BOOK III

The Medieval Hindu Kingdoms from the Death of Harsha in A.D. 647 to the Muslim Conquest

CHAPTER 1

The transitional period; Rajputs; the Himalayan kingdoms and their relations with Tibet and China

A period of transition. The disorder following upon Harsha’s death, in which the attack on the Chinese envoy with the consequent subjugation of Tirhut by the Tibetans was an episode, lasted for a considerable number of years concerning which little is known. That time of confusion may be regarded conveniently for purposes of systematic study as forming the transition from Early to Medieval India, during which the hordes of foreign invaders were absorbed into the Hindu body politic and a new grouping of states was gradually evolved. The transitional period was marked by the development of the Rajput clans, never heard of in earlier times, which begin from the eighth century to play a conspicuous part in the history of northern and western India. They become so prominent that the centuries from the death of Harsha to the Muslim conquest of northern India, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rajput period. Nearly all the kingdoms were governed by families or clans which for ages past have been called collectively Rajputs. That term, the most generally used, is sometimes replaced by Chhattri, the vernacular equivalent of the Sanskrit Kshatriya, or by Thakur.

Origin of the Rajputs. The term Rajput, as applied to a social group, has no concern with race, meaning descent or relationship by blood. It merely denotes a tribe, clan, sept, or caste of warlike habits, the members of which claimed aristocratic rank, and were treated by the Brahmans as representing the Kshatriyas of the old books. The huge group of Rajput clan-castes includes people of the most diverse descent. Many of the clans are descended from the foreigners who
THE RAJPUTS

entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries, while many others are descended from indigenous tribes now represented, so far as the majority of their members is concerned, either by semi-hinduized peoples or by inferior castes.

Probably it would be safe to affirm that all the most distinguished clan-castes of Rajasthan are descended mainly from foreigners, the 'Scythians' of Tod. The upper ranks of the invading hordes of Hūnas, Gurjaras, Maitrakas, and the rest became Rajput clans, while the lower developed into Hindu castes of less honourable social status, such as Gūjars, Āhirs, Jats, and others.

Such clan-castes of foreign descent are the proud and chivalrous Sisōdias or Guhilōts of Mewar, the Parlhārs (Pratihāras), the Chauhāns (Chāhumānas), the Pawārs (Paramāras), and the 'Solankis, otherwise called Chaulukyas.'

The Rāṣtrakūtas of the Deccan; the Rathors of Rajasthan, whose name is only a vernacular form of the same designation; the Chandēls and the Bundelas of Bundelkhand, are examples of ennobled indigenous peoples. The Chandēls perhaps originated from among the Gonds, who again were closely associated with the Bhars. It is impossible to pursue farther the subject, which admits of endless illustration.

Brahmans and Kshatriyas. In ancient times the line of demarcation between the Brahmas and the Kshatriyas, that is to say, between the learned and the warrior groups of castes, was not sharply defined. It was often crossed, sometimes by change of occupation, and at other times by intermarriage. Ordinarily, the position of the leading Brahman at court was that of minister, but sometimes the Brahman preferred to rule directly, and himself seized the throne. Thus in early times the Sunga and Kānva royal families were Brahman. Similar cases of Brahman dynasties occur later. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang noted the existence of several Brahman Rajas, as at Ujjain and in Jijhoti or Bundelkhand. Usurpations by Brahman ministers also continued to happen. When a Brahman succeeded in founding a dynasty, and so definitely taking up Kshatriya work, his descendants were recognized as Kshatriyas, and allowed to intermarr marry freely with established Kshatriya families. It must be remembered that the Brahmas themselves are of very diverse origin, and that many of them, as for instance the Nāgar Brahmas, may be descended from the learned or priestly class of the foreign hordes. The Maga Brahmas were probably originally Iranian Magi. During the transitional stage, while a Brahman family was passing into the Kshatriya group of castes, it was often known by the composite designation of Brahma-kshatri. Several cases of the application of that term to royal families are recorded, the

1 Pandit Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia admits that Bāpa, the Guhilōt ancestor, was brought up as a concealed or reputed Brahman (J. & Proc. A. S. B., 1912, pp. 62–99), and has not succeeded in refuting the reasoning of D. R. Bhandarkar concerning the origin of the Ranas of Mewar. If the frank statement of facts as revealed by modern research should give offence in any quarter that result is to be regretted. But, as Aśoka observed long ago, 'truth must be spoken'.
most prominent being those of the Sīsōdias of Mewar and the Sēnas of Bengal.

Rajputs not a race. The Rajputs, as already stated, are not to be regarded as a people originally of one race, bound together by ties of blood descent from a common ancestor. Even within the limits of Rajasthan the clans were originally descended from many distinct racial stocks. Such common features as they presented depended on the similarity of their warlike occupations and social habits. Now, of course, the operation of complicated caste rules concerning intermarriage during many centuries has produced an extensive network of blood-relationship between the clans, which have become castes.

These condensed observations may help the student to understand in some measure why the Rajput clans begin to play so prominent a part in Indian history from the eighth century. The Hun invasions and their consequences, as observed in the chapter preceding, broke the chain of historical tradition. Living clan traditions rarely, if ever, go back beyond the eighth century, and few go back as far. The existing clan-castes only began to be formed in the sixth century. The Brahmans found their advantage in treating the new aristocracy, whatever its racial origin, as representing the ancient Kṣhatriya class of the scriptures, and the novel term Rāja-putra or Rajput, meaning ‘king’s son’, or member of a ruling family or clan, came into use as an equivalent of Kṣhatriya.

Before entering upon a summary review of outstanding features in the history of the leading Rajput kingdoms of the plains, we must bestow a passing glance on the Himalayan States—Nepal, Kashmir, and Assam—and on their relations with Tibet and China.

China and the Indian border. The short-lived Hun empire was broken up by the Western Turks, who in their turn succumbed to the Chinese. For a few years, from 661 to 665, China enjoyed unparalleled prestige, and the ambassadors in attendance at the imperial court included envoys from the Sūwāt valley and from all the countries extending from Persia to Korea. Such glory did not last long. In 670 the Tibetans occupied Kashgaria, and a little later the Turks regained power. In the first half of the eighth century an ambitious emperor, Huien-tsung, succeeded in once more establishing Chinese rule over the Western countries. Even kings of Kashmir then received investiture from China. The advance of the Arabs in the middle of the eighth century put an end to Chinese claims to sovereignty over the mountains of Kashmir, and since that time no state of the Indian borderland, except Nepal, has had political relations with China.

Tibet; Srong-rtshan Gampo. In the seventh and eighth centuries Tibet was a powerful state, in close touch with India as well as with China. The routes from China through Lhasa and Nepal into India now closed were then open and frequently used by pilgrims and other travellers. Srong-rtshan Gampo, the most renowned of Tibetan kings, whose great reign is placed by the best authorities between A.D. 629
and 650, annexed Nepal, defeated the usurper who had dared to occupy the throne vacated by Harsha, occupied Tirhūt, and strengthened his position by marrying a Chinese princess as well as a Nepalese one. Acting under the influence of his Buddhist consorts he introduced their religion into his kingdom, and gave his people the means of acquiring knowledge by importing from India the alphabet now used in Tibet. He founded Lhāsa, for which, according to tradition, he prepared the site by filling up a lake with stones.

In the first half of the eleventh century Atiśa and other eminent monks from the seats of learning in Magadha came to Tibet on the invitation of the reigning king and effected extensive reforms or changes in the Buddhist church, which became the foundation of modern Lamaism.

The object of all these reformation was not, as is often supposed, to go back to the early Buddhism as it was preached by Gautama, but to build up a church which represented the doctrines of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism in a pure form. The doctrines of Nāgārjuna were propounded by all the great teachers of Tibet. But the Kāla-chakra philosophy with its monotheistic tendencies was also favoured by them.²

Nepal. The kingdom of Nepal as at present constituted is an extensive territory lying along the northern frontier of India for about 500 miles, from Kumaon on the west to Sikkim on the east. The Nepal of ancient Indian history means the restricted valley about twenty miles long and fifteen broad, in which the capital, Kāthmandu, and other towns are situated. Some of the adjoining country may have been included at times in the kingdom, but the bulk of the territory now comprised in the Nepal State, whether in the hills or the strip of plain at their base, used to be occupied by independent tribes and principalities.

The valley certainly formed part of Aśoka's empire, but the Kushāns do not seem to have meddled with it. In the fourth century A.D. Nepal acknowledged in some degree the sovereignty of Samudragupta. In the seventh century the influence of Tibet was paramount, and after Harsha's death the country became actually subject to Tibet for half a century.³ The theory that Harsha conquered Nepal and introduced his era seems to be erroneous. The Gūrkhas who now rule Nepal conquered the country in 1768. From 1815 the foreign policy of the state was controlled by the government of India, though China from time

2 A. H. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet (Calcutta, 1914), p. 52. For the Kāla-chakra and other late corrupt forms of Buddhism see the excellent little book by Nageandra Nath Vasu and M. M. H. P. Sastry, entitled Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa (Calcutta, 1911).
3 In A.D. 703 both Nepal and India [sc. Tirhūt] threw off the Tibetan sovereignty. The King of Tibet was killed while attempting to reassert his authority (Parker, 'China, Nepaul &c.', in J. Manchester Oriental Soc., 1911, pp. 129–52). That date, recorded in the histories of the T'ang dynasty, was not known to earlier European writers.
to time has asserted claims to tribute. The long and blood-stained story of the medieval dynasties is not of general interest, and may be left to students specially concerned with the local history.

Modern students of Nepalese affairs have been chiefly interested in the silent conflict of religions which has gone on for centuries and still may be watched in progress. A corrupt form of Buddhism, which allows even the strange institution of married monks, may be seen slowly decaying and yielding to the constant pressure of Brahmanical Hinduism, which is the religion of the government. The Nepalese libraries contain a rich store of Buddhist manuscripts, first made known by the labours of Brian Hodgson between 1820 and 1858, which have supplied much material for the study of the various forms of Buddhist religion and philosophy.

The general current of Indian history has not been affected by the transactions in Nepal, which usually has remained isolated.

Art. The art of Nepal is closely related to that of Tibet. The craftsmen of both countries excel in metal-work, and the Tibetan artists have been eminently successful in producing realistic portrait statuettes of Buddhist saints and similar images of deities belonging to the populous pantheon of later Buddhism. Some of the Tibetan painting has considerable merit. The architecture of Nepal in modern times is usually closer in style to that of China than that of India.

Kashmir. The history of Hindu Kashmir, from the seventh century after Christ, when the trustworthy annals begin, is recorded in ample detail in the metrical chronicle called the Rājatarangini, written in the twelfth century by a learned Brahman named Kalhana or Kalyāṇa, which has been admirably edited and translated by Sir M. A. Stein. The story, although of much interest in itself, has little concern with the general history of India; the reason being that the mountain barriers which enclose the vale of Kashmir have usually sufficed to protect the country against foreign invasion and to preserve its isolated independence. Nevertheless, both the Mauryas and the Kushāns exercised effective authority over the valley. The Guptas did not concern themselves with it, and Harsha, while in a position to bring pressure to bear upon the Raja, did not attempt to annex the country.

The narrative of the doings of the medieval Hindu rulers teems with horrors. Harsha, a half-insane tyrant who reigned in the latter part of the eleventh century, has been justly described as the 'Nero of Kashmir'. Few regions in the world can have had worse luck than Kashmir in the matter of government, a fate due partly to the passive character of the population, which invited oppression. The avowed policy of the Hindu rulers throughout the ages was to fleece the peasantry to the utmost and to leave them at best a bare subsistence. The majority of the people was forced to accept Islām in the fourteenth century, and dynasties of Muslim Sultans ruled until Akbar annexed the kingdom in 1587 with little difficulty. The lot of the common people continued to be hard, whether the government was in the hands of Hindus or
Muslims. In modern times the Kashmiris were oppressed successively by the Afghans and the Sikhs, and never enjoyed the advantages of decently good administration until late in the nineteenth century.

But, although Kashmir has ordinarily occupied a position politically isolated from India, the influence of the country on the religion and civilization of its neighbours has been considerable. The valley has been the abode of Sanskrit learning at least from the time of Asoka, and has played an important part as being the intermediate stage through which Indian civilization and art reached Khotan and the adjoining territories of Chinese Turkistan, and so passed into the Far East. The valley includes many sacred sites both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Jainism does not seem to have entered it. An interesting local style of architecture was developed in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Mārtand temple dedicated to the Sun-god in the reign of Lalitāditya (a.d. 724–60) is the best-known example, but many others exist.

Assam. Assam, roughly equivalent to the ancient Kāmarūpa, resembled Kashmir in being protected by natural fortifications, and was thus enabled, as a rule, to preserve its independence. The country does not seem to have been included in either the Maurya or the Kushān empire, but in the fourth century its ruler, who belonged to an ancient Hindu dynasty, acknowledged in some degree the overlordship of Samudragupta. Buddhism never succeeded in establishing itself. Nevertheless, the ruling king in the seventh century insisted on receiving a visit from Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who was hospitably entertained. The king, although not directly subject to Harsha, was constrained to obey his imperious commands and to attend humbly in his train when summoned. Certain Muslim leaders who invaded the country on several occasions between 1205 and 1662 always met with disaster more or less complete. The Muslim historian who describes the latest venture, that made by Aurangzēb’s general Mīr Jumla in the seventeenth century, expresses the horror with which the country and people were regarded by outsiders in striking phrases which deserve quotation.

Assam [he observes] is a wild and dreadful country abounding in danger, . . . Its roads are frightful like the path leading to the nook of Death; Fatal to life is its expanse like the unpeopled city of Destruction. . . . The air and water of the hills are like the destructive Simoom and deadly poison to natives and strangers alike.

[The inhabitants] resemble men in nothing beyond this, that they walk erect on two feet. [They were reputed to be expert magicians.] In short, every army that entered the limits of this country made its exit from the realm of Life; every caravan that set foot on this land deposited its baggage of residence in the halting-place of Death.¹

Early in the thirteenth century Assam was invaded by the Āhōmas, a Shan tribe from Upper Burma, who gradually acquired the sovereignty

¹ Talish, as transl. by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in J. B. & O. Res. Soc., vol. i, pp. 179–95.
of the country, which they retained until it was occupied by the Burmese in 1816 and by the British in 1825. The Āhôms brought with them a tribal religion of their own, which they abandoned in favour of Hinduism about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their language, too, is almost, if not completely, extinct. The Āhôms have become merged in the Hindu population, and speak Assamese, an Aryan language akin to Sanskrit and Bengali. When in power they had an efficient, although severe or even cruel, system of administration. They produced a considerable historical literature, and carried the art of carving wood to a high degree of excellence. The Muslim writer quoted expresses unbounded admiration of the decorations of the palace at Garhagôon. No trace of them remains.

Assam is a province of much interest to the student of Indian religion as being the meeting ground of Mongolian and Indian ideas. The contact has resulted in the evolution of a peculiar Tantric form of Hinduism, which offers special honour to female forms of the deity called Śaktis. The temple of Kâmâkhyâ near Gauhâti is recognized as one of the most important shrines of the cult. All the processes by means of which the members of rude animistic tribes become fanatical Hindus, and strange tribal gods are converted into respectable Brahmanical deities, may be illustrated in Assam.

**CHRONOLOGY**

**A.D.**

(Miscellaneous Dates)

629. Srong-tsang Gampo, King of Tibet, acc.
639. Srong-tsang Gampo founded Lhâsa.
641. Srong-tsang Gampo married Chinese and Nepalese princesses.
643. Hiuen Tsang visited Kâmarûpa.
647. Death of Harsâ of Kanauj.
670. Tibetans wrested Kashgaria or Chinese Turkistan from China.
703. Nepal and Tîrhût became independent of Tibet.
713. Hiuen-tsung, Chinese emperor, acc.
720, 733. Kings of Kashmir received investiture from China.
751. Chinese defeated by the Arabs.
1038. Mission of Atîśa to Tibet (Waddell, _Lhâsa³_ , p. 320).
1089–1111. Harsha, King of Kashmir.
1339. Muslim dynasty established in Kashmir.
1587. Annexation of Kashmir by Akbar.
1768. Gûrîkha conquest of Nepal.

**AUTHORITIES**

The authorities are indicated sufficiently in the footnotes and in _E.H.I._ (1923). Since the publication of _E.H.I._ little new has appeared on Kashmir or Nepal in the pre-Muslim period. On Assam the 2nd ed. of Sir E. Gait's _History of Assam_ (Calcutta, 1935), and K. L. Barua's _Early History of Kâmarûpa_ (Shillong, 1933), should be mentioned. The learned and beautiful book entitled _The Gods of Northern Buddhism_, by Alice Getty and J. Deniker (Clarendon Press, 1914), is a treasury of Tibetan art and mythology. See Laufer, in _J.A.O.S._, vol. 38 (1918), pp. 31–46.
CHAPTER 2

The northern and western kingdoms of the plains

Countless kingdoms. During the five and a half centuries intervening between the death of Harsha and the Muslim conquest, in which no permanent foreign occupation was effected, except in the Panjab, the greater part of India was indifferent to the Muslim power and knew nothing about it. The numerous Hindu states, which took shape from time to time, varying continually in number, extent, and in their relations one with the other, seldom were at peace. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that their rulers and people thought of nothing else than war and rapine. Royal courts of no small magnificence were maintained, and the arts of peace were cultivated with success. Stately works of architecture, enriched lavishly with sculptures often of high merit, were erected in almost every kingdom; and learned men, writing for the most part in the Sanskrit language, enjoyed liberal and intelligent patronage from princes who not unfrequently wielded the pen as well as the sword. Hindī, Bengālī, Gujarātī, and the other languages now spoken gradually attained the dignity of recognized existence, and the foundations of vernacular literatures were laid.

In a general history it is impossible to narrate in detail the stories of the several states, which are recorded in many cases with so much fullness that they would suffice to fill several volumes each as large as this work.

The effects of the great foreign invasions in the fifth and sixth centuries lasted for hundreds of years. The Gurjaras, with their kinsmen and allies bearing other names, had been converted, as has been shown, into ruling Rājpūt clans, and had acquired a dominant position in Rājasthān, which served as the basis of more extended dominion. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Gurjara-Pratihāras (Parihārs) became the leading power in north-western India. Bengal came under the sway of the Pālas, apparently an indigenous dynasty, for more than four centuries; while Mālwā, Gujarāt, and several other kingdoms obtained a large share of wealth and power.

The course of history. The history of northern Indiā ordinarily pursued its own course, regardless of the events happening in the peninsular kingdoms. But occasionally the rulers of the Deccan made inroads into the rich plains of Āryāvarta or Hindostan, which resulted in the temporary extension of their power to the banks of the Ganges. No northern prince attempted to conquer the Deccan. The Tamil realms of the Far South formed a world of their own, in comparative isolation, save for frequent wars with the kings of the Deccan and Ceylon and for extensive foreign trade.
The ancient states of the Pāndyas, Cholas, and Cheras were overshadowed for a long time, especially in the seventh century, by the Pallava dynasty of uncertain origin, which had its capital at Kāñchī (Conjeevāram). In the eleventh century the Chola kingdom became paramount in the south, and probably was the most powerful state in India.

Changes so extensive, disconnected, and incessant as those indicated cannot be described in a single continuous narrative arranged in strict
chronological order. The political revolutions were accompanied by silent local modifications in religion, manners, and art equally incapable of comprehensive narration.

The never-ending dynastic wars and revolutions did not bring about any development of political institutions. No republics were formed, no free towns were established. All the states continued to be governed in the old-fashioned way by despotic Rajas, each of whom could do what he pleased, so long as his power lasted, unless he suffered his will to be controlled by Brahman or other religious guides.

It will be convenient to deal in this chapter only with certain outstanding features in the history of some of the more prominent northern and western kingdoms of the plains. The fortune of the peninsular states will similarly form the subject of the chapter following; the few points of contact between the two being duly noted.

Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom. The Gurjaras, aided by the allied or kindred tribes bearing other names who entered India in the early years of the sixth century, established kingdoms or principalities in various places. The state among those so founded that was most closely associated with the general history of India was the Gurjara kingdom of southern Rājasthān, the capital of which was perhaps Bhīnmāl or Bhīlmāl to the north-west of Mount Ābū, the site of the fire-pit from which the Parihārs and several other Rājput clans originated according to the legend. When Hiuen Tsang visited that Gurjara kingdom in the first half of the seventh century the king, although undoubtedly of foreign descent, was already recognized as a Kshatriya.

About A.D. 725 a new local dynasty was founded by a chief named Nāgabhata, who belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihār) section or sept of the Gurjaras. The dynasty seems to have gained control of Ujjain. Nearly a century later, in or about A.D. 816, his descendant, another Nāgabhata, invaded the Gangetic region, captured Kanauj, deposed the reigning king, and presumably transferred the seat of his own government to the imperial city of Harsha, where his descendants certainly ruled for many generations. The Pratihāras remained in possession for two centuries until 1018–19 when Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni occupied Kanauj and forced the Raja to retire to Bārī.

Kanauj. Kanauj must have suffered much during the long-continued troubles which ensued on the decease of Harsha. Nothing definite is known about it until 731 when its king, Yaśovarman by name, sent an embassy to China, probably to invoke the assistance of the emperor against the Raja’s powerful enemies. No help came. In or about 740 Yaśovarman was defeated and slain by Lalitāditya, the most renowned of the kings of Kashmir, the builder of the Mārtand temple. Yaśovarman’s successor similarly was overthrown by Lalitāditya’s son. Again, about 810, Dharmapāla, King of Bengal, deposed the reigning King of Kanauj, replacing him by a nominee of his own. That nominee in his turn was expelled, as related above, by Nāgabhata Pratihāra. Thus, within a space of about seventy-six years (c. A.D. 740–816), four kings
of Kanauj were violently deposed by hostile powers. The fact illustrates vividly the disturbed condition of northern India in that age.

The Gurjara empire of Bhoja. King Mihira Pratihāra of Kanauj, commonly known by his cognomen of Bhoja, reigned with great power and might for half a century (c. A.D. 840-90). His successors being known to have held both Saurashtra and Oudh, those countries may be assumed to have formed part of Bhoja’s dominions, which were extensive enough to be described as an empire without exaggeration. Its limits may be defined as, on the north, the foot of the mountains; on the north-west, the Sutlaj; on the west, the Hakrā, or ‘lost river’, forming the boundary of Sind, and then the Mihrān to the Arabian Sea; on the south, the Jumna, forming the frontier of Jejāka-bhukti; on the south-west, the lower course of the Narbadā, and on the east, the frontier of the Pāla kingdom of Magadha. His son, Mahendrapāla (c. A.D. 890-910), seems to have retained possession of all the dominions of his father. An inscription of his which mentions the province and district of Śrāvastī suggests that that famous city was still inhabited in the tenth century. Magadha or South Bihār seems to have been tributary for a short time.

Hardly anything is known about the internal condition of the Gurjara or Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. An Arab traveller tells us that in the middle of the ninth century the king, namely Bhoja, commanded a powerful army, including the best cavalry in India and a large force of camels. The territories in Rajasthan have always been famous for their breed of camels, which is still maintained. The extreme mobility of Bhoja’s cavalry and camelry must have given him an immense advantage over the less active armies of the ordinary Hindu state. The king was extremely rich, and ‘no country in India was more safe from robbers’, a brief remark which implies the existence of efficient internal administration.

Bhoja was a Hindu specially devoted to the worship of Vishnu in the boar incarnation and of the goddess Bhagavatī or Lakshmi. He placed on his coins, which are very common, the words Ādi Varāha, meaning ‘primeval boar’ or Vishnu. The coins, like the other issues of the White Hun and Gurjara princes, are degenerate imitations of Sassanian pieces, with reminiscences of the Greek drachma, the name of which survived in the word dramma applied to the Gurjara coins. The foreign invaders of India in those times never took the trouble to devise coin types of their own and were content to use barbarous and degraded derivatives of the Persian coinage.

Mahendrapāla. Mahendrapāla (c. 890-910), the son and successor of Bhoja, was even more powerful than his father. He drove the Pālas out of Magadha and left an inscription in western Bengal. He was the pupil of Rājaśekhara, a poet from the Deccan who attended his court and was the author of four extant plays. One of those, entitled Karpūra-manjari from the name of the heroine, is a curious and interesting work, written wholly in Prākrit. Professor Lanman has published
a clever English translation of it. The dramatist also composed a work on the art of poetry, which has been edited in the Gaikwār's Oriental Series.

Before we proceed to describe the decline and fall of the Gurjara empire and the capture of Kanauj by Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1018–19, it will be convenient to give a brief account of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and the Chandēl rulers of Jijhoti or Bundēlkhand, the two leading kingdoms of northern India which were contemporary with the Gurjara kingdom or empire of Kanauj; adding a slight notice of other states.

Bengal; Ādiśūra. The history of Bengal and Bihār after the decease of Harsha is obscure. For the rest of the century west Bengal was probably controlled by the later Guptas of Magadha. After the victories of Yaśovarman of Kanauj and the sudden disappearance of his empire the fate of Bengal is uncertain.

Bengal tradition has much to say about a king named Ādiśūra, who ruled at Gaur or Lakshmanāvati, and sought to revive the Brahmanical religion which had suffered from Buddhist predominance. He is believed to have imported five Brahmans from Kanauj, who taught orthodox Hinduism and became the ancestors of the Rādhiya and Vārendra Brahmans. His date may be placed after A.D. 700.

The Pāla dynasty; Dharmapāla. Then Bengal suffered from prolonged anarchy which became so intolerable that the people (c. A.D. 750) elected as their king one Gopāla, of the 'race of the sea', in order to introduce settled government. We do not know the details of the events thus indicated. Gopāla's son, Dharmapāla, who enjoyed an unusually long reign, was the real founder of the greatness of his dynasty, which is conveniently known as that of the 'Pāla Kings' of Bengal, because the names of the sovereigns ended in the word -pāla. Dharmapāla succeeded in carrying his arms far beyond the limits of Bengal and Bihār. He made himself master of most of northern India, and, as already mentioned, was strong enough to depose one Raja of Kanauj and substitute another in his place. He is said to have effected the revolution with the assent of nine northern kings. If this statement of a contemporary inscription is to be believed it indicates that the influence of the Bengal monarch extended even to Gandhāra on the north-western frontier. Those events must have happened about or soon after A.D. 810.

Dharmapāla, like all the members of his house, was a zealous Buddhist. He founded the famous monastery and college of Vikramaśīla, which probably stood at Pattharghāta in the Bhagalpur District. The Buddhism of the Pālas was very different from the religion or philosophy taught by Gautama, and was a corrupt form of Mahāyāna doctrine.

Devapāla. Dharmapāla's son Devapāla, who is reckoned by Bengal tradition to have been the most powerful of the Pālas, also enjoyed a long reign. His rule and that of his father together covered something like 100 years, and may be taken as having extended through almost
the whole of the ninth century. Devapāla’s general, Lāusena or Lavanascena, is said to have annexed both Assam and Kalinga. At this time the Pālas were in diplomatic contact with the Indonesian kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which controlled much of the archipelago. The King of Śrīvijaya, Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty, built a monastery at Nālandā. No buildings of Pāla age seem to have survived, but the remembrance of the kings is preserved by many great tanks or artificial lakes excavated under their orders, especially in the Dinajpur District. Sculpture in both stone and metal was practised with remarkable success. The names of two eminent artists, Dhīmān and Bitpālo or Vītāpāla, are recorded, and it is possible that some of the numerous extant works may be attributed rightly to them.

Mahipāla, &c.; the Sēnas. The popular memory has attached itself to Mahipāla, the ninth king of the dynasty (c. A.D. 978–1030), more than to any other. He reigned for about half a century and underwent the strange experience of being attacked about A.D. 1023 by Rājendra Chola, the Tamil King of the Far South, who prided himself on having advanced as far as the bank of the Ganges. The mission of Atiśa to Tibet, as already mentioned, was dispatched in A.D. 1038, in the reign of Nayapāla, the successor of Mahipāla.

The dynasty, which underwent various ups and downs of fortune, lasted in Bihār until the Muslim conquest in 1199. Part of Bengal came under the sway of a new dynasty, that of the Senas, early in the eleventh century. Vallāla-sena or Ballāl Sen, who seems to have reigned from about 1158 to 1169, is credited by Bengal tradition with having reorganized the caste system, and introduced the practice of ‘Kulinism’ among Brahmans, Baidyas, and Kāyasaths.1 The Senas originally were Brahmans from the Deccan, and their rise seems to have been a result of the Chola invasion in 1023. The details of their chronology and history are obscure.

Chandēl dynasty. The Chandēl dynasty of Jijhoti or Bundēlkhand, although it never attained a position as exalted as that of the greatest Andhra and Pāla kings, had a still longer history, and played a considerable part on the Indian political stage for about three centuries. The early Chandēl Rajas appear to have been petty Gond chiefs in the territory until recently called the Chhatarpur State in Madhya Pradesh. In the ninth century they overthrew neighbouring Pratihāra (Parihār) chieftains of foreign origin, who must have been connected with the Kanauj dynasty, and advanced their frontier towards the north in the region now called Bundēlkhand, until they approached the Jumna. The principal towns in the kingdom, which was called Jejāka-bhukti or Jijhoti, were Khajurāho in Chhatarpur, Mahoba in the Hamīpur

1 Under this system the three castes mentioned were divided into sub-castes, among which hypergamy (the marriage of a man of a higher with a woman of a lower sub-caste) was permitted. The practice led to an excess of unmarried girls in the upper (kulīn) group, and the marriage of kulīn men to a large number of women whom they did not support.
THE CHANDELS

District, and Kālanjar in the Bândā District, U.P. The military power of the kingdom depended largely on the possession of the strong fortress of Kālanjar.

The Chandēl Rajas, who probably had been tributary to Bhoja of Kanauj, became fully independent in the tenth century. King Dhanga, whose reign covered the second half of that century, was the most notable prince of his family. He joined the Hindu confederacy formed to resist Amir Sabuktigin, the earliest Muslim invader, and shared the disastrous defeat suffered by the allies on the Afghan frontier. Ganda, a later Raja, took part in the opposition to Sultan Mahmūd, which will be noticed presently more particularly. In the second half of the eleventh century Raja Kirtivarman restored the glories of his house, defeated Karnadeva, the aggressive King of Chedi, the ancient Mahākosala, equivalent in large measure to the modern Madhya Pradesh (formerly Central Provinces), and widely extended the frontiers of his dominions. Kirtivarman is memorable in literary history as the patron of the curious allegorical play, entitled the Prabodha-chandrodaya, or ‘Rise of the Moon of Intellect’, which was performed at his court about A.D. 1065, and gives in dramatic form a clever exposition of the Vedānta system of philosophy. The Raja’s memory is also preserved by the name of the Kīrat Sāgar, a lake situated among the hills near Mahoba.

The last Chandēl Raja to enjoy the position of an independent king of importance was Paramardi or Parmāl, who was defeated by Prithīraj Chauhān in 1182, and by Kutbu-d din Ībak in 1203. After that date the Chandēl Rajas sank into obscurity, but long continued to reign as local princes in the jungles of Bundēlkhand. Durgāvatī, the noble Queen of Gondwāna, who so gallantly resisted the unprovoked aggression of Akbar’s general, Āsaf Khān, in 1564, was a Chandēl princess. She was married to a Gond Raja, thus renewing the ancient relation between the tribesmen of the forest and their ennobled Rājpūt kinsmen of the plain. The dynasty survived in the line of the Rajas of Gidhaur in the Monghyr (Mungir) District of Bihār, whose ancestor emigrated from Bundēlkhand in the thirteenth century.

Chandēl architecture. One of the beautiful lakes which Chandēl princes formed by damming up valleys among the low forest-clad hills of Bundēlkhand has been mentioned. Many others exist, on the banks of which I often pitched my tents in my youth. The embankments are gigantic structures faced with stone and sometimes crowned by magnificent temples of granite, or rather gneiss. A large group of such temples still standing at Khajurāho is familiar to all students of Indian architecture. Some of the best examples were erected by King Dhanga in the second half of the tenth century. The Jain religion had numerous adherents in the Chandēl dominions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although it is now nearly extinct in that region. Ancient Jain temples and dated images may still be seen in many villages. Buddhism had but a slight hold on the country, and Buddhist images, although not unknown, are rare.
Raja Bhoja of Dhār. The Paramāras or Pawārs, one of the clans of foreign origin supposed to have been born from the fire-pit of Mount Ābū, founded a dynasty in Mālwā, which took its share in the wars of the period and attained considerable distinction. The most renowned prince of the dynasty was Raja Bhoja, who reigned for more than forty years, from about 1018 to 1060. 1 He was an accomplished scholar and a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning. His name in consequence has become proverbial as that of the ideal Hindu prince. The defeat of Bhoja in or about 1060 by the allied armies of Gujarāt and Chedi reduced the Raja of Mālwā to a position of little political importance. Dhār or Dhārā, until recently the headquarters of a petty state, was the capital of Bhoja, who adorned the town with handsome edifices, of which some vestiges remain in spite of the long-continued Muslim occupation. The immense Bhojpur lake formed by damming the Betwa river and a smaller stream, and covering an area exceeding 250 square miles, was constructed by Raja Bhoja. Early in the fifteenth century the dam was cut by Hoshang Shāh, Sultan of Mālwā, with the result that a large area of valuable land was reclaimed for cultivation. The railway now traverses the dry bed of the lake.

Saurashtra. A passing reference to the Solanki or Chaulukya dynasty of Saurashtra established by Mūlarāja in the tenth century must suffice, although stories about Mūlarāja occupy a prominent place in the semi-historical legends of the province. If tradition may be believed, Mūlarāja was a son of the King of Kanauj, apparently Mahipāla, who probably had appointed his son to be Viceroy in the west. Mūlarāja seems to have seized an opportunity to rebel and set up as an independent sovereign. The most important of his successors was Kumārapāla (1143–72), who was a patron of the great Jain doctor Hemacandra, and himself an earnest Jain (see above, p. 79).

We now return to the north and resume the thread of the story of Kanauj with that of other northern kingdoms.

Mahipāla of Kanauj. The Pratihāra empire began to break up in the reign of Mahipāla (c. A.D. 910–40), who was a grandson of Bhoja. His power suffered a severe shock in A.D. 916 when Indra III, the Rāshttrakūta King of the Deccan, captured Kanauj. Although the southern monarch did not attempt to secure a permanent dominion on the banks of the Ganges, his successful raid necessarily weakened the authority of Mahipāla, who could no longer hold the western provinces. The Chandēl king helped Mahipāla to recover his capital. Some years later Gwālior became independent, but the Kanauj kingdom still continued to be one of the leading states.

Rājā Jaipāl of Bathinda. The rule of the Pratihāras had never extended across the Sutlaj, and the history of the Panjab between the

1 Care should be taken not to confound him with Bhoja or Mihira Pratihāra of Kanauj who reigned from about A.D. 840 to 890, and has been forgotten by Indian tradition. Names like Mahipāla, Mahendrapāla, and many others occur in distinct dynastic lists, and it is easy to confound the bearers of the names.
seventh and tenth centuries is extremely obscure. At some time not recorded a powerful kingdom had been formed, which extended from the mountains beyond the Indus, eastwards as far as the Hakrā or ‘lost river’, so that it comprised a large part of the Panjab, as well as probably northern Sind. The capital was Bathindah (Bhatinda), the Tabarhind of Muslim histories, now in the Patiāla State, and for many centuries an important fortress on the military road connecting Mūltān with India proper through Delhi. At that time Delhi, if in existence, was a place of little consideration. In the latter part of the tenth century the Rājā of Bathindah was Jaipāl, probably a Jāt or Jāt.

Freedom of the Hindu states. Until almost the end of the tenth century the Indian Rajas were at liberty to do what they pleased, enjoying exemption from foreign invasion and freedom from the control of any paramount authority. Their position was gravely disturbed when an aggressive Muslim power, alien in religion, social customs, ideas, and methods of warfare, appeared on the scene and introduced an absolutely novel element into the interior politics of India, which had not been seriously affected either by the Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the eighth century or by the later Muslim occupation of Kābul.

Amīr Sabuktigīn. An ambitious Muslim chief named Sabuktigīn, Amīr of Ghazni, effected a sudden change. In A.D. 986–7 (A.H. 376) he made his first raid into Indian territory, and came into conflict with Rājā Jaipāl of Bathindah. Two years later the Hindu prince retaliated by an invasion of the Amīr’s territory, but being defeated was compelled to sign a treaty binding him to pay a large indemnity and to surrender four forts to the west of the Indus besides many elephants. Jaipāl broke the treaty and was punished for his breach of faith by the devastation of his border-lands and the loss of the Laghmān or Jalālābād District. After a short interval, in or about A.D. 991, Jaipāl made a vigorous effort to ward off the growing Muslim menace by organizing a confederacy of Hindu kings, including among others Rājyapāla, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj, and Dhanga, the ruler of the distant Chandēl kingdom to the south of the Jumna. The allies were defeated disastrously somewhere in or near the Kurram (Kurmah) valley, and Peshāwar passed under Muslim rule.

Sultan Mahmūd. In A.D. 997 the crown of Ghazni descended after a short interval to Sabuktigīn’s son Mahmūd, who assumed the title of Sultan, the royal style preferred by the Muslim kings in India for several centuries. Mahmūd was a zealous Muslim of the ferocious type then prevalent, who felt it to be a duty as well as a pleasure to slay idolaters. He was also greedy of treasure and took good care to derive a handsome profit from his holy wars. Historians are not clear concerning either the exact number or the dates of his raids. The computation of Sir Henry Elliot that Mahmūd made seventeen expeditions may be accepted. Whenever possible he made one each year. Hindu authorities never mention distinctly his proceedings, which are known
only from the testimony of Muslim authors, who do not always agree.

It was the custom of the Sultan to quit his capital early in October and utilize the cold weather for his operations. Three months of steady marching brought him into the heart of the rich Gangetic provinces; and by the time he had slain his tens of thousands and collected millions of treasure he was ready at the beginning of the hot season to go home and enjoy himself. He carried off crowds of prisoners as slaves, including no doubt skilled masons and other artisans whom he employed to beautify his capital; as his successors did in later times. It would be tedious to relate in full the story of all his expeditions. Their character will appear sufficiently from a brief notice of the more notable raids.

Early raids. In November 1001, not long after his accession, in the course of his second expedition, he inflicted a severe defeat near Peshāwar on Jaipāl, who was taken prisoner with his family. The captive, who was released on terms after a time, refused to survive his disgrace. He committed suicide by fire and was succeeded by his son Ānandpāl, who continued the struggle with the foreigners, but without success. He followed his father’s example and organized a league of Hindu Rajas, including the rulers of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmēr, who took the field with a host which was larger than that opposed to Sabuktigīn, and was under the supreme command of Visala-deva, the Chauhān Raja of Ajmēr. The hostile forces watched each other on the plain of Peshāwar for forty days, during which the Hindus received reinforcements from the powerful Khokhar tribe of the Panjab, while the Sultan was compelled to form an entrenched camp. The camp was stormed by a rush in force of the new allies, who slew 3,000 or 4,000 Muslims in a few minutes. Victory seemed to be within the grasp of the Hindus when it was snatched from their hands by one of those unlucky accidents which have so often determined the fate of Indian battles. The elephant carrying either Ānandpāl himself or his son Brahmanpāl, for accounts differ as usual, turned and fled. The Indians, on seeing this, broke in disorder. The Muslim cavalry pursued them for two days and nights, killing 8,000 and capturing enormous booty. Loosely organized confederacies of Hindu contingents each under its own independent chief almost always proved incapable of withstanding the attack of fierce foreign cavalry obeying one will.

Kangra. The decisive victory thus gained enabled the Sultan to attack with success the strong fortress of Kangra or Bhīmnagar, with its temple rich in treasure accumulated by the devotion of generations of Hindus (A.D. 1009). Vast quantities of coined money and gold and silver bullion were carried off. The treasure included ‘a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rūm, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two
silver poles, which had been cast in moulds.” The Sultan returned to Ghazni with his booty and astonished the ambassadors from foreign powers by the display of ‘jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates’. The fortress was held by a Muslim garrison for thirty-five years, after which it was recovered by the Hindus. It did not pass finally under Muslim rule until 1620, when it was captured by an officer of Jahāngīr. The buildings were ruined to a great extent by the earthquake of 1905.

Mathurā and Kanauj. The expedition reckoned as the twelfth was directed specially against Kanauj, the imperial city of northern India, then under the rule of Rājyapāla Pratihāra. The Sultan, sweeping away all opposition, crossed the Jumna on 2 December 1018, and was preparing to attack Baran or Bulandshahr when the Raja, by name Haradatta, tendered his submission and with 10,000 of his men accepted the religion of Islām.

Mathurā, the holy city of Krishna, was the next victim. ‘In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and finer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted.’ The Sultan was of opinion that 200 years would have been required to build it. The idols included ‘five of red gold, each five yards high’, with eyes formed of priceless jewels. ‘The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground.’ Thus perished works of art which must have been among the noblest monuments of ancient India.

Rājyapāla, not daring to attempt the serious defence of his capital, fled across the Ganges. The seven forts which guarded Kanauj were all taken in one day, in January 1019, and the Sultan’s troops were let loose to plunder and make captives. It was reported that the city contained nearly 10,000 temples, but it is not said distinctly that they were destroyed. The Sultan, after making an excursion into the Fatehpur District and to the borders of Jijhoti (Bundelkhand), retired to Ghazni with his prisoners and plunder.

Collapse of Ganda Chandēl. The cowardly flight of the Kanauj Raja angered his fellow Rajas who, under the command of a Chandēl prince, combined against Rājyapāla, slew him, and replaced him by Trilochanapāla.

Mahmūd, who regarded the slain Raja as his vassal, resolved to punish the chiefs who had dared to defy his might. He marched again in the autumn of A.D. 1019, forced the passage of the Jumna, and entered the territory of Ganda Chandēl, who had assembled a host so vast that the Sultan was frightened. But Ganda, a faint-hearted creature, stole away in the night, and allowed the enemy to carry off to Ghazni 580 elephants and much other booty. When Mahmūd came back again in 1021–2 Ganda once more refused to fight, and was content to buy off the invader.
Somnāth. The most celebrated and interesting of Mahmūd's expeditions was the sixteenth, undertaken with the object of sacking the temple of Somnāth or Prabhāsa Pattana on the coast of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwar, which was known to be stored with incalculable riches. The authorities differ concerning the chronology of the operations, probably because some of them ignore the fact that Mahmūd spent about a year in Sūrashtra.¹ He seems to have quitted Ghaznī in December, A.D. 1023 (A.H. 414), with a force of 30,000 horsemen besides volunteers. He advanced by Multān and from Ajmīr through the Rajasthan desert to Anhilwāra or Pātan in Saurāshtra. The march through a country lacking in both food and water required extensive commissariat arrangements and a considerable expenditure of time. The Sultan consequently did not appear before Somnāth until the middle of the eleventh month of A.H. 414, or about March, A.D. 1024, or, according to other authorities, 1025. A fiercely contested fight gave the invaders possession of the fortified temple and of an enormous mass of treasure. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000.

The object of worship was a huge stone lingam enshrined in the sanctum of a temple constructed mainly of timber. The principal hall had fifty-six columns of wood covered with lead.

The Sultan returned through Sind by a route more westerly than that he had used in coming. His army suffered severely from want of water. He arrived at Ghaznī about April 1026, loaded with plunder.

The Somnāth expedition was the last important military operation of Mahmūd. His final Indian expedition in A.D. 1027 was directed against the Jats in the neighbourhood of Multān. The remainder of his life was occupied by domestic troubles, and he died in April, A.D. 1030 (A.H. 421), at the age of sixty-two.

Results of the raids. The Panjab, or a large part of it, was annexed to the Ghaznī Sultanate. That annexation constitutes the sole claim of Mahmūd to be counted as an Indian sovereign. While Muslim historians regard him as one of the glories of Islām, a less partial judgement finds in his proceedings little deserving of admiration. His ruling passion seems to have been avarice. He spent large sums in beautifying his capital and in endowing Muslim institutions in it. Like several Asian conquerors he had a taste for Persian literature, and gained a reputation as a patron of poets and theologians. Ferdowsī, the author of the immense Persian epic, the Shāhnāma, considering himself to have been treated with insufficient generosity, composed a bitter satire upon the Sultan which is extant. Such matters, which occupy a prominent place in the writings of Elphinstone and other authors, really have no relevance to the history of India and need not be noticed further. So far as India was concerned Mahmūd was simply a bandit operating on a large scale, who was too strong for the Hindu Rajas, and was in consequence able to inflict much irreparable damage.

¹ For the year's stay see Forbes, Rāsmālā, vol. i, p. 79, and Elphinstone. The I.G. (1908), s.v. Somnāth, correctly dates the operations in 1024–6.
a. Dancing siva, S. India, Cola Period

b. Rājarājeśvara Temple, Tanjore, Cola

c. Temple of Somnāthpur, Mysore, Hoysala
He did not attempt to effect any permanent conquest except in the Panjab, and his raids had no lasting results in the interior beyond the destruction of life, property, and priceless monuments.

Alberuni. The most distinguished ornament of Sultan Mahmûd’s reign was the profound scholar commonly called Alberuni,1 who had little reason to feel gratitude to the raiding Sultan, although patronized intelligently by his son Masûd. Alberuni, who was born in A.D. 973 and died in A.D. 1048, was a native of the Khwârizm or Khiva territory, and was brought to Ghaznî either as a prisoner or as a hostage. When the Sultan succeeded in occupying the Panjab, Alberuni took up his residence for a time in the newly acquired province, and used the opportunity to make a thorough survey of Hindu philosophy and other branches of Indian science. He mastered the Sanskrit language, and was not too proud to read even the Purânas. He noted carefully and recorded accurately numerous observations on the history, character, manners, and customs of the Hindus, and was thus able to compose the wonderful book conveniently known as ‘Alberuni’s India’, which is unique in Muslim literature, except in so far as it was imitated without acknowledgement more than five centuries later by Abu-l Fazl in the Aín-i Akbarî. The author, while fully alive to the defects of Hindu literary methods, was fascinated by the Indian philosophy, especially as expounded in the Bhagavad-Gîtâ. He was consumed with a desire to discover truth for its own sake, and laboured conscientiously to that end with a noble disregard of ordinary Muslim prejudices. As his learned translator observes:

His book on India is ‘like a magic island of quiet impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples’.

His special subjects were ‘astronomy, mathematics, chronology, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry, and mineralogy’, all treated with such consummate learning that few modern scholars are capable of translating his treatises, and the versions, when accomplished, are often beyond the comprehension of even well-educated readers. Alberuni undoubtedly was one of the most gifted scientific men known to history. Some of his writings have been lost, and others remain in manuscript. The translation by Sachau of his Chronology of Ancient Nations, published in 1879, is a valuable work of reference, but very difficult to understand.

The Gaharwârs of Kanauj. The Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj came to an end soon after Mahmûd’s invasion and was succeeded by Rajas belonging to the Gâhadavâla (Gaharwar) clan, who were cognate with the Chandêls and were of indigenous origin. Govindachandra, grandson of the founder of the new dynasty, enjoyed a long reign lasting for more than half a century (c. A.D. 1100 to 1160), and suc-

1 His full designation was Abû-Rihân (Râhân) Muhammad, son of Ahmad. He became familiarly known as Bû-Rihân, Ustâd (‘Master’), Al-Beruni (‘the foreigner’). The spellings Al-Biruni and Al-Beruni are both legitimate.
ceeded in restoring the glory of the Kanauj kingdom to a considerable extent. Numerous inscriptions of his reign are extant.

Raja Jaichand. His grandson, renowned in popular legend as Raja Jaichand (Jayachchandra), was reputed by the Muslim writers to be the greatest king in India and was known to them as King of Benares, which seems to have been his principal residence. The incident of the abduction of his not unwilling daughter by the gallant Rāi Pithorā or Prithvirāja Chauhān of Ajmer is a famous theme of bardic lays.

When Jaichand essayed to stem the torrent of Muslim invasion in 1194, Muhammad of Ghōr (Shihābu-d dīn, or Muizzu-d dīn, the son of Sām) defeated the huge Hindu host with immense slaughter at Chandrawar in the Etawah District near the Jumna. The Raja was among the slain, and his capital, Banaras, was plundered so thoroughly that 1,400 camels were needed to carry away the booty. That battle put an end to the independent kingdom of Kanauj, but local Rajas more or less subordinate to the ruling power of the day long continued to rule in the ancient city. The Gāhadavāla Rajas were succeeded by Chandēls. Innumerable migrations of Rajput clans caused by the early Muslim invasions are recorded in village traditions and rude metrical chronicles kept by court bards.

The Chauhāns; Prithvirāja. The Chauhān chiefs of Sāmbhar and Ajmer in Rajasthan fill a large place in Hindu tradition and in the story of the Muslim conquest of northern India. One of them named Vigrahārāja (IV) may be mentioned as a noted patron of Sanskrit literature, who was credited with the composition of a drama, fragments of which are preserved on stone tablets at Ajmer. His brother’s son was Rāi Pithorā or Prithvirāja, already mentioned, who carried off Jaichand’s daughter about A.D. 1175, and defeated the Chandēls in 1182. He led the resistance to Muhammad of Ghōr ten years later, was defeated at the second battle of Tarāin, captured, and executed. His city of Ajmer was sacked, and the inhabitants were either massacred or enslaved.

He is the most popular hero of northern India to this day, and his exploits are the subject of bards’ songs and vernacular epics.

The Chand Rāisā. The most celebrated of such epics is the Chand Rāisā composed by Prithvirāja’s court poet Chand Bardāi. The poem, written in archaic Hindi, has been constantly enlarged by reciters, as no doubt the Homeric poems were, and is believed to comprise about 125,000 verses. Many other compositions of a similar character are to be found in Rajasthan.

History of Delhi. Delhi, meaning by that term the old town near the Kutb Minār, was founded, according to an authority cited by Raverty, in A.D. 993–4.¹ It was held in the eleventh century by Rajas of the Tomara clan, who erected numerous temples, which were

¹ But other dates also are recorded.
HISTORY OF DELHI

destroyed by the Muslims, who used the materials for their buildings. In the twelfth century the city was included in the dominions of Prithvirāja. The wonderful iron pillar, originally erected on the Vishupada Hill, a famous place of pilgrimage not far from Kurukshetra, in the fifth century, seems to have been moved and set up in its present position by the Tomara chief in the middle of the eleventh century. It is a mass of wrought iron nearly 24 feet in length and estimated to weigh more than six tons. The metal is perfectly welded and its manipulation is a triumph of skill in the handling of a refractory material. It is not the only proof that the ancient Indians possessed exceptional mastery over difficult problems of working in iron and other metals.

The current belief that Delhi is a city of immemorial antiquity rests upon the tradition that the existing village of Indarpat marks the site of part of the Indraprastha of the Mahābhārata at a very remote age. The tradition may be correct, but there is not a vestige of any prehistoric town now traceable. The first of the many historical cities, known collectively as Delhi, was founded near the close of the tenth century after Christ, and did not attain importance until the time of Ananga Pāla Tomara in the middle of the eleventh century. Most people probably have a vague impression that Delhi always was the capital of India. If they have, their belief is erroneous. Delhi never figured largely in Hindu history. It was ordinarily the headquarters of the Sultans of Hindostan from 1206 to 1526, but did not become the established Mogul capital until Shāhjahān moved his court from Agra in 1648. It continued to be the usual residence of his successors until 1858 when their dynasty was extinguished. Since 1912 a new Delhi has been declared the official capital of the government of India.

SELECTED DATES

A.D.
647. Death of Harsha.
c. 700. Ādiśūra in Bengal.
712. Arab conquest of Sind.
731. Embassy to China of Yaśovarman, King of Kanauj.
c. 750. Pāla dynasty of Bengal founded by Gopāla.
c. 810. Dharmapāla, King of Bengal, deposed a king of Kanauj and appointed another.
c. 816. Pratihāra capital transferred to Kanauj.
c. 840–90. Bhoja, or Mihira, the powerful Pratihāra King of Kanauj.
c. 916. Kanauj captured by Indra III Rāśtrakūta.
c. 950–99. Dhangā, the most powerful of the Chandēl kings.
973–1048. Albērūnī, scientific author.
c. 997. Sultan Mahmūd of Gha: u, acc.
MEDIEVAL HINDU KINGDOMS

A.D.

1001. Sultan Mahmūd defeated Jaipāl.
1008–19. The Sultan defeated Ānandpāl and took Kāngrā.
1018–19. The Sultan took Kanauj.
c. 1018–60. Bhoja Paramāra, King of Mālwā.
c. 1023. Incursion of Rājendra Chola into Bengal.
1030. Death of Sultan Mahmūd.
1038. Atiśa sent on Buddhist mission to Tibet by Nayapāla, King of Bengal.
c. 1049–1100. Kirtivarman, Chandēl king.
c. 1100–60. Govindachandra, Gāhadavāla, King of Kanauj
c. 1158–69. Balkā Sen (Vallāla Sena), King of part of Bengal.
1182. Parmāl Chandēl defeated by Rājā Prithvirāja Chauhān.
1192. Defeat and death of Prithvirāja.

AUTHORITIES

Many references are given in E.H.I.4 Among more recent works the following should be noted:

De la Vallée Poussin’s Dynasties et histoire (see above, p. 189) contains summaries of the history of all the main dynasties, with full references. C.H.I., vol. ii (in the press), also gives good outline histories. The fourth volume of the History and Culture of the Indian People (The Age of Imperial Kanauj), ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1953) is a valuable study of the period, by Indian scholars. R. S. Tripathi’s History of Kanauj (Calcutta, 1937), already mentioned in connexion with the reign of Harsha, contains the best treatment of the Pratiharas. For the Paramāras see D.C. Ganguli’s History of the Paramāra Dynasty (Dacca, 1943). The detailed History of Bengal, of which two volumes have appeared, covers the history of the region down to the Mughul period. The first volume, edited by R. C. Majumdar, is invaluable for the Pālas and Senas.

For the advanced study of the later dynasties from the tenth century onward H. C. Ray’s masterly and detailed Dynastic History of Northern India (2 vols., Calcutta, 1931–6) is essential. For the study of the Ghaznavid sultanate, Mohd. Nazim, Life and Times of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghasnā (Cambridge, 1931).

HINDU INDIA: 322 B.C. TO 7TH CENTURY A.D.

closing years of the twelfth century, when the extensive conquests effected by and for Muhammad of Ghōr brought the most important provinces under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi. The story of Hindu India from the middle of the seventh century until the Muslim conquest, which may be dated approximately in A.D. 1200 for the north and A.D. 1300 for the south, cannot be presented in the form of a single continuous narrative. The subject will be treated in Book III.
CHAPTER 3

The Kingdoms of the Peninsula

1. The Deccan Proper and Mysore

Groups of states. The medieval history of the peninsula concerns itself chiefly with those of two groups of states, namely, the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau lying between the Narbadā on the north and the Krishna and Tungabhadra on the south, and those beyond those rivers. Mysore, which belongs geographically to the Far South, having been generally more closely connected with the Deccan kingdoms than with the Tamil states, may be treated as an annexe of the Deccan proper. The history of the Tamil group of kingdoms—Pândya, Chera, Chola, and Pallava—forms a distinct subject. The Deccan proper, Mysore or the Kanarese country, and Tamilakam or Tamil Land were constantly in close touch one with the other, but the points of contact between the peninsular powers and those of northern India were few.

Difficulties of the subject. Although modern research has had much success in piecing together the skeleton of peninsular history, it is not often possible to clothe the dry bones with the flesh of narrative. The greater part of the results of painstaking, praiseworthy, and necessary archaeological study must always remain unattractive to the ordinary reader of history and extremely difficult to remember. The names of the sovereigns and other notables of southern India present peculiar obstacles in the path of the student of history. They are often terribly long, and each king commonly is mentioned by several alternative cumbrous names or titles which are extremely confusing.¹ Names, too, frequently recur in the lists and are liable to be misunderstood. The kingdoms, moreover, were so isolated from the outer world that their history in detail can never possess more than local interest. For those reasons, to which others might be added, the story of the medieval southern kingdoms is even less manageable than that of the northern realms, which is sufficiently perplexing. In this chapter no attempt will be made to narrate consecutively the history of any of the dynasties, the treatment being confined to summary notices of a few leading powers and personages, coupled with observations on the changes which occurred in religion, literature, and art in the course of the centuries. Notwithstanding the political isolation of the south, religious and philosophical movements originated in that region which

¹ e.g. an inscription mentions a man called Mēdini Misara Gandakattāri, Trinetrā-Sāluva Narasana Nāyaka; and the King Pulakēsin Chalukya I appears also as Satyārāya, Ranavikrama, and Vallabha. No author who meddles largely with such names can expect to be read.
profoundly affected the thought of the north. The influence exercised by Rāmānuja and other southern sages on the whole country from Cape Comorin to the recesses of the Snowy Mountains is the best evidence of that inner unity of Hindu India which survives the powerful disintegrating forces set in motion by diversity in blood, language, manners, customs, and political allegiance.

Vākātakas. With the disappearance of the Śatavāhanas or Āndhras a number of lesser dynasties arose in central India and the Deccan, of which the most important was that of the Vākātakas. Early in the fourth century Pravarasena I appears to have been a very powerful king, controlling Madhya Pradesh and much of the western Deccan, where he set up a feudatory kingdom at Basim, in Berar, under his second son Sarvasena. During the reign of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II the Vākātaka kingdom was much under Gupta influence. Chandragupta's daughter, Prabhāvati Guptā, the widow of Rudrasena II, governed as regent during the minority of her sons, and issued charters in her own name, giving the Gupta genealogy instead of that of her husband. Her son Pravarasena Iı came to the throne about A.D. 410 and seems gradually to have thrown off Gupta influence. During the troublous times of the latter half of the fifth century the Vākātakas exerted some temporary power in Malwa. Their last king, Harishena, seems to have been an important monarch, controlling all the central Deccan, but on his death, early in the sixth century, the Vākātaka empire vanished. It was under the Vākātakas that several of the caves of Ājantā were dedicated.

Kadambas. A clan or family called Kadamba enjoyed independent power in the districts now called north and south Kanara and in western Mysore from the third to the sixth century. Their capital Vanavāsi, also known as Jayanti or Vaijayanti, was so ancient that it is mentioned in the Ceylon Buddhist tradition as a city to which Āsoka sent missionaries after the third Buddhist council. The Kadambas resembled several other royal families of distinction in being of Brahman descent, although recognized as Kshatriyas by reason of their occupation as rulers. Their first ruler, Mayūraśarman, is said to have been a Brahman student who revolted against the Pallavas of Kānchī, and raided far and wide in the Deccan. He probably ruled early in the fourth century. Kadamba chiefs in subordinate positions may be traced as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the powerful Rāyas of Vijayanagar, who founded a great kingdom early in that century, are supposed by some authorities to have had Kadamba connexions.

Gangas. An equally distinguished dynasty was that of the Gangas, who ruled over the greater part of Mysore from the second to the eleventh century, and played an important part in the incessant medieval wars. The Gangas of the tenth century were zealous patrons of Jainism, which had a long history in the peninsula from the fourth century B.C. The colossal statue of Gomata, 56½ feet in height, wrought out of a block of gneiss on the top of an eminence at Sravana Belgola,
THE CHÂLUKYAS

and justly described as being unrivalled in India for daring conception and gigantic dimensions, was executed in about A.D. 983 to the order of Châmunda Râya, the minister of a Ganga king.¹

A branch of the Gangas ruled in Orissa for about a thousand years from the sixth to the sixteenth century.

Early Châlukyas. The most prominent of the early medieval dynasties in the Deccan was that of the Châlukyas, founded in the middle of the sixth century by Pulakeśin I, who established himself as lord of Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi, now in the Bijâpur District of Bombay.² His grandson, Pulakeśin II (608–42), was almost exactly the contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj (606–47), and in the Deccan occupied a paramount position similar to that enjoyed in northern India by his rival. When Harsha, about A.D. 620, sought to bring the Deccan under his dominion, Pulakeśin was too strong for him and repelled his attack, maintaining the Narbada as the frontier between the two empires. The court of the sovereign of the Deccan was visited in A.D. 641 by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who was much impressed by the power of Pulakeśin and the loyalty of his warlike vassals. The capital probably was at or near Nâsik, and the traveller experienced much difficulty in penetrating the robber-infested jungles of the Western Ghâts. Even then the country was known as Maharashtra, as it is now. The Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom numbered more than 100 with a population of monks exceeding 5,000. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the realm did not follow the Buddhist religion. Hiuen Tsang gives a brief and indistinct account of the Ajantâ caves, which he seems to have visited. Most of the excellent sculptures and paintings in the caves had then been completed.

The fame of Pulakeśin extended even to distant Persia, whose king exchanged embassies with him. The intercourse with Persia is commemorated in the cave frescoes.

The loyal valour of the chieftains of the Deccan did not avail to save their lord from ruin. Only a year after Hiuen Tsang’s visit the Châluksya king was utterly defeated and presumably slain by the Pallava King of Kânchi (642), named Narasimhavarman, who thus became the paramount power in the peninsula. The acts of the conqueror will be noticed more particularly as part of the story of the Pallavas.

Thirty-two years later (674) a son of Pulakeśin revenged his father’s death and captured Kânchi. The conflict between the Pallavas and the Châlukyas continued for many years, with varying fortune, until the middle of the eighth century (757), when a Râshtrakûta chieftain, Dantidurga, overthrew the reigning Châluksya. The sovereignty of the Deccan, which had been held by the Châluksyas for some 200 years,

¹ Two similar but smaller colossi of much later date exist at Kârkala or Kârkala and Yenûr in South Kanara. For the former see H.F.A., pl. liii.
² The Châluksyas adopted the figure of a boar as their emblem, which was borrowed later by the Râyas of Vijayanagar and other dynasties.
thus passed to the Rāṣṭrakūt ās, in whose hands it remained for nearly two centuries and a quarter.

Religion. The early Chālu kya kings, while tolerant of all religions, like most Indian rulers, were themselves Brahmānical Hindus. In their time Buddhism slowly declined, while the sacrificial form of Hinduism grew in favour, and became the subject of numerous treatises. Handsome temples were erected in many places, and the practice of excavating cave-temples was borrowed by orthodox Hindus from their Jain and Buddhist rivals. The sixth-century Brahmānical caves at Bādāmi contain excellent sculptures in good preservation. The Jain creed had many followers in the southern Marāthā country.

It is needless to detail the wars of the Rāṣṭrakūt ās. The reign of Krishna I (acc. c. A.D. 760) is memorable for the rock-cut temple called Kailāsa at Ellora, in the Hyderabad state, which is one of the most marvellous works of human labour. The whole temple, hewn out of the side of a hill and enriched with endless ornament, stands clear as if built in the ordinary way.

Amogha varsha. King Amogha varsha (c. 815–77) enjoyed one of the longest reigns recorded in history. Sulaimān, the Arab merchant who travelled in western India in the middle of the ninth century, knew the Rāṣṭrakūta sovereign by his title of Balharā, a corruption of Vallabha Rāi, and states that he was acknowledged not only as the most eminent of the princes of India, but also as the fourth of the great monarchs of the world, the other three being the Khalīfa (Caliph) of Baghdad, the Emperor of China, and the Emperor of Rūm or Constantinople. The Rāṣṭrakūta kings kept on the best of terms with the Arabs of Sind, and enriched their subjects by encouraging commerce. Amogha varsha possessed multitudes of horses and elephants, with immense wealth, and maintained a standing army regularly paid. His capital was Mānyakheta, now Mālkhēd in the Hyderabad state. He adopted the Jain religion and showed marked favour to learned Jains of the Digāṃbara or nude sect. The rapid progress of Jainism in the Deccan during the ninth and tenth centuries involved a decline in the position of Buddhism.

Chālu kya of Kalyāṇi. In A.D. 973 the second Chālu kya dynasty, with its capital at Kalyāṇī, was founded by Taila or Tailapa II, who dethroned the last of the Rāṣṭrakūt ās. The kings of the new dynasty fought numerous wars with their neighbours. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Chālu kya country was cruelly ravaged by Rājara jā the Great, the Chola king, who threw into it a vast host of hundreds of thousands of merciless soldiers, by whom even Brahmans, women, and children were not spared.

In A.D. 1052 or 1053 Somavara Chālu kya defeated and slew Rājādhirāja, the then reigning Chola king, in a famous battle fought at Koppam on the Krishnā.¹

¹ Fleet (Ep. Ind., vol. xii, p. 298).
LATER CHÂLUKYAS, KALACHURYAS, AND HOYSALAS 217

Vikramâditya. Vikramâditya or Vikramânka, who reigned from A.D. 1076 to 1126, was the most conspicuous member of his dynasty. He secured his throne by a war with one brother, and later in life had to fight another brother who rebelled. He continued the perennial wars with the southern powers, the Cholas in that age having taken the place of the Pallavas and become the lords of Kâñchi, which Vikramânka is said to have occupied more than once. His success in war with his neighbours was so marked that he ventured to found an era bearing his name, which never came into general use. His exploits in war, the chase, and love are recorded at great length in an historical poem composed by Bilhana, his chief pandit, a native of Kashmir. The poem, which recalls Bâna’s work on the deeds of Harsha, was discovered by Bühler in a Jain library, and well edited and analysed by him. It is interesting to note that Vikramâditya was chosen by one of his consorts as her husband at a public svayamvara in the ancient epic fashion.

The celebrated jurist Vijnânesvara, author of the Mitâksharâ, the leading authority on Hindu law outside of Bengal, lived at Kalyânâ in the reign of Vikramâditya, whose rule appears to have been prosperous and efficient.

Bijjala Kalachurya During the twelfth century the Châluksya power declined, and after 1190 the Rajas sank into the position of petty chiefs, most of their possessions passing into the hands of new dynasties, the Yâdavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra.

A rebel named Bijjala Kalachurya and his sons held the Châluksya throne for some years. Bijjala abdicated in 1167.

The Lingâyat sect. His brief tenure of power was marked by the rise of the Lingâyat or Vira Śaiva sect, which is still powerful in the Kanarese country, especially among the trading classes. The members of the sect worship Śiva in his phallic (lingam) form, reject the authority of the Vedas, disbelieve in the doctrine of rebirth, object to child-marriage, approve of the remarriage of widows, and cherish an intense aversion to Brahmans, notwithstanding that the prophet of their creed was Basava, alleged to have been a Brahman minister of Bijjala, and said by some to have been originally a Jain. The sect when established displayed bitter hostility to Jainism.

Vishnuvardhana Hoysala. The Hoysala or Poysala kings of the Mysore territory were descended from a petty chieftain in the Western Ghâts, and first rose to importance in the time of Bittideva or Bittiga, better known by his later name of Vishnuvardhana, who died in A.D. 1141, after a reign of more than thirty years, more or less in subordination to the Châluksya power. The Hoysalas did not become fully independent until about A.D. 1190. Bittiga engaged in wars of the usual character, which need not be specified, and so extended his dominions; but his substantial claim to remembrance rests on the

MEDIEVAL HINDU KINGDOMS

important part played by him in the religious life of the peninsula and on the wonderful development of architecture and sculpture associated with his name and the names of his successors. Bittiga in his early days was a zealous Jain and encouraged his minister Gangarāja to restore the Jain temples which had been destroyed by Chola invaders of the Saiva persuasion. In those days, although many, perhaps most, Rajas practised the normal Hindu tolerance, political wars were sometimes embittered by sectarian passion, and serious persecution was not unknown. The destruction of Jain temples by the Cholas was an act of fierce intolerance. About the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century Bittiga came under the teaching of the famous sage Rāmānuja, who converted him to faith in Vishnu. The king then adopted the name of Vishnuvardhana and devoted himself to the honouring of his new creed by the erection of temples of unsurpassed magnificence. The current Vaishnava story that Vishnuvardhana ground the Jain theologians in oil-mills certainly is not true. The statement seems to be merely a picturesque version of the defeat of the Jain disputants in argument. Good evidence proves that the converted king continued to show toleration for various forms of religion. One of his wives and one of his daughters professed the Jain creed.

Hoysala style of art. The style of the temples built by Vishnuvardhana and his successors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was used alike by Jains and Brahmanical Hindus, is characterized by a richly carved base or plinth, supporting the temple, which is polygonal, star-shaped in plan, and roofed by a low pyramidal tower, often surmounted by a vase-shaped ornament. In many cases there are several towers, so that the temple may be described as double, triple, or quadruple. The whole of a Hoysala building is generally treated as the background for an extraordinary mass of complicated sculpture, sometimes occurring in great sheets of bas-reliefs, and generally comprising many statues or statuettes, almost or wholly detached. The temple at Halebid or Dorasamudra is the best known, but many others equally notable exist. Much of the sculpture is of high quality. It was the work of a large school of artists, scores of whom, contrary to the usual Indian practice, have recorded their names on their creations. Artistic skill is not yet dead in Mysore.¹

Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja, the celebrated Vaishnava philosopher and teacher, who converted the Hoysala king, was educated at Kānchī, and resided at Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly in the reign of Adhirājendra Chola; but owing to the hostility of that king, who professed the Śaiva faith, was obliged to withdraw into Mysore, where he resided until the decease of Adhirājendra freed him from anxiety. He then returned to Śrīrangam, where he remained until his death. The exact chronology of his long life is not easy to determine. His death may be placed about the middle of the twelfth century. His system of metaphysics or

¹ Ind. Ant., 1915, pp. 89 ff.
ontology based on his interpretation of the Upanishads is too abstruse for discussion or analysis in these pages. He is regarded as the leading opponent of the views of Śankarāchārya.¹

The later Hoysalas. Vira Ballāla, grandson of Vishnuvardhana, extended the dominions of his house, especially in a northerly direction, where he encountered the Yādavas of Devagiri (A.D. 1191–2). His conquests made the Hoysalas the most powerful dynasty in the Deccan at the close of the twelfth century. Their short-lived dominion was shattered in 1310 by the attack of Malik Kāfūr and Khwāja Hājī, the generals of Alāu-d din Khilji, who ravaged the kingdom and sacked the capital, Dorasamudra or Halebid, which was finally destroyed by a Muslim force a few years later, in 1326 or 1327. After that date the Hoysalas survived for a while as merely local Rajas.

Yādavas of Devagīrī. The Yādavas of Devagiri or Deogir, known in later ages as Aurangābād, were descendants of feudatory nobles of the Chālukya kingdom. In the closing years of the twelfth century, as mentioned above, they were the rivals of the Hoysalas. The most influential member of the dynasty was Singhana early in the thirteenth century, who invaded Gujarāt and other regions, establishing a considerable dominion which lasted only for a few years. In 1294 the reigning Raja was attacked by Alāu-d din Khilji, who carried off an enormous amount of treasure. In 1309 Rāmachandra, the last independent sovereign of the Deccan, submitted to Malik Kāfūr. His son-in-law, Harapāla, having ventured to revolt against the foreigner, paid the penalty by being flayed alive at the order of his barbarous conqueror (1318). That tragedy was the end of the Yādavas.

The story of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which was founded about 1336, and developed into an extensive empire to the south of the Krishnā, will be related with considerable detail in a later chapter in connexion with the southern Muslim dynasties.

2. The Tamil Powers of the Far South

Origin of the Pallavas. At the close of Chapter 3 of Book II we took a passing glance at the early history of the Tamil kingdoms during the first and second centuries of the Christian era. It is impossible to construct anything like a continuous narrative until a date much later.

After the time of Karikāla Chola and Gajabāhu of Ceylon the power which appears first on the stage of history is that of the Pallavas. In the middle of the fourth century Samudragupta encountered a Pallava king of Kānchī or Conjeeveram, and it is not unlikely that the dynasty may have originated in the third century, after the disappearance of the Śātavāhanas.

¹ For an abstract of the doctrine see Sṛ Rāmānujāchārya, part ii, by T. Rajagopala Chariar, Madras, Natesan & Co., n.d.
The Pallavas constitute one of the mysteries of Indian history. The
conjecture that they were Pahlavas, that is to say Parthians or Persians
from the north-west, was suggested solely by a superficial verbal
similarity and may be summarily dismissed as baseless. Everything
known about them indicates that they were a peninsular race, tribe, or
clan, probably either identical or closely connected with the Kurumbas,
an originally pastoral people, who play a prominent part in early Tamil
tradition. The Pallavas are sometimes described as the ‘foresters’,
and seem to have been of the same blood as the Kallars, who were
reckoned as belonging to the formidable predatory classes, and were
credited up to quite recent times with ‘bold, indomitable, and martial
habits’. The Raja of Pudukottai, the small state which lay between the
Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Madura Districts, is a Kallar and claims
the honour of descent from the Pallava princes.¹

The history of the Pallavas, although alluded to in some vernacular
writings, had been almost wholly forgotten by everybody, and was
absolutely unknown to Europeans before 1840, when inscriptions of
the dynasty began to come to light. Since that date the patient labours
of many investigators have recovered much of the outline of Pallava
history and have restored the dynasty to its rightful place in Indian
history, a place by no means insignificant.

Limits of the Tamil states. The normal limits of the territories
of the three ancient ruling races of the Tamil country were defined by
immemorial tradition and well recognized, although the actual frontiers
of the kingdoms varied continually and enormously from time to time.

The Pândya kingdom, as defined by tradition, extended from the
Southern Vellâru river (Pudukottai) on the north to Cape Comorin,
and from the Coromandel (Chola-mandala) coast on the east to the
‘great highway’, the Achchhankôvil Pass leading into Southern Kârala,
or Travancore. It comprised the existing Districts of Madura and
Tinnevelly with parts of the Travancore State.

The Chola country, according to the most generally received tradi-
tion, extended along the Coromandel coast from Nellore to Pudukottai,
where it abutted on the Pândya territory. On the west it reached the
borders of Coorg. The limits thus defined include Madras with several
adjoining districts, and a large part of the Mysore State. But the
ancient literature does not carry the Tamil Land farther north than

¹ According to Srinivasa Aiyangar, who writes with ample local knowledge, the
Pallavas belonged to the ancient Nâga people, who included a primitive Negrito
element of Australasian origin and a later mixed race. Their early habitat was the
Tondal mandalam, the group of districts round Madras; Tanjore and Trichinopoly
being later co-asts. The Pallava army was recruited from the martial tribe of
Pallis or Kurumbas. The Pallava chiefs were the hereditary enemies of the three
Tamil kings, and were regarded as intruders in the southern districts. Hence the
term Pallava in Tamil has come to mean ‘a rogue’, while a section of the Pallava sub-
jects who settled in the Chola and Pândya countries became known as Kallar or
‘thieves’. All these people doubtless belonged to the Nâga race. Those statements
support the view expressed in the text, as formulated many years ago. See Jouveau-
Pulicat and the Venkata or Tirupathi Hill, about 100 miles to the north-west of Madras. In the middle of the seventh century, when Huien Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, travelled, the Pallavas held most of the Chola traditional territory, and the special Chola principality was restricted to a small and unhealthy area, nearly coincident with the Cuddapah District.

The Chera or Kērala territory consisted in the main of the rugged region of the Western Ghats to the south of the Chandragiri river, which falls into the sea not far from Mangalore, and forms the boundary between the peoples who severally speak Tulu and Malayālam.

No such traditional limits are attributed to the dominions of the Pallavas, although their early habitat, the Tondainādu, comprising the districts near Madras, was well known. They held as much territory as they could grasp, and Kānchi or Conjeeveram, their capital, was in the heart of Chola-mandalam. The facts indicate that they overlay the ancient ruling powers, and must have acquired their superior position by means of violence and blackmail, as the Marāthā freebooters did in the eighteenth century.

Outline of Pallava history. For about 200 years from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century the Pallavas were the dominant power in the Far South. All the princes of the ancient royal families seem to have been more or less subordinate to them in that period. Simhavishnu Pallava, in the last quarter of the sixth century recorded a boast that he had vanquished the Pāndya, Chola, and Chera kings, as well as the ruler of Ceylon.

In the time of their glory the home territories of the Pallavas comprised the modern districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput or Madras, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore; while their sovereignty extended from the Orissan frontier on the north to the Ponnaiyar or Southern Pennār river on the south, and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to a line drawn through Salem, Bangalore, and Berar on the west.1

Although the Pallavas had to cede the Vengī province between the Krishna and the Godavari to the Chālukyas early in the seventh century, and never recovered it, that century was the time in which they attained their highest point of fame and during which they raised the imperishable monuments which constitute their best claim to remembrance. At the close of the ninth century the sceptre passed definitely from the hands of the Pallavas into those of the Cholaś.

Having thus outlined the general course of Pallava history, we proceed to more definite chronicling and to a brief account of Pallava achievements.

Mahendra-varman. Mahendra-varman I (c. A.D. 600–25), son and successor of the victorious King Simhavishnu mentioned above, is memorable for his public works, which include rock-cut temples

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1 I.G. (1908), s.v. Chingleput District. Trichinopoly and Tanjore were not included in the Tondai nādu.
and caves, the ruined town of Mahendravâdi between Arcot and Arconam, and a great reservoir near the same. About A.D. 610 he was defeated by Pulakeśin II Châlukya, who wrested from him the province of Venjâ, where a branch Châlukya dynasty was established which endured for centuries.

Narasimha-varman. Mahendra’s successor, Narasimha-varman (c. A.D. 625–45), was the most successful and distinguished member of his able dynasty. In A.D. 642 he took Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi), the Châlukya capital, and presumably killed Pulakeśin II, thus making the Pallavas the dominant power not only in Tamil Land, but also in the Deccan for a short time.

Hîuen Tsang at Kâñchî. Two years before that victory Hîuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, had visited Kâñchî, which seems to have been the southern terminus of his travels. Civil war in Ceylon prevented him from crossing over to that country. His observations on the island and on the Pândya territory were based on information collected at Kâñchî. The pilgrim does not mention the king’s name, nor does he use the term Pallava. To him the kingdom of Kâñchî was simply Dravida or the Tamil country. He notes that the soil was fertile and well cultivated, and credits the inhabitants with the virtues of courage, trustworthiness, public spirit, and love of learning. The language, whether spoken or written, differed from that of the north. It was Tamil then as now. The capital of Malakotta, or the Pândya country, presumably Madura, was a city five or six miles in circumference. A modern observer much admired the plan of Kâñchî:

Here [Professor Geddes writes] is not simply a city made monumental by great temples and rich and varied innumerable minor ones; what rejoices me is to find the realization of an exceptionally well-grouped and comprehensive town plan, and this upon a scale of spacious dignity, combined with individual and artistic freedom to which I cannot name any equally surviving parallel whether in India or elsewhere.¹

That testimony to the good taste of the architect of Pallava times is supported by the excellence of the buildings and sculpture. The kingdom contained more than 100 Buddhist monasteries occupied by over 10,000 monks of the Sthâvira school, while non-Buddhist temples, chiefly those of the nude Jain sect, were nearly as numerous. Certain buildings were ascribed to Aśoka. The Buddhist edifices seem to have been taken over and modified or reconstructed by the Hindus, and so have mostly escaped notice.

In 1915 Mr. T. A. Gopinâtha Rao, after a few hours’ search, discovered five large images of Buddha in Conjeeveram, two being in the Hindu temple of Kâmâkshî.² Further investigation will assuredly disclose many traces of Buddhism in the Pallava country.

¹ Town Planning of Ancient Dekhan, p 78, by C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar, Madras, 1916.
THE PALLAVAS

Pallava art. Narasimha founded the town of Māmallapuram or Mahābalipuram and caused the execution of the wonderful Rathas, or ‘Seven Pagodas’ at that place, each of which is cut out from a great rock boulder. His artists also wrought the remarkable relief sculptures in the rocks at the same place. The most notable of those works is the celebrated composition which, as commonly stated, depicts the Penance of Arjuna. The alternative explanation, although plausible, seems to be erroneous. The sculptures were continued by Narasimha’s successor, but had to be abandoned incomplete about A.D. 670 in consequence of the Chālukya attacks.

The splendid and numerous structural temples at Kānchi and other places are slightly later in date, and were mostly erected in the reign of Rājasimha in the early years of the eighth century.

It thus appears that the history of Indian architecture and sculpture in the south begins at the close of the sixth century under Pallava rule. Earlier works, which were executed in impermanent materials, necessarily have perished. It is impossible here to go further into details, but it may be said that the Pallava school of architecture and sculpture is one of the most important and interesting of the Indian schools. The transition from wood to stone effected for northern India under Aśoka in the third century B.C. was delayed for nearly a thousand years in the Far South. That fact is a good illustration of the immense length of the course of Indian history and of the extreme slowness with which changes have been effected so as ultimately to cover the whole country.

End of the Pallavas. A severe defeat inflicted in A.D. 740 on the reigning Pallava king by the Chālukya may be regarded as the beginning of the end of the Pallava supremacy. The heirs of the Pallavas, however, were not the Chālukyas, who had to make way for the Rāṣṭrakūtas in A.D. 753, but the Cholas, who, in alliance with the Pāṇḍyas, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Pallavas at the close of the ninth century. Pallava chiefs continued to exist as local rulers down to the thirteenth century, and nobles bearing the name may be traced even later. But after the seventeenth century all trace of the Pallavas as a distinct race or clan disappears, and their blood is now merged in that of the Kallar, Palli, and Vellāla castes.

Religion. The Pallava kings were mostly Brahmanical Hindus, some being specially devoted to the cult of Vishnu, and others to that of Śiva. Mahendra, who originally was a Jain, was converted to the faith of Śiva by a famous Tamil saint, and, with the proverbial zeal of a convert, destroyed the large Jain monastery in South Arcot, which bore the name of Pātaliputtirām, transferred at an early date from the ancient capital of India. The testimony of Hiuen Tsang proves that in the seventh century the nude or Digambara sect of Jains was numerous and influential, and his language implies that the various sects lived

together peaceably as a rule, although exceptions may have occurred. The prevailing form of religion throughout the Pallava country in modern times is Saiva.

Parântaka I Chola. The Chola chronology is known with accuracy from A.D. 907, the date of the accession of Parântaka I, son and successor of Aditya, the conqueror of the Pallavas. Parântaka, who reigned for forty-two years, was an ambitious warrior king, and among other achievements drove the Pândya king into exile, captured Madura his capital, and invaded Ceylon. Wars between the Tamil sovereigns and the rulers of Ceylon were almost incessant. The events are recorded in a multitude of Indian inscriptions as well as in the chronicles of the island.

Râjarâja the Great. The most prominent of the Chola monarchs were Râjarâja-deva the Great, who came to the throne in A.D. 985, and his son Râjendra Choladeva I, whose reign ended in A.D. 1035. The interval of fifty years covers the period of the most decisive Chola supremacy over the other Tamil powers. The Pândyas, who never admitted willingly the pretensions of their rivals, which they long resisted, were forced to submit more or less completely to their overlordship.

The exploits of both Râjarâja and his at least equally aggressive son are celebrated in numerous inscriptions beginning from the eighth year of Râjarâja, whose earliest conquest was that of the Chera kingdom.1

His conquests on the mainland up to his fourteenth year comprised the Eastern Châlukya kingdom of Vengi, which had been wrested from the Pallavas at the beginning of the seventh century, Coorg, the Pândya country, and large areas in the table-land of the Deccan. During subsequent years he subdued Quilon or Kollam on the Malabar coast, Kalinga, and Ceylon. About A.D. 1005 he sheathed the sword and spent the rest of his days in peace. During his declining years he associated the crown prince with him in the government, according to the current practice of the southern dynasties.2 Râjarâja possessed a powerful navy and annexed a large number of islands, probably including the Laccadives and Maldives. When he passed away he left to his son substantially the whole of the modern Madras Presidency, except Madura and Tinnevelly.

Râjendra Choladeva I. Râjendra Choladeva I carried his arms even farther than his father had done. He sent a fleet across the Bay of Bengal, and thus effected the temporary occupation of Pegu, as well as of parts of Sumatra and Malaya and the Andaman and Nicobar islands. He even ventured on an expedition to the north, about A.D. 1023, and defeated Mahipâla, the Pâla king of Bihar and Bengal. In commemoration of that exploit he assumed the title of Gangaikonda, and built in the Trichinopoly District a new capital city called Gangai-

2 That practice accounts for sundry discrepancies in the accession dates.
konda-Cholapuram, adorned by a magnificent palace, a gigantic temple, and a vast artificial lake. The ruins, which have never been properly described or illustrated, have been much damaged by spoliation for building material.

The later Cholas. The death of Râjendra's son, Râjâdhira, on the battlefield of Koppam in A.D. 1052 or 1053, when fighting the Châlukya, has been already mentioned. Ten years later the Châlukyas were defeated in their turn in another hard-fought contest.

King Adhirâjendra, who was assassinated in A.D. 1074, has been named as having been the enemy of the sage Râmânuja. Râjendra Kulottunga I, the successor, but not the son of Adhirâjendra, was the most conspicuous of the later Cholas, who are known as Châlukya-Cholas, because of their relationship with the Eastern Châlukyas of Vengi. Râjendra, who reigned for forty-nine years, effected extensive conquests, and also directed an elaborate revision of the revenue survey of his dominions in A.D. 1086, the year of the survey for the Anglo-Norman Domesday Book.

During the thirteenth century the Chola power gradually declined, and later in that century the Pândya kings reasserted themselves and shook off the Chola yoke.

The Muslim inroad in 1310 and the subsequent rise of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar extinguished the ancient Chola dynasty with its institutions.

Chola administration. The administration of the Chola kingdom was highly systematized and evidently had been organized in very ancient times. Our definite knowledge of the details rests chiefly upon inscriptions dated between A.D. 800 and 1300. Certain records of Parântaka I supply particularly full information about the actual working of the village assemblies during the first half of the tenth century. The whole fabric of the administration rested upon the basis of the village, or rather of unions of villages. It was usually found more convenient to deal with a group or union of villages (kûrram) rather than with a single village as the administrative unit. Each kûrram or union (in some parts of the country called kôttam) managed its local affairs through the agency of an assembly (mahâsabhâ), which possessed and exercised extensive powers subject to the control of the royal officers (adhikârin). The assembly was elected by an elaborate machinery for casting lots, and the members held office for one year. Each union had its own local treasury, and enjoyed full control over the village lands, being empowered even to sell them in certain contingencies. Committees were appointed to look after tanks, gardens, justice, and other departments.

A certain number of kûrrams or unions constituted a district (nâdu), and a group of districts formed a province (mandalam). The kingdom was divided into six provinces. That specially designated as Cholamandalam was roughly equivalent to the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts.

The theoretical share of the gross produce claimed by the state as
land revenue was one-sixth, but petty imposts in great variety were levied. The actual tax levied apparently varied with the nature of the land, and according to Professor N. K. Sastri, might be as much as one-third on very fertile land. Payment could be made either in kind or in gold, but usually the former. The currency unit was the gold kāsu, weighing about 28 grains troy. Silver coin was not ordinarily used in the south in ancient times. The lands were regularly surveyed, and a standard measure was recorded.

Details concerning the military organization are lacking. A strong fleet was maintained. Irrigation works were constructed on a vast scale and of good design. The embankment of the artificial lake at Gangai-konda-Cholapuram, for instance, was sixteen miles in length, and the art of throwing great dams or ‘anicuts’ across the Kāveri (Cauvery) and other large rivers was thoroughly understood. Various public works of imposing dimensions were designed and erected. The single block of stone forming the summit of the steeple of the Tanjore temple is 25\frac{1}{2} feet square, and is estimated to weigh 80 tons. According to tradition it was brought into position by being moved up an incline four miles long. It seems that forced labour was employed on such works. The principal roads were carefully maintained. The particulars thus briefly summarized give an impression that the administrative system was well thought out and reasonably efficient. The important place given to the village assemblies assured the central government of considerable popular support, and individuals probably submitted readily to the orders of their fellow villagers who had the force of public opinion behind them. The system appears to have died out along with the Chola dynasty early in the fourteenth century, and ever since that distant time has been quite extinct.

Chola art. The story of south Indian art, meaning by that term architecture and sculpture, because few paintings of significance have survived,\(^1\) is of special interest, inasmuch as the art appears to be wholly of native growth, untouched by foreign influence, and to have moved slowly through a long course of natural evolution. The early works of art, executed in impermanent materials, have perished utterly and cannot be described. But beyond all doubt they existed in large numbers and were the foundation of more enduring works. The artists who designed the Pallava temples and wrought the sculptures on the rocks of Māmallapuram were not novices. They had served their apprenticeship, and when the call came to them to express their ideas in imperishable forms of stone they brought to bear on the new problem the skill acquired by generations of practice. The art of the Chola period is the continuation of that of Pallava times. No violent break separates the two stages. The changes which occurred took place gradually by a process of spontaneous development.

\(^1\) M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has noted some faint traces of Pallava frescoes. A fine series of paintings executed in the fifth century exists at Sīgiriya in Ceylon (H.F.A., pls. iviii–lx). Recently some fine Chola murals have been revealed in the Great Temple of Tanjore.
The earliest Chola temple described hitherto is that at Dāddāpuram in the South Arcot District dating from the tenth century. The best known examples of Chola architecture, the huge temples of Tanjore and Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, are slightly later in date. Their design pleases the eye because the lofty tower over the shrine dominates the whole composition. In later Chola art the central shrine was reduced to insignificance, while endless labour was lavished on mighty gopurams or gateways to the temple enclosure, as at Chidambaram. The result, although imposing, is unsatisfying.

The Hindu temples of Ceylon seem to belong to the school of the earlier Cholas, as exemplified in comparatively small buildings. The figure sculpture in the panels of the Gangaikonda-Cholapuram temple is of high quality and recalls the best work in Java. Similar sculptures are to be seen elsewhere.

Religion. The Chola kings, apparently without exception, were votaries of the god Śiva, but as a rule were tolerant of the other sects in the normal Indian manner. Sometimes, however, they violated the good custom, as when a Chola army destroyed the Jain temples in the Hoysala country, and a Chola king drove Rāmānuja into exile.

The dynasty is said to have patronized Tamil literature.

The Pāndya kingdom. The remaining Tamil powers—the Pāndya and Chera—require little notice. In the seventh century, Hiuen Tsang, who did not personally visit the Pāndya country, gives no information about the character of the government, nor does he name the capital, which must have been Madura. The Pāndya Rājā at that time presumably was tributary to the Pallavas of Kāṇchi. Buddhism was almost extinct, the ancient monasteries being mostly in ruins. He was informed that near the east side of the capital the remains of the monastery and stūpa built by Aśoka’s brother, Mahendra, were still visible. It is to be feared that search for the site is not now likely to be successful. No attempt has been made so far to trace Buddhist monuments in the Pāndya kingdom. Hindu temples were then numerous, and the nude Jain sect had multitudes of adherents.

Persecution of the Jains. Very soon after Hiuen Tsang’s stay in the south, the Jains of the Pāndya kingdom suffered a terrible persecution at the hands of the king variously called Kūna, Sundara, or Nedumāran Pāndya, who originally had been a Jain and was converted to faith in Śiva by a Chola queen. He signalized his change of creed by atrocious outrages on the Jains who refused to follow his example. Tradition avers that 8,000 of them were impaled. Memory of the fact has been preserved in various ways, and to this day the Hindus of Madura, where the tragedy took place, celebrate the anniversary of ‘the impalement of the Jains’ as a festival (utsava).\(^1\)

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1 I think it probable that Mahendra undertook the conversion of Ceylon from his base at Madura, and not at all in the manner described in the Buddhist ecclesiastical legends.

The later Pândyas. The Pândya chiefs fought the Pallavas without ceasing, and at the close of the ninth century joined the Cholas in inflicting on their hereditary enemies a decisive defeat. The Pândyas also engaged frequently in war with Ceylon. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were obliged unwillingly to submit to the Chola suzerainty, but in the thirteenth century they regained a better position, and might be considered the leading Tamil power when the Muslim attacks began in 1310. After that time they gradually sank into the position of mere local chiefs.

Marco Polo’s visit. A glimpse of the Pândya kingdom in the days of its revival is obtained from the pages of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who visited Kāyal on the Tāmraparni twice, in 1288 and 1293. That town was then a busy and wealthy port, frequented by crowds of ships from the Arabian coast and China, in one of which the Venetian arrived. He describes Kāyal (Cael) as ‘a great and noble city’, where much business was done. The king possessed vast treasures and wore upon his person the most costly jewels. He maintained splendid state, showed favour to merchants and foreigners so that they were glad to visit his city, and administered his realm with equity.

In consequence of the gradual elevation of the land, Old Kāyal is now two or three miles from the sea. Traces of ancient habitations may be discerned for miles, but the site is occupied only by a few miserable fishermen’s huts. It would be difficult to find a more striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune. Many ruined buildings must be hidden beneath the sands, but no serious attempt to excavate the locality has been made. Several Jain statues have been noticed both at Kāyal and at the still more ancient neighbouring site of Korkai.

The Chera kingdom. Little is known about the details of the medieval history of the Chera kingdom, which was subject to the more powerful members of the Chola dynasty. The conquest was the first military operation on a large scale undertaken in the reign of Rājarāja Chola, about A.D. 990. The kingdom ordinarily included the greater part of the modern Travancore State. Village assemblies exercised extensive powers, as in the Chola territory. The Kollam or Malabar era of A.D. 824–5, as commonly used in inscriptions, seems to mark the date of the foundation of Kollam or Quilon.

SELECTED DATES

A.D.
c. 600–25. Mahendra-varman Pallava (cave-temples, &c.).
608–42. Pulakesin II Châhuksya.
c. 610. Eastern Châhuksya dynasty of Vengi founded.
c. 620. Defeat of Harsha of Kanauj by Pulakesin.
c. 625–45. Narasimha-varman Pallava (rathas, reliefs, &c.). Kûne (alias Sundara or Nedumâran) Pândya, who impaled the Jains, was contemporary.

A.D. 640. Hiuen Tsang at Kânci.
641. Hiuen Tsang at the court of Pulakesin.
642. Defeat and deposition of Pulakesin by Narasimha-varman Pallava.
740. Defeat of Pallavas by Châlukyas.
757. Overthrow of Early Châlukyas by the Râshtrakûtas.
c. 760. Krishna I Râshtrakûta, acc.; Kailâsa temple at Ellora

C. 815-77. Amoghavarsha Râshtrakûta.
907. Parântaka I Chola, acc.
973. Taila founded second Châlukya dynasty of Kalyâni.
c. 983. Colossal Jain statue at Sravana Belgola.
985. Râjarâja Chola, acc.
c. 1023. Expedition of Râjendra Choladeva to Bengal.
1052 or 1053. Battle of Koppam; Cholas defeated by Châlukyas.
1076-1126. Vikramânka or Vikramâditya Châlukya.
c. 1110-41. Bittiga or Vishnu-vardhana Hoysala; Râmânuja.
c. 1160-7. Bijjala usurper; Lingâyat sect founded.
1288, 1293. Marco Polo visited Kâyal.
1310. Invasion by Malik Kâfûr.
1318. Harapâla Yâdava slain alive.
1326-7. Destruction of Dorasamudra and the Hoysala power.
1336. Foundation of Vijayanagar.

AUTHORITIES


Among more recent works D. C. Sircar's Successors of the Sātavāhanas (Calcutta, 1939) treats of the early Deccan dynasties ably and in great detail. On the Vâkâtakas the most recent study is that of A. S. Altekar in New History of the Indian People vol. vi (see above, p. 189). A detailed monograph on the Châlukya dynasties is badly needed and is expected shortly from G. C. Raychaudhuri. The Râshtrakûtas have been ably handled by A. S. Altekar (Râshtrakûtas and their Times, Poona, 1934), whose work gives valuable information on social and economic conditions in the medieval Deccan. On the Pallavas the most important recent works are those of R. Gopalan (History of the Pallavas of Kânci, Madras, 1928) and C. Manakshi (Administrative and Social Life under the Pallavas, Madras, 1938). A very detailed monograph on the Kadambas is The Kadamba Kula of G. M. Naras (Bombay, 1931). On the extreme south the works of K. N. Nilakanta Sastri deserve special mention as among the most scholarly of those of any Indian historian. His The Colas (2nd ed., Madras, 1955), and his Pandyan Kingdom (London, 1939), practically supersede all earlier works on the two dynasties. His History of South India has now been published, and the recent History of India (vol. i, Madras, 1950) treats of the south Indian dynasties in much greater detail than any work of similar size hitherto published. On the Hoysalas a detailed study by J. D. M. Derry will appear shortly. The Eastern or Orissan Gangas together with lesser dynasties of Orissa are thoroughly studied in R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa (2 vols., Calcutta, 1931).