HISTORY
OF
MEDIÆVAL INDIA

BY

ISHWARI PRASAD, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.,

Author of the History of Qarauna Turks, A Short History of Muslim Rule in India, etc.

Professor of Political Science and Head of the Department and Formerly Professor of History in the University of Allahabad.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS,

M.A., B.Litt., O.B.E., Etc.

Formerly Professor of History in the University of Allahabad

FELIX QUI POTUIT RERUM COGNOSCERE CAUSAS—*Virgil*

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS volume is an attempt to present to the reader a general view of the history of Mediæval India during the years 647—1526 A.D. The history of Mediæval India, writes Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole, is merely a chronicle of kings, courts and conquests and not a history of organic or national growth. The remark is quite appropriate, if we restrict the scope of history merely to the growth of popular institutions as they are understood in modern times. But broadly speaking, history deals with the life of man in its varied aspects, and in this sense *the History of Mediaeval India* is not merely a story of court intrigues and palace conspiracies, but a record of brilliant achievements in the field of conquest and administration, and of great social and religious movements.

Elphinstone's *History of India* is rightly treated as a classic and generations of students in this country have profited by it. But historical research has considerably advanced since Elphinstone's day, and the modern student no longer finds it adequate for his purposes. It was largely based upon Firishta, but during the last fifty years, thanks to the ceaseless labours of European and Indian antiquarians and researchists, plenty of new material has come to light, which has effected considerable improvement upon Firishta not merely by correcting his errors, but also by adding vastly to our knowledge. Dr. Lane-Poole's brilliant outline of Mediæval India based upon Elliot's Historians, written in limpid and elegant English, is still read with delight by students of Indian history. But specialisation has advanced by such rapid strides that we can no longer rest satisfied with Elliot's priceless treasures, although it is impossible to express adequately the debt which students of Indian

history owe to that veteran scholar and indefatigable antiquarian who by his ceaseless labours unearthed documents, which would have remained unknown to the English-knowing public but for him. The scholar of to-day must consult for himself the valuable material in Persian and Arabic which has been placed within his reach by modern research. I have tried to indicate in the footnotes appended to this volume the vastness of the original material which may be profitably utilised by any one who undertakes seriously the study of mediæval history.

In preparing this volume I have relied mainly upon original authorities. I am not so presumptuous as to think that I have improved upon Elphinstone and Lane-Poole, to whom I must gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness, but I may claim to have thrown fresh light upon many an important problem, to have suggested fresh view-points and to have supplied information which has hitherto been inaccessible to the general reader. In order to achieve this end, I have consulted, as the footnotes will show, numerous MSS. and printed texts in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. I have attempted to correct the common errors of history and to make the presentation of the subject as attractive as possible. Some of my conclusions are certainly at variance with those of my predecessors, but without laying claim to infallibility—a claim which no scholar can put forward—I—may add that I have carefully investigated the evidence before me and have based my opinions on actual facts. On reading Mommsen's idealisation of Cæsar, Strauss remarked: 'An historian may blame, but not scold; praise, but not lose his balance.' The illustrious author of the History of Rome cared nothing for the charge, for he believed that history could neither be written nor made without love or hate. It is true that history cannot be made without love or hate but surely it is possible to write history without love or hate, and a true historian ought to bring to bear upon

his task the passionless curiosity of the man of science. It is not for the historian to take sides in a controversy. He is not a party politician or a political propagandist. His function is to state and interpret the facts as he finds them without allowing his own prejudices to influence the discussion of his theme or warp his judgment. I have attempted to follow this principle. In judging men and things, I have not allowed ethics to go before dogma, politics and nationality, but have tried to relate facts to circumstances before apportioning praise or blame. I hope, I have extenuated nothing, nor set down aught in malice, and as far as possible I have consistently placed before me the high ideal of historical truth, irrespective of every other consideration.

As the book was printed at a time when I was busily engaged in University work, I could not do full justice to the reading of proofs, and hence some errors have crept into the text. The absence of diacritical marks and the disparity in the spelling of certain words such as Muhammadans, Brahamans, Khan-i-Jahan and Jahangir will no doubt cause inconvenience to the general reader, but I hope to remove all these blemishes in the next edition.

My thanks are due to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of our University, who has always assisted me in procuring MSS. and to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., Litt. D., M.L.C., and Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil., and my colleagues of the History Department, who have helped me by their many suggestions and criticisms. I must also express my gratefulness to Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., of the Patna College, for lending me his MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and to Pt. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., Secretary, Public Library Allahabad, and the Librarians of the Bankipore Oriental Library, the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the

Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for affording me facilities for consulting MSS. and books in their possession.

Among those to whom I am especially indebted, I must not omit to mention the names of Messrs. G. V. Rao, M.A., LLB., and Gauri Shankar Chatterjee, M.A., from whom I have derived much useful information about the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the development of the Bhakti cult. To Messrs. Visheshwar Prasad, M.A., and Hari Krishna Mathur, B.A., both pupils of mine, and Mr. A. K. Sen of the Public Library, Allahabad, I am obliged for the help they have given in the reading of proofs and the preparation of the Bibliography and the Index.

Lastly, I am thankful to my publishers who have grudged no expenditure in making the book as attractive and useful as possible.

The completion of this volume in the midst of multifarious distractions is a matter of sincere satisfaction and thankfulness to me. I must publicly acknowledge the generous encouragement I have always received from Professor Rushbrook-Williams to whom I owe the opportunities of carrying on historical research. Scholars will no doubt find many defects and shortcomings in these pages, but even these will be useful, for by stimulating research they will serve to advance our knowledge of the subject. For my part, I may humbly add that I shall always value the reasoned criticism of competent scholars more than the unqualified praise of kind friends.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 27, 1925

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A new edition of this book being called for, I have taken all possible care to remove the blemishes that existed in the first edition. The favourable reception accorded to the first edition, notwithstand-

ing its many imperfections, encourages me to hope that the revised and enlarged edition will commend itself to all students of Indian history. I have confined myself to such changes and enlargements as seemed most needed; where important events had been slurred over, additions have been made to enable the reader to grasp their full significance. The footnotes have been made more illustrative, and a fairly full chronological table has been appended, presenting a connected view of the important events and changes in the political history of mediæval India. I have added a few new illustrations indicative of the growth and development of the early Muslim art in India.

The book has been thoroughly revised. The criticisms and suggestions from various quarters, from competent scholars as well as others, have been of great help to me. Statements which seemed to have been exaggerated or vague have been modified, and an attempt has been made to bring the book into line with the latest researches. The diacritical marks have been placed where necessary, and a uniform method of spelling has been followed, though it is not strictly in accordance with the method of transliteration suggested by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, for this would have considerably embarrassed the students in Indian Colleges and Universities for whom the book is primarily intended. Important but less familiar names have been accented to enable the reader to pronounce them with accuracy. A very exhaustive index has been added for which my thanks are due to my pupil Mr. Kunwar Bahadur, B.A., of the University of Allahabad, who has grudged no labour in making it full, scientific and accurate.

I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if this book leads students to original authorities and teaches them to recognise the fact that we can never grasp or appreciate the real significance of historical events unless we transport ourselves to those times in which they occurred, and unless we enter

into the hearts and minds of those contemporaries who have described great men and affairs from personal observation. To be able to see things through their eyes is the first postulate of real, scientific historical-scholarship. In this direction the present volume represents an aspiration and not an achievement.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
December 24, 1927

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

It is a matter of great satisfaction that this book has been found useful by students of Indian history not only in India but also in Europe. It has been translated into French and forms a part of the *Historie du Mode* edited by Professor E. Cavaignac. I have tried to meet in this edition the criticisms that have been offered from time to to time by competent scholars, and have added new information wherever possible. The field of scholarship is vast enough to induce humility in the proudest of men, and I beg of my readers to continue to make suggestions for improvement, which will always receive my best attention.

ISHWARI PRASAD

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 25, 1933

PREFACE TO THE WAR-EDITION

This is a war-edition and has been brought out in the midst of unprecedented difficulties. The paper and the printing material have not only become scarce but also very costly and, therefore, there is a little increase in price which, I hope the readers will forgive. In the new and revised edition which will be published after the war, I hope to make a number of additions which the student readers will find very useful.

ISHWARI PRASAD

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
May 10, 1945

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NAMES OF MUHAMMADAN MONTHS

1.	محرم	Muharram, 30 days.
2.	صفر	Safar, 29 days.
3.	ربیع الاول	Rabi'ul awwal, 30 days.
4.	ربیع الاخر	Rabi'ul ākhir, 29 days.
5.	جمادی الاول	Jamad'l awwal, 30 days.
6.	جمادالاخر	Jamad'l ākhir, 29 days.
7.	رجب	Rajab, 30 days.
8.	شعبان	Sh'abān, 29 days.
9.	رمضان	Ramzan, 30 days.
10.	شوال	Shawwal, 29 days.
11.	ذی القعدة	Zulq'adah, 30 days.
12.	ذی الحجه	Zi'lhijjāh, 29 days.

These months have thirty and twenty-nine days alternately except in the Embolismic years when the last month has thirty days.

THE HIJRA ERA

The word 'hijrah' literally means departure from one's country and separation from friends. The era derives its name from the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. It is a mistake to think that the era began from the date on which the flight of the Prophet occurred. The date of the flight is different from the date of the commencement of the Hijra era. The era was introduced seven years after the death of the Prophet by the Khalifa Omar and its commencement was not coincident with the day of the flight or with the day on which the Prophet arrived at Medina. The era was made to commence two months prior to the flight that is with the first day of the month of Muharram, the first day of the year in which the flight took place. This day corresponds to 16th July 622 A.D.

FOREWORD

I HAVE read with great interest the first volume of Mr. Ishwari Prasad's "History of Mediæval India." My interest proceeds not merely from the merits of the work itself, but from the fact that the author is an old friend. When I came from All Souls to organise the department of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad, I took an early opportunity of visiting and inspecting the history teaching in the numerous colleges which then owed allegiance to the University. I was particularly impressed, when I visited Agra, with the zeal and enthusiasm of a certain Mr. Ishwari Prasad, then a lecturer at Agra College. So much so, indeed, that I took an early opportunity of recruiting him for the Research Staff of the department I was then organising. Most unfortunately circumstances over which I had no control took me from Allahabad soon afterwards, so that I was obliged to bid farewell to my colleagues, old and new. But I had seen sufficient of the work of Mr. Ishwari Prasad to realise that the favourable opinion which I had formed of his keenness and capacity was fully justified by more intimate acquaintance. Indeed, I may perhaps be allowed to say that it was in some measure as the result of our association; that he was encouraged to persevere in those laborious and exacting studies which are given to the public in this volume.

It has long been a common-place with teachers of Indian History that there is a serious shortage of books suitable for undergraduate study. Particularly is this the case where the study of Mediæval India is in question. Apart from such brilliant outlines as those which have been given us by Dr. Lane-Poole there has hitherto been a great unfilled gap between the elementary text-book and the weighty monograph. Neither the one nor the

other category is very suitable for the student who desires to abandon the school book, but is not yet ready for the detailed research of the specialist. Now, in my judgment the main strength of the present work is its suitability to fill this gap; to provide the young student with a general treatment more detailed than he has hitherto encountered; and to constitute a bridge by which he may advance to the goal of specialisation. Successfully to achieve such a desideratum is a task of great difficulty; and I must not be understood to anticipate in any manner the verdict of those who are best qualified to pronounce upon Mr. Ishwari Prasad's success or failure—the practising teachers of Indian History. They and they alone will discover whether the book is too advanced for their students; whether the apparatus criticus employed by the author and in my judgment as a whole soundly employed is beyond the grasp of the young scholar. I will content myself by saying that Mr. Ishwari Prasad shows a commendable grasp of the canons of historical criticism; that he uses his own judgment with courage and conviction; that he departs from accepted conclusions only after a careful evaluation of the evidence available to him. If he criticises his predecessors somewhat freely, it must at least be admitted that he has introduced a breath of life into some of the arid wastes of historical controversy. Without attempting to endorse or justify certain of his conclusions—concerning which every qualified scholar will claim, as I claim myself the right of private judgement—I will content myself with commending this book in the most cordial terms to the attention of all who are interested in the teaching and study of Indian History.

L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS

SIMLA
May 4, 1925

INTRODUCTION

IT was the illustrious Freeman who laid a considerable emphasis on the essential unity of history. No one can deny that there is a certain continuity in human affairs and that one period of history is almost inseparably connected with another. Violent changes seldom occur, and one age imperceptibly shades off into another. It often happens that during a period of transitition the actual authors of important events, the very actors in the historical drama, fail to perceive the significance of the part played by them. They are so completely immersed in affairs so busy with acting and doing that they become utterly oblivious of the changes which are wrought by their own efforts. A revolution takes place; our political and social conditions are altered; autocracy gives way to freedom; orthodoxy yields place to a liberal cosmopolitanism; our ideas and ideals are thrown into the crucible to be re-cast and refashioned, and yet, we do not see that the surface of the earth on which we stand is being changed perhaps through our own instrumentality. We become the unconscious agents and creators of mighty revolutions, and seldom realise the magnitude of the influence which we exert upon the epoch in which we live and which, in turn, it exerts upon us. Not unoften do we enter upon our grand human inheritance and reap and enjoy the fruits of social conquests without thinking of the great mass of men and women, who with infinite toil and patience have striven to accomplish the mighty task of political and social regeneration, and who have contributed in a thousand ways to the glory of the epoch in which we live. The history of European civilisation affords numerous illustrations of the principle enunciated by the historian of the Norman Con-

quest. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century with all its clash of ideals, its tears, agonies, death-pangs and the tragic phases, which disfigured the Reign of Terror, had its roots deep in the policy of Richelieu and Louis XIV. So great was the wrong done in the past that the benevolent efforts of Turgot to infuse a fresh life into the decadent system, the robust commonsense and self-effacement of Danton, who had to go to the scaffold with the words—Better be a fisherman than meddle with the governing of men!—on his lips, the immaculate purity of the famous lawyer of Arras, and the political speculations of Abbe Sieyes failed to save the existing society in France from ruin. Similarly, the glorious rebellion of the English people against Stuart tyranny, organised by the Puritans, derived its inspiration from the charters of Henry and John and the political practice of the patriarchs of the Anglo-Saxon Witam. The German *Kultur* which menaced the peace of Europe in 1914, was the result of the statecraft of Bismarck and of the teachings of Nietzsche and Treitschke and a galaxy of eminent writers like Dahlmann, Hausser, Droysen and Sybel. So is the case with the history of Russia, which has not yet come out of the agonies of a new birth. The self-governing countries of Europe have consciously or unconsciously followed the traditions of their past in working out their political evolution. There is a certain continuity in their affairs. But the history of India has moved along different lines. The conquest of India by foreigners has led to serious breaks from the past at times, and not unoften her indigenous institutions have perished under the deadening effect of foreign domination. Her people have been forced to abandon their political institutions for exotic systems. Their political advance has been rudely interrupted and foreign subjection has seriously interfered with the growth of healthy ideals of national and public duty. But while all this is true, the thread of the cultural history of India has remained unbroken through the ages, and

the fundamental aspects of the social and religious life of her people have always possessed a unity, a sameness, which no historian can fail to notice.

According to the fashion of the day, the history of India is also divided into three periods—the ancient, mediæval and modern, and it is a very convenient and necessary division. "To think history is certainly to divide it into periods, because thought is organism, dialectic, drama and as such has its periods, its beginning, its middle, and its end, and all the other ideal pauses that a drama implies and demands," writes Benedetto Croce, and his view is supported by the philosopher-statesman Turgot, who in his Discourse at the Sorbonne on the Successive Advances of the Human Mind declared that history was the life of humanity, ever progressing through decay and revival, each age linked equally to those which have gone before and those that are to come. The divisions must be observed in European as in Indian history, for in the one as in the other the three periods are in such marked contrast with one another. So, without destroying the fundamental unity of history, which is the bed-rock of our knowledge, we can separately deal with and explain the significance of the events of each period. In the vast panorama of history that stretches out before us, the landscapes may vary; the figures treading upon the earth may flit like shadows into the vast unknown, but the operation of the law of evolution never ceases. Behind the multiplicity of detail and the manifold diversities that history reveals to us we have to discover the essential unities and the working of the principle of progress, which after all is the real subject of the historian. An attempt will be made in these pages to point out the contribution of the mediæval period to the sum of ages, to find out the decisive influences which have formed the basis of the civilisation under which we live today.

Much has been written about the greatness of

our ancient civilisation. Modern research has exploded the old shibboleths of the political stagnation and backwardness of our forefathers. Our scholars have proved that the Hindus of ancient times possessed a highly developed form of polity, which in its palmiest days fulfilled the ends of the Greek philosopher's *'polis.'* The state was based upon *Dharma;* the sovereign's duty was to promote the highest well-being of the people, and the *raison d'etre* of all political institutions was the satisfaction of material wants and the moral elevation of the entire community. Popular institutions were not unknown to them. Even in the Vedic times we obtain glimpses of the *Samiti* and the *Sabha,* the two daughters of Prajapati transacting Public business in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. In the Buddhist literature there are evidences of a republication form of government, which, though not so well-organised and systematic as republics in the western world, was controlled by public opinion. The *Jatakas*[1] call the Buddhist rulers *'gana rulers'* or republican rulers and Professor Rhys Davids has referred to the *Attha-Katha* which makes mention of the highest officers of the self-governing body, the President, the Vice-President and the generalissimo of the forces of the community. We hear of the councils and parisads of the Lichchhavis and their frequent deliberation in meetings, and regular rules are laid down for the orderly conduct of business by means of discussion.[2] A highly developed code of procedure is preserved in the *Vinaya Pitaka* according to which meetings of the Buddhist congregations were held and business was done. The little Buddhist communities were virtual republics, managing their own affairs after proper deliberation and discussion. The Hindu

[1] Jataka, IV, 148.
[2] Bhandarkar, Carmichæl Lectures, p. 180.

monarch had to take a prescribed oath[3] by which he promised to govern the people so as to promote their highest happiness. "The Hindu theory of kingship," writes Mr. Jayaswal, "was never permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autocracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the Creator was not possible for the Hindu king, as the race never allowed the craft of the priest to be united with the office of the ruler."[4] The king had his minister and councils and the various departments of law and justice—an elaborate machinery which worked without friction and conflict, because politics were saturated with spiritual influences. The Hindu monarch taxed his people, but to use a poetic metaphor, the money taken from the people was to be given back to them even as the sun dries up the waters of the earth in order to give them back in the shape of refreshing and fertilising showers. The ancient lawgiver laid down the maxim:—

स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।
ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥

"God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the people earning his wages in the shape of taxes for promoting their prosperity"

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[3] The following oath is given in the *Mahabharata (Santi Parva)* Chapter 59, verses 115, 116:—

प्रतिज्ञाश्चाकिरोहस्त्र मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्मा इत्येव चासकृत् ॥
यः क्षात्रधर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपश्रयः ।
तमशक्तः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥

"Mount in mind, deed and word the vow—I will protect the earth and the Brahmans (or the Vedas) again and again. Whatever Dharma is laid down in ethics and approved in politics—I will act according to that without hesitation and I will never be arbitrary."

[4] Jayaswal Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 58-59.

As we proceed onwards, we come to the imperial organisation of the Mauryas of which we get a glimpse in Kautaly's *Arthasastra*. Here the constitution of the government is laid down by the political philosopher in all its details, and though there is plenty of Machiavellianism at times, we find much genuine guidance for the ruler and the statesman to regulate his conduct so as to promote the highest public well-being. The state was not merely a centralised despotism, an incubus or a nightmare, which crushed the race of mortals in the dust. As Professor Radha Kumud Mukherjee observes, it did not aim at legislating for and controlling the life of every part of the vast country under its sway, but it aimed only at an elastic system of federalism or confederations in which were incorporated, along with the central government at the metropolis, as parts of the same system, the indigenous local administrations.[5] The village was a self-contained and self-sufficing unit. It worked with an admitable system of domestic economy, which prevented clash and strife and which placed an assured subsistence within the reach of all. The division of labour, the sense of co-operation produced by prolonged residence in a small place, cut off from the wide world, and the feeling of confidence and equality fostered by a mutual exchange of service were valuable elements of strength in the village system. The isolation from the outer world was at once a source of weakness and strength. It cramped the intellectual horizon of the village community; it rendered it unprogressive by making it impossible for life to move in other than the prescribed groove; it intensified its conservatism and generated an unreasoning suspicion of all extraneous influences, healthy or otherwise. But it checked strife and social warfare which is a common feature of modern town life in the west and also to a limited extent in the east.

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[5] Local Government in Ancient India, p. 10.

Its conservatism helped to preserve an important feature of Hindu social organisation, and in times of revolution it preserved peace and order, and saved our civilisation from total decay. Of these village communities a distinguished English statesman writes thus:—

> "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves; and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; but the village community remains the same. This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the peoples of India, through all the revolutions, and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."[6]

Obviously, the vastness of the country made it difficult for the central government to control every aspect of human life, and therefore much was left to local agencies. The social and cultural life of the people continued as ever, and political changes did not interfere with the normal intellectual and moral progress of the race. The Imperial Guptas fully maintained the tradition of Hindu greatness and liberally extended their patronage to art and letters. Their age was marked by the revival of Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning and beneficent activity in the domain of administration. The Hindu polity retained its healthy character down to the days of Harsa of Kanauj, Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India during his reign, bears

[6] Report of the Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, 84, p. 331.

testimony to the highly developed administration—though it was not free from defects—and zeal of the king to promote the happiness of the subjects. The pilgrim observes:—

> "As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the execution is simple. The private demesnes of the Crown are divided into four principal parts; the first for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing substitutes for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability. The taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his worldly goods in peace and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute."

Education was widely diffused, and we glean from Hiuen Tsiang's records that with a great many Buddhist and Brahmana monks discussion was the very breath of their nostrils. It was an age of disputations. Sometimes scholars posted their challenges at the doors of monasteries asking their opponents to have a discussion with them. Once, a heretic of the Lokatiya sect hung up forty theses at the temple gate at Nalanda, with the words, "if any one can refute these principles, I will then give him my head as a proof of his victory." The challenge was meant for Hiuen Tsiang who asked his servant to tear it,[7] and in the discussion that followed, it is said, the Brahmana was defeated.[8] The Buddhist monks, living in quiet places, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, devoted themselves to study and discussion. Again and again, we read of assemblies

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[7] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 161.
[8] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 161—65.

where the exponents of rival doctrines met together for debate and Hiuen Tsiang writes:—

> "The brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominence. Those who bring forward or estimate aright fine points in philosophy and give subtle principles their proper place, who are ornate in diction and acute in refined distinctions ride richly caparisoned elephants.

The University of Nalanda contained ten thousand scholars who studied the various branches of learning, and within the temple every day about one hundred pulpits were raised from which discourses were delivered and were attended by students without any fail, even for a minute. The priests lived in harmony and the pilgrim writes that during the seven hundred years since its establishment not a single case of rebellion against the rules had occurred in the University. The state liberally endowed the institution and took a great interest in its welfare.[9]

Harsa himself was an accomplished man of letters. He was the author, in some measure, of the famous plays—the *Nagananda,* the *Ratnavali* or 'Necklace'. and 'the *Priyadarsika* or 'Gracious Lady,' which are admirable for their 'simplicity of thought and elegance of expression.' Like the great Asoka before him, he devoted himself to the practice of piety. He developed an earnest religious outlook and gave his allegiance to Buddhism first in

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[9] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 112-13.

The king granted to the University the revenue of 100 villages. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contributed several hundred *piculs* of ordinary rice and several hundred *catties,* in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students being so abundantly supplied, did not require to ask for the four requisites. This was the source of the perfection of their studies to which they had attained.

One picul was equal to 133⅓ lbs.

One catty was equal to 160 lbs.

its Hinayana and then in its Mahayana forms and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep and eat and prohibited the use of animal food throughout the 'Five Indies.' Later he developed an eclectic attitude towards all religions, and, though a convinced Buddhist he offered worship to Siva, the Sun, and Buddha, and built temples in their honour. The religion of the bulk of the people was Puranic Hinduism, but in practice considerable latitudinarianism was observed by them. The Brahmanas resented the king's liberality towards the Buddhists and hatched a plot to take his life. During the session of the historic assembly, consisting of about twenty princes, four thousand learned Buddhists and about three thousand Jains and Brahmanas, held at Kanauj to proclaim the Master's teachings, an attempt was made on the king's life by a fanatic, which resulted in the arrest of five hundred Brahmanas. The accused confessed their guilt and escaped with the light penalty of exile.

The most remarkable thing about Harsa is the distribution of his vast treasures every four years at Prayag. The king proceeded thither accompanied by his sister and a number of princes and scholars. Hiuen Tisang who followed his royal host to Prayag gives a detailed account of this quinquennial assemblage and the distribution of charities.[10]

> "By this time, the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants and military accoutrements which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these the King freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel and bright head-

[10] Beal, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 186-187.

jewel, all these he freely gave without stint.

'All being given away, he begged from his sister an ordinary second hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the Buddhas of the ten regions, and as he exalted with joy with his hands closed in adoration, he said: 'In amassing all this wealth and treasure I ever feared that it was not safely stored in a strong place; but now having bestowed this treasure in the field of religious merit, I can safely say it is well bestowed. Oh that I may in all my future births ever thus religiously give in charity to mankind my stores of wealth, and thus complete in myself the ten independent power (dasabalas) [of a Buddha]."[11]

The pilgrim's account throws much light upon the social and religious condition of the time. Widow marriage was forbidden, and it appears from Bana's *Harsacharita* that Rajyasri's marriage was not publicly performed. Child marriages were then unknown. Sati was prevalent and Bana writes that Harsa's mother had burnt herself even before her husband's actual death. But women were held in honour, and Bana describes Rajyasri as a lady well-versed in the various *Kalas* and Sastras, who assisted her brother in performing his public duties. The people were upright and honourable. In money matters they were without craft and in administering justice they were considerate. They believed in the law of *karma* and dreaded the retribution of another state of existence—a belief which compelled them to follow the right path. They were not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and faithfully kept their oaths and promises.[11]

Harsa's death in 647 A.D. was an irreparable disaster. It marked the evident close of a system

[11] Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 186-87.

which had governed India for at least four centuries. The fall of the empire removed the visible symbol of unity and led to the dislocation of the long-received ideas and assumptions of mankind, their habits and modes of life and the established conclusions of experience. The Rajputs developed their peculiar system of petty feudal states, of which a detailed account will be given in the first chapter, but among the numerous clans that rose to the surface during the five centuries that followed the death of Harsa, there was not a single ruler of the calibre of Chandragupta, Asoka, or Harsa, who could weld together the conflicting elements into an organic whole and establish a homogeneous empire in the country. The Rajputs idealised chivalry which led to fierce wars among themselves. They could never rise to the lofty conception of national organisation or unity. Perhaps, the idea of national patriotism was foreign to the age. A singular dearth of capable Brahmana ministers is clearly noticeable at the courts of Delhi and Kanauj and other Rajput capitals. The Rajput made war his vocation and neglected the nobler and higher duties of government and administration, which have immortalised Asoka and Harsa in the history of India. No documentary evidence exists to point out their achievements in the field of civil administration, and their whole history is a long series of wars and battles between the rival clans. The Brahmana class, characterised in the past by disinterested devotion to public duty and the fulfilment of the highest *Dharma*, forgot its old ideals and its degeneration was followed by the decline of the entire Hindu social system.

The weakness of the political system had its effect on other aspects of life. Religion underwent a change. The cosmopolitanism of Harsa had fostered a spirit of tolerance and created an atmosphere of peace and quiet. The people had worshipped Siva, the Sun, or Visnu and another god according

to their individual predilections. But the result of individual freedom was the growth of a spirit of sectarianism which on the eve of Sankara's entry into the arena of religious controversy was rampant throughout the land. Anandagiri in his *Sankaradigvijaya* has drawn a graphic picture of the religious condition of India in the eighth century. He mentions the numerous sects that sprang into existence and inculcated the worship of all kinds of gods from the noblest and highest to the most repulsive deities, taking delight in drunken orgies and grotesque rites.[12] The leaders of rival sects cited the authority of the Vedas in support of their doctrines and practices and wished to overpower one another. Some worshipped Siva, while others worshipped the fire, Ganesa, the Sun, Bhairava and Mattari, Kartika, the god of love, Yama, the god of death, Varuna, sky, water, snakes, the ghosts, etc., and acted according to their own inclinations. Udayana by his relentless crusades against Buddhism had prepared the way for Sankara's vigorous onslaughts. With a boldness and vigour which is unrivalled in the history of religion, the

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[12] Anandagiri, Sankaradigvijaya, pp. 3—7.

Here is Anandagiri's description of the religious condition of India on the eve of Sankara's entry into the arena of controversy :

केचिच्छम्भुपराः परे कुजपराः केचित् सम्दाश्रिताः,
केचित्कालपराः परे पितृपराः केचित्तु नागेशगाः ।
केचित्तार्क्ष्यपराश्च सिद्धनिचयं सेवन्ति केचिद्दिवा ॥
केचिद् गन्धर्वसाध्यादीन् भूतवैतालगाः परे ।
एवं नानाप्रभेदानां नृणां वृत्तिर्यथेप्सिता ॥
केचित् स्ववृत्तिं वेदार्थैः प्रतिपाद्यां समं चिरे ।
केचिद्धर्मैरियमुक्तिरिति जल्प समास्थिताः ॥
अन्योन्यमत्सरग्रस्ताः परस्परजयैषिणः ।
निजेच्छाकृतिमङ्गेषु धारयन्ति दृषान्विताः ॥

great Master made his triumphal progress from city to city, worsting his opponents in debate by his almost superhuman powers of expression and argument. The *advaita* doctrine was firmly established, and the Buddhist monks and scholars, chased by Sankara's incisive logic, sought refuge in the secluded regions of Magadha and certain other parts of Northern India. A great reform was accomplished, and the land was purged of the grosser forms of worship. The bulk of the people reverted to Puranic Hinduism, while the intellectual section accorded its adhesion to the *advaita* doctrine. But Sankara's conquest did not produce lasting effects. The ninth century, religiously speaking, was an age of controversy and like all ages of controversy, though it clarified ideas and imparted a fresh stimulus to the debating power of communities and faiths, it failed to put forward a constructive programme of worship for the masses of the population. The result was a relapse into superstitious and unwholesome rites which encumbered religion for centuries, and which called forth the attacks of such practical reformers as Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak. The tenth century opened in the usual manner with a system of rival states fighting against one another for supremacy. There was no bitter antagonism between Hinduism and Buddhism, for the latter was now a spent force in the country. There were no caste-feuds; in the first place because caste was not so rigid as it is now, and in the second place, because caste was universally accepted as an economic and social organisation for the benefit of the community. The later *Smritis* allow much freedom of social intercourse, and the *Vyasa Smriti* and *Parasara Smriti* both enjoin the association on terms of equality of men belonging to the different castes. The system of administration in the small Rajput states was generally of a benevolent character. The taxes were light, rent was low because there was no dearth of cultivable land and the peo-

ple lived in security under the protection of the Rajput kings who deemed it a sacred duty to guard the persons and property of the common people. There is much truth in what a modern writer says about the political condition of India during this period. He writes:

"There was no foreign domination (except in Sindh) either external or internal. The three great empires of Kanauj, Malkhed, and Monghyr were ruled by entirely local ruling dynasties. There was no domination of either the Maratha over the Bengali or of the Bengali over the Assamese. The Kanauj rule in Kathiawar and north Gujarat might have partaken of the evils of foreign domination and it actually led to the establishment of the local Chavda Kingdom in Gujarat. But elsewhere the Kanauj empire must not have been felt as foreign. Similarly the Rastrakutas properly ruled in the Deccan and South Maratha Country. They were overlords, no doubt, of kingdoms further south; but, as often stated before such overlordship was never felt where local kings were allowed to rule almost independently in their own lands. In fact, an Arab traveller has in effect recorded that in India people were ruled everywhere by their own kings."[13] The Arab traveller Al-Masudi who wrote in the tenth century dwells with appreciation on the power and possessions of the kings of India and Sindh, and his remarks are in substance corroborated by Al-Istkhari and Ibn Haukal who speak of the prosperity and busy trade of the great cities of India.

In the numerous states that existed all over India we do not find a single ruler capable of organising them into an imperial union for pur-

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[13] Vaidya, History of Mediæval Hindu India, II, p. 255. Malkhed is identified with Manyakheta, the capital of the Rastrakutas of the Deccan. Vaidya, Mediæval India, II, Appendix VI, p. 354.

poses of common defence. The separatist and particularist tendensies were still too powerful to be suppressed. From Al-Beruni's India, a book of surpassing interest, we learn a great deal about the Hindu society as it then was. The Hindu mind still retained its vitality and vigour and its mastery over the rugged realms of philosophy, so much so, indeed, that the Arabian *savant* was astonished at the profound culture and learning of the Hindus. The India of Al-Beruni was Brahmanical not Buddhistic. Buddhism had well nigh disappeared from the country, and that is probably the reason why the Arab scholar never found a Buddhist book and never came across a Buddhist monk from whom he might have learned the theories of his faith.[14] The worship of Visnu was prominent, and Siva had receded into the background. But happily class conflicts and religious antagonisms were not much in evidence. The law was severe; ordeal was frequently resorted to in order to test the guilt or innocence of an accused person. The manners and customs of the Hindus writes Al-Beruni, were based upon the principles of virtue and abstinence, free from wickedness. Privileges of certain classes were recognised and the Brahmanas were treated with great consideration. The government of the country was carried on by independent states, some of which were quite efficiently governed. The remarks of Al-Beruni about the high character of the Hindus are corroborated by another Arab traveller, Al-Idrisi who wrote in the beginning of the twelfth century.[15] But an India, immersed in philosophy and bent upon a separatist policy, was sure to fall an easy prey to foreign invaders, however high the character of her people and however deep their scholarship. Mahmud found nothing to check his advance into the country. To the hermit who bade

[14] Sachau, I, p. 249.
[15] Sachau, II, p. 161.

Alaric return from the mistress of the world when he advanced upon Rome he replied that it was God's will and call that drove him on. It was God's will and call that drove the *Gazi* of the faith to desecrate the most sublime fanes of worship, some of them, the very homes of piety and spiritual culture, venerated for centuries by the highest and the lowliest in the land. Even the repeated raids of Mahmud and the untold losses of wealth in which they resulted did not force our Rajput masters into a solid and well-organised union for the defence of their hearths and homes. Their continued dissensions only served to accelerate their ruin. When the empire of Ghazni fell, the rule of conquest devolved upon a man with definite political aims. Fortune favoured him, and he succeeded in establishing the dominion of Islam on Indian soil. The Islamic conquest did not prove an unmixed evil. It established imperial unity in place of the system of hostile states and taught the people to respect a single authority in the country. It added a new element of youthful vigour to our national stock and introduced a new culture which deserves to be appreciated. The Muslim manners and customs leavened the habits of the upper class Hindus and much of the polish and refinement that we find in modern society is due to them. The Muslims introduced a new language into the country with a wonderful literature of its own, and by constructing noble edifices they brought about the renaissance of the Indian Art.

Though the Hindu lost their political power, the culture of the race as Professor Radha Kumud Mukerjee observes, kept up its uninterrupted flow as is shown by the many intellectual and religious movements which were organised by men who were great alike in the realm of thought and action.[16] Away from the great cities which became the centres of Muslim power, life in the country was not

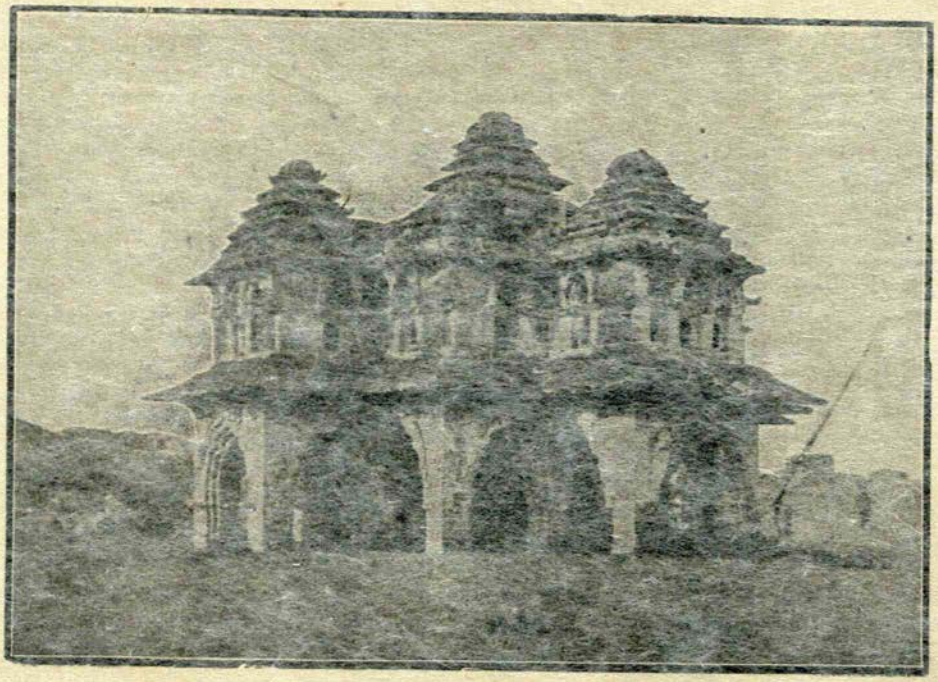
[16] Local Government in Ancient India, p. 12.

outwardly much disturbed by the conquest. Yet, a great revolution was effected and it must be admitted that when the hard-headed and heavy-handed Turkish warrior supplanted the pious Buddhist monk and the Brahmana philosopher, the history of India entered upon a new epoch.

Thus a new order replaced the old. The struggle between the two races was in reality a duel between two conflicting social systems. The old Aryan civilisation with its splendid ideals of life in all its varied aspects, enfeebled by its too much emphasis on the spiritual than on the material side, was overpowered by its belligerent rival which did not disdain the love of worldly pursuits and enjoyments. The heterogeneous population of India with well-marked social, religious and ethnological differences was easily conquered by a religious brotherhood which was organised on a military basis. The theocracy of Islam, backed by the entire force of the Muslim community, overbore the opposition offered by the small military monarchies, which were notoriously hostile to each other. Amid the tumult of the hour, in the din of battle and the clash of arms on the historic field of Tarain 1192 A.D., when the Muslim cavalry leaders pierced through the serried ranks of the Rajput hosts, little did Muhammad of Ghor realise that his conquest was to give an altogether new direction to India's history and to make his problems ever so much more complicated and elusive. The Islamic conquest was a momentous event in our history. There are no records left by the Hindus of those days to show that they gauged fully the importance of this mighty event. The numerous Rajput princes, hopelessly blinded by petty jealousies, failed to visualise the future that lay in store for them. A great many, perhaps, felt consciously or unconsciously that the Musalmans would be absorbed into their society by the same process of silent unification which had brought about the fusion of the Greeks, Huns,

Scythians and other invading hordes. But this was not to be. The Muslim invaders refused to be absorbed. Yet, their conquest profoundly influenced the course of our history and created fresh problems of exceptional difficulty. The Mughals only partially succeeded in solving these problems. The wave of reaction that swept over the empire under Aiamgir—who would have been an ideal king, if he had only the faithful to govern—undid the noble work which his great-grand-father, the most gifted ruler and statesman of mediæval times, had accomplished. Unfortunately, those problems exist today as they did in mediæval India, though in modified forms owing to the presence of a European power amongst us. May we hope that the combined genius of the Hindu and the Musalman assisted by the practical talent of the Anglo-Saxon race, which rightly boasts of championing the cause of freedom in Europe, will find a solution of the perplexing problem that besets us today—the problem of a united nation with common hopes and aspiration? The roots of the present lie buried deep in the past, and it is only a correct understanding of what has been that will enable us to adjust the present conditions to our future advantage.

Only, then, will the various communities of India reach the goal of national unity. History knows of no magic wand by which such miraculous transformations can be brought about. The process must be gradual, slow, and at times painfully slow, indeed. Burke uttered forth a profound truth when he said that it is an extremely difficult thing to create a political personality out of a great mass.



Council Chamber, Vijayanagar

CHAPTER I

INDIA ON THE EVE OF MUSLIM CONQUEST

THE period of Indian history which began after the death of Harsa in 647 A.D. is marked by political confusion and disintegration. Out of the fragments of his empire several principalities came into existence, which were not knit together by any principle of unity or cohesion. State fought against state for leadership, and there was no paramount power which could effectively hold them in check and control the forces of disruption. Kanauj long occupied the position of a premier state, but even her pre-eminence was not universally acknowledged. Rapid disintegration of the entire political system always follows in the east after the collapse of a powerful empire. India became, like Germany in the 16th century, a bundle of states which were to all intents and purposes independent.

Condition of Northern India.

Kashmir was not included in Harsa's empire though the local ruler was compelled by him to yield a valuable relic of Buddha. The material for the history of Kashmir is to be found in Kalhana's Rajatarangini which is a valuable source of information. When Hiuen Tsiang visited (631—33 A.D.) Kashmir he was accorded a cordial reception by the then reigning king who was probably Durlabhavardhan of the Karkota dynasty. Durlabhavardhan was succeeded by his three sons in order, of whom the most remarkable was Lalitaditya Muktapida. He was a capable ruler who extended his dominion beyond Kashmir and the adjoining countries. He led an expedition against Yasovarman of Kanauj who made his submission and waged war against the Tibetans and the Bhauttas. The famous Martand temple was built

Kashmir.

by him, and its ruins afford a striking example of ancient Hindu architecture, and in the words of Sir Aurel Stein "even in their present state of decay they command admiration both by their imposing dimensions and by the beauty of their architectural design and decoration." The next remarkable ruler was Jayapida, grandson of Muktapida, who, according to the chronicles, set out for the conquest of the world, but we have no definite information about his warlike operations. Towards the beginning of the ninth century the Karkota dynasty declined in importance and gave place to the Utpala dynasty.

The first ruler of the new dynasty was Avantivarman (855—83 A.D.). It is not clear that he made large conquest but there is evidence of internal peace and prosperity. He was succeeded by Sankaravarman (883—902 A.D.) who had to fight against his cousin Sukhavarman and other rivals. Sankaravarman devised an oppressive revenue system which weighed heavily upon the population. The people groaned under his exactions. The new taxes levied by him drained the wealth of religious houses, and their uncertainty accompanied by the rigour with which they were collected adversely affected trade and industry. Forced labour added to the miseries of the peasantry and Kalhana writes:—

> "Thus he introduced the well-known (system of forced) carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villages, and which is of thirteen kinds. By levying (contributions) for the monthly pay of the Skandakas, village-clerk (gram-Kayasthas), and the like, and by various other exactions, he drove the villagers into poverty." [1]

It was during this reign that the last of the Turki Sahi kings was overthrown by the Brahman Lalliya, who founded a new dynasty of the Hindu Sahis which lasted until 1021 A.D. and was finally destroyed by the Muslims.

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[1] Stein, Rajatarangini, Vol. I, Book V, pp. 209-10.

After Sankaravarman's death the most remarkable ruler of whom there is record was Ksemagupta (950—58 A.D.). Not so important in the beginning, he rose into prominence after his marriage with Didda, who was, on her mother's side, descended from the Sahi kings. Didda was a woman of great ability and it was her masterful personality which enabled her to keep order in the valley and exercise unquestioned authority for nearly fifty years. Ksemagupta died in 958 A.D. and the throne passed to his minor son. Didda by virtue of her right became regent, but the regency did not prove a bed of roses. The nobles offered strenuous opposition, and two of them—Mahiman and Patala—actually broke out into open rebellion. Didda's courage and presence of mind stood her in good stead. She quelled the revolt and revenged herself mercilessly upon her foes, who were butchered to death and whose families were exterminated.

Though successful, Didda soon found herself plunged into the quick sands of party warfare. She fell out with her nobles and chiefs, and had to adopt unscrupulous methods to crush their opposition. Luck favoured her and as long as she lived, she held Kashmir in her firm grip. After her death, which occurred sometime in 1003 A.D., the throne passed to her nephew Samgramaraja, son of her brother Udayaraja, the ruler of Lohara, and this is the beginning of the Lohara dynasty.

This dynasty produced a remarkable ruler in Harsa (1089—1101 A.D.), whose character is graphically described by Kalhana and reproduced by Sir Aurel Stein in these words:—

> "Cruelty and kind-heartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-willedness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harsa's chequered life. Kalhana has hit the key-note in Harsa's character when he insists on the excessiveness with which all these qualities asserted themselves. A modern

psychologist could easily gather from Kalhana's account of Harsa's character and reign the unmistakable indications of an unsound condition of mind, which towards the close of the king's life manifested itself in a kind of *dementia imperatoria*."[2]

Harsa was a tyrant. He robbed the temples of their wealth and his iconoclasm caused much discontent in the country. New and oppressive taxes were devised and his wicked ingenuity led him to levy a special tax on night-soil. All sorts of excesses were perpetrated and the Chronicles speak of the "numerous acts of incest which he committed with his own sisters and his father's widows." A monster like him could not long rule in peace, and treason at last raised its head in the land. He was attacked and his palace was burnt. His attempts to escape failed and he was finally captured and killed in 1101 A.D. After Harsa's death rose to power the second Lohara dynasty but its history is comparatively insignificant.

In the fourteenth century power was usurped by the Muslims and in 1339 A.D. Shah Mir, a powerful adventurer from the south, deposed queen Kota, the widow of the last Hindu ruler, and founded a new dynasty. Islam did not at first, writes Sir Aurel Stein, change the political and cultural condition of Kashmir. The Brahmanas were appointed to high offices and were entrusted with the work of administration. The dynasty produced some capable rulers, but in course of time its power declined and the country was torn by rival factions. This gave the Mughals an opportunity to attempt its conquest. Mirza Haider Daghlat, the famous author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, brought Kashmir under his control, but he had to leave it owing to the pressure of other engagements. He recovered possession of the valley again in 1540 A.D. and ruled there in the name of Humayun, the Mughal emperor, until his death in 1551 A.D. His death plunged the country into

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[2] Stein, Rajatarangini, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 112.

chaos, and rival factions set up their puppet kings who were powerless to establish a settled administration. This state of affairs was finally ended when the valley was incorporated with the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1586 A.D.

Kanauj.

The earliest kingdom that rose into prominence after Harsa's death was that of Kanauj ruled over by the Parihar or Pratihar clan. Yasovarman, king of Kanauj, was a powerful ruler, who had diplomatic relations with foreign countries and had established a reputation for patronage of letters.[3] He was followed by a series of weak rulers who were utterly pomerless to resist the aggressions of the rulers of Kashmir, Bengal and other neighbouring states. But the fortunes of Kanauj were retrieved by Mihir Bhoja (840—890 A.D.), a capable and powerful ruler, who, by his extensive conquests, built up an empire, which included the cis-Sutlaj districts of the Punjab, parts of Rajputana, the greater part of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory. Bhoja's successor, Mahendrapala, kept under his firm grip the dominions he had inherited from his father, but when the sceptre pased into the hands of his half-brother Mahipala, Kanauj succumbed in the year 916 A.D. to the power of the Rastrakuta, Indra III, who invaded her territories.[4]

The subject provinces, which were already half-loyal, separated themselves and disregarded the authority of their liege-lord; but Indra did not follow up his victory, and Mahipala found no difficulty in recovering his lost power with the help of his native allies. Again he failed to guard himself effectively against his ambitious neighbours and had to purchase his safety by yielding a valuable image of Visnu to Yasovarman

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[3] He was dethroned by Lalitaditya of Kashmir about 742 A.D. The poet Bhavabhuti, author of the famous dramas *Malatimadhava* and *Uttararamacharita*, flourished at his court. (Stein, Rajatarangini, IV, p. 134.)

[4] Epig. Ind., VII, pp. 30 and 43.

Chandela who had established his power at Kalinjar, the seat of the Jaijakbhukti kingdom. The river Jumna was fixed as the boundary between the kingdom of Panchala and the kingdom of Jaijakbhukti. The process of decadence went on, and Kanauj, once so mighty and flourishing, lost one province after another. Gujarat had already become independent, and the establishment of the Solanki kingdom about the middle of the 10th century conclusively proves that Kanauj had no connection with Western India during that period.[5] Gwalior also slipped away and its king transferred his allegiance to the Chandela ruler of Bundelkhand.

Along with the Chandelas there were other tribes of Rajput origin, the Chauhans and Parmars; who had

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[5] According to Gujarat Chronicles Mula Raja ruled from 942 A.D. to 997 A.D. He is described as the son of Raji, king of Kanauj. Smith thinks that Raji, was one of the military designations of Mahipala and presumably Mula Raja was his viceroy, who threw off his allegiance and became independent. (Smith, Early History of India, p. 391.)

The chroniclers state that Mula Raja I, the founder of the Anhilwad branch of the Chalukyas, reigned from Vikrama Samvat 998 to 1053. Shortly after his accession he was attacked by the Raja of Shakambhari and Barappa, the general of Tailapa. The Shakambhari king must have been Chauhan Vigraharaja.

The chronology of Mula Raja's reign is established by inscription. The oldest which is dated 974 A.D. has been noticed by Mr. Dhruva and the second is the Kadi plate dated 987 A.D. The latest inscription of Mula Raja is dated 995 A.D. It relates to a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to a certain Dirghacharya, a Brahman from Kanyakubja.

See Stein Konow's article on the Balera Plates of Mula Raja I Epig. Indica, Vol. X, pp. 76-78.

Harsa had conquered the Vallabhi kings of Gujarat, but after his death they assumed independence in 760 A.D. and their capital was destroyed by the Arabs. Their fall made possible the rise of another petty dynasty in Gujarat. These in their turn succumbed to the Rastrakutas and to the Solankis who established their power in the latter part of the 10th century. (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 266—69; Indian Antiquary, XIII, p. 70.)

established their sway in Ajmer and Malwa. The Parihars of Kanauj rapidly declined in importance owing to the repeated incursions of the Muslim invaders, which will be described in detail later, and when in 1019 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni stood before the gates of Kanauj at the head of his warlike host, Rajyapala, its ruler, offered no resistance, and purchased his freedom by an abject and humiliating surrender. The cowardly submission, unworthy of a Rajput, gave offence to his confederates who had previously joined him in repelling an invasion of Subuktagin. The Chandela Raja, Ganda, was deeply enraged at this submission and along with other Rajput princes organised a league to chastise Rajyapala. Ganda's son Vidyadhara, placing himself at the head of the allies, among whom was included the Kacchwaha chief of Gwalior, attacked Rajyapala and after inflicting a crushing defeat murdered him.[6] His son Trilochanpala succeeded him, but he could do nothing to cement his power owing to the ever-increasing pressure of Muslim invaders and the jealousy of the neighbouring princes. Internal weakness and the crushing force of Islamic raids destroyed whatever vitality the houses of Kanauj possessed, and the successors of Trilochanapala,[7] vainly

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[6] The Dubkund Inscription near Gwalior (Epig. Ind., II, p. 235) records the slaying of Rajyapala by Arjuna, the Kacchwaha chief of Gwalior, under the command of Vidyadhara Chandela. Another inscription found at Mahoba describes Vidyadhara as a master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyakubja (Epig. Ind., I, p. 219.)

[7] From a stone inscription of Yasapala, the successor of Trilochanapala, dated 1036 A.D., it is clear that the Parihars ruled at Kanauj up to this year. But after this they were overpowered by Rathor Chandra Deva. He obtained mastery over a small territory, for the dependencies of Kanauj had already separated themselves from the empire.

Tod's Rajasthan (Hindi), edited by Gaurishankar Hira Chand Ojha, p. 449. Delhi had been founded about a century earlier in 993-94 A.D.

struggled to retain their power until they were finally subdued about 1090 A.D. by a Raja of the Gaharwar clan, named Chandra Deva, who established his sway over Benares and Ajodhya and perhaps also the Delhi territory.

Another important Rajput clan was that of the Chauhans of Sambhar in Rajputana whom Tod describes as "the most valiant of the Rajput races." Ajmer formed part of the principality of Sambhar. The earliest ruler of whom we have an authentic record was Vigraharaja IV, better known as Bisala Deva Chauhan,[8] who was a warrior of undoubted prowess, yearning for the glories of war and conquest, an accomplished man of letters, a scholar and a poet. He fought against the Turks and by wresting Delhi from the Pratihars established a large kingdom running from the base of the Himalayas to the Vindhya

Ajmer.

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[8] Bisala Deva was the second son of Arnoraja or Anala Deva who had three sons—Jaga Deva, Bisala Deva, and Somesvara. Jaga Deva usurped the throne of Ajmer by murdering his father. But his younger brother Bisala Deva punished his unnatural guilt by seizing the kingdom and proclaiming himself king in his place.

Tod's Rajasthan, edited by Gaurishankar Hira Chand Ojha (Hindi), p. 400.

A stone inscription of the time of Somesvara bearing date Samvat 1226 Vikrama (1169 A.D.) has been discovered near Bijolia in Mewar territory which records the conquest of Delhi by Bisala Deva. The conquest took place about the year 1163 A.D. There are three others to the same effect. Smith doubts the truth of the story of the conquest of Delhi by Bisala Deva. (Early History p. 387.) The translation of verse 22 of the inscription (J.A.S.B., 1886, p. 56) seems to support Smith's view, but the Delhi-Siwalik Pillar Inscription of 1164 A.D. says, he conquered the whole country between the Vindhya and the Himalaya mountains.

The *Prithvi Raja Vijaya*, a poem composed some time after 1178 A.D. and before 1200 A.D., which Dr. Buhler discovered in Kashmir, records the gallant exploits of the last Chauhan emperor of Northern India. The poem gives a genealogy of the Chauhans which is supported by inscriptions. It is as follows:—

mountains in the Deccan.[9] Bisala Deva extended his patronage to the cause of learning, founded a large school at Ajmer, and caused two dramas, the *Lalitávigraharaja Nataka,* composed by his court poet Somesvara and the *Harikeli Nataka* the authorship of which is attributed to the king himself, inscribed on stone slabs, to be deposited in safety therein. These dramas are still preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. The *Harikeli Nataka* is described in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 201. Dr. Keilhorn bestows rich praise upon the genius of the Hindu kings of old when he says: "Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti for poetical fame." This school building was afterwards ravaged by the soldiery of Muhammad Ghori in the year 1193 A.D. and a mosque was erected in its place

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ARNO RAJA (1139 A.D.)

Name not given. (We know from the Hammir Mahakavya and the Gwalior and Kamaon MS. Genealogies consulted by General Cunningham that his name was Jaga Deva.)	Vigraha Raja IV (1153—64 A.D.)	Somesvara-Karpur Devi (1170—77 A.D.)
Prithvibhatta (1167—69 A.D.)	Aparagangeya or Amaragangeya	Prithviraja (d 1192) or Rai Pithaura; Hariraja (1193—95)

Mr. Kennedy says that the most important conquest of Bisala Deva was Delhi. He allowed the Tomara king to reign as his tributary and married his son Somesvara to the Tomara's daughter. (Imperial Gazetteer, II, p. 314.)

This is incorrect. Somesvara was not the son of Bisala Deva but his brother.

[9] Bisala Deva's inscription on the famous iron pillar, dated Samvat 1220 Vikrama (1163 A.D.) states that he cleared the country of the Musalmans and made it again Arya-bhumi, the land of the Aryas. He conquered Nadole, Jalor and Pali and invaded and conquered Delhi between 1153—63 A.D. (Carr Stephen, Archaeology of Delhi, p. 138; Indian Antiquary, XX, p. 201; Sarda, Ajmer, p. 153.)

to gratify the faithful. Acts of such vandalism were not uncommon in the early history of the Turks, and neither shrines of learning nor abodes of worship, venerated for centuries, were suffered to exist by the fanatical adventurers, who looked upon the destruction of such places as a matter of pious obligation. After his death he was succeeded by his son Amaragangeya, but he was a minor, and the administration was carried on in his behalf by the regent Prithviraja, son of his uncle Jaga Deva, who shortly afterwards usurped the throne and exercised authority in his own name. After his demise, which probably took place in 1169 A.D. the *gaddi* of Delhi fell into the hands of Somesvara, the younger brother of Bisala Deva. Somesvara exercised sway over the dominions of the houses of the Tomaras and Chauhans and was acknowledged king by the dependencies of Delhi and Ajmer. His successor[10] was the famous Prithviraja Chauhan, the last flower of Rajput chivalry, whose valorous deeds of love and war are still sung by enthusiastic bards all over Northern India. Like the valiant knights of mediæval Europe, Prithviraja took delight in war and obtained victories which made his fame reverberate from one end of the country to the other. In 1182 A.D. he invaded the Chandela territory and defeated Raja Parmardin or Parmala of Mohoba. When Muhammad of Ghor

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[10] It is written in *Prithviraja Rasau* that Prithviraja obtained the throne of Delhi through his adoption by Anangapala Tomara of Delhi who was his maternal grandfather. This is an imaginary story. As has already been said, Bisala Deva Chauhan had conquered Delhi from the Tomaras and ever since his conquest it had remained subject to the Chauhans of Ajmer.

Somesvara was not married, as Chand Bardai says, to Kamala Devi, daughter of Anangapala Tomara. The name of Somesvara's queen was Karpur Devi, daughter of a king of the Kalachuri dynasty. The offspring of this marriage was Prithviraja Chauhan, who after his father's death took charge of the kingdom of Delhi as well os Ajmer. (J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 259—81). The Hammir Kavya also supports this view. Also Buhler, Proc. A.S.B., 1893, p. 94.