

tical power and status had come into existence. The writer of the Śukranīti-sāra gives us a list of these, beginning from the humblest of feudatories to a fully sovereign political authority. These are:—

Revenue in Kāṣas					
1. The Sāmanta	...	1	lac	to	3 lacs
2. Māṇḍalika	...	3	lacs	„	10 „
3. Rājan	...	10	„	„	20 „
4. Mahārāja	...	20	„	„	50 „
5. Svarāṭ	...	50	„	„	100 „
6. Samrāṭ	...	1	crore	„	10 crores
7. Virāṭ	...	10	crores	„	50 „
8. Sarvabhauma or Universal Monarch.					

These princes went on warring and anarchy was the natural consequence. Fully conscious of the evils of such a system, Śukra like the great writers of the past believed in the omnipotent service of the state and he extols the service of the monarch to the cause of society, since according to him, without a king society would perish “like a boat in the high seas.”

A state according to him, has seven elements, e.g., the king (head), the minister (eye) the ally (ear), the army (mind), the fort (arms), and the territory and the people (legs). The king as the head of the body politic was the source of social progress and prosperity. A good king was the counterpart of the gods while a bad king was a demon. In this conception of royalty the author relies on the epic tradition and following it draws out the parallellism between the royal functions and those of the respective gods. He also emphasises the epic idea that a good king combined in himself all the functions and virtues of a father, mother,

preceptor, protector, friend, the lord of wealth and the god of death. Such being the concept of royalty, the author proceeds to regard the king as the most responsible public servant of the community and, following Kautilya and the great writers, not only lays down his qualities and qualifications but also a time-table and daily routine for the king.

According to him, the king should maintain his hold upon his family, and find out responsible posts of honour for his uncles, brothers and sons, taking care to train up his eldest son in the art of government. There should be amity in the family and future wars and partitions of the kingdom should be avoided (I. 344-46).

The king should do nothing without asking first of all the opinion of his advisers or the great officers of the king. These latter should at least be ten in number e.g. (see Ch. II. 69. &c.).

1. The High Priest or Purodhas—the ecclesiastical adviser, a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, in military science, in politics and in war.
2. The Regent or Pratinidhi—who was the most trusted private adviser of the king.
3. The Chief Minister or Pradhāna—who was to supervise all the departments.
4. The Saciva—who was the war minister versed in the military science.
5. The Mantrin—a man well read in politics and who was to advise in political matters.
6. The Prādvivāk—who was the judge.
7. The Paṇḍita—well versed in the Dharmaśāstras.

8. The Sumantaka—who was in charge of revenue matters, income and expenditure.
9. The Amātya—who was versed in the knowledge of customs and usages of the country.
10. The Dūta—or the personally accredited agent of the king who was to be sent out to negotiate treaties and alliances.

Under these officials forming the central executive (of officials who might change their portfolios) the government of the country was to be organised. Villages should be placed under a village officer and the village administration should be carried on by the village tax-gatherer, the clerk, the collector of tolls as well by the news writer. Towns should have such a set of officials. Over each village group there should be a Nāyaka, over ten Nāyakas a Nṛsāmanta—over Nṛsāmantas a Sāmanta and so on. Officials were to be paid either in cash or in land but hereditary interests should not be allowed to grow. All royal officials should wear distinctive badges and all articles belonging to the king should bear royal signs.

The army should be properly trained and remain under a gradation of officers, distinguished by privileges and insignia of office, but soldiers should not be employed in civil administration. High officials should be selected from the members of the higher castes. A Brahmin should be a village-officer, a Kṣatriya should be a tax-gatherer, a Vaisya a collector of tolls, a clerk should be a Kāyastha while menials should be recruited from the Śūdras. In the army commands should be given to Kṣatriyas or in the absence of qualified Kṣatriyas to Brahmins (II 426-433).

The king should take care that his sole suzerain authority and sovereignty is fully consolidated and there should be no one to question this sovereign power (*sadaikanāyakaṃ kuryāt na bahunāyakaṃ* I. 340). He should supervise everything personally, look to the business of every department and make an annual tour of inspection through villages, towns and districts (I. 374). Government officials should be carefully watched and spies should gather information about them. Royal officials should reside in villages and towns, and the king should make it a point to support the people as against his own servants (*na bhṛtyapakṣapāti syāt prajāpakṣaṃ samāśrayet* I. 175). He should even dismiss an official if he is accused by a hundred subjects (*prajāśatena sandiṣṭaṃ tyajed adhi-kāriṇaṃ*) and do the same regarding an Amātya who goes astray.

In addition to maintaining peace and administering justice impartially, the king should do his best to construct roads and build serais where new-comers should be allowed to rest after proper examination of their *bona fides*. To protect peace and maintain order, gambling, drinking, hunting and the bearing of arms should be controlled and watched. Medical practitioners were to be watched and all legal and commercial transactions were to be registered by state officials. The sale of slaves was also to be registered. The deceitful use of false weights and the adulteration of food-stuffs were to be punished while ruffians and law-breakers were to be suppressed mercilessly.

In addition to the discharge of mere police functions, the king, according to the Śukranīti, was to discharge

active social duties, calculated to maintain and improve the moral and material condition of his subjects. He was to encourage agriculture, patronise learning and reward merit. A large amount of royal income ($\frac{1}{4}$?) was to be spent in charity.

In regard to revenue and expenditure, Śukra has many new things to say. Like all the classical writers he recognises the importance of the treasury since on it depended the army and on that the prosperity of the kingdom (IV. 14), and every means should be employed in filling the treasury (IV. 2), only taking care that the people did not suffer from oppression and in that case the king suffered from the consequences of sins (IV. 4-19). The sources of taxation were as of old. (a) Tax on the produce of cultivation of the soil, and this item Śukra raised from one-sixth to one-half (IV. 113-116). (b) Tax on minerals which is one-half in the case of gold. (c) Tax on cattle-rearers. (d) Tax on capitalists, users, shopkeepers and the labour of artisans. (e) Road-cess. (f) Toll on articles of commerce which was to vary from one-thirty-second ($\frac{1}{32}$) to one-sixteenth. (g) Ferries. (h) Judicial fines. (i) Tributes from subordinate princes. (j) Escheats, interests, casual dues and miscellaneous items.

Every year grain and corn were to be kept in stock sufficient for the needs of three years and every year the old stock was to be consumed and new stock made (IV. 26-30). Stocks of all other articles were to be kept. Peasants were to hold royal *pattas*. In times of war and emergency, the king was to exact the hoarded wealth of the rich taking care to return with interest when prosperity returned (IV. 10).

In regard to expenditure Śukra has some original ideas. He calls upon the king to keep half the revenue in the treasury. One-fourth should be devoted to the army, one-twelfth should go to remunerate officials, one-twentyfourth should be the expenses of the king and his family, one-twentyfourth the salaries of high officials while one-twenty-fourth each should be devoted to charity and popular entertainment. Annual budgets should be made.

In regard to royal servants, they were to get decent wages (II. 363) with agreements relating to work and payment, since lower wages turned servants into real enemies. They were to receive leaves and holidays. In cases of illness, they were to get leaves on $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the pay drawn by them. Men with forty years' service were to get pensions equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the salary enjoyed by them, while in cases of premature death, their wives and children were to receive pensions. In cases of appoved services, bonuses were to be paid and honour conferred on trusted servants.

In regard to war and foreign policy there is nothing new worthy of mentioning.

Contemporary with the Śukranīti and in some cases later than its composition, other works on Nīti came into existence. Of these the more prominent were the Rājanīti-ratnākara and the Rājanītiprakāsa by the author of the Viramītrodaya. Mediæval Hindu princes patronised Nīti writers and the practice of compiling *Nibandhas* on law and politics continued upto the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore under whose patronage the Vivādārnava-setu was composed by ten pundits.

Political Ideals in the Inscriptions—Like the Nīti

literature the inscriptions help us in forming an idea of the political ideals of the age. Written by court-poets and dignitaries and very often containing inelegant hyperbole and meaningless exaggerations, these inscriptions at least bring before us the ideals which floated before the minds of the people as to the duties and functions of the king, and the end and aim of royal Government. Numerous as they are, they contain passages glorifying the achievements of great kings and their conception of the duties they owed to their subjects. In this respect they are of great value to us and show how in the midst of wars and perennial conflicts for dominion, the princes of India had not altogether forgotten the traditions of the past.

The high idealism reflected by the Andhra inscriptions, especially those of Gautamīputra has already been described. That king prides himself on his protection of all, the tolerance of all creeds and his policy of refraining from all unjust taxation in addition to his great wisdom which saved India from the domination of foreigners and various indigenous enemies. The inscriptions of the Saka Usavādāta show how this prince though originally a foreigner came to be actuated by the higher ideals of Indian ethics and by the precepts of Hinduism. The Girnar Inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rudradāman speaks in the same strain. The Saka ruler prides himself upon his being "elected by all the castes," his high conception of regal duty, his efforts for the good of the people, "his habitual repudiations of unjust exactions like the *Prāṇayas*," his clemency towards his enemies and his determination to take no human life except in war. Next to these—some of the Gupta Inscriptions

throw a flood of light on the principles of good government as well as on the high ideal of regal and ministerial duty. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta describes the king as the equal (*Samah*) [worldly counterpart?] of the great deities, namely, Dhanada or Kuvera, Indra, Varuṇa, and Antaka or Yama. This was clearly an echo of the sacerdotal concept of royalty found in the epics and the Smṛtis. Similar idealism is found in Kumāragupta's Bhilsad Inscription (G.I. p. 44), the Bhithari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (G.I. p. 54) and the Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II (G.I. p. 28; cf. धनद-वरुणोन्द्रान्तकसमस्य) Samudragupta is also described as a god dwelling on earth though he was a mortal only in celebrating the rites and observances of mankind (G.I. p. 15).

These are indications of the glorification of royalty, which had gained ground in India. But perhaps the best expression to the contemporary idealism regarding the type of good government is found in the Girnar Inscription of Skandagupta, and there it is laid down that while the king (who had to fight continuously for his partimony with foreign enemies) ruled, there was in his kingdom no man devoid of Dharma, no one who was disheartened nor one who suffered from wants (G.I. p. 62; तस्मिन् नृपे शासति नैव कश्चित् धर्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु । श्रातों दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दसडेन नवा यो सुशपीडितः स्यात्) an echo of the idealism found in one of the oldest Upanisads as well as in the Great epic (cf. Śānti, ch. 77 न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः । नानाहिताग्निनायज्वा माप्रकान्तरमाविशः ॥) where the king of Kekaya describes his own government. Next to the Ideals of royal duty some more light is thrown

on ministerial duty and the knowledge of the art of government. Thus in the Girnar Inscription an ideal minister is described as well versed in the four branches of policy, e.g., acquisition of wealth, protection of things acquired and their bestowal on the worthy (cf. the four aims laid down by Kauṭilya). The good minister is described as being endowed with the highest qualities and qualifications free from all temptations (सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्धबुद्धिः cf. सर्वोपधाशुद्धान् मद्रिणः कुर्वीत) and not only engaged in doing good to humanity but also discharged from moral liabilities by his performance of duties (आखुरयभावोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्यहिते प्रवृत्तः).

Some of the Inscriptions praise ministers like Śāva and Vīrasena or a governor like Parnadatta or his son Cakrapālita, many of whom were hereditary servants of the dynasty. Śāva speaks of his obtaining the office of *Sāndhivigrahika* through hereditary claim. (अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यव्यापृत सान्धिविग्रहः—See Udayagiri, G.I. p. 35).

The Mandasore Inscription describes the high social and political ideals of the members of the autonomous guilds of Daśapura. The members of the guild not only distinguished themselves by their excellence in technical skill but also in the higher sciences as well as in the art of war.

Vākāṭakas—The few Vākāṭaka Inscriptions which mainly dwell upon the high descent of these princes, or the performance of the Aśvamedha, Rajasūya and Vājapeya or the patronage of Brahmins are not silent on the duties or ideals of kings. Thus Vākāṭka Pravarasena compares himself with Yudhisthira and in one inscription (I.A. II 243) glorifies his Dharmavijya. In other inscriptions, the great personal qualities of these princes are extolled.

The Valabhī Inscriptions not only glorify the great learning and skill of these rulers, but speak repeatedly of their subjects and their regard for the rules of morality. Thus in regard to Droṇa-siṃha, it is mentioned that he followed the laws of Manu and the sages and was devoted like Yudhiṣṭhira to the path of Dharma. (मानवादिप्रणीतविधिविधान धर्मा धर्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्था— G.I. no. 38).

Dharasena's intellectual attainments are repeatedly mentioned while he is compared with Dharmarāja (I.A.V. 275). Other kings like Guhasena prided themselves upon their protection of the weak, the preservation of religions grants and upon averting calamities befalling subjects.

We find the same idealism in the inscriptions of the kings of the South. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II extols the king's attainments, conquests and services to the cause of religion and learning. He was the abode of truth (Satyā-śraya) and checked the wickedness of the Kali age (E.I. XVIII. p. 260).

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kriṣṇa speaks of his government being based on truth (I.A. XIII. 66-68). He never oppressed his subjects (I.A. XIII. p. 281).

An inscription of Vikramāditya Calukya (E.I. XIII. 173) speaks of his suppression of the wicked and the protection of the righteous. Another inscription describes a prince as a Brhaspati in the Kali age and a Kauṭilya to his enemies (I.A. XVI. p. 30). Western Calukya inscriptions speak in the same strain. The kings are identified with Yudhiṣṭhira (I.A. XVI. p. 35).

The Pallavas do the same thing. Thus in the Sanskrit Inscription of Viṣṇugopa he is described not only as virtuous and well versed in good government but also as one who had assumed royalty merely as an ascetic with the vow of ruling and maintaining subjects according to Dharma (प्रवृद्धधर्मेसम्बन्धस्य प्रजापालनदक्षस्य प्रजापालनसंरक्षणोद्यतसतत सत्तव्रतदीक्षितस्य I.A. V. 51-52). The Pallava Rājasimha (S. II. I. Kanchi Inscription) is described as one who resembled Manu by his deeds. He also claimed to have destroyed the pride of Kali; subdued lust and other internal enemies and was ever devoted to truth, and the *Trivarga*. (Parmamali Ins. Mad. rep. 1916). Dharma thrived under him while sin decayed. The Pallava Paramesvara-varman II speaks sincerely of his conquest of Kali and claimed to have ruled according to Manu and Brhaspati (Kasakkudi Plates).

A lord of Cikura speaks of his having followed the path of past kings like Dilīpa, Bhagīratha, Rāma etc. (I.A. XIII. p. 106). Other princes speak in the same strain. Mahārāja Avinita describes his kingly rule as being made solely with the desire of governing people righteously (सम्यक् प्रजापालनं माताधिगतं राज्यप्रयोजनस्य I.A. V. 38 &c).

The Eastern Calukya Ammarāja boasts that his kingdom was full of well-ripened grains, that the cows yielded milk and that the land was free from calamities, distress and fears (S. I.I. p. 49). The real significance of the two words *ammā* (mother) and *rājan* (king) united in his name. Bhima of the same family boasted that for thirty years he ruled "like a mother," granted the fruits of their desire to the distressed, helpless and the sick and associated himself with the twice-born, ascetics and poets. (E.I. XVII.

p. 234). Vallala Viṣṇuvardhana speaks of his complete protection of the Śūdras and women (I.A. II. 296).

The Colas speak in the same strain. Thus Vikrama Cola, the merciless conqueror, boasts that he followed the laws of Manu and protected all his subjects like a sweet mother (E.I.I. III pt. 2. p. 184). In the inscriptions of Bengal and Assam we find the same ideas. The suppression of *Mātsyanyāya* is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of Dharmapala and Bhāskaravarman. Prominent Pāla kings are compared to Prthu, Rāma and other great heroes. Nārāyaṇapāla's gifts are compared with those of Karna, the Epic hero. Bhāskaravarman is compared with Śivi for bounty and with Brhaspati for knowledge. The Assam king Indrapāla is assigned thirty-two titles. Samācāradeva of Bengal is likened to Yayāti, Nahuṣa and Ambariṣa.

The Poets—We pass on next to the writings of the poets and authors of the classical literature for information regarding their political ideals which are certainly the reflections of the period during which they lived. Thus, the writings of Bhāsa whose date still remains disputed has something to say on contemporary ideas on politics and political ideals. Bhāsa believes in the traditional social order, extols *Dharma* and honours the Brāhmaṇas. The *Avimāraka* points out the importance of espionage and secrecy in deliberation. The king feels the heavy burden of royal responsibility while his ministers lament their sad lot since they gained little for their successful projects but were liable to be denounced if their plans miscarried. Yaugandharāyana's loyalty appeals to all even now. Duryodhana in the *Dūtavākya*m extols the value of

supreme domination over all which is to be won by the sword alone.

When we come to Kālidāsa, we find the great author well-versed in the teachings of the Arthaśāstra. The education of an heir-apparent as described in the *Raghuvamśa* shows the poet's intimate knowledge of the contemporary art of government. Some of his dramas like the *Mālavikāgnimitra* are realistic, but little information as to real politics is available from these. The only point which interests us is the reference to the *Mantripariṣat* under the Mitras or Suṅgas. Elsewhere, while a picture of real politics is wanting, the high idealism of the period relating to the concept of regal duty is clearly reflected in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Śakuntalā*. These books show that Kālidāsa was a believer in the paternal ideal of kingship in as much as he describes the king as the real father of his subjects, though their parents begat them (*sa pitā pitarastāsām kevalam janmahetavaḥ*). The king, maintained by the grant of one-sixth, (*ṣaṣṭhāṃśavṛttiḥ*) was to toil for others, devoid of personal pleasures (*svasukha-nirbhilāṣaḥ khidyase lokahetoḥ*). He was ever saddled (*aviśramo lokatantrādhikaraḥ*) and suffered from his great responsibilities like the weight of the umbrella held by the hand, which gave shade to many (*rājyam svahastadhṛta-daṇḍamivāta-patram*). All these ideals are clearly and beautifully put in the mouth of the herald who sings the praise of the king. (*Śakuntalā* Act. V). Like most of the classical writers Kālidāsa was a believer in universal dominion but as the real meaning of imperialism was forgotten in his days, he extols the traditional Aśvamedha and the satisfaction of the con-

queror with the submission and tribute of weak kings. This type of conquest he applauds as the real *Dharmavijaya*.

Bhāravi—who belonged to the 6th century A.D. attempted to give an exposition of the art of government in his *Kirātārjunīyam*. But he has nothing original in his epic. The art of government to him was nothing but the means of consolidation of internal sovereignty and the subjugation of enemies. He extols the importance of the army and espionage and the different ways of attaining political objectives (*viz.*, *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *daṇḍa*).

Daṇḍin—an intelligent and forceful writer of no mean versatility, gives us a picture of the real politics in his *Daśakūmaracarita*. As has been pointed out by Dr. Shamasastri, the author had an intimate knowledge of the *Kauṭīliya* and he makes a clear display of the means and tactics employed in contemporary politics. He exposes the inherent weakness of the courts where intrigues played a very prominent part, but he extols the value of the higher knowledge of *Dharma* and political science and emphasises the importance of education and moral discipline in princes. The acquisition of wealth contributed to the consolidation of royal power and might in his days was the basis of sovereign authority. Kings must exert themselves to outwit enemies and to consolidate authority by constant watchfulness and with the loyalty of subjects.

The *Vāsavdattā* of Subandhu is dominated by the idealism of the day and the author makes King *Cintāmaṇi* the embodiment of all virtues, social and political. In it he has very little to say about practical politics.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa—Subandhu's close successor, and a writer of extraordinary literary talent, shows his intimate knowledge of the art of government. But remarkable as he is in his literary merits he displays very little originality in political matters. Harṣa was his hero and he extols his military exploits, sporadic conquests and his meaningless charity after the imitation of Aśoka on whose life he had modelled that of his own. Bāṇa shows his worldly wisdom in the advice given by the minister Śukanāsa to Candrāpīḍa, and he points out the evils to which a young prince is liable to be a prey and the resultant consequences. His views on the art of government do not differ from those of his contemporaries but his denunciation of the consolidation of sovereignty after the Kauṭīliyan ideal shows how the decay of Indian political genius had brought in a mentality which extolled meaningless wars for the attainment of a temporary exaltation by powerful kings, without working for the foundation of a consolidated empire strong enough to save India from the attacks of foreign enemies.

A large number of other writers appeared on the eve of India's political downfall but they have nothing new in them. Even king Harṣa figured as a dramatist but there is very little information on political life and ideals. The author of *Bhaṭṭikāvya* has nothing remarkable to his credit, while Bhavabhūti extols Rama's extreme devotion to his subjects' interest and this compels him to banish Sītā, his beloved. Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, is an epic with traditional ideals and the poet gives an exposition of the ways and means enabling kings to overcome their enemies

at home and abroad. Conquest, domination of the Maṇḍala and the outwitting of enemies by all possible means are the main things which occupy his attention. The *Mudrārākṣasa* attributed to Viśākhadatta similarly extols the genius of Cāṇakya and incidentally gives an exposition of a game of successful intrigue, espionage and counter-espionage attributed to Cāṇakya. He presents to us a political order characterized by an absence of scruples and by universal suspicion. The Cāṇakya of *Mudrārākṣasa* is a super-machiaval and not the great Indian political philosopher whose remarkable foresight, constructive genius and wide outlook does honour to any country or any age. Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa's *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, though stirring and forceful in its diction has a narrow view of politics.

The Kashmir poet Kṣemendra in his *Brhatkathā-mañjarī*, *Bhārata-mañjarī* and *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī* preserves nothing but the older ideas and ideals. He extols the traditional ideas of society, eulogises the importance of kingship and refers to the election of Manu as king. His picture of the administrative system does not materially differ from that in the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras. In his *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, he extols instances of virtue and has very little to say on politics. There are numerous other works but very little historical or political data is obtainable from them. The *Naisadhacarita* of the poet Śrī-Harṣa discusses political matters but only in a conventional way.

The story literature of which the best extant examples are the Kathāsarit-sāgara of Somadeva, the *Brhatkathā-mañjarī* and the Jain Kathākoṣa describe only the con-

ventional ideas and state of affairs. The Kathāsaritsāgara contains many romantic stories but otherwise it throws no important light on the period. Occasionally, acts of tyranny or high-handedness of kings are mentioned. The romantic and didactic elements predominate in all of these books. The Jain Kathākoṣa, however, extols the spiritual element in life.

Historical Works—Next, we have a number of historical and biographical works of the mediæval Hindu period, and of these the more important are Bilhana's Vikramāṅka-deva-carita, Kalhana's Rājataranginī, Meruṭuṅgācārya's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, the Rāma-carita of Sandhyākara Nandin and the Nava-sāhasāṅkadeva-carita by Padmagupta. But these writers do not throw any new light on the political conditions of the day, except extolling the virtues of the heroes selected by them like Vikramāditya of Kalyan, Jayasingha Siddharaja or Rāmapāla of Bengal, who are described as possessing all conceivable moral qualities. They are all munificent towards Brahmins, patrons of learning and kind to their subjects. All these heroes are credited with great conquests and are great fighters. Leniency and charity to subjects, patronage to Brahmins and poets and remission of taxes are eulogised in the case of each king and we find echoes of paternalism.

But Kalhana preserved a truly realistic account of things and his account of tyrants already given cause pain and indignation to his readers (see Supra Bk. X). The maxims of Lalitāditya are those of a crafty tyrant while the horrible fiscal tyranny or acts of cruelty attributed to rulers like Unmattāvanti, Diddā or Harṣa show clearly

that in spite of the injunctions of the Śāstras, tyranny had ceased to have any limitations.

Political ideals in the Purāṇas—Next to the inscriptions and works on Nīti, the Purāṇas contain much of the tradition and ideals of the period. They are, as is well known, eighteen in number and contain the traditional account of creation, the early history of mankind, the reign of the Manus, genealogies of the sages and mythical kings, history of the various dynasties that ruled in different parts of India in addition to philosophical matters like the causes that will lead to the destruction of the world and the ways of attainment of salvation. They inculcate the importance of Bhakti and extol the greatness of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Surya, as well as some other deities or their incarnations.

These are their general contents, but in addition they contain chapters on various subjects. Some Purāṇas devote attention to grammar and literature, others devote sections to medicine while not a few of them have something to say on the art of war, the right conduct for kings or the true ways of maintaining the social order. In regard to these, much information is available from the Agni, Vāyu, Matsya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas.

Without going through the contents of each of these Purāṇas, it will be best for us to summarise their main teachings on polity and sociology. To begin with the traditional account of creation, we find that all the Purāṇas postulate more or less the existence of an ideal state of nature. This was in the Kṛta or Satya Yuga when men delighted in virtue, respected each others' rights, had no wants and were free from sorrow and diseases. This is

found in the Brhaddharma Purāṇa which after describing the existence of an ideal state of nature marks the social decline coming with the Tretā and the following Yugas. According to the *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma Purāṇas*, men were in the primitive ideal stage supported by Kalpavṛkṣas while according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the wants of men were supplied by the Siddhis. But when men became sinful they had to work for their food and necessities of life. Some of the Purāṇas go further and hold like the *Vāyu* that in this ideal condition there were no distinction of the high and the low.

Gradually, the Satya Yuga passed away and people began to fall foul with each other. They became greedy and lascivious, and to maintain social order, kingship was instituted at the instance of Brahman the Almighty. Conventions and rules were made and the conduct of kings, Brāhmaṇas and the other castes laid down. King Veṇa proved unrighteous, mixed the castes, oppressed the virtuous, forbade religious practices and had to be killed by the Ṛṣis. Out of his body Prthu arose. He was made king and ruled righteously. The story of Veṇa is contained in all the Purāṇas and go to prove that though the king is regarded as the upholder of moral order, tyranny justifies his deposition and death. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, while it denounces Veṇa's tyranny, extols the virtue of Prthu.

All the *Purāṇas* uphold the traditional social ideal, and extol the Brahmin and his social privileges. They all hold Dharma to be the basis of moral order and the maintenance of Dharma is vested in the king. The royal office

is highly extolled and the king is described as the mundane counterpart of the great gods or the Lokapālas. Without the king's exercise of the regal functions moral order will pass away and anarchy or war come into existence. So a king should be obeyed, and to oppose him is a sin. The Bhāgavata like the Manu Saṁhitā goes so far as to promulgate the doctrine of passive resistance. The state of anarchy which results from cessation of regal authority is described in some of the Purāṇas and in detail in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

The duties of the king are laid down by the *Purāṇas*. These may be summarised as follows :—

1. Maintenance of the social and moral order.
2. Protection of the kingdom from foreign enemies, protection of life and property at home and the impartial administration of justice according to law.
3. The patronage of Brahmins and ascetics, devotion to religion, performance of sacrifices, and the maintenance of widows, orphans and the sick.
4. Performance of acts of charity and devotion to the material progress of subjects.

King's Duties—The king according to all the *Purāṇas*, especially the Agni Purāṇa (which devotes a great part of its attention to polity) is the central figure in the body politic, the chief of the traditional seven elements of a state, and the fountain-head of authority and justice. He is to hold office for the public good. He should regard his life as a great vow and should hold on a dedicated existence. Protection is his highest duty and failure in his duties brings sin and a future life in hell for him. Through pro-

tection he obtains one-sixth of the merits of his subjects and through failure a sixth part of their sin. He is to have a daily routine of work, would look to business of every department, should hear the complaints of all, administer justice and hold his daily durbar. Free from vices and dissipations he should make it a point to win over the goodwill of his subjects. He should punish the wicked without mercy, safeguard his subjects from the oppression of his officers, should grant patronage to Brahmins and ascetics, build temples and endow divine worship. Last of all, he should feed the aged, the imbecile, the widow and the orphan. He should encourage agriculture and industry and see that under his government every one got an opportunity of living peacefully and earning his own livelihood. Brahmins should be respected, freed from taxes, and should be freed from corporal punishment. They should be also amply rewarded. The Agni Purāṇa goes so far as to say that $\frac{1}{2}$ of the revenue of the state should be distributed among the Brahmins.

Government according to the Agni Purāṇa—Almost all the Purāṇas devote chapters on the art of government, but of those the Agni Purāṇa enters into details, in the form of a dialogue between Agni and Vasiṣṭha. The king, according to it, is to regard his life as a continuous and unceasing vow for the welfare of subjects (Ch. 218).

As his existence is vital to the body politic, the throne shall never remain vacant and on the demise of a king his successor should be immediately announced, without any reference to auspicious or inauspicious moments or the laws of *Aśauca*. He is to be the central or basic element in the

state with its seven limbs and his business should be the rule of virtue and the regime of justice. By ruling righteously he becomes entitled to a sixth part of the religious merit of his subjects and the failure to do justice or rule righteously condemns him to hell. The king is to be a source of pleasure to subjects and his greatest wealth arises from out of the loyalty of his subjects (cf. Kau अनुरागे सार्वभौमम्). Protection and maintenance of subjects is his only sacrifice. He is to live for his subjects like a pregnant woman who takes food for the nourishment of the child in the womb (Chs. 223, 225). While extolling the king's services, the Purāṇa harps on the parallelism between the duties of the king and those of the gods (Ch. 226). The king is to learn the sciences which are the same as in the Arthaśāstra. The Agni Purāṇa, like the Arthaśāstra, gives us a daily routine of the king and advises him to appoint advisers and ministers. The Agni Purāṇa mentions among these, the Purohita, the Amātya, the Pratihāra, the Sāndhivigrahika, the Dhanādhyakṣa, the Durgādhyakṣa, the Astrādhyakṣa and other officials in charge of various departments, after ascertaining their qualities and weakness. He should maintain an efficient and powerful army, should guard his frontiers, appoint officers over single villages, groups of 10 and 100 villages and employ numerous spies in various garbs (Ch. 241). He should take care always to guard his person.

He should be on the alert to save his people from the oppression of enemies of peace, as well as from high-handed officials, especially the Kāyasthas. He should also make arrangements for the administration of justice both civil and criminal (Chs. 227, 253). The Purāṇa mentions the

eighteen heads of law and the eight limbs of justice (*aṣṭāṅga*). We have passages on the various heads of adjudication. We find rules of taking evidence and the mention of ordeals. Some passages bear upon the rights of labourers, and the law of usury (Ch. 253). Lastly, the *Purāṇa* echoes the traditional idea that if the king failed to find out the thief, he was to make good the loss of his subjects caused by thieves from his own treasury (Ch. 253-262), which is an echo of the view of the *Arthaśāstra*. In criminal law, barbarous punishments are found mentioned in the work (Ch. 227).

Discussing taxation, the *Purāṇa* extols the importance of *Koṣa* or treasury and points out that everything depends upon money. The items of taxation are mentioned but *Brahmaṇas* are exempted from all payments. Duty on articles of commerce was to be levied so as to keep some profits to merchants (Ch. 223). Mines were not to be exhausted recklessly. Laws to regulate the dealings of merchants and traders are found (Ch. 258). The adulteration of foodstuffs, dishonesty in commercial dealings, the use of false weights are to be severely punished. The regulation of profits and prices is enjoined in strong terms and is regarded as one of the primary duties of the king. Cornering or undue raising of prices was to be sternly checked (Ch. 258). All these clearly show the influence of the *Arthaśāstra*. The *Purāṇa* then mentions the *Vyasanas* of a kingdom and like the *Arthaśāstra*, it makes a distinction between *Daiva* and *Mānuṣa Vyasanas*. In connection with the first it mentions the catastrophes caused by fire, water, flood, disease, famine and pestilence. The chief

Vyasanās, according to the Purāṇa, are Rājyavyāsana, Mantrivyaśana, Sāmantavyāsana, Koṣavyāsana, Daṇḍavyāsana, Rāṣṭravyaśana, Durgavyāsana and Balavyāsana. It calls upon kings to remedy evils of all kinds by their exertions.

In regard to war and foreign policy, the Purāṇa contains some information. The army with its five sections (Maula, Bhṛtaka, Śreṇī, Suhrit, Āṭavika) must be well-organised while various kinds of forts are to be built. The various kinds of Vyūhas, as well as the way of dealing with an enemy are mentioned in detail. In all these matters we find the influence of the Arthaśāstra and the later Nīti literature. Weapons are mentioned while much attention is devoted to signs, portents, *mantras* and magical rites to ensure victory. In all these we find a great influence of astrology and a belief in signs and portents.

The Purāṇa mentions the Maṇḍala and gives us the traditional means of self-preservation and conquest (Ch. 244). The four kinds of diplomatic emissaries (e.g. Dūta, Nisrṣṭārtha, Mitārtha, Śāsanāharaka) are enumerated as well as sixteen kinds of treaties. It mentions the different aspects of state relations and gives directions as to the best ways of gaining success (Ch. 244). There is nothing new in these matters.

As in most works on the art of government, we find various other topics, namely, the building of towns and forts, notes on agriculture and manuring, dissertations on gems and metals, and other allied topics.

Jain Purāṇas—Many of the cosmological ideas found in the Purāṇas find place in Jain Purāṇas modelled on their

Hindu counterparts. The Jains postulate a number of creation-cycles and presuppose an ideal state of nature in the beginning of creation. The earliest age was an age of plenty, virtue and immortality, when all the wants of mankind were supplied by the Kalpa-Vṛkṣas. In course of time according to the Ādipurāṇa, these blessings became fewer and people elected Pratiśruti as the first Kulakara or patriarch. Gradually the Kalpa-trees became fewer and men's troubles became greater and at last the trees of gift disappeared. Social changes were introduced at the instance of successive patriarchs. Men's lives became artificial and instead of being above wants they had to exploit the earth. Rṣava-deva, the last patriarch divided men into three castes (Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras) and established six occupations. Social life sprang up, towns and villages were built, and as society became more and more complex, the principle of chastisement for wrong-doing was promulgated and Political existence came into being.

In the Jain Purāṇas, the theory of castes is rather different though modelled on that of the Puruṣa Sūkta. Brāhmaṇas are admitted as forming a separate caste, but the real Brāhmaṇa was one endowed with the highest qualities of a Jina. In the Uttara Purāṇa, there is nothing new. The Harivaṃśa, ascribes everything to Rṣabha-deva. In the Laghu-Arthanīti, the Jaina scholar Hemacandra inculcated upon the duties and obligation of kings. There is nothing new in it and only contemporary Hindu ideas find expression in it.

The Smṛtis and Nibandhas—In the later Smṛtis and Nibandhas, we find practically a continuance of old ideals.

Brhaspati has nothing new to say on the duties and obligations of kings, though his contributions to various branches of civil and commercial law, especially the law relating to corporations, guilds and joint-stock companies cannot be minimised.

Kātyāyana, though devoting the greatest part of his treatise to Vyavahāra or civil law, has little to say on the art of government. But a few of the verses attributed to him are of great importance. In these he eulogises the great service of kings to their subjects. The king was but the god Indra incarnating as a man for the good of humanity (सुराध्यक्षश्च्युतः स्वर्गात् नृपहमेण विप्रति).

His primary duties were, according to Kātyāyana, the protection of subjects and the chastisement of wrong-doers. He was to maintain the widow, the orphan and the aged without means. According to the law-giver the king was the *parens-patrae* of his subjects, *per excellence* being the "home of the homeless, the protector of those without protection, the son of the son-less and the father of the fatherless." Cf.

अनाथस्य नृपो नाथस्त्वगृहस्य नृपो गृहम् ।

अपुत्रस्य नृपः पुत्रो ह्यपितुः पार्थिवः पिता ॥

In lieu of this great social service the king was entitled to the usufructus of a sixth part of the produce of his subjects' fields in addition to other cesses and dues. He who did his duties properly was entitled to all this in lieu of his protection, but a king who failed to discharge his duties properly was a sinner (Appendix I to Kātyāyanamata-saṃgraha by the present author). Cf.

भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा नान्यद्रव्यस्य सर्व्वदा ।
 तत्फलस्य हि षड्भागं प्राप्नुयान्नान्यथैव तु ॥
 भूतानां तन्निवासित्वात् स्वामित्वं तेन कीर्तितम् ।
 तत्क्रिया वलिषड्भागम् शुभाशुभनिमित्तजम् ॥
 अन्यायेन हि यो राष्ट्रात् करं दण्डं च पार्थिवः ।
 शस्यभागं च शुल्कं चाप्याददीत स पापभाक् ॥

Nārada gives us the traditional account of the origin of royalty. He harps on the evils gaining ground in the world on account of the lapse of primeval *Dharma* and the eternal conflict of men. After describing the evils of *Mātsya-nyāya*, he points out that to save society from such troubles the king holds the rod of chastisement (*Danda-dhara*) and he alone among men was the lord of himself (*Asvatantra*). The right of ruling his subjects was acquired by the king by his *tapas* (*tapah-kṛitāḥ prajā rajñā*). He represented the prerogatives of the five great gods *i.e.*, Agni, Indra, Soma, Yama and Dhanada. Protection of subjects was his primary duty (*tasya dharmah prajā-rakṣā*) and this protection of subjects entitled him to exact taxes which were but his wages. (*balih sa tasya vihitah prajā-pālana-vetanam*).

Parāśara—There are other legal treatises, but unfortunately most of these books are fragmentary and they devote most of their attention to *Ācāra* and *Prāyaścitta*. The *Parāśara Smṛti* has very little to say on the political ideals or the administrative system. It deals mainly with *Ācāra*, *Asauca*, the duties of castes and their privileges.

The works of Vyāsa and Saṅkha-Likhita are fragmentary. The views of these are quoted by Nibandha writers, but there is very little information as to political life.

After these metrical Smṛties we have a large number of legal commentaries and Nibandhas which continue the old tradition together with later modifications and changes which are justified and supported by quotations from old texts including many from the purāṇas and upa-purāṇas. We have a large number of commentators on the Manu Samhitā of whom the more important are Govindarāja, Medhātithi and Kulluka. Of the commentators of Yājñavalkya, the most important name is that of Vijñāneśvara whose Mitākṣarā which has exercised a very great influence upon the later course of Hindu civil law and its authority is recognised to-day almost over the whole of India by British courts. The commentary of Aparārka, a Konkan prince of the 12th century is also worthy of note. The commentary Mitākṣarā has in its turn been commented upon and the Balambhaṭṭa Tīkā shows a great legal acumen. The commentary of Asahāya on the Nārada Smṛiti is an old work while we have a commentary, the Vaijayanti, on the Viṣṇu Smṛti, composed in the 17th century. In course of time, many more such commentaries have been written.

The Nibandhas were composed for the guidance of later princes, judges and administrators. Of these Nibandhas, the more important are the Parāśara Mādhavya attributed to Mādhavācārya of Vijayanagar (14th century), that of Jimūtabāhana whose Dāyabhāga is of great authority in Bengal, Smṛticandrikā of Devana Bhaṭṭa, the Viramitrodaya, a huge encyclopedia, of which portions are devoted to law and politics, attributed to Mitramisra, the volumes attributed to Candēśvara, Vācaspati Misra

and Raghunandana of Bengal as well as the Vyabahāra-mayukha, and the Nirayasinḍhu have exercised a great influence upon the later law courts and judicial administration. In all these Nibandhas, we have the old tradition in law and politics continued with some modifications. Everywhere, we find the king's authority extolled and his duty of maintaining his subjects and administering justice impartially are repeatedly laid down. The king's authority was unquestioned and there were no checks to his absolutism. But though everywhere we find the stereotyped political life, yet, works like the Rājanitiprakāśa, attributed to Mitramiśra draw our attention to the traditions and practices on the Vedic and Brāhmanic age. Already something has been said about the views of Mitramiśra on the accession and coronation of the king. (See page 204 part II). He gives a prominent place to the king's coronation oath.

Nibandhas as well as handbooks on the art of government continued to be composed during very late periods. A minister of the Nizam-shahi ruler of Ahmednagar wrote the Nrisinha-prasāda in the 16th century while as late as the 19th century, a work, the Vivādārnava-setu was composed by ten pandits of the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore. A prince of Panna patronised a pandit to publish a work of similar nature.

BOOK XII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION

I

Political Decline and Fall

Having traced the different phases of social and political evolution in India, we now pass on to the history of the decline and fall of Hindu political life. Even to the last days of Hindu independence, the intellectual activity of the people remained undisturbed but this could not arrest the impending political decay which ended with the conquest of India by the Mussalmans. As we have already indicated, perpetual disunion, the decay of the genius of consolidation, contempt for political unity and the predominance of clan or dynastic interest weakened the political structure in India. From the 7th century, the menace of victorious Islam became apparent, but still no great ruler appeared to unify the peoples of India under one sceptre. The reign of Harṣa saw the conquest of the Mekran coast and the first Arab raids on the western coast of India. About half a century later, Sindh passed to the Muslim invaders, welcomed and assisted by the local Buddhists. The progress of Islam was retarded for a time by a number of causes and circumstances but within two centuries the Turks of Ghazni, established on the north-western frontier, took up the task of conquer-

ing India. The genius of Mahmud annexed the Punjab and sent a thrill of horror throughout Hindustan by his lightning raids. Further progress eastward was retarded for some time on account of the weakness of the Ghaznivites themselves, but a century and a half later the task of conquering Hindustan was taken up by the sultans of Ghor. Resisted by the Rajput rulers of Northern India for a time, the Ghoris succeeded in setting one Rajput prince against another, and when the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja was slain at the second battle of Tarain the flood-gates of Islamic conquest were opened for ever and the tide of conquest swept over the whole of northern India. The Turki sultanate of Delhi was established and under these vigorous Turki rulers Islamic rule was consolidated practically all over northern India. The Deccan and the south resisted for about a century but with Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughlak all the rich yet enervated monarchies succumbed to the attacks of the Turki armies.

II

Political Downfall and its Causes

The causes of Indian downfall have been explored by many historians. Some have attributed it merely to the disintegrating influence of caste, some to the over-influence of religion and asceticism, some to the inherent weakness of the Hindu character as well as the enervation, both of body and mind arising out of a damp climate, some to the conflict of religions.

The subject is a complicated one and requires a careful analysis. Apparently, political disunion, savage internecine feuds and horrible reprisals on all sides had gone on for centuries and undermined the political frame of India. But the ground for disunion had been prepared by various causes and circumstances. From the earliest times, the desire for unification, social and political, and the establishment of homogeneity at all costs had been absolutely lacking. The jar of racial differences, and the conflict of antagonistic social ideals had all but contributed to a temporary settlement of divergences by means of compromises. The older type of imperialism aimed merely at hegemony and not the consolidation of one central political authority. In social and religious matters the same spirit of compromise predominated. Hence, there was an inherent looseness characterising both social and political fabric. Later social complexities and religious upheavals had added or contributed to this. From the 6th century B.C. the advent of strong imperialist statesmen and the teachers of the Arthaśāstra school, contributed to the holding up of the

ideal of a strongly centralised secular state as well as the establishment of an all-India empire. The Mauryas succeeded in uniting the whole country under their sceptre but the repentance and the pacificism of Aśoka undermined the fabric of the Imperial structure and his religious propaganda all but annihilated it. This brought about a foreign domination for three centuries and when there was a resuscitation of the Hindu powers, the idea of an all-India empire was never revived. As pointed out already, India came to be divided into a large number of political divisions each dominated by a strong suzerain power. In course of time, the number of such states multiplied and on the eve of the Mahomedan conquest, the clannish patriotism of the Rajputs did more harm than good to the country. Thus India lost her political unity and became a mere 'geographical expression.'

The spirit of local separatism became stronger every day. The number of petty dynasties multiplied and a feudal organisation dominated all the principalities. As pointed out already, the people ceased to take an active part in politics and the history of the period was simply the history of short-lived dynasties fighting for supremacy. Everything was left to the kings and to the masses were relegated the duty of producing the necessities of life, paying tribute to their masters and of obeying their commands implicitly. Whatever other activities they had, were confined to their own co-operative undertakings in the village-communities, the guilds and the municipalities. These liberties in their turn undermined the power and authority of the kings and the idea of political soli-

darity practically disappeared from the country. The demoralisation and apathy of the people is apparent from the narratives of Muslim historians who describe how the cavalry raids of Mahmud were absolutely unopposed and mark the apathy of the people in general. The work of defence had been monopolised by kings and the people were not only apathetic but remained absolutely powerless to resist the march of an enemy either Indian or foreign. Indian princes too, had become so devoid of moral and political sense that far from uniting against the common enemy, most of them thought it expedient to ensure their safety by forming alliances with extra-Indian powers whose main objective was to complete the subjugation of the country at the earliest opportunity.* Some princes indeed, like Visaladeva Cahamāna or the Gāhaḍavāla Govinda made sporadic efforts to stem the tide of foreign invasion, but they never thought of making a common and united stand against the early Muslim invaders.

Political downfall was hastened by intellectual decay as well as social and religious demoralisation. The vigour of the Indian intellect had long been undermined. The ramification of caste, the multiplication of sub-castes and the growth of mutual jealousies among caste-people destroyed the idea of a social whole which had been built up out of diverse ethnic elements. The idea of harmony was displaced by discord. Too much of a strong ban was laid on interdining and intermarriage. The Varnas ceased to exist and castes came to existence. Perhaps the narrow

* The alliance of the Rāstrakūṭas with the Arabs and the possible alliance between the Rathors of Kanauj with the Ghori are worthy of note.

communalism of the aboriginal tribes and clans invaded the social ideas of the ruling element. Each caste again, was subjected to the minutest subdivision on the principle of difference in occupation, in religious belief and through difference in domicile, and in course of time, each one of these castes and sub-castes became an air-tight compartment.

There was a decay in religion and this was closely associated with intellectual demoralisation. Abstract metaphysical principles or the real teachings underlying the ethical codes promulgated by host of religious teachers failed to impress the Indian mind which delighted only in concrete images or in the rigorous obedience to formalities and rites. The shadow came to be worshipped while the substance was lost sight of. Philosophy failed to impress the mass mind and ritualism obtained complete domination. Philosophers in their turn came into conflict amongst themselves and in the midst of the polemics of words and the conflicts of ideas, the first and fundamental principles were forgotten. The attempt at definition and interpretation gave rise to further divergencies among the philosophers and thinkers themselves and these in their turn helped the rise of numerous sects which distinguished themselves by their animosity to each other. The result was that for ordinary people there remained no other alternative but to find pleasure in gorgeous rituals and meaningless observances transmitted to them by their forefathers and of which the meaning was neither known, nor even regarded worthy of being enquired into.

Symbolism also invaded religion and along with sym-

bolism came in a host of newer deities with newer rites and practices, some evolved out of those of old, while the rest were borrowed from the primitive peoples or even the foreigners with whom the people came into contact. Innumerable deities were conceived from the different forces and aspects of nature with newer modes of worshipping them. Forms and images multiplied, everyday new rituals were invented and as these became more and more elaborate, religion lost its simplicity and faith its importance as the basic principle of religion. Evergrowing eclecticism maintained the spirit of toleration and harmony, but the spirit of outer concord could not dispel the discord within the minds of men. Worship itself was invaded with gorgeous rites, and anthropomorphism carried to excess made room for ritualistic degradation and introduction of obscene practices. The truth of these remarks is apparent from the history of Buddhism. The philosophy of Buddha was hardly understood and even in the First Buddhist Convention we find differences arising out of flimsy points of ritual. Buddhism divided in time into innumerable schools and with the rise of Mahāyāna, the early tenets of Buddha were forgotten. Buddha himself was transformed into a God and the Mahāyānists conceived the omnipotent Bodhisattvas. These again were transformed into gods and innumerable deities male and female came to receive the worship from the votaries of a religion which had originally no scope for image worship or the veneration of idols. The different schools fought with bitterness while the masses sank lower and lower down in idolatry and obscene religious practices.

The same was also true of Hinduism. The *Bhakti* cult inculcated the idea of a personal God to be appeased by the votary by means of worship. These gods again became many and each one of them gave rise to innumerable forms through diversities of conception in its various aspects. The worship of these became popular and held out hopes of the future to the devotees. But soon this elaborate pantheon and the maze of the more elaborate ritual killed the spirit out of man's minds. The religious sects split up into sub-sects and these again became numerous and hostile to each other.

Along with the rise of this new religion, the ethical codes were also modified. The *Smṛtis* inculcated the value of *ācāra* in human life and by means of *Arthavādas* harped on the hopes and fears of mankind to have these codes rigidly obeyed. Bodily purity became the key-note to this ethical code and as such the minutest regulations, originally unknown, of food, touch and association were laid down. The principle of rationality was masked by a faith in the rigid code of taboos and prohibitions. Foreigners were looked down upon, contact with them became an abomination, and sea-voyages were prohibited. The *Purāṇas* while they did much to enlighten the masses socially and intellectually became the repository of this reactionary legislation. The *Sūdra* came to be denounced in opprobrious terms, women were socially and intellectually degraded while the lowest castes were relegated a position worse than that of animals or beasts of burden. And this stands in strange contrast with the time-honoured tradition of India. A people which worshipped the deity

in the female form, denounced womanhood in opprobrious terms, and while pantheistic philosophy delighted in regarding everything animate as the incarnation and manifestation of the superb all-pervading *Brahman*, its votaries struggled hard to be conscious that men were degraded by their contact with their socially degraded fellowmen!

Such being the prevailing mentality of the day, the priesthood also sank low in the intellectual scale. The Brahmin ceased to be the philosopher and became the slave of society, the guardian and protector of a code of life divorced from reason and morality. At the same time, the Hindu mind delighted in feeding upon its own excellence and the depravity of the rest of the world. Minutest regulations bound him down and these became obstacles to the continuance of a progressive life. The people became averse to changes and worshipped the past. The spirit of progress and rationalism was killed. Life was characterised by the rigid standard of rigour and artificiality and extreme aversion to change. Many of the religions of the later period emphasised those principles of life which weakened the physical frame and enervated the mind. Pacifism killed the ardour for war or national resistance. The extreme regard for life emphasised by Jainism made life almost impossible. The *Ahimsā* and *Dharma* of Asoka had laid prostrate India at the feet of the Greeks, Parthians and other semi-savage foreign races. The religious zeal of Harṣa, the Neo-Aśoka of the seventh century, did practically the same thing. Later Vaiṣṇavism manifested the same tendencies and brought almost the same consequences.* It introduced a pacifism which in course of time tended

towards masochism. Man entirely at the mercy of the deity lost sight of active duties and craved for dissolution which became the only goal of life. Decayed Buddhism with its commixture of *Tantric* rites displayed worse tendencies. The nihilism of Buddha, too high for ordinary men and offering no hopes for the future gave place to a meaningless maze of obscene ritual but lacking in faith or reason as its foundation. The meaningless monasticism ate away the vitals of individual life and wrecked the morals of society. On many an occasion the monks displayed hostility to the political authority. Sometimes they made common cause with the foreign enemy and if we are to believe the testimony of foreign historians, they weakened the defence of the country by inviting foreign enemies.*

* According to Muslim historians Muhammad-ibn Kasim was helped by the Buddhists of Sind in his expedition against Dahir. According to Taranath, the Buddhists played a similar part during the invasion of Magadha by the Muslims (Taranath—Translated by Schiefner; Ch. XXXVII. The Buddhist monks are described as the messengers of the Turuskas.)

III

Muslim State System

Established in India the Mussalmans themselves became subject to the influence of the same forces which had influenced the Hindus. Within a century and a half, Islamic India became a medley of independent sultanates fighting against each other. It is curious to note how some of these states practically occupied the same location and geographical position as their predecessors in Hindu India, during the age of disruption preceding Muslim conquest. Thus, Gujrat which had remained under the Caulukyas, became a Muslim sultanate, similarly, Malwa of the Paramāras became an independent Muslim kingdom. In the east, Bengal separated itself under a Muslim dynasty and in eastern Hindustan, the Sarki sultanate of Jaunpore, very nearly corresponded to the Gāhaḍavāla monarchy. In the Deccan, the region occupied by the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas became the seat of the Bahmani kingdom, while in the extreme south a Hindu national resurrection laid the foundations of the Vijayanagar kingdom established over the region, once dominated by the Pallavas and the Colas.

In the midst of an almost continuous war, the Hindus showed remarkable tenacity. For more than five centuries the onslaught of Islamic arms before which all other powerful monarchies had succumbed without a semblance of resistance failed to make a permanent impression upon the country. The Hindu resisted tenaciously during these

five centuries and even though subjugated, took the earliest opportunity of asserting himself politically. He succeeded not only in preserving his hoary culture but also in sweeping back the tide of Islamic domination whenever opportunities presented themselves. The wonderful vitality of the race and its unflinching tenacity to its own culture and tradition showed itself never more gloriously than during the period of struggle for existence. Throughout the whole of this period, we never find a continuous epoch of submission on the part of the conquered and no century passes without a movement for resurrection and political assertion in one part of the country or the other. The resistance of the Hindu and his tenacity was wonderful like that of a modern entrenched camp which shows new front—when the first lines and outworks are battered. In each century, we find national wars of resurrection. In the 13th century the whole of central and southern India together with states like Orissa and scattered principalities in the north still maintained their independence. In the 14th, within a few years of Muhammad Tughlak's conquests, the princes of Vijayanagar had flung back the side of Turki conquest and had laid the foundations of a mighty monarchy which checked further Islamic conquest in the south for more than two centuries. Similar was the case with Rajputana where the rulers of Mewar had not only asserted their own independence but were successfully resisting and conquering the Muslim sultans of the neighbourhood. In the 16th century, the Mewar Prince, Sanga was bold enough to make a bid for the restoration of the Hindu empire.

The failure of Sanga and the weakness of the Turko-Afghans gave a chance to a new line of Turks under Babar to found a new Muslim dynasty. Devoid of bigotry* and lacking the ferocity of the Turks of previous ages Babar brought with him the dream of a great empire. Unsuccessful though his son was to realise the ambition of his father, it was reserved for his grandson, the illustrious Akbar, to translate into action the dreams and ideals which had already manifested themselves in the activities of the early Mughals as well as of Sher Shah.

* Babar's recently discovered edict of toleration is worthy of note.

IV

Hindu-Muslim Rapprochement

The war for re-surrection was continued throughout the long centuries of Muhammadan domination, and its last phase was attained during the 17th century and even the 18th which saw the decline of Mughal rule and the advent of the English, later on destined to be the sole political power in the country. But in the midst of these struggles, while the extreme champions of Islam were engaged in fighting the staunchest of votaries of Hindu social and political regeneration, a remarkable movement was going on for the establishment of a rapprochement between the two communities. In the course of time, the ferocity of the Turki character which knew no mercy for the enemy even when he was a co-religionist or a kinsman softened down and the influence of Indian climate as well as social teachings made them almost Indianised. Among Hindus too there appeared teachers and saints who wished to divert the attention of men from the arena of political conflict to the path of peace, amity and good will. 'The deity was one' they said 'the Allah of the Muslims was none else than the Viṣṇu and Siva of the Hindus. Salvation was obtainable through faith in the sole omnipotent Almighty whose children the Hindu and the Muslim were. Bigotry stood in the path of man's prosperity in this life as well as bliss and beatitude in life after death. Faith was the real essence of religion and not a fanatical devotion to the rituals prescribed in the rival religious systems and emphasised by fanatical priests on both sides.'

From the 14th century, such teachers made their appearance in the country and preached their ideas. Among the Hindu teachers of note was Ramananda who scrupled not to preach his religion to the untouchable or to the Muslim. One of this disciples was Kabir, by birth a Julah and a staunch votary of Viṣṇu. The next great figure was Baba Nanak who was acclaimed as a Guru of the Hindus as well as a Pir of the Mussalmans. The same tenets were disseminated by Śrī-Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava teacher of Bengal. In the Deccan and in the south, many more such teachers were multiplied and they did much to calm down the ferocity and fanaticism of the extremists of both the communities.

Among Muslims, there appeared a host of such teachers—bona fide Muslims, not Indian converts. The verses of Sufis like Sanai of Ghazna, Nizami Attar of Nisapur, of Jalaluddin Rumi, Sadi, Hafiz, Mir Dard of Delhi, of Amir Khasru and of Ibrahim Jaisi became popular and are still sung by Hindus and Muslims alike. Rasa Khan's Savaiyas are still chanted in Vaiṣṇava temples. The catholicity of Ghalib of Delhi who would bury the Hindu at Ka'ba and cremate the Muslim at Benares, reflected the same mentality of toleration, amity and good will. To add to this, every student of Hindi literature is aware of the vast number of Muslim Vaiṣṇava poets. Among the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, the following names are remarkable—e.g. Nasir Mahmud, Murtaza, Alawal, Ali Raja, Shah Akbar and Said Sultan. In Bengal, Muslims patronised Bengali literature, composed songs and verses in honour of the Divine Mother, and the process is still going on. The pro-

cess is not only remarkable but is characteristic of the mentality produced and fostered only in the soil of India.

This spirit of toleration led to a lull in the fighting and religious animosity was henceforth banished from the country. Muslim princes too became champions of toleration. Even Alauddin Khilji, denounced as a ferocious tyrant by the contemporary Muslim historians, recognised that religion had nothing to do with the business of the state but was something which concerned the soul of the private individual. The last line of Turki dynasties showed remarkable toleration, and Babar's grandson, though he began and ended as a staunch Muslim went so far as to adopt Hindu manners and customs and devised the *Din Ilahi*, the true religion intended for both the Hindu and the Musalman subjects. His son Jahangir followed the foot-steps of his father and there was calm in India for a considerable period. Then a number of causes and circumstances led to the renewal of the war of Hindu resurrection in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the midst of this there were reprisals on both sides which led to the downfall of the great Mughal empire. Even before the accession of Aurungzeb, denounced as a bigot by many historians, the Sikhs in the Punjab led by Har Govind defeated Imperial armies while Shivaji raised the standard of revolt in the Deccan. In course of this war, there were animosities and hatreds revived and during the period of conflict the tolerant spirit departed from the land for a while. The whole of India remained in commotion for more than a century and in course of this a number of Hindu states asserted their independence

and showed once more the remarkable vitality of the Hindu race in politics.

The Hindus became active everywhere. The Rajputs resented the reimposition of the *Jiziya* and threw off the allegiance to the Mughals. The Jats repeatedly devastated the region near the capital and ultimately founded a small principality of their own. In the Deccan, the illustrious Shivaji (inspired by the great Rāmdas) and his successors laid the foundations of a Hindu state (modelled on the directions of the writers on polity during the close of the Hindu period) in course of the first half of the 18th century. The Marathas became powerful enough to think of a restored Hindu empire. But the weakness of the central authority, the separatist tendency of the feudatories and office-bearers and the lack of the spirit of consolidation led to the final break-up and the downfall of the so-called Maharatta confederacy, which in its hey-day stretched almost from the foot of the Himalayan hills to the *Krishnā* and the *Tungabhadra*.

The Gurkhas became active in the region of the Himalayan hills but their further expansion was checked by the rising British power. In the Punjab, which had for nearly a century been converted into the battle ground of foreign invaders, the disciples of Guru Govind made a bid for the establishment of a theocratic commonwealth. Perhaps there was an *atav*y of the old republican tradition among the Jats and the local tribes which had remained submerged for so many centuries. But this theocratic tendency could not maintain itself for long and the *Misl* leaders fought

amongst themselves for personal supremacy. The genius of Ranjit Singh succeeded in welding these divergent elements into a strong monarchy in which communal hatred was almost eliminated, though feudal principles continued to work. With the death of this illustrious man, the Sikh monarchy fell to the ground as a result of personal ambitions, the lawlessness of the army and the intrigues of rival families. With the fall of the Marhattas and the Sikhs English supremacy was fully established.

V

Socio-Political Evolution of India

In course of a long period of evolution India came to be the centre of a distinct type of social and political life. Communal freedom and harmony in the midst of diversity have been the marks of this civilization. In spite of racial divergences, linguistic differences and conflicting social and political ideals of the different sections of the community, a distinct cultural ideal came to be evolved and this gave a distinct stamp to the social and political life of India. She became and still remains the home of a distinct civilisation. Cultural harmony was the goal towards which all the conflicting ideas and ideals converged. The races were many; the languages were numerous; customs varied from province to province; consequently the social structure was a federated organisation in which there was a spirit of harmony which welded together these discordant elements. There was a sort of fundamental unity in the midst of insuperable obstacles to homogeneity. The seemingly heterogenous communities inhabiting the different corners of a big continent came to look upon themselves as members of a vast social fold. India was the homeland of this culture; and proved to be the geographical foundation of the civilization which stood by itself, self-contained and separated from other centres of culture. The great mountains and rivers were held sacred by the Hindus of the different parts of the country. Based on this sense of

geographical unity, the people came to profess religions which though differing in ritualistic details had the same intellectual *motif*, the same type of explanation regarding the universal system and almost the same method of approaching the deity with a view to obtain solace in this life and salvation in that beyond. Thus, in all the religious and philosophical systems we find the prime conception of the omniscient and omnipotent *Brahman*, the acceptance of the doctrine of rebirth, the supreme importance of *Karma*, the excellence of *Ahimsā* and the recognition of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the truest path of attaining salvation. In social life we had the acceptance of the federated organisation known as caste, in spite of innumerable local differences and conflict of ideas. In social matters, similarly, while local customs received the fullest recognition, the law-givers coming from the remotest corners of the country all tended to accept a fundamental equitable principle throughout the whole of the vast land. In art and in aesthetics we find also the same conventions, *motifs* and tendencies, though there existed local variations as well as provincial schools of building and architecture.*

In music also, there was the same thing. The diverse melodies favoured by the peoples of the different provinces all came to be united into one system of harmony and music. The names of *rāgas* and *rāginīs* are suggestive.

* In art which was pre-eminently religious we have the same ideology and *motif*. In all the different schools of architecture the inlying idea as well as arrangements are the same.

Thus we have a large number of names derived from the different provinces of India.†

Social Evolution

India being the centre of a distinct type of culture had her own social and political ideal evolved as a result of the influence of a peculiar environment together with the peculiarities of the social and political genius of her people.

It has been the fashion with the western scholars to scoff at Indian political life, or to denounce the ideals which influenced her politics. India had no political life nor was there any room for political speculation in the country,—has been the summing up of many western critics. Her life, according to them, was essentially spiritual and there was a supreme neglect of the material side of human existence. Such has been the view of the majority of the western historians, while Indian social organisation has received a greater amount of censure from them. They point out the existence of the caste system, the tyranny of the Brāhmaṇic oligarchy, the subservience of the masses, the degradation of the womankind and last of all the existence of untouchability which deprives the lower classes of the status of manhood. This view is very often accepted without critical examination and the ave-

† Gāndhāra (from Gandhāra) Mālava (from Malwā). Gurjara (from the Gurjara country), Kānāḍā (from Kānāṭa), Gauda (from Gauda), Jhijauti (from Jeṣākabhukti). Thus, while divergences remained pre-eminent a harmony in the midst of insuperable obstacles came to be evolved, and this has become the keynote and the soul of Indian life.