INTRODUCTION

1. General

The geographical unit. The India of this book is almost exclusively the geographical unit called by that name on the ordinary maps of the days before partition, bounded on the north, north-west, and north-east by mountain ranges, and elsewhere by the sea. The extensive Burmese territories, although for a time governed as part of the Indian empire, cannot be described as being part of India. Burma has a separate history, rarely touching on that of India prior to the nineteenth century. Similarly, Ceylon, although geologically a fragment detached from the peninsula in relatively recent times, always has had a distinct political existence, requiring separate historical treatment, and its affairs will not be discussed in this work, except incidentally.

Vast extent of area. Formal, technical descriptions of the geographical and physical features of India may be found in many easily accessible books, and need not be reproduced here. But certain geographical facts with a direct bearing on the history require brief comment, because, as Richard Hakluyt truly observed long ago, 'geography and chronology are the sun and the moon, the right eye and the left eye of all history'. The large extent of the area of India, which may be correctly designated as a sub-continent, is a material geographical fact. The history of a region so vast, bounded by a coastline of about 3,400 miles, more or less, and a mountain barrier on the north some 1,600 miles in length, and inhabited by a population numbering nearly 400 millions, necessarily must be long and intricate. The detailed treatment suitable to the story of a small country cannot be applied in a general history of India. The author of such a book must be content to sketch his picture in outlines boldly drawn, and to leave out multitudes of recorded particulars.

Continental and peninsular regions. Another geographical fact, namely that India comprises both a large continental, sub-tropical area, and an approximately equal peninsular, tropical area, has had immense influence upon the history.

Three territorial compartments. Geographical conditions divided Indian history, until the nineteenth century, into three well marked territorial compartments, not to mention minor distinct areas, such as the Konkan, the Himalayan region, and others. The three are: (1) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and Ganges; (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the south of the Narbada, and to the north of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers; and (3) the far south, beyond those rivers, comprising the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each of those three geographical compartments has had a distinct.
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highly complex story of its own. The points of contact between the three histories are not very numerous.

Dominance of the north. Usually the northern plains, the Aryavarta of the Hindu period, and the Hindustan of more recent times, have been the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the events most interesting to the outer world. The wide waterways of the great snow-fed rivers and the fertile level plains are natural advantages which have inevitably attracted a teeming population from time immemorial. The open nature of the country, easily accessible to martial invaders from the north-west, has given frequent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled by vigorous foreigners. The peninsular, tropical section of India, isolated from the rest of the world by its position, and in contact with other countries only by sea-borne commerce, has pursued its own course, little noticed by and caring little for foreigners. The historian of India is bound by the nature of things to direct his attention primarily to the north, and is able to give only a secondary place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south.

No southern power could ever succeed in mastering the north, but the more ambitious rulers of Aryavarta or Hindustan often have extended their sway far beyond the dividing-line of the Narbada. When Dupleix in the eighteenth century dreamed of a Franco-Indian empire with its base in the peninsula he was bound to fail. The success of the English was dependent on their acquisition of rich Bengal and their command of the Gangetic waterway. In a later stage of the British advance the conquest of the Panjab was conditioned by the control of the Indus navigation, previously secured by the rather unscrupulous proceedings of Lords Auckland and Ellenborough. The rivers of the peninsula do not offer similar facilities for penetration of the interior.

Changes in rivers. The foregoing general observations indicate broadly the ways in which the geographical position and configuration of India have affected the course of her history. But the subject will bear a little more elaboration and the discussion of certain less conspicuous illustrations of the bearing of geography upon history. Let us consider for a moment the changes in the great rivers of India, which, when seen in full flood, suggest thoughts of the ocean rather than of inland streams. Unless one has battled in an open ferry-boat with one of those mighty masses of surging water in the height of the rains, it is difficult to realize their demoniac power. They cut and carve the soft alluvial plains at their will, reeking of nothing. Old beds of the Sutlej can be traced across a space eighty-five miles wide. The Indus, the Ganges, the Kosi, the Brahmaputra, and scores of other rivers behave, each according to its ability, in the same way, despising all barriers, natural or artificial. Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the days of Alexander the Great? Yet books, professedly learned, are not afraid to trace his course minutely through the Panjab and Sind by the help of some modern map, and to offer pretended identifications of sites
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upon the banks of rivers which certainly were somewhere else twenty-two centuries ago. We know that they must have been somewhere else, but where they were no man can tell. So with the Vedic rivers, several of which bear the ancient names. The rivers of the Rishis were not the rivers of today. The descriptions prove that in the old, old days their character often differed completely from what it now is, and experience teaches that their courses must have been widely divergent. Commentators in their arm-chairs with the latest edition of the Indian Atlas opened out before them are not always willing to be bothered with such inconvenient facts. Even since the early Muslim invasions the changes in the rivers have been enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign conquerors cannot be understood unless the reality and extent of those changes be borne constantly in mind. One large river-system, based on the extinct Hakra or Wahindah river, which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahawalpur, has wholly disappeared, the final stages having been deferred until the eighteenth century. Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to the existence of numberless forgotten and often nameless towns, bear testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life desert their channels. A large and fascinating volume might be devoted to the study and description of the freaks of Indian rivers.

Position of cities. In connexion with that topic another point may be mentioned. The founders of the more important old cities almost invariably built, if possible, on the bank of a river, and not only that, but between two rivers in the triangle above the confluence. Dozens of examples might be cited, but one must suffice. The ancient imperial capital, Pātaliputra, represented by the modern Patna, occupied such a secure position between the guarding waters of the Son and the Ganges. The existing city, twelve miles or so below the confluence, has lost the strategical advantages of its predecessor. Historians who forget the position of Pātaliputra in relation to the rivers go hopelessly wrong in their comments on the texts of the ancient Indian and foreign authors.

Changes of the land. Changes in the coast-line and the level of the land have greatly modified the course of history, and must be remembered by the historian who desires to avoid ludicrous blunders. The story of the voyage of Nearchos, for instance, cannot be properly appreciated by any student who fails to compare the descriptions recorded by the Greeks with the surveys of modern geographers. When the changes in the coast-line are understood, statements of the old authors which looked erroneous at first sight are found to be correct. The utter destruction of the once wealthy commercial cities of Korkai and Kāyal on the Tinnevelly coast, now miles from the sea and buried under sand dunes, ceases to be a mystery when we know, as we do, that the coast level has risen. In other localities, some not very distant from the places named, the converse has happened, and the sea has advanced, or, in other words, the land has sunk. The careful investigator of ancient
history needs to be continually on his guard against the insidious deceptions of the modern map. Many learned professors, German and others, have tumbled headlong into the pit. The subject being a hobby of mine I must not ride the steed too far.

The scenes of Indian history. Emphasis has been laid on the fact that most of the notable events of Indian history occurred in one or other of the three great regions separated from each other by natural barriers. Hindustan, the Deccan, and the far south continued to be thus kept apart until the rapid progress of scientific discovery during the nineteenth century overthrew the boundaries set by nature. The mighty Indus and Ganges are now spanned by railway bridges as securely as a petty watercourse is crossed by a 6-foot culvert. The No Man’s Land of Gondwana—the wild country along the banks of the Narbada and among the neighbouring hills—no longer hides any secrets. Roads and railways climb the steepest passes of the Western Ghats, which more than once tried the nerves of British soldiers in the old wars. The magnificent natural haven of Bombay always was as good as it is now, but it was of no use to anybody as long as it was cut off from the interior of India by creeks, swamps, and mountains.

Fortresses. The progress of modern science has not only destroyed the political and strategical value of the natural barriers offered by mountains, rivers, and forests. It has also rendered useless the ancient fortresses, which used to be considered impregnable, and were more often won by bribery than by assault. Asirgarh in Khandesh, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was reckoned to be one of the wonders of the world, so that it was ‘impossible to conceive a stronger fortress’, defied the arms of Akbar, yielding only to his gold. Now it stands desolate, without a single soldier to guard it. When Lord Dufferin decided to pay Sindia the compliment of restoring Gwalior Fort to his keeping, the transfer could be effected without the slightest danger to the safety of the empire. The numberless strongholds on the tops of the hills of the Deccan before which Aurangzeb wasted so many years are now open to any sightseer. The strategical points which dominated the military action of the Hindu and Muslim sovereigns are for the most part of no account in these days. The sieges of fortresses which occupy so large a space in the earlier history will never occur again. Modern generals think much more of a railway junction than of the most inaccessible castle.

The northern record. One reason why the historian must devote most of his space to the narrative of events occurring in northern India has been mentioned. Another is that the northern record is far less imperfect than that of the peninsula. Very little is known concerning the southern kingdoms before the beginning of the Christian era, whereas the history of Hindustan may be carried back twelve centuries earlier. The extreme deficiency of really ancient records concerning the peninsula leaves an immense gap in the history of India which cannot be filled.
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Sea-power. The arrival of Vasco da Gama’s three little ships at Calicut in 1498 revolutionized Indian history by opening up the country to bold adventurers coming by sea. The earlier maritime visitors to the coasts had come solely for purposes of commerce without any thought of occupation or conquest. It is needless here to recall how the Portuguese pointed out to their successors, Dutch, French, and English, the path of conquest, and so made possible the British empire of India. The strategical importance of the north-western passes has declined somewhat as that of Bombay and Karachi has risen.

Endless diversity. The endless diversity in the Indian sub-continent is apparent and has been the subject of many trite remarks. From the physical point of view we find every extreme of altitude, temperature, rainfall, and all the elements of climate. The variety of the flora and fauna, largely dependent upon climatic conditions, is equally obvious. From the human point of view India has been often described as an ethnological museum, in which numberless races of mankind may be studied, ranging from savages of low degree to polished philosophers. That variety of races, languages, manners, and customs is largely the cause of the innumerable political subdivisions which characterize Indian history before the unification effected by the British supremacy. Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. heard of 118 kingdoms, and the actual number may well have been more. In all ages the crowd of principalities and powers has been almost past counting. From time to time a strong paramount power has arisen and succeeded for a few years in introducing a certain amount of political unity, but such occasions were rare. When no such power existed, the states, hundreds in number, might be likened to a swarm of free, mutually repellent molecules in a state of incessant movement, now flying apart, and again coalescing.

Unity in diversity. How then, in the face of such bewildering diversity, can a history of India be written and compressed into a single volume of moderate bulk? The difficulties arising from the manifold diversities summarily indicated above are real, and present serious obstacles both to the writer and to the reader of Indian history. A chronicle of all the kingdoms for thousands of years is manifestly impracticable. The answer to the query is found in the fact that India offers unity in diversity. The underlying unity being less obvious than the superficial diversity, its nature and limitations merit exposition. The mere fact that the name India conveniently designates a sub-continental area does not help to unify history any more than the existence of the name Asia could make a history of that continent feasible. The unity sought must be of a nature more fundamental than that implied in the currency of a geographical term.

Political union. Political union attained by the subjection of all India to one monarch or paramount authority would, of course, be sufficient to make smooth the path of the historian. Such political union never was enjoyed by all India until the full establishment of the British
sovereignty, which may be dated in one sense so recently as 1877, when Queen Victoria became Empress of India; in another sense from 1858, when Her Majesty assumed the direct government of British India; and in a third sense from 1818, when the Marquess of Hastings shattered the Maratha power, and openly proclaimed the fact that the East India Company had become the paramount authority throughout the whole country. Very few rulers, Hindu or Muslim, attained sovereignty even as extensive as that claimed by the Marquess of Hastings. The Mauryas, who after the defeat of Seleukos Nikator held the country now called Afghanistan as far as the Hindu Kush, exercised authority more or less direct over all India proper down to the northern parts of Mysore. But even Aśoka did not attempt to bring the Tamil kingdoms under his dominion. The empires of the Kushāns and Guptas were confined to the north. In the fourteenth century Muhammad bin Tughluq for a few years exercised imperfect sovereign powers over very nearly the whole of India. Akbar and his historians never mention the Tamil states, or even the powerful Hindu empire of Vījayanagar, which broke up in 1565. But the Great Mughul cherished a passionate desire to subdue the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau. His success, however, was incomplete, and did not extend beyond Ahmadnagar in the latitude of Bombay. His descendants pursued his policy, and at the close of the eighteenth century Aurangzeb’s officers levied tribute two or three times from Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Thus Aurangzeb might be regarded as being in a very loose sense the suzerain of almost all India. The Kabul territory continued to be part of the empire until 1739. The periods of partial political unification thus summarily indicated afford welcome footholds to the historian, and are far easier to deal with than the much longer intervals when no power with any serious claim to paramountcy existed.

The political unity of all India, although never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries. The conception of the universal sovereign as the Chakravartin Raja runs through Sanskrit literature and is emphasized in scores of inscriptions. The story of the gathering of the nations to the battle of Kurukshetra, as told in the Mahābhārata, implies the belief that all the Indian peoples, including those of the extreme south, were united by real bonds and concerned in interests common to all. European writers, as a rule, have been more conscious of the diversity than of the unity of India. Joseph Cunningham, an author of unusually independent spirit, is an exception. When describing the Sikh fears of British aggression in 1845, he recorded the acute and true observation that ‘Hindostan, moreover, from Caubul to the valley of Assam, and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch or one race.’1 India therefore possesses, and always has possessed for con-

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1 History of the Sikhs² (1853), p. 283.
siderably more than 2,000 years, ideal political unity, in spite of the fact that actual complete union under one sovereign, universally acknowledged by all other princes and potentates, dates only from 1877. The immemorial persistence of that ideal goes a long way to explain both the long acquiescence of India in British rule, and the rapid growth of the All India National Congress, under the leadership of Mahātma Gandhi, from a small party of intellectuals to a mighty mass movement covering the whole sub-continent.

Fundamental unity of Hinduism. The most essentially fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism. India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmans, who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brahman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet, and other borderlands, dominates the whole of Hindu India, and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muslim minority. Nearly all Hindus reverence Brahmans,¹ and all may be said to venerate the cow. Few deny the authority of the Vedas and the other ancient scriptures. Sanskrit everywhere is the sacred language. The great gods, Vishnu and Śiva, are recognized and more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim, when going the round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrinath or on the burning sands of Rāma’s Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as in Hindustan. Similarly, the cult of rivers is common to all Hindus, and all alike share in the affection felt for the tales of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana.

India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, and sect.

Limitations of unity. But the limitations are many. Caste, which, looked at broadly, unites all Hindus by differentiating them from the rest of mankind, disintegrates them by breaking them up into thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile sections. It has tended to make combined political or social action difficult, and in many cases impossible; while it shuts off all Hindus in large measure from sympathy with the numerous non-Hindu population. The Muslims, by far the largest part of that population, being largely converts from Hinduism, are not entire strangers to Hindu ideas. Yet an Indian Muslim may be, and often is, more in sympathy with an Arab or Persian fellow believer than he is with his Hindu neighbour. The rapid growth of Muslim nationalism in India, and the foundation of Pakistan, are clear evidence of the

¹ The Lingāyats of the Kanarese country are the principal exception, but others exist.
very real differences between the two communities. The smaller communities, Christians, Jews, Parsis, and others, are still more distant from the Hindu point of view.

Nevertheless, when all allowances are made for the limitations, the fundamental unity of Hindu culture alone makes a general history of India feasible.

Dravidian culture. The Brahmanical ideas and institutions, although universally diffused in every province, have not been wholly victorious. Prehistoric forms of worship and many quite un-Aryan social practices survive, especially in the peninsula among the peoples speaking Dravidian languages. We see there the strange spectacle of an exaggerated regard for caste coexisting with all sorts of weird notions and customs alien to Brahman tradition. The materials available for the study of early Dravidian institutions are not yet sufficiently explored, and the historian's attention necessarily must be directed chiefly to the Indo-Aryan institutions of the north, which are much more fully recorded than those of the south. An enthusiastic southern scholar has expressed the opinion that 'the scientific historian of India...ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai [in Madura and the Pandy country] rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion'. That advice, however sound it may be in principle, cannot be followed in practice at present; and, so far as I can see, it is not likely that for the present it will be practicable to begin writing Indian history in the manner suggested.

Lack of political evolution. The interest attaching to the gradual evolution of political institutions is lacking in Indian history. The early tribal constitutions of a republican, or at any rate, oligarchical character, which are known to have existed among the Mālavas, Kshudrakas, and other nations in the time of Alexander the Great, as well as among the Lichchhavis and Yaudhēyas at much later dates, all perished without leaving a trace. Autocracy is substantially the only form of government with which the historian of India is concerned. Despotism does not admit of development. Individual monarchs vary infinitely in ability and character, but the nature of a despotic government remains much the same at all times and in all places, whether the ruler be a saint or a tyrant.

Extinction of tribal constitutions. The reason for the extinction of the tribal constitutions appears to be that they were a Mongolian institution, the term Mongolian being used to mean tribes racially allied to the Tibetans, Gurkhas, and other Himalayan nations. The Mongolian element in the population of northern India before and after the Christian era was, I believe, much larger than is usually admitted. When the Mongolian people and ideas were overborne in course of time by the strangers who followed the Indo-Aryan or Brahmanical cult and customs, the tribal constitutions disappeared along with many other non-Aryan institutions. The Brahmanical people
always were content with autocracy. I use the term ‘autocracy’ or the equivalent ‘despotism’ without qualification intentionally, because I do not believe in the theory advocated by several modern Indian authors that the ancient Indian king was a ‘limited’ or constitutional monarch. Those authors have been misled by taking too seriously the admonitions of the textbook writers that the ideal king should be endowed with all the virtues and should follow the advice of sage counsellors. In reality every Indian despot who was strong enough did exactly what he pleased. If any limitations on his authority were operative, they took effect only because he was weak. A strong sovereign like Chandragupta Maurya was not to be bound by the cobweb of texts. Long afterwards, Akbar, notwithstanding his taste for sententious moral aphorisms, was equally self-willed.

Village and municipal institutions. Much sentimental rhetoric with little relation to the actual facts has been written about the supposed indestructible constitution of the Indo-Aryan village in the north. The student of highly developed village institutions, involving real local self-government administered on an elaborately organized system, should turn to the south and examine the constitution of the villages in the Chola kingdom as recorded for the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and no doubt of extremely ancient origin. Those institutions, like the tribal constitutions of the north, perished long ago, being killed by rulers who had no respect for the old indigenous modes of administration. The development of municipal institutions, which furnishes material for so many interesting chapters in European history, is almost a blank page in the history of early and medieval India.

History of Indian thought. The limitations in the subject-matter of Indian history pointed out in the foregoing observations undoubtedly tend to make the political history of the country rather dry reading. The more attractive story of the development of Indian thought as expressed in religion and philosophy, literature, art, and science cannot be written intelligibly unless it is built on the solid foundation of dynastic history, which alone can furnish the indispensable chronological basis. Readers who may be disposed to turn away with weariness from the endless procession of kingdoms and despots may console themselves by the reflection that a working acquaintance with the political history of India is absolutely essential as a preliminary for the satisfactory treatment of the story of the development of her ideas.

1 On this obscure subject see the author’s papers entitled ‘Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis’ (Ind. Ant., vol. xxxii (1903), pp. 238 ff.; and ‘Tibetan Illustration of the Yaudhëya Tribal Organization’ (ibid., vol. xxxv (1906), p. 290); and B. C. Law, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India (Calcutta, 1923), Some Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes (Calcutta, 1924). Dr. Smith’s views on the Tibetan or Mongoloid origin of these peoples have been much criticized by Dr. Law and other authorities. [Ed.]

I have tried to give in this work, so far as unavoidable limitations permit, an outline of the evolution of Indian thought in various fields. Students who desire further information must consult special treatises when such exist.

Divisions of the history. The main divisions of a book on Indian history hardly admit of variation. I have drawn the line between the Ancient period and the Hindu period at the beginning of the Maurya dynasty as a matter of convenience. In the Hindu period the death of Harsha in A.D. 647 marks a suitable place for beginning a fresh section. The subdivisions of the Muslim period, occupying Books IV, V, VI, and including the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, are almost equally self-evident. Four books, VII, VIII, IX, and X, are devoted to the British period. The dividing line between Books VII and VIII should be drawn in my opinion at the year 1818, and not at the close of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings. The significance of the events of 1858, when the series of Viceroy's begins, cannot be mistaken.

AUTHORITIES


2. Sources

Undated history before 650 B.C. A body of history strictly so-called must be built upon a skeleton of chronology, that is to say, on a series of dates more or less precise. In India, as in Greece, such a series begins about the middle or close of the seventh century before Christ. Nothing approaching exact chronology being attainable for earlier times, the account which the historian can offer of those times necessarily is wanting in definiteness and precision. It is often difficult to determine even the sequence or successive order of events. Nevertheless no historian of India and the Indians can escape from the obligation of offering some sort of picture of the life of undated ancient India.

1 ‘The first exact date we have bearing on the history of Greece’ is 6 Apr. 648 B.C., when an eclipse of the sun occurred which was witnessed and noted by the poet Archilochus (Bury, _Hist. of Greece_, ed. 1904, p. 119). But the earliest really historical date known with any approach to accuracy seems to be that of Cylon’s conspiracy at Athens, which is placed about 632 B.C. The archonship of Solon is put in either 594–593 or 592–591 B.C. (ibid., pp. 178, 182).
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in its political, social, religious, literary, and artistic aspects, previous to the dawn of exact history. The early literature, composed chiefly in the Sanskrit, Pali, and Tamil languages, supplies abundant material, much of which is accessible in one or other European tongue. The thorough exploration of the gigantic mass of literature, especially that of the southern books, is a task so vast that it cannot ever be completed. Large fields of study have been hardly investigated at all. But a great deal of good work has been accomplished, and the labours of innumerable scholars, European, American, and Indian have won results sufficiently certain to warrant the drawing of an outline sketch of the beginnings of Indian life and history. Although the lines of the sketch are somewhat wanting in clearness, especially with reference to the Vedic age and the early Dravidian civilization, we moderns can form a tolerably distinct mental picture of several stages of Indian history prior to the earliest date ascertained with even approximate accuracy. Such an outline sketch or picture will be presented in the second chapter of Book I.

Chronological puzzles. Definite chronological history begins about 650 B.C. for northern India. No positive historical statement can be made concerning the peninsula until a date much later. Even in the north all approximate dates before the invasion of Alexander in 326 B.C. are obtained only by reasoning back from the known to the unknown. The earliest absolutely certain precise date is that just named, 326 B.C.

The student may be glad to have in this place a brief exposition of the special difficulties which lie in the way of ascertaining precise dates for the events of early Hindu history. Numerous dates are recorded in one fashion or another, but the various authorities are often contradictory, and usually open to more than one interpretation. Dates expressed only in regnal years, such as ‘in the 8th year after the coronation of King A. B.’, are not of much use unless we can find out by other means the time when King A. B. lived. Very often the year is given as simply ‘the year 215’, or the like, without mention of the era used, which to the writer needed no specification. In the same way when modern Europeans speak of the ‘year 1914’, everybody understands that to mean ‘after Christ’, A.D. or A.C. In other cases an era may be named, but it is not certain from what date the era is to be reckoned. For example, many dates recorded in the Gupta era were known long before historians could make confident use of them. When Fleet was able to prove that Gupta era, year 1 = A.D. 320–1, the whole Gupta dynasty dropped at once into its proper historical setting. The fixation of that one date brought order into several centuries of early Indian history. Dated inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian or Kushān kings are even more abundant, but up to the present time we do not know to which era a record of theirs dated, say, ‘in the year 98’ should be referred; and in consequence an important section of Indian history continues to be the sport of conjecture, so that it is impossible to write with assurance a narrative of the events connected with one of the most
interesting dynasties. That chronological uncertainty spoils the history of religion, art, and literature, as well as the purely political chronicle, for the first two centuries of the Christian era.

More than thirty different eras have been used in Indian annals from time to time. Difficulties of various kinds, astronomical and other, are involved in the attempt to determine the dates on which the various eras begin. Although those difficulties have been surmounted to a large extent many obscurities remain.

Synchronisms; old and new styles. Several puzzles have been solved by the use of ‘synchronisms’, that is to say, by the use of stray bits of information showing that King A. of unknown date was contemporary with King B. of known date. The standard example is that of Chandragupta Maurya, the contemporary of Alexander the Great for some years. The approximate date of King Meghayavana of Ceylon in the fourth century B.C. is similarly indicated by the ‘synchronism’ with the Indian King Samudragupta; many other cases might be cited.

The testimony of foreign authors is specially useful in this connexion, because they often give dates the meaning of which is known with certainty. Indian historians obtain much help in that way from the chronicles of Greece, China, and Ceylon, all of which have well-known systems of chronology. The subject might be further illustrated at great length, but what has been said may suffice to give the student a notion of the difficulties of Hindu chronology, and some of the ways in which many of them have been cleared away.

In the Muslim period chronological puzzles are mostly due to the innumerable contradictions of the authorities, but trouble is often experienced in converting Muslim Hijri dates exactly into the terms of the Christian era. Akbar’s fanciful Ilahi, or Divine era, and Tipu Sultan’s still more whimsical chronology present special conundrums. In the British period nearly all dates are ascertained with ease and certainty, subject to occasional conflict of evidence or confusion between the old and new styles, which differ by ten days in the seventeenth and by eleven days in the eighteenth century.

Six classes of sources of Hindu history. The nature of the sources of or original authorities for Hindu history from 650 B.C. will now be considered briefly. The native or indigenous sources may be classified under five heads, namely: (1) inscriptions, or epigraphic evidence; (2) coins, or numismatic evidence; (3) monuments, buildings,

1 Cunningham’s Book of Indian Eras (1883) discusses twenty-seven, and many more are mentioned in records.
2 Pope Gregory XIII undertook to reform the Roman calendar by correcting the error which had gradually grown to inconvenient dimensions in the course of centuries. Accordingly he decreed in 1582 that 5 Oct. by the old calendar of that year should be called 15 Oct. The reform was adopted either immediately or soon by Portugal, France, and several other nations; but in Great Britain and Ireland the change was not effected until 1752, Parliament having passed an Act enacting that 3 Sept. of that year should be deemed to be 14 Sept., new style; eleven days being dropped out of the reckoning. Russia still adhered to the old style until 1917 and was then nearly thirteen days in error.
and works of art, or archaeological evidence; (4) tradition, as recorded in literature; and (5) ancient historical writings, sometimes contemporary with the events narrated. The sixth source, foreign testimony, is mostly supplied either by the works of travellers of various nations, or by regular historians, especially Sinhalese, Greek, and Chinese. The value of each class of evidence will now be explained.

Inscriptions. Inscriptions have been given the first place in the list because they are, on the whole, the most important and trustworthy source of our knowledge. Unfortunately, they do not at present go farther back than the third century B.C. with certainty, although it is not unlikely that records considerably earlier may be discovered, and it is possible that a very few known documents may go back beyond the reign of Aśoka. Indian inscriptions, which usually are incised on either stone or metal, may be either official documents set forth by kings or other authorities, or records made by private persons for various purposes. Most of the inscriptions on stone either commemorate particular events or record the dedication of buildings or images. The commemorative documents range from the simple signature of a pilgrim to long and elaborate Sanskrit poems detailing the achievements of victorious kings. Such poems are called prākāsha. The inscriptions on metal are for the most part grants of land inscribed on plates of copper. They are sometimes extremely long, especially in the south, and usually include information about the reigning king and his ancestors. Exact knowledge of the dates of events in early Hindu history, so far as it has been attained, rests chiefly on the testimony of inscriptions.

Records of an exceptional kind occur occasionally. The most remarkable of such documents are the edicts of Aśoka, which in the main are sermons on dharma, the Law of Piety or Duty. At Ajmer in Rajasthan and at Dhar in central India fragments of plays have been found inscribed on stone tablets. Part of a treatise on architecture is incised on one of the towers at Chitor, and a score of music for the vina, or Indian lute, has been found in the former Pudukottai State, Madras. A few of the metal inscriptions are dedications, and one very ancient document on copper, the Sohagura plate from the Gorakhpur District, is concerned with government storehouses.

The inscriptions which have been catalogued and published more or less fully aggregate many thousands. The numbers in the peninsula especially are enormous.

Coins. The legends on coins really are a class of inscriptions on metal, but it is more convenient to treat them separately. The science of numismatics, or the study of ancient coins, requires special expert knowledge. Coins, including those without any legends, can be made to yield much information concerning the condition of the country in the distant past. The dates frequently recorded on them afford invaluable evidence for fixing chronology. Even when the outline of the history is well known from books, as is the case for most of the Muslim period, the numismatic testimony helps greatly in settling doubtful
dates, and in illustrating details of many kinds. Our scanty knowledge of the Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Parthian dynasties rests chiefly on inferences drawn from the study of coins.

Archaeological evidence. The archaeological evidence, regarded as distinct from that of inscriptions and coins, is obtained by the systematic skilled examination of buildings, monuments, and works of art. For our knowledge of the pre-Aryan Indus civilization we are entirely indebted to the archaeologist. Careful registration of the stratification of the ruins on ancient sites, that is to say, of the exact order in which the remains of one period follow those of another, often gives valuable proof of date. The excavations on the site of Taxila, for instance, have done much to clear up the puzzle of the Kushān or Indo-Scythian chronology already mentioned. The scientific description of buildings erected for religious or civil purposes, such as temples, stūpas, palaces, and private houses, throws welcome light on the conditions prevailing in ancient times. The study of works of art, including images, frescoes and other objects, enables us to draw in outline the history of Indian art, and often affords a most illuminating commentary on the statements in books. The history of Indian religions cannot be properly understood by students who confine their attention to literary evidence. The testimony of the monuments and works of art is equally important, and, in fact, those remains tell much which is not to be learned from books. Intelligent appreciation of the material works wrought by the ancients is necessary for the formation of a true mental picture of the past. Such observations apply equally to the Hindu and the Muslim periods.

Tradition almost the sole source of undated history. The knowledge, necessarily extremely imperfect, which we possess concerning ancient India between 650 and 326 B.C. is almost wholly derived from tradition as recorded in literature of various kinds, chiefly composed in the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit languages. Most of the early literature is of a religious kind, and the strictly historical facts have to be collected laboriously, bit by bit, from works which were not intended to serve as histories. Some valuable scraps of historical tradition have been picked out of the writings of grammarians; and several plays, based on historical facts, yield important testimony. Tradition continues to be a rich source of historical information long after 326 B.C.

Absence of Hindu historical literature explained. The trite observation that Indian literature, prior to the Muslim period, does not include formal histories, although true in a sense, does not present the whole truth. Most of the Sanskrit books were composed by Brahmans, who certainly had not a taste for writing histories, their interest being engaged in other pursuits. But the Rajas were eager to preserve annals of their own doings, and took much pains to secure ample and permanent record of their achievements. They are not to blame for the melancholy fact that their efforts have had little success. The records
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laboriously prepared and regularly maintained have perished almost completely in consequence of the climate, including insect pests in that term, and of the innumerable political revolutions from which India has suffered. Every court in the old Hindu kingdoms maintained official bards and chroniclers whose duty it was to record and keep up the annals of the state. Some portion of such chronicles has been preserved and published by Colonel Tod, the author of the famous book, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, first published in 1829, but that work stands almost alone. The great mass of the Rajas’ annals has perished beyond recall. Some fragments of the early chronicles clearly are preserved in the royal genealogies and connected historical observations recorded in the more ancient Purānas; and numerous extracts from local records are given in the prefaces to many inscriptions. Thus it appears that the Hindus were not indifferent to history, although the Brahmans, the principal literary class, cared little for historical composition as a form of literature, except in the form of prākāstis, some of which are poems of considerable literary merit. Such Sanskrit histories as exist usually were produced in the border countries, the best being the metrical chronicle of Kashmir, called the *Rāja-tarangini*, composed in the twelfth century. Even that work does not attain exactly to the European ideal of a formal history. Several Brahman authors, notably Bāna in the seventh century, wrote interesting works, half history and half romance, which contain a good deal of authentic historical matter. Our exceptionally full knowledge of the story of Harsha-vardhan, King of Thanesar and Kanauj, is derived largely from the work of Bāna entitled ‘The Deeds of Harsha’.

Historical or semi-historical compositions are numerous in the languages of the south. The Mackenzie collection of manuscripts catalogued by H. H. Wilson contains a large number of texts which may be regarded as histories in some degree.

Foreign evidence. The indigenous or native sources enumerated above, which must necessarily be the basis of early Hindu history, are supplemented to a most important extent by the writings of foreigners. Hearsay notes recorded by the Greek authors Herodotus and Ktesias in the fifth century B.C. record some scraps of information, but Europe was almost ignorant of India until the veil was lifted by the operations of Alexander (326 to 323 B.C.) and the reports of his officers. Those reports, lost as a whole, survive in considerable extracts quoted in the writings of later authors, Greek and Roman. The expedition of Alexander the Great is not mentioned distinctly by any Hindu author, and the references to the subject by Muslim authors are of little value. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya in the closing years of the fourth century, wrote a highly valuable account of India, much of which has been preserved in fragments.

Formal Chinese histories from about 120 B.C. have something to tell us, but by far the most important and interesting of all the foreign
witnesses are the numerous Chinese pilgrims who visited the Holy Land of Buddhism, between A.D. 400 and 700. Fa-hsien, the earliest of them (A.D. 399–414), gives life to the bald chronicle of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, as constructed from inscriptions and coins. The learned Hsüan Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, in the seventh century, does the same for Harsha-vardhana, and also records innumerable matters of interest concerning every part of India. I-tsing and more than sixty other pilgrims have left valuable notes of their travels. A book on the early history of Hindu India would be a very meagre and dry record but for the narratives of the pilgrims, which are full of vivid detail.

Alberrūni. Alberrūni, justly entitled the Master, a profoundly learned mathematician and astronomer, who entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Ghazni early in the eleventh century, applied his powerful intellect to the thorough study of the whole life of the Indians. He mastered the difficult Sanskrit language, and produced a truly scientific treatise, entitled ‘An Enquiry into India’ (Tahkik-i Ḥind), which is a marvel of well-digested erudition. More than five centuries later that great book served as a model to Abu-I Fazl, whose ‘Institutes of Akbar’ (Āin-i Akbari) plainly betray the unacknowledged debt due to Alberrūni.

Muslim histories. Muslims, unlike the Brahmans, always have shown a liking and aptitude for the writing of professed histories, so that every Muslim dynasty in Asia has found its chronicler. The authors who deal with Indian history wrote, as a rule, in the Persian language. Most of the books are general histories of the Muslim world, in which Indian affairs occupy a comparatively small space, but a few works are confined to Indian subjects. The most celebrated was the conscientious compilation composed by Firishta (Ferishta) in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, which formed the basis of Elphinstone’s History of India.

A comprehensive general view of the Indian histories in Persian is to be obtained from the translations and summaries in the eight volumes of The History of India as told by its own Historians (London, 1867–77) by Sir Henry Elliot and Professor John Dowson, supplemented by S. H. Hodivala’s Studies in Indo-Muslim History (Bombay, 1939), a critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson. Sir Edward Bayley’s incomplete work entitled the History of Gujārāt is a supplement to Elliot and Dowson’s collection. The English translations of the Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri by Raverty; of the Āin-i Akbari by Blochmann and Jarrett; of the Akbarnāma and the Memoirs of Jahāngīr by H. Beveridge; of Badāśni’s book by Ranking and Lowe; and Professor Jadunath Sarkar’s learned account of Aurangzeb’s reign may be specially mentioned. S. R. Sharma, A Bibliography of Mughul India, discusses the original authorities, available in India, for the reigns of Babur to Aurangzeb. Many other important books exist. The author of this volume has published a detailed biography of Akbar.

The modern historian of India, therefore, when he comes to the
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Muslim period, finds plenty of history books ready made from which he can draw most of his material. He is not reduced to the necessity of piecing together his story by combining fragments of information laboriously collected from inscriptions, coins, traditions, and passing literary references, as he is compelled to do when treating of the Hindu period. His principal difficulties arise from the contradictions of his authorities, the defects of their mode of composition, and endless minor chronological puzzles.

The epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental testimony is needed only for the completion and correction of details.

The histories written in Persian have many faults when judged by modern critical standards, but, whatever may be the opinion held concerning these defects, it is impossible to write the history of Muslim India without using the Persian chronicles as its foundation. The fullest review of the Persian material is given in Storey’s Bio-bibliographical Survey of Persian Literature, vol. iv.

Foreign evidence for the Muslim period. Foreign testimony is as valuable for the Muslim period as it is for the Hindu. From the ninth century onwards Muslim merchants and other travellers throw light upon the history of medieval India. Some scanty notes recorded by European observers in the fifteenth century have been preserved; and from the sixteenth century numerous works by European travellers present a mass of authentic information supplementary to that recorded by the Muslim historians, who looked at things from a different point of view, and omitted mention of many matters interesting to foreign observers and modern readers. The reports of the Jesuit missionaries for the Mughul period possess special value, having been written by men highly educated, specially trained, and endowed with powers of keen observation. Large use is made in this volume of those reports which have been too often neglected by writers. References to the works of the leading Jesuits and the other foreign travellers will be given in due course.

Authorities for Indo-European history and British period. State papers and private original documents of many kinds dating as far back as 1,000 years ago are fairly abundant in most countries of Europe, and supply a vast quarry of material for the historian. In India they are wholly wanting for both the Hindu and the pre-Mughul Muslim periods, except in so far as their place is supplied by inscriptions on stone and metal. Some documents from the reigns of Akbar and his successors survive, but much of what we know about the Mughuls is derived from the secondary evidence of historians, as supplemented by the testimony of the foreign travellers, inscriptions, and coins. The case changes in the eighteenth century. The Marathas left numerous records which are preserved in the Peshwa’s daftar. The records of the East India Company go back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Portuguese and Dutch archives contain numerous documents of the sixteenth century.
From the middle of the eighteenth century, the commencement of the British period, the mass of contemporary papers, public and private, is almost infinite. Considerable portions of the records have been either printed at length or catalogued, and much of the printed material has been worked up by writers on special sections of the history, but an enormous quantity remains unused. In the composition of this work I have not attempted to explore manuscript collections, and have necessarily been obliged to content myself with printed matter only so far as I could manage to read and digest it. No person can read it all, or nearly all. The leading authorities consulted will be noted at the end of each chapter.

Present state of Indian historical studies. A brief survey of the present state of Indian historical studies will not be out of place in connexion with the foregoing review of the original authorities.

No general history of the Hindu period was in existence before the publication in 1904 of the first edition of the Early History of India. The more condensed treatment of the subject in this volume is largely based on the fourth edition of that work, published in 1923, but much new material has been used; and the subject has been treated from a point of view to some extent changed. Many sections of the story need further elucidation, and it is certain that research will add greatly to our knowledge of the period in the near future.

The Muslim period. The publication in 1841 of Elphinstone’s justly famous History of India made possible for the first time systematic study of the Indo-Muslim history of Hindustan or northern India down to the battle of Panipat in 1761. Although Elphinstone’s book, mainly based on the compilations of Firishta and Khāfī Khān, is of permanent value, it is no disparagement of its high merit to say that in these changed times it is no longer adequate for the needs of either the close student or the general reader. Since Elphinstone wrote many authorities unknown to him have become accessible, archaeological discoveries have been numerous, and corrections of various kinds have become necessary. Moreover, the attitude of readers has been modified. They now ask for something more than is to be found in the austere pages of Elphinstone, who modelled his work on the lines adopted by Muslim chroniclers.

The history of the Sultans of Delhi is in an unsatisfactory state. A foundation of specialized detailed studies is always needed before a concise narrative can be composed with confidence and accuracy, and many years may elapse before a thoroughly sound account of the Sultanate of Delhi can be written. Although considerable advance has been made in the study of the history of the Bāhmani empire and other Muslim kingdoms which became independent of Delhi in the fourteenth century, there is plenty of room for further investigation. The story of the extensive Hindu empire of Vijayanagar (1336–1565) was originally elucidated by the labours of Robert Sewell, whose excellent work has been continued and in certain matters corrected by several Indian
authors. In these days most of the best research in Indian history is
done by Indian scholars, a fact which has resulted in a profound change
in the presentation of the history of their land. The public addressed
by a modern historian differs essentially in composition and character
from that addressed by Elphinstone or Mill.

The true history of the Mughul dynasty is beginning to be known.
The story of Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar has been illuminated by the
researches of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Beveridge, and the study of Akbar's
life by the author of this volume includes much novel matter. The
interesting reign of Jahāngir, which was badly handled by Elphinstone,
has now been fully treated in the History of Jahangir, by Beni Prasad.
Jahangir's own memoirs are available in an English translation by
A. Rogers, and there are numerous European sources, listed in Beni
Prasad.

The reign of Shāhjahān, prior to the war of succession, awaits further
critical study, based on the original authorities; but my treatment of
the material available will be found to present a certain amount of
novelty. The long and difficult reign of Aurangzeb has been discussed
by Professor Jadunath Sarkar with adequate care and learning. His
work is an indispensable authority. The history of the later Mughuls
has been considerably elucidated in the works by Irvine, Sarkar, and
Dr. Spear.

The British period. James Mill's famous book, the History of
British India, published in 1817, brought together for the first time, to
use the author's words, 'a history of that part of the British transactions
which have an immediate relation to India'. Mill's book, continued by
H. H. Wilson from 1805 to 1835, notwithstanding its well-known
faults, will always be valuable for reference. But it is a hundred and
forty years old and can no longer be regarded as more than an intro-
duction to the subject.

The British period can now be regarded as a completed whole, but
no fully satisfactory work has yet been written from this point of view.
The best expression of the imperialist view is Sir A. Lyall's British
Dominion in India. A masterpiece of liberal imperial history was lost
when Sir W. W. Hunter's History of British India was cut short after
the issue of the first two volumes. His one-time assistant, the late P. E.
Roberts, did something to fill the gap in his scholarly and graceful
History of British India, now continued from 1932 to 1947 in a third
edition. But this work is less satisfactory after the Mutiny than before;
the more the implications of liberalism came to be realized, the more
nervous Roberts became of them. The two volumes of The Cambridge
History of India (v and vi) end on the threshold of the Montfort era in
1918. Though they contain much excellent work, they are so weighed
down on the administrative side as hardly to merit the title of a general
history. Vol. v is to be preferred to vol. vi. Edward Thompson and
G. T. Garratt in their Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India (1934)
showed an awareness of new trends, of the 'Indianness' of British
Indian history. But its overload of quotations and its incessant opinionativeness make it less readable than its authors expected and deprive it of the authority for which they hoped. An impressive modern work is the Chatham House study edited by the late L. S. S. O’Malley, *Modern India and the West* (1941) which is concerned with the interaction of the Western and Indian cultures. Mention may finally be made of Messrs. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and K. K. Datta’s joint work, an *Advanced History of India*, first published in 1946. The third part carries the treatment of the British period farther along the lines of Thompson and Garratt, if with less brilliance, certainly with much more sobriety and balance.

**Changed methods.** It will be apparent from the foregoing summary review of the present condition of Indian historical studies that the writer of a comparatively short history, while enjoying various advantages denied to his predecessors even a few years ago, is not at present in a position to supply a uniformly authentic and digested narrative in all the sections of his work. In some fields the ground has been thoroughly, or at any rate laboriously, cultivated, whereas in others it has been but lightly scratched by the plough of investigation.

The value and interest of history depend largely on the degree in which the present is illuminated by the past. Our existing conditions differ so radically from those which prevailed in the times of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and our positive knowledge of the facts of the past has increased so enormously that a new book on Indian history—even though avowedly compressed—must be composed in a new spirit, as it is addressed to a new audience. Certain it is that the history of India does not begin with the battle of Plassey, as some people thought it ought to begin, and that a sound, even if not profound, knowledge of the older history will always be a valuable aid in the attempt to solve the numerous problems of modern India. Indian history must be seen as a whole if we are to understand any part of it, and specially its recent period, aright.

**Authorities**

The references here given for pre-Muslim history are supplementary to those in *E.H.I.* 1.4 (1923).

On systems of chronology and the Hindu calendar see the *Book of Indian Eras* by Sir Alexander Cunningham (Calcutta, 1883), and *The Indian Calendar* by R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit (London, 1898). Chronological lists are given in *The Chronology of India from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* by C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers) (Westminster, 1899), a good book, but in many respects out of date; and in *The Chronology of Modern India for Four Hundred Years from the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (A.D. 1494–1894) by J. Burgess (Edinburgh, 1913); Barnett’s *Antiquities of India*, mentioned below, also contains a detailed chronological table of the Hindu period.

Of histories of ancient and Hindu India in greater detail than the present work, besides the author’s *E.H.I.* 1.4, reference should be made to the *Cambridge History of
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India (vol. 1, from the earliest times to the beginning of the Christian era, ed. by E. J. Rapson, 1922); the invaluable work of H. C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (6th ed., Calcutta, 1954); and, in French, the three excellent but rather forbidding volumes of L. de la Vallée Poussin (Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens, l'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.-C., 2nd ed., 1936; L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yueh-ichi, 1930; and Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes, 1935; all published in the Histoire du monde series by Boccard, Paris). Very important is the ten-volume History and Culture of the Indian People, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, under the editorship of R. C. Majumdar. Three volumes of this series have already appeared (The Vedic Age, 1951, The Age of Imperial Unity, 1951, and The Classical Age, 1954), bringing the history of India down to the eighth century A.D.; of these the first is open to much criticism for its rather credulous use of Purānic legend, but the other two are excellent. Less detailed are the relevant sections of The Cambridge Shorter History of India (ed. by H. H. Dodwell, 1934, the pre-Muslim period by J. Allan), and the first volume of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's History of India (Madras, 1950).

Inscriptions are published, usually with translation or synopsis of contents, in the volumes of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Carnatica, South Indian Inscriptions, in publications of the Archaeological Survey of India and of the Indian States and in various learned journals too numerous to mention. A valuable collection of the most important inscriptions down to the end of the Imperial Guptas is D. C. Sircar's Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, vol. i (Calcutta, 1942). This is well annotated, but does not contain English translations.

Numismatics are dealt with in the catalogues of Indian coins in the B.M. and in various Indian museums, and in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. The most useful general outline is E. J. Rapson's Indian Coins (Grundriss, ii. 3, b, Strassburg, 1897).

Archaeological discoveries are reported in the numerous excellent publications of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The more important translations and studies of literary sources are mentioned in the bibliographies to the relevant chapters of this work.

On ancient Indian culture the reader is recommended to L. D. Barnett's Antiquities of India (London, 1913), Ancient India and Indian Civilization by P. Masson-Oursel and others (tr. by M. R. Doble in the History of Civilization series, London, 1934) and A. L. Basham's The Wonder that was India (London, 1954). The Legacy of India, edited by G. T. Garratt (Oxford, 1937), is an excellent symposium. A detailed and excellent work in French is L'Inde classique by L. Renu and J. Filliozat, with other contributors. Of this two volumes have appeared (Paris, 1949 and 1954), and a further volume is eagerly awaited. Also valuable is Renu's shorter work, La Civilisation de l'Inde ancienne (Paris, 1950). Works on political life and thought in ancient India are mentioned in the bibliography to Book II, Chapter 1, below.