CHAPTER XI

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HUNS, AND THE ASCENDANCY OF
KANAUJ, KASHMIR AND GAUPA

The Huns

In spite of the heroic efforts of Skanda Gupta, the Gupta empire in its entirety did not long survive the shock it received from the uprising of the Pushyamitras and the incursions of the Huns. The hereditary character of the officialdom, particularly in some of the outlying provinces, must have let loose centrifugal forces which gathered strength as the central authority weakened owing to the on slaughts of the barbarians. There were signs of degeneration and of dissension in the imperial line itself, and the devotion of the more loyal feudatories could not save the empire from its impending doom. So far as our present knowledge goes, Budha Gupta was the last emperor of the main line of the Guptas who preserved some semblance of unity in the major part of the empire. When he passed away the Huns were safely entrenched in the Siālkoṭ region and Eastern Mālwa, provinces that had owned the Gupta suzerainty since the days of Samudra Gupta.

The Huns were a race of fierce barbarians who issued from the steppes of Central Asia and had in the fifth century A.D. spread in devastating hordes over some of the fairest provinces of the Roman empire in the West and the Gupta empire in India. Their early incursions into India were repulsed by Skanda Gupta, but they renewed their attacks when the great emperor was no more. Towards the close of the fifth and early in the sixth century A.D. the Hun suzerainty rapidly spread in all directions, thanks to the vigour and energy of Toramāna and his son Mihiragula. The last-mentioned ruler is known not only from inscriptions and coins, but from tradition recorded by Huien Tsang and Kalhana, both of whom bear witness to his tyrannical rule. He has further been identified with the White Hun King Gollas mentioned by the monk Cosmas Indikopulastes, and also with the Yetha ruler of Gandhāra to whom Song Yun, the Chinese pilgrim, paid a visit in A.D. 520. An account of his feats is also supposed to be preserved in the Jaina stories about Kalkirāja. The expansion of the Hun
rule in Central India seems to have been checked by the loyal feudatories of the Guptas, and their imperial power was finally shattered by Yaśodharman of Mandasor. Petty Hun chieftains continued to rule over a circumscribed area in North-West India and Mālwa, waging a perpetual warfare with the indigenous princes till they were absorbed into the Rājput population. It is significant that the new aspirants for imperial dominion in Āryāvarta, Yaśodharman, the Maukhari, the princes of the house of Pushyabhūti, and the Pālas set much store on success against these outlandish barbarians who harassed their country as the Yavanas and Śaka-Pahlavas did of old.

Yaśodharman

Yaśodharman, the earliest of these aspirants, was a Śaiva ruler who has left records of his achievements at Mandasor. In these he claims to have granted protection to the earth when it was afflicted by the cruel and vicious kings of the age who transgressed the rules of good conduct. He is further described as a Samrāṭ or emperor who extended his sway over territories which even the all-conquering Gupta lords and Hun chieftains had failed to subdue. Homage was done to him by chiefs from the neighbourhood of the Brahmaputra up to the Eastern Ghāts and from the snowy heights of the Himalayas down to the Western Ocean. The Hun king Mihiragula, whose head had never previously been bowed in the humility of obeisance to any mortal, was compelled to do reverence to Yaśodharman's feet.

There has been a tendency on the part of some scholars to minimise the achievements of this great king. On the other hand there are not wanting writers who identify him with the great Vikramāditya Śakāri of Ujjain, the patron of Kālidāsa. It is forgotten by the latter that no contemporary record gives him the title Vikramāditya, that the foreign enemies he vanquished were Huns and not Śakas, and that the only city with which he is closely associated is Daśapura or Mandasor, and not Ujjain. Little is known about his ancestry or successors. A family styled Naigama held the important post of viceroy of the territory between the Vindhyas and the Sindhu (either the sea or some stream in Central India) in his day. Portions of Mālwa were governed by the Maitrakas, Kalachuris and Guptas shortly after Yaśodharman. The imitation of Gupta coins and assumption of titles characteristic of kings of the Gupta family by the Kalachuris show that no wide interval separates their rule from that of the last of the Imperial Guptas of Mālwa.
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The dominant powers in India in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. were the Maukharis in the Ganges valley and the Chalukyas of the Deccan. The history of the Chalukyas will be treated in a later chapter.

The Maukharis

The Maukharis claimed descent from Āśvapati of epic fame. They figured as feudatory chieftains or generals in Magadha and Rājputāna from very early times and possibly came into contact with the Kadambas of South-West India. The family rose to prominence under Īsāṇavarman, who is the first to assume the imperial title of Muhārājādhirāja or supreme king of great kings. From a record of his reign dated A.D. 554 we learn that he won victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gaudas. The Andhras and the Śūlikas may have reference to the rulers of the Vishnukundin and Chalukya families of the Eastern and Western Deccan, while the Gaudas, whose “proper realm” lay not far from the sea, are apparently the precursors of Śaśānka of Karnasvarṇa (in Western Bengal), the enemy of Rājyavardhana of Thānesar, and of the Gauḍa rival of Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the eighth century A.D. Īsāṇavarman also came into conflict with the later Gupta king, Kumāra Gupta, probably the third or fourth monarch of that name. The son of the latter is represented as “breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huns”.

It is clear that the Maukharis, like Skanda Gupta and Yaśodharman, carried on the struggle against the foreign invaders, the destruction of whose power was necessary to realise their dream of restoring the fallen fabric of imperialism in Northern India.

Īsāṇavarman was followed by at least three other princes, Śarvavarman, Avantivarman, and Grahavarman. The last-mentioned ruler was a son of Avantivarman. He married Rājyaśrī, daughter of Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti family of Thānesar and sister to Rājyavardhana and his more celebrated brother Harsha. But the alliance could not save the Maukhari ruler from destruction at the hands of the “wicked lord of Mālava”, who has been plausibly identified with Deva Gupta of the inscriptions of Harsha. Rājyaśrī, the widowed Maukhari queen, was cast into prison at Kanauj. The death of Grahavarman was avenged by his brother-in-law Rājyavardhana, the eldest son and successor of Prabhākara-vardhana. But Rājyavardhana himself was “allured into confidence by false civilities on the part of (Śaśānka) the king
of Gauda, and then weaponless, confiding and alone, despatched in his own quarters". The decree of fate thus deprived the kingdom of Thānesar, as well as that of the Maukhari, of their rulers.

Harsha

At this juncture the statesmen of Kanauj, on the advice of their leading noble Bani (Bhaṇḍī), seem to have offered the crown to Harsha, the brother of Rājyavardhana and of Rājayāśri, who was destined to revive the imperial memories of the Gupta epoch and obtain recognition as the lord paramount of the whole of Northern India, even from his bitterest enemies. The event happened in A.D. 606, the starting-point of the Harsha era. Both Bāṇa and Hsüen Tsang refer to Harsha's reluctance to mount the throne. This is taken by some to be due to the fact that he was not the rightful heir to the throne of Kanauj, which may have formed part of the dominions of his sister's Maukharī husband whose line was not yet extinct. But this view does not explain Harsha's hesitation to succeed his elder brother. Moreover the exact identity of the ruling authority at Kanauj immediately before the time of Harsha is not clear from the narrative of Bāṇa and the Chinese writers. Hsüen Tsang's account leaves the impression that it was included within the territory of the "murdered king", the elder brother of Harsha. The chief statesman of Kanauj was Bhaṇḍī, a prominent figure at the court of Thānesar and not at the Durbar of the Maukhari. Bāṇa, however, refers to the imprisonment of the widowed Maukharī queen at Kanauj, her liberation through the connivance of a Gupta noble, and her flight to the Vindhyā forest. In the Fang-chih Harsha, king of Kanauj, is represented as administering the government in conjunction with his widowed sister as if she had some claim to the throne of Kanauj, which is only possible if that city formed a part of the realm of her husband. The true history of the period will only be made clear when further evidence is forthcoming. It is, however, certain that Harsha found himself at the head of the kingdom of his brother as well as that of his brother-in-law. But he contented himself at first with the modest title of Rājaputra (Prince) Śilāditya.

The dynasty to which Harsha belonged claimed descent from the illustrious Pushyabhūti, a devoted worshipper of Śiva. It ruled at Thānesar and was raised to greatness by Prabhākara-vardhana, father of Harsha, who was the son of a princess, possibly of "later Gupta" lineage. He took the title of Mahārājādhīraja and
played the part of “a lion to the Hun deer”. As already related he
offered the hand of his daughter Rājyaśri to Grahavarman Maukhari
and thus formed an alliance between the two most powerful families
of the Madhya-deśa (upper Ganges valley) which resembled the solar
and lunar races of antiquity. The vicissitudes through which the
kingdom of Thānesar passed in the time of Rājyavarman, his
immediate successor, have been mentioned above. Harsha on
coming to the throne had to face a sea of troubles. He had
to rescue his sister, the Maukhari queen Rājyaśri, the widow of
Grahavarman, who had fled from the place of her confinement
at Kanauj. He had to avenge the death of his elder brother and
predecessor, and he had to consolidate his authority in the two
kingdoms over which he was called upon to rule. One of his earliest
acts was a treaty of alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the ambitious
king of Kāmaripta in modern Assam, who was in a position to
attack his arch-enemy, the king of Gauda, in the rear. Another
prince befriended by Harsha was Mādhava Gupta, belonging to
the line of the “later Guptas” of Mālwa and Magadha. The
recovery of Rājyaśri was effected within a short time by Harsha
himself, who was accompanied by Mādhava Gupta, while Bhanji
was ordered to proceed against the king of Gauda. Harsha is said
to have waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought
the ‘Five Indies’. Saśāṅka of Gauda proved a formidable opponent
and his power seems to have continued undiminished till A.D. 619.
Harsha, however, succeeded in strengthening his position in the
two home territories, and in 612 assumed full regal titles. He increased
his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry
to 100,000.

During the period 618–627 Chinese chroniclers record serious
disturbances in India, and Siṇḍhīya (Harsha) is represented as
punishing the kings of the four parts of the country. What specific
contests are meant is not made clear either by the Chinese writers
or the grants of Harsha himself issued between A.D. 628 and 631.
But we learn from Chalukya records that sometime before 634
Harsha marched southwards as far as the Nerbudda, where his
further progress was stopped by Pulakeshin II of the Chalukya
dynasty of Vatāpi in the Deccan. A record of the Gurjara chiefs
of Broach refers to the defeat by Harsha of a prince of Valabhī
who was granted protection by Dadda II. At the time of Huien
Tsang’s visit to Valabhi, c. 641, the reigning prince of Valabhī,
Dhruvabhaṭa, was attached to Harsha’s interest by a matrimonial
alliance. Saśāṅka, king of Gauda, must have died sometime before
637 when Huien Tsang was at Nālandā in South Bihār. For a time
Magadha passed under the rule of Pūrṇavarman. In 641 Śilāditya (Harsha) himself assumed the title of king of Magadha and exchanged embassies with China. According to tradition he had led an expedition to Northern Bengal. The final overthrow of the Gaṇḍa kingdom of Karnasuvara seems to have been the work of his ally Bhāskaravarman whose Nālbanapur grant is issued from that city. The exact date of this event is not known. In 642 death probably removed Pulakesin II, the formidable southern rival of Harsha, and in the next year the northern emperor undertook an expedition to Gaṇḍā. We have also references in literature to Harsha’s expedition to the Tushāra saīla or snowy mountains, whence he exacted tribute, to Kāśmir from which he carried off a tooth relic, and to Sind whose ruler was deprived of his royal fortune. We do not know to which period of Harsha’s reign these events are to be assigned.

Much controversy has raged round the question of the extent of Harsha’s empire. It certainly embraced the old kingdoms of Thāneśar (in the eastern Punjab) and Kanauj (in the Gangetic Doāb) and the provinces of Ahichchhatra (Rehilikhand), Śrīvastī (Oudh) and Prayāga (Allahābād). Chinese evidence points to the inclusion of Magadha since 641 and also of Orissa. Udita of Jālandhar and Mādhava Gupta, apparently of Eastern Mālwa, seem to have been his vassals. The emperor’s army had overrun almost the whole of Northern India, from the snowy mountains of the north to the Nerbudda in the south, and from Gaṇḍā in the east to Valabhi in the west. The king of Kāmarūpa beyond the Brahmaputra was his ally, and the real character of the alliance was well illustrated by an episode recorded by a Chinese writer which shows that the eastern potentate acknowledged the superiority of Harsha’s might and did not dare disobey his orders. Even the most powerful of Harsha’s enemies, viz. the Chalukyas of the Deccan, bear witness to his suzerainty over the whole of Uttarāpatha or Northern India. The pre-eminence of Harsha over other contemporary rulers of the North is also indicated by the “muse-upo-drums” which he alone was entitled to use, other kings not being permitted to adopt the paraphernalia in question. It is not suggested that the whole of Northern India was actually controlled by imperial officials. Large tracts of this wide region were doubtless under powerful local rulers who owed only a nominal allegiance to the imperial throne. But even the rulers of distant Kāshmir, Sind, Valabhi, and Kāmarūpa had a wholesome dread of the power of Harsha. The king of Kāmarūpa dared not detain a Chinese pilgrim at his capital against the will of his mighty
“ally”, and, according to one interpretation of a certain passage in the Harsha-charita, the Kanauj emperor actually installed Kumāra-rāja (Blāskaravarmā) on the throne. This obtains some confirmation from another passage where it is stated that the lokapālas or rulers in the different regions owed their appointment to him. The king of Kāshmir was compelled to surrender a tooth relic to Harsha. The ruler of Sind, already humbled by Prabhākaravardhana, was, according to Bāna, shorn of his royal fortune by Harsha. The ruler of Vakabhi had once fled before the advancing arms of the Kanauj monarch and later on accepted the hand of his daughter and attended the imperial court.

Kanauj, the imperial capital, had the Ganges on its west side. It is described by Huien Tsang as a very strongly defended city with lofty structures everywhere. There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water. Rarities from strange lands were collected here. The inhabitants were well off and there were families with great wealth. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire. They were given to learning and the arts.

Harsha did not long survive the Gaṇjam campaign of A.D. 643. In his later days he received embassies from China and maintained close diplomatic relations with the Chinese court. At this period he came into contact with Huien Tsang, the Chinese Master of the Law, who was visiting the sacred spots of Buddhism. It appears from the records of the Chinese pilgrim that the emperor of Kanauj showed a strong predilection for Buddhism, though he does not seem to have discarded altogether the Śāivism of his earlier years. He caused the use of animal food to cease throughout his dominions and prohibited the taking of life. He erected rest-houses and monasteries and practised charity on an extensive scale. One of the most interesting features of his reign was the quinquennial assembly known as the Mahāmokṣaparishād.

In 643 the Chinese pilgrim witnessed two grand assemblies, one in the city of Kanauj, the other in the “arena of charitable offerings” at Prayāga (Allahābād). The Kanauj assembly was summoned “in order to exhibit the refinements of the Great Vehicle and make manifest the exceeding merit of the Chinese Master of the Law”. It was attended by twenty kings, besides thousands of Buddhist, Brāhmanical and Jaina theologians and priests. Impressive spectacles were presented by a golden statue of the Buddha kept in a lofty tower and a gorgeous procession of elephants that escorted an image of the Śākya sage to the hall of assembly. The gathering at Prayāga included about 500,000 people who had been summoned from the distant corners of the “Five Indies” to receive
gifts from the emperor. Harsha went to the spot accompanied by the Chinese Master of the Law and the kings of twenty countries. Images of the Buddha, Ādityadeva (the Sun), and Iśvaradeva (Śiva) were installed on successive days and precious articles were distributed in charity on each occasion. When the accumulation of five years was exhausted, the emperor wore a second-hand garment and paid worship to the Buddhas of the ten regions.

Harsha died in A.D. 646 or 647. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest kings of ancient India. Called upon to rule over two distracted kingdoms in a period of turmoil he succeeded to a large extent in restoring respect for authority in vast tracts of Northern India and won praise as a just and benevolent ruler, punctilious in the discharge of his duties. It is not surprising that years of strenuous warfare did not allow him much time to establish on a firm foundation that ordered government which three generations of Gupta emperors had given to the “middle country”, the benefits of which were warmly appreciated by Fa Hien. It was, however, not due to any lack of vigour on his part. This indefatigable prince was anxious to bring justice to the doors of all. He made visits of inspection throughout his dominions and was prompt to reward the virtuous and punish the evil-doer. But he nursed a higher ambition. The grandson of a “Gupta” princess, Harsha attempted to revive the imperial memories of Samudra Gupta and sought to unite the north and south of India under one sceptre—in vain as the sequel proved. But the imperial splendour of Kanauj that he did so much to augment was hardly dimmed in succeeding ages, and rulers of the remotest corners of India counted it their proudest boast to have “captured Mahodaya-Sri”, i.e. conquered Kanauj. Harsha also showed a taste for literature and the arts of peace that reminds one of the versatile hero of Hariśeṇa’s panegyric. In his later days he sought to emulate, perhaps unconsciously, the great Aśoka, and the Chinese pilgrim bears eloquent testimony to his pious foundations, his toleration, liberality and benevolence, all irrespective of caste and creed. One European writer calls him the Akbar of the Hindu period. A great general and a just administrator, he was even greater as a patron of religion and learning. He gathered round himself some of the finest intellects and holiest sages—men like Bāṇa, Mayūra, Divākara and Huien Tsang. In one respect he is more fortunate than Samudra Gupta, for we still possess some gems of literature that proceeded, according to tradition, from his pen.
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The Kanauj Empire after Harsha

Harsha died either at the end of A.D. 646 or the beginning of 647. The removal of his strong personality let loose forces of disintegration and disorder in the Madhya-desa (upper Ganges valley) that were not successfully overcome till about A.D. 836 when Bhoja I of the Pratihāra family ruled once more over a vast empire, with its capital at Mahodaya or Kanauj. After a reign extending over more than forty years Harsha transmitted his crown to successors who must have struggled to maintain their heritage for some time. Attempts were made by princes like Yaśovarman, and possibly Indra-rāja to restore the fallen fabric of imperialism and win for Kanauj that proud position which it once occupied under Harsha. But their efforts were frustrated by the warlike potentates beyond the limits of the Madhya-desa to whom the acquisition of the imperial seat of Harsha was the goal of political ambition. Kanauj was the cynosure of all eyes. “What Babylon was to the martial races of Western Asia, what Rome was to the Teutonic barbarians and Byzantium to the mediaeval world of Eastern and Southern Europe, that was Mahodaya-Srī to the upspringing dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.”

The history of the upper Ganges valley from the end of 646 to 836 is one of internal strife and of external invasion which ended when the royal throne of Harsha passed into the hands of the Pratihāras. When the Pratihāra authority weakened in the tenth century history repeated itself. Another period of commotion ensued followed by the rise of a new imperial family—the Gāhada-vālas. Meanwhile a deluge was preparing in the wilds of Afghanistān which soon spread over the whole of Northern India. The power of the Gāhada-vālas was shattered on the plains of Chandwar in 1194 and the agony of Imperial Kanauj was soon hushed in the stillness of death.

Aspirants for Imperial Dominion after Harsha

It is doubtful if Harsha left a son. He had a daughter who was given in marriage to Dhrvavabhāta of Valabhi. It is significant that in the Gupta years 328-330, which almost synchronise with Harsha’s death, Dharaṇaṇa IV, son of Dhrvabhaṭa, assumed the imperial titles of Paramabhātīraka Mahārajadhirāja Paramesvara Chakravarti. He doubtless looked upon himself as the imperial successor in Western India of the Kanauj monarch, who may have been his maternal grandfather. Among other pretenders were a
brother of Grahavarman, and one of Harsha’s ministers named Arjuna or Arunāśva. The latter seized some provinces in the Ganges valley and came into conflict with a Chinese mission headed by Wang-hiuen-tse. The Chinese envoy received assistance from Tibet and Nepal and inflicted crushing defeats on the enemy. He also obtained large supplies of cattle and accoutrements from Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), king of Kāmarūpa, and carried off the usurping minister to China.

In A.D. 672 the most powerful sovereign in the Madhya-deśa was Ādityasena, son of Mādhava Gupta, the ally of Harsha—the “Sun army” of Far Eastern pilgrims. Ādityasena signalled his accession to power by the performance of the horse-sacrifice. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the most illustrious families of his age. Himself a scion of the “later Gupta” dynasty of Mālva and Magadha, he gave his daughter in marriage to Bhogavarman Maukhari. His grand-daughter, born of Bhogavarman’s wife, became the queen of Sivadeva of Nepal, and mother of Jayadeva. This Jayadeva married Rājyamati, daughter of Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta family of Kāmarūpa.

Ādityasena was followed by three “Gupta” successors, Deva Gupta, Vishnu Gupta, and Jivita Gupta II. Early in the eighth century the throne of Magadha is found in the occupation of a Gauda king. The identification of this ruler with Jivita Gupta II or any other “later Gupta” king is clearly untenable, for we learn from contemporary epigraphy that in the time of Isānavarman Maukhari (middle of the sixth century A.D.) the line of the “later Guptas” is associated with Prayāga or Allahābād. On the other hand the Gaudas are described as taking refuge in the sea. In the next century the “later Guptas” are mentioned as the rulers of Magadha, while the Gaudas have their metropolis at Karṇasuvāra. A panegyrist of the later Guptas styles himself a Gauda, but the designation is not applied to the line of kings eulogised. The latter are simply characterised as of “good lineage”. The truth seems to be that it was the westward expansion of the Gauda power which finally led to the extinction of the house of Ādityasena.

But the Gaudas were not left in undisturbed possession of Magadha for any length of time. The kingdom of Kanauj revived about this time under the vigorous rule of Yaśovarman, a prince claiming descent from the Lunar race, whose exploits are described in the Prākrit work entitled the Gaudavahā by Vākpatirāja. The career of Yaśovarman reminds one of the great Harsha. He led an expedition against the Gauda king and killed him in battle. Having next subdued the Vaṅgas of Eastern and Central Bengal
he turned to the south and reached the Nerbudda. After a brief stay on the banks of that river he returned to his capital through the desert of Rājputāna and the plain of Thānesar. Like Harsha he maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese empire (A.D. 731). He extended his patronage to the illustrious poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja. In the end this enterprising prince roused the hostility of Lāhitāditya, king of Kāshmir, and perished in a conflict with his mighty northern adversary.

Kāshmir

Kāshmir now appears on the scene as a keen competitor of the Gangetic powers. The valley had formed part of the empires of Aśoka, Kanishka and Mihiragula. In the seventh century A.D. it grew into a first-rate power under a local dynasty, styled Kārkota, founded by Durlabhavardhan. The dynasty seems to have acknowledged in a vague way the political pre-eminence of China. Two grandsons of Durlabhavardhana, Chandrāpāda and Muktāpāda Lalitāditya, received investiture as king from the Chinese emperor. Lalitāditya was an ambitious prince. We have already referred to his victory over Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Kallaga, the historian of Kāshmir, credits him with having led his troops to distant countries. The account of these exploits mostly reads like the conventional panegyric of an epic hero. More importance attaches to those parts of Kallana's narrative which refer to his triumphs over Tibetans, Dards and the Turks on the Indus and the slaughter of a king of Gauḍa. Lalitāditya is justly eulogised for his pious foundations, among which the famous temple of Mārtanda stands pre-eminent.

Jayāpāda Vinayāditya emulated the exploits of his grandfather, Lalitāditya, by defeating the kings of Gauḍa and Kanauj. He was a great patron of learning and his court was adorned by Kshirasvāmin, Udbhata, Dāmodara Gupta, Vāmana and other scholars. His fiscal exactions, however, made his name odious. His dynasty came to an end in A.D. 865 and was supplanted by the house of Utpala.

Avantivarman, the founder of the new line, is famous for his irrigation works carried out under the direction of his minister Suyya. The next king, Śaikaravarman, son of Avantivarman, extended the boundaries of Kāshmir in several directions. He seems to have come into conflict with the emperor Bhoja I of Kanauj and Lalliya Shāhī of Udabhāndapura or Und on the Indus, and wrested a portion of the Punjab from the Gurjaras. Like Jayāpāda of the previous dynasty he harassed the people by fiscal
extortions and met his end in a conflict with the people of Uraśā, the modern Hazārā district. A period of turmoil followed. The widowed queen Sugandhā attempted to rule in the name of puppet kings. But she had to encounter formidable opposition from the powerful military factions of the Tantrins who made themselves virtual dictators of the state. The Tantrins were eventually put down by certain feudal chiefs. In the end an assembly of Brāhmaṇas raised to the throne a member of their own order named Yaśaskara. The line of Yaśaskara was followed by that of Parva Gupta. In the time of Kshema Gupta, son and successor of Parva Gupta, the virtual ruler was his queen Diddā, daughter of a chief of Lohara and descended through her mother from the Śāhīs of Udabhāḍapura. Diddā, at first, ruled in the name of puppet kings and then seized the crown herself. She kept it till A.D. 1003 when she transmitted her sceptre to her nephew Samgrāmarāja, the founder of the Lohara dynasty. A terrible invader now appeared on the scene. The Śāhī kingdom of Udabhāḍapura fell after a heroic struggle, in spite of the assistance it received from the ruler of Kāshmir. The kingdom of Samgrāmarāja fortunately escaped destruction at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni, but it was too much weakened by internal conflicts to interfere successfully in the general affairs of Northern India. It gradually sank to the position of a minor power and finally succumbed to the Muslims in A.D. 1339.

Bengal and the Pāla Empire

Both under Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya Kāshmir had come into conflict with the arms of Gauda, which was the name applied to a people of Western and North-Western Bengal as well as to their country. In the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. this eastern kingdom definitely entered on the scene as a rival of Kanauj and Kāshmir. References to Gauda occur in early literature, notably in the śūtras of Pāṇini, the Kautiliya Arthasāstra and some of the Purāṇas. The sister realm of Vaṅga or Eastern and Central Bengal does not seem to be less ancient as it is referred to in the Dharmaśūtras and the epic. In the days of Maurya and Gupta ascendancy Bengal seems to have formed part of the empire of Magadhā, the eastern districts enjoying a certain amount of autonomy. After the fall of the Imperial Guptas we find several local rulers, notably Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchārādeva, asserting their independence. Gopachandra was a powerful ruler whose dominions embraced large tracts in both Eastern and Western Bengal. In his days, or those of his immediate successors, the
Gaúḍa people emerge as a great military power. Sometime before A.D. 554 they came into conflict with Īśānavarman Maukhari and found a safe refuge in a maritime region. In the next century we find them in possession of the aggressive kingdom of Karnasuvrana (usually placed in the Murshidabad district). Under the leadership of their king Śaśāṅka they waged war on the aspiring house of Pushyabhūti. The murder of Rājyavardhana and the war of revenge undertaken by his brother and successor Harsha have been mentioned above. Till 619 the power of the Gaúḍa king seems to have remained unshaken, and his suzerainty was acknowledged as far south as Gaṇjaṁ. But sometime between 619 and 637 Śaśāṅka seems to have died and some years later we find the capital city in the possession of Bhāsakaravarnan of Kāmarīpa, the eastern ally of Harsha. In the latter half of the seventh century eastern India seems, according to some scholars, to have been shared between the "later Guptas" of Magadhā and the Khaḍga dynasty of Eastern Bengal. The Khaḍga chronology is, however, still uncertain. Early in the eighth century both Western and Eastern Bengal were overrun by Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Other conquerors followed in his wake. There was anarchy (Māthsya nyāya) in the realm till at last the different sections of the people (prakṛitis) raised to the throne a chief named Gośāla, who brought the blessings of peace to the distracted lands.

With Gośāla began the famous Pāla dynasty which, in the last days of its rule, claimed descent from the solar race and also from the sea. Under Pāla rule Bengal was to enjoy a period of prosperity undreamt of in her early annals. In contemporary records the earliest kings of the line are called Vaiṣṇava and Gauḍēśvarā, showing that they ruled over the twin kingdoms of Eastern and Western Bengal.

Dharmapāla, son of Gośāla, was one of the greatest kings that ever ruled in Bengal. His accession to the throne probably took place between A.D. 752 and 794. In the course of a long reign of at least thirty-two years he raised Bengal to the position of the
premier state in Northern India, and did much to restore the greatness of the old imperial city of Pātaliputra. He doubtless attempted to shift the political centre of gravity once more to the east, the home territory of the Imperial Mauryas and the great Guptas. He defeated Indrarāja and other enemies, conquered Kanauj and, with the assent of the neighbouring powers, placed on the throne his protégé Chakrāyudha. Some records describe him as the conqueror of the whole country from the Himalayas in the north to Gokarna in the south. But his successes in the Gangetic Doab were short-lived. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan claim to have expelled the Gauda king from the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna during the period A.D. 772 to 794, while the Pratihāras of Western India under Nāgabhata II drove away Chakrāyudha, the vassal king of Kanauj, and made themselves masters of the imperial seat of Harsha certainly before A.D. 836 and probably before even 833.

The death of Dharmapāla probably took place sometime after A.D. 794 but before A.D. 839. His son and successor Devapāla was equally ambitious. He renewed the struggle with the Gurjaras or the Pratihāras of the west and the Dravidians of the south, and his troops claimed victories not only over the neighbouring realms of Orissa and Assam but also over the Huns, a people whom it was the policy of every aspirant for imperial dominion in Northern India to try to overcome. His court poet credits him with having enjoyed the whole earth from the Himalayas to Adam's Bridge. A more modest claim is put forward in other epigraphic passages which say that his arms reached the Kamboja territory in the north and the Vindhya hills in the south. That he maintained some sort of relations with the north-west borderland of India appears probable from his connection with Viradeva, a Brāhmaṇa from Nagarakarā or Jalalābād, who got the important post of abbot of Nālandā in South Bihār. He also received an embassy from Bālaputradeva, ruler of Suvarṇadvipa or Sumatra (p. 219). He seems to have preferred Monghyr to Pātaliputra as the seat of his "camp of victory". He died between A.D. 833 and 878 after a reign of at least thirty-nine years, having raised the kingdom of Bengal to a pinnacle of glory that was never again attained in the time of his successors.

After Devapāla the Pāla power seems to have declined. The next king Vigrāhapaśa I, nephew of Devapāla, was a weak ruler given to religious activities who finally abdicated in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla. The "camp of victory" at Monghyr was still in existence in the seventeenth year of Nārāyaṇapāla, which must
be assigned to a period subsequent to A.D. 852 but before A.D. 898 at the latest (the fifth year of Mahendrapāla Pratihāra). After this the famous fort does not find any mention in any Pāla record. A Pratihāra record of 837 tells us that a chieftain named Kakka gained renown by fighting with the Gaudas at Monghyr. It is not improbable that Pāṭaliputra had already fallen before the advancing arms of the Pratihāras and the turn of Monghyr came next. Within a short time, sometime before the fifth year of Mahendrapāla, that is not later than A.D. 898, even Northern Bengal was annexed to the Pratihāra empire. Part of the lost ground seems to have been recovered in the latter part of Nārāyaṇapāla’s reign, which extended over more than half a century (at least fifty-four years). Two or three generations later, in the time of Gopāla II or of Vigrahapāla II, the Pāla power was once more shaken, possibly by the Kumbojas, but the fortunes of the family were restored by Mahipāla I. Mahipāla is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

Mahipāla I is referred to as the overlord of Gauda in a record of A.D. 1026. Parts of Bengal had fallen into the hands of local dynasties which may in some cases have acknowledged in a vague way the suzerainty of the Pāla emperor (rājāpi). Two of the local families, namely, the Sūras of South-West Bengal and the Chandras of Eastern Bengal, deserve special mention. Several Sūra princes find mention in literature and inscriptions. The most notable among them is Ādiśūra, a name famous in Bengali legend. In the absence of contemporary records it is difficult to say if he can be regarded as an historical figure.

In or about A.D. 1023 the princes of Bengal had to bear the brunt of an attack from Rājendra Chola I, the ambitious ruler of the Tamil country in the far south of India. The army of Rājendra claims to have measured swords with Ranaśūra of South-West Bengal and Govindachandra of the eastern part of the province. He is also credited with having won a victory over Mahipāla. Another invader of Mahipāla’s dominions was in the opinion of some scholars the famous Gāngeyadeva Kalachuri, but this view rests on an identification which may be doubted.

After Mahipāla came his son Nayapāla and grandson Vigrahapāla III. Both these personages came into conflict with Karna Kalachuri, the great king of the Chedi country in Central India. Vigrahapāla III married Yauvarañsāri, daughter of the Chedi king. Another queen of this monarch was of Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage. He left three sons, Mahipāla II, Sarapāla, and Rāmapāla. Mahipāla II proved to be a weak king. The Pāla empire now depended in large measure
on the support of a military aristocracy recruited in part from other provinces. A confederacy of indigenous chieftains revolted against the king. Divvoka, a Kaivarta, held sway in North Bengal which was temporarily lost to the Pālas. Sometime after Divvoka his nephew Bhima became king. The latter was overthrown by Rāmapāla, the youngest brother of Mahipāla II, mainly with the help of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations. The new king once more restored the fortunes of his family. Rāmapāla was followed by his son Kumārapāla, a grandson, Gopāla III, and a second son Madanapāla. In the end Pāla supremacy in Bengal was destroyed by Vijayasena, who belonged to a family that came from the Kanarese country in the Deccan. The Sena power was firmly established in almost the whole of Bengal by the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

The Pāla dynasty produced the last great Hindu emperor whose commands were issued from the historic city of Pāṭaliputra. Like the Mauryas and the Guptas, the Pāla sovereigns raised a kingdom in Eastern India to a position of pre-eminence in Aryavarta. Like their illustrious predecessors they maintained relations with the distant potentates of the world as known to them, and not only did much to foster religion and culture in India but encouraged their spread to foreign lands. The Pāla period saw the foundation of the Universities of Uddānapura and Vikramaśila. The epoch was rendered memorable by the activities of artists like Dhimāna and Vitapāla, of missionaries like Pandit Dharmapāla and Atissa Dipaṅkara and scholars like Chakrapāṇi and Sandhyākara.
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Themselves devoted worshippers of Buddha, the Pāla monarchs were catholic enough to grant toleration to the votaries of Nārāyana and Mahādeva. Throughout the Pāla period the king sought the assistance of Brāhmaṇa ministers. The rise of Kaivarta chiefs to positions of power and wealth in the latter days of the dynasty shows that careers were open to men of talent irrespective of caste and creed.

The Pratihāra Empire

The Pālas were one of the most long-lived dynasties of Indian history, but their supremacy in the Gangetic Doab was of short duration. The sceptre of Kanauj was not long wielded by the vassals of Dharmapāla, and by A.D. 836 the Pratihāra dynasty was firmly established in the city of Mahodaya (Kanauj). Before the end of the ninth century the power of this new imperial line had extended in all directions and the command of the great Pratihāra king was obeyed all over the wide expanse of territory stretching from Pehoa in the Punjab to Deogarh in Central India, and from Una in Kāthiwār to Pāhārpur in North Bengal.

In their epigraphic records the Pratihāras claim descent from the Kṣatriya Lakshmana (brother of Rāma) of the solar race famed in the Rāmāyana, and also from a Brāhmaṇa named Hari-chandra. The prevailing view among modern scholars is that they are a branch of the Gurjara race that began to play an important part in Indian history from the sixth century A.D. The Gurjaras established principalities in the Punjab, Marwar and Broach. In the seventh century A.D. they find mention in the Harsha-charita of Bāna, the records of Hiuen Tsang and the Ahole inscription of Pulakesin II. About the middle of the eighth century A.D. certain Gurjara chiefs are represented as serving a Rāṣṭrakūta monarch as Pratihāra (door-keeper) at a sacrifice performed at Ujjain. The designation Pratihāra probably originated in this way, though a later tradition connects it with Lakshmana, brother of Rāma, who guarded the doors of the latter during the years of his exile. The connection of the Pratihāra family of Kanauj with Avanti, the district round Ujjain, at some stage in the progress of their power does not seem to be improbable in view of the alleged statement of the Jaina Harivanśa that Vatsarāja, a distinguished member of the line, was a ruler of Avanti. A different interpretation of the passage in question is, however, suggested by some scholars. The founder of Vatsarāja’s family was Nāgabhaṭa I who is usually assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D. He did much to rehabilitate the power of the Gurjaras which was threatened by
the Arabs from Sind and the Chalukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Deccan. Vatsarāja, grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I, claims to have won the position of Samrāj, or emperor, and extended his conquests as far as Bengal, but he was driven to the trackless wilderness by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva of the Deccan. His son Nāgabhaṭa II won some successes at first. He is credited with having extended his influence from Sind in the north to the Andhra country in the south, from Ānarta in Kāṭhāwār in the west to the borders of Bengal in the east. His most notable achievement was the defeat of Dharmapāla, king of Bengal, and the expulsion of his protégé Chakrāyudha from Kanaṭā. But he himself sustained defeats at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the sworn enemies of his line, who had grown very powerful under the vigorous rule of Govinda III.

The Pratihāra power recovered under Bhoja I, grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, who was firmly enthroned at Kanaṭā in 836. He extended his power northwards as far as Pehoa and southwards as far as the Vindhyas, but his further progress was stopped by Saṅkaravarman of Kāśmīr and Dhruva Dhārāvarsha, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain of Broach. He was more successful in the east. The Gaṇḍas (of Bengal) were defeated and the Pratihāra empire in the time of his successor stretched as far as Pāhārpur in North Bengal. The empire of Bhoja was visited by the merchant Sulaimān who spoke highly of the strength of his cavalry and of the peace that reigned in his kingdom.

Mahendrapāla I, son of Bhoja, maintained his father’s empire and seems to have extended it towards the east. He imitated Harsha and Yākōvarman in encouraging learning. His court was adorned by the poet Rājaśekhara.

Mahendra was followed by his sons Mahipāla, Bhoja II and Vināyakapāla. Some scholars prefer to identify Mahipāla Pratihāra with Vināyakapāla, but their dates do not overlap. Mahipāla maintained his hold on Surāṣṭra or Kāṭhāwār as late as 914 A.D. In the next year Al Masūdi visited his realm and spoke about his horses and camels. In 917 the Pratihāra king was still in possession of the Gangetic Doāb. Rājaśekhara speaks about his conquests in the most distant regions of India from Kulītā in the north to Kerala in the south. His power was threatened by Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan, who inflicted a severe defeat on him and took Kanaṭā. Mahipāla seems to have been restored by a Chandella king. The dramatist Kāhemiśvara asserts in his Chandakaushika, which he wrote for the Pratihāra king, his patron’s triumph over the Karnāṭakas, i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the Pratihāra empire does
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not seem to have fully recovered from the blow it received at the hands of the latter.

The succeeding rulers maintained a precarious hold over the upper Ganges valley, parts of Rājputāna and Mālwa, but their former feudatories, notably the Chandellas, aggrandised themselves at their cost. The Chaulukyas made themselves independent in Gujarāt, the Paramāras in Mālwa, the Chandellas and Chedis in the country between the Jumna and the Nerbudda. A still more formidable enemy appeared on the scene early in the eleventh century A.D. In 1018 Kanauj, then ruled by Rājayapāla Pratihāra, was taken by Māhmuḍ of Ghaznī. The Pratihāra dynasty probably continued to rule over a small territory till the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. But their empire was gone and they sank to the position of local chieftains.

The Pratihāras in the days of their greatness had defended Hindustān against the Arab invaders, who had often the assistance of the Rāshtrakūtas of the south. Towards the end of the tenth century the task of defending the North-West Frontier of India devolved on their feudatories, the Hindu Shāhīs of Udābhūṭapura. Mention has already been made of this illustrious line of kings in connection with the history of Kāshmir. The founder of the line was a prince named Lallīya Shāhī who flourished towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The fourth prince, Bhima Shāhī, was the maternal grandfather of the celebrated queen Diddā of Kāshmir. His famous successor Jayapāla came into conflict with the Sultans of Ghaznī. The struggle produced momentous consequences and its history will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.
CHAPTER XII

THE DECCAN FROM THE FALL OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS TO THE
END OF KĀŚHTRAKUṬA SUPREMACY—RISE OF THE EMPIRES OF
KĀḤI AND KARṇĀṬA

Successors of the Sātavāhanas

Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Satakarni, who probably ruled towards
the close of the second century A.D., was the last great king of his
house. After his death, the Sātavāhana empire began to fall to
pieces. The Nāsik region in Mahārāṣṭra seems to have been lost
to the Abhirā king Īvārasena. The Vākāṭakas rose to power in
Berar and some adjoining tracts. The Western Kanarese districts
fell into the hands of a line of Satakarnis who received the epithet of
Chutukulānanda and are sometimes referred to as Chuṭu-Satakarnis
to distinguish them from the Sātavāhana Satakarnis of the
Imperial line. They had their capital at the famous city of
Vaijayantipura or Banavāsi in north Kanara. The old imperial
line continued to rule for some time longer in the Andhra country
at the mouth of the Krishnā till they were supplanted by the
Ikshvākus, the rulers belonging to the Ananda gotra, the Brihat-
phalikayas, and the Śaṅkāyanas. The latter were succeeded
by the Vishnukundins. The Śaṅkāyanas already ruled as petty
chiefstains as early as the second century A.D. They must have
asserted their independence shortly after the fall of the Imperial
Sātavāhanas. They came into conflict with the northern emperor
Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A.D. Meanwhile another
power had arisen in the far south of India with its capital at
Kāñchi, modern Conjeeveram near Madras, but exercising control
over some of the Kanarese districts and the southern part of the
Andhra country at the mouth of the river Krishnā. This was the
Pallava power. At the time of the famous raid of Samudra Gupta,
the most important dynasties in trans-Vindhyan India were the
Vākāṭakas of the Upper Deccan and the Pallavas of Kāñchi.
The Gupta conqueror does not appear to have come into direct
contact with the Vākāṭakas. He vanquished, however, a chief
named Vyāghrāja, who may have been identical with a Vākāṭaka
feudatory named Vyāghradeva. Chandra Gupta II, the son and
successor of Samudra Gupta, on the other hand, established direct relations with his Vakātaka neighbours and gave his daughter Prabhāvati in marriage to their king Rudrasena II. The Vakātakas in their turn were linked by matrimonial alliances with several dynasties beyond the Godāvari. The descendants of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvati continued to rule in the Deccan for several generations till the rise of the Vishnukundins and their rivals and contemporaries, the Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Kāṭachchuris or Kalachuris of Nāsik and Mālwa.

The Great Pallavas

To the south of the Vakātakas lay the realm of the Pallavas of Kāṇchi, one of whose early kings, Vishnugopa, was captured and then liberated by Samudra Gupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The name Vishnugopa was borne by several members of the Pallava dynasty, and it is not known in what relationship the contemporary of Samudra Gupta stood to the famous Sivaskandavarman who is mentioned in the early Prākrit records of the family as a “righteous king of great kings” and the performer of the horse-sacrifice. Inscriptions mention the names of several later Pallava monarchs whose dominions embraced not only Kāṇchi but considerable parts of the Telugu and Kannarese districts. The suzerainty of some of them was acknowledged by the early Gangas of eastern and southern Mysore and the early Kadambas who supplanted the Chutu-Satakarnis of Vajjayanti. We learn from the Lokavibhāga that one of the Pallava kings who bore the name of Simhavaharman ascended the throne in A.D. 436.

The history of the family becomes more definite from the time of Simhavishnu, who must have come to the throne in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. This king is credited with having seized the country of the Cholas and vanquished all his southern neighbours, including the ruler of Ceylon. The conquest of Ceylon is also mentioned as an achievement of his grandson Narasimhavarman. Simhavishnu was a Vaishnava, and magnificent reliefs representing the king and two of his consorts have been discovered in the Varāha cave at Māmallapuram.

The successor of Simhavishnu was his son, Mahendravarman I, whose reign saw the beginning of the great struggle between the Pallavas and their northern enemies the Chalukyas of Vatapi for the mastery of Southern India. The struggle was continued for several generations. The Chalukya king, Pulakesin II, is said to have caused the splendour of the Pallava lords to be obscured
by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchi-pura. On the other hand, Narasimhavarman I, son and successor of Mahendravarman, is said to have vanquished Pulakesin in many battles and stormed his capital, Vātāpi. The struggle was renewed by Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakesin II, who claims to have caused the destruction of the family of Narasimha and captured the city of Kāñchi. The Pallava records, however, inform us that the Chalukya attack was finally repulsed. Undaunted by their failures, the Chalukyas once more overran the Pallava dominions under the leadership of Vikramāditya II, great-grandson of Vikramāditya I,

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RATHAS AT MĀMALLAPURAM

in the first half of the eighth century A.D. They routed King Nandivarman Pallavamalla and took the city of Kāñchi. The Pallavas were now threatened by enemies from the south as well as the north. The Pandyas advanced up to the banks of the Kāverī and engaged in deadly conflicts with the decadent empire of Kāñchi. The coup de grâce was given by Āditya Chola who defeated Aparājīta Pallava and took possession of his kingdom towards the end of the ninth century A.D.

The epoch of the Pallavas of Kāñchi is memorable in the political
and cultural history of India. They built up the first great empire south of the Penner and the Tungabhadra, and carried their arms as far as Ceylon. Many of the Vaishnava Alvars and the Saiva Nayanars (saints) flourished during their rule. Under them Kanchi became a great centre of Brahmanical as well as Buddhist learning. Mahendravarman I, who bore the significant epithet of 'Vishvarupa', "curious-minded", introduced the cave style of architecture and wrote the famous burlesque known as the "Matairudram-prahasana". The Pallava painting discovered in a cave shrine in the Pudukkottai State has also been assigned to his reign. His son Narasimhavarman Mahamalla gave his name to the port of Mamallapuram, and some of the famous temples cut out of rock boulders known as "Rathas" situated in that spot are ascribed to his reign. A later king, Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rajasimha, constructed the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi.

The Early Chalukyas

The Chalukyas, sworn enemies of the Pallavas of Kanchi, rose to power in Karnataka or the Kannarese-speaking country in the sixth century A.D., and had their first capital at Vatapi, modern Badami in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Like the Chhataras and the Kadambas of Vaijayanti, they are represented as belonging to the Mavara gotra and being Haritiputra. In later times they claimed descent from the lunar race. Certain inscriptions of a branch of the family refer their origin to Ayodhya, and one tradition connects the dynastic name with Brahmadeva's "Chalaka" or hand hollowed out for the reception of water. Some modern writers believe that the Chalukyas were in reality connected with the Chappas and the foreign Gurjara tribes of the north, but there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture. Inscriptions distinguish between Chalukyas and Gurjaras, and the characteristic nomenclature of the line is distinctly southern.

The real founder of the dynasty of Vatapi was Pulakeshin I, who signalled his accession to power by the performance of the horse-sacrifice. His sons, Kirtivarman I and Mahadeva, extended the empire in all directions and vanquished the neighbouring rulers, including the Mauryas of the Konkan, the Kadambas of Vaijayanti and the Kalachuris of northern Maharastra and Malwa. The Kadamba capital was finally reduced by Pulakeshin II, son of Kirtivarman, the most famous king of the line. In the course of a long reign extending from about A.D. 609 to 642, Pulakeshin II
Rāṣṭrakūṭa interest by marriage alliances. Indra III, great-grandson of Anuśhavarśa I, finished the work of his illustrious ancestors, Dhrūva and Govinda III, by inflicting a crushing defeat on Mahāpāla, the Pratihāra king of Kanauj, and taking temporary possession of his capital city. His nephew, Krishna III, was the last great king of the line. His dominions extended from Jura in Bāṅgalkhand to Tanjore in the Kāverī valley. In 973, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was overthrown by Taila II, a feudatory of Krishna III, who claimed descent from the early Chalukyas of Vatāpi.

The Later Chalukyas

Taila was the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇi in the Nizām’s dominions. His successors became involved in a contest with the Cholas of Tanjore, descendants of king Āditya who had crushed the Pallava king Aparājita. The Cholas now fast rose to power under Rājarāja and his son, Rājendra Chola I. While the Cholas and Chalukyas were engaged in bitter feuds in the south, thrones and dynasties in Northern India were falling before the onslaught of the famous Humānī, Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī or Ghazna. The banner of Islam was unfurled in the Land of the Five Rivers and the Valley of the Twin Rivers, the Upper Ganges and the Jumā. The arms of the Ghaznavid invader penetrated into the interior of Kāthiāwār and reached the temple of Somnāth. Indian history enters on a new epoch.
CHAPTER XIII

THE PASSING OF THE OLD HINDU KINGDOMS

The Coming of the Arabs

In the western part of Asia lies a vast country called Arabia, a land of rocks and deserts with a few oases and fertile valleys, thinly peopled by a hardy and sturdy folk. In this country, at a short distance from the western sea coast, stands the holy city of Mecca—where sometime in the year 570 was born the great Prophet, the founder of a religion that preached the unity of God, and roused the people to energy and unbounded enthusiasm. Under the successors of the Prophet, called Khilāfas or Caliphs, who led the Faithful from a.d. 632, the arms of the Muslims advanced in all directions, and the banner of Islam floated over many countries from Irān to Spain. From the beginning the Arabs had their eyes on the rich ports of Western India and the outlying parts of the north-west borderland. As early as the time of the great Pulakesin II, an army was sent to Thana near Bombay (c. a.d. 637). This was followed by expeditions to Broach, the Gulf of Debal (in Sind), and Al-Kikan (the district round Kēlāt). About the middle of the seventh century, the satrapy of Zaranj in Southern Afghanistan fell into the hands of the Arabs. The turn of Makrān in Baluchestān came next. The Arabs now made repeated onslaughts on the Shāh of Kābul, supposed to be a descendant of the great Kanishka, and the Rabīl of Zābul in the upper valley of the Helmund river and some adjoining districts. The latter succumbed after a brave struggle (a.d. 870). The Turki Shāhīya kings of Kābul maintained a precarious existence till the closing years of the ninth century when they were supplanted by Kalār, usually identified with Lallīya, the founder of the Hindu Shāhīya dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihand, Ohind or Und on the Indus).

Meanwhile, the Arabs had followed up their success in Baluchestān by the conquest of Sind. That province figures in the narrative of Bāna as one of the territories overrun by Prabhākaravardhana and his more famous son, Harsha. In the days of Hiuen Tāng the throne was occupied by a Śūdra dynasty which gave way to
a Brāhmaṇa family founded by Chach. Dāhar or Dāhir, son of Chach, was on the throne when al-Hajjaj, governor of Irāk, incensed at the action of certain pirates of Debal, sent several expeditions to Sind. The earlier incursions were repulsed by Dāhir. Thereupon al-Hajjaj entrusted the work of punishing the Indian king to his nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad ibn-Kāsim. The young commander stormed Debal, captured Necun and some other cities and strongholds, and pushed on to the western bank of the Indus. His work was greatly facilitated by the treachery of certain Buddhist priests and renegade chiefs who deserted their sovereign and joined the invader. With the assistance of some of these traitors, Muhammad crossed the vast sheet of water separating his army from that of Dāhir and gave battle to the Indian ruler near Raor (a.d. 712). Dāhir offered a brave resistance, but was defeated and killed. The fort of Raor fell next after a heroic defence by the widowed queen. The invaders now pushed on to Bahmanabad and Alor, which submitted. The turn of Multān came next. The whole of the lower Indus valley was now dominated by the Arabs. But the invaders had no mind to stop there. Already in the time of Muhammad ibn-Kāsim minor operations were carried on in the neighbouring provinces. A later governor, Junaid or Junayd, pursued a more aggressive policy and sent expeditions against Marmad (Marwar ?), al-Mandal (Mandor ? near Viramgam ?), Dahanj, Barwas (Broach), Ujjain, Malibah (Mālwa), Baharimad, al-Bailaman (Vallamanudula ?) and al-Jurz (Gurjara). According to Indian inscriptions, the territories overrun by the invaders included Sind, Cutch, Surashtra or Kāthiāvar, Chavotaka (some Chāpa principality of Gujarāt or Western Rājputāna), a Maurya principality apparently in southern Rājputāna or Mālwa, and the Gurjara territory apparently round Bhimnal or Broach. The progress of the Arabs was stopped by the Chalukyas in the south, the Pratihāras in the east, and the Kārkoṭas in the north. But a new scene opened with the foundation of the kingdom of Ghazni by Alptigīn in or about a.d. 962.

Fall of the Shāhiya Dynasty of Udabhanḍa

Alptigīn was formerly a slave of the Samanid rulers of Central Asia. This enterprising chief made himself independent in Ghazni and conquered a part of the kingdom of Kābul. He died in a.d. 963. In a.d. 977 his sceptre passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Sabuktigīn. About this time a large part of the territory from Lamghan or Lagham to Kangra acknowledged the sway of Jaipal (Jayapāla) of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty of Waihind (Udabhanḍa-
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pur). The Hindu king heard reports from travellers how the Sultan of Ghazni was encroaching on his dominions in the prosecution of “holy wars”. To put a stop to his depredations, he advanced towards Ghazni and met his enemy near a place called Ghāznak between Ghazni and Lamghan. A snow-storm compelled Jaipal to conclude a humiliating peace, but he soon broke his engagements and brought on his head the wrath of the Sultan. The latter carried fire and sword into the territory of his antagonist and seized the districts in the neighbourhood of Lamghan. In 997 Sabuktigin died, and in the next year the crown went to his famous son, Mahmud. In 1001 the new Sultan inflicted a crushing defeat on Jaipal near the city of Peshāwār. Unable to survive this disgrace, the defeated king burnt himself on a funeral pyre and was succeeded by his son, Ānandapāla (a.d. 1002 or 1003). In 1006 Mahmud took Multān, but the final subjugation of the city was postponed till 1010. In 1008 he routed the troops of Ānandapāla, led by prince Brāhmaṇapāla, at the battle of Wailand, and pursued the fugitives as far as Bhāminagar.

Ānandapāla continued to offer resistance from the fastnesses of the Salt Range (Namdhana). His successor, Trilochanapāla, carried on the struggle with the assistance of Saṁgrāmarāja of Kāshmir. In the end he was compelled to retire to the east and conclude an alliance with the Chandella ruler of Kālinjar and other princes of Mid India. But he was again defeated on the river Ruhut (Itālib) identified by some with the Rāngaiñā. He was assassinated in a.d. 1021–1022. With the death of his son and successor, Bhāma, in 1026 the dynasty came to an end. Both al-Biruni and Kalhana bear testimony to the courage and magnanimity of this noble line of kings who poured out their blood like water in defending the north-western gates of their country against the invader.

Mahmud did not remain content with the laurels he won in the Punjab. In 1014 he took Thanesur, and in the following years made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the vale of Kāshmir. He also burnt the temple of Mathurā. In 1018 he sacked Kanauj and extinguished the once powerful empire of the Pratihāras. In 1022–1023 he received the submission of Gwālior and Kālinjar. His most famous expedition, that against Somnāth in Kāṭhāwār, was undertaken in 1025. The fall of the most celebrated Hindu shrine of the age in 1026 synchronised with the extinction of the Hindu Shāhīya kingdom of the Punjab. Four years later the Sultan died.

Mahmud’s expeditions were mostly in the nature of plundering raids. The only permanent results of his arduous campaigns were
the annexation of the Hindu Shāhiya kingdom and certain other districts in the Punjab and the north-west borderland and the destruction of the morale of the Hindu armies. The raids of Mahmud must have made a profound impression on the minds of the great Rājput powers of Western and Central India that sought to divide among themselves the imperial heritage of the Pratihāras. During the period 1030–1192, that is to say from the death of Mahmud to the arrival on the scene of Muhammad of Ghur, the princes of the Indian interior enjoyed comparative immunity from foreign attacks. The Ghaznavid Sultāns now and then harried certain territories, and on one occasion one of their generals advanced up to Benares and sacked the holy city. But on the whole, the invaders could not make much headway. The terror inspired by their ravages had, however, lasting consequences.

Revival of the Vikramādityyan Tradition

The situation in the latter part of the eleventh and first three quarters of the twelfth century was not unlike that in the sixth century A.D. The old empires of the Pratihāras and the Pālas were falling to pieces like the Gupta empire after Budha Gupta. The task of defending Hindustān fell upon their former feudatories who now set up as independent sovereigns. The fight with the Yamnī Turks and their successors became as engrossing a subject as the earlier struggle with the Huns. There was a revival of the Vikramādityyan tradition, and the example of the great hero who braved a Śaka king in his own city, and that of his famous grandson who beat back the incursions of the Huns and restored an empire after vanquishing the enemies of his family, must have inspired the greater rulers of the new age—kings like Gāṅgeyadeva of Chedi, Sindhurāja of Mālwa, and Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyān, who called themselves Vikramāditya or the new Sāhasāṅika. The new spirit is well illustrated by the execution of the pusillanimous Pratihāra king Rājayapāla by a Kālochapaghāta chief who was “anxious to serve Vidyādharadeva”, and the attempt of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI to supersede the Śaka era by a new national reckoning. But the cases of Rājayapāla, the representative of the Imperial Pratihāras, and of Tribhuvanamalla himself who fought against his own brother, are symptomatic of the weakness of the Hindu princes—their internal strife and failure, except on rare occasions, to take concerted action in a time of national crisis. The Hindus of the age, moreover, lacked the invigorating and dynamic influence of a new impulse that was then
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moving vast masses of mankind in Western and West Central Asia.

Bhima I, the Chaulukya or Solanki king of Gujarāt, had failed to bar the route to the holy shrine of Somnāth. After the invader was gone, he sought to repair the ravages which the Turks had inflicted on the habitations of the gods. He began to build at Somnāth a temple of stone in place of the former temple of brick and wood. His general, Vimala, built the famous Jaina temple at Abu, known as Vimala Vasahi. Other edifices were constructed in the time of the successors of Bhima, particularly in the days of Siddharāja Jayasimha and Kumaṇapāla. Two later rulers, Mūharāja II Solanki and Viradhavala Vāghela, attained greater success than Bhima I in repelling the attacks of invaders. Two officers of Viradhavala, Vastupāla and Tejupāla, have immortalised their names by the construction of magnificent shrines at Satruñjaya, Girnār and Abu. In course of time the feelings of hostility roused by Turkish aggression were off to a certain extent and king Arjuna of Gujarāt had the broadmindedness to endow a mosque erected by a Muslim ship-owner of Omnuz, and provided for the expenses of certain Shiite festivals. He further laid down that under the management of the Muslim community of Somnāth any surplus was to be made over to the holy districts of Mecca and Medina. In 1297, Gujarāt passed into the hands of Sultan Alā-ud-din Khāliji of Delhi.

The throne of the Paramāras of Mālwa was, in the days of Sabuktigin, occupied by the famous Muṇja, a great patron of poets, whose power was crushed by Taila II, the Chaulukya king of the Deccan. His brother and successor, Sindurāja, assumed the significant title of Navasāhasānka, that is, the new Sāhasānka or Vikramāditya. Bhoja, son and successor of Sindurāja, claims victories over the Turushkas or Turks. He made his name immortal by his patronage of learning, just as the Gujarāt statesmen did by their temples. A versatile scholar, he wrote treatises on numerous subjects, including poetics, rhetoric, polity, philosophy, astronomy and architecture. He also established a college for Sanskrit studies. The construction of temples and the encouragement of Sanskrit culture seem to have been parts of a common programme. The attempts of Pericles to restore Greek temples and foster Greek learning after the ravages of the Persian wars may be recalled in this connection. The example of Bhoja was imitated by Hindu statesmen in later ages, notably by the rulers of Vijayanagar.

The Chandellas of Dejākbhukti or Bundelkhand had, under Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa, and Vidyādhaṇa, possibly attempted to help the
cause of the Shāhis of Udabhānda, but their efforts proved
unavailing. Vidyādharā, however, seems to have matured plans,
along with the Kalachuri king and Bhoja of Mālwa, for the
restoration of the prestige of Hindu arms. But the power of his
family soon declined. There was a revival under Kirtivarma
Chandella in the closing years of the eleventh century, but some
of his successors were not so strong as he was. One of them,
Paramardideva, suffered defeats at the hands of Prithvirāja III,
the Chauhan king of Ajmer and Delhi. The power of the
Chandellas was shattered by Qutb-ud-din Aibak in A.D. 1202. Like
the contemporary dynasties of Gujarāt and Mālwa, the Chandellas
showed their interest in the work of reconstruction by the building
of temples at Khajuraho and the encouragement of poets like
Krishna Miśra who adorned the court of Kirtivarma.

Politically, a more important rôle was played by the Kalachuri
kings, Gāggeyadeva and his son Lakshmi Karna. The former,
as already stated above, assumed the title of Vikramādiyā and
took under his protection the holy cities of Allahābād and Benares.
Lakshmi Karna seems to have made himself master of the Southern
Doab and did much to revive the glorious traditions associated with
the empires of Harsha and Bhoja I. He conciliated the rulers
of Bengal by matrimonial alliances and pushed his conquests southwards
as far as Kalinga. Had he lived longer, he might have
restored the shattered fabric of imperialism in northern India and
erected an effective barrier against the advance of the Turks.
His career was cut short by a hostile combination of the rulers of
Gujarāt, Mālwa, Bundelkhand and the Deccan. The Kalachuris
still retained considerable power under his son and grandson,
but the control of the Madhya-deśa (upper Ganges valley) soon
passed into the hands of the famous house of Gāhādavālā.

The founder of the Gāhādavālā dynasty was Chandradeva who
rose to power in the closing decade of the eleventh century. His
grandson, Govinda Chandra, was the real ruler of the Madhya-deśa
for half a century, first as crown prince (1104-1114) and later on
as king (1114-1154). He founded an empire embracing the greater
part of the present United Provinces and Bihār. He successfully
defended Jetavana (in northern Oudh), Benares and other holy
places of Buddhists and Hindus alike against the Turks. But a
rival empire was established in the west by the Chauhan Vigna-
harāja IV with seats at Ajmer and Delhi. The latter city was
probably founded by a Tomara chieftain about the middle of the
eleventh century A.D., and it was from the Tomaras that the
Chauhans obtained possession of this famous capital. Prithvirāja
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III, nephew of Vigrhaравa IV, came into conflict with Jayachandra (Jai Chand), grandson of Govinda Chandra. The rivalry of the Chauhans and the Gahadavālas weakened them both till all of them were swept away by a fresh deluge that was gathering force in the wilds of Ghur in Afghanistan.

Bengal under the later Pālas and the Senas

Sheltered by the Kalachuris and the early Gahadavālas who for more than a century protected the Madhya-deśa against a rush of invasion from the north-west, the local dynasts of Eastern India passed through vicissitudes of a different kind. The name of the Pāla sovereign of Gauḍa was still invoked in distant Beneres as late as A.D. 1026. In the following decades, the Pālas entered into close relations with Lākṣmī Kārna, the great king of Chedi. The passing away of Karna almost coincided with a fresh disaster that fell to the lot of the Gauḍa empire. A local rising in North Bengal drove the Pālas from Varendri. The power of the house of Dharmapāla was restored by Rāmaṇī, mainly with the assistance of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations. But the restored kingdom had no long lease of life left to it, being ultimately overthrown in Bengal by Vijaya Sena, scion of a family that came from the Deccan. The struggle between indigenous and foreign military cheiftains in Bengal ended in the victory of the latter.

The conqueror founded a new line, that of the Senas. The ancestors of the new king came from Karṇāṭaka in the Deccan. They established a principality in Western Bengal which came into prominence under Sāmanta Sena. Sāmanta Sena seems to have retained some connection with his southern compatriots. After him came Hemanta Sena. Vijaya Sena, son of Hemanta Sena, allied himself with the illustrious family of the Śūras and founded the independent sovereignty of his own dynasty. He vanquished the king of Gauḍa, apparently of Pāla lineage, and the neighbouring princes of North Bihār, Assam and Orissa. He also laid the foundation of the city of Vijayapura in Western Bengal, which became the metropolis of the Sena family. Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal, which was apparently conquered from the Yadava Varmanas, possibly served as the second capital. It was certainly graced occasionally by the presence of the Sena sovereign.

The son and successor of Vijaya Sena was Bāllāla Sena, a name famous in Bengali legend as the reputed founder of Kālnism, a system of nobility. He is also credited with the authorship of two notable works, the Bānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara.
Baliśa Sena’s son, Lakṣhmana Sena, probably began to rule in A.D. 1178-1179 or 1184-1185, though some scholars push the date of his accession much further back and regard him as the founder of the Lakṣhmana Sena era of A.D. 1119. He seems to have served his apprenticeship in the work of government as viceroy or military governor in charge of some district in Kalinga. On coming to the throne, he distinguished himself as a conqueror and a patron of learning. He claims to have pushed his conquests as far as the southern ocean, reduced Kāmarūpa to subjection and vanquished the king of Benares, who is no other than the Gāhādvāla king of Kanauj. Among the poets who graced his court, the most eminent were Jayadeva, the author of the Gīta-Govinda, and Dhojī, the author of the Pavanadīta. The last-mentioned work contains an interesting description of the Sena capital. The Senas, however, failed to stem the tide of Muslim invasion once the dyke erected by the Gāhādvālas was broken. Rai Lakhmāniya, usually identified with Lakṣhmana Sena, had to flee before the advancing arms of Malik Iktiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad Khalji towards the close of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century. His sons, Viśvarūpa Sena and Keśava Sena, maintained the struggle against the “Garga Yavanas”, that is to say, the Muslim invaders from the Kābul valley, and preserved their independence in Eastern Bengal till the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The Later Chalukyas and the Cholas

Karnāṭa, the home territory of the Senas, was from 973 to 1190 dominated, with a short intermission, by the Chalukya family established by Tula II. While the Shāhis of Udabhaṅḍa were trying to defend the north-western gates of India against the Turks of Ghazni, the Chalukyas were engaged in bitter feuds with the Paramāras of Mālwa and the Cholas of Tanjore. They do not appear to have actually helped the foreign invaders like their predecessors, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Cholas, under Rājarāja I and his famous son, Rājendra Chola I, conquered nearly the whole of the present Madras Presidency. The generals of Rājendra carried their arms as far as the Ganges, while Chola admirals asserted their authority over several overseas territories including Ceylon, the Nicobar Islands and parts of the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago. Rājendra inflicted a defeat on Mahipāla I of Bengal. He also vanquished the Chalukya king of the Deccan plateau at Musangi. The prestige of the Chalukya arms was restored, to a certain extent, by Someśvara Ahavamalla, at Koppam,
but he suffered a crushing defeat at Kāatal Śangamam at the hands
of a son of Rājendra Chola I. In the last quarter of the eleventh
and first quarter of the twelfth century the sovereignty of the
Deccan was shared between Vikramāditya VI, the second son of
Āhavamalla and Rājendra Chola (III) Kulottunga I, son of a daughter
of Rājendra Chola I. As already stated above, Vikramāditya VI
established a new era in the place of the old reckoning of the ‘Śaka’
king, and his example was followed by Siddharāja Jayasimha
of Gujarāt and the Senas of Gauḍa. The reign of Vikramāditya
VI stands as a landmark in the history of Hindu law, and saw
the composition of a famous digest by the great jurist Vījñānēśvara.
Poetry was also cultivated at the Chalukya court, and the celebrated
author Bhillama wrote his Vikramākālera-charita, or Deeds of
Vikramāditya, to commemorating the achievements of his patron.
Someśvara III, son and successor of Vikramāditya VI, was also a
writer of repute.

Sometime after the death of Someśvara III, the power of the
Chalukyas of Kalyāna was temporarily eclipsed by Bujjala Kala-
churya and his sons. After 1190 the empire of Kalyāna split up
into three parts, namely, the kingdom of Devagiri founded by the
Yādavas, the kingdom of Warangal governed by the Kākatiyas
and the kingdom of Dorasamudra ruled by the Hoyasalas. The
Chola empire also declined after Rājendra Chola Kulottunga. The
southern part of the Chola dominions fell into the hands of the
Pāṇḍyas. The home provinces formed a battle-ground between the
Hoyasalas, the Kākatiyas and other powers. In the country
between the Godāvarī and the Ganges which had once been over-
run by the great Rājendra Chola I, rose the empire of the Eastern
Gangas of Kaliṅga and Orissa.

Successors of the Imperial Chalukyas and Cholas

The independent Yādava kingdom of Devagiri was founded by
Bhillama and was raised by his grandson Sihghama to the position
of the premier kingdom of the Deccan. Learning was encouraged,
and a college of astronomy was established for the study of the
works of Bhāskarāchārya, the celebrated astronomer. The age of
the later Yādavas saw the composition of the famous works of
Hemādri, Bopadeva, and Jñānēśvara. The rulers of Devagiri,
however, proved unequal to the task of defending the Deccan
against the northern invader in the manner of Gautamiputra and
Pulakeśin II of old. In 1294 the troops of ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī swooped
down upon Devagiri and exacted a heavy contribution from
Rāmachandra, the Yādava king. In 1306-1307 Malik Kāfur again invaded the Yādava dominions and forced the king to pay tribute. The son of Rāmachandra was killed about 1312, and his son-in-law was slayed alive about 1317. Hindu sovereignty in Mahārāṣṭra came to an end and was not restored till the seventeenth century.

The Kākatīyas rose to power under Prodrāja II. His grandson, Gaṇapati, extended his dominions as far as Kānchi in the south. The kingdom flourished under Rādramma, daughter of Gaṇapati, who is highly extolled by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. The power of the dynasty was destroyed by the Sultāns of Delhi early in the fourteenth century.

The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra attained great power under Vishnuvardhana and his grandson, Vīra Ballāla II. Under later kings they conquered a part of the Tamil country. Vīra Ballāla III, the last notable ruler of the house, sustained defeats at the hands of Kāfur, the general of ‘Alā-ud-din Khalji, and finally perished in or about A.D. 1342.

The Pāṇḍya kingdom, which won fame in the thirteenth century as the dominant power in the Tamil country and a great centre of international trade, was overrun by Kāfur early in the fourteenth century. After a brief period of Muslim rule, it was absorbed into the empire of Vijayanagar.

Orissa became a powerful kingdom under Anantavarman Choda Gaṅga whose descendants defended their dominions with some amount of success against the Muslim conquerors of Bengal. The Gaṅga line came to an end in 1434 when it was supplanted by the famous Kapilendra. In 1568 Orissa was finally conquered by the Muslims.

Like the Rājput kingdoms of the north, the princes of Southern India failed to offer a combined resistance to invaders and fell one by one. Only the Hindus beyond the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā rallied under the banner of Harihara and Bukka, and for several centuries maintained their independence in the far south of India.
CHAPTER XIV

INDIAN CIVILISATION UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTA AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

The Administrative System

The period of the Gupta emperors and their successors saw the gradual disappearance of kingless states. After the sixth century, monarchy becomes the only form of government that demands serious attention. Kingship was in most cases hereditary. The ruler was at times nominated by his predecessor, but some cases of election by the people or the nobles are recorded. Among notable instances of popular election are the enthronement of Gopala by the Prakritis or constituent elements of the body politic of Bengal, and the choice of Brahmapala by the people of Assam. We have also a similar instance in Southern India where Nandivarman Pallavanalla was raised to the throne by the maha prakritis. More often the choice of a sovereign in a time of crisis was entrusted to a selected body of state nobles or Brahmans. In the kingdom of Thanesar it was a council of nobles headed by Ishandi that offered the crown to Harsha. Yasaskara of Kashmir was chosen by an assembly of Brahmans. Kumarpala of Gujarat was selected by the state nobles sitting in council. Even in cases of nomination by a preceding ruler, the presence of the councillors (Sabhynas) and princes of the blood at the time of the formal act of selection was perhaps deemed to be necessary. There was no bar to the succession of a female, at least in certain parts of India, notably Kashmir, Orissa and the Telugu country.

The divine character of kingship received wide acceptance in the period under review. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription Samudra Gupta is not only represented as equal to Kuvera, Varuna, Indra and Yama, the presiding deities of the four quarters, but is considered to be the Inc comprehensible Being who is the cause of creation and destruction, a god dwelling on earth, who was mortal only in that he performed the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world. In the literature of the age the king is considered to be the incarnation of Justice and the representative of Vishnu, that is, God in his aspect as the Preserver. Like Vishnu,
the ruler in certain parts of India was styled Śrī Prthvī Vallabha, that is, the Beloved of the Goddess of Fortune and of the Earth Goddess. Voices of protest against the view that the king was divine are raised now and then. Bānā regards the theory of the king's divinity as a delusion. "Though subject to mortal conditions, kings look on themselves as having alighted on earth as divine beings with a superhuman destiny; they employ a pomp in their undertakings only fit for gods and win the contempt of all mankind. They welcome this deception of themselves by their followers. From the delusion of their own divinity established in their minds, they are overthrown by false ideas." The old theory persists that the rulers do not exist for their own good but owe a debt to the people which they can discharge only by good government. The ideal ruler is he who "possesses an inner soul pervaded by the inclination for the acquittance of debts and obligations, and is occupied with the welfare of all mankind". The Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang, the Arab merchant Sulaimān, and the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, bear testimony to the fact that the governments of Chandra Gupta II, Harsha, Bhoja I and Rudramma (Rudrāmbā) actually tried to translate this noble maxim into practice.

Many kings of the age were doughty fighters and lovers of manly sports like wrestling combats with wild beasts. But they were not mere rough soldiers and war-lords. A notable trait in the character of some of the most illustrious rulers of the period under review is their love of learning and the fine arts. In this respect the versatile Samudra Gupta in the north, and the "curious-minded" (Vichitra-chitta) Mahendravarman in the south, set examples that were imitated by some of the ablest among their successors.

Some of the occupants of the throne were themselves scholars and poets of no mean repute. Among royal authors, Harsha of Kanauj, Mahendravarman of Kāñchi, Amoghavarma I of Makkheḍ, Bhoja of Dhārā, Somesvara III of Kālyāna, Vigrahārāja IV of Ajmer, Ballāla Sena of Bengal and Aparārka of the Northern Konkāṇ deserve special mention as they have left works that are studied even at the present day. The earliest among them figure mainly as dramatists, but later kings were interested in a wide range of subjects. Several rulers are justly entitled to the designation of polymath. The latest kings took special interest in legal and astrological studies.

Kings normally "held all the levers and handles which worked the governmental machinery". They maintained the laws of the realm and were responsible for defending the people against
external attacks. They administered justice, usually led troops in war and had the largest share in the formulation of policy. But it was impossible to shoulder the burden of administration without assistance. ("A single wheel could not move.") Hence sovereigns had to employ ministers. In the early Gupta period, the most important among these functionaries were the Mantrin (confidential adviser), Sandhivigrhika (minister in charge of peace and war), and Aksamapalādāhikrīta (minister in charge of records). There were also important officials whose duties were mainly of a military character. Such were the Mahābalaśikrīta and the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. There was, however, no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. A Mantrin could become a Mahābalādāhikrīta, and the post of Amātya could be combined with that of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. The office of a minister (Sachita) was often hereditary. One class of officials had the special designation of Kumā्रāmātya. They figure as ministers for peace and war, generals, councilors, feudatories and district officers. Some of them were directly under the sovereign; others were attached to princes or placed under provincial governors. The expression Kumāra in the designation Kumāraṃa vibhava may correspond to the Elaya, Pina, Chikka, or Immacdi of South India, and is best rendered by the term "cadet". In the far south of India during the Chola period, we have an important functionary, styled Olaināygam, who had to approve every order issued by the king.

With the efflux of time need was felt for the elaboration of the administrative machinery in certain departments. This was particularly the case in regard to the Foreign Office where special Sandhivigrhikas were appointed to deal with the affairs of certain definite areas. Thus, in the records of certain rulers of the Deccan we find references to a Karnāṭaka Sandhivigrhika. In certain records we have references to an official styled Mahāpradhāna and another designated Sarvādhikārin whose functions might have resembled those of the Mukhyapradhāna of the Maratha period and the Sarvārthachintaka of Manu. Though the number of ministers was not definitely fixed, Manu’s recommendation of seven or eight ministers may have been followed at times. It is doubtful if there was a central Mantriśripad comparable to the Parshā of the Maurya inscriptions. If such an institution did exist, it does not find prominent mention in the epigraphs. The Subhyaśas referred to in the Allahābad Pillar inscription in connection with the nomination scene of Samudra Gupta may have been courtiers attending a Durbar as well as members of a central council. An important functionary in several States governed by Hindu kings was the
Rāja-guru. The Purohita or royal chaplain, though a prominent personage in a Brāhmanical court, does not figure in the records of devout Buddhist kings.

Justice was often administered by the sovereign himself or a high official at the centre or in the provinces. Judges at the headquarters of a district had apparently the assistance of the chief Śethas and Kāyasthas of the locality, representatives of the commercial and official classes. In villages, justice was administered by royal officials with the help of the members of the village council or assembly. In certain cases the assembly alone sat in judgment and passed sentence. Special courts of self-governing corporations are also alluded to in literature. The jury system, according to some authorities, is found to have been in full swing at least in southern India. Judicial methods included trial by ordeal.

Indian armies in the period under review consisted mostly of elephants, infantry and cavalry. Chariots gradually fell into disuse. Some of the kings, especially in the desert tracts of Rājputāna, maintained camel corps. A few maritime States had their navies with which they effected the conquest of riparian principalities or islands scattered in the Indian Ocean. Many provinces, especially in the south, had no good breed of horses and had to import animals from Arabia. Marco Polo refers to the unfavourable climate of South India in which these horses could not thrive. He also speaks of the ignorance of the Indian horse-keepers. Recruitment to the army was not confined to a particular caste. Some of the ablest commanders of the period were Brāhmanas. A successful leader of North Bengal in the eleventh century A.D. belonged to the Kuivarta caste. Armies of the period included hereditary forces as well as local militia and feudal levies.

The principal sources of revenue were the bhāga or the king's share (normally one-sixth) of the produce of the land, certain additional imposts on the rural population, as well as duties at ports, ferries and fortified stations. Rulers also got incomes from the crown-lands, mines, etc., and tribute from vassal chiefs. Taxes were often collected in kind, but payments in cash were also allowed. Forced labour (Viśāti) was not unknown, and we hear of a special kind of corvée called Bhotta-viśāti in lands on the borders of Tibet. Extra taxation was resorted to in times of emergency, from which even temples were not exempted. Mention may be made in this connection of imposts apparently levied by the central government to deal with the menace from marauding tribes. To this category belong possibly the Malla-kara and
Turushka-danda of mediaeval epigraphs. Extra cesses were also levied for special purposes by local authorities.

Kingdoms and empires were divided for administrative purposes into units styled Bhukti, Deha, Rāśhra and Maṇḍala. Bhukti is a very common designation in the north. It usually meant a province or administrative division under an officer styled Uparika. It was usually subdivided into Vishayas or Maṇḍalas. The post of Vishayapati (that is the officer in charge of a Vishaya or district) was filled either by a royal official styled Kumārāṇātya, or Ayuktaka, or by a feudatory Maḥārāja. The Vishayapati was sometimes assisted in the work of administration by the guild-president, the chief scribe and other leading men of the locality. In the far south of India the largest administrative division was the Maṇḍala, which was subdivided into Vālanaḍus or into Nāṭus and Koṭṭams. The lowest administrative units were the Kāram (union of villages) and grāma (village), each under its own headman who was assisted by assemblies (Ūr, mahāsabhā). The village headman had his counterpart in the nāgarapati of cities. In certain rural areas the village assembly consisted of the whole adult population, in others of Brāhmanas or a few great men who were selected by a kind of ballot. The assembly appointed committees to look after specific departments, like tanks, temples, justice, etc. The work of these self-governing bodies was supervised by royal officers (Ādhiṅkurin). Towns and cities had, as already stated, special officers styled nāgarapati, and certain Gupta records refer to the existence of town councils (Parishad).

Social Conditions

Social conditions underwent rapid changes during the period under review. This is hinted at by those epigraphs that refer to some of the most distinguished rulers of the age as “employed in settling the system of castes and orders” and in “keeping the castes confined to their respective spheres of duty”. Attempts in this direction were not, however, always crowned with success. We find members of the priestly and artisan classes taking to the profession of arms, and members of the soldier caste figuring as merchants. Vaiśyas and Śūdras figure as rulers of mighty kingdoms. Marriage rules were still somewhat elastic, and intermarriages between peoples of different castes, creeds and races were not unknown. Complications were introduced by the influx of foreigners, sections of whom were admitted into the framework of caste. Some of the earlier foreign immigrants rank as degraded Kṣatriyas in the legal codes. Those who came after the fall of
the early Gupta empire and carved out independent or semi-independent principalities for themselves, usually found a place among the thirty-six clans of the Rājputs, who now take the place of the Kshatriya families of olden times. Among the new Rājput clans, the Huns and the Pratihāras or Parihars deserve special mention. According to the view generally held by scholars, the Pratihāras belonged to the race of the Gurjaras who came into prominence for the first time in the sixth century A.D. While the ruling families of foreign immigrants and Hinduised border tribes often ranked as Rājputs, the rank and file came under less exalted social groups like the Gujars, the Dhaki Khasiyas, the Bhotiya and others.

People belonging to the higher castes in the Madhya-deśa (Mid India) did not, according to the testimony of Fa Hien, "kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic". Sharply distinguished from them were the Chāndālas, who lived apart from others. When they entered the gate of a city or a market-place they struck a piece of wood to make themselves known so that men knew and avoided them, and did not come into contact with them. The existence of impure castes is vouched for, not only by Indian and Chinese records, but by al-Biruni. If the last-mentioned scholar is to be believed, the doctrine of impurity was extended to foreigners in the north-west towards the end of our period. The Hindus of several provinces in the interior, however, did not share the views of their brethren about whom al-Biruni wrote.

The position of women in our period presents certain interesting features. Women of the upper classes in certain areas took a prominent share in administration. The queen-consort clearly occupied an important position in the Gupta period. In succeeding ages we have clear and unequivocal testimony to the existence of queens-regnant in Kāshmīr, Orissa and the Andhra country. A Chinese author represents an Indian princess as administering the government in conjunction with her brother. In some of the provinces, notably in the Kanarese country, women acted as provincial governors and heads of villages. The seclusion of women was not generally observed in these regions. Some of the royal ladies in the Deccan are referred to in contemporary epigraphs as not only skilled in music and dancing but also displaying their proficiency in the arts in public. Princess Rājyaśrī, in Northern India, is represented as sitting behind her royal brother and listening to the exposition of the doctrine of the Great Vehicle by the Chinese Master of the Law. These facts not only suggest that
absolute seclusion of women was unknown in certain families, but that girls, at least of the upper classes, received a liberal education and took a keen interest in the cultural activities of the age. The practice of *Swayamvara*, or self-choice of husband, had also not gone out of use. There was, however, another side to the picture. Polygamy was widely prevalent, but women were not ordinarily allowed to contract a second marriage. The custom of burning widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands was coming into general use, at least among the ruling clans.

**State of the Country and the General Condition of the People**

We have interesting glimpses of the state of the country and the condition of the people during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods, thanks to the accounts left by a number of Chinese and Muslim observers. The information derived from this source is supplemented by the testimony of contemporary epigraphs. Referring to the “Middle Kingdom”, roughly corresponding to the upper Ganges valley, Fa Hien, the earliest of the Chinese pilgrims whose records have come down to us, and who paid a visit to this country in the days of Chandra Gupta II, observes: “The people are numerous and happy. They have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. People of various sects set up houses of charity where rooms, couches, beds, food and drink are supplied to travellers.”

South Bihar, in particular, was noted for the wealth and prosperity of its cities and the benevolence and the righteousness of its people. The elders and the gentry of the locality established houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor and destitute in the country, and all who were diseased, went to these houses and were provided with every kind of help. Doctors examined their diseases. In the city of Patāliputra there were two large and beautiful monasteries to which students and inquirers flocked from all quarters to investigate the principles of duty to one’s neighbours.

More than two centuries later, when Huien Tsang came to this country, vast stretches of territory, notably in the Swāt valley and in Eastern India, once prosperous, now wore an appearance of desolation. Splendid edifices that had adorned them were now in ruins. But with these exceptions the country in general enjoyed the benefits of good government. Taxes were light and the people were not subject to an arbitrary tyranny. Forced service, though not unknown, was sparingly used and labour was usually paid.
Traces of slavery are, however, found up to the end of our period. The roads and river-routes were less safe than in the Gupta period. The criminal code had become more sanguinary. Liberal provision was still made for education and charitable institutions. The great educational establishments in Pāṭaliputra were no longer in existence as the city itself was in ruins. A great seat of learning had, however, sprung up at Nālandā. “In the establishment were some thousands of brethren, all men of great ability and learning. They were looked up to as models by all India. Foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts, and then became celebrated.” Another great centre of culture was Valabhi in Western India. These two places, Nālandā and Valabhi, are compared by I-tsing to the most famous educational institutions of China. We are told that “eminent and accomplished men assembled there in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became far famed for their wisdom.”

Other centres of learning sprang up in subsequent ages. The names of the first two sovereigns of the Pāla dynasty are associated with the famous establishments of Uddaṇḍapura (Bihār) and Vikramasīlā. Bhoja, the versatile ruler of Mīlwa, established a Sanskrit college at Dhārā. During the reign of Śīṅghana, the Yādava king of Devagiri in the Deccan, a College of astronomy was founded by a grandson of Bhāskarāchārya. In the far south, Pallava kings extended their patronage to educational institutions at Kāñchī and Bāhur. The last-mentioned place was situated near Pondicherry and had a College where provision was made for the study of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Miśrāmsā, Nyāya, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras (ninth century A.D.).

Hsiu Hsien Tsang has some interesting observations to make regarding the dress and manners of the people of this country. Their inner clothing and outward attire had no tailoring. As to colour, a fresh white was esteemed. The men wound a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and left the right shoulder bare. The women wore a long robe which covered both shoulders and fell down loose. The hair of the crown of the head was made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down. Garlands were worn on the head and necklaces on the body. In the far north of India, where the climate was cold, closely-fitting jackets were worn, somewhat like those of the Tartars.

Regarding the character of the people, the pilgrim observes that they were of hasty and irresolute temperament but of pure moral principles. They would not take anything wrongfully, and
they yielded more than fairness required. They did not practise deceit, and they kept their sworn obligations.

The country was famous for its vegetable and mineral wealth. Onions and garlic were little used, and people who ate them were ostracised. Milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar candy, cakes and parched grain with mustard seed oil were the common food. Fish, mutton and venison were occasional dainties. The flesh of oxen and some other animals was forbidden. Household utensils were mostly earthenware, few being of brass. The use of copper spoons by the sick is also mentioned. Gold and silver were abundant and were largely used for purposes of coinage. Besides gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls were also used as media of exchange. Precious substances of various kinds from the sea-ports were bartered for merchandise.

Certain South Indian records throw light on the standard of living of the common people in the days of Chola supremacy. It has been inferred that the average income of a family per month was about rupees sixteen for a member of the upper classes and rupees eight for a member of the lower orders.

Religion

The Gupta age is usually regarded as an era of Brāhmanic revival. There can be no doubt that Brāhmanism enjoyed imperial patronage. Some of the rulers make a pointed claim to have revived orthodox rites that had been in abeyance for a long period. But the claim need not be taken too literally. It has been rightly pointed out by a shrewd observer that the period of the Guptas is one of culmination, of florescence rather than of renaissance. The recrudescence of Brāhmanism in the Ganges valley is as old as the time of Pushyamitra, while in the south we have a long succession of dynasties that counted it as their proud boast to have repeatedly performed Vedic rites like the Vajapeya and the Ashvamedha. Some of the ablest among the foreign potentates and statesmen of the north, who dominated the stage of Indian history during the period that intervened between the age of the Śuṅgas and that of the Guptas, were the adherents of two great Hindu sects, namely, Śaivas and Bhāgavatas or Vaishnavas, if not of the Vedic sacrificial religion itself.

The most noticeable features in the religious life of the people during the Gupta age were the growing importance of Bhakti (loving faith in God) and the love of fellow-beings which found expression in benevolent activities and toleration of the opinions of others.
Bhakti, that is, intense devotion to God conceived of as personal, a Saviour worthy of trust and ready to be gracious, is an important element of Vaishnavism and Saivism as expounded in the Gītā and the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad. "He who with unwavering practice of devotion (bhakti yoga) does God service has crossed beyond the strands" and is fit for salvation. Bhakti to Śambhu, that is Śiva, led to the hollowing out by a minister of Chandra,

Buddha (Gupta Age)

Gupta II of a cave at Udayagiri. Devotion to other Adorable Beings found vent in the construction by various sections of the community, royal personages, officials, priests, guilds, etc., of lofty pillars, beautiful gateways, awe-inspiring images and splendid temples in honour of Vishnu, Kārttikeya, the Sun, the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Buddha. The wide prevalence of a feeling of toleration is well illustrated by epigraphic and literary references to the
INDIA UNDER GUPTAS AND SUCCESSORS

employment by Vaishnava kings of Śaivite and Buddhist officials and the affection felt by Jainas for Brāhmaṇas and by Brāhmaṇas for the Tirthaṅkaras and the Buddha. Fa Hien testifies to the benevolence and righteousness of the people of the Ganges valley, who not only directed their attention to the ceremonial side of religion, e.g. the celebration of processions of images, but also to the practice of charity. Non-violence was observed by the whole community except the outcastes. Abstention from intoxicating liquor must have been a contributory factor in determining the proclivities of the people in this direction.

A list of the important religious sects that flourished at the close of the Guptan age is given in Bāna's Harsha-charita. We find mention in that work of Jainas, both Digambaras (sky-clad, that is naked) and Śvetāmbaras (white-robed), Vaishnavas, both Bābāvatas and Pañcarātras, Saṅgatás or Buddhists, Mashkarins, possibly identical with the Ājivikas, and adherents of various schools of philosophy including the Sāṅkhya, the Lokāyata, the Vaiśeṣika, the Vedānta, and the Nyāya.

Buddhism had powerful exponents during the Guptan age in the famous sages and philosophers Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Kumārajīva and Dignāga. In the succeeding centuries it gradually lost ground. The Hun invasions must have led to the destruction of numerous monastic establishments in the north-west as well as in the east of India. With the deification of the Buddha and his admission into the Vishnuite pantheon as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, there was little to distinguish the Buddhist laity from their Brāhmaṇical neighbours. Intermarriages between Buddhists and Śaiva or Vaishnava royal families illustrate the absorption and assimilation of the votaries of the reforming cult by the followers of more orthodox creeds. Brāhmaṇa councillors begin to figure as prominently in Buddhist courts as in the darbars of Brāhmaṇical princes. The growth of Tantricism made the distinction between the Vajrayāna type of Buddhism and certain forms of Śaivism and Śāktism purely nominal. The advent of saintly poets and zealous reformers who sang the praise of Viṣṇu and Śiva and vigorously combatted the heretical doctrines of the Great Vehicle must have weighted the scale in favour of Orthodox Hinduism. With the destruction of the last remnants of the great Buddhist establishments that once covered the entire face of Hindustān by a new race of conquerors in the twelfth and succeeding centuries, Buddhism almost vanished from the land of its birth.

Jainism seems to have enjoyed popularity for a long time in Bengal, certain regions in the United Provinces and the Kanarese
country in South India. Hiuen Tsang found the religion flourishing in Bengal in the seventh century. But it was in Western India that it had its most important stronghold. The canon of the white-robed Jainas was reduced to writing in the fifth or sixth century A.D. as a result of the deliberations of a council held at Valabhi in Western India. The Digambara sect attained eminence during the rule of the Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Rastrakutas of Malkhed. The Chalukya king, Vinayaditya (A.D. 680–696), had for his spiritual adviser a famous teacher of the Digambaras. Amoghavarsha (A.D. 815–877), one of the greatest of the Rastrakutas, liberally patronised the sect. Jainism also received the homage of Bijnala Kalachurya of Kalyana (1156–1167) and of Kumaraapala Chaulukya of Anhilvara (1143–1172). The last-mentioned monarch was a patron of the famous Jaina Acharya Hemachandra. To Vimala, Vastupala, Tejahpala, ministers of Gujarat, we owe some of the splendid shrines at Abu, Girmar, Satrunjaya and other places.

Both Jainism and Buddhism had eventually to yield the palm to the more orthodox forms of Hinduism in most of the provinces where they had once enjoyed popularity and prosperity. Brahmanism had gained ascendency in the Madhya-deesa since the days of Pushyamitra. It enjoyed the almost uninterrupted patronage of the imperial power in that region since the days of the Imperial Guptas. Even Harsha, who had a genuine admiration for Buddhism, is described in official records as a devotee of Mahesvara, that is Shiva. Many of the princes, specially in Mid-India, strove to restore the social order and discipline enjoined in Brahmanical scriptures. The heterodox faiths no doubt continued in some of the outlying provinces, thanks to the patronage of the Pulas, the Karas of Orissa and the Western Gaugas of Mysore, but the religion of the Vedas and Purapas triumphed in the end in Bengal under the Senas, in Orissa under the Eastern Gaugas and in the far south under the later Tamil kings and the Hoysalas. Traces of Buddhism are found in the Deccan as late as the time of Vikramaditya VI, while the prestige of Jainism remained undimmed till the days of Bijnala. It was the rise of the Sri Vaishnava sect under Rama-nuja and the Lingayat or Vira Shaiva sect under Basava that turned the scale definitely in favour of the votaries of Vishnu and Shiva. Both these great apostles had their precursors.

Shiva Worship

The worship of Shiva found favour with many of the highest officials during the early Gupta age. Pasupata or Shaiva acharyas
are constantly mentioned in contemporary records of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. These include not only inscriptions but literary works like those of Varāhamihira, Bāna, Mahendra Varman Pallava and Huen Tsang. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Śaivism seems to have replaced Vaishnavism as the imperial religion of Northern India. It counted among its votaries supreme rulers, foreign as well as indigenous, such as Mihiragula, Yasodharman, Śaśānka and Harsha. Among renowned Pāṇḍita āchāryas of the age was the famous Udyotakara, the writer of a gloss on Vātsyāyana’s commentary on the Nyāya Sūtras. In the eighth century the country of Kerala on the Mālābar coast produced a teacher who, though not an adherent of any form of sectarian Śaivism, did much to popularise devotion to Śiva among the teeming millions of India. This was the famous Śaṅkarācārya, one of the greatest Hindu philosophers and teachers of the post-Gupta period. Śaṅkara came of a Brahmaṇa family of Kaladi. He was an ardent Vedāntist and the most powerful exponent of the doctrine of pure monism (advaita) which he elucidated in his commentaries on the classical Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gītā and the Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. He was not only a great thinker but an able organiser. Among the most durable monuments of his organising zeal are the famous monasteries at Śrīneri in Mysore, Dwārakā in Kāthiāwār, Puri in Orissa and Badrināth on the snowy heights of the Himalayas. He died at a comparatively early age, and his memory is held in affectionate reverence by millions of Hindus throughout India.

The province of Kāshmir in the far north of India produced in the ninth and succeeding centuries a number of teachers who are reckoned among the greatest exponents of the Śaiva doctrine and philosophy. No less important than the Kāshmir school of Śaivas were the Tamil and Kanarese saints and scholars known as the Nāyandras and Vira Śaivas respectively. Foremost among the Tamil Śaiva saints were Tirujñāna-Sambandar, Appar, Sundaramūrti and Manikka Vaasāhar. Kanarese Śaivism found a champion in the famous Basava, who has already been mentioned above. Basava was a minister of the Jain king, Bijaḷa of the Kalachurya dynasty of Kalyāṇa, who lived in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. A distinguishing feature of the Vira Śaiva sect of Karnāṭa to which Basava belonged was its zeal for social reform and special solicitude for the emancipation of women from the thralldom of rigid custom.
ŚIVA OR MARĀDEVA (JAVA)
The Vaishnava Movement

Āchāryas devoted to the cult of Vishnu figure prominently in inscriptions of the early Gupta period. The Gupta emperors themselves were votaries of Vishnu. Bāṇa mentions two important Vaishnava sects, namely the Bhāgavatas and the Pañcharātras, perhaps worshippers of Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa respectively, in connection with the search for the princess Rājyaśri in the Vindhyan wilds. Some of the early Chalukya kings of Vatāpi professed Bhāgavatism and the famous bas-reliefs at Bādāmī testify to the popularity of the cult in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to South India, particularly the Tamil country, as a special resort of devotees of Vishnu. The earliest among the Tamil Vaishnava saints were the Ālvārs. The most renowned among them seem to have flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The Ālvārs represented the emotional side of Vaishnavism, and they were followed by a line of Āchāryas who represented its intellectual side. Foremost among the Āchāryas were Nāṭhamuni, Yāmunāchārya and Rāmānuja. The last-mentioned teacher was the son of a Brāhmaṇa who lived in a village near Madras. Rāmānuja made Kāṇchi and Śrīrangam the chief centres of his activities, but the hostility of the Chola government compelled him to seek shelter at the Hoyala court in the Mysore country. He died in the twelfth century A.D. He combated the absolute monism of Śaṅkara and laid emphasis on Bhakti as a means of salvation. The school of philosophy that he established was known as Viśisṭādvaita or qualified monism. His followers are known as Śri Vaishnavas. Many of the great medieval reformers of India drew their inspiration from his teachings.

Shortly after Rāmānuja lived Madhva, a famous exponent of the dualistic school of the Vedānta.

Vedic Rites

Vedic rites which Sāmudra Guptē made attempts to revive after a long period of abeyance in certain areas, had their staunch advocates in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā or Karma Mīmāṃsā school represented by Śāvarasvāmin, Prabhākara and Kumārila. Śāvara’s acquaintance with the Great Véhicule may point to a date later than Nāgārjuna of the Kushān-Sātavāhana period. Prabhākara is later than Śāvara but earlier than Kumārila, who is probably an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara. In spite of the teaching of the Mīmāṃsāsakas, the Karma mārga, or the way of deliverance by the performance
of Vedic rites, does not seem to have attained amongst the masses of the Hindus the same popularity as the Bhakti nārāyaṇa professed by the ardent sectaries devoted to the cults of Śiva, Vishnu and associated deities. It is significant that the ancient rite of Ātvamedha tends to fall into disuse after the age of the Guptas and the early Chalukyas.

Literary Activity

Bühler observed long ago that during the Gupta age court poetry was zealously cultivated in India. Samudra Gupta took delight in the title of Kavirāja or king of poets. He associated with learned people and is said to have put an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity. There can hardly be any doubt that many poets who were none too wealthy received his patronage. The most notable poet of his court was Harishena, the writer of the Allahabād panegyric. Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, son of Samudra Gupta, followed in the footsteps of his father, and counted among his high ministers a poet named Vinasena-Sāha. Tradition associates the name of Kālidāsa, the greatest of Sanskrit poets after the immortal writers of the two ancient epics, with king Vikramāditya and the āchārya Dignāga, who probably flourished during this time. The fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi is well attested by Bāpa and Rāvīkirti who adorned the courts of Harsha and of Pulakeshin II respectively. The rulers of Valabhi extended their patronage to the famous author of the Bhāṭṭi-kāvya. To the Gupta period have also been assigned the celebrated dramatists who wrote the Mrīchchhakatika, the Mudrā Rākshasa and the Devi Chandra Guptham, but the matter is not free from doubt. The seventh century A.D. saw the composition of the works of Bāma, Mayārā, Bhartihari, Subandhu and the royal poets, Śrī Harsha and Mahendravarman. The portions of the Purāṇas dealing with the so-called future kings were apparently compiled during the Gupta age, and it is probable that the Mahābhārata received its latest accretions during the same epoch. In the domain of science the Gupta period produced the celebrated astronomers, Āryabhata and Varāhamihira. Even before Varāhamihira's time Indians had invented the decimal notation. The law-books of Nārada and Bhārhaspati are also reckoned by several scholars as products of the same age.

In the post-Gupta period we have in addition to male writers a number of poetesses, among whom Śilabhāṭṭarikā deserves special mention. The Kaumudi mahotsava is also ascribed by some scholars
to a female dramatist, but her identity and date are uncertain. Among writers of the opposite sex, Bhavabhūti stands pre-eminent. Both he and Vākpatirāja enjoyed the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Towards the end of the ninth century the court of Kanauj was adorned by Rājaśekhara.

Epic poetry and the drama in the period after the Great Guptas did not always reach the level of Bhāravi and Bhavabhūti. But the later age still produced poets and playwrights of ability like Māgha, Śrī Harsha, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Kshemisvara, and Kṛishṇa Miśra. Lyric poetry flourished long after Bhatṛihari, and the twelfth century saw the composition by Jayadeva of the Gīta Govinda, one of the sweetest of the Sanskrit song-books. Works of merit continued to be produced in other fields of learning and literature. The prose romance of Daṇḍin, the later versions of the didactic fables of the Pañchatantra, the ethical compositions of Śāntideva and treatises on polity written by Kāmandaka and Somadeva may be mentioned in this connection. In one domain, that of historical literature, the post-Gupta period produced works the like of which had not been seen in earlier ages. The most notable among them were the Harsha-charita of Bāna, the Rāma-charita of Sandhyākara, the Vikramāṅka-charita of Bilhana and the Rājatarangini of Kalhana. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and other eminent philosophers of the epoch under review do not suffer by comparison with the great masters of the days of Kanishka and the Sātavāhanas. In astronomy, the period of Yādava rule produced the great Bhāskara. We have towards the close of the age under review a number of polymaths like Bhoja of Dhārā, Someśvara III of Kalyāṇa and Kshemendra of Kāshmir who showed their interest in such diverse subjects as poetry, rhetoric, polity, philosophy, astronomy, architecture, medicine, alchemy, music and painting.
CHAPTER XV

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

From time immemorial the people of India had free and intimate intercourse with the outside world. Even in the dim pre-historic age, the Neolithic people, as we have seen above, had relations with the Far East, and there are good reasons to believe that they emigrated in large numbers, both by land and sea, and settled in Indochina and the Indian Archipelago. In the succeeding age, while a high degree of civilisation flourished in the Indus valley, there was undoubtedly a familiar intercourse with the countries of Western and Central Asia. Of the two important races that moulded Indian civilisation, the Aryans apparently, and the Dravidians possibly, came to India from outside, and necessarily relations were established and maintained, at least for some time, with the countries where they had lived before the occupation of India. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that India as a whole had never led an isolated life completely cut off from the rest of the world.

The intercourse between India and the countries by which she was surrounded on the north, east and west was maintained during the historical period. In the west, there were trade relations with Babylonia, and also with Syria and Egypt. So far as the most ancient periods are concerned, we have to rely upon indirect evidence, such as the discovery of Indian articles in those lands or the use of Indian names for these articles. From the Maurya period we possess more definite evidence. But the most detailed account that we possess of this trade belongs to the first century A.D. Towards the latter half of this century a Greek sailor, living in Egypt, undertook a voyage to India along the coasts of the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and recorded a minute account of his experiences in a book called The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. We learn from this book that there was active trade between India and the western countries. There were important harbours on the coast such as Barbarike, Barygaza, Muziris, Nelcynda, Bakarai, Korkai, and Pulbar, and ships built and fitted up by Indians sailed from these ports with their merchandise which consisted, among other
things, of pearls, precious stones, spices, unguents, and fine cotton cloths called muslins, all of which were in great demand in western countries.

These goods were carried to the harbours on the sea-coast from inland cities by a network of roads. We learn from the same book that Indians settled in some islands of the Arabian Sea for purposes of trade, and the island of Socotra had a colony of Indian merchants.

The account of the *Periplus* is supplemented by later writers. Pliny, for example, complains that for the purchase of luxurios articles Rome pays every year a million sestercies to India. The statement of Pliny is corroborated by the actual discovery of a large number of Roman coins in India which must have been paid for the Indian goods and carried here by way of trade.

It is further proved by the Indian missions sent to Roman emperors. The king of Pandya sent a mission to Augustus in or about 26 B.C. In later periods we hear of seven missions to Roman emperors. The trade with Rome and other western countries was carried through the important port of Alexandria where goods, carried by sea up to the Red Sea coast, were transported either by land, or by small boats through canals of the Nile. There was also a land-route from India to the Mediterranean coast which run through Persia and along the shores of the Caspian, to Syria and Asia Minor. This route had become familiar after the invasion of Alexander the Great. During the early centuries of the Christian era, Palmyra (in Syria) was one of the principal centres of this trade.

Both the sea and land routes came under the control of the Arabs when they rose to power in the seventh century A.D. Henceforth the Arabs carried on an active trade with India and we have interesting records of it in the chronicles of the Arab merchants.

It is a well-known fact that culture and civilisation follow in the wake of trade and commerce. We find accordingly that the Indian religion spread to the western countries. Asoka sent Buddhist missionaries to western Asia, northern Africa and south-eastern Europe, and claimed that the tenets of that religion were welcomed in these regions. We have no means of ascertaining the truth of this from independent evidence, but there is no doubt that even long after Asoka people in Alexandria showed interest in Buddhism, and that both Buddhist and Brâhmanical religion were widely prevalent in several countries of western Asia before the advent of Islam. The knowledge of Indian philosophy and literature in the West is also an undoubted fact. There is, however, equally little doubt that Western culture also flowed to India. The knowledge of Greek and
Roman astronomy and Greek influence on the art and coinage of India are undisputed facts. The Arabs imbibed a great deal of Indian culture, and carried it, along with Indian merchandise, to the western countries. Indian medicine and the wonderful invention of the decimal notation in Arithmetic, among others, became through the Arabs the universal property of the world.

In Central Asia the cultural conquest almost completely overshadows the trade relations of India. Here, partly by missionary propaganda, and partly by the political influence of the Kushāns, Buddhism became almost the universal religion of the nomadic peoples that settled in the vast region between the shores of the Caspian and the Wall of China. Indians also settled in large numbers in the region round modern Khotan. The physical aspects of this region have changed so completely that it is now difficult to imagine that flourishing Indian colonies once dotted the area which now lies buried under the sands of the Taklamakan desert. Yet the archaeological explorations of Sir Aurel Stein in this inhospitable tract have laid bare the ruins of numerous Buddhist stūpas and monasteries, the images of Buddhist and Brāhmanical gods, and many manuscripts and shorter records written in Indian languages and Indian alphabets. Sir Aurel Stein has remarked that whilst he moved in these excavated areas under the ground he could have believed himself to be in the familiar surroundings of an ancient Indian city in the Punjab, so complete was the Indianisation of these out-of-the-way colonies. Even as late as the seventh century A.D., when Huien Tsang passed through Central Asia on his way to and back from India, he noted the dominance of Buddhism and Indian culture over this wide area. It is believed that Chingiz Khan, the great Mongol leader of the thirteenth century, professed some form of Buddhism.

From Central Asia Buddhism spread to China and there it remains a living faith, even today, among her untold millions. It is difficult to exaggerate the influence which Buddhism and Indian culture exerted upon the ancient civilisation of China. She showed the proverbial zeal of the new convert. Bands of Chinese monks undertook the perilous journey to India, both by land and sea, in order to study at first hand the religious beliefs and practices of Indian Buddhists and to collect Buddhist books and images. Hundreds and thousands of Buddhist books were carried from India to China and then translated into Chinese. For this purpose not only did the Chinese themselves learn Sanskrit and Pāli, but they also invited Indian Pandits to go to China and collaborate with them in the arduous task of translating the sacred scriptures
of Buddhism. Hundreds of Indian scholars settled in China and dedicated their lives to the pious task. It is singular to note that there are Chinese translations of Buddhist texts whose originals can no longer be traced in India. In addition to this intimate contact established by religion, we have to take note of the political and commercial relations between India and China, and the existence of a fairly regular traffic by way of the sea.

From China, Buddhism spread to Korea, and from Korea to Japan. Buddhism is still a living faith in both these countries, and has moulded their civilisation during the last fifteen hundred years.

Tibet forms a narrow enclave between India and these northern countries. It was not, however, such an exclusive and isolated region as it is to-day, and a regular route from China to Nepal passed through it. Tibet became a powerful kingdom in the seventh century A.D., and Strang-tsan Gam-po, one of its best-known kings (seventh century A.D.), introduced Buddhism into his country. He had married a princess from China and another from Nepal, and presumably the influence of his queens converted him to the new faith. Along with the new religion, he introduced Indian alphabets which were in use in Khotan, and thus paved the way for a new culture and civilisation in Tibet. As in the case of China, Tibetan Buddhists came to India in large numbers, and the proximity of India enabled them to come into closer contact with the home of Buddhism. The Pāla emperors helped towards the reform of Buddhism in Tibet, and there was a lively intercourse between Tibet and the Pāla kingdom. Tibetan monks studied at the monasteries of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, and many Indian Buddhist monks visited Tibet. The name of Atisa Dipaṅkara, a monk of Eastern Bengal, who visited Tibet in the eleventh century A.D. in the days of Nayaṇārāṇa, is still held in the highest veneration there. Hundreds of the sacred texts of Buddhism were translated into Tibetan, of which two famous collections, Tanjur and Kanjur, still exist.

The spirit of maritime adventure in India found its full and free scope in the south-east. Across the Bay of Bengal lay Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. They were peopled by primitive races, and held almost a monopoly of the world's spice trade. These fertile tracts were also rich in minerals and soon drew the attention of the Indians. The eastern coast of India, from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, was studded with ports, some of which are named in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. The author of this book refers to some of the Far Eastern countries as Chryse, or the Golden Land. He implies, though he does not expressly state,
that there was a coasting voyage from Bengal to those regions. Ptolemy, in the second century A.D., knew the names of important trading centres in the Malay Peninsula and the islands of Java and Sumatra. Buddhist texts, written about the same period, give a long list of trading centres in the Far East which agrees fairly well with that of Ptolemy. These names are mostly in Sanskrit. There is thus no doubt that by the second century A.D. Indians had developed important trading relations with the Far East. We learn from Ptolemy that there was a direct route from Pahura (not far from Chicacole and Gaṇjām) across the sea to the Malay Peninsula.

Indian literature has faithfully preserved the traditions of the early days of this perilous voyage to unknown lands beyond the sea. The stories preserved in the Jātakas, the Kathāsarasātāgāra and other similar collections frequently refer to traders' voyages to Suvarṇabhūmi—the land of gold, which was a general designation of several lands in the Far East. Traders returned with immense riches from the land whose very soil was supposed to be made of gold. On the other hand, many met with shipwreck and there were also sufferings and miseries of other kinds. Some stories represent young Kshatriya princes, dispossessed of their hereditary kingdoms, sailing to Suvarṇabhūmi to restore their fortunes.

To some such Kshatriya enterprise we perhaps owe the foundation of Indian political power in these far-off regions. From the second century A.D. onwards we find reference to kingdoms ruled by persons with Indian names. Their religion, social manners and customs, language and alphabet are all Indian and we may therefore regard these States as Indian colonial kingdoms. Between the second and fifth centuries A.D. such kingdoms were established in the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, Annam, and the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. The history of these kingdoms is known, partly from the Sanskrit inscriptions found in those countries, and partly from the accounts preserved by the Chinese. The Brahmantical religion, mainly Śaivism, flourished in these regions, though Buddhism was also not unknown. The indigenous people adopted the civilisation of their masters and there was a gradual fusion between the two races. Hindu customs and manners were no doubt modified to some extent by coming into contact with these people, but still for nearly a thousand years the essential features of Indian civilisation were the dominant characteristics of society in these regions.

The Indian colonists established great kingdoms, some of which lasted for more than a thousand years and continued to flourish
even long after the end of Hindu rule in India. On the mainland of Indo-China there were two powerful kingdoms, those of Champâ and Kambuja. The kingdom of Champâ comprised, at its greatest extent, nearly the whole of modern Annam. Some of its kings, such as Jaya Paramesâvaravarmadeva Işvaramûrti (c. 1050–1060), Rudravarman (c. 1061–1069), Harivarman (1070–1081), Mahârâ- jãdhirîja Šrî Jaya Indravarman (c. A.D. 1163–1180), Jaya Siîhavar- man (c. 1257–1287), were great heroes and defended their country successfully against the attacks of their western neighbours, the Kambujas, and the great Mongol chief, Kublai Khân. They had diplomatic relations with the Chinese. After a glorious existence of more than thirteen hundred years (cir. A.D. 150–1471) their power was virtually broken by the repeated attacks of their northern neighbours, the Annamese, and in the sixteenth century the Hindu kingdom was overrun by these Mongolian hordes. There were many flourishing cities in Champâ, and the whole country was adorned with beautiful temples, both Hindu and Buddhist.

The origin of the Hindu kingdom of Kambuja is shrouded in mystery. According to an old legend, Kaumûjînya married Sonâ, a Naga princess, and founded the royal dynasty of Kambuja. He planted a spear which he had obtained from Drona's son Asvatthâmâ. Another version makes the hero a son of Ædityavarna, king of Indraprastha. In any case, we can trace the earliest Hindu kingdom in Kambuja to the first or second century A.D. It occupied the southern part of Cambodia and was called Fu-nan by the Chinese. It rose to great power, and exercised suzerainty over several vassal states. On its southern frontier was the vassal kingdom of Tuen-sien. A Chinese author writes about this kingdom as follows: "More than a thousand Brâhmanas from India reside there. The people follow their doctrines and give them their daughters in marriage. They read their sacred books day and night." The kings of Fu-nan sent ambassadors to both India and China.

The position of supremacy passed in the sixth century to Kambuja-deśa, originally one of the vassal states of Fu-nan. Kambuja-deśa, at first only a small principality in the north-east, has given its name to the whole country, and its kings ruled in great splendour for nine hundred years. Among its most valiant kings may be named Jayavarman I, II, and VII, Yaśovarman, and Sûryavarman II. In the fifteenth century A.D. the invasions of the Annamites from the east and the Thais (who had conquered Siam) from the west reduced the powerful kingdom to a petty principality which still exists under the protectorate of the French.
The kingdom of Kambuja rose to far greater power than Champā. In addition to the whole of modern Cambodia, Cochin-China, Laos, Siam and parts of Burma and the Malay Peninsula were included within the Kambuja empire at its greatest extent. Numerous Sanskrit inscriptions give us the detailed history of their kings, and wonderful temples like Angkor Vat, these of Angkor Thom and a hundred others still tell the tale of their grandeur and magnificence.

Angkor Vat is, in every sense, a wonder of the world. It is a shrine originally dedicated to Vishnu, and stands on the top of a terraced structure. Each terrace forms a sort of covered gallery, adorned throughout with sculptures, and leads to the next higher one by means of a staircase. There are numerous spires and towers, the eight towers at the four angles of the third and last gallery being each 180 feet high. After ascending the third terrace, we stand in front of the central shrine with its high tower (213 feet above the ground) dominating the entire region. The whole structure is surrounded by a stone enclosure provided with gates and galleries, measuring two-thirds of a mile east to west and half a mile north to south. Outside the enclosure runs a ditch, 700 feet wide. A stone causeway, 36 feet wide, with balustrade, runs over the ditch. It is continued as a broad paved road from the gate of the enclosure right up to the gate of the first terrace, a distance of about two furlongs.

Angkor Thom (Nagaradhiśāma?) is the modern name of the capital city founded by King Jayavarman VII. The city was square in shape, each side measuring more than two miles. It was surrounded by a moat 330 feet broad and enclosed by a high stone wall. The centre of the city was occupied by the grand temple of Bayon. It is pyramidal in shape and has three stages, adorned with high towers, nearly forty in number. The central tower dominating the whole structure is nearly 150 feet high. Each of these towers has a finely carved human face on four sides, representing Śiva, deeply absorbed in meditation. Several other massive structures, both religious and secular, surrounded the temple of Bayon.

The city gates, with towers and guard-houses, were imposing structures. Five avenues, about 100 feet wide, run from the gates to the heart of the city, a distance of a mile. The city was adorned with a large number of tanks with embankments, and a royal terrace about 1,200 feet in length and 13 feet in height with sculptured reliefs of exquisite quality. In short, everything was conceived on a truly noble scale, and it was one of the grandest cities in the whole world in that age.
COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

The Malay Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago saw the rise and fall of two big Hindu empires. The first empire was founded by the Śailendra dynasty in the eighth century A.D. It comprised the Malay Peninsula and nearly the whole of the Archipelago including the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. The Arab merchants who traded in these parts described in rapturous terms the power, wealth and magnificence of the grand monarch who exercised supreme sway and styled him "Mahārāja". He owned a powerful navy and made successful raids both against Champā and Kambuja. According to the Arab writers, he "was overlord of a large number of islands over a length of 1,000 parsangs or more". Many of these chroniclers tell the story how the Mahārāja every morning threw into a lake a brick made of solid gold. According to the Arab accounts, the Mahārāja was held in high esteem by the rulers of both India and China. Ibn Resteh, writing about A.D. 903, remarks: "The great king is called Mahārāja, i.e. king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India because he dwells in the islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he, and none has more revenue." Ibn Khordadzleh (A.D. 844-848) estimates the daily revenue of the king as two hundred maunds of gold.

(The Śailendra kings were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism and had diplomatic relations with the rulers of China and India.) King Bālaputra-deva sent an ambassador to the emperor Devapāla of Bengal (p. 166), requesting him to grant five villages to the monastery which he (Bālaputra-deva) had built at Nālandā. Devapāla, of course, granted the request. It appears that the Śailendras derived their religious inspiration from Bengal which was then the chief centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. Kumāraghoshita, a Buddhist monk of Bengal, became the guru or preceptor of the Śailendras, and at his bidding the Śailendra emperor constructed the beautiful temple of Tārā. The Śailendras were great builders and the famous stūpa of Barahudur stands to this day as the living monument of their grandeur and magnificence. This noble building, situated on the top of a hill, consists of a series of nine successive terraces, each receding from the one beneath it, and the whole crowned by a bell-shaped stūpa at the centre of the topmost terrace. The lowest terrace has an extreme length of 131 yards. The five lower terraces are each enclosed on the inner side by a wall supporting balustrades so as to form four open galleries. The three uppermost terraces are enclosed by a ring of stūpas, each containing an image of Buddha within a perforated framework. The galleries are covered with sculptures, illustrating scenes from Buddhist texts, and the
balustrades are decorated with small niche-temples containing images of Buddha. The images and sculptures are the finest examples of Indo-Javanese art. When we remember that the structure is nearly 400 feet square and that its successive galleries are full of sculptures and images of Buddha, exhibiting the highest skill and workmanship, we may well understand why Barabudur is referred to as the eighth wonder of the world.

The art of Java and Kambuja was no doubt derived from India and fostered by the Indian rulers of these colonies, but Barabudur and Angkor Vat far exceed in grandeur of conception and skill of execution anything that we know of in India itself.

The Śailendras ruled in glory till the eleventh century A.D. when the Cholas cast covetous eyes upon the rich maritime empire. Rājendra Chola I (p. 188) possessed a magnificent fleet and invaded the dominions of the Śailendras. His efforts were successful and he conquered a large part of the Śailendra empire. But it was not an easy task to keep such distant provinces under control. The Śailendras continued the struggle and shook off the Chola supremacy after nearly a century. But soon their power declined and an ill-fated expedition against the island of Ceylon in the thirteenth century brought about the final disruption of the empire.

The decline and downfall of the Śailendras gave an opportunity to an aspiring kingdom in the island of Java to assert its power. A Hindu kingdom was established in the island as early as the fourth century A.D. but it was conquered by the Śailendras. Java formed a part of the Śailendra empire till the ninth century A.D. when it recovered its independence. The seat of political power was, however, removed from the central part of the island, which was at one time the centre of Śailendra power and contained their famous monuments, including Barabudur. Henceforth Eastern Java, with its seat of power at first at Kediri and then at Singhasari, played the dominant part in politics. Towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. a new royal dynasty was founded by king Vijaya with the city called Tikta-vilva (bitter vī CART breed) or its Javanese equivalent, Majapahit, as its capital. The kingdom of Majapahit conquered the surrounding islands, and by the year A.D. 1365 the empire of Majapahit included nearly the whole of the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. Roughly speaking, it comprised the present Dutch possessions in the Archipelago with the addition of the Malay Peninsula, but excluding perhaps northern Celebes.
Early in the fifteenth century A.D. a fugitive Hindu chief of Java founded the kingdom of Malacca, which soon rose to be a great political power and an important commercial centre. The conversion of its second king to Islam made Malacca a stronghold of that power, which soon reacted on neighbouring territories. The new faith penetrated into Java, in the wake of trade and commerce, and even some members of its royal family were converted to it. By a concerted attempt of the votaries of the new faith, the ruler of Majapahit was driven from the throne at the beginning of the sixteenth century. With the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, the whole of the island was converted to Islam. But the royal family and a large element of the Hindu population took refuge in the island of Bali, which had been a Hindu colony for nearly a thousand years. With the exception of this island, where Hinduism flourishes even to-day, the rest of the Malay Archipelago, generally speaking, adopted the faith and culture of Islam.

Indian art and literature flourished in Java to an extent unknown elsewhere. There are still hundreds of temples in ruins, and an extensive literature, in manuscripts, based on Sanskrit. The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata were most popular in that island, and even to-day furnish the theme of their popular shadow-play, called Wayang, and theatrical performances. With the fall of Majapahit, artistic activities came to an end in Java.

We may conclude with a broad survey of the Indian colonies in the Far East. For nearly fifteen hundred years, and down to a period when the Hindus had lost their independence in their own home, Hindu kings were ruling over Indo-China and the numerous islands of the Indian Archipelago, from Sumatra to New Guinea. Indian religion, Indian culture, Indian laws and Indian government moulded the lives of the primitive races all over this wide region, and they imbibed a more elevated moral spirit and a higher intellectual taste through the religion, art and literature of India. In short, the people were lifted to a higher plane of civilisation. A greater India was established by a gentle fusion of races, which richly endowed the original inhabitants with the spiritual heritage of India. So long as Hinduism was in full vigour at home, Hinduism in the colonies was also a vital force, but the downfall of the Hindus in India also led to the decay of their colonial supremacy. The fountain head having dried up, the streams fed by it were also gradually choked, leading to their ultimate disappearance. It is no mere accident that from after A.D. 1100 or 1200 Hinduism had spent its force in the colonies, and the indigenous element
began gradually to assert itself till Islam was firmly planted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

The history of the colonies demonstrates the unsoundness of the popular belief that Hinduism cannot be adopted by foreigners but is meant only for those who are born within its fold. It shows the great vigour with which it could absorb and vitalise foreign culture and could elevate even the most primitive races to a higher sphere of culture and civilisation. If we remember that Indian culture and civilisation played a similar role, though perhaps in a lesser degree, in western, central and eastern Asia, we can realise an aspect of the true greatness of India, not always sufficiently emphasised. The colonial and cultural expansion of India is one of the most brilliant, but forgotten, episodes of Indian history, of which any Indian may justly feel proud.
CHAPTER XVI

MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIA

The Pre-historic Period

In a previous chapter, reference has been made to the artistic relics of the pre-historic period. They consist, first, of Neolithic implements, and secondly, of seals, buildings, sculptures and implements of copper and bronze found at Mohenjo-Daro and a few other sites.

The most artistic objects at Mohenjo-Daro are no doubt the seal-engravings, portraying animals like the humped bull, the buffalo, the bison, etc. Regarding these, Sir John Marshall observes as follows:

"In no sense can these objects be regarded as products of primitive or archaic art. Small as they are, they demonstrate a thorough comprehension of both work in the round and relief, and exhibit a spontaneity and truthfulness to nature of which even Hellenic art might not have been ashamed."

The same author makes the following remarks on two stone statues found at Harappa:

"When I first saw them I found it difficult to believe that they were pre-historic; they seemed so completely to upset all established ideas about early art. Modelling such as this was unknown in the ancient world up to the Hellenistic age of Greece."

Maurya Period—the Origin of Art

The earliest ruins of Harappā and Mohenjo-Daro have been assigned to a period not later than 2700 B.C. For more than two thousand years after that we possess no ancient monuments that deserve any serious consideration.

In the historical period, we have ruins of monuments that may be referred to as early a period as 500 B.C. But it is only in the age of Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor, that we come across
AŚOKAN PILLAR, LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

By courtesy of the Archaeological Department and Lucknow University
monuments of high quality in large number which enable us to form a definite idea about the nature of Indian art.

The finest examples of Aśoka art are furnished by the monolithic pillars (see p. 225) on which his edicts are engraved. Each pillar consists of a shaft or column, made of one piece of stone, supporting a capital made of another single piece of stone. The round and slightly tapering shaft, made of sandstone, is highly polished and very graceful in its proportions. The capital, equally highly polished, consists of one or more animal figures in the round, resting on an abacus engraved with sculptures in relief; and below this is the inverted lotus, which is usually, though perhaps wrongly, called the Persepolitan Bell. A high degree of knowledge of engineering was displayed in cutting these huge blocks of stone and removing them hundreds of miles from the quarry, and sometimes to the top of a hill. Extraordinary technical skill was shown in cutting and chiselling the stone with wonderful accuracy and in imparting the lustrous polish to the whole surface. But these pale into insignificance before the high artistic merits of the figures, which exhibit realistic modelling and movement of a very high order. The capital of the Sārnātha Pillar is undoubtedly the best of the series. The figures of four lions standing back to back, and the smaller figures of animals in relief on the abacus, all show a highly advanced form of art and their remarkable beauty and vigour have elicited the highest praise from all the art-critics of the world. The late Dr. V. A. Smith made the following observation on the Sārnātha capital:

"It would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy."

Many other pillars of Aśoka, though inferior to that of Sārnātha, possess remarkable beauty. It may be mentioned in this connection that the jewellery of the Maurya period also exhibits a high degree of technical skill and proficiency.

As compared with sculptures, the architectural remains of the Maurya period are very poor. Contemporary Greek writers refer to magnificent palaces in the capital city of Pātaliputra and regard them as the finest and grandest in the whole world. Some seven hundred years later the Mauryan edifices inspired awe and admiration in the heart of the Chinese traveller, Fa Hien. But these noble
CAPITAL OF AŚOKAN PILLAR, SĀRNĀTH (NEAR BENARES)

By courtesy of the Archaeological Department and Lucknow University
buildings have utterly perished. Recent excavations on the site
have laid bare their ruins, the most remarkable being those of a
hundred-pillared hall.

The extant architectural remains consist, besides a small mono-
lithic stone rail round a stūpa at Sārnāth, mainly of the rock-cut
chaitya halls in the Barabar hills and neighbouring localities in
the Bihar subdivision of the Patna district. Although excavated
in the hardest rock, the walls of these caves are polished like glass.

Aśoka also built quite a large number of stūpas. The stūpa is
a solid domical structure of brick or stone, resting on a round
base. It was sometimes surrounded by a plain or ornamented
stone railing with one or more gateways, which were often of
highly elaborate pattern and decorated with sculptures. Tradition
credits Aśoka with building 84,000 stūpas all over India and
Afghanistān but they have almost entirely perished. Some of
them, enclosed and enlarged at later times, perhaps still exist,
the most famous example being the big stūpa at Sāñehi, in Bhopal
State, not far from Bhilsa. The diameter of the present stūpa
is 121\frac{1}{2} feet, the height about 77\frac{1}{2} feet, and the massive stone
railing which encloses it is 11 feet high. According to Sir John
Marshall, the original brick stūpa built by Aśoka was probably of
not more than half the present dimensions, which were subsequently
enlarged by the addition of a stone casing faced with concrete.
The present railing also replaced the older and smaller one. A similar
fate has possibly overtaken many other stūpas of Aśoka.

It is quite evident from what has been said above, that Maurya
art exhibits in many respects an advanced stage of development
in the evolution of Indian art. The artists of Aśoka were by no
means novices, and there must have been a long history of artistic
effort behind them. How are we then to explain the almost total
absence of specimens of Indian art before c. 250 B.C.?

This is the problem which faces us at the very beginning of our
study of Indian art—highly finished specimens of art, belonging
to such remotely distant periods as 2700 B.C. and 250 B.C., with
little to fill up the long intervening gap.

We are not in a position to solve this problem until more data
are available. In the meantime we can only consider various
possibilities.

First, it is not unlikely that the artistic traditions of the Indus
valley continued down to the Maurya period. The absence of
specimens has to be explained by the supposition that most of the
monuments being made of wood or other perishable materials
have left no trace behind. Rare specimens in stone or other durable
materials may yet be unearthed by future excavations. This solution is prompted by the analogous problem of Indian alphabets. The earliest Indian alphabets so far known, and from which all the current Indian alphabets have been derived, are those found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. How they came to be evolved into that finished stage has been a mystery, and attempts have been made to derive them from various types of alphabets in Western Asia. But the numerous seals found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā with pictorial writings (in which an alphabet or a syllable is represented by a pictorial illustration of a material object) have induced some scholars to regard these as the origin from which the Brāhmi alphabet of Aśoka has been ultimately derived. In a similar way, the artistic traditions of the Aśokan period might be ultimately traced to those of the Indus valley. But in both cases, the intermediate stages of development or processes of evolution are hidden from us.

Secondly, it is permissible to hold that the art-traditions of the Indus valley were gradually lost and that Mauryan art has an independent history. What that history may be is involved in doubt, and it is possible to entertain two different views on the subject. We may either hold that, in addition to works in wood, the Indian artists of the pre-Maurya period also excelled in works in stone, though these have perished or not yet come to light. Or we may suppose that the Indians first began to work in stone during the Maurya period. The results of their endeavour to change from wood to stone are seen in the crude inferior pillars of Aśoka while those which are excellent and highly finished were the work of foreign artists employed by that great emperor. According to this theory, Indian art continued more or less under this foreign tutelage long after Aśoka, until a full-fledged Indian art was developed under the Imperial Guptas.

From the End of the Maurya Period to the Rise of the Guptas

The five hundred years that intervened between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Gupta empire constitute a distinct period in the evolution of Indian art. So far as we can judge from extant remains, several important schools of sculpture flourished in different localities during this period—at Bhārhut (Nagod State, Central India), Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchī (Bhopal State), Mathurā and Gandhāra (North-Western Punjab and adjoining region) in Northern India, and Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikondā (near the mouth of the Kṛiabnā) in South India.
In the second century B.C., during the reign of the Śaṅgas, a big stūpa was constructed at Bhārhat. Nothing now remains of the stūpa itself, but a portion of the railings that surrounded it, and one of the gateways, are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The railing is made of red sandstone and consists, as usual, of uprights, crossbars and coping-stone. All these have sculptures engraved on them representing incidents from Buddha's life, Jātaka stories and many humorous scenes. Short labels incised below the sculptures enable us to identify the episodes represented therein. Taken individually, the human figures do not appear to be well executed and there are obvious defects in the physiognomy and posture of the bodies. But regarded as a mass, the sculptures represent the religious faiths and beliefs, the dress, costumes, and manners, and are executed with wonderful simplicity and vigour. We get an insight into the minds and habits of the common people of India, and a keynote of the joys and pleasures of life seems to pervade them all. Ancient India, with its robust optimism and vigorous faith in life, speaks, as it were, through these stones, in a tone that offers a sharp but pleasing contrast to the dark pessimistic views of life which some of the old religious texts are never tired of repeating. From this point of view, the art of Bhārhat is a great corrective to the impressions which we are likely to form from literature.

At Bodh-Gayā there is a small railing round the great temple. The railing probably belongs to about the first century B.C., but the temple is of a much later date. The sculptures on the railing belong to the same type as at Bhārhat, though the individual figures are somewhat better.

Śāñchi contains three big stūpas that belong to the period under review and, happily, they are all in a good state of preservation. The big stūpa, originally constructed by Aśoka, was enlarged during this period, and four gateways of elaborate construction were added to the railing, one in each cardinal direction. Although the railing is quite plain, the gateways are full of sculptures, illustrating the Jātaka stories and various episodes in the life of Gautama Buddha. The scenes represented are similar to those of Bhārhat, and convey more or less the same ideas, but the individual figures, the method of their grouping, mode of expression, and decorative elements—all show a far higher standard of technical skill and artistic conception. The obvious defects in the representation of the physique at Bhārhat are removed, and human figures are elegantly carved and shown in various difficult moods and poses. The sculptors of Śāñchi are throughout inspired
by a far higher sense of beauty, rhythm, and symmetry, and possess the difficult art of telling a complicated story in a simple lucid way. As at Bhārhat, we find before us a wonderful panorama of scenes of daily life and concrete illustrations of faith, hope, and ideals, though as a rule these are more complex and varied in character, showing a more intelligent appreciation of the facts and views of life.

On the whole, the railings at Bhārhat, Bodh-Gaya and Sāñchi may be regarded as three landmarks in the gradual evolution of art during the two centuries, 150 B.C.-A.D. 50. The Indian artists had now mastered the difficult technique and acquired a highly-developed aesthetic sense. The stone sculptures proved in their hands to be a valuable medium for expressing faiths and beliefs, and ideas and feelings.

Mathurā has proved a large treasure-house of ruins of this period. No big railing, like that of Bhārhat or Sāñchi, with a continuous series of relief sculptures, has yet come to light, but we have instead numerous fragments of smaller railings with
sculptures, and quite a large number of images, either detached or engraved in very high relief on some architectural fragments.

KUSHĀN KING, MATHURA

The Mathurā sculptures are easily distinguished by the material used—a kind of spotted red stone. It is possible to classify the sculptures of Mathurā into two chronological periods. The earlier ones are rude and rough works, somewhat resembling those of
Bhārhat, but of a different style, and do not call for any special remark. The sculptures of the later period possess one distinguishing characteristic, viz. the representation of Buddha as a human figure. This is entirely unknown at Bhārhat, Bodh-Gayā and Sāñchī where Buddha is always represented by a symbol such as a wheel, a throne, or a pair of footprints, and never by any human figure. With the evolution of a human type of Buddha at Mathurā begins a new epoch in Indian art, and for centuries the best artistic efforts of India were directed towards giving a concrete expression of the spiritual ideals of India through the images of Buddha and other great beings.

The Gandhāra School

The Gandhāra school of sculpture has attained a celebrity perhaps beyond its merits. There was a time when European scholars considered it as the only school in ancient India which can rightfully claim a place in the domain of art. Many still regard it as the source of all subsequent development of art in India and the Far East. In spite of the undeniable merit of Gandhāra sculptures, the above views seem to be highly exaggerated.

The Gandhāra sculptures have been found in the ruins of Taxila and in various ancient sites in Afgānistān and the North-West Frontier Province. They consist mostly of images of Buddha and relief-sculptures representing scenes from Buddhist texts. Some technical characteristics easily distinguish them from all other specimens of Indian sculpture. In the first place, there is a tendency to mould the human body in a realistic manner with great attention to accuracy of physical details, especially by the delineation of muscles and the addition of moustaches, etc. Secondly, the representation of the thick drapery with large and bold fold-lines forms a distinct characteristic.

The Gandhāra sculptures accordingly offer a striking contrast to what we meet with elsewhere in India, viz. the smooth round features of the idealised human figures, draped in a transparent or semi-transparent cloth, closely fitting to the body and revealing its outline.

These distinguishing characteristics of Gandhāra sculpture were undoubtedly derived from Greek art, or, to be more precise, the Hellenistic art of Asia Minor and the Roman empire. Gandhāra art is accordingly known also as Indo-Greek or Graeco-Roman. There is, also, no doubt that this art owed its origin to the Greek rulers of Bactria and North-West India. But though the technique
was borrowed from Greece, the art was essentially Indian in spirit, and it was solely employed to give expression to the beliefs and practices of the Buddhists. With a few exceptions, no Greek story or legend, and no Greek art motif has been detected among the numerous specimens of Gandhāra sculpture. The Gandhāra artist had the hand of a Greek but the heart of an Indian.

The most important contribution of Gandhāra art was the evolution of an image of Buddha, perhaps an imitation of a Greek God like Apollo. Fine images of Buddha and Bodhisatva, and relief-sculptures illustrating various episodes of Buddha's present and past lives, are remarkably executed in a kind of black stone. For a long time it was believed that the Gandhāra Buddha image served as the model for those executed at Mathurā and other centres. But it is now recognised that the Buddha image was evolved independently at Mathurā and Gandhāra. There is a striking difference between the Buddha images of Gandhāra and those of the Indian interior. The former laid stress on accuracy of anatomical details and physical beauty, while the latter strove towards imparting a sublime and spiritual expression to the figure. The one was realistic and the other idealistic, and this may be regarded as the vital difference between Western and Indian art. The rich and varied contents of Gandhāra sculpture, like those of Sāñchi and Bhārhat, hold before us a mirror, as it were, reflecting ancient life and ideals.

It may be added that both the schools of Mathurā and Gandhāra flourished under the lavish patronage of Scythian kings. The
portrait-statues of the Kushān kings add a novel feature to the art of this period. The Kushān art, particularly that of the Gandhāra school, spread through Chinese Turkestan to the Far East and influenced even the arts of China and Japan.

Somewhat later than the flourishing period of the schools of sculpture described above, beautiful stūpas were erected in the lower valley of the Krīshṇā river, at Amarāvatī, Jagayapeta and Nāgarjunikonda. Not only were the railings of the Amarāvatī stūpa made of marble, but the dome itself was covered with slabs of the same material. It must have produced a marvellous effect, when intact. Unfortunately, the entire stūpa is in ruins, and the fragments of its railings have been removed, partly to the British Museum, London, and partly to the Government Museum at Madras. The sculptures of all the stūpas resemble one another and
are marked by striking differences in style from those of Northern India. Hence they are classed as belonging to a new school, viz. that of Amarāvati. The figures at Amarāvati are characterised by slim, blithe features and they are represented in most difficult poses and curves. But the scenes are mostly overcrowded, and although there is a distinct charm in individual figures, the general effect is not very pleasing. Yet there is no doubt that the technique of art had reached a high degree of development. The plants and flowers, particularly the lotuses, are most admirably represented in this school. The image of Buddha occurs here and there, but the Blessed One is often represented by a symbol. It thus points to the period of transition between Bhārhat, Bodh-Gayā and Sānci on the one hand and Mathurā and Gandhāra on the other.

At Nāgārjunīkōnda, important relics of the period have recently been discovered as a result of excavations made by the Archaeological Survey of India. The finds include a stūpa, two Chaityas and a monastery. Near the stūpa were found slabs of limestone illustrating scenes from Buddha's life. The panel shown on p. 238 represents the nativity and seven footprints of Buddha on the piece of cloth held by the deities, who were present to welcome the arrival of the Blessed One.

The period under review (c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 320) is not so rich in architecture as in sculptures. There were, of course, beautiful temples and monasteries, and the famous tower of Kanishka at Purushapura (Peshāwār) was one of the wonders of Asia. But all these have perished without leaving any trace behind. Excepting the stūpas referred to above, there is only one class of buildings which merit serious attention as works of art. These are the caves hewn out of solid rock, of which hundreds have been found in different parts of India. The caves of the Ashokan period were plain chambers, but now the addition of pillars and sculptures made them beautiful works of art. Some of the caves were used as monasteries, i.e. residences of monks. These were quite plain and consisted of a central hall with small cells on all sides. Others were used as Chaityas or halls of worship. A Chaitya was a fine work of art. The fully developed specimen consisted of a long rectangular hall with apsidal end (i.e. the side opposite the entrance was semicircular and not straight). Two long rows of pillars divided the hall into a nave (big central part) and two side aisles (narrow parts at the two sides). A small stūpa, called a Dāgoba, stood near the apsidal end. The front wall was decorated with elaborate sculptures, and there were three small doorways leading to the nave and the side aisles. But a big horseshoe window above
the central doorway admitted a volume of light which illumined the Dāgoba at the far end. When worshippers assembled in comparative darkness in the nave (central part) before the bright Dāgoba in front, the effect must have been very solemn and impressive.

There are many such Chaitya caves at Nāsik, Bhājā, Bedsā, Kārle and other places in the Bombay Presidency. The Kārle cave is unanimously regarded as the finest specimen, on account of the beauty of the sculptures on the front wall, the remarkable rows of pillars inside the hall, and the fine proportion of the different parts of the building.

In addition to the pillars inside these caves, we have also several free-standing pillars, as for example that at Besnagar which was dedicated as a Garudādhwaja by the Greek ambassador, Heliodoros. They are in many cases monoliths (in the case of rock-cut caves they are necessarily so) but they lack the wonderful polish, the fine proportions and the grand capitals which characterise the best pillars of Aśoka. In this respect there was undoubtedly a decline. But in sculptures and the construction of stūpas and caves there was wonderful progress. It is perfectly true that the fine figures of certain animals which we see on the pillars of Aśoka have no
CHAITYA CAVE, KÂBLE
parallel in subsequent times, but the loss is made up by the
delineation of human figures and the evolution of the wonderful
image of Buddha.

The Gupta Period (A.D. 320–600)¹

With the Gupta period we enter upon the classical phase of
Indian sculpture. By the efforts of centuries techniques of art were
perfected, definite types were evolved, and ideals of beauty were
formulated with precision. There was no more groping in the dark,
and no more experiments. A thorough intelligent grasp of the
true aims and essential principles of art, a highly developed
aesthetic sense, and a masterly execution with steady hands
produced those remarkable images which were to be the ideal
and despair of the Indian artists of subsequent ages. The Gupta
sculptures not only remained models of Indian art in all times to
come, but they also served as such in the Indian colonies in the
Far East. The sculptures of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java,
Annam, Cambodia and even Celebes bear the indelible stamp of
Gupta art.

The most important contribution of Gupta art is the evolution
of the perfect types of divinities, both Buddhist and Brâhmanical.
A large number of Buddha images have been unearthed at Sârnâth
near Benares, and one of them is justly regarded as the finest in
the whole of India. Stone and bronze images of Buddha have
also been found at Mathurâ and other places. The images of Śiva,
Vishnû and other Brâhmanical gods are sculptured in some of the
finest panels of the Deogarh temple (Jhansi district) and also occur
elsewhere. These images are the best products of Indian art.
They present a beautiful figure, full of charm and dignity, a grace-
ful pose and a radiant spiritual expression. In general, a sublime
idealism, combined with a highly-developed sense of rhythm and
beauty, characterises the Gupta sculptures, and there are vigour
and refinement in their design and execution. The intellectual
element dominates Gupta art and keeps under control the highly-
developed emotional display and the exuberance of decorative
elements which characterise the art of succeeding ages.

The art of casting metals reached a degree of development
which may well be regarded as wonderful. Huen Tsang saw at

¹ Although the political supremacy of the Imperial Guptas did not last
much beyond A.D. 495, the style of art ushered in by them continued till
A.D. 600 or even somewhat later. Hence the title "Gupta period" in relation
to art covers a much longer period than what would be understood in political
history.
GARUDA PILLAR, BESNAGAR
Nālandā a copper image of Buddha, about 80 feet high. The Bronze Buddha, found at Sultānganj, is 7½ feet high and is a fine piece of sculpture. The Iron Pillar of Delhi, near the Qutb Minār, is a marvellous work belonging to the early Gupta period. A century ago, it would have been difficult, even for the best European foundry, to manufacture a similar piece made of wrought iron.

The art of painting reached its height of glory and splendour in this age. The fine fresco-paintings on the walls and ceilings of the Ajantā Caves have extorted the unstinted admiration of the
MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIA

whole world. Of the twenty-nine caves, sixteen contained paintings which survived, to a greater or less extent, even as late as 1879. Most of these, it is sad to think, have been destroyed, and the rest are also gradually crumbling to dust. Although some are as old as the first century A.D., most of them belong to the Gupta Age. A fine conception, brilliant colour, and admirable drawing invested these paintings with a unique charm which we can only faintly realise in their present ruined condition. In addition to decorative designs "as varied and graceful as they are fanciful" and "executed with masterly skill", they depict sacred objects and symbols, the figures of Buddha, and the incidents of his life (including past lives described in the Jātaka stories). Those known as "The Dying Princess", "The Mother and Child", etc., have won the highest admiration. The fresco-paintings at Sigiriya in Ceylon, executed towards the close of the fifth century A.D., show a close resemblance to those of Ajantā and are in a better state of preservation. Some fresco paintings of high merit also adorn the caves at Bāgh.

Compared with sculpture, Gupta architecture, to judge by the extant remains, must be regarded as poor. The stone temple at Sāñchi, like that at Deogarh, is very small, but exhibits refinement in style. The brick temple at Bhītargāon is large but ruined. Remains of stone temples of this period have also been found at Nachna-ke-Talui and other places. These temples are well-designed, and consist of a square chamber, a cella (shrine), and a portico or veranda as essential elements. They are decorated with fine sculptured panels, but the decoration is properly subordinated to, and is in full harmony with, the architectural plan of the buildings. There is no doubt that magnificent temples of large dimensions were constructed during the Gupta age, but they have been completely destroyed. High and elaborately-worked towers (dīkharas; which surmounted the roofs of temples in later ages, had not yet made their appearance, but the beginnings of this development are seen in the Bhītargāon temple and the miniature representations of temples on relief-sculptures of the Gupta period.

The artistic excellence of the Gupta period also found expression in the rich variety of gold coins issued by the wealthiest and mightiest monarchs of the age. According to some scholars, foreign influence is clearly traceable in this series, but the engravers who produced them were no mere imitators of the work of others. They gave free and spontaneous expression to their own ideas, and skilfully assimilated alien models with their own national tradition. The masterly execution of these coins is only matched by the elegance of their design, and they are justly regarded as among the finest examples of Indian art.
The Medieval Period (A.D. 600-1200)

During the six hundred years that followed the Gupta age, architecture gradually assumed the more important rôle in the evolution of Indian art. It was during this age that the different styles of architecture were evolved and led to the construction of the magnificent temples which we see to-day all over India.

Broadly speaking, there were two important styles of architecture,—Indo-Aryan or North-Indian, and Dravidian or South-Indian. The difference lies mainly in the shape of the śikhaṇā or the high tower-like superstructure which now almost universally surmounts the cela or the shrine containing the image of the deity. The North Indian śikhaṇā (see illustration on p. 245) has the appearance of a solid mass of curvilinear tower, bulging in the middle and ending in almost a point. The South Indian śikhaṇā (see p. 249) looks like a pyramid made up of successive storeys each smaller than, and receding a little from, the one beneath it. This also ended in a small round piece of stone as its crowning member. Both types of śikharas were minutely carved with decorative sculptures.

There is another essential difference between the two styles of architecture. In South Indian temples pillars play an important part while they are altogether absent in edifices constructed in the North Indian style.

North India

Temples with curvilinear śikharas are found all over Northern India, and there are large groups of them at Bhubaneswar in Orissa, and Khajurāho in the State of Chattarpur in Central India. Many of these temples are covered with sculpture from top to bottom, and present a grand and magnificent appearance. Infinite charm and variety are introduced in the śikhaṇā by suitable modification of forms and application of sculptures, without destroying its essential characteristics. In the Khajurāho temples, as in most later examples, miniature śikharas are used as decorative ornaments on the body of the śikhaṇā (see p. 246), and, in course of time, these decorative śikharas are developed into small independent śikharas, round about the central one.

It is impossible to describe in detail any one of these temples. The Lingarāja temple and the Rājarāni temple at Bhubaneswar, and some of the temples erected by the Chandella kings at Khajurāho, may be regarded as the finest specimens of earlier and later types. The temple of Jagannāth at Puri, though more famous,
is less beautiful. There are also a good many fine temples in Rājputāna.

In addition to the normal type, independent styles were developed in certain localities, notably Kāshmir and Rājputāna. The Mārtanda temple is a good specimen of the former. As to the latter, the two temples at Dilāvarā on Mount Abu deserve special mention. They are small in dimension and not crowned by śikhara. But the dome which covers the shrine and the pillars of the maṇḍapa in front are worked with an elegance and refinement which defy all descrip-

![Lingarāja Temple, Bhubanesvar](image)

Lingarāja Temple, Bhubaneswar

... tion. The hard stone is worked as if it were a fragile substance like paper. The rich exuberance of their decoration displays almost superhuman skill and entitles them to rank as priceless treasures of art. One of these was erected by a minister or governor named Vimala Śrī in A.D. 1032 and the other by Tejālpāla in A.D. 1231

South India

The history of architecture and sculpture in the South Indian Peninsula begins with the Pallava temples, and here, for the first
time, we meet with the Dravidian style. In addition to the
temples in the capital city, Kāññī or Conjeevaram, and other
places, some of the rock-cut temples, known as the seven Pagodas

MahaDeva Temple, Khajuraho

or Rathas of Māmallapuram, are built in this style which may
therefore be justly called the Pallava style. The latter are small
temples, each of which is cut out of a single big rock-boulder.
They lie near the sea-beach and adorned the town called
Māmallapuram or Mahābalipuram, founded by the great Pallava
king, Narasimhavarman (seventh century A.D.) It is now an insignificant place, and its only attraction is provided by these wonderful monolithic temples and a series of fine sculptures on rock-walls (see p. 248). The temples or pagodas are named after the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their common spouse Draupadi (Dharmarājārāth, Bhim-rātha, Draupadi-rātha, etc.). These monolithic temples, wrought out of massive stone, are complete with all the details of an ordinary temple and stand to-day as an undying testimony to the superb quality of Pallava art. Among the sculptures, one large composition has obtained great celebrity. The scene represented is usually described as the penance of Arjuna, but this is very doubtful. There are also many rock-cut caves belonging to the Pallava period.

It is important to note that the earliest specimens of Pallava art already exhibit a fairly advanced stage of development. Although we have no remains of an earlier epoch, we must presume its existence. For the men who built the temples at Kāñchi or Māmallapuram, or wrought the sculptures on the rocks at the
latter place, were no novices in their art, and must have been
trained in schools with art traditions of centuries and generations
at their back. The problem is analogous to that offered by the
finished art of the Maurya period, and its probable solution has
been discussed above. But the theory that foreign artists were
imported to do the work can hardly be maintained in this case.
We must hold, therefore, that earlier artists mostly worked in
wood or other perishable materials, and hence their work has

entirely disappeared, though chance or luck might some day
restore a few relics of it.

The style of Pallava architecture not only set the standard in
the South Indian Peninsula, but also largely influenced the archi-
tecture of the Indian colonies in the Far East. The characteristic
Pallava or Dravidian type of śikhara is met with in the temples
of Java, Cambodia and Annam. But there are important differences
between them and the South Indian temples. The pillars which
form such an important adjunct to the latter are altogether absent
in the former.

The Cholas who supplanted the Pallavas in South India were
mighty builders. The Dravidian style was developed and almost
perfected under them. Perhaps the best example of this style is furnished by the great Śaiva temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja the Great. The great śākara, consisting of fourteen storeys, rises to a height of 190 feet and is crowned by a massive dome consisting of a single block of stone. It is said that this huge block was carried to the immense height by being rolled along an inclined road, about four miles long, specially built for this purpose. The massive building is covered from the base to the top with sculptures and decorative mouldings. It occupies the centre of a courtyard with other
subsidiary chapels, but the whole area is dominated by the high tower over the shrine which is a conspicuous landmark in the locality.

There was another massive temple at Gangaikondacholapuram, the new capital city built by Rājendra Chola in the Trichinopoly district. The city was also adorned with a magnificent palace and a vast artificial lake, with stone embankment, more than fifteen miles long. All these are now in ruins.

Chola art is characterised by a massive grandeur. The huge structures were decorated with minute sculptures involving immense labour and infinite pains. As Fergusson very aptly remarked, the Chola artists conceived like giants and finished like jewelers.

A new development was slowly taking place in Chola art which was destined to modify Dravidian architecture in later times. This was the addition of a huge gateway, called a Gopuram, to the enclosure of the temple. Gradually, the Gopurams came to be multiplied and assumed huge proportions, being composed, like the temple itself, of a large number of superimposed storeys. Ultimately the gigantic Gopurama, sometimes large in number, came to occupy the dominant place by their towering height and lavish decoration, while the central shrine, being far less imposing, was reduced to comparative insignificance. The Gopuram at Kumbbhakonam, for example, is a very splendid piece of work, by itself, but it so completely overshadows the main shrine that the structure, taken as a whole, is less pleasing and produces far less artistic effect than might have been reasonably expected.

There are many massive temples in South India, built in the same style. In addition to Gopurams, pillared halls and long colonnades were added as new features in the later temples. Modern travellers are struck with awe by the sight of the gigantic temples at Madura, Śrīrangam, Rāmeśvaram, and other places, with successive enclosures, long courts with a bewildering maze of buildings, thousand-pillared halls, and long vistas of covered colonnades which seem to fade into the distance. But most of these temples are of a much later period.

The Upper Deccan

Between North India and the Far South, which had evolved two independent styles of architecture, lay the Deccan plateau where both the styles were in use. The Chalukyas and the Rāśṭrakūtās who ruled in this region were great builders. Near the Chalukya capital, Bādāmi, we find a number of cave-temples which are dedicated to Brāhmaṇical gods, and contain a number of fine
images and good sculptures. There are also many stone temples at Bādāmi and various other places constructed in the ordinary way. Most of these show the Pallava or Dravidian style. The same style was also largely adopted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the world-famous Kailāsa Temple at Ellorā is a marvellous specimen of the Dravidian style. It was constructed during the reign of Krishna I, in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The process of construction employed in the case of the Māmālāpuram Rathas was repeated here on a much bigger scale. An entire hills side was first demarcated and separated from a long range of mountains, and then a huge temple was cut out of it in the same way as each Ratha at Māmālāpuram was cut out of a rock-boulder. The big temple, standing in an open court, now appears like an ordinary one, but it is merely the remnant of a solid mass of stone that once formed a part of the hill which now surrounds the temple on three sides.

The temple has a Dravidian śikhara and is elaborately carved with fine sculptures. Caves, excavated in the sides of the hills round it, contain big halls decorated with finely wrought pillars and images of various Brāhmaṇical divinities. The Kailāsa temple at Ellorā is a splendid achievement of art, and considering the technical skill and labour involved, is unequalled in the history of the world.

The hill at Ellorā contains a number of rock-cut caves within a short distance of the famous temple. The caves generally resemble those of the earlier period at Nāsik and Kārl, but the façade of the Viśvakarmā cave shows a pleasing modification.

The caves on the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, are also renowned and contain a number of large and remarkable images of Brāhmaṇical gods.

The Mysore Plateau

The Hoysalas who succeeded the later Chalukyas and ruled over the Mysore plateau in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. evolved a new style of architecture. They perhaps inherited the art-traditions of their predecessors, the Gaṅgas, during whose rule the famous colossal Jaina image of Gomata was constructed by Chāmunda Ray, a minister, in about A.D. 983. The statue, placed on the top of a hillock at Śravaṇa Belgola, is more than 56 feet high, i.e., about ten times the size of a human being. It is wrought out of a single block of stone of the hardest species. In boldness of conception and difficulty of execution, it has perhaps no rival among the sculptures of the world.
The Hoysalas displayed the same qualities, though in a different way, in the construction of their temples. These temples are not square but polygonal or star-shaped. The essential characteristics of these temples are the high bases or plinths which follow all the windings of the temple and thus offer a huge length of vacant space to be elaborately carved with sculptures. The śikhaṇḍa is pyramidal but low, and may be regarded as a modified type of the Dravidian. The best-known example of the Hoysala style is the famous Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid or Durasamudra. It stands on a terrace, about five or six feet high, paved with stone slabs. The entire height is covered with a succession of eleven running friezes of elephants, tigers, scrods, horsemen, and celestial beasts and birds. Each frieze has a length of 700 feet or more, and the entire surface is covered with sculptures. The lowest frieze, for example, contains no less than two thousand elephants finely executed, and most of them with riders and trappings. Similar elaboration of decoration is found in the remaining ten friezes. The Hoysaleśvara temple contains, as has been aptly remarked, “one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East”.


**Medieval Sculptures**

The medieval sculptures may best be studied with reference to the temples which they adorn. There were, besides, isolated images of gods and goddesses, in considerable numbers. There were many local schools with distinctive characteristics, fostered by different ruling dynasties (e.g. Pālas, Senas, Chandellas, Kalachuris). It is neither possible nor necessary to refer in detail to these numerous schools spread all over India. The medieval sculptures are gradually dominated more and more by religious influence and less by aesthetic ideas. Sometimes they seem ugly and even horrible to the modern eye, though they represent faithfully some religious concept. The conception of Natārāja Śiva is one of the few valuable contributions of medieval art, especially in South India. In North India we come across both Buddhist and Brāhmanical images of a fairly high standard, but there is hardly any original conception. In the later period they are influenced by Tāntrik ideas which are not always very pleasing to the modern taste.

Art in ancient India has in the main been a handmaiden of religion. It has ordinarily expressed the prevailing religious faiths and beliefs, and spiritual conceptions and emotions. To understand and appreciate it properly one must have a thorough understanding of the different phases of religious evolution. In earlier periods, however, there was more of really artistic spirit, and the religious ideas were also more compatible with modern aesthetic taste. Gradually there was a decline in artistic feeling and the artists were mere mechanical instruments in rendering, to order, the later concepts of religion.

**Medieval Painting**

The ceilings of the rock-cut temple at Kailāsa and the adjoining caves contain pictures of a type and style different from those of Ajantā and Bāgh. The cave temple at Sittannavasal in Padukottai (Madras) contains some fine paintings of the time of the Pallava king Mahendravarman. Chola paintings of the eleventh century have been discovered in the great temple at Tanjore. The art of painting in later periods is mostly known from illuminations on palm-leaves of manuscripts found in Eastern India and Gujarāt, but they are of much inferior quality.

**Conclusion**

A review of the progress and development of Indian art, such as we have attempted above, is necessary for the proper under-
standing of the high culture and refinement of the ancient Indians. For true art is an unerring expression of mind, and a national art is a true reflex of national character. Great nations of the world have left behind them unmistakable evidence of their greatness in their works of art. The nature and excellence of art constitute a sure means by which we can understand the essential characteristics of a nation and make a fair estimate of its greatness. Judged by the standard of art, Indian civilisation must be regarded as occupying a very high place indeed among those of antiquity. It exhibits not only grace and refinement but technical skill and patient industry of a very high order. Taken in a mass, Indian art offers the most vivid testimony to the wonderful resources in men and money possessed by the rulers, and the religious spirit, occasionally reaching to a sublime height, that dominated the entire population. It shows, as the national ideal, the subordination of ideas of physical beauty and material comfort to ethical conceptions and spiritual bliss. Amid the luxuries and comforts of worldly life, the thought of the world beyond never ceased to exercise a dominant influence. The changes in spiritual ideas and ideals, from the sublime purity of early Buddhism to the less pleasing forms of the Tántrik cult, are also reflected in art. A more detailed study of the subject is beyond the scope of the present work, but its meaning and significance for the correct interpretation of ancient Indian life must be clearly grasped by every student of History.
GENEALOGICAL TABLES TO PART I

THE MAURYAS

Chandragupta Priyadarśana

Bindusāra Amṛtraghāta

Sushima (Sumana) Asokavardhana Vigataśoka

Priyadarśa (? Tusa)

Nigrodha

Mahendra Sanghamitrā Chārumati Kumāla Jalaṅka Tivāra

(Dharmavardhana, (Kashmir)
Suyasa)

Bandhupādita Sampati Vigataśoka

(Dasaratha) Śālsika

Devadharmas (Varma) Virasena

Suandharas (Gandhāra)

Bṛhadraśa Subhagacchāna

THE EARLY GUPTAS

Gupta

Ghatotkacha

Chandra Gupta I = Kumāra-devi (Liech-havī)

Samudra Gupta (Para-kramāṇa; Śri Vikrama?)

Chandra Gupta II (Vikramāditya)

(Deva Gupta)

Govinda Gupta (Tirhat)

Kumāra Gupta I Prabhāvatī

(Mahendrāditya) (Queen of the Vakatākas)

Skanda Gupta Puru Gupta Ghatotkacha Gupta (?)

(Vikramāditya) (Śri Vikrama) (Tumain)

Narasimha Gupta Budha Gupta

(Kāładitya)

Kumāra Gupta II (Kramāditya)

Vishnu Gupta

255
AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

HOUSE OF PUSHYABHŪTI

Naravardhana (Thanesar)

Rājyavardhana I

Ādityavardhana

Prabhākaravardhana

Rājyavardhana II

Harshavardhana

Rājyaśri (Siladiṭyā) (Queen of the Maukhariya)

(Thanesar and Kanauj)

daughter = Dhrūvasena II

(Dhrūvabhata Bālāḍitya) (Valabhi)

Dhṛasena IV (Valabhi)

THE IMPERIAL PRATHIḤĀRAS

Unnamed ancestor

(claiming descent from Lakshmana of the Rāghu family)

Nāgabhata I

Name not known

Kākustha

Devarāja (Devasakti)

Vatsarāja

Nāgabhata II (Maru, Kanauj, etc.

Rāmabhadrā (Rāmadeva)

Bhoja I (Mihira, Prabhāsa,

(Kanauj)

Ādīvarāha)

Yuvarāja Nāgabhata

Mahendrapāla I

(Mahendrāyudha Nīrbhayarāja, Bhāka)

Mahipāla I (Kshitipāla?)

Bhoja II

Vunāyakapāla (Harsha)

Mahendrapāla II

Devapāla (?)

Vijayapāla (?)

Mahipāla II (?)

Rājyapāla (?) (Kanauj and Bari)

Trilochanapāla (?) (Bari)

Yasahpāla (?)
GENEALOGICAL TABLES

THE PĀLAS OF BENGAL AND THE GĀHADAVĀLAS

Dayitavishnu

Śri Vapiyata

Gopāla I

| Dharmapāla | Vākpatā | Jayapāla |
| Tribhuvanapāla | Devapāla | Vigrāhapāla I (Ṣūrapāla I) |
| | Rājyapāla | Nārāyanapāla |
| | | Rājyapāla |
| | | Gopāla II |
| | | Vigrāhapāla II |
| Yaśovigraha (Gāhavālā) | Mahāpāla I | Lakshman-Karan (Chedi) |
| Mahichandra | Nayapāla |
| | | Chandrādeva | Mahana | Vigrāhapāla III = Yauvanasri |
| | | | (Kanauj and Benares) |
| | | Madanapāla | Devakabala = Sankaradevi |
| | | | (S. Bihar) |
| | | Govindachandra = Kumāradevi |
| | | Viraśē = Jātavarman |
| | | | (parts of E. India) |
| | | Vajraychandra = Mahipāla II | Surapāla II | Kānapāla |
| | | Jayadevachandra = Rājyapāla | Vīnapāla | Kumārapāla | Madanapāla |
| | | Hariśchandra = Samyuktā = Prithvirāja III | Gopāla |
THE SENAS OF BENGAL

Vira Sena (ancestor)
Sāmanta Sena (Rādhā or West Bengal)
Hemanta Sena
Vijaya Sena (Bengal)
Ballaśa Sena
Lakshmana Sena

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Viśvarūpa Sena</th>
<th>Keśava Sena</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Prince Sūryya Sena and</td>
<td>(Lakhmanya pīyar Rai Lakhman of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purushottama Sena</td>
<td>the Tabakat-i-Akbar?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EARLY CHALUKYA KINGS

Jayasimha I
Raṣārāga

1. Pulakeśin I. A.D. 543–44

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<th>2. Kirttivarman I</th>
<th>3. Maṅgalesa</th>
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<td>A.D. 586–c. 597</td>
<td>c. A.D. 597–608</td>
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<tr>
<th>4. Pulakeśin II</th>
<th>Kubja Vashnuvardhana</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. A.D. 602–842</td>
<td>‘Vishnu-Siddhi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Founded the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty of Pishnapura and Veṅgī. (Nāsik branch)

Chandrāditya Ādityavarman 5. Vikramāditya I Jayasimha ‘Bāravasika’

A.D. 855–880 (Lāṭa branch)

6. Vīnayāditya A.D. 880–906

7. Vījayaśākya A.D. 906–733

8. Vikramāditya II Bhima I
A.D. 733–746

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

EASTERN CHALUKYA DYNASTY

1. Kubja Vishnuvardhana I
   Brother of early Chalukya king Pulakesin II

   2. Jayasimha I
   3. Indra-Bhatāraka
   4. Vishnudevahana II
   5. Maṅgi-Yuvārāja

   6. Jayasimha II
   8. Vishnudevahana III
   7. Kokkili
   9. Vijayāditya I
   10. Vishnudevahana IV

   11. Vijayāditya II Narendra-mriga-rāja
       Nrija-Rudra

   12. Kuli-Vishnudevahana V

   13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III
       Vikramāditya I
       Yudhamallā I
       (Yuvā-rāja)

   14. Chalukya-Bhima I
       Chalukya-Bhima I
       Tārapa, Tālapa, or Tala I
       Correlation A.D. 892

   15. Vijayāditya IV
   19. Vikramāditya II

   16. Amma I 'Vishnudevahana VI'
       Chalukya- 'Rājamahendra'
       Tāla II
       Bhima III
       'Vishnudevahana'

   17. Beta Vijayāditya V
       Bhima II
       Dānāravva

   18. Amma II
       'Vijayāditya VI',
       'Rāja-mahendra',
       A.D. 945-970

   25. Śaktivarman
   26. Vimalāditya
       (Md. Kundavavā, dau. of Rājarāja Chola I)
       A.D. 1011-1022

   27. Rājarāja Narendra I
       Vijayāditya VII
       Md. Ammangā-doi, dau. of Rājendra Chola I. 1022-1063
       Viceroy of Vengi

   28. Rājendra III

United the E. Chalukya and Chola crowns and reigned as Kulottunga
THE RĀṢṬRAMAṬTA DYNASTY

Dantivarman I

| Indra I |
| Govinda I |
| Karka, or Kakka I |

Indra II (Md. a Chalukya princess)

Krishna I

| ‘Akālavareha’, |
| ‘Subhatuṅga’. |

A.D. 768-772.

Constructed the Kailāsa rock-cut temple at Ellorā

Dantidurgā (Dantivarman II)

‘Vairamegha’, ‘Khagāvaloka’.

A.D. 754

Govinda II

Dhruva

Kamba

‘Stambha’, ‘Rājāvaloka’

Govinda III

793-814

Indra (Lāta branch)

Nṛpatuṅga

Amoghavarsha I

or ‘Śarva’ 814-877

Krishna II

877-913

Dau: Śaṅkha

Md. dau. of Kokkalla the Chedi or Kalachuri king.

Jagatpuṅga

Md. Lakshmi, a Kalachuri princess

Indra III 915-927

Md. Vijñāmbā, a Kalachuri princess

Amoghavarsha II

Ruled 1 year, and deposed Sāhasādha by his brother

Govinda IV

918-934

Vaddiga, or Amoghavarsha III

c. 934-938. Md. Kundakā

Dau. Revakā

Md. W. Gaṅga

King Butuga II

Krishna III

939-968

Khotiga

Nirupama

968-972

Dau. Kakkala or

Karka II or

Amoghavarsha IV

972-973

Indra IV (died 982)
## GENEALOGICAL TABLES

### CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY OF KALYÂNA

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<th>Period</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
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<td>A.D. 696-733</td>
<td>Vijayâditya</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bhima I</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kirttivanman III</td>
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<td>Tailapa, or Taila I</td>
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<td>Vikramâditya II</td>
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<td>Bhima II</td>
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<td>Ayyana I</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vikramâditya IV</td>
<td>Md. Bonthâdevi, dau. of the Khâdi king Lakshmana</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1. Tailapa or Taila II. 'Âhavamalla'. Md. Jâkavve, dau. of a Kâshtrakûta king. A.D. 973-997</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Satyâsraya, Irivâbedanga. Daçavarman. A.D. 907-1008</td>
<td>or Yâkavarman</td>
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<td>3. Vikramâditya V A.D. 1008-1014</td>
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<td>4. Ayyana II 1014-1015</td>
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<td>5. Jayasimha II 'Jagadekamalla' A.D. 1015-1042</td>
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<td>7. Somesvara II 'Bhuvanaikamalla' 1068-1076</td>
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<td>8. Vikramâditya VI 'Tribhuvanamalla' 1076-1127</td>
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<td>11. Tailapa III</td>
<td>'Tribhuvanamalla'. 1184-1200</td>
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</table>
PALLAVA KINGS

Sīnhavārman IV
Vishnugopa III
Sīnhavārman V

Sīnhavishnu
Mahendravarman I
Narasimhavarman I
c. 642–668
Mahendravarman II
Paramēśvaravarman I
c. 674
Narasimhavarman II
Paramēśvaravarman II
Mahendravarman III

Bhimaavarman
Buddhavarman
Ādityavarman
Govindavarman
Hiranyavarman

Nandivarman II
Ruled for at least 65 years in the eighth century

Vanquished by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (723–814)

Nandivarman III (Kampa)
Md. Saṅkha, dau. of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amogha-varsha I

Nripatūṅga

Aparājita
Crushed by the Chola King Āditya I in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.
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