

by the Guptas was equally Indian. It may be called the second Indian Empire. Its kings were pure Indians; it embraced the greater part of the Peninsula, but no territory outside India. Magadha, which had been the centre of the first empire, now also became the starting point of the second. About 280 A.D., a certain Gupta, probably a Sudra, succeeded in making himself

Origin of the Gupta power.

Rajah of Magadha. His grandson, Chandragupta, more fortunate than he, married a princess of the Lichchavi clan which seems to have greatly increased in importance since it last appeared in history during the Rationalist Age.* This Chandragupta it was who laid the foundations of the Gupta power. He styled himself King of Kings. He extended his territory along the Ganges to Allahabad, and also ruled over Oudh. His power was sufficient

Chandragupta I.
Dies circ.
326 A.D.

to warrant the adoption of a new era, the Gupta Era, which has been certainly fixed as beginning in 320 A.D.

His son, Samudra Gupta, was the founder of a more extended empire. Much of his long reign was devoted to wars of aggression, and the Asokan pillar of Allahabad contains an amazing list of his conquests. The Sanskrit poet who composed the panegyric so luckily inscribed on this pillar "classifies his lord's campaigns geographically under four heads: as those directed against eleven kings of the South; nine named kings of Aryavarta, or the Gangetic plain, besides many others not specified; the chiefs of the wild forest tribes, and the rulers of the frontier kingdoms and republics." The rajahs of the

The Gupta Era.

Samudra Gupta,
Circ.
326-375 A.D.

North were "forcibly rooted up." The forest tribes mentioned inhabited Orissa and the Central Provinces. Among the Southern kings vanquished were the chiefs of the Pallavas, robber clans who had established themselves on the Coromandel Coast some centuries before. The Punjab was at this time, as in the time of Alexander, inhabited by a number of republican

His extensive Conquests.

clans, who had doubtless risen on the ruins of the Kushana Empire. These were subjected, but not apparently brought under the direct rule of Samudra Gupta. They assumed therefore the position of protected states. The vast Southern conquests also were not retained; the expedition to Cape Comorin was rather a gigantic plundering expedition of the type so common in the East, and a nominal suzerainty was the only permanent memorial of these years of warfare. Still the dominion under the direct government of Samudra Gupta comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the East to the Jumna and Chambal on the West, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the North to the Narbada on the South. Surashtra, Gujerat and Malwa still retained undisputed independence under the Western Satraps, but the remaining kingdoms, both in the North-West and in the extreme South, had been overrun and compelled to acknowledge the Emperor's suzerainty. No Emperor since Asoka had brought so many Indian states

beneath his sway, and the Gupta power was evidently acknowledged by the kings of Kabul and Ceylon, who both maintained diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta. The revival of the horse-sacrifice also testifies to the great power achieved, for none but a paramount king dared to perform this rite. But Samudra Gupta was not alone distinguished by success in war. He was clearly an exceptionally gifted ruler and a talented man, a musician, and a composer of verse. He took much delight in the society of the learned, and assiduously studied Hindu scriptures. He was therefore a votary of Brahmanism and not of Buddhism. It is interesting to notice that Samudra Gupta removed his capital from Pataliputra, where his predecessors had held their court, to Kausambi in Central India, about 90 miles south-west of Allahabad. After the reign of nearly half a century he died full of honours and glory and was happy in the peaceful accession of his able son, the Second Chandragupta of the dynasty. This king was probably the Vikramaditya ('sun of power') of the legends, that great king who is associated in Indian history with the Hindu and

Chandragupta II.
Circ. 375-413 A.D.

Brahmanic revival and whose glory attracted to his court the nine gems of Sanskrit literature. But

the identity has not as yet been absolutely established. Chandragupta II has, however, very definite claims to greatness. He was a wise and talented man, a reputed artist and a strong, vigorous ruler. Though he never sought to consolidate an empire in the South, he made successful expeditions to the North-West, as we

His Conquest of the West.

are told by the iron pillar at Delhi, and he finally destroyed the Western Satrapy, thus annexing the

rich and populous Surashtra-Malwa kingdom to his dominions. What the Andhra dynasty had failed to accomplish, the Gupta Empire did with ease, and by the close of the fourth century few, if any, foreign chiefs held sway in India. Some account of the institutions of Northern India as also of the topography and religious condition of India at large can be gathered from the narrative of the Chinese traveller

Fa-hien in India,
405-411 A.D.

Fa-hien, who stayed six years in the country to which he had come as a Buddhist pilgrim.* Naturally

his attention is chiefly taken up with Buddhist legends, sites, monuments, relics, and holy books. Still the incidental allusions to contemporary civilization are both numerous and valuable. Fa-hien testifies to the excellent and orderly government which the people then enjoyed. Taxes were light, the movements of the population not restricted, corporal punishment rare. The pilgrim is much impressed by the glories of the late capital, Pataliputra, where he inspected the

State of the country.

ruins of Asoka's magnificent palace. He notices that char-

itable institutions abounded in the great towns, and rest-houses were provided for travellers on the highways. The free hospitals at Pataliputra are singled out for special praise. The poor of all countries could repair to them, and "received every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases, order

* See p. 21 above.

* See Beal's *Travels of Fa-hien*, etc. (translated from the Chinese).

them food or drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that might contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience." Although the ruling Emperor was a Hindu, and favoured the Brahmanic reaction, Buddhism was still professed by the majority of Indians, and Buddhist learning flourished in gigantic monasteries. Toleration must have been one of the fundamental principles of the mild but strong government of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. No government for centuries had been so effective or so popular.

Kumara Gupta I, the son of Chandragupta, reigned with undiminished power until the middle of the century, when the savage Huns began their inroads.

Later Gupta Emperors, 413-480 A.D.

One branch of this Mongol horde passed into Europe, under the leadership of Attila, the 'scourge of God,' while a second branch remained in Asia, and under the name of the White Huns, defeated the Persians, overthrew the Kushana kingdom of Kabul, and at last penetrated into India. At this time

Invasions of the Huns begin Circ. 450 A.D.

Skanda Gupta succeeded to the throne of his father and inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Huns (Circ. 455 A.D.), which, however, only gave India a temporary breathing space. About 470 A.D., a fresh swarm of nomads advanced into the interior, and the Gupta Empire began to succumb under their repeated onslaughts. With the death of Skanda Gupta about 480 A.D., the Empire perished, though the dynasty continued to rule Magadha and the surrounding districts for several generations. Members of the family also reigned in Malwa for a time, and a third line, of foreign origin, took advantage of these troublous times to found the kingdom of Valabhi.* But all these princes must

Break-up of the Gupta Empire.

have been tributaries of the conquering Huns, who under Toremana and Mihiragula established a paramouncy over Northern India. This Hunnic Empire and its disruption belong, however, to the next or Puranic Period. Buddhism was now in its decline, and the Buddhist Period may appropriately be closed at 500 A.D. It had witnessed the two greatest Empires of ancient India; henceforth, with rare exceptions, the

Supremacy of the Huns, Circ. 485-540 A.D.

country suffers from disintegration and division. No Empire comparable in extent or stability to the Maurya and the Gupta Empires arose in India until the Mohammedans had established their supremacy.

VI.—Law and Administration in the Buddhist Age.

To this period, perhaps to the time of the early Guptas, may be referred the famous Code of Manu. This body of law is, however, merely one of several legal treatises which were written in verse, and for the most part modelled on the prose Sutras of the Rationalist Age. The exposition in the metrical codes is generally clearer than in the Sutras, but on some subjects the law

The Institutes of Manu.

has become severer. For instance, the stricter prohibition against taking animal life testifies to the influence which Buddhism had been exercising upon the community. At the same time

the law of Manu claimed to be the ruling of immortal antiquity. It was called after Manu because the Brahmans declared it to be of divine origin, and ascribed it to the first Manu, or Aryan man, 30,000,000 years ago. Manu was regarded as the Father of the Aryan race, and figures in the Hindu version of the Flood-story.

The Institutes of Manu* are divided into twelve books. A few of the matters treated of may be briefly alluded to. It must be premised that the law as here laid down was Brahmanical Hindu Law, and therefore in some respects not accepted by the Buddhists, who during this period formed the majority of the population. Nor was it acceptable to the supporters of the new and debased Hinduism, which was now coming into being. It prescribes Vedic rites and sacrifices, and makes a stand against the growing image-worship, and that mass of mythology and superstition which was incorporated into the later or Puranic Hinduism.

Manu declares the king to be the fountain of justice, and speaks at length on

Their subject-matter.

the competence of witnesses, and the absolute necessity for them to speak the truth. "Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." "Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judicial enquiry, answers one question falsely." Manu divides the law into eighteen heads, of which

Criminal Law.

six relate to criminal and twelve to civil cases. The criminal law is disfigured by caste distinctions, as in previous times. For instance, a Sudra who defames a Brahman is to have his tongue cut off, whereas no amount of defamation on the part of a Brahman is punished more severely than by fine. But the barbarity of punishment with which Sudra offences are threatened was probably much mitigated in practice. Theft and robbery are regarded as very heinous offences, and the king who does not afford protection to property "will soon sink down into hell! Adultery, except in the case of a Brahman, was to be punished by death, an adulterer to be burnt, and an adulteress to be devoured by dogs. The death penalty is enjoined for those who slay women, children, or Brahmans, for thieves caught with stolen property and their accomplices, for the destruction of dams or tanks, for treason and for treasonable practices, such as the forging of royal edicts and the bribing of ministers.

Careful rules are formulated with respect to debt, the rate of interest,† sales, partnership, and deposits. It is

Civil Law.

enjoined that a workman should not be paid unless he did his work according to agreement, and the breaking of agreements could be punished by fine, imprisonment or even banishment. A very interesting provision is that purchasers or sellers could cancel their bargain within ten days. Such frequent occurrences as disputes between owners of cattle and servants were fully provided for. Thus the herdsman was responsible for all animals lost by his negligence, while the owner was to

* The Institutes are translated by Bühler in Vol. XXV of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

† Cf. p. 22 above.

* See p. 36 below.

be responsible by night, if the cattle were housed for the night. In this connection it is interesting to find that a space of common pasture land was reserved round villages and towns. Manu emphasizes the dependence of women on men, and insists that a dutiful wife should not show aversion to a drunken husband. Widow remarriage was gradually dying out, but the marriage of a virgin widow is expressly permitted. Gambling and betting "cause the destruction of kingdoms," and were to be met by corporal punishment and banishment. The Law of Inheritance is the most fully treated of all subjects, but is too complicated for discussion in these pages. It forms the basis of the modern Hindu Law of Inheritance, and was in its turn based upon the Sutras of the Rationalist Age. But many portions of the Institute have ceased to be operative in the present day. "The Draconic severity of the law towards Sudras was probably never reduced to practice, even in the days of Brahman supremacy, and all distinctions in punishment, based on caste, certainly ceased to have operation after the Mohammedan conquest of India. Men of superior caste do not marry women of inferior caste now; widow marriage has altogether been stopped since Manu's time, and many of the domestic rites insisted on by Manu have ceased to be performed."

Economics and administration are touched upon in a few miscellaneous provisions, which should be read in the light afforded by Megasthenes' account of Chandragupta Maurya's regime. Thus the king could impose an *ad valorem* tax of 5% on the sale of all merchandise. In the case of Chandragupta we have seen that the duty was 10%. The king could retain a monopoly of certain articles, and punish all who infringed upon it. He was entitled to fix all weights and measures, and Manu gives us a lengthy list of the weights in use. He levied customs and tolls, a part of the

Taxation. royal prerogative in almost all old monarchies, both Eastern and Western. The body of the revenue, however, was derived from the land tax, which Manu fixes at an eighth, sixth or twelfth part of the produce. A fiftieth part of the increment on cattle and gold, and a sixth part of trees, meat, butter, earthen vessels, stone-ware, etc., supplemented the land tax, the customs, and the excise. The king is warned against excessive taxation, and the rapacity of officers is provided against by the

The Civil Service and the Royal Inspectors. appointment of superintendents—*i.e.*, inspectors—for each town.

A hierarchy of officials administered the country under the eyes of these superintendents. The king appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, of twenty, of a hundred, and lastly of a thousand villages. Above these came the viceroys of provinces, but such important functionaries were confined to the more extensive Empires, such as those of the Maurya and Gupta kings. Seven or eight ministers seem to have generally assisted the king in his administration, while separate officers were employed as revenue collectors, and for the management of mines and manufactures. The officials were, as a rule, paid by the assignment of lands, some no doubt in perpetuity, like the jagir-

dars of later times. There is evidence that much land was alienated to monasteries and temples after the fashion common in mediæval Europe. Such lands, of course, paid no taxes. The Code of Manu also contains some interesting remarks upon warfare and military administration. The importance of building fortresses is dwelt upon, and humane laws of war are laid down. Siege methods are detailed and the king is enjoined after the conquest of an enemy to respect the local customs and laws of the vanquished. In general it must be said that the principles of administration inculcated by Manu were highly civilized, and there is every indication that the people were prosperous and contented. Even in time of war, the body of the population seems to have suffered little. But the picture of Indian life and administration can be more accurately drawn in the ensuing period from the materials collected by Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller. For in the case of a Code like that of Manu it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the ideal from the actual.

VII.—Society, Religion and Literature.

The social conditions described by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century, which we reserve for mention in the following chapter, will apply broadly to the period under discussion.

The Institutes of Manu are very informing on the subject of caste, but when the author attempts a historical inquiry of its origin, he wanders much astray. It must also be remembered that the principles enunciated by him were those of the Brahmins and doubtless of the Hindu revival, but not of the Buddhists, and therefore it is dangerous to assert that they were scrupulously observed during the Buddhist Period. If

Caste. Manu were to be believed, some of the most necessary trades in any social system were regarded with contempt. Such were singers and actors, makers of bows and arrows, architects and messengers, trainers of horses and other animals, instructors in arms, washermen, hunters, goldsmiths and blacksmiths. Practically all artisans, shepherds and agriculturists were held in contempt and degradation by priests and kings. Little chance was thus afforded to the aspirations of genius among the people, and where a great artist or a great sculptor could not obtain honour among his countrymen, there was little hope of that artistic fruit of the highest order, which springs from the soil of a tolerant individualism. Whatever emancipation Buddhism may have brought about in these directions was reversed by the triumphant Brahmanism of the 4th, 5th and following centuries. Even maritime navigation and commerce, which had flourished for a time in the Buddhist period, was abandoned in accordance with the narrow dictates of reviving Hinduism.

Manu's formidable list of castes includes all the non-Aryan races, and indeed almost all the known races of Asia. The Sakas, Pahlavas, Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) and Chinese all figure in his pages as separate castes. His account of their origin is absolutely untenable, and

Pernicious prejudices against the majority of trades.

they were scrupulously observed during the Buddhist Period. If

hardly deserves mention. But the trades and professions, which, as above noticed, were despised by him, are not regarded as separate castes. They still therefore formed part of the great undivided Vaisya caste, and as this involved their retention of the privilege

Professions did not yet form separate castes. of the twice-born to acquire religious knowledge, and perform religious rites, it is difficult to

see why they met with such contempt. The community was no doubt crippled by the stigma cast upon so many useful professions, but as yet the evil effects of the caste system were less seriously felt than in Puranic times. The numerous profession-castes of a later and the present day were as yet non-existent as separate castes, with the result that for a Vaisya to pass from one profession to another was doubtless easier in the earlier centuries of the Christian era than it afterwards became. Disintegration had not as yet reached its highest pitch.

In the matter of sacrifice Manu sought to perpetuate the old Vedic rites which had been prescribed in the Brahmanas and Sūtras. But

Sacrifices.

the attempt was vain, for we know that the ancient domestic sacrifices (the grihya) at the householder's hearth, and the Srauta rites performed by priests, were fast falling into disuse, and being supplanted by the temple priests of Puranic Hinduism. The status of woman, as gathered from the Code, was still a high one, but the average marrying age for girls was being lowered and widow remarriage was becoming rarer. It certainly existed, as Manu

Position of Women.

testifies, but was now disapproved of by the orthodox. This disapproval, however, did not extend to virgin widows. Marriage between relations was rigidly prohibited, and the ancient custom of raising issue on a brother's widow seems to have fallen into disuse. A noteworthy fact is that slavery is recognised by Manu, and slaves are classified under seven heads, viz., captives of war, those serving for daily food, slaves born as such in the house, slaves bought or given by others, slaves inherited, and men enslaved by way of punishment. Slavery was certainly a very ancient practice, and probably dates

Slavery.

back to the earliest Aryan invasions when the aborigines were frequently enslaved after capture in war. Though Megasthenes denied its existence in India,* it had continued uninterruptedly throughout the Buddhist Period. Debt apparently was not one of the causes of slavery as in Ancient Greece and Rome, but female slaves could be pledged, like other property, by borrowers. With this brief notice of social conditions we shall pass to a consideration of religion in the Buddhist Age: the supremacy of Buddhism and the beginning of its decline.

From the time of Asoka until the Gupta dominion the religion of Buddha was pro-

The ascendancy of Buddhism followed by a Brahmanical and Sanskrit revival.

fessed by the majority of people, and it alone has left prominent traces. Thus in the inscriptions, "three-fourths or more of the persons named, and the objects of donation specified, from Asoka's time to Kanishka, are Buddhist, and the majority of the remainder are Jain. From that time

onwards the Brahmins, the gods they patronized, the sacrifices they carried out, receive ever-increasing notice till the position of things is exactly reversed, and in the 5th century A. D., three-fourths are Brahman, and the majority of the rest are Jain." The inscriptions then

Evidence of the inscriptions. are the best witness to the growth and pre-eminence of Buddhism, followed by its gradual decline

from the religion of a majority to that of a minority. During the period of Buddhist predominance we find the names of very few Hindu kings: most of the rulers belong to one or other of the invading races who inclined to Buddhism in its later form. Brahmanism, of course, continued to exist, but it occupied rather the position of a non-conforming sect, though only rarely a persecuted sect. The low ebb to which Brahmanism had sunk is proved by the fact that the period we have been speaking of has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmanic religion. Moreover, the few Brahmanic inscriptions that have been discovered are written in the Pali or the current Prakrit, instead of in Sanskrit, thus conform-

Buddhist architecture. ming to the deliberate Buddhist habit of employing a language

intelligible to the people. While the inferiority of Brahmanism is indicated by the absence of architectural remains, the unquestioned superiority of Buddhism led to the construction of numerous buildings, of which a great quantity survive. Dr. Fergusson in his monumental *History of Architecture* pays great attention to the Buddhist remains. He classifies the works of the Buddhist Period under five heads:—

- (1) *Lats* or stone pillars generally bearing inscriptions. Such were the stone pillars of Asoka, and the famous iron pillar at Delhi, which belongs to the period of Buddhist decline.
- (2) *Stupas*, cupolas or topes, erected to mark some sacred event or site, or to preserve some supposed relic of Buddha. The Bhilsa stupas, of which the great Tope of Sanchi is the principal, are the most famous Buddhist stupas in existence, as well as probably the oldest. They can be ascribed to the times of Asoka, or his immediate successors.
- (3) *Rails*, generally erected to surround stupas. They usually contain elaborate sculptured ornamentation and valuable inscriptions. Some are as old as the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C.
- (4) *Chaityas*, or churches. Most of these are excavated out of the solid rock, and the majority are in the Bombay Presidency. The great cave at Karli is the finest of all, but there are others of older date. Karli probably dates from the 1st century of the Christian Era, and the Chaityas of Ajanta and Ellora are a few hundred years later still.
- (5) *Viharas*, or monasteries. The earliest monastic buildings were not of stone, but wood gave place to stone early in the Christian Era. Fine Viharas survive at Ajanta, Nasik and Ellora. They consist generally of a great hall with a verandah in the front, a sanctuary in the back, and cells for monks on

* See p. 22 above.

either side. Many of these, like the Chaityas, are excavated. The world-famous monastery of Nalanda, where Hiuen Tsang studied in the 7th century, has unfortunately perished. It was not merely a monastic institution, but the greatest Buddhist university.

After about the 5th century but few Buddhist buildings were erected, and the architectural genius of India found its expression in Hindu temples, which tended to become more elaborate and ornate until the eve of the Mohammedan conquest.

Changes in Buddhism. Buddhism itself had undergone great changes before its ascendancy came to an end. The Primitive Buddhism, so suitable to India, with its union of practical ethics and religious speculations, necessarily underwent modifications when it came to be propagated amongst foreign people. Asoka's missionaries came into contact with Grecian culture. The Saka and Kushana kings came into contact with both, and incorporated Buddhist saints and Greek gods with their beliefs. While Buddhism with its universal toleration pleased them better than Brahmanism with its exclusive caste system, the pure Buddhism without deities gave no satisfaction. These people did not want a system of ethics, but gods whom they could see and to whom they could pray. So Buddha was gradually changed into a divinity, and the prevailing Greek art, *e.g.*, of Bactria, supplied his images, which hitherto had been unknown in Buddhism. The latter, once a select order of ascetic monks, now grew into a new popular religion with a pantheon of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and attendant deities and demons, whose images were adored in spacious temples, with pompous ceremonial and noisy festivals. This new Buddhism, as it embraced the whole people, was called the *Mahayana*, or 'the great vehicle' in contrast with the *Hinayana* or 'the little vehicle' of the primitive Buddhism, which had only been for a select few.* Those changes took place early in the Christian Era, and had been preceded by the adoption of elaborate pilgrimages and relic worship.† Some mention of the Mahayana form has been already made in dealing with the reign of Kanishka, who became the patron of the new Buddhism, just as Asoka had been the patron of the old Buddhism. The new form rapidly spread over India, and it was the Mahayana Buddhism which took root in China, Thibet, and other Eastern countries, while the Hinayana survived in Ceylon alone.

Mahayanism. The well attested prevalence of Buddhism during the two centuries preceding and the two centuries following the birth of Christ, gradually gave way to that famous Brahmanical revival of which the Gupta kings were the most powerful agents. It became noticeable, however, as early as the second century, when Kadphises II was a devotee of Siva, and it was fostered during the 3rd century by the Saka Satraps of the West. The Gupta Emperors, who for the most part were zealous Hindus, and guided by Brahmins, strove to make this Hindu and Sanskrit revival a success, while at the same time they tolerated Buddhism and Jainism.

Brahmanical and Sanskrit revival becomes successful in 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

Samudra Gupta possessed learning as well as martial prowess, and it is probable that he and his great successor, Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, deliberately set themselves the task of assisting the recrudescence of Brahmanical Hinduism at the expense of Buddhism, and of classical Sanskrit at the expense of the more popular literary dialects. But the new Hinduism was very different from the Brahmanic religion of the Epic and Rationalist Ages. Still more did it differ from the primitive Vedic religion of the early Aryans. The extensive Pantheon of the later Buddhism was drawn upon in the evolution of Puranic Hinduism, while non-Aryan superstitions contributed to the new faith a number of rites and beliefs which the pre-Buddhist Hinduism had never incorporated with itself. In the words of Sir William Hunter, * "Hinduism, that is latter-day Hinduism, the Hinduism of the Puranas and afterwards, is a social league and a religious alliance.

The later or Puranic Hinduism.

As the various race elements of the Indian people have been welded into caste, the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes, have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of precious metal and dross, to be worked up into the complex worship of the Hindu gods." The new Hinduism rapidly extended over the Deccan, and the Dravidian peoples of South India for the first time thoroughly adopted the religion of the Hindus. They seem to have been votaries of Buddha or of Jainism for several centuries, but had never completely accepted the Brahmanic faith in pre-Buddhist times. Gradually, then, the new Hinduism over-spread the Peninsula, until by the 10th century, if not before, Buddhism became extinct in India itself. Jainism, however, survived as a small and inferior sect, which had existed for centuries parallel to Buddhism, though it had never gained any great ascendancy.

Victory of the Brahmins.

The literary revival which accompanied this religious renaissance is important because it produced some of the greatest masterpieces of the Hindu intellect. The language of the pundits, the classical Sanskrit, was elaborated from the old Brahmanic, or Second High Indian,† the language of the Brahmanas and Upanishads. But it was greatly enriched by words taken from the Pali and the vernaculars. It must have been silently developed by the priestly schools during the predominance of Buddhism, and was first used in inscriptions in the second century A. D., while from the 4th and 5th centuries onwards it became the literary language for all India. Thus the victory of the Brahmins was accompanied by the victory of the language of their sacred books. Just as the old religion became transformed and distorted almost beyond recognition to satisfy the popular taste, so the old language had perforce to incorporate popular elements to secure acceptance.

Classical Sanskrit.

Of the works of a religious or semi-religious character attributable to the close of our period, *i.e.*, to the beginning of the Sanskrit revival, the most important are the metrical legal treatises, such as the Code of Manu,

* Hoernle and Stark's *History of India*. See also p. 28 above.
† See p. 18 above.

* *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*.
† See p. 15 above.

spoken of above,* and the three most ancient Puranas. The term *Purana*, signifying 'old,' applied originally to prehistoric, especially cosmogonic, legends, and then to collections of ancient traditions generally. The existing Puranas are partly legendary, partly speculative, histories of the universe, compiled for the purpose of promoting some special form of Brahmanical belief. Some teach the tenets of the Vishnuvite, others those of the Sivaite sects. For with the revival of

The Puranas.

Hinduism there grew up a great division of the people into Vishnaivas and Saivas, according as either Vishnu or Siva, both originally Vedic deities, were adopted as the Supreme God. But this division really only represents two different views of the same religion, a fact which is typified in the Indian Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, the Supreme God in his three manifestations of Creator, Preserver and Destroyer. While this Trimurti, or Trinity, is recognised by the Puranas, they are of a distinctly sectarian character. They "include a mass of extraneous didactic matter on all manner of subjects, whereby these works have become a kind of popular encyclopedia of useful knowledge. It is evident, however, from a comparatively early definition given of the typical Purana, as well as from numerous coincidences of the existing works, that they are based on, or enlarged from, older works of this kind, more limited in their scope.†" The legendary lore incorporated in the Puranas is not always of a very authentic kind, for many fabrications were made in order to supply new rites and beliefs with the sanction of antiquity. Still the genealogical tables contained in some of the Puranas "contain much truth mixed up with a deal of falsehood. The invariable form of the Puranas is that of a dialogue, in which some person relates its contents, in reply to the inquiries of another.‡" The existing works of this class are eighteen in number. The most ancient are the Vayu, the Matsya and the Vishnu Puranas. These all contain dynastic lists and preserve much important historical tradition. The Vayu Purana is the earliest extant: it was probably compiled in the 4th century under the early Guptas. The Vishnu Purana, which treats very fully of early Hindu history and legend, the organization of caste, etc., was probably composed, or at least compiled in its present form in the 5th or 6th century A.D., while the Matsya seems to have been intermediate between it and the Vayu Purana.

The Vayu, Matsya, and Vishnu Puranas.

Contemporary with the Puranas and the works on religious law (e.g., the Codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya) there appeared works on sacrificial ritual. Of these the chief were the Bhashyas or commentaries on the Sutras of the Rationalist Age. "Since the sacrificial religion was being revived, the necessity of a definite and authoritative ritual was felt; and as the sacrifices had been out of use for a

Bhashyas on (a) sacrificial ritual.

long time, knowledge of the ritual was rare and vague." Of this type of work a beginning was made in the early days of the Sanskrit revival, but the greatest Hindu commentators, Kumarila and Sankara Acharya, flourished in the Puranik Period.

The cultivation of philosophy in the Rationalist Period had, as above mentioned,* resulted in the elaboration of the six systems of Hindu philosophy. The earliest writings of these schools were contained in Sutra works, but in after times a great number of philosophical commentaries came to be written, just as commentaries were written on ritual and ceremonial. The two orthodox Mimamsa schools had thundered in vain against the materialism of Kapila, and Buddha had conferred upon the Sankya system of Kapila a long supremacy by incorporating many of its doctrines in his popular religion. But the orthodox philosophy achieved its triumph with the revival of Brahmanism. Its greatest champions were Kumarila and Sankara Acharya, just alluded to, who combined the defence of Brahmanic ritual with the refutation of all heterodox philosophy. But one great philosophic commentary was certainly written before 500 A.D., that of Sabarashvamin on the orthodox philosophy of Jainism, the Purva Mimamsa School.†

Among the scientific studies begun in the Rationalist or even in preceding periods, that of grammar was not the least important. Panini was now succeeded by Patanjali, whose date is fixed for the 2nd century B.C. Patanjali wrote a great commentary on Panini and his grammatical system, and he incidentally supplies a variety of information regarding the literature and manners of the period. He also makes important references to the Græco-Bactrian kings and the Sunga dynasty.

(c) Grammar. Patanjali.

The scientific works of the Puranik Age are far more exhaustive than those of the Buddhist Age, and our materials for the present period are unfortunately very incomplete. Foreign invasions and the contempt subsequently given to works elaborated under Buddhist influences, largely account for this poverty of material, so that it is by no means necessary to conclude that the intellectual life of the Hindus was suspended during the Buddhist Period. In the department of astronomy, however, we have ample evidence to show that considerable advance was made in this period. While astronomy was studied with fruitful results in the Epic and Rationalist Ages, no separate astronomical works of those times have come down to us. The oldest which have been preserved or of which we know anything were composed in the Buddhist Period. Eighteen Siddhantas or astronomical works are spoken of by Hindu writers, and several of these are certainly attributable to the Buddhist Age. The earliest is that of Parasara, who flourished not later than the second century B.C. Next comes Garga, who must also have lived in the 2nd century. Both these writers make important historical references to the Bactrian Greeks,

(d) Astronomy.

Parasara and Garga.

* See p. 30 above.

† Julius Eggeling: *Sanskrit Literature*.

‡ H. H. Wilson: Preface to translation of the Vishnu Purana. Professor Wilson's Preface is full of illuminating matter, and the translation is the only complete English one of a Purana, up to date.

* See p. 16 above.

† See p. 17 above.

while Garga also alludes to the Sakas and Yueh-chi. Not later than the 4th century were

written a series of astronomical treatises without accredited authors, and known as the Pancha-Siddhanta or 'The Five Siddhantas.' These works mark a distinct advance in the science, in that they adopt the latest discoveries of the Greek astronomers. In aftertimes important commentaries were written on these Siddhantas, and the greatest Hindu astronomers undoubtedly flourished in the Puranik Period. Eventually Hindu astronomy far surpassed that of the Greeks, and the fame of the Brahman astronomers spread westward, at last reaching Europe through the medium of Arab translations. As late as the 18th century Raja Jai Singh was able to demonstrate the great superiority of Hindu astronomy.

In poetry as in science, the Puranik Period is more prolific than the Buddhist Period. But the reduction to its present form of the great national epic, the Mahabharata, cannot have occurred later than the early centuries of the Christian Era. The beginnings of classical Sanskrit poetry are also certainly traceable to the later centuries of this age; several of the Gupta

Emperors themselves practised poetic composition. Little work, however, clearly belonging to this period survives, unless we include the priceless compositions of Kalidasa,

the greatest Sanskrit dramatist, who is now usually assigned to the end of the 4th century. If Chandragupta II be really the Vikramaditya of the inscriptions, then Kalidasa must have flourished at his court. The 'nine literary gems' associated with Vikramaditya need not all have been contemporaneous, as tradition often jumbles together places and things belonging to different times and places. Yet the assertion that Kalidasa was one of the nine is incontrovertible. The objection to assign so early a date to Kalidasa is that if he be anterior to the 6th century, the Hindu drama leaps suddenly to perfection and the early stages of its evolution are wrapped in mystery. But Shakespeare was, like Kalidasa, the greatest dramatist of his country, and yet dramatic composition in England hardly arose until after Shakespeare's birth. Such an objection then is not insuperable, and should bear small weight in comparison with the hypothetical probability of an early date for Kalidasa, based on a study of authorities and inscriptions. Kalidasa, besides endowing Hindu literature with its greatest dramas, the Sakuntala, the Vikramorvasi, and the Malavikagnimitra (based on historical incidents), wrote a series of short national epics, and some shorter poems which rival the best lyrics of the West for richness of fancy and melody of rhythm. The successors of Kalidasa in the drama and poetry, as also the Hindu works of fiction, will receive notice in our chapter on the Civilization and Literature of the Puranik Age.

CHAPTER V. THE PURANIK PERIOD.

I. Political History.

THE period between 500 A.D. and the first Moham-

medan invasion in 1194 is known as Puranik because during this time the majority of the Puranas were written—the oldest only, as we have seen, came into being before this—and the new Hinduism, known as Puranik Hinduism, flourished almost uncontested. Jainism was feeble, Buddhism was rapidly becoming extinct, and the militant faith of Islam had not yet taken a firm root in Indian soil. The Brahmans had ultimately scored a complete victory. They had perforce to sacrifice much that was best in their religion and to father a creed which was of hybrid origin and not of Vedic simplicity, yet the order triumphed, and the priestly supremacy which had barely been established a thousand years before, when Buddhism arose to combat it, was now unquestioned. The Brahmans were at length the real masters of Hindu civilization, and it was now that under priestly domination the worst features of that peculiar form of civilization became apparent. The widespread acceptance of the Puranik faith with its rigid caste system

Decadence of Hindu civilization in this age.

and sad lack of elasticity produced an unwholesome social disintegration and intellectual barrenness which sapped the sturdy manhood of the nation, and laid India as an easy prey at the feet of the Mohammedan conquerors.

What, however, prostrated the country still more was the political disintegration which marks the period. Large and powerful empires such as those of the Maurya and Gupta kings are a thing of the past. One glorious epoch there is, the reign of Harsha-vardhana; but it was lamentably short, nor did the empire of Harsha rival those of his greatest predecessors in point of size. Anarchical autonomy is the keynote of the

Political decadence.

period. The disruptive forces always existent in the East produced "their normal result, a medley of petty States, with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in unceasing internecine war." Foreign invasion had in times gone by been the principal incentive to the establishment of a strong paramount power, and the disruptive tendencies of the Puranik Period were largely the result of a long freedom from foreign attack. The experience of these centuries, when compared with that of preceding periods, tends to prove that India's normal state is one of anarchy and that the establishment of a central despotism, whether the result of foreign attack or of other causes and whether that despotism be indigenous or not, is the only safe cure for the disruptive tendencies inherent in the country. When during the Puranik Age India was left to work out her destiny in her own fashion, she failed lamentably, and the period is a bewildering record of conflicting petty States, accompanied by decadence in government, literature, religion and art.

The Buddhist Period closed amidst the bloodshed and destruction wrought by the savage inroads of the White Huns. Their attacks had hastened the disruption of the Gupta Empire, and the dominions of Skanda Gupta had been divided up into a number of separate kingdoms, all subject to the paramountcy of the Hunnic Emperors in the north. Of these separate kingdoms, those of Malwa and Magadha,

Disruption of the Gupta Empire.

ruled over by princes of the Gupta Family, achieved no importance, and in the case of Malwa at least, lasted only for a generation or two. But the Valabhi dynasty of Gujarat-Surashtra enjoyed a power hardly less great and extended than that previously held by

The Valabhi kings, circ.
460-770 A.D.

the Western Satraps in the same region. The genealogy of this family has of late been elucidated by the discovery of numerous inscriptions, in one of which we have a complete list of the Valabhi kings from their beginning at the end of the 5th century, up to about 770 A.D. The people of this nation were rich and powerful when Hiuen Tsang visited India in the 7th century, but in the darkness of the 8th and 9th centuries they mysteriously declined. The Rajputs seem to have been their successors as the greatest power in Western India, and the Ranas of Udaipur trace their descent, though with questionable authority, from the Valabhi line.

We have spoken about a paramount Hunnic Empire in the north. At the close of the 5th century a vast Asiatic dominion was carved out by the White Huns. From the Chinese books we learn that in 519

The Hunnic Empire in
Asia.

A.D., a Chinese envoy visited the Hunnic Court, at a place unknown, and that the powerful monarch of the Hun confederation levied tribute from forty countries extending from the frontier of Persia in the west, to Khotan on the borders of China in the east. This mighty potentate is probably not to be identified with the Hun kings of India, Toramana and Mihiragula, but seems to have been their overlord. Toramana was the leader of the great Hunnic invasion which successfully subjugated Northern India prior to 500 A.D. He assumed the title of 'Sovereign of

Hun kings of India.
Toramana and Mihiragula, Circ. 500-528 A.D.

Maharajas,' and was succeeded by his son, Mihiragula, in 510 A.D. As that part of India which was subject to the Huns—broadly the northern part—formed only one province of the extensive Hunnic Empire, Toramana and Mihiragula, paramount as they were in the peninsula, ruled in nominal allegiance to their great overlord in Central Asia. Mihiragula was a blood-thirsty tyrant of the worst sort, and his cruelty stimulated the native rulers to form a confederation against him. This confederation, headed by Yasodharman, a raja of Central India,

Circ. 528 A.D.

decisively defeated the hated tyrant, and drove him to seek refuge in Kashmir, where he usurped the throne of his benefactor, and ended his life amidst bloodshed indescribable.

Yasodharman, who served his country thus worthily, is almost an unknown personage. He is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, and nothing whatever is known

Yasodharman.

of his ancestry or successors. On two columns of victory he boastfully claims to have ruled over the greater part of India, but the evidence which will suffice to make good this startling claim remains to be discovered, and the importance frequently ascribed to Yasodharman seems to have been exaggerated. His victory over the Huns may have earned for him the title of Vikramaditya, 'sun of victory,' but we are scarcely warranted in assuming that he was the great Vikramaditya, the legendary

hero in whose Court Kalidasa and his brother writers flourished. That honourable title and position must rather, as asserted in our last chapter, be associated with the more historical character, Chandragupta II.

The fall of the Hunnic power in India was shortly followed by the extinction of their great empire in Central Asia, and India henceforth enjoyed immunity from foreign attack for nearly five centuries. The latter part of the 6th century is nearly a blank as far as India is concerned, and no other paramount power seems to have existed until the Kanouj dynasty rose to greatness at the beginning of the 7th century.

For the 7th century, on the other hand, we have, besides coins and inscriptions, the invaluable contemporary works, the travels of Hiuen Tsang, and the Harsha-Charita of Bana.* The outstanding event of the century was the temporary establishment of a paramount sovereignty in Northern India by the Rajas of Thaneswar, who were related by marriage to the Guptas. Thaneswar, or Staneswara, was that region to the west of the Jumna, where legendary Kurus were supposed to have lived of old.

Thaneswar Rajas.

It was towards the end of the 6th century that the Rajas of Thaneswar rose to eminence, through successful wars against their neighbours, including the remnants of Hun tribes who had retained their settlements in the Punjab. Prabhakarvardhana was the first of these Rajas to obtain an extensive influence, and his son, Harshavardhana, who succeeded after the

Harsha Vardhana,
606-648 A. D.

short reign of his elder brother, about 606 A.D., rapidly raised himself to a position of omnipotence in Northern India. His scheme of conquest was calculating and deliberate. With a large and well-organised host he waged war for the third part of a century and "went from East to West, subduing all who were not obedient: the elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unhelmeted." He fixed his capital at Kanouj, subjected all the North-West, made the powerful king of Valabhi a tributary, and carried his arms to the coast of the

His conquest.

Bay of Bengal. Even Nepal submitted, and Harsha ruled as undisputed master from the Bias to the Ganges, and from the Himalayas to the Narbada. When, however, he attempted to subjugate the South, he met with complete failure. The sturdy Chalukya King, Pulekesin II†, frustrated all Harsha's efforts to penetrate the Deccan, and established himself as paramount lord of the South, so that Harsha enjoyed no authority at all beyond the great river Narbada. From the writings of Hiuen Tsang and that historical romance written by the poet, Bana, to eulogise his King,

Administration.

we can conjure up a sufficiently vivid idea of the administration of Harsha. The King was untiring in his energy, and trusted rather to his own zeal and ability in the supervision of his provinces than to any organized civil service. The civil administration was conducted on enlightened principles, taxation was not

* See page 44 below.

† See page 39 below.

heavy, all compulsory labour was paid for, violent crime was rare, official records of public events were kept in every province by special registrars, and the Government made liberal provision for charitable purposes. The only blot on the administration is the cruel punishment meted out to prisoners. Sanguinary mutilation was all too common. Learning and literature flourished under the patronage of Harsha, and the King himself is credited with having written a grammatical work and three extant Sanskrit plays of considerable excellence. In religion the Emperor seems to have consciously imitated

Religious Policy.

Asoka. After a period of eclecticism in belief he became a convinced Buddhist and a devotee; he issued stern prohibitions against the destruction of animal life, and founded numerous stupas and monasteries as well as benevolent institutions, such as rest-houses for travellers and the sick. Though public disputations were held on religious differences, Harsha showed his special favour to the Buddhist pleaders, and Hiuen Tsang, the 'master of the law', became such a royal favourite, that any enemy who dared to touch or hurt him was threatened with beheadal, "and whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut off." By such threats the Brahmins, not an inconsiderable party in the State, were reduced to silence, and had to bide their time until a King who knew not Buddha should arise. It is only fair to say that in the great quinquennial assemblies held by Harsha for the furtherance of religion, and the distribution of charity, images of Siva and the Sun were publicly set up after that of Buddha had been venerated, and gifts were bestowed not only upon Buddhists, but on Brahman and Jain priests as well as the poor of all religions. The Chinese pilgrim was present at one of these assemblies in 644 A.D., as well as at a great religious gathering held in the capital, when twenty tributary Kings attended on the Emperor and heard the Law of Buddha promulgated. On this latter occasion the jealousy of the Brahmins prompted a base attempt to murder the King, which, however, failed to take effect. Harsha lived till about 648 A.D., and his reign was followed, as it was preceded, by an almost total blank in Indian History. No sooner was the strong arm of the great King withdrawn than the country was plunged into disorder, and the Empire so rapidly built up as rapidly fell to pieces. Arjuna, a minister of the late King, usurped the throne. But

Arjuna.

having been foolish enough to massacre a peaceful Chinese mission, the usurper underwent a disastrous defeat at the hands of an allied army got together by the Chinese envoy, and was himself captured and taken prisoner to China. The Chinese Empire at this time enjoyed unparalleled prestige by the conquest of the Northern and Western Turkis, and pretty constant communications seem to have taken place between China and India through Thibet. After the defeat of Arjuna the annals of Northern India are silent, and

Yasovarman of Kanouj,
740 A.D.

the history of the country is wrapped in almost impenetrable darkness for about two centuries.

One detached episode we have to record; the invasion of India by a powerful Kashmir King, Lalitaditya, about

740 A.D. He penetrated as far as Kanouj and inflicted a crushing defeat upon a certain Yasovarman, King of Kanouj. Doubtless Yasovarman inherited a portion of Harsha's extensive Empire, but he must have been but one of many Kings who asserted their independence upon the decay of the paramount power.*

When the curtain rises partially in the 9th, and more completely in the 10th century, we find new actors and new scenes. Buddhism is practically extinct, and a new and brave race, the Rajputs, have arisen from obscurity to claim the dominion of Northern India. The origin of the Rajputs has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is probable that they were a

Rise of the Rajputs.

mixed race, largely of foreign, e.g., Saka, Kushana, and Hunnic nationality, grafted on to the Hindu stock, and gradually adopting Hindu civilization and religion. They were hardly reckoned as Aryan Hindus before the 8th century, but having once been admitted to the pale of Hindu civilization and religion, the new converts 'were fired with an excessive zeal to revive the religion they embraced.' They had little or no historical connection with Buddhism, and therefore no regard for Buddhist institutions. Consequently, where the native Hindu monarchs had refrained from persecution, the Rajput Kings and clans not seldom resorted to severe measures in order to establish more firmly the Hinduism they had so zealously adopted. The period of darkness which so closely resembles the Dark Age in Europe consequent on the fall of the Western Roman Empire, was followed by the rise to power of numerous Rajput Chiefs, the heads of warlike clans, and the determined champions of Puranic Hinduism. When in the 9th century Indian History has once more some authentic facts to go upon, Rajput Chiefs are reigning over the greater part of the north, at Ajmir and Kanouj, in Malwa, and probably even in Bengal. Other Rajput dynasties came to the front in the 10th century, and almost constant warfare between these rival chiefs continued until the Mohammedan conquerors overthrew them in one common ruin. A continuous narrative is impossible, where so many separate units are concerned,

The States of North India
to the end of the Puranic
Period.

and the historian must needs content himself with briefly noting the fortunes of each state in turn according to a geographical rather than a chronological division. Such a method, moreover, besides being the only practicable one, will yield all the results required, since the period is singularly barren of important historical events. It will be convenient to begin with the States of Northern India, reserving those of the south and centre for separate treatment.

While the majority of North Indian States were

The Punjab.

now ruled by Rajputs, the outlying provinces of the west were subject to a variety of rulers, some of whom were foreigners. The Punjab, of which the history had been

* Another event which occurred during the first half of this century was the immigration of the refugee Zoroastrians from Persia. They settled chiefly in Gujerat, but their arrival was probably not regarded as an event of great significance. The wholly remarkable prosperity and influence of this small community at the present day was not foreshadowed by any writers 1,000 years ago.

more chequered than that of any other part of India, formed from the collapse of the Hunnic dominion, up to 880, part of a kingdom ruled by a Kabul dynasty known as Turki Shahis. The Brahman minister of the last of these kings usurped the throne and founded (880 A.D.) the so-called Brahman Shahi dynasty. After about a century their dominion was limited to the Punjab, and was finally overthrown by Mahmoud of Ghazni in 1021 A.D.

Sindh, of which the early history is very obscure, had as yet taken little part in Indian affairs. It was Aryanised in fairly early times and had been subsequently conquered by Alexander. It formed part of Asoka's extensive empire, but was outside the boundaries both of the Guptas and of Harsha. When Hiuen Tsang visited Sindh, it was ruled over by a king of the Sudra caste. In 712 A.D. an Arab expedition extinguished the native line, and for a time Sindh along with Multan formed a part of the great Abbaside Caliphate of Bagdad. This episode is important as being the first Mohammedan invasion of India. The year 871 A.D. however ushered in another period of independence, which lasted until Sindh and Multan, like the Punjab, yielded to the conquering might of Mahmoud early in the eleventh century.

When last they figured on these pages, Gujerat and Kathiawar were ruled by the powerful Valabhi dynasty. About 770 A.D. that kingdom became extinct with the death of Siladitya VI, the nineteenth king. Probably an Arab expedition from Sindh was responsible for this. The only important point to notice about these provinces is that in 941 A.D. the Solankhi or Chalukya Rajputs inaugurated a rule which endured until the end of the 13th century, when the country was annexed by Mohammed I Khilji.

The beautiful valley of Kashmir has a complete history of its own, and possesses in the *Rajatarangini** a chronicle of surpassing interest. Kashmir, like Sindh, was outside the dominions of the Guptas and of Harsha, but it had formed part of the wider Maurya empire and had also been incorporated in the Kushana empire of Kanishka. The authentic chronicles of the country begin about the time of Harsha. Kashmir could boast of a long line of authentic kings, of whom, however, many were terrible tyrants. The country successfully resisted Mahmoud of Ghazni, but came under a local Mohammedan ruler in 1339. It did not form a part of the Mohammedan Indian Empire until the reign of Akbar.

In Hindustan proper a number of Rajput chiefs waged incessant war upon their neighbours, and about half a dozen at one time or another occupied a prominent position above their fellows. The first clan to distinguish itself in this region were the Tomaras, who held an important position from 830 to 1040. Kanouj was their capital and they even seem to have assumed imperial titles. But as other clans came to the front, the Tomara power diminished. The Chandel Rajputs of Bundelkhand entered upon a fierce rivalry with their northern neighbours. About 910 A.D. all the

Tomara possessions south of the Ganges were seized by the Chandellas. The warfare between the two Houses served the Tomaras badly in 1019 A.D. when Mahmoud of Ghazni met with a but enfeebled resistance and sacked the imperial town of Kanouj. Still further weakened by this blow, the Tomara dynasty was finally overturned in 1040 A.D. by the chief of the Gaharwar Rajputs. Ananga Pala, the Tomara king at the time, retained, however, a small principality in the West of his

original kingdom and founded a fort and town at Delhi at the spot where the Kutb mosque now stands. The Tomaras continued to enjoy this modern principality for more than another century, until about 1170 A.D. in default of male issue the State passed into the hands of the Chauhan Rajputs of Ajmir. For four centuries the Chauhans had maintained their

rule in Ajmir where they had ably defended the western marches of Hindustan. Prithivi Raja, the 25th of the line, was the king in whose person the lordships of Delhi and Ajmir were united. Famous alike as a bold lover and a gallant warrior, he ranks as one of the popular heroes of Northern India. He defeated a Chandella Raja and captured Mahoba, his capital, and for some time he confronted the Mussalman invader in 1191 A.D., as the head of a confederated Hindu host. But in 1193 A.D., Delhi succumbed to the stronger force and the native dynasty ceased to exist.

The Gaharwar dynasty was founded by Chandra Deva, who overturned the Tomaras in 1040 A.D. It ruled a small territory North of the Ganges—between Kanouj and Benares—until the Mohammedan conquest. Jaya Chandra was the last of the line.

Immediately after the capture of Delhi, Kanouj and Benares fell into the hands of the Moslems, and the dominions of the Gaharwars were annexed to the empire of Mohammed Ghori. The bulk of the clan migrated to the deserts of Marwar, where they became known as Rathors, and founded the existing principality of Jodhpur. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand (Jejakabhukti is the ancient name of the territory), like so many other dynasties, first appear in the 9th century, and by

910 A.D. had built up for themselves a considerable dominion by the conquest of certain Tomara territories, as noticed above. The reigning family distinguished themselves as builders, but being surrounded by hostile states with which they were constantly at war, they never rose to a pre-eminence like that achieved by several other Rajput Houses. King Dhanga (950-999 A.D.), who lived for more than a hundred years, and built some superb temples, was the most noted Raja of the Chandellas. The family suffered at the hands of Mahmoud the Iconoclast, and were finally overthrown in 1193 A.D. by a general of Mohammed Ghori. Notwithstanding, they lingered on as purely local chiefs for several centuries.

A people who were in close proximity to the Chandellas were the Kalachuris of Chedi. Chedi corresponded roughly to Berar and the Central Provinces. A Rajput family ascended the throne in 860 A.D. and

* See the monumental edition of Stein.



enjoyed the usual ups and downs of fortune until it mysteriously disappeared in 1181 A.D., a few years before the Mohammedan conquest of Northern India. Wars with the Chandellas occupied most of the attention of the Chedi dynasty, and though one King, Gangeya Deva, obtained something like a paramountcy over his neighbours in the 11th century (1015-1040 A.D.), this extended dominion was overthrown by a Chandella Raja in the time of his successor.

An important contemporary power in the West were the Parmars or Paramaras of Malwa. This Rajput clan began to reign in the old city of Ujjain about the beginning of the 9th century.

Like the other clans, they were involved in almost ceaseless wars with their neighbours. Still the state of Malwa was associated gloriously with the arts of peace, and many writers famous in the later Sanskrit literature flourished at the Court of the Paramara Kings. Amongst the most famous Kings were Harsha Deva, the fifth in descent, who greatly extended the dominions of his house, Munja, who, though a poet, fought ceaselessly and as a rule successfully against the Chalukyas of the Deccan, and Bhoja, the model Raja, a celebrated patron of learning and no mean author himself. He flourished in the 11th century, Munja and Harsha Deva in the 10th. The native line preserved the throne until the beginning of the 13th century, and although a Mohammedan dynasty succeeded it, Malwa remained a separate unit until its incorporation in the Mogul Empire in 1569.

In the East of Northern India two dynasties tower over all others in this period—the Palas and the Senas.

Early in the 9th century the Palas assumed possession of Behar and Bengal. Their origin is obscure, but the fact that they upheld Buddhism to the last, right up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest, argues against the theory of Rajput birth. A Brahman family, the Senas, who seem to have administered the Eastern part of the kingdom, asserted their independence during the 11th century, and ruled the territory East of the Ganges until the Mohammedan invasion. They completely stamped out Buddhism in their dominions and eventually brought Northern Behar under their domination.

Both Palas and Senas were, however, swept away in 1193-94 A.D. by one of Mohammed Ghori's generals, who met with the feeblest opposition from the native dynasties.

Nepal alone amongst the outlying states in this part of India preserved its independence throughout the Mohammedan period. Having formed a part of Asoka's empire and been tributary to the Guptas and to

Harsha, it definitely established its power in the 9th century and with slight changes has retained both Buddhism and its native rule until the present day. But throughout the middle ages its history is merely of local importance, and need not here be noticed. Orissa will be more conveniently classed along with the Kingdoms of Central India.

THE KINGDOMS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

Apart from the pre-eminence of the Andhra dynasty during four* centuries little is known about the early history of the Deccan or the great central Table-land.

The Chalukyas of the West.

The blank which succeeded the fall of the Andhras lasted for some three centuries, until the great Chalukya dynasty, apparently a Rajput family, rose to power early in the 6th century A.D. The Kingdom of the Chalukyas was rapidly extended throughout Central India, and Pulekesin II carried his arms successfully to Rajputana

in the North and the Coromandel coast in the East. The Pallavas† were overthrown by this aggressive monarch, the kingdoms of the extreme South acknowledged his supremacy, and the great Emperor of the North, Harsha Vardhana, was foiled in all attempts to penetrate Maharashtra. Courtesies were exchanged with the King of Persia, and Hiuen Tsang was much impressed by the greatness of Pulekesin. But his career of conquest was at last brought

Wars with the Pallavas, 608—750 A.D.

to a stop by the Pallavas of the East Coast. Constantly defeated by him, and driven out of Vengi by the force of his arms, they at length turned the tables upon their conqueror, overthrew Pulekesin, and reduced the Chalukya power to a condition of vassalage. For a century the struggle between the two Kingdoms continued: at one moment the Chalukyas reasserted themselves, at another the Pallavas obtained the ascendancy, until in the middle of the 8th century, the Rashtrakuta family fought their way to the front and obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan. For two and a quarter centuries this dynasty remained supreme. But though the main branch of the Chalukyas became extinct, there survived in the East of the Deccan what is known as the Kingdom of the

The Eastern Chalukyas, 630—1070 A.D.

Eastern Chalukyas founded in 630 A.D. by Vishnu Vardhana, the younger brother of Pulekesin II. The Chalukya Emperor had after the conquest of Vengi, early in his reign, established his brother as Viceroy of that district on the East Coast between the Kristna and Godaveri rivers, and his brother had shortly afterwards asserted his independence and founded a Kingdom which retained an unbroken existence until 1070 A.D., when it became merged in the great Chola Empire.

The Rashtrakutas, a family of considerable antiquity, who succeeded to the Western Chalukyas in the Deccan, engaged like their pre-

decessors in constant warfare with the neighbouring States. Nasik was for a while their capital, but about 800 A.D. the centre of their power shifted more inland. Govinda III, the sovereign at the time, was the most remarkable figure of the dynasty. He extended his power from the Vindhya in the North to Kanchi in the South, an Empire little less extensive than that of the great Pulekesin had been. Govinda's successors waged long and not altogether successful

* See p. 25 above.

† See p. 41 below.

war with the Cholas and the Eastern Chalukyas. Throughout this period Buddhism steadily decayed, and although the Jains made considerable progress under Rashtrakuta patronage, Puranic Hinduism was more and more the prevailing religion of the country.

The Empire of the Rashtrakutas in its turn began to wane, and in 973 A.D. Taila, a descendant of the old Chalukya dynasty, succeeded in regaining the supreme power. He founded a dynasty known as that of the Chalukyas of Kalyana (in Haiderabad), which also lasted for two centuries and a quarter. All the ancient territory of the Chalukyas was recovered by Taila, with the exception of Gujerat. But the kingdom under his successors enjoyed a very chequered existence, being constantly at war with the growing Chola power, and frequently defeated by it. Thus in 1000 A.D., Rajaraja the Great overran the country with fire and sword, destroying without compunction men, women and children. The last powerful prince of this Chalukya dynasty was Vikramanka, and his death in 1126 A.D. was followed by the decline of the dynasty, the Kingdom being absorbed about the year 1190 A.D. by the Yadavas of Devagiri in the North and the Hoysalas in the South. The centre of the latter's power lay in Mysore, that of the former's in the Western Ghats. Both dynasties succumbed to the Mohammedans early in the 14th century, and their doings are hardly notable enough to demand attention in this place.

The Hoysalas and Yadavas : important from 1190-1310 A.D.

The dynastic changes we have catalogued above are not of any great importance in themselves : but they form a canvas on which a complete history of Central India may perhaps some day be painted. At present the later Hindu period is the darkest period of Indian history, and the least instructive. Moreover, the vicissitudes of the Deccani dynasties are even less important than those of the Northern Kingdoms. Throughout Indian history the more important events have taken place in the North, and it is for this reason that notice of the Deccan so slender as this will prove sufficient.

Orissa, although now linked with the fortunes of Bengal, belonged of old rather to Central than to Northern India. A part of the early Kingdom of Kalinga, it had been conquered by Asoka; had later reasserted its independence, then came under the Andhra Kings, and during the last portion of the Buddhist Period was ruled over by a dynasty called Yavanas. This term, though it generally means 'Greeks' or 'Foreigners' may simply have been applied to a dynasty which introduced Buddhism, for in districts where the old Hindu beliefs were cherished, the Buddhists were often known by this uncomplimentary name. About 474 A.D. the Buddhist Kings came to an end and were succeeded by the Kesari or Lion dynasty, which introduced Puranic Hinduism, and reigned for six centuries and a half. The glorious groups of Orissa Temples, of which those at Bhuvanesvara, the capital, are the most elegant, belong to this period. A dynasty, probably of Bengalee origin, and known as the Gangetic line, succeeded to the throne of Orissa in 1132 A.D. They were ardent votaries of Vishnu, as their predecessors had been of Siva, and they retained their power

with varying fortunes until the inevitable Mohammedan conquest, which, however, did not take place until the middle of the 16th century, later than the overthrow of the other Native States in the north and centre.

The history of the Kingdoms in the south of the Peninsula is, if possible, still more meagre as regards its early periods. A great mass of inscriptions exist, but with few exceptions they suffer from the taint of modernity, and little accurate information is available for the centuries earlier than the 10th of the Christian Era. This portion of India seems to have early achieved a considerable civilization under the Dravidians, but it lay quite outside the scope of the earlier Hindus, and consequently is but seldom referred to in the sacred books. The three traditional Kingdoms of the South were the Pandya, the Chola, and the Chera. The two first of these were known to Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., and Buddhist missionaries were despatched to the foot of the Peninsula by that zealous King. The Aryan civilization and ideas had probably penetrated to the South during some part of the Rationalist Age,* but the exact amount of Aryan influence there obtained is as uncertain as the exact date of its first appearance. Probably the pre-Buddhist Hinduism took little root in the South of India, and the Dravidian religious ideas, like the Dravidian languages, held their own. The languages, Tamil and Telugu, have survived to the present day, but the indigenous beliefs succumbed first to Buddhism and Jainism, then to Puranic Hinduism. A foreign race, the Pallavas, early gained a footing in the South, and although their antiquity cannot compare with that of the three traditional Kingdoms, their authentic history is older. Some account of it shall be given in due order.

The Dravidian Kingdoms of the South and the Pallavas.

Perhaps the most ancient of the Dravidian Kingdoms of the South was that of the Pandyas. It was situated in the extreme South, and occupied, roughly, the modern districts of Tinnevely and Madura. It was a flourishing Kingdom for some centuries before the Christian era, and was ordinarily divided into five principalities. The seat of the capital was twice changed, and was finally fixed at Madura. The Pandyas enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of the pearl fishery and carried on extensive commercial dealings with the Western world. A Pandya King seems to have sent an embassy to Augustus Cæsar, and a quantity of Roman coins have been unearthed at Madura and other places. But no continuous history of the Kingdom is possible before the 12th century A.D. From about 1000 A.D., when the Pandyas in common with the other Kingdoms of the South were overthrown by the Chola Emperor Rajaraja the Great, until the middle, at least, of the 12th century, the Pandya Kingdom was in the position of a tributary State. But from the end of the Chola supremacy until the middle of the 16th century the records are most numerous and the dynastic lists fairly exact. A Sinhalese invasion in 1175 A.D. and the sack of Madura by a Mohammedan host in 1310 A.D. are the two events of outstanding importance in this period. In the latter year the Pandyan dominions, like nearly

Orissa, although now linked with the fortunes of Bengal, belonged of old rather to Central than to Northern India.

The dynasties of Orissa. A part of the early Kingdom of Kalinga, it had been conquered by Asoka; had later reasserted its independence, then came under the Andhra Kings, and during the last portion of the Buddhist Period was ruled over by a dynasty called Yavanas. This term, though it generally means 'Greeks' or 'Foreigners' may simply have been applied to a dynasty which introduced Buddhism, for in districts where the old Hindu beliefs were cherished, the Buddhists were often known by this uncomplimentary name. About 474 A.D. the Buddhist Kings came to an end and were succeeded by the Kesari or Lion dynasty, which introduced Puranic Hinduism, and reigned for six centuries and a half. The glorious groups of Orissa Temples, of which those at Bhuvanesvara, the capital, are the most elegant, belong to this period. A dynasty, probably of Bengalee origin, and known as the Gangetic line, succeeded to the throne of Orissa in 1132 A.D. They were ardent votaries of Vishnu, as their predecessors had been of Siva, and they retained their power

* See p. 12 above.



all the other kingdoms of the South, were subverted by the Moslem general Malik Kafur. The period which ensued is almost a blank in the History of Southern India, "Mussalman governors, representatives of the old royal families, and local chiefs being apparently engaged for years in violent internecine struggles for supremacy."*

The Chola country lay along the East Coast between the realm of the Pandyas and Madras, and also included most of the modern State of Mysore. It was an independent kingdom at the time of Asoka, but its history at this early date is a total blank.

The boundaries seem to have been subject to much variation, for at one time Kanchi was the seat of a Chola King, at another it was the abode of the head of the Pallava confederation, who after their arrival, perhaps at the very beginning of the Christian era, obstinately contested with the Cholas the supremacy of the South. What is known as the Chola country was disputed with

Contest of Cholas and Pallavas, 2nd—9th century A.D.

varying fortunes by the Pallavas from the 2nd to the 9th century A.D. From the time when the Chola Rajas began to regain their authority—about 860 A.D.—up to the middle of the 13th century we have now a fairly complete list of Chola Rajas, and some knowledge of their doings. Wars with Ceylon, the Pallavas, and the Rashtrakutas took place in the 10th century; and at last there arose a King, Rajaraja the Great, who became unquestionably the Lord Paramount of the South. The Pallavas had already been reduced to complete dependence, and Rajaraja, who inherited their quarrels with the more Northern Kingdoms, completely defeated the Eastern Chalukyas and added Kalinga to his territories. Having built a powerful navy, he subdued and annexed the island of Ceylon, and he must have reduced the Pandya Kingdom to the position of a tributary State. He it was who built the magnificent temple at Tanjore, the walls of which are gloriously engraved with the story of his victories. The successors of Rajaraja were as militant and successful as himself, but with the advent of the 12th century the Chola power began to

Decline of Chola Kingdom.

decline. The Pandyas regained their independence; a new dynasty of mixed Chola and Chalukya race arose in Vengi, and the Hoysalas became prominent in Mysore. Though the Chola Kingdom survived the Mohammedan invasion of 1310 A.D., its chiefs only retained a local importance; they continued to exist as late as the 16th century, but only as feudatories of Vijayanagar. The capitals of the Chola Kingdom had been first Kanchi, and then Tanjore. The sacred city of Kanchi (Conjeeveram) enjoyed the widest repute for learning and Sanskrit literature during the Puranic Period. It was a flourishing town when Hiuen Tsang visited the South of India.

The third of the traditional Kingdoms of the south was Chera, which lay along the Malabar Coast from the South of modern Travancore to Coimbatore. The Northern part of this region appears later under the name of

Kerala, but many philologists assert that the names of these Kingdoms are identical. In any case their records are deficient, and they played no ascertainable part in the wide field of Indian Political history.

This brief sketch of the Southern Kingdoms in early and mediæval times may be concluded by a few references to the Pallavas. The importance of this race in the Political history of South India has only of late years been recognised, but the industry of archæologists has now made it possible to write

Pallava Dominion, 2nd to 10th century A.D.

an outline of Pallava history from the 2nd to the 10th century A.D. On etymological grounds it is fair to assume the connection of the Pallavas of the South with the Pallavas of West and North, who invaded India early in the Christian Era, and were defeated by the Andhra King Vilivayakura II.* How, if this connection be a fact, an offshoot of the invading tribe found its way to the South, we do not know; but in the 2nd century A.D. the Pallavas were already a ruling race in the South-East of the Peninsula. They had adopted Hinduism, and they formed a confederation of three separate principalities, the King at Kanchi generally occupying the position of over-lord. Though the Pallavas were defeated by Samudra Gupta in the 4th century, they had supplanted the Chola Kings in the South-East, and had penetrated through Mysore to the Malabar Coast. From 575 to 770 A.D. a complete Pallava genealogy has been reconstructed. During this period almost incessant war raged between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas. Although Vengi, the seat of the Northern Pallava principality, was definitely lost, and became the capital of the Eastern Chalukya Kingdom, the great war with the Western Chalukyas, Pulekesin II and his successors, not seldom turned in favour of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The struggle was continued with the Rashtrakutas who supplanted the Chalukyas in the middle of the 8th century.† When the Rashtrakutas themselves passed into oblivion, the Pallava power, though weakened, still existed in the South, but the rising fortunes of the Cholas under Rajaraja the Great, at last put an end to the independence of the Pallavas. For eight centuries the intruders had lorded it over the Cholas, rightful possessors of the soil: but henceforth the Pallava Rajas held no more than a limited feudatory position under the Chola Kings, and this they seem to have retained until the 13th century. The nature of their dominion, a rule super-imposed upon the legitimate territorial Kingdoms, their confederation system, and their habit of levying blackmail, warrant a fairly close comparison between the Pallavas of the Hindu Period and the Mahrattas of a later day.

II. Religious, Social and Economic conditions.

The most complete picture of India in the early Puranic Period which we have is contained in the account of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, who jour-

Travels of Hiuen Tsang. 629—645 A.D.

neyed across the length and breadth of the land slightly before the middle of the 7th century. He came as a Buddhist pilgrim to visit the Buddhist sacred places and to study the sacred books; but during his stay of 15 years he studied and observed

* Sewall's *Dynasties of Southern India*.

* See p. 25 above.

† See p. 39 above.

contemporary conditions with such effect that his *Travels* throw a flood of light upon what would otherwise be a very dark period of Indian history. Much of what we know about the great Emperor Harsha is derived from the Chinese traveller, and from the same source we can gather much valuable information concerning the manners and customs of the time. Passing through Afghanistan, where Buddhism had degenerated into a low idolatry, he arrived in Kashmir where Hinduism and Buddhism were flourishing side by side. Thence he journeyed through Northern India from the Punjab to Bengal. Kanauj, the capital of the Northern Empire, was a city of great wealth and extreme magnificence. Though Harsha was a zealous Buddhist, the people were almost equally divided between the two religions. The traveller was present at one of the great quinquennial assemblies which the Buddhists held at Kanauj. The gorgeous processions and idolatrous pageantry were of a kind unknown in the days of early Buddhism. On these occasions the King scattered his largess freely among the people. Proceeding past the cities of the Ganges, of which Allahabad and Benares, both staunch centres of Hinduism, were the chief, the pilgrim arrived at Magadha, the holy land of the Buddhists. Pataliputra had crumbled into ruins, but the country abounded in Buddhist monasteries and sanctuaries. The magnificent temple of Gaya and the vast monastic university of Nalanda were the most impressive buildings in India. Hiuen Tsang remained five years at Nalanda, studying the Buddhist scriptures and the literature of the Brahmans. Toleration being the most striking feature of Buddhism, it is hardly surprising to find that this great religious institution attracted Brahmans as well as Buddhists and offered facilities for the study of that religion which was its greatest rival. From Magadha Hiuen Tsang journeyed to Bengal, and thence towards the South of India through Orissa, where Buddhism was still the prevailing faith, and Kalinga, which was now of inferior importance and overgrown with jungle. Passing through the newly established Kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas, the nucleus of the ancient Andhra Empire, he arrived at Kanchi, one of the finest cities of India. This old Chola city was now in the hands of the Pallavas, but Buddhist monks and monasteries still abounded there. The disturbed condition of the South, and of Ceylon, induced the traveller to turn West from this point and he journeyed along the Western Ghats to Gujerat and Malwa through Maharashtra, where Pulekesin II then held sway. Through most of Western India, as in the valley of the Ganges, Hinduism was the prevailing religion, although Buddhism was by no means extinct. On the whole there is no doubt that

Decline of Buddhism.

Buddhism was declining in India, and the new form of Hinduism, Puranik Hinduism,* rapidly taking its place. Buddhism had grown corrupt: the spirit of the faith was dead, and it had sunk to the level of an idolatrous system, taking delight in ceremonial and out-

ward forms. An impersonal religion and an ethical faith, such as Buddhism originally and essentially was, could not permanently satisfy the superstitious longings of the illiterate masses. This practical defect explains the rise of the later or Mahayana form of Buddhism, which gave to that religion a fresh lease of life and popularity in India.

Buddhism one of the constituents of Modern Hinduism.

But when once Buddhism began to make concessions to idolatry and superstition, it was doomed to

failure. The Brahmans were far more skilful at such compromise, and Hinduism in their hands was far more adaptable. And the priesthood found able coadjutors in the Kings. What the Gupta Emperors began, the Rajput Rajas concluded. Hence the Hindu faith, transformed to meet the needs of the moment, and skilfully incorporating the more popular aspects of Buddhism itself, came at last to satisfy the conservative instincts of the Hindus more completely than its rival. Buddhism, which had lost its unquestioned predominance as early as the 4th century, and which was steadily declining in the 7th, had sunk to a position of absolute insignificance by the 10th, and was completely eclipsed by the 12th century.

The Puranik Hinduism, which had thus established itself so firmly before the advent of the Mohammedans, differed greatly from the simple Vedic faith, both in doctrine and observance. The elemental gods of the

Nature of Modern Puranik Hinduism. Doctrinal differences between it and the Vedic faith.

Veda, to whom alone sacrifices had been offered, were ranked together as minor deities by the Puranik faith, and almost entirely ceased to be the object of propi-

tiation by sacrifice. The Supreme Trinity,—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer—supplanted Indra, Agni, Varuna, and their colleagues. The Vedic gods have not only taken a lower place in the modern Hindu faith, but their attributes and nature have undergone change, and a host of new deities has been elevated to a position of equality with them. The three supreme gods were recognised in a number of separate incarnations. Thus Rama and Krishna, semi-mythical Indian Kings, were worshipped as incarnations of the great god Vishnu. Wives also had to be found for the gods, more especially the Trinity, and this necessity accounts for the appearance of new goddesses, such as Lakshmi and Kali. Legends

Formation of sects among Puranik Hindus.

and tales innumerable anent these gods and goddesses were manufactured by the priests and incor-

porated in the Puranas. Then a further development in belief took place. Owing to the difficulty experienced in worshipping three several deities, sects arose within Hinduism, with the purpose of emphasizing one or other of the supreme gods almost to the exclusion of the rest. While the more spiritual of the Brahmans fixed their minds upon the idea of oneness in the deity in the person of Brahma, the less cultured classes tended to worship either Vishnu or Siva as the Supreme God. Those who elevated Vishnu to this position were called Vishnavas, and those who paid their respects almost exclusively to Siva, were known as

* It is to be noticed that the decline of Buddhism was gradual, and on the whole peaceful. Little persecution took place, and that was sporadic.

Sivaites.* The latter by the reverence they showed to the *Linga* as the symbol of their deity earned also the name of Lingayats, by which they are generally known to-day. But it must be remembered that these sects are nothing more than sects. "They represent only two different views of the same religion—one more tender and refined, the other (the Sivaites) more coarse and passionate." As regards observance, the main difference between the Vedic and the Puranic faith, is the absence of image worship in the first, and its widespread adoption in the second.

Differences in observance between the Vedic and Puranic religions.

Temples and idols were alike unknown in the days before Buddhism appeared in India: they were both the legacy of that religion after its decay. The custom of offering libations on the domestic hearth, peculiar to the Vedic religion, now gave place to gorgeous temple observances, which increased the importance of the priests, and diminished the privileges of the laity. Religious rites and knowledge became more and more the monopoly of priests; the land was crowded with Brahmans and with temples; ceremonies and pilgrimages were organized on a gigantic scale, and on every such occasion gifts were lavished on the priests, who thus fattened on the ignorance and blind veneration of the multitudes.

The triumph of Hinduism involved the triumph of caste. And here a difference is noticeable between the social conditions in the early, and those in the later, Puranic Period. The testimony of the Dharma Shastras, from the time of Yajnavalkya to the dark ages of the 8th and 9th centuries, proves that the first three castes were still entitled to the performance of religious rites and to the study of the Vedas, while even the despised Sudras practised at least some inferior Hindu rites.

But, when Alberuni† wrote in the 11th century, the Vaisyas were fast degenerating to the rank of Sudras, and had been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning. So great was the social and religious revolution which had taken place since the time of Manu, and even since the time of Yajnavalkya! The unhappy Vaisyas were henceforth given new names according to their professions, and relegated to the bottom of the social list under the head of mixed castes, like the aborigines of old.

A similar degeneracy is apparent in the position allocated to woman, and in the matter of marriage. Although the absolute seclusion of women was unknown until after the Mohammedan conquest, their status was becoming steadily lower, and there is even a marked difference between the early and the later Puranic Period in this respect. Early marriage was commoner in the 5th century A.D. than in the 5th century B.C., but it was not yet universal, if we are to believe the poets. Again, women wrote and read, played music, and amused themselves by painting. Widow remarriage had been dying out for centuries, but the custom was not yet extinct. But by the end of the Puranic Age widow remarriage was absolutely

Decline in the status of Woman.

prohibited, and widows had either to live and face ill-treatment for the rest of their lives, or mount the funeral pyre. The practice of Sati had been gaining gradual approbation for centuries, and it was now at length universally recommended, though it was never universally practised. It is first mentioned in the Puranic Literature, although suicide in case of unsupportable grief, whether of male or female, had been occasionally indulged in from the very beginning of Hindu history. The widespread adoption of suicide in the case of widows—under the name of Sati—affords ample proof of the inferior position now ascribed to woman. Such a barbarous custom was only possible when the respect due to woman for her own sake had been lost. On the other points the position of woman had changed for the worse before the 12th century. Child-marriage was becoming more popular, and men no longer married women of inferior castes.

much interesting information about manners and customs can be gleaned from the Dharma Shastras of the period, as well as from the later poets of the Sanskrit revival. We find depicted in the dramatic literature of the time some pleasing pictures of domestic life: still they are clouded by the lack of an independent existence conceded to women. Complete lists of domestic ceremonies are to be found in the law books: every important event in a man's life from his birth onwards was regulated by religion. The basis of these rules is to be found in the Sutras of the Rationalist Age, but the tendency was for them to become more numerous and complicated as time went on. The rules laid down for civil and criminal law and administration are so similar to those noticed in preceding chapters,* that no further attention need be paid to them in this place. Alberuni tells us that 1/4th of the produce of the soil was due to the ruler; and labourers, artisans and traders paid taxes calculated on their incomes. Only Brahmans were exempt from all taxes.† Immunity from capital punishment was another Brahmanic privilege which was still insisted on. The population seems to have still been addicted to gambling, while at the Courts of Kings drinking and immorality were all too common. The wealthy were still a comparatively small class, and they inhabited luxurious palaces in the great towns, besides possessing extensive villas and gardens in the suburbs. Ujjain was an even larger and more prosperous city than Kanauj in the period we are describing. The progress of the sciences was considerable during the earlier centuries of the Puranic Period, and will be noticed in the following section. Arts and industries also flourished, particularly architecture, but the contempt shown by the upper castes for all manual workers inevitably prevented such higher progress in the arts as can only be obtained when intellect and manual skill work hand in hand. Gorgeous temples arose on all sides. Peculiar styles of architecture became associated with the North, the Deccan, and the South, but these works shine rather by

Sati.

Domestic Rules.

Law and administration.

Amusements.

Arts and Industries.

Architecture.

* See pp. 13, 30 above.
† Alberuni's India, ch. LXVII. The book was written in 1030 A.D.

* Siva-worship became popular rather earlier than Vishnu-worship. The evidence of literature and architecture is especially valuable in this connection. The most popular form of Vishnu-worship was the cult of Krishna, an incarnation of the Preserver.

† See Note below.

reason of their beauty in sculptured detail and minute ornamentation than by any grand conception of design. The temples of Madura, Tanjore and Tinnevely are amazing for their endless detail, and their decorative skill, but the creative intellect which reigned supreme in Greece, and alone could supply the master-

Divorce of intellect from the fine arts in India.

pieces of design, was rarely possible in India where on religious and caste grounds intellect was divorced from the fine arts. But in their own sphere the decorative artists of India have ever been unrivalled for their skill. Along with merchants and bankers there flourished in the great towns capable workers in stones and metals, jewellers, embroiderers and carvers. "These artists found a market all through the known world, and the products of their skill were appreciated in the Court of Haroun-al-Raschid in Bagdad, and astonished the great Charlemagne and his rude barons who, as an English poet has put it, raised their visors and looked with wonder on the silks and brocades and jewellery which had come from the East to the infant trading marts of Europe."

(III.) Literature and Learning.

The present period was exceedingly prolific in religious literature, although for the most part the works of that nature composed after 500 A.D., lack the authority of the earlier and more sacred books. The majority of the Puranas belong to this epoch, as the

Puranas and Dharma
Shastras,

name given to the period shows; yet the more authoritative Vayu Purana, the Matsya and perhaps the Vishnu Puranas were compiled in the Buddhist Age.* Similarly with the Dharma Shastras. About sixteen were written in the Puranic Age, but all yield in importance to the greater work of Manu, composed, as we have seen, in the Buddhist Age. Probably also the Code of Yajnavalkya, frequently alluded to above, was written in the 4th or 5th century. In any case he is later than Manu. Some of the others, which in their present form date from Puranic times, were, doubtless, recast editions of earlier works. They were recast to suit the changed beliefs and practices of the times, and accordingly they may with justice be used as sources for the religion and law of the Puranic Hindus. They are more valuable in this respect than the bulk of the Puranas, which underwent considerable change after the Mohammedan conquest.

The wonderful development of poetry and the drama, which accompanied the Sanskrit revival under the Gupta Kings, continued its course until the dark centuries of the Puranic Age. Thus, some of the greatest names in Sanskrit literature belong to the 7th and 8th centuries. Kalidasa had a host of worthy successors, who more or less consciously moulded their

The Drama.

works on his. The cultured Harsha attracted to his court a circle of learned men. He himself was the reputed author of the two great 7th century plays, the *Ratnavali*, or 'Necklace,' and the *Priyadarsika*, or

7th Century. Harsha and
Banabhatta.

'Gracious Lady.' Some literary critics ascribe the first, at least, to Banabhatta, more commonly known as Bana, author of the *Harsha Charita*, 'A Life

of Harsha.' Whether these plays can really claim a royal authorship or not, their merits in spite of plagiarisms from Kalidasa are undeniable. The first is a love play, in which the passion of a king for a hand-maiden of his queen is beautifully described. The second is likewise a romantic drama, and describes the progress of a royal love affair. It is especially interesting, in that Hindu gods and goddesses are mixed up with Buddhist objects of veneration. Such a blending of belief and objects of worship was, we know from other evidence, common enough at the time.

A contemporary of Harsha and Bana was the eminent Bhartrihari, equally great as grammarian, philosopher and poet. His most famous work in verse is the *Niti Sataka*, or 'One Hundred Verses on Conduct.' The moral truths therein conveyed were especially valuable in an age of growing formalism and ceremonial.

A century later there arose Bhavabhuti, a native of Berar, and next to Kalidasa, the greatest dramatist of India.

Despite his fantastic and highly artificial style, he overwhelms by his power of portraying the weird. In the Court of the Kashmir King who had overthrown Yasovarman of Kanouj, Bhavabhuti wrote his masterpieces. Those preserved to us are the *Malati Madhava*, 'The loves of Malati and Madhava,' the *Madahavira Charita*, 'The story of Rama's Early Life' and the *Uttara Rama Charita*, dealing with the remainder of that hero's life. This dramatist, while his incidents and plot are unnatural and extravagant, displays a matchless power of description, together with a pathos and tenderness hardly inferior to that of Kalidasa. Above all, he excels in the weird. In the *Malati Madhava*, for instance, he "conjures up scenes that seize the imagination with a reality more vivid, and a spell more weird and uncanny than even the witch's scene in Macbeth or the Walpurgis Night in Faust."* This play is moreover valuable for the light it throws on certain phases of the more obscure superstitious rites of Hinduism, the Tantric practices of the Saktas, or worshippers of the creative side of each deity, personified in a female form.

Finally, we may notice a play of unknown authorship and date, but which has with some credibility been ascribed to a period slightly anterior to the age of Harsha. This is the *Mrichchhakatika*, or 'Mud Cart,' a play dealing, not with the exalted loves of princes and princesses, but with men and women in the ordinary walks of

The *Mrichchhakatika*. life. Mingled with the Sanskrit are the various Prakrit dialects,

different characters being represented as speaking the different vernaculars belonging to Northern India.† The play differs essentially from all other plays of the classic period. In its dramatic interest, in its realistic view of life, in its humour and raciness, it is unique in the literary history of India. It is eminently dramatic, and has been acted with success in Europe, a test which no other classic drama of Indian literature is capable of supporting. Moreover, it throws much light upon the history of the people in those far-off days, revealing the different types of character as men of living flesh and blood, and

* Frazer's *Literary History of India*, p. 289.

† Sanskrit was already giving place to the Prakrits, the ancestors of the present day vernaculars. From the rise of the Rajputs onwards, Sanskrit gradually sank to the position of a dead language, such as Latin holds in Europe.

affording an interesting commentary on the police and judicial systems of the time, the manners and occupations, particularly the amusements, of the people.

Few other Sanskrit plays are still extant, and those of inferior merit. But there are a number of *Mahakavyas* or short epics, belonging to the Puranic Period.

Poems, epic and lyric.

Kalidasa had worthy successors in this branch of literature, as in the drama. Bharani has left a vigorous and spirited epic, the *Kiratarjuniam*, which deals with some episodes from the Mahabharata. It is noticeable how frequently the two great Indian epics have been drawn upon by later Sanskrit poets for their subject-matter. Bhartrihari, the most versatile genius of the 7th century, wrote epics as well as the *Satakas*. The period of Rajput greatness was also not without its poets. King Bhoja,* himself a versifier of note, attached other men of letters to his court. Jayadeva of Bengal, who flourished in the 12th century at the court of the Sena King, Lakshmana, wrote the *Gita Govinda*, "the most melodious song that has ever been written in Sanskrit," the Hindu counterpart of the mystical song of Solomon. It has been rendered into beautiful English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold.

India has not been deficient in prose romances. Among Sanskrit works of fiction the following should be noticed:—(1) *The Fables of Pulpay*,

Fiction.

the current name for a series of fables anonymously compiled, perhaps in the 6th century, and properly known as the fables of the Panchatantra; (2) the *Dasa-Kumara-Charita* 'Adventures of the Ten Princes,' an ornate and artificial work written by Dandin in the age of Harsha; (3) the *Kadambari* of Bana, a wild story of overmastering passion, very ornate and extravagant in style and incident; (4) the *Vasavadatta* of Subandhu, a love tale abounding in the supernatural, also composed in the age of Harsha.

The present period was less prolific than the two preceding periods in philosophic treatises. The six systems were already complete, but the ultimate triumph of the orthodox philosophy took place in the age of Puranic Hinduism.

Philosophy.

The Vedanta systems and the Vedic rites were championed, the first successfully, and the second unsuccessfully, by the great commentaries of Kamarila and Sankara Acharya, whose theologico-philosophic controversies belong to the 7th and 9th centuries respectively.†

Astronomy and mathematics claim more particular mention. The superiority of the Hindus in these sciences was well maintained in the Puranic Age. Aryabhatta, who lived early in the 6th century, was a famous writer on astronomy and algebra. He boldly maintained the

Astronomy and Mathematics.

theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and understood the true causes of the lunar and solar eclipses. Moreover, his calculation of the earth's circumference was fairly accurate. He was shortly succeeded by Varahamihira, a most encyclopædic writer. His great work, the *Brihat Sanhita*, deals with astronomy, meteorology, geography, flora, and fauna, precious stones, the commodities of India, temples, images, and a host of other matters. It is an inexhaustible mine for the historian and the archæologist.

* See p. 39 above.

† See p. 34 above.

Then came Brahma Gupta in the 7th century. His astronomical system is a monument of the learning of the time. The dark age of internecine strife was likewise a dark age in literature and science. But with the Rajput revival learning also revived, and in the first part of the 12th century the renowned Bhaskaracharya wrote his immortal *Siddhanta Siromani*. It treats of various sciences, including algebra, arithmetic, trigonometry and astronomy. The Hindus were the earliest people to apply algebra to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations. Their works on algebra and trigonometry were translated by Arabian writers as early as the 8th century, and then found their way into Europe. It was through this channel also that the decimal notation invented by the Hindus, together with the numerals from one to nine and the cypher, found their way to the West and became the property of the whole civilized world. It cannot then be too often repeated that the veneration of Hellenism should not blind us to the debt which civilization owes to the most Eastern branch of the Aryan race.

The antiquity of Hindu medicine, and the progress made by Hindus in the various branches of medical science has now been thoroughly established. The

Medicine.

Hindus can be proved to have studied medicine before the Greeks, and even Hippocrates, the so-called 'Father of Medicine,' borrowed his *Materia Medica* from India. But although medical science was well advanced on the Ganges when the Greek learning was yet unborn, scientific works on the subject were of a later date. The writings of Charaka and Susruta are the most ancient extant medical works of the Hindus. Charaka is now plausibly ascribed to the Kushana Period, and Susruta perhaps wrote early in the Puranic Age. Both divide their works into numerous heads, and are most exhaustive. The structure of the body, surgery, the various kinds of diseases, and their cure, epidemics and antidotes, are a few of those divisions. The preparation of chemical compounds and the medicinal use of metals were known to Hindu physicians. The number of vegetable drugs mentioned by these writers is amazing. Surgery, which suffered such a marked decline in subsequent centuries, in those early days attempted the most difficult operations. One hundred and twenty-seven different surgical instruments are described, and students are recommended to practise on vegetable substances and dead animals. The fame of Hindu medicine in the ancient world was such that Alexander the Great employed Hindu physicians for tasks which were beyond the knowledge of his Greeks, and eleven centuries ago two

Decline of Medical Science.

Hindu doctors were appointed as Court physicians to the Great Kalip Haroun-al-Raschid of Bagdad. But with political and social degeneracy came the decay of science and learning, so that the descendants of the pioneers of medicine and surgery are now dependent upon the knowledge of the West in these as in all other branches of science. The civilization of the East arose and developed earlier than that of the West; but social and political conditions, if not the structure of the oriental mind, brought this flourishing civilization to a full stop, and did not admit of that continuous progress which the more energetic races of Europe have so signally displayed.



Field-Marshal LORD ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, P.C., K.P., G.C.B.,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., D.C.L., LL.D.



The Army in India.

PART I—Historical Review.

THE charter granted to the East India Company in 1661 empowered them to despatch ships of war, men and arms for the defence of their factories, and to make peace or war with any people who were not Christians. This power, which was somewhat enlarged by the charter of 1698 (which gave them authority to raise and maintain troops for the defence of their settlements), was renewed in 1753; but it was not till the passing of the Act of Parliament of 1773,* that the competency of the Company to wage war was clearly and specifically recognized.

For some years prior to 1661, however, armed followers had been entertained as guards for the Company's various factories and as personal escorts for their *employés*, and these armed followers increased in number as the Company's transactions and obligations extended. Till the declaration of war with France in 1744, the European soldiers were few in numbers and their duties were limited to defence of the different settlements, while the native irregulars (peons, cofferies, buxaries or sepoys), were employed principally on civil or police duties. The capture of Madras by the French in 1746 and, subsequently, the active and ambitious part taken by them in local politics forced the hands of the East India Company, who were obliged to turn their attention to the organization and improvement of the military forces at their command.

Of the years 1628-1746, which are the first dealt with below, there is little to relate, as, beyond a few attempted raids by Mahrattas and the expedition against the Nawab of Dacca in 1686, the period is bare of noteworthy military incident.

The first English military garrison in India was that of the factory at Armegon, which in 1628 consisted of 28 soldiers with 12 pieces of ordnance. In 1644-5 small parties of English recruits, with comparatively large quantities of ordnance and military stores, were sent out for the newly built Fort St. George, completing that garrison to a strength of 100 European soldiers. This force and the garrison of Fort St. David, established at Cuddalore in 1690-1, experienced many fluctuations in strength and, at times, considerable

difficulty in obtaining recruits, till 1746, when each of these garrisons consisted of some 200 European soldiers, including artillery.*

In addition, each European Company of soldiers had a varying number of topasses (Portuguese recruited locally), or lascars, attached to it; and considerable bodies of native irregulars, or peons as they were ordinarily termed, were maintained. The latter, serving under native leaders, were armed with swords and bucklers, bows and arrows, or other primitive weapons, and were intended primarily for escort and police duties, but at times were employed on military service. Although when disciplined some years later these men made excellent soldiers, they were not at this time of much military value and, in times of special danger, were constantly displaced by Rajputs, hired for the occasion.

The European civilians were formed into trained bands, which furnished at one period a troop of Volunteer Horse and a company of Artillery towards the defence of Fort St. George, and the Portuguese and other inhabitants of the settlement were all liable to military service; for instance, in 1688, in face of a threatened attack by Mahrattas, the Portuguese and Gentoo inhabitants of Madras were ordered to furnish "1 man in arms for each house or family that have 2 men."

On the establishment of the Hughli factory in 1640 the Nawab of Bengal limited the number of armed retainers to be maintained by the Company to an Ensign and 30 men; in 1681, on the appointment of a separate English Governor for the factories in Bengal, this party was reinforced by "a corporal of approved fidelity and courage, with 20 soldiers;" and in 1683 a further addition of 2 companies was made: one of them consisting of European soldiers from Fort St. George, the other being made up of sailors from the Company's vessels in Bengal. In 1699, Bengal became a Presidency and the European military force at this time amounted to some 300 men, including 100 artillerymen called "the gunner and his crew." It gradually increased till 1746 when it consisted of 5 companies of Infantry and 1 of Artillery.

As in Madras, the European companies were augmented by the attachment of topasses and lascars; native irregulars, called buxaries, were maintained in comparatively large numbers; and the civilian inhabitants were liable to military service in defence of their settlement. It is to be remarked,

* The Artillery Company or "Gunroom Crew" of Fort St. George consisted in 1740 of:—1 Gunner and 4 Gunner's Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 Topasses, 1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls and 35 Lascars.

however, that it was not till 1742, that the [European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants were regularly embodied into a Militia.

In 1662, Sir Abraham Shipman was sent from England with 400 soldiers to hold Bombay, 1662-1746. Bombay for the Crown. Owing to

objections on the part of the Portuguese as to the meaning of the term Bombay, the party landed in Anjedeva instead, whence they were transferred to Madras in 1664; by 1665, when Bombay was ceded finally, Shipman and many others had died; and the party that landed in Bombay had dwindled to 1 officer and 113 men. When Bombay was made over to the East India Company in 1668, the officers and men were offered, and accepted, service under the Company. In 1676 the force in Bombay consisted of 2 companies of 200 men each, which by 1746 had increased to 8 companies (including 1 Grenadier Company), aggregating some 1,500 officers and men including artillery. This number, however, also includes topasses, who composed rather more than half the force.

The native irregulars, called sepoy, consisted in 1746 of 6 companies, each under the command of a Subehdar, and totalled about 700 of all ranks; as regards their military value, these men do not appear to have differed materially from the peons and buxaries of Madras and Bengal, although, apparently, somewhat better organized.*

The Militia at Bombay in 1676 had an enrolled strength of 600 men, who were all possessors of land in the island.

The years 1746-96 saw the Company's obligations extended in every direction and, in consequence, the rapid augmentation of their military forces. The capture and defence of Arcot in 1751, followed by the recapture of Calcutta and the battle of Plassey in 1757, were the principal incidents at the beginning of a period which was to see French, Dutch, Mughal Viceroys, Rohillas, Mahrattas and Tipu Sultan, all defeated in their turn, and the East India Company involved, further and further, in a policy which was to found the British Empire in the East.

The 39th Foot, the first Royal regiment to arrive in India, reached Madras in 1754, and accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1757. In 1758, the 79th, 84th and 96th Foot arrived in India, but were recalled in 1764, when many of the officers and men accepted transfer to the Company's service. In 1779, the 71st Highlanders (then 73rd) were sent to Madras, to be followed by 4 other battalions [the 72nd Highlanders (then 78th), the 73rd Highlanders (then 2-42nd) Fullerton's (98th) and Humberstone's (100th) Foot] and the 19th Light Dragoons. In 1787, four more battalions, which had been specially raised for the East India Company (the 74th and 75th Highlanders and the 76th and 77th Foot), were sent out; the 36th and 52nd Foot and the 14th and 15th Hanoverians also reached India about this time: giving a total of 1 regiment of Dragoons and 13 battalions of infantry.

King's Troops in India, 1746-1796.

After the capitulation of Fort St. George, the Governor and Council at Fort St. David at once began to raise troops.

European Cavalry.—A troop of European cavalry was raised in 1748, but it never attained to any appreciable strength, and by 1758 must have disappeared entirely, for in that year, orders issued for the raising of a troop of 2 officers and 36 N.-C. Officers and men. In 1762, there were 2 English troops and 1 troop of foreign hussars, but they did not last long, for the latter were disbanded in 1769, and the former, after dwindling to a strength of 30 or 40 for several years, were abolished finally in 1784.

Native Cavalry.—In 1758, a body of 500 native cavalry were raised by a native officer, but they were not a success and had disappeared by 1768, when it was found necessary to organize native cavalry by mounting 500 selected sepoys. In 1784, 4 regiments of the Nawab's cavalry, which for some years had been officered by Europeans, were taken over by the Company; they mutinied almost at once, however, and three of them were disbanded, 2 fresh regiments being formed from the loyal remnant: to these, 2 regiments were added in 1785 and another in 1787, bringing the total to 5.

Artillery.—There was a small party of gunners at Fort St. David in 1746 under 2 ensigns and 2 master gunners, who, in 1749, were raised to the strength of a company of 5 officers and 110 N.-C. Officers and men; a second company was raised for Fort St. George in 1752, where, in 1758, at the commencement of the siege of Madras there were:—Royal Artillery, 148 officers and men; Madras Artillery, 70 officers and men. In 1763-4, the Royal Artillery were recalled to England, many of the men, however, accepting service under the Company; and this led to the organization in 1765 of 3 companies of Madras Artillery. The strength gradually increased, and in 1768, a battalion of 5 companies was formed, which by 1790 had risen to 2 battalions of 5 companies each. The corps of gun lascars was organized in 1779 in 24 companies, to rise to 30 companies by 1790.

Engineers.—There were a small number of Engineer officers employed continuously throughout this period.

European Infantry.—These amounted to about 200 at Fort St. David in 1746, and their strength was augmented after the capitulation of Madras by detachments from Bengal and Bombay of 100 men each, and by 150 men from England. In 1748, 7 companies of 3 officers and 81 N.-C. Officers each were formed, and by 1758 had so increased that they were organized in 2 battalions of 7 companies each; their numbers still continued to rise till 1770, when they were organized in 1 regiment of 4 battalions, altered in 1785 to 4 regiments of 1 battalion each.

A foreign legion was raised in 1768 and disbanded in 1780. In 1795, the Swiss regiment of Neufchatel, or De Murion, was transferred from the service of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon to the British service in India: it was composed of 10 companies and was about 800 strong when it arrived in Madras.

Native Infantry.—The peons in Fort St. David in 1747, numbering about 3,000, were organized in companies under native leaders and were trained partially by

* Sir John Malcolm in his 'Government of India' contends that it was at Bombay that the first native corps were disciplined by the English about 1746-7: most other authorities give Madras, and a later date.

Europeans, but in 1758, when 2 battalions of them were formed under the command of Lieutenant Charles Tod, it was said of them that, though they had behaved well under fire on several occasions, they were still undisciplined and unable to manœuvre in the field. In 1760, 6 battalions of them (of 9 companies each) were formed under the command of British officers (2 Subalterns, and 3 Sergeant Majors to each battalion). This experiment, the organization and success of which was mainly due to Major Stringer Lawrence, was the beginning of the Madras native army, which for the next 30 years or so continued to increase in numbers and improve in efficiency. In 1765, when the force consisted of 13 battalions, British Captains were appointed to the command, and in 1773, to a force of 18 battalions, formed in 3 brigades of 6 battalions each, Adjutants were added to the Captain, 5 Lieutenants and 5 Ensigns with each battalion. By 1794, after various changes in the size and number (per battalion) of companies, and also in the number of battalions, the force had risen to a strength of 36 battalions.

A corps of guides, for survey work and work under the Intelligence Department, was raised in 1774, reduced in 1782 and again raised in 1787.

Militia, Volunteers, &c.—During the siege of Madras in 1758, three companies (1 European, 2 native) of Volunteer Pioneers were formed and did good service.

Till the capture of Fort William, with its terrible sequel of the 'Black Hole' in 1756, and the subsequent arrival of Bengal, 1746-1796.

Clive in the following year, there is nothing of military interest in Bengal to relate.

European Cavalry.—Two troops of European Dragoons and one of Hussars were raised from the European infantry in 1760, were organized into one efficient troop in 1764, and in the following year, with the exception of a small number retained as a body-guard for the Governor-General, the men returned to infantry duty.

Native Cavalry.—Two *ressalahs* of irregular cavalry called the Mughal Horse, under native leaders, were raised in 1760; these, after an increase in 1764 to a strength of 1,200, were reduced in 1765 to 3 *ressalahs* of 100 men each under command of British subalterns, and were disbanded in 1772 as being of little use. The Nawab Vizier raised 2 cavalry regiments officered by Englishmen, in 1776, which were transferred to the Company in 1777, when a third regiment, to complete a brigade, was formed. Two of these were disbanded in 1783, and the third, after service in Bombay together with a troop of 'Kandahar Horse' raised at Cawnpur in 1778, formed in 1796 2 of the 4 regular native cavalry regiments established by the reorganization of 1796.

Artillery.—By 1765, the company of 1746 had risen in strength to 4 companies, one company being attached to each of the 3 brigades formed by Clive, the fourth being retained for garrison duty at Fort William, Palta and Baj-baj; in the years 1777-85, some companies of Golan-daz (native artillery) officered by Europeans were taken over by the Company from the Nawab of Oudh, but, although apparently efficient, they were abolished in the latter year, the system of having companies of gun lascars being reverted to. The European artillery had, in the meantime, increased considerably, and the

establishment was fixed in 1786 at 3 battalions of 5 companies each with 30 companies of lascars.

Engineers.—As in Madras, a small number of Engineer officers was employed continuously during this period.

European Infantry.—The numbers of these after the capture of Calcutta were reduced to about 200, but rose in the next two years to 900, and by 1765 we find them organized in three regiments, each forming part of the brigades formed by Clive in that year: in 1786 their organization was changed into one of 6 battalions.

Native Infantry.—The first battalion of Bengal sepoys to be trained, disciplined and clothed after European methods was raised by Clive in 1757; the experiment was successful, recruits were plentiful and easily obtained, and by 1759 five battalions had been organized. In 1760, each of these battalions had a native strength of 1,000 with a European staff of 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign and 4 N.-C. Officers. Their numbers continued steadily to increase till 1786, when there were 36 battalions, each with a European staff of Commandant, Adjutant, 8 Subalterns and 10 N.-C. Officers.

Militia and Volunteers.—In 1756, a company of Volunteers was formed at Palta and formed part of Clive's expeditionary force which re-took Fort William. About 1795, a corps of native Militia was raised in Calcutta, which was found most useful in relieving the Regulars of garrison duties when the latter were required for active service: it consisted of 8 companies of 90 men each.

Artillery.—The artillery in Bombay, which in 1760 numbered 227, of whom 128 were natives, was formed into 3 companies of 100 Europeans each in 1765, and into a battalion of 4 companies, totalling 302 Europeans, in 1768.

Engineers.—In 1777, the Court of Directors agreed to officers being appointed to form a corps of Engineers, and in the same year 5 companies of *lascar* Engineers, and one of *lascar* Pioneers, each numbering 100 native officers and men, were organized.

European Infantry.—By 1760, the infantry left in Bombay were reduced to 662 men, of whom 255 were *topasses*; in

1765, the establishment was fixed at 15 companies of 100 Europeans each, which, three years later, were formed into 3 battalions of 7 companies each, aggregating 1,603 Europeans. In 1778, the European infantry left in Bombay was again reorganized, being formed into 1 battalion of 12 companies (two of which were to garrison Broach), totalling 670 officers and men.

Native Infantry.—In 1759, the companies of sepoys were reorganized, those required for civil duties being formed into a separate corps, while a corps of 500 was organized for purely military duties. In 1765, the organization of the sepoys in Bombay into 2 battalions was ordered by the Court of Directors; each battalion which was to consist of 10 companies, with a total strength of 1,000 native ranks, was to have a European staff of 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, and 10 Sergeants. This force gradually increased, till, by 1783, it consisted of 7 battalions (including 1 of Marines); by 1788, 12 battalions had been formed, and at this number they remained till the reorganization of 1796.



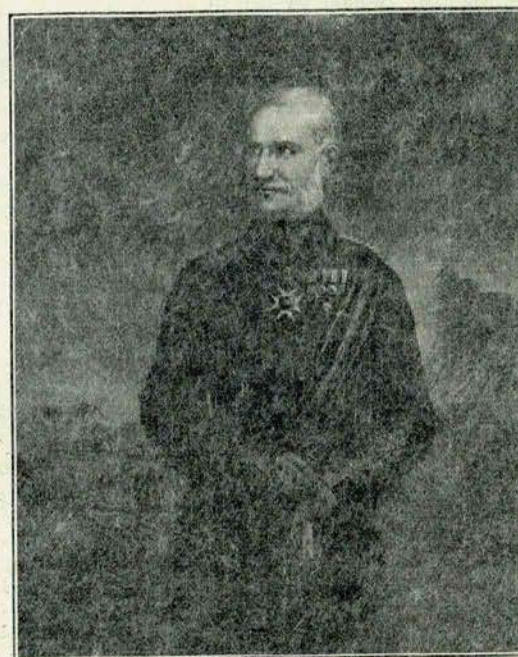
LORD CLIVE.



Major-General Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY, Bart. K.C.B.



General Sir JOHN NICHOLSON.



Brigadier-General Sir HENRY HAVELOCK.

SOME FAMOUS INDIAN GENERALS.

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The recruitment of the Company's European forces was a question of some difficulty, and detachments were sent out from home, from time to time, the gaoles and the pressgang being prominent recruiting agents; for the service was far from popular: but this source alone proved insufficient, and sailors from the Company's ships, volunteers from the King's troops, foreign deserters and prisoners of war were all had recourse to at different periods; in addition, foreign mercenaries, notably Swiss, were often engaged in comparatively large numbers, and even, at one time, slaves were purchased in Madagascar to fill up the vacant ranks: with all this, numbers fell dangerously low at times and, in consequence, in every presidency, topasses formed generally a large proportion of the European companies.

There appears to have been little difficulty experienced, except at one time in Madras, in obtaining recruits for the various native forces; it is probable that, till disciplined native corps were organized about the middle of the 18th century, no great efforts were made to recruit from good fighting classes, and it is not till this period that we find in old records particular mention of the different classes enlisted.

Pathans, Rohillas and Rajputs formed the greater part of the first Madras native battalions till the number of these began to outgrow the supply, when recourse was had to the inhabitants of the Carnatic and the Circars: in 1795, unsuccessful attempts were made to recruit for Madras regiments in Bombay and Bengal.

In Bengal, the first battalion was formed of Pathans, Rohillas, Jats, Rajputs and Brahmans, but as the army increased, the two latter classes rose in numbers till they predominated: in the first instance recruits came generally from Behar and Benares, but latterly most of the men seem to have come from Oude and beyond Benares.

There was a curious mixture in Bombay regiments of Eurasians, Jews, Arabs, Abyssinians, local Mahomedans, and low caste Mahrattas.

The military administration of this period was corrupt in the extreme; in questions of supply and accounts matters were extraordinarily lax, perquisites being recognized as a part of an officer's legitimate emoluments; and in other directions affairs were little better. In consequence, discipline was most indifferent, and mutinies, even of British Officers, were frequent and had often to be suppressed with the greatest severity. As a result of all this the training of the troops was far from perfect. The indifferent position and prospects of the Company's officers may have been responsible for a great deal of this. For many years no officers above the rank of Captain, and very few even of that rank, were appointed, in order that the control of the Company's civilian servants over their military forces might be entire and unquestioned even in time of war; and when senior officers were appointed, their numbers were so few as to make promotion unduly slow, and they were frequently superseded by officers of the King's troops who had been granted local rank.

It was not till the middle of the 18th century that field officers were appointed to the command of the military forces in each presidency with a seat as third

Member of Council of that Presidency, and it was not till some 20 years later that they were allowed a proper staff to assist them in their military duties.

In 1774, the Governors of Presidencies were appointed Commanders-in-Chief of the forces in their respective presidencies, and in 1786 Lord Cornwallis was appointed the first Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India. Brigadier-General Carnac, who resigned in 1767, was the first military Commander-in-Chief in India.

The military administration by Government was at first carried out by a branch of the so-called Public Department under a Secretary. In 1773-4 Quarter-Master General's and Adjutant-General's Departments were created; and in 1776 a Military Board was organized in each presidency "for the management and direction of military affairs." The constitution of this Board, which at first was composed of the Governor-General or Governor and other Members of Council, was changed in 1785, when it was composed of:—

The Commander-in-Chief,
The Senior Officer at the Presidency,
The Senior Officer of Artillery,
The Chief Engineer,
The Adjutant-General,
The Quarter-Master General, and
The Auditor-General.

In 1786, were created two departments for the conduct of military business, each under a Secretary, called "The Secret and Military Department" and "The Military Department of Inspection." In 1793, the latter department was abolished and the title of the former department altered to Military Department.

The reorganization of 1796 was the first real attempt to treat generally, and from one point of view, the heterogeneous forces of the various presidencies, and it is, therefore, more or less possible from this date to deal with the army in India as a whole.

The army was organized as follows:—

Bengal.—European artillery, 3 battalions of 5 companies each.

European infantry, 3 regiments of 10 companies each.

Regular native cavalry, 4 regiments of 6 troops each.

Native infantry, 12 regiments of 2 battalions each.

Madras.—European artillery, 2 battalions of 5 companies each.

European infantry, 2 regiments of 10 companies each.

Native artillery, 15 companies of lascars (attached to European artillery).

Native infantry, 11 regiments of 2 battalions each.

Bombay.—European artillery, 1 battalion of 6 companies each.

European infantry, 1 regiment of 12 companies.

Native infantry, 4 regiments of 2 battalions each, and a marine battalion.

Officers, who had hitherto been borne on one seniority list in each presidency for promotion, were now given promotion up to the rank of Major according to their *regimental* seniority. Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels were placed on separate lists for promotion in each presidency, and an establishment of Generals was laid down for the Company's army. Furlough regulations were also introduced.

The establishment of the native army in Bengal was laid down as follows :—

Native cavalry regiment, 16 European officers, including 1 field officer, 4 European N.-C. Officers, 12 native officers, and 465 native N.-C. Officers and men; *Native infantry regiment*, 1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 8 Captains, 22 Lieutenants, 10 Ensigns, 2 European N.-C. Officers, 40 native officers, and 1,840 native N.-C. Officers and men.

The establishments in Bombay and Madras were organized on similar lines.

With the advent of Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley) in 1798, started an era of war and conquest. British cantonments gradually extended to beyond Delhi in the north and over the whole of the Dekhan and Mahratta territories, and necessitated a large increase to the army. In 1808, the Indian military establishment was constituted as follows :—

Period 1796-1857.

Military forces, 1808.

	ROYAL ARMY.		COMPANY'S ARMY.			
	Cavy. Regts.	Infy. Battalions.	European Infy. Battalions.	Artillery Battalions.	Native Cavalry Regiments.	Native Infy. Regiments.
Bengal	...	2	5	1	3	54
Madras	...	2	8	1	2	46
Bombay	7	1	1	18

Aggregating, in round numbers, 24,500 Europeans and 130,000 natives.

The war in Nepal and against the Pindaris, the two Burmese and Afghan wars, the operations against Sind and Gwalior and the two Punjab campaigns were all responsible for increased military obligations, if not for expansion of territory, and gave cause for further increases in the military forces.

A reorganization of the army in 1823-4, under which

double battalion regiments were split into single battalion regiments and numbered according to the dates on which they had been raised and which gave 1 Colonel and 22 European officers to each native regiment or battalion, fixed the establishment of the Company's forces as below :—

	Horse Artillery.	Foot Artillery.	Engineers.	European Infy. Regts.	Regular Nat. Cavy. Regts.	Irreg. Nat. Cavy. Regts.	Nat. Infy. Battns.
Bengal ..	3 Brigades (9 European and 3 Native troops).	5 Battns. (20 Coys.)	47 Officers, 1 S. & M. Corps, 1 Pioneer Corps.	2	8	5	68
Madras ..	2 Brigades (1 European and 1 Native).	3 Battns. each of 4 Coys. with 4 Coys. lascars.	2 Battns. Pioneers.	2	8	..	52
Bombay.	4 Troops.	8 Coys.	1 Corps Engineers & 1 Corps Pioneers.	2	3	2	24

and, in addition, various local and provincial corps.

In 1815, the first Gurkha battalions were formed from the men who entered the British service after the fall of Malaun; in 1823, when the establishments and duties of the various and nondescript irregular corps in the Company's service were fixed and laid down, we find 5 irregular native cavalry regiments mentioned, which were the beginning from which sprung the Bengal Silladar Cavalry.

From 1824 to 1856, the army experienced many fluctuations in strength (as the forces were reduced or increased in accordance with the policy and requirements of the moment) and some slight changes in organization. In the latter year the numbers stood as below :—

	BRITISH (ROYAL AND E. I. COY.'S) TROOPS.				NATIVE TROOPS.				
	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Infantry.	Total.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Sappers & Miners.	Infantry.	Total.
Bengal	1,366	3,063	17,003	21,432	19,288	4,734	1,497	112,052	137,571
Madras	639	2,128	5,941	8,708	3,202	2,407	1,270	42,373	49,252
Bombay	681	1,578	7,101	9,360	8,433	1,997	637	33,861	44,928
Local forces and Contingents.	...	...	...	...	6,796	2,118	...	23,640	32,554
Do. (various arms)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,756
Military Police	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38,977
TOTAL	2,686	6,769	30,045	39,500	37,719	11,256	3,404	211,926	311,038
					Total British and Native				350,538



The way in which the Bengal army had more than doubled its numbers in the last 50 years, while the Madras army had slightly decreased, and the forces in Bombay had almost remained stationary, is worthy of remark.

Local corps had been raised in large numbers; they were cheaper and more mobile than the regular native troops,

Local Corps. and their organization was favoured on the grounds of policy: for it was felt that the Bengal army, recruited almost exclusively from one caste, had grown dangerously strong. Among the better known of these local corps we may mention:—The Frontier Brigade raised in the Sutlej States in 1846; the Corps of Guides; the Punjab Irregular Force raised in 1849; the Oude Irregular Force; and the Hyderabad Contingent. The latter force, which was maintained by the Nizam of Hyderabad under the treaty of 1800, at first consisted of 9,000 horse and 6,000 foot, with European officers from the Company's service: in 1853, however, a new treaty assigned Berar for the payment of the contingent, which, thereupon, ceased to be a part of the Nizam's army; it was then organized in 4 regiments of cavalry, 4 field artillery batteries, and 6 battalions of infantry, under a general officer who took his orders from the Resident at Hyderabad. The Punjab Irregular Force was administered by civil authority, namely, the Provincial Government.

Many of the Native States also maintained contingents with which they were supposed to come to the Company's aid if required to do so. The numbers of these contingents varied greatly, but in ordinary times they averaged about 35,000 men: they were of little value in a military sense.

Militia and Volunteers. The different militia and volunteer forces appear to have been neglected, and in a great part to have dropped out of existence during this period.

Discipline and Administration. The repeated mutinies show that discipline was still far from what it should have been; and indifferent conduct in the face of the enemy was not infrequent.

The position of commanding officers of native corps was anomalous in the extreme owing to their liability to constant transfers; the shibboleth of seniority, and the system by which officers once appointed to the staff remained permanently on the staff, imposed on the army senile generals and staff officers out of touch with the men in the ranks: these facts, and the excessive centralization of the army administration, rendered the whole army machinery cumbersome and unsuitable.

In 1799, the Military Department was assigned a place in the administration of each presidency, on much the same footing as the civil public departments of Government and, in conjunction with the Military Boards, administered the military business of the country. The Military Boards were abolished finally in 1855, when in each presidency the administration of the army devolved on the Military Department, and the Commander-in-Chief became the executive head of the military forces while still retaining his seat on the Council.

The causes of the Mutiny of 1857 have been so often and so well described that it is unnecessary to enter into the

Period 1857-1895.

question here. Only a small portion of the Bengal army remained faithful. The Bombay army generally proved true to their salt, and of the Madras army only one regiment of cavalry gave trouble. The Punjab Frontier Force not only proved thoroughly loyal, but its services in helping to suppress the mutineers were invaluable.

British Troops. In 1858, when the East India Company ceased to exist on the assumption of government by the Crown, it was decided

that the Company's European troops should be transferred to the Crown. They were accordingly amalgamated into the Royal army. In 1857 large reinforcements of British troops had reached India and their establishment in the following year was approximately 70,000.

Reorganization of the Native Army. The reorganization of the native army took some years to effect. It was decided to reorganize the whole on the "irregular" system. This term

appears to have been applied because a smaller number of British Officers were appointed to each corps of the reorganized army than were formerly appointed to regular corps, and because each appointment was considered a 'staff' appointment. The term was in no way descriptive and has long since ceased to be employed.

Formation of Indian Staff Corps. A staff corps was instituted, for each of the three presidencies, to provide officers to hold the various offices and appointments in native regiments, on

the staff and in army departments, and also those in civil and political employ open to military officers. Promotion was to be by length of service; 12 years' service to qualify for the rank of Captain, 20 for Major, and 26 for Lieutenant-Colonel.

Native Army Establishment. The native cavalry (except for the regiments in Madras) was organized on the Silladar system; and the native artillery, except for the few native mountain batteries of the Punjab Frontier Force and Bombay army and the Hyderabad Contingent field batteries, was entirely abolished.

In 1864, the establishment was as follows:—

	Cavalry Regiments.	Artillery Batteries.	Infantry Battalions.
Bengal ...	19	.....	49
Madras ...	4	.....	40
Bombay ...	7	2	30
Punjab Frontier Force ...	6	5	12
Hyderabad Contingent ...	4	4	6
Other local Corps ...	2	.....	5
TOTAL ...	42	11	142; or a total strength of some 140,000 men.

There were various small frontier expeditions between 1860 and 1878; there were also expeditions against China, Abyssinia and Perak, but no large and important



operations took place till the Afghan War of 1878-79. This campaign, which strained greatly the military resources of India, showed many defects in the military administration and organization. The Army Organization Committee of 1879 enquired into the whole question copiously and exhaustively, and had many reforms to recommend. In accordance with their

Recommendations, the following native corps were disbanded about 1881:—

2 Bengal, 1 Bombay, and 1 Punjab Frontier Force regiments of cavalry.

5 Bengal, 8 Madras, 4 Bombay and 1 Punjab Frontier Force battalions of infantry.

At the same time a substantial increase was made in the establishment of every other corps.

The British army, which consisted of 9 cavalry regiments, 86 batteries of artillery, and 50 battalions of infantry, was reduced by 11 batteries.

In 1885, war with Russia appeared imminent, and it was decided to increase permanently the British and native

forces. A fourth squadron was added to each British cavalry regiment; the 11 batteries of European artillery, reduced in 1881, were restored; an addition was made of 3 battalions of British infantry; and the strength of each battalion on the establishment was to be increased by 100 men. Two Bengal and one Bombay native cavalry regiments were ordered to be raised, while a fourth squadron was to be added to each Bengal and Bombay regiment and 100 men to each Madras regiment; two native mountain batteries were to be raised; and 9 native infantry battalions were added to the Bengal Army.

The total increase amounted to 10,600 British and approximately 20,000 natives and was carried out by the end of 1887, in which year the establishment of the army in India stood as below:—

	BRITISH.					NATIVE.				
	Cavalry.	Artillery.	R. E. Officers.	Infantry.	Total.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Sappers and Miners.	Infantry.	Total.
Bengal ...	3,786	7,084	203	34,442	45,515	15,202	1,508	1,438	58,944	77,092
Madras ...	2,524	2,658	35	11,143	16,360	2,146	271	1,495	28,737	32,649
Bombay ...	631	2,947	45	8,104	11,727	4,667	452	935	22,490	28,544
Local Corps ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,598	...	...	5,669	7,267
Hyderabad Contingent.	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	536	...	5,004	7,540
TOTAL ...	6,941	12,689	283	53,689	73,602	25,613	2,767	3,868	120,844	153,092
Total British and Native=226,694										

All of this increase, however, was absorbed by the requirements of the territory annexed in, and adjacent to, Burma in 1885 and the following years.

During the ten years 1885-95, military operations in Burma and on the Eastern, North-Eastern, and North-Western Frontier were almost continuous, while during the same period great strides were made in the improvement of the organization and efficiency of the forces. Among the principal changes we may mention the following:—

In 1885, was inaugurated a programme for the improvement of coast and frontier defences.

In 1886, arrangements for mobilization in the event of war were placed on a proper footing; a reserve was started for the native army with a strength of some 23,000 men; military police were organized for service in Burma, and two additional mountain batteries were raised to meet

the requirements of Burma; and the control of the Punjab Frontier Force was transferred from the Punjab Government to the Commander-in-Chief. In 1888 General's Commands were reduced

from 33 to 30 and were divided into 1st class districts under Major-Generals, and 2nd class districts under Brigadier-Generals, while the larger stations were placed under Colonels on the Staff; the district staff of the Adjutant-General's and Quarter-Master-General's Departments were amalgamated into district staff officers, 1st and 2nd class, for the higher class of military staff duties, duties of a routine nature being relegated to the garrison or station staff.

In 1889, Mounted Infantry were organized for service in Upper Burma, and the Imperial Service Troops system was inaugurated. Regarding the latter a short explanation is necessary. During the war with Afghanistan in 1878-80 certain of the native chiefs had

sent contingents to assist our forces, and these had rendered good service, generally on the line of communications. In 1885, when a Russian war seemed imminent, most of the native chiefs had come forward with offers of assistance in men, horses or money. The native armies of these chiefs—for the most part huge undisciplined armed rabbles—had for years been considered a source of danger in case of a general mobilization for war across our frontiers, and it was decided to remove this danger and at the same time increase our available reserves, by inviting all the greater native chiefs to reorganize their armies by forming corps which should be really efficiently armed, equipped, disciplined and trained, and which should be at our disposal in case of need. In order that the chiefs should take a sufficient pride and interest in these corps, they were to remain under the complete control of their own rulers during peace time, the only interference we allowed ourselves being that British Officers (serving under the orders of the Foreign Department) should train and inspect them. The scheme has proved entirely successful, and Imperial Service Troops have rendered excellent service in more than one frontier expedition and in China and Somaliland.

In 1890, the three presidential staff corps of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were amalgamated into one Indian staff corps, and the number of trans-frontier men in the native army was increased. In 1891, two Bombay infantry regiments were reconstituted for service in Baluchistan; an increase was made in the establishment of garrison artillery companies; the pay of the native soldier was increased; and recruiting centres for the Bengal army were established. In 1892, the Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master-General's Department was reorganized and certain Madras regiments were reconstituted for service in Upper Burma. In 1893 the system of class regiments was introduced among the Hindustani regiments of the Bengal army, and the British troops in India were re-armed with the magazine rifle. In 1894, a reserve of officers for the Indian army was organized, but up to the present has not proved a success.

It has already been shown how the different presidential armies grew up apart from force of circumstances. Gradually, however, as cantonments spread out over the country, and as external requirements necessitated the employment in one direction of forces larger than any one presidency could spare, the three armies came more and more in contact.

Further, in the progress of events, the armies of Madras and Bombay came to garrison territories well beyond the limits of those presidencies; and the Bengal army had grown too large and cumbersome for one command. It thus became increasingly apparent that a system under which the central government, though nominally the head of the army, had actually little real authority over the British troops in the different presidencies, and no authority at all over the native troops,

was so anomalous as to amount to a real danger in time of war. This had been foreseen by the Government of India who endeavoured, but without success, to impress their views on the Home Government. It required the Afghan war with its clear illustration of the evils of the system, the recommendations* of the Army Organization Commission of 1879, and some years more of urgent pressure from the Indian Government before the necessary reforms were initiated. By 1888, most of the different presidential army departments had been consolidated under one head with the Government of India, and their transfer from the control of the local governments effected, and in that year the Indian Government was authorized by the Secretary of State for India to prepare the necessary orders for the division of the army into four commands. Everything was made ready for carrying out the change in 1890, but statutory authority was necessary, and it was not till 1893 that the necessary Act of Parliament was passed. The new system was introduced in 1895; but its inauguration had been so long delayed that it had ceased to be appropriate to the altered circumstances of the case; and it was destined to last but a short period.

The years 1895-8 saw large bodies of troops employed across the North-West frontier; in 1899-1900, a force of British troops from India was organized and sent to Natal; in 1900-01 the China expedition was carried out; in 1901-2 extensive blockade operations took place against the Waziris; and in 1903-4 there were expeditions in Somaliland and Thibet.

The last six or seven years of this period have been prolific in changes and reforms. These are due to Russian movements in Central Asia and the near East, the entry of other European Powers into the eastern political arena, the expansion of our own dominions till they march with those of Russia, Turkey, China and France, the improvements necessitated by the lessons of the frontier campaigns of 1895-8 and of South Africa, and the amended finances of the Indian Empire.

The most important of these changes are detailed below:—

The commands, organized in 1895, divided the country, roughly speaking, as follows: the Punjab Command comprised almost all the country administered by the Punjab Government; the Bengal Command, in addition to Bengal and the North-West Provinces (now the United Provinces), took in Assam and parts of Central India and the Central Provinces; the Bombay Command included, in addition to the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana, Baluchistan, Aden and the remaining parts of Central India and the Central Provinces; and the Madras Command contained Burma, Hyderabad and Mysore in addition to the Madras Presidency. A Lieutenant-General with a large staff of combatant and departmental officers was appointed to each command and was given powers to deal with many cases which had hitherto required the authority of Army Head-Quarters or the Government of India.

* They recommended the division of the army in India into 4 army corps: Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

In 1896, the amalgamation of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras branches of the Indian Medical Service, under a Director-General, was carried out.

In 1897, the class squadron and company system was introduced into the Hyderabad Contingent; sanitary officers were appointed to each command; and the Central India Horse, the Bhopal and Merwara battalions and the Deoli and Erinpura Irregular Forces were transferred from the control of the Foreign Department to that of the Commander-in-Chief.

An additional native mountain battery was raised : the number of British infantry battalions in India was reduced from 53 to 52, the establishment of each of the latter number being increased by 20 men; and battalions of native infantry were first lent to the Imperial Government for duty in colonial garrisons.

A first class district, under the General Officer Commanding the Punjab Frontier Force, was formed, embracing the North-West Frontier from Abbottabad to Dera Ghazi Khan (including the Peshawar district).

The double company system was introduced into the native infantry; a new native mountain battery was raised; three battalions of native infantry were raised for duty in Colonial garrisons; Assam Gurkha battalion was delocalised; and the transport service was completely reorganized. A considerable change of frontier policy was inaugurated, as it was decided that all regular troops should be withdrawn gradually from Southern Waziristan, the Khyber, Samana and from the Kurram and Tochi valleys, their place being taken by local militia, and that movable columns of regulars should be maintained in frontier cantonments to support the militia in case of necessity. In this way waste of regular

military force is obviated, and the interest of the local inhabitants in the maintenance of peace is aroused.

The native army was re-armed with the magazine rifle; the Commissariat Department was reformed and renamed the Supply and Transport Corps; mounted infantry schools were established; a fourth battalion of native infantry was raised for Colonial garrison duty; and accelerated promotion was sanctioned for officers of the Indian Staff Corps, Captain's and Major's ranks being attained after nine and eighteen years' service respectively.

An ambulance bearer corps of 6,000 bearers was organized; three field howitzer batteries were added to the establishment; a corps of frontier garrison artillery was formed; the brigade division system for horse and field artillery was introduced, and ammunition columns were reorganized; a fifth battalion of native infantry was raised for Colonial garrison duty; the Imperial Cadet Corps was established; during the years 1898-1902 four battalions of Hindustani Mussalmans were reconstituted; and two ordinary and one fortress (for Aden) companies were added to the Bombay Sappers and Miners.

The designation Indian Staff Corps was changed to Indian army; the whole of the regiments of the Indian army were renumbered as a single army (an exception being made in the case of Gurkha battalions and the Corps of Guides) instead of by presidencies and irregular forces; Burma was made a separate district under a Lieutenant-General and was placed directly under Army Head-Quarters; the re-armament of the mountain artillery was completed; and the enlistment of Mahsud Waziris into the regular army was authorized.

The composition and strength of the army in India was as below :—

COMMANDS.	BRITISH ARMY.								NATIVE ARMY.								AUXILIARIES.			
	Cavalry regiments.	Horse Artillery batteries.	Field Artillery batteries.	Heavy or position batteries.	Mountain batteries.	Garrison Coys. Artillery.	Guns.	Infantry battalions.	Cavalry regiments.	Mountain batteries.	Frontier garrison Coys.	Guns.	Sapper and Miner Coys.	Submarine Miners' Coys.	Infantry battalions.	Volunteer Corps.	Imperial Service Corps.	Militia Corps.	Military Police battalions.	
Punjab ...	3	4	9	3	5	3	120	14	15	7	1	42	4	...	44	66	33	6	21	
Bengal ...	3	5	15	3	...	6	120	17	11	1	...	6	5	1	26					
Bombay ...	1	2	12	1	3	9	102	11	11	...	...	...	9	2	31				
Madras ...	2	2	9	...	...	1	66	6	3	...	...	...	9	...	31				
Burma ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	4	...	2	...	12	1	1	7				
Total ...	9	13	45	7	8	21	408	52	40	10	1	60	28	4	139	66	33	6	21	
Strength ...	5,646	14,577							53,688	24,941	7,410		4,430		121,160	32,000	18,000	6,000	20,000	
	74,170								157,941								75,000			



The above numbers include native troops serving in Somaliland and the Colonies, but exclude the native army reserve numbering about 25,000.

In 1904, on the conclusion of a revised arrangement with the Nizam of Hyderabad regarding Berar, the Hyderabad Contingent ceased to exist as a separate force; its cavalry of 4 regiments of 3 squadrons each was reorganized in 3 regiments of 4 squadrons each and its field artillery was disbanded. A pioneer battalion to be composed of Hazaras was raised; an Assam Gurkha battalion was delocalised; large additions were made to the mule transport maintained permanently; and it was decided to increase gradually the native army reserve till it reached a strength of 50,000. During the period 1900-04, thirteen Madras infantry battalions and the Madras cavalry regiments were reconstituted by the enlistment in them of Moplahs, Gurkhas, Punjabis, Jats and Rajputs.

In this year a large reorganization scheme was inaugurated. This aimed at a more scientific distribution of the Army during peace and at the mobilization of a field army of not less than 9 divisions and 8 cavalry brigades. Under it the Madras Command was abolished, and the commands and staff were reorganized as follows:—

COMMANDS	DIVISIONS AND	BRIGADES.
INDEPENDENT BRIGADES UNDER DIVISIONS.		
NORTHERN	1st (Peshawar) Division	{ Nowshera. Mardan (cavalry).
	2nd (Rawalpindi) Division	{ Abbottabad. Sialkote (cavalry).
	3rd (Lahore) Division	{ Jullundur. Umballa (cavalry). Sirhind. Multan. Ferozepore.
	Kohat Brigade. Bannu Brigade. Derajat Brigade.	
WESTERN	4th (Quetta) Division	{ Karachi. Nasirabad.
	5th (Mhow) Division	{ Jhansi. Jubbulpore.
	6th (Poona) Division	{ Bombay. Ahmednagar. Belgaum.
EASTERN	Aden Brigade.	
	7th (Meerut) Division	{ Bareilly. Garhwal. Meerut (cavalry).
	8th (Lucknow) Division	{ Fyzabad. Allahabad. Presidency. Assam.
UNDER ARMY HEAD-QUARTERS	9th (Secunderabad) Division	{ Bangalore (cavalry). Bangalore (infantry). Madras. Southern. Secunderabad (cavalry). Secunderabad (infantry).
	Burma Division	{ Mandalay. Rangoon.

The principle underlying this arrangement was that the Army should in peace be organized and trained in units of command similar to those in which it would take the field. Each peace division (except Burma) should be able to place in the field 1 cavalry and 3 infantry brigades and should, in addition, comprise such other troops as were required for the maintenance of internal order in the divisional area when the division itself was withdrawn for war. The scheme was estimated to take some years to work out as new accommodation was required in many cantonments. The organization shown above will undergo further alteration before the scheme is completed.

The peace combatant staff of a division was fixed at two Assistant and one Deputy Assistant Adjutants-General; of a Brigade under a Brigadier-General at one Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General and one Brigade-Major; and of a Brigade under a Colonel on the Staff at a Brigade-Major and a 2nd class Station Staff Officer.

At the same time a regular programme of increasing reserves and generally adapting mobilization arrangements to suit the larger field army was entered upon.

A staff college was started in India to train candidates for staff employment; to be located ultimately at Quetta, it opened in temporary quarters in Deolali: a programme of extension of strategic railways on the frontier was initiated; a large scheme for the expansion of ordnance factories was started; and arrangements were made to rearm the whole of the Horse and Field Artillery with Q. F. guns.

At the instance of Lord Kitchener, who condemned the existing system of military administration in India as one of dual control and divided responsibility, the Secretary of State for India held an enquiry into the question early in 1905. On review of the whole question and on the advice of a committee assembled for the purpose, the Government of the day at home decided that in future there should be two ministerial departments or agencies, through which the Governor-General in Council should administer the army in India. The most important, termed the Army Department, should be in charge of the Commander-in-Chief, as Extraordinary Member of Council, and should deal with questions of command, staff and regimental appointments, promotions, discipline, training, organization, distribution of the army, intelligence, mobilization, schemes of offence and defence, peace manoeuvres, war preparation and the conduct of war. The other, termed the Military Supply Department, in charge of an Ordinary Member of Council, usually a military officer, should deal with the control of army contracts, the purchase of stores, ordnance and remounts, the management of military works, the clothing and manufacturing departments, Indian Medical Service, and the Royal Indian Marine. At the same time it was suggested that the Military Accounts Department should be transferred to the control of the Finance Department of the Government of India. Owing to the resignation of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, and the change of ministry at home, the inauguration of the new system

was delayed till March 1906. (For further information on this subject see the published correspondence.)

In the above it has been impossible to detail anything like the whole of the many reforms and additions made during the last six or seven years. About 500 British officers have been added to the regiments of the native army; a great deal has been done to improve the health and the sanitary surroundings of the soldier; frontier communications have been much improved; a policy of rendering India independent in the matter of war stores of all kinds has been initiated and has made great progress by expansion of the various factories, &c; much has been done to improve the armament, equipment and mobilization arrangements of the Army; the official regulations have been revised and simplified and work has been decentralized to a great extent; special attention has been paid to the higher military education of officers; the annual grant for manœuvres has been increased; military grass and dairy farms have been started; and practically every Army department has been reorganized.

During these years the net military expenditure has been as under:—

1899-1900	..	..	£14,968,399
1900-1901	..	..	15,019,576
1901-1902	..	..	15,703,582
1902-1903	..	..	17,279,770
1903-1904	..	..	17,792,405
1904-1905			
(estimates).	..	..	20,488,199
1905-1906			
(estimates).	..	..	20,757,032

In looking at these figures it has to be remembered that, owing to the impoverished finances of India prior to 1900, the military administration had been starved for many years.

There is little or no mention of Volunteer or Militia Corps in the records of the first half of the nineteenth century, and those in existence before that time appear to have disappeared gradually. The mutiny brought several volunteer corps into being, some of whom did excellent service, and the present volunteer force in India may be said to date its origin from that period. Till 1885, when the strength of the Volunteer Force stood at 13,368, they met with no great encouragement.

Since that date it has been the declared policy of the military administration to foster the movement. Grants for buildings, field days and camps of exercise have been made; wound and injury pensions to volunteers and pensions to their widows have been granted under certain conditions; the capitation allowance has been somewhat increased and small allowances towards outfit to officers have been sanctioned. Volunteers in India have been made eligible for the Volunteer Officers' Decoration and the Long Service Medal. Some new corps have been formed and the strength of the force has risen to about 33,000, including however the reserve and cadets, of whom about 31,000 are "efficients."

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END OF PART I.





The Right Hon. General Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY
(afterwards DUKE OF WELLINGTON).



LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA.



SIR COLIN CAMPBELL (afterwards LORD CLYDE).



Lieut.-General VISCOUNT GOUGH, G.C.B.

SOME FAMOUS INDIAN GENERALS.

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The Army in India. Part II.

THE ARMY AS IT EXISTS TO-DAY.

THE Governor-General in Council, subject to the control exercised for the Crown by the Secretary of State for India, is the supreme head of the Army in India. The ministerial agencies through which the authority of the Governor-General in Council is administered are two: the Army Department and the Department of Military Supply.

The former of these is in charge of the Commander-in-Chief, who is an Extraordinary Member of the Governor-General's Council, while an Ordinary Member of Council, usually a military officer, presides over the latter. In addition, there is a Military Finance Section of the Finance Department to deal with questions of Army Finance.

Under the constitution of the Government of India, the Secretaries to Government in the Army Department, the Department of Military Supply and the Military Finance Department are the heads of these departments: they are responsible to the Governor-General in Council that the business of their departments is carried out in accordance with the authorized rules, and they have direct access to the Governor-General. They are each assisted by an establishment of Deputy and Assistant Secretaries. Further, in this connection, the members of the Army Head-Quarters Staff perform two separate and distinct functions: one, as members of the Head-Quarters Staff in all matters in the control of the Commander-in-Chief as such; the other, the function appertaining to departmental officers of the Army Department, which does not, however, carry with it any of the powers of a Secretary to Government.

Directly under the Army Department is the Army Head-Quarters Staff; this is separated into the following divisions:—

- Division of the Chief of the Staff.
- Adjutant-General's Division.
- Quarter-Master-General's Division.
- Medical Division.
- Military Secretary's Division.

The Division of the Chief of the Staff, which is subdivided into two sections, (i) Military Operations, and (ii) Training and Staff Duties, deals with the following questions:—Military policy, organization, distribution, preparation for war, intelligence, mobilization, plans of operations, higher education and training, and manœuvres.

The Adjutant-General's Division deals with questions of recruiting, discipline, training, education and equipment of units.

The Quarter-Master-General's Division, which is subdivided into four sections, (i) General Branch, (ii) Cantonments, (iii) Supply and Transport, and (iv) Veterinary, deals with questions of accommodation, movements and cantonments, and with the organization, administration and training of the Supply and Transport Corps (except the portion of it under the Department of Military Supply) and of the Army Veterinary Corps.

The Medical Division deals with all medical questions, except some concerning the administration of the Indian Medical Service, which is partially a civilian department and is partly under the Department of Military Supply.

The Military Secretary's Division deals with appointments, promotions, exchanges and retirements of officers.

For information regarding the numbers and titles of the different officers serving in the Army Department on the Army Head-Quarters Staff, and in the Department of Military Supply or on the departmental staff subordinate to it, the current Indian Army List is the best book of reference. At present they stand as follows:—

ARMY DEPARTMENT—

- Secretary, with rank of Major-General.
- 1 Deputy Secretary, with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel.
- 1 Assistant Secretary.

ARMY HEAD-QUARTERS—

DIVISION OF THE CHIEF OF THE STAFF—

- Chief of the Staff, with rank of Lieutenant-General.
- 2 Directors, with rank of Brigadier-General or Colonel.
- 4 Assistant Quarter-Masters-General, with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel.
- 7 Deputy Assistant Quarter-Masters-General.
- 8 Staff Captains.
- Attachés: no definite number laid down.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DIVISION—

- Adjutant-General, with the rank of Major-General.
- 1 Deputy Adjutant-General, with the rank of Colonel.
- 4 Assistant Adjutants-General, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel.



THE CYCLOPEDIA OF INDIA.

- 2 Deputy Assistant Adjutants-General.
- 1 Staff Officer for recruiting.
- 1 Judge Advocate-General.
- Attachés : as a rule limited to 1 or 2.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DIVISION, INSPECTION BRANCH—

- 3 Inspectors-General of Cavalry, Artillery and Volunteers respectively, each with the rank of Major-General and each with a Brigade-Major as an assistant.
- Inspector of Gymnasia.

QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL'S DIVISION—

- Quarter-Master-General, with the rank of Major-General.

QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL'S DIVISION, MOVEMENTS, QUARTERINGS AND CANTONMENT SECTION—

- 1 Deputy Quarter-Master-General, with the rank of Colonel.
- 1 Inspecting Officer of Cantonments.
- 1 Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General.

QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL'S DIVISION, SUPPLY AND TRANSPORT SECTION—

- 1 Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General.
- 2 Assistant Quarter-Masters-General.
- 2 Deputy Assistant Quarter-Masters-General.
- Attachés : as a rule two.

QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL'S DIVISION, VETERINARY SECTION—

- 1 Principal Veterinary Officer.

MEDICAL DIVISION—

- 1 Principal Medical Officer.
- 2 Secretaries to Principal Medical Officer.
- 1 Sanitary Officer.

MILITARY SECRETARY'S DIVISION—

- 1 Military Secretary, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or Colonel.
- 1 Assistant Military Secretary.
- (Both of these officers are on the personal Staff of the Commander-in-Chief.)

There are the following permanent committees at Army Head-Quarters to secure co-ordination in working between the different parts of the Army :—

MOBILISATION COMMITTEE.

PRESIDENT—H. E. the C.-in-C.

MEMBERS—The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Military Supply.

Chief of the Staff.

Secretary to Government, Army Department.

Secretary to Government, Department of Military Supply.

Adjutant-General.

Quarter-Master-General.

SECRETARY—Officer in charge of the Mobilisation Branch, Division of the Chief of the Staff.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

PRESIDENT—H. E. the C.-in-C.

MEMBERS—The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Military Supply.

Chief of the Staff.

Adjutant-General.

Quarter-Master-General.

Director-General of Ordnance.

Inspector-General of Artillery.

Director-General of Military Works.

Officer in charge of Military Operations

Section, Division of the Chief of the Staff.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS FOR COAST DEFENCE—

Director of the Royal Indian Marine.

Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences.

SECRETARY—

Officer in charge of the Strategical Branch, Division of the Chief of the Staff.

ADVISORY COUNCIL.

PRESIDENT—H. E. the C.-in-C.

MEMBERS—

Chief of the Staff.

Secretary to Government, Army Department.

Secretary to Government, Military Finance Department.

Adjutant-General.

Quarter-Master-General.

Director-General of Ordnance.

Military Secretary.

Deputy Adjutant-General.

Deputy Quarter-Master-General.

Officer in charge of Military Operations Section, Division of the Chief of the Staff.

On the two former committees, whose principal duties are to deal with the preparation of the Army for war and the internal and external defences of India, respectively, the Department of Military Supply is represented. The Advisory Council discusses all questions of importance under consideration at Army Head-Quarters, thus co-ordinating the work of the different divisions and keeping the representatives of Government, the Secretaries to Government in the Army, and Military Finance Departments, informed of the progress of these questions; it also enables the latter officers to represent the views of Government at an early stage in the dealings with any question.

Under the Department of Military Supply are the following Army Departments :—

The Military Works Services.

The Ordnance Department.

The Indian Medical Service.

The Contracts and Registration Branch of the Supply and Transport Corps.

The Army Remount Department.

The Army Clothing Department.

The Royal Indian Marine.

The Military Works Services deal with the construction and maintenance of all military works and buildings.



The Ordnance Department arranges for the supply to the Army of all munitions of war and a large part of its equipment.

The Indian Medical Service is partly under the Home Department of the Government of India; the Department of Military Supply deals mainly with the administration of the military portion of the service, consisting of Officers, Assistant-Surgeons and Hospital Assistants.

The Contracts and Registration Branch of the Supply and Transport Corps deals with the contracts for the supply of the Army and with the registration for war of transport animals.

The Army Remount Department supplies remounts to all British, and a few Native, mounted units, and arranges for the importation of all horses and mules

required; it has also charge of Government breeding operations.

The Army Clothing Department supplies the Army with clothing.

The Royal Indian Marine, under a Director, who is usually an officer of the British Navy, arranges for sea transport required for the Army. It is not an Army Service, and is placed under the Department of Military Supply for administrative convenience.

The following table shews the present organization of the Army in Brigades, Divisions and Commands with their principal staff officers. The organization is at present in a transitory stage, as the Secunderabad Division and many of the Brigades are not yet organized as they will be ultimately, when the re-distribution of the Army is completed.

COMMANDS with Staffs of ditto.		DIVISIONS with Staffs of ditto.		BRIGADES with Staffs of ditto.	
Northern	{ Lt.-Genl. Comdg. Asst. Military Secy. A.-D.-C. Dy. Adjnt.-Genl. 2 Asst. Adjts.-Genl. 2 Dy. Asst. Adjts.-Genl. Asst. Qr.-Mr.-Genl. Dy. Asst. Qr.-Mr.-Genl. Col. on Staff, R. A. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl., R. A. Comdg. Engineer. Inspector of S. and T. Corps. Principal Medical Officer, Sanitary Officer. Dy. Judge Advocate-Genl. Inspecting Veterinary Officer. Inspector-Genl. of Ordnance, Northern Circle. Staff Officer, Army Bearer Corps. 4 Recruiting Staff Officers. Inspector of Army Schools. Inspector of Army Signalling, Northern Circle.	1st (Peshawar)	{ Genl. Officer Comdg. A.-D.-C. 2 Asst. Adjts.-Genl. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Comdg., Royal Engineer. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Supply. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Transpt. Principal Medical Officer.	{ Nowshera Mardan (Cavalry)	{ { Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Asst. Comdg. Royal Engr. Senior Medical Officer. Col. on Staff Comdg. Brigade-Major. 1st Class Staff Officer.
		2nd (Rawalpindi)	{ Genl. Officer Comdg. A.-D.-C. 2 Asst. Adjts.-Genl. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Comdg. Royal Engineer. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Supply. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Transpt. Principal Medical Officer.	{ Jhelum Abbottabad Sialkot (Cavalry)	{ { Col. on Staff Comdg. Brigade-Major. 1st Class Staff Officer. Senior Medical Officer. Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Asst. Comdg. Royal Engr. Principal Medical Officer. Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Principal Medical Officer.
		3rd (Lahore)	{ Genl. Officer Comdg. A.-D.-C. 2 Asst. Adjts.-Genl. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Comdg. Royal Engineer. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Supply. Offr. Comdg., Divnl. Transpt. Principal Medical Officer.	{ Jullundur Ambala Ambala (Cavalry) Ferozepore Kohat Derajat Bannu	{ { Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Principal Medical Officer. Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Asst. Comdg. Royal Engr. Principal Medical Officer. Col. on Staff Comdg. Brigade-Major. 1st Class Staff Officer. Col. on Staff Comdg. Brigade-Major. 1st Class Staff Officer. Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Asst. Comdg. Royal Engr. Principal Medical Officer. Genl. Officer Comdg. Dy. Asst. Adjnt.-Genl. Brigade-Major. Asst. Comdg. Royal Engr. Principal Medical Officer. Col. on Staff Comdg. Brigade-Major. 1st Class Staff Officer. Principal Medical Officer.
			Independent Brigades.		