against the ravages of small-pox vaccination is made compulsory; to combat fevers quinine is dispensed through post offices; against famines from drought canals, wells, and tanks are excavated; and against famines from floods embankments are raised along rivers that are liable to overflow. To provide food at such times a Famine Fund is maintained. There are over 14,000 miles of canals, which have been made at a cost of 37 crores of rupees, and which with their distributaries, aggregating 40,000 miles in length, are able to irrigate more than 10,000,000 acres of land.

The preceding pages have endeavoured briefly to justify the Viceroy's statements quoted in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

**Concluding  
Remarks.**

It is not pretended that the condition of India admits of no improvement, or that the administration of the country has reached a state of perfection. But it is claimed that the English have done more for the good of India than any of her earlier rulers, and that the Government earnestly endeavours to promote the real well-being of its subjects. It would be

unreasonable to expect no weaknesses or defects in the administration of so vast a country with its diverse races and their conflicting interests. But of any government the highest praise is that it seeks to do what is right. This may without hesitation be said of the Government of India, for the representatives of our King-Emperor strenuously endeavour after Truth, Justice, and Unity, believing that "to have won such a dominion is a great achievement; to hold it by fair and righteous dealings is greater; to weld it by wise statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be, and is, the greatest."

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Italics, Sanskrit terms.*

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