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INDIA

THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

[*Reprinted (with Preface) from Vol. III. of REFLECTIONS
ON SOME LEADING FACTS AND IDEAS OF HISTORY;
THEIR MEANING AND INTEREST*]

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PREFACE

IT is with great diffidence that I publish, with no 'previous' criticism, and with 'all its imperfections on its head,' the third volume of my Historical Synopsis. The attempt to give even the roughest and most tentative selection of historical 'landmarks' is attended with ever-increasing difficulty as one descends the stream of time. And though dealing with what I call 'classical history,' I have been obliged, for reasons which I cannot fully explain, to rush this volume through the press with scarcely time to verify the chronology. One reason for this obviously injudicious haste is that I am really anxious to finish the series, and choose some one period for work in the time-honoured 'academic' style.* I was obliged, by loyalty to my own principles, to begin work on the lines laid down in the preliminary volume, and I think that my series, even as far as it has already gone, has shown up some periods of history which call loudly for earnest and patient work at authorities and 'monuments,' so as to clear up doubts and difficulties.† For instance,

* I think it is scarcely fair to call the work a 'compilation.' I have written most of it from memory, sometimes with a dreadful suspicion that I was reproducing the *ipsissima verba* of my favourite authors, but for the most part passing everything through the 'crucible' of an 'individuality' which often seems almost too pronounced!

† Other necessary work loudly calling for attention is that of amending incorrect popular judgments about illustrious personalities.

in Indian history the important Gupta period, a veritable Hindu golden age, is still in a very nebulous state, and the discrepancy between the views held by different scholars on the subject is really startling. But work in this field demands a knowledge of Sanskrit and kindred tongues.

Although the success of my undertaking has so far been scarcely encouraging (my attempts to draw attention to the charm and fascination of history seem to have utterly failed), I think some progress has been made in working out the general idea. In the absence of outside criticism or suggestions of a practical nature for improving the scheme, I have, I think, been able to learn a little from my own failures. I think every writer on history (and I might almost add every student) should begin his labours by putting down on paper what he considers the salient facts of the period he is dealing with. He will then have made the first step towards avoiding the mental confusion produced by a mass of unimportant details. Sometimes graver evils than mere confusion of mind result. For instance, do the ordinary histories of Greece show clearly the order of precedence of the various states?

That Argos, not Sparta, is the first city to take the lead in Hellas is so obvious a proposition that one would expect to find it brought prominently to every student's notice. That the reverse is the case is what one would certainly infer from the inspection of the table of contents in some histories.

I feel quite certain that in the near future* not only will improved methods of teaching history be devised,

* It is curious that the new Historical Association was started in the same month in which I published my first volume!

and better books demanded and supplied, but that the subject will, ere long, be given its proper place in the educational curriculum. History is bound to assert itself sooner or later as the most interesting and important of all studies—the study of ourselves, our limitations, and our possibilities, our chances of happiness and risks of misery. If the twentieth century is to substitute a religion of self-development for an effete dogmatism, which permits no progress, even if it does not tend to retrogression, history will surely play its part in the new propaganda. The ‘new religion’ now being preached at the City Temple is regarded by some as an attempt to bring the Deity down to the level of man: no exception could surely be taken to one which contemplated the reverse process. The elevation of His creatures must surely be the ultimate purpose of the Creator; any suggestion of rivalry is an anthropomorphic notion from which the mind should recoil with horror.

If man, instead of confessing himself a miserable sinner once a week, and being rather too content to remain in that condition! can be stimulated to cultivate and bring out the divinity which is in him, he will naturally turn to our study for inspiration. He will demand with almost passionate insistence to know all about those individuals of his race who have had these noble aspirations, and have elevated themselves and posterity by clinging to them.

But to realize all this will involve long years of disappointment and waiting, and perhaps some cataclysm will be necessary to clear the moral atmosphere of Great Britain, before she can see how imperatively the higher patriotism demands history as a handmaid.

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Perhaps her glorious little ally in the Far East will teach her the lesson without the punishment; the patriotism of Japan seems to utilize the higher teaching of history—to be almost cosmopolitan. East against West is my subject in this book. We have learnt much from each other in the past as foes: can we not now continue to learn from each other as friends? China, Persia, India—all Asia, in fact (with Africa to follow!)—is awaiting regeneration. This regeneration cannot be effected without our help. I would urge that instruction how to carry out the task can be obtained from history alone. To anyone who proposes to take part in this noble work I think my little attempt to make history a more manageable study ought to be welcome. This is not my only object: the subject seems to me so cruelly wronged in public estimation by its accepted 'label' of dullness, that I long above all things to vindicate its charm.

But the practical object should always be first: I contend that you cannot learn the lessons of history without surveying it as a whole. The first task, then, is one of compression. We shall do much in this way by eliminating the parochial part. Even the episodal part will probably be more charming than useful; it is not concerned with those continuous lessons which are to be learnt from the general course of human progress. So for practical work we can take another slice out of the unmanageable whole, and leave a residuum which can be assimilated with comparative ease. The facts which remain can be marshalled, compared, and appraised at their true value. To return for a moment to our example from the history of Greece, say you have singled out four states—Argos, Sparta, Athens,

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and Thebes—as those with which the student of world-history is most concerned. The merest tyro can arrange them in proper time sequence—they almost arrange themselves—the confusion of ideas alluded to above is impossible. In this volume the division of history into these three parts is definitely advocated.

All that I hope for is to stimulate others to work at this great task—the discovery of that irreducible minimum of history from which its practical lessons can be learnt. Two notable object-lessons of the importance of the subject have recently been (one might indeed say still are) before the public. The Colonial Conference has met and broken up; it is an event which may be big with fate for the British Empire: it may involve issues no less momentous than those of national existence. Has an intelligent attempt been made to utilize the lessons of history? have the experts been even called upon for their opinions? Have we not here a problem similar to that which confronted Pericles, Epaminondas, and Isocrates, and the failure to solve which involved the ruin of Hellas?

Again, without attempting to claim any credit for the prophecy of coming trouble in India in the last volume (which all of us who knew something of the East foresaw), I will merely say, Has any attempt been made to apply the teaching of history to the problem?

I have devoted a number of chapters to India, in the hope that they may be of use to visitors to that 'wonderland' of ours, where the lessons of history can be learned from living books—books in which the great message of the East to the West is always to be read. Those books (to continue the metaphor) are located in a museum or library to the adornment of

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which the hand of Nature and the hand of man have both contributed in no niggardly fashion. It must surely, then, be due to want of information that the seeker after pathos, beauty, and grandeur so seldom finds his way to the cradle of our Aryan civilization. We have rushed ahead of those laggards on the road of time, but not always because we were their superiors, and they demand, and should receive, our sympathy and our help. When that sympathy and that help are given in a whole-hearted manner, there will no longer be an Indian problem.

The educational reformer must sooner or later be convinced of the necessity for such work as this series attempts to do; it is needed as a corrective to the elaborate and exegetic treatises of which our age of scholastic specialism is so prolific. The student wants, not one, but dozens of books which attempt the sifting and generalization of what the specialist accumulates; he can then compare different views and choose his own. In the hope that it may soon be only one among a number, I offer him my sketch of the struggle of East and West during a millennium of World-Empire.

C. W. W.

Ascot,

May, 1907.

CHAPTER I

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

SUMMARY.

The Twentieth Satrapy—Its reconquest by Alexander
—The two great movements of the ancient world
—The missionary religions—The Land and the
People.

OF the two great 'outsiders' of our story, China has already occupied some small share of our attention in the last volume, and will again do so in the next. The present is undoubtedly the proper juncture for considering India. The subject is almost a part of the story of Macedon. The great Peninsula is the only part of the earth from which Alexander was turned back (though not by an enemy). To glance at times still earlier, India is catalogued as the twentieth and the richest satrapy of Darius!* Indian archers are said to have borne their part in the Battle of Plataea, and (to return to Alexander) we have hazarded the conjecture that the founder of the great and important Empire of ancient India was actually stimulated and inspired by the doings of the Macedonian conqueror. We may, then, well pause before

* Of course, the satrapy comprised only a small portion of India.

we enter on the consideration of the last of our World-Empires, and seek a little change, from the often dreary record of crime which has been demanding our attention, in the peaceful land of the East Aryan, or, rather, the Aryan of the Far East. Indeed, there is a reason for turning our thoughts to the Indian wonderland more weighty than any which have been hitherto adduced, though it arises out of Alexander's connexion with it. We have been considering the most important movement (as concerns ourselves) which history chronicles—the hellenization of the world. We must never forget the sister movement, which affected lands too distant for even the faintest ripple of the Hellenic wave to reach them. The second movement takes place nearly a century later than the first. While that brief Spartan revival under Agis and Cleomenes is suffering eclipse through the jealousy of Aratus (whose peculiar way of injuring Sparta was by destroying the only other force* which made for regeneration in Hellas), a missionary movement of the highest importance is proceeding at the other end of Alexander's world. Asoka, the 'Constantine of Buddhism,' is spreading that broad and humanitarian cult all over the East. What that propaganda was to a large portion of Asia we shall see as we proceed. Can we not trace the evidence of design also here? Each part of the globe obtains the religion which is most suited for it, as it starts on the path of progress. Judaism is destined for the mysterious Peninsula which is the link between the East and the West, Buddhism and Islam are for Asia, Christianity is for Europe.

* That is, of course, the independence of the Achaean League.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

We must begin our study of 'things Indian' with a brief notice of the land, because that land is in itself one of the wonders we have to grasp. India is a world in itself, and its population amounts to a sixth part of the whole human race. It is not quite so difficult to decide questions relating to the ethnic character of that population as in the case of the other countries we have been studying, and we will glance at a few of them before passing on. The subject is intimately connected with the principal physical characteristic of India—its isolation. Shut off from the rest of the world by an almost impassable barrier—the Himalaya, or Himala (wall, or, rather, abode of snow)—India, the traditional home of the black man, is the theatre of some of the earliest doings of the man whom we consider most emphatically white.

THE ARYAN.

In that secluded workshop the Aryan elaborated his earliest civilization, while his brother Empire-builder, the Semite, and that mysterious cousin, the 'man of the tombs,' were fighting for supremacy in the basin of the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, another race (identified by some with the tomb-builders), which we generally call yellow, was working out a different kind of civilization in similar seclusion in China. The first country was destined to give to the last a religion which she developed and found (shall we say?) too good for her!

4 Links with the South-East Corner

THE ABORIGINES AND THE 'OTHERS.'

The Aryan immigrant, in invading or colonizing (as he loves to call it) India, must have met the black (and negligible) aborigines, and driven them to the hills and forests. But he also met the mysterious 'third race,' whom we have labelled above as a tomb-builder, and attempted to drive him also out of the fertile plains. It seems that *he* was not quite so ready to go as the inferior race, and possibly the worst names by which the Aryans describe their antagonists in the sacred writings are more intended for these recalcitrants than for the blacks!

THE THREE REGIONS.

The three natural divisions of India are the mountain barrier, the region of alluvial plains, and the Deccan, or Peninsula proper, divided from the northern portion by the so-called Vindhya Mountains—mere molehills in comparison with the giant Himalayas.

THE 'THIRD-RACE' HOME.

This third region is appropriately looked upon as the home of the 'third race'—the Dravidian (or Dravido-mundane, from the two subdivisions of the language). Possibly, of course, the race was driven there, as the Celts and Basques were 'cornered' in Europe by immigrants of similar stock.

The claim of the Deccan to have witnessed the growth of the earliest Indian civilization is borne out by the fact of its being one of the oldest of the geological formations.

The word 'Deccan' is considered by some to mean,

not south, according to the popular view, but *right hand*, because the Aryans found it on their right in their downward progress. The agglutinative language* is perhaps a link between this region and the early civilizations of Eurasia and Eurafrica. The Aryans are said to have produced the articles which Dravidian traders took to Babylonia and Asia Minor. But it requires a good deal of imagination to picture a connexion with pre-Semitic Mesopotamia (using the word in the wider sense) and India.

THE ARYAN HOME.

The Aryan home seems to have been (as we might suspect) the most fertile and the richest part of the country. † It was an *adoptive* home, and it is to be feared that the original possessors had to be dislodged before it could be occupied, a process which we repeatedly witnessed in the great drama of ancient history which we glanced at in the last volume. We may conjecture that the valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes were the first to attract our cousins, regions probably much more fertile in those early days than they are at present. The next steps may have been through Badakshan and Khokand (?) to the valley of the Helmund (Seistan), and when Indian soil was actually invaded, the region to succumb first can be guessed by anyone at all acquainted with the subject. It is the great 'gate' or 'key' of India, lying on the route which her invaders have always chosen, the only part of the country really demanding attention on the

* The philologist ought, perhaps, to tell us if the non-Aryan languages of India—Telugu, Canarese, etc.—really suggest such a link.

part of her defenders. Its native name is the Panjab, or country of the five rivers, later the cradle of that martial race which gave us such a tough fight for supremacy in the middle of the last century. Continuing his southward progress, the Aryan makes straight for the other river systems, and we find him in the great 'doabs'*—the Indian Mesopotamia of the Ganges and Jumna, and that formed by their united stream and the sacred river of Rama, the Surju or Gogra, at the confluence of which stood the capital of the Magadha Empire. The reader unacquainted with the subject cannot expect to understand these allusions till he has read further. He will find that this Magadha Empire is the centre of all our ideas on ancient Indian history. He may derive much benefit, in his attempts to form a mental picture of the land, from dividing India into hydrographical provinces, if the expression be admissible. He will find, for instance, more than one Panjab or group of five rivers.

THE HOME OF THE BLACK MAN.

The home of the black man was 'all over,' but he was driven (as before said) into the hills and forests. If we could have a map of the world in Eocene times, we should perhaps be able to trace the Gonds and other tribes to an early home in the Indo-African continent, which is surmised to have occupied the Arabian Sea, and which has been termed Gondwanaland.

* A 'doab' means an alluvial tract between two great rivers.

WONDERS OF THE LAND.

Before attempting the very difficult task of giving a summary of Indian history (in which we can only, of course, briefly indicate the principal epochs), it will be well to enumerate a few of the wonders of India. Perhaps the student will not then grudge the labour required to make himself master of the salient points in the annals of this remarkable people.

A good deal of highly interesting and even fascinating information can be included under the heading which still occupies our attention—the Land and the People.

MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN.

The reader of the last volume will probably want to compare the growth of civilization on the Nile, the Twin rivers, and the Hoangho, with a similar process in India. In this favoured land we also find inundations, which present the inhabitants with a soil already prepared for agricultural operations before they know anything of agricultural implements. The combined stream of the Ganges and Brahmaputra deposits yearly 40,000,000,000 cubic feet of rich alluvial soil, into which it is scarcely necessary to do more than throw the seed.

Yet would the fertile plains be nothing without that great region of mountain mystery and awe, where the imaginative mind of the Hindu placed the dwellings of his gods. There are the great lakes, pure and snow-fed, and the springs of the sacred rivers—the Indus, the Sutlej, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, or son of God.

It is a tableland of an average of 10,000 feet in

elevation, and as large in area as the three Mediterranean peninsulas of Europe put together. There are isolated peaks rising to treble the normal height of the system, the whole forming a ridge nearly double the height, and five times the length, of the Alps.

There the Hindu was taught to picture an abode where the spirits of the happy dead (the funeral rites duly performed) mingled with a superior race, from which they vaguely fancied their ancestors had sprung, to enjoy a perpetual golden age of sinlessness and bliss.

There were the mysterious caves of Kuvera, the god of wealth, keeper of the precious metals and gems intended by the immortals as their choicest gifts to man. To this blessed spot the eyes of the Hindu were ever turning, as those of the exiled Jews to their lost fatherland. Some tribes have been known until quite recently to bury their dead with the feet turned northwards, ready for the journey to the old home. -

Nor was the fable without some substantial basis of truth, giving a somewhat practical colouring to the longing and reverence with which that mountain land was regarded. It is, indeed, the main agent in the prosperity of India. Not only does the inexhaustible treasury of snow feed the great rivers: it gives to the plains below their periodical rainfall. When the increasing heats of summer have intensified the climatic contrast between the arid plains of Central Asia and the cooler regions of the ocean which bathes its southern shores, a cyclonic action of the wind is produced. Huge masses of cloud are drawn up over the continental area; the combined forces of cold and the actual physical obstacle of the mountain wall

squeeze these clouds, and thus give to the plains below the largest rainfall in the world. The 'monsoons,' as these periodical migrations of clouds are called, from a word signifying their recurrence at stated intervals, dash themselves in impotent rage against the barrier, producing the most awe-inspiring storms conceivable, and the tableland beyond is defrauded of its moisture to feed the teeming life of Hindustan. A country so richly endowed by Nature naturally supports an immense population, and although the snow treasury never fails, the periodical rains do, and the resultant disasters are as great as the wealth gathered from the land in normal seasons. The dark spectre of famine must always haunt the generally smiling land, a demon to be exorcised only by the ever-watchful efforts of her rulers.

THE FLORA AND FAUNA.

While the animals of India are too well known to need description, the trees have scarcely received the attention they deserve. They are, however, remarkable for luxuriance, beauty, and usefulness, and should strike the eye of every beholder. Let us particularize two: The *Ficus indica*, popularly known as the banian-tree, might almost be called the tree of immortality, for as far as one can see there is no reason why it should ever die. The central stem throws out stout limbs which branch from it horizontally; from these the so-called 'air roots' grow downwards till they reach the soil, and themselves develop into the parents of others. One tree has been described as having 1,300 large trunks and 3,000 small ones, and is said to have given shelter to armies of 6,000 or 7,000 men! Such a tree

has been justly spoken of as 'the most astounding piece of vegetation in the world.' Everything, even a tank, is married in India, and we must not forget the consort tree of the indica, the *Ficus religiosa*, or pipal-tree. This graceful member of the large tribe of figs has leaves ending in delicate needle-like points, which, ever quivering in the slightest breeze, have obtained for the 'religiosa' the name of the Indian aspen. Both trees are regarded with the greatest veneration by the Hindus, and are often planted together. Let us not be behind the rough soldiers of Alexander in our appreciation of the beauties which the hand of Nature has so lavishly scattered on Indian soil: even they could admire the great fig family, of which there are many other members than those which have been mentioned.

Another tree which has an exquisitely graceful foliage, and which is essentially feminine in its characteristics, is the tamarind. One of the Indian princes of old days attempted to plant an avenue of these trees more than fifty miles in length!* The tamarind is quite an imposing tree, for all its grace, and is well suited for an avenue. There is also a tree in India the beauty of which may almost be said to consist in its roots! These lie largely above ground, and in their strange shapes recall the vaulted roof of some Gothic cathedral. India must be visited in the company of some one who knows and loves her to gain even the faintest idea of her beauty and interest. Such a mentor would never allow the visitor who wished to appreciate her flora to leave India before he had seen the delicate gradations

* This avenue was to form the road from Lucknow to Faizabad. The idea was that a monkey might be able to travel from tree to tree the whole distance without touching the ground.

of colour on the young leaves in the short Indian spring which follows, not the winter, but the autumn, in that land of mixed-up seasons. Probably, too, he would take his charge to the hills, at the same season, to revel in the glorious burst of colour which makes their slopes seem on fire, when the *Butea frondosa* (dhaka) puts forth its gorgeous flowers. The Worth who could imitate the exquisite texture and colouring of the velvety calyx for a lady's dress would make his fortune.

We must now leave these fascinating aspects of the wonderland to take a glance at the 'landmarks' of her history. The study will be relieved by the religious interest, a thread of which runs throughout the story.

We shall then be in a position to review the art and the literature. We must begin our studies by the usual synopsis of facts, which in this case demands a whole chapter to itself.

* Especially those of the fig.

CHAPTER II

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST (continued)

NUTSHELL SUMMARY OF INDIAN HISTORY.

PRE-HISTORIC HINDU PERIOD.

A long pre-historic period precedes the dawn of Indian history, and some knowledge of it is essential to the reader in order to understand a *historical* summary. During it there were many great Hindu kings in India, though historians are not in agreement as to their dates or names.

PERIOD OF THE BIRTH OF BUDDHISM.

Then comes the period of the birth of the great founder of the new religion; it should be distinguished from the Buddhist period proper, or confusion of ideas will result.

HINDU PERIOD OF LOW-CASTE KINGS.

The Golden Age of Buddhism is divided from the epoch of the founder's birth by an era during which low-caste, or Sudra, kings reigned, but had *not* adopted Buddhism as their religion. This is the age of Chandragupta and Alexander's invasion.

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BUDDHIST PERIOD OF LOW-CASTE KINGS.

This is the age of Asoka and his successors, and lasts till the so-called Maurya dynasty is superseded by the Sungas.

PERIOD OF HINDU REVIVAL.

This is a doubtful period, as to which the reader must form his own opinion. The Sunga kings are said to have revived Hinduism in the second century B.C.

PERIOD OF BUDDHIST REVIVAL.

This period includes a considerable portion of time both before and after the birth of Christ. If the Buddhist revival in the south (under the Andhras) be doubted, that in the north, under the Indo-Scythian kings, admits of no question.

THE HINDU RENAISSANCE, OR GUPTA ERA.

Then follows what is (if we omit the Vedic period) the real Hindu Golden Age in every department of progress. The desire to throw the great kings of this epoch back on the past has introduced all the puzzles and problems of the chronology (the Vikramaditya controversy, etc.). But, even recognizing this, the history of the era is still confused and uncertain to an exasperating degree; and each student must decide for himself which of the various theories is correct. One great king (Samudragupta) has been pushed out of history altogether.

THE PATAN PERIOD, OR FIRST MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE.

Omitting the dark age which follows the Hindu climacteric, the first Moslem Empire is one which

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is built up in India alone, while the second included Afghanistan. The great king is Ala-u-din, who rivalled the Hindu emperors. The Empire breaks up into fragments, which are gradually conquered by the Moghals.

THE MOGHAL OR SECOND MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE.

This Empire, which was not confined to India, gradually absorbed the fragments of the last-mentioned kingdom. But in doing this the emperors failed to check the new Hindu revival under the Mahrattas. At the same time the English expelled the French, who were beginning to build up an Empire, and from the triangular duel which resulted they emerge as the paramount Power.

SYNOPSIS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

NOTE.—The attempt has been made to give a continuous summary, but neither the dates, nor, indeed, the facts, are as trustworthy as could be wished, and the whole must be accepted with a certain amount of reserve. The earliest period is omitted as non-historical. This may confuse the reader, and induce him to think that *Hindu* history begins with the rise of Buddhism! He will scarcely comprehend the review till he has read the following chapters: in the clothed dates he will find a mention of that Indian Pisistratus, Janaka, whose exploits show us that Hindu kings were great centuries before Buddhism was thought of. The review would, under any circumstances, be confusing, and its difficulties are increased by the great uncertainty which still hangs over the so-called history. To assist the reader a 'nutshell summary' precedes the review; this may help to make it intelligible by showing what are the great landmarks of the history. The periods are different from those given in the subsequent chapters on periodization: the variation will be useful in putting the subject in a new light.

THE PRELUDE.

INDIAN history begins with the Persian invasion and conquest of a portion of India by the generals of Darius, about 510 B.C., what precedes being merely conjectural and inferential. In the misty dawn period which is passed over, the Indo-Aryans had penetrated into Northern India, and founded the early Brahmanic or Hindu civilization and religion. Some clothed dates are given, in Chapter IV., for this pre-historic era, but they are mostly conjectural.

RISE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM.

The next important event is the rise of the two great reforming religions of India, generally believed to have sprung up contemporaneously, and which may be dated about 500-450 B.C. At about the same time the foundation of the great Empire of Magadha or Behar, under a high-caste or Kshâtria dynasty, took place. This was when the king, Ajatasatru,* murdered his father Bimbisara, and superseded the old capital Rājagriha by Pataliputrapura, to dominate the territory he annexed. A period of darkness then sets in, during which an extraordinary revolution took place, of which we know something on account of—

ALEXANDER'S INVASION.

The Indus valley satrapy, or at least the portion on the left bank, was lost by the feeble successors of Darius, and reconquered by Alexander in 326 B.C.

* Professor Macdonell ('Sanskrit Literature,' p. 308) says that the king who founded Pataliputrapura was Kalasoka, and that he lived about 330 B.C. (when he held the second Buddhist Council at the oligarchical Vaisali). The celebrated Magadha capital, therefore, presents us with almost as many puzzles as the Vikramaditya era.

HINDU MAGADHA.

After 323 B.C. (Alexander's death) the satrapy again became independent under Chandragupta, who transformed the Magadha (Patna-Bihar) kingdom into an Empire. The dynasty of this great low-caste king is usually called the Maurya* dynasty. The extent of the Empire, and its long survival in exclusive and bigoted Hindustan, are conspicuous 'wonders' in this land of marvel.

Seleucus Nikator invaded India in 305 B.C., but was defeated by Chandragupta, and Afghanistan (the satrapies of Aria, Arachosia, etc.) was annexed to the Indian Empire.

BUDDHIST MAGADHA.

The next important reign is that of Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, grandson of Chandragupta, in whose person one of the new religions 'mounted the throne' of India. The reign of this monarch is dated 272-232 or 264-223 B.C.; his Empire and doings will be described in the next chapters. He certainly conquered the south, even if his predecessors failed to do so; we find him in the Doab of the Mahanadi and Godavery, annexing Kalinga in 261 B.C. He then gave up warfare, became a kind of royal missionary, and tried to spread 'Buddhism' or 'Asokism' far and wide. The Empire then declines, and the history is negligible for a long period. The Maurya dynasty is superseded by that of the Sungas, who are said to have reintroduced Hinduism as the state religion.

The Magadha kingdom (the political keynote of early

* Some accounts give a *Nanda* dynasty between Ajatasatru and Chandragupta, but the latter was admittedly of the Nanda family.

Indian history) continues, but the northern provinces are conquered by Demetrius of Bactria (Bactria) in 190 B.C., and by Menander of Kabul in 155 B.C. About 100 B.C. (?) the Mongolian (?) Sakas (who had invaded Seistan) founded a sovereignty which reached as far as Muttra. From their calling themselves satraps they are conjectured to have been vassals of Parthia. Some historians affirm (on the basis of numismatic evidence) that these Sakas were crushed by the Malavas, at a great battle at Karor, in the Panjab, in 57 B.C. It is further suggested that the achievements of Vikramaditya the Great, who led these same Malavas to victory over the Huns about A.D. 500, have been confused with this episode, and that thus the Vikramaditya era has been antedated by half a millennium!

THE ANDHRA EMPIRE.

About 27 the Andhra dynasty of Dravidian (?) race, and long powerful in the South (?), having risen to a kind of hegemony on the decline of the great Magadhangs, seized their kingdom. The monuments seem to show that this dynasty restored Buddhism to its former position.

THE INDO-SCYTHIAN EMPIRE.

When the Andhras also decline, the so-called Kushan Indo-Scythian period begins. The last of the Andhra dynasty coincides (about A.D. 226) with the last of the Kushan dynasty (see below), and with the rise of Sassanid Persia.

Indeed, the decline period of the Andhras synchronizes with two other periods—the Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythian period, and this Indo-Scythian, 'Yueh-chi,' or

Khushan epoch. The latter is a true Indian dynasty: that is, having an Indian centre, which eventually superseded the Indo-Greek (Bactrian) and the Indo-Parthian sovereignties, many of which extended at least to the Panjab. The great king of the dynasty, Kanishka, is said to have invaded Magadha,* and been a second Asoka. His capital was Peshawar, and he died about A.D. 150. He seems to have had some share in developing the later or debased Buddhism of the 'Greater Vehicle.'

A DARK AGE AND A REVIVAL.

The decadence of the Khushans seems to have made them vassals of New Persia (A.D. 226), but third-century Indian history is a blank. The last great monarch of the Indo-Scythian dynasty was Vasudeva (285 to 226 B.C.?) The veil is lifted in the fourth century when the Gupta dynasty is founded in Magadha (?) in A.D. 320 (?) by a king who bore, or assumed, the time-honoured name of Chandragupta. In A.D. 326 the second of the dynasty, Samudragupta, revived the Magadha Empire, and in A.D. 340 anticipated Malil Kafur's (General of Ala-u-din Khilji) raid to the south in A.D. 1310. He seems to have been one of the great of Indian emperors, though not generally numbered among—

* Earlier kings of this dynasty are said to have held sway as far as Benares. Kanishka ruled outlying provinces of China (Kash Yarkand, and Khotan) as well as India. This Indo-Chinese Empire is the most probable source of Chinese Buddhism.

THE GREAT GUPTA KINGS.

The next great king is considered by some historians to be the real founder of the Vikramaditya era;* his name, however, is Chandragupta II. He was a son of the last great emperor, Samudragupta, and succeeded him about A.D. 375.

The great achievement of Vikramaditya (?), or Chandragupta II. (that is, of this dynasty), is the conquest of the Western satraps, or the Saka kingdom of Western India, in A.D. 395 (A.D. 409?).

A golden age follows, during which Kalidasa and some other great Sanskrit authors flourished. It is the definite rehabilitation of Hinduism.

The Gupta dynasty was finally overthrown by the white Huns, or Ephthalites, in A.D. 480. This Hunnish Empire received its death-blow in India in A.D. 528, when the hero Baladitya, or Vikramaditya (?), headed an Indian coalition against the (Hunnish) tyrant Mihiragula. (About the same time the Balabhi or Valabhi kings rose to power in the west: this dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 770 (?) and succeeded by the Anhilwara kings, who yield place in the fifteenth century to the Ahmadabad House.)

The ancient glories of Magadha being thus revived, there follow five centuries of peace and comparative immunity from foreign attack, but the period is one of general decadence. The greater portion of India, including the extreme south, was divided between the Aryan (Aryan) kingdoms of Magadha on the east, Balabhi on the west, and the Chalukyas on the south

others, as already noticed, the foundation of the era is attributed to the conqueror of the Huns, 150 years later.

or centre (capital Kalyan). The extreme south was occupied by the Dravidian kingdoms, the Pandya, Chola, and Chera. The Pallavas (or Malavas?) disputed the sovereignty of the entire south with the Dravidians and the Aryan (?) Chalukyas. Harsha or Siladitya* of Kanauj (?) is the last ruler who deserves the title of emperor. He is considered by some to have founded a new dynasty, by others he is regarded as a Gupta.

His great toleration feast at Allahabad in A.D. 644, at which the second Chinese Pilgrim Hwen-Tsang was present, is a good landmark with which to close the pre-Moslem history of India.

Events after this are so confused, and kingdoms so small, that the history is, so to speak, parochial. The principal political events in the history of this last non-Moslem emperor, who had to fight for thirty years to reconstruct his Empire, are: Coronation, A.D. 612; defeat by Chalukya king Pulikesin, A.D. 620; Ganjam expedition and relinquishment of militarism (as by Asoka after Kalinga), A.D. 643; death, A.D. 648.

The histories of the Chalukya kingdoms of the Deccan, and of the non-Aryan Pandya, Chola, and Chera kingdoms of the south, to some extent fill up the gap, but are generally too 'parochial' for notice. About A.D. 990 the nondescript power of the Pallava was destroyed by a great Chola king, Rajaraja, but this event belongs, in point of time, to the Moslem period. There are other kingdoms, but they are not important enough for this review.

* Also called by the double names Harsha-Siladitya and Harshavardhana.

THE MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST.

In A.D. 712 the Arabs conquered Scinde under Mahommed Kasim,* but the invader was not supported from headquarters, and the kingdom he founded soon collapsed. In A.D. 976 (? A.D. 979) Sabuktigin founded the 'slave' dynasty of Ghazni. About the end of the century he came into conflict with the Hindus of the Panjab, and Jaipal (of Lahore) and his allies were defeated on the Kabul River. But, excepting that a garrison was left in Peshawar, no permanent footing was obtained in India. From A.D. 1000 to 1026 (he died in A.D. 1030) Mahmud of Ghazni, son and successor of Sabuktigin, made no fewer than sixteen predatory expeditions (three *campaigns*) to India, but effected no permanent settlement, except in the Panjab, which was annexed to the short-lived Ghaznevite Empire.

THE FIRST MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE.

In A.D. 1175 Mahommed Shahab-u-din Ghori (the son of a kingdom having succeeded that of Ghazni) took possession of the remains of Mahommed Kasim's Scinde settlement, and commenced a thirty years' war (?) in India. He took Peshawar in A.D. 1179. In A.D. 1191 he was defeated by the Rajput chivalry at Panipat; and then, having relinquished frontal attack for strategy (?), he turned the tables on his foe, in the next year, on the famous historic battle-ground. He, or his successor, Shahab-u-din, conquered most of Northern India up to Gaur, the capital of Bengal. Then in 1204, perhaps, Mahommed Ibn Kasim = Mahommed the son of the old centre of Hindu rule also, in Bengal, considered by some as the founder of Sher Shah's short-lived Empire.

22 The 'Empires' of Ghazni and Ghor

A.D. 1206, on the death of his master and break-up of the Ghori Empire, the conquests in India were consolidated by Kutb-u-din into the first or Afghan (Mahommedan) kingdom of India. He fixed his capital at Delhi. From the date of Mahommed's death in A.D. 1206 to the Indian Mutiny there was always a Moslem king nominally on the throne of Delhi.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A DYNASTY BEFORE ALA-U-DIN THE CONQUEROR.

Kutb-u-din survived his master by so few years that the next slave, Altamish (A.D. 1210-1236), is by some considered the founder of 'slave' rule in India. His daughter, Razia, one of the great women of history succeeded her incompetent brother in A.D. 1236. She was murdered in A.D. 1240. A third slave, Balb repulsed the Mongols in A.D. 1215, and eventually mounted the throne, of which he had for a long time been the mainstay (in A.D. 1266). Though his son founded a kind of dynasty in Bengal, this third would-be Empire-builder failed to do this in Delhi. But at last a dynasty was founded by Jelal-u-din Khilji rather by his nephew, Ala-u-din, who murdered him in A.D. 1296. This unnatural relative had already, as an uncle's representative,* conquered the Deccan in A.D. 1294. He repulsed the Mongols in A.D. 1299. Ala-u-din conquered a good part of Central India by himself, and the remote south through his general, Balban.

* He concealed his romantic raid from his uncle, and the latter was prompted by unwillingness to give up the spoil. Ala-u-din founded a real Empire with southern satrapies, which the great Moslems were unable effectually to conquer—hence his title to fame.

Kafur. In many ways he was one of the most remarkable and powerful of all the emperors. Malik Kafur was one of the usurpers who seized the crown in the anarchy which marked the closing years of the Khilji dynasty, and Malik Khusrau was another. At length there was no prince left of the royal house; Ghias-u-din Tughlak was elected king in A.D. 1321; he suppressed the revolts and founded the Tughlak dynasty.

It is doubtful if the former dynasties belonged to a pure race, but this was undoubtedly mongrel. Mahommed ibn Tughlak succeeded the founder of the dynasty in A.D. 1325, and is one of the most prominent figures in medieval Indian history because of his mad acts. Among these acts may be noticed the forcible removal of the capital, with the object of controlling the new possessions in the south, and the 'Chinese' expedition, which ended by the emperor's punishing his discontented troops at home, because he had sent the rest of them to certain destruction! Though his motives were good, his acts were detestable.

Notwithstanding all this, Mahommed Tughlak's reign marks the territorial climax of the first Empire, and after it decay rapidly sets in; his successor, Firoz, never (A.D. 1351-1388), is remembered, possibly for religious reasons, as one of the best rulers India ever

But this good emperor allowed the Empire to contract.

Under the last dynasties of the first Empire, the Sikhs and Lodhis, anarchy invited in Timur, who took Delhi (or, rather, his army did so against his wish) in A.D. 1398. We shall not be surprised to learn that the disintegration had begun under the madman Firoz. The Deccan revolted (in A.D. 1347) under

24 Second Moslem Empire of India

the Shiah,* Hasan Ganga, who founded the so-called Bahmani kingdom, which waged a long war with the Hindus of Bijanagar; this war was continued, on the break-up of Hasan Ganga's kingdom, by the daughter state, Bijapur. Bengal seceded in A.D. 1352, and Scinde became independent about the same time. The kingdom of Khandesh was founded in A.D. 1370, Jaunpur in A.D. 1394, and Guzerat in A.D. 1396. After Timur's departure provinces nearer the seat of Empire revolted—*e.g.*, Malwa (Central India) in A.D. 1401. During the 'confusion period' of the Sayid and Lodhi dynasties we see the revolting satraps besiege the very capital. After A.D. 1484 the 'Deccan,' or Bahmani kingdom splits up into Berar, Bijapur, Ahmadabad, and Bidar, and later (A.D. 1512) Golconda. One kingdom only—any note, that of Bijanagar, founded out of the kingdom of Warangal and other fragments, represent the Hindus among the Moslem principalities of the south. Anarchy again invites a 'Mongol' invasion. The rule of the Sayids had been too lax, the 'extraneous' of the Empire marched up to the very walls of the capital. The rule of the Lodhis was too stringent, revolting satrapies were recovered, but discontent was engendered which produced the invitation to Babur (a Moghal ruler, an Afghan kingdom from Kabul, descendant of both Chinghis and Timur, to invade the country.

* The Shiahs support the exclusive claims of Ali, son-in-law of the prophet, to the Khalifate, as against the elected Khalifs, who are Sunnis, while not disputing Ali's rights, accept as lawful successors. The rise of Islam will be noticed in the next volume.

Loss and Recovery of Second Empire 25

THE SECOND MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE.

Baber fought his great battle on the historic site of Panipat, where India has been so often lost and won, in A.D. 1526. In this same year a Hindu revival had taken place; Rana Sanga of Chitor had conquered Guzerat and Malwa, headed the chivalry of Rajputana,* and aimed at Empire. Baber conquered him at Kanwaha (Fatehpur-sikri?) in A.D. 1527, while Humayun was away in the east, annexing the country as far as Aunpur.

In A.D. 1529 the emperor took the field in person in the east, made a treaty with Bengal, and reduced the Ganges Valley to submission. He died in 1530, bequeathing a troubled inheritance to his son Humayun. The new emperor divided his empire between two enemies, each of which he was never to attack before the other was finally crushed. In the Ganges Valley, where the adventurer Sher Shah was rising into power, unsettled, to check the ambition of the Governor, Bahadur Shah, who had united Malwa and Rajputana, and was undoubtedly aiming at Empire. Again, leaving this work in the west undone, he more repaired to the east (though wasting his time in feasting at Agra on the way, and hesitating to attack his enemy to tackle, for Bahadur had recovered his old power!), only to find Sher Shah too strong for him and to be expelled from India by the results of the Battle of Kanauj (A.D. 1540). The unfortunate emperor, after numerous romantic adventures and unsuccesses, almost from the fall of the Magadha Empire, Hindu rule in Rajputana to the present day. The kingdoms are mostly of no notice.

speaking hardships (during which Akbar was born) at last took Kandahar (A.D. 1545) and Kabul (A.D. 1547) from his brothers, with Persian aid. In A.D. 1555 he saw his opportunity in the degeneracy of Sher Shah's successors, and reconquered Delhi and Agra, only to die in A.D. 1556 by a *tumble*, a fitting end to his inconsequent life. In the same year the thirteen-year-old emperor (Akbar), or rather his guardian, Bairam, had to fight the Hindu upstart from Bengal (Hemu) on another field of Panipat.

The history now (though the reign of Akbar is subject in itself) becomes 'parochial,' as is general the case when a settled administration is established. At least, this can be said when, after twenty years' fighting, Akbar has the whole of Hindustan (including Kashmir and Kandahar) under his rule. He did not rule the Deccan: it was impossible to do this effectually from Delhi until the invention of railways. Akbar, too, did not get 'Deccan fever,' the passion for conquest in the south which eventually wrecked the Empire, till late in life; unfortunately for him, he bequeathed it to his successors at his death (A.D. 1605).

The reigns of the well-known 'great Moghals'—Jehangir, Shah-Jahan, and Aurangzeb—are marked by this gradual conquest of the petty kingdoms, the survivals of the 'Patan' Empire. The conquests bring only weakness to the Empire, and fanaticism which marked the last-named emperor's policy called into being two Hindu revivalist movements, one at either end of the Empire, those of the Marathas (see below) and of the Sikhs. Instead of Akbar's policy of marriages with, and conciliation of, the Hindus, narrow bigotry pervades the imperial doings

implicated by the same kind of feeling towards the
rulers of the south.

Details of the conquests under the four great
emperors are as follows: The major portion fall to
the share of Akbar—*i.e.*, Jaunpur, Malwa, and Burhan-
pur; about A.D. 1560; Chitor, 1567; Guzerat, 1572 (retaken
1584); Bengal, 1575; Ahmednagar, 1599. The last-
mentioned conquest brings to notice another great woman,
Jahangir's wife, Nurjahan Bibi; and it should be noticed that the Rana of
Chitor recovered his kingdom, and he alone of all the
disputed princes declined the Moghal alliance—at least,
voluntarily. The Rajputs 'came in' finally in 1572.

Moghals, unlike the Patans, generally held Afghan-
istan as well as India, but Kabul was practically inde-
pendent under the emperor's brother Hakim, till that
prince's death (1587), and the outlying provinces were
annexed as follows: Kashmir, 1587; Orissa, 1590;
Scind, 1592; and Kandahar, 1594. Jehangir's reign
(1605-1627) has scarcely any political changes, and is
principally interesting for the sake of his great queen,
Nurjahan, and the European settlements in the country.
Shahjahan, the builder, is principally famous for Shah-
jahanabad (new Delhi) and the 'Taj.* He annexed
Ahmednagar in 1635 (1637?) and (through Aurangzeb)
Bidar in 1656. The rebellions of his sons have little
concern with world-history: his own is a mere episode.
The crimes of his successor (his third son), who murdered
his brothers and imprisoned his father for life, are
his brother's without a parallel in history. We must close
our review of Mahommedan India with a few words
about this royal fanatic.

* This celebrated building will be discussed in treating of Indian
art. It is the tomb of the emperor's first and favourite wife, the
Light of the Harem.

Aurangzeb, the Louis XIV. of India, who lived near a century and reigned half a century, practically lost the Empire. Had he conciliated instead of insulting the Hindu Mahratta chief, Sivaji, who rose to power during his reign, he might have ruled the Deccan through him. He conquered Bijapur in 1696, Golconda in 1687, but all his saintliness (?) and magnificent generalship were in vain—his reign was one of failure. History repeated itself on the death (in 1707) of the great Moghal—anarchy called in, not one, but two invaders from the north. Before this Rajput (Maiwar, Marwar, and Jaipur), the Deccan, Oudh, Bengal, had broken away. The Sikhs were persecuted into a revolting military caste in 1708, and Nadir Shah sacked Delhi in 1739. The Panjab was taken by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1751, and he sacked Delhi (1756 (1757 ?)). All this time the Mahrattas and English were increasing their power. Clive won Plassy and founded the British Empire in 1757, but the Mahrattas were defeated by the Abdali in 1761. Finally, at Buxar, in 1764, Shah Alam (King of the World!) became a British pensioner. This is the first act in the drama which ends in Bassein and Assaye (see below).

THE MAHRATTAS.

A few words as to the Mahrattas are called for before we sketch the English domination. Shahji, the father of the famous Hindu revivalist, comes from Ahmadnagar (under Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian mayor of the Palace), and on the fall of the Marathian State was cavalry commander under the Bijapur king. His celebrated son, Sivaji, captured Tornea (and Bassein). His reign began to

old Raigarh) at the age of nineteen, in 1646, and shortly afterwards intrigued with Shah-Jahan to release his father (who had been held responsible for his misdeeds) from Mahommed Adil Shah. His rising robberies thus got a kind of imperial patronage. He defeated Afzal Khan (the Bijapur commander) in 1659, dethroned the imperial viceroy in 1662, and having captured Surat, he took the title of raja in 1664. He eventually surrendered to the Moghal leader, and was taken to court, which he left in disgust in 1665 or 1666. 'Chauth,' the legalized Mahratta blackmail, was recognized during these transactions. In 1674 Shivaji was enthroned at Raigarh; he plundered the Deccan in 1676, and died in 1680. The usual dejection followed Sivaji's death, but in that following year Chhatrapati Sambhaji's, the minister (Peshwa) who had founded a power greater than that of his master marched to the north and obtained a fresh legalization of 'Chauth' from the Mughals. The kings had relapsed into vassalage, and the office of Peshwa became hereditary in the family of Shivaji's brother, Balaji Vishwanath about this period. His successor, Balaji Rao, conquered (about 1738) Malwa and the Jhansi-Chambal Doab from the 'emperor' and his representative in the Deccan, the Nizam of Hyderabad (Asaf-ud-Daula). But in the very reign of this great Peshwa, the power of his greater successor, Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761) the 'Empire' split up into a kind of confederacy. The members of the confederacy were, besides the Marathas at Poonah, which had superseded Raigarh, the Nizam of Sattara and Kolhapur, the lineal descendants of Shivaji, the Bhonsle of Berar, Scindia and Holkar in the Deccan, and the Gaikwar of Guzerat (Baroda). The

Nickname of Sivaji.

last three princes are semi-independent at the present day.

Balaji Baji, like most of the Peshwas, was engaged in wars, generally successful, with the Nizam of Hyderabad. But the principal event of the third Peshwa's rule is the great Battle of Panipat (1761), when he was defeated at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali, compelling the Mahrattas to give up their dream of supremacy in India. Madho Rao, the fourth Peshwa (1761-1777), was a young hero who warred, generally with success, against Hyderabad and the new state of Mysore. At this time a great woman, Ahalya Bai of Indore, flourished. The fifth Peshwa reigned but a short time, the celebrated Nana Furnavis being the real power also in the long minority of the sixth Peshwa (Madho Rao Narayana). As the result of a complicated series of events, the Mahrattas under Scindia were to become arbiters at Delhi, and a new dream of Mahratta supremacy seemed justified. Here, however, came the British, but the first Anglo-Mahratta war was indecisive. In the second Mahratta war, which is more properly styled a kind of triangular duel between Scindia, Holkar, and the Peshwa, the latter (the seventh and last Peshwa, great ministers) becomes the creature of the British. By the Treaty of Bassein, 1802, Scindia is defeated at Assaye (1803), the decisive battle (according to some writers) which decided the fate of India. If we accept the view that the victory ends the drama of Buxar and Bassein, a triangular duel between the Emperor, the Mahrattas, and the British. However, soon after this Lord Cornwallis took Delhi, and substituted British for Mahratta suzerainty.

* Capital of Holkar, as Gwalior is the capital of Scindia.

the capital. The drama, therefore, may be considered to have a fourth act. Holkar was defeated in the third Maratta war in 1804. The last Peshwa was deposed in 'rebellion' in 1818.

THE BRITISH.

The British conquest is a subject by itself, and only the baldest outlines can be presented in a summary like the present. The Indian 'colonization' was begun in the sixteenth century. Portugal was followed by Holland then by France, who, but for the absurdity of her policy, would have founded an Empire in India. Great Frenchmen, Dupleix and Bussy, established a Bahdar and Nawab in the Deccan and Carnatic respectively in 1751. Clive then took Arcot, completely turned the tables on the French, and made British paramount on the Madras coast in 1751-1753. The French army surrendered near Trichinopoly, and Clive being recalled in 1754, Bussy remained to fight with Lally in the final disaster. Wandewash and the surrender of Pondicherry (1761) decided the fate of the inchoate French Empire, which practically ceased to exist in 1769. Clive had meanwhile returned to Calcutta, after the Black Hole tragedy (a page of the story must be assumed in the reader), had taken Chandanagore, and fought Plassy (1757). He was recalled away to Bengal by the disaster at Calcutta and left the honour (?) of destroying the French to Coote.

A good deal of crime committed in 'nawabdom' by the 'Lion of the Panjab' (and 'Julius the Sikhs), on seeing a map of India with the British possessions coloured.

making' (and unmaking) the Emperor and 'Nawvizier' of Oudh are defeated at Buxar in 1764, and 'Diwani' (civil sovereignty) of Bengal, Behar, Orissa conferred on the East India Company. This has been described above as the first act in a political drama, of which the remaining acts are played at Bassein, Assaye, and Delhi.

In 1772 Warren Hastings came out as Governor and seized Rohilkhand for Oudh in 1774; in the same year he was made Governor-General. In 1780-1781 he was brought on his impeachment by plundering the Kingdom of Singh and the Begams of Oudh.

Under Cornwallis (1786-1793) progress was made in the formation of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies but no new state was actually annexed. Wellesley enlarged the Empire to keep it together. He conquered Mysore (after the third war) in 1799 (1800?), the Carnatic and the North-West Provinces and had crushed the Mahrattas (Scindia and Bhopal) by 1805, the year of his retirement. He left the power paramount in India.

The next annexation was that of Kumaon and Nepal in 1815-1816, under Hastings. The last independent power disappeared from Poona in 1818-1819. Amherst, Burmah cedes Assam, Arakan, etc., to the British. The unfortunate Afghan War, the precedent for the campaigns conducted on equally foolish principles, begun under Auckland in 1839, and concluded by Ellenborough in 1842. Scinde was annexed in 1843, the Gwalior army defeated in the same year. In 1846 occurred the first Sikh War, but the victo-

* They were victories for us in this sense, that, had we been successful, the Sikhs would have turned the tables on us.

Mudki, Ferozeshahar, Aliwal, and Sohraon only, and the practical cession of Kashmir and annexation of a small strip of territory. A British Resident was, however, appointed to Lahore.

The second Sikh War, which was undertaken by the British with the deliberate intention of putting an end to the Sikh anarchy by annexation, was ended by the decisive artillery battle, though Chilianwallah was a defeat as a victory (1849). In 1853 Rangoon, Pegu were annexed, and Nagpur and some minor territories also escheated to the 'Company' for want of

1856 Oudh was annexed, and the Sepoy mutiny which began in 1857 was suppressed in 1858. The great outbreak at Meerut, the massacre at Cawnpore, the capture of Delhi, and the Relief of Lucknow, were the events of 1857.

From this time, India was taken over by the Crown, and the only addition of importance to the British possessions has been the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885-1886.

i. As a matter of fact, the collapse of the Sutlej bridge at Muzaffargarh enabled us to march on Lahore.

CHAPTER III

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST (continued).

PERIODS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

THE last chapter was entirely taken up with a synopsis of Indian history, which we had to attempt, notwithstanding the difficulty of the task, and the demands it makes upon our space.

Our next step will be, if we follow the plan adopted in regard to Greece, to discuss the division of Indian history into periods. This task preceded by a few words on the

INDO-EUROPEAN OR ARYAN MIGRATIONS

Readers who wish for a definite mental picture of this difficult portion of history may perhaps help themselves on this wise: If we can formulate a theory at all on this subject, it must be some such as this. If the Aryans were ever a united people they must have split up into two main branches—the European and the Asiatic. The European branch divides into four subdivisions—the Celts went to Western Europe, the Teutons to Central* Europe, the Slavs to Eastern Europe, and the Graeco-Italians to Southern Europe. The Asiatic branch, with which we are concerned in this place, took a southern course. The Arya

* An important section went, of course, to the north.

richly peopled the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, Bactria, Sogdiana, Khokand, Seistan, Afghanistan. In these regions they split up into two subdivisions, perhaps sun-dialects, distinguished by religious differences. One body went west to Persia, and another penetrated into India. One respectively characteristic of the Indo-European, if we call the word 'Aryan' stock by this name, is that he imposes his influence on the inflexional language on the peoples he conquers. The Persian. This custom seems generally to lead to the development of literature, and will supply us with a development which will suggest a rough scheme of periodization (1760) of Indian history. When the Aryans arrive in the Indian sub-continent their language becomes (after a natural course of evolution) the Sanskrit or refined. At the same time, succeeding each other in the order chosen this knowledge produces the most magnificent literature of the ancient world, the Vedic hymns, the 'Mahabharata,' the 'Ramayana,' the Buddhist legends, the Sanskrit drama. But we must be more precise in our division of the period. The periods may be described as follows :

PERIOD I. THE PRE-INDIAN AGE OF THE
VEDAS (circa 3000 B.C.).

Events : The neighbourhood of what we now call Baluchistan, or the country outside the gates of India.

No reason to question the propriety of the time-
assigned to this era in the last volume. If, as we
period represents to us the time previous to
the invasion, which sent the Western
armies to Persia and the Vedic
people, it is not be surprised to learn that
the events of this age represent to us
the early phases of Aryan progress.

36 Central Aryan and East Aryan

1. The earliest civilization of the Aryan race.
2. A language which is older than, perhaps parent of, both Sanskrit and Iranian (commonly, and erroneously, called Zend).
3. A religion which is similarly older than, and parent of, both Hinduism and Zoroastrianism.
4. A sharp dissension, probably of a religious character, which caused the division of the 'South-Eastern Aryans into two branches, each calling the gods other demons.*

Although we must not dogmatize on the evidence we possess, it seems impossible to embrace the opportunity which is thus afforded building up an 'Aryan' theory which is, at all, consistent. The people whom we have in chapters called the East Aryans should, perhaps been designated Central Aryans. When they Greece they encounter their long-separated counterparts the North-Western migration—those whom we pictured as proceeding to their homes by the shores of the Caspian Sea. A curious link, of anthropological and philological character, can be traced in the (Caucasian) Circassians or Ostiaks.

The worshippers of the Devas, of whom India becomes the chief, seem to have been definitely separated by this dissension into the Panjab,† and to have remained there in—

* The Iranians worshipped Asuras (mazda was chief), and considered them as worshipped Devas, and considered them as demons.

† India was apparently the goal of the 'Wunderland of the East, as has so often been said. The migrants, drew them on with a

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EROD II. THE INDIAN VEDIC AGE (circa 2000 B.C.).

Area of Events: The Panjab, or the country between the Indus and that old-world stream the Sarasvati.

Carnis is the period in which the Vedic hymns are cadenced, just as the last was that to which belong the Aryan stanzas they commemorate. The Aryan invaders Power ought before us on the eve of their Indian con-Delhi. The reader will doubtless notice the parallel (1790) of Periods III. and IV. of the Greek series to office. Further, the Homeric poems there taking the place Balaji Vedas.

Baji. Following remarks seem to apply, in some Narbas, almost equally well to both Greece and India. represented a masterful race of freemen, owning no (Golcoty but that of the tribe, and quite innocent at or that the 'dynastic' idea or of caste. The social life 176-177 being diversified, because one portion of the community lives by hunting, one by pastoral pursuits, and the other by agriculture.

There were no professional priests in this happy land except for the original inhabitants* of the settlement (the Panjab, or country of the five rivers), it may be described as an Indian Golden Age.

* These unfortunates had to pay the penalty of their want of resemblance to the conquering Aryan, especially in the matter of religion.

PERIOD III.* AGE OF THE 'MAHABHARATA,'
NORTH GANGETIC COLONIZATION (circa 1500 B.C.)

*Theatre of Events: The Upper Valley of the Ganges,
its tributaries.*

ver, as

The 'Mahabharata' is perhaps a poem of too undate to give its name to an era, and we might get better titles from the prose literature. The real manas, or commentaries to the Vedas, a series in the Upanishads (which mark a kind of revolt in the priestly authority), would correspond roughly to this era and the next. (The Sutras similarly correspond to the next but one, or early Transvindhyan period, the Puranas to the Hindu revival which precedes the Mahommedan conquest.) But all these remaining ancient literature are very uncertain in date, because they undergo so many resettings or reworkings. Even if composed in the epoch of which they are works in question will usually be compiled in a single one. The subsequent remodellings in later add an overcrust full of anachronisms.

The 'Mahabharata' undoubtedly refers to the events of this period, the contest between two, or perhaps two peoples, of the Upper Janaa and Ganges Doab.

This, then, is the principal feature of this period known to us. It would usually be described as marked by a long war between the king of an ancient city near Delhi (Hastinapura), the capital of the Kurus, and the ruler

* This period and my No. IV. are amalgamated by Mr. R. C. Dutt into one—his epic period (perhaps a better appellation would be heroic period). Mr. Dutt's History (of early Indian civilization—Trübner's Oriental Series) contains the most important contribution which I know of to an intelligent periodization of Indian history.

of another (Kampilya) near Kanauj, the capital of the Panchalas.

The 'Mahabharata' is usually described as the epic story of the contest between the Kurus and Pandavas, but the names and their meaning are far from certain. The Panchalas may have joined the Pandavas as allies.

In the society sketched in the great epic some progress has been made in developing the caste system and the priestcraft of Hinduism, but the old Aryan vigour is still alive.

PERIOD IV. AGE OF THE 'RAMAYANA' (circa
1000 B.C.).

*Theatre of Events: The major portion of the Ganges
Valley.*

Although some authorities only give an interval of a few centuries between the two epics, the above seems the best title for the fourth period. The Kosalas of Ajudhia or Oudh, the Kasis of Benares, the Videhas of Behar, now come on the scene, and the names show how far south the colonization has proceeded.

Now the 'Ramayana' is undoubtedly concerned with a people whose capital was the first-mentioned city, and therefore the epoch seems most appropriately named after the great epic. During the period under notice we may imagine the process alluded to in discussing the last as having still further progressed, and the Hindu world, as we are accustomed to regard it, as gradually taking shape and form. The old Aryan world has become to a certain extent effete. The loss of vigour is shown by the excessive deference paid to the priesthood by the heroes of the 'Ramayana.' The g

force of caste, so powerful for both good and evil, is invading the Indian social system.

The caste system comes into being quite naturally. As in the Middle Ages of Europe, the knights (Kshatriya) and holy men (Brahmans) avoid marriage with the people (Vaiśyas). The lowest caste are the Sudras, the non-Aryans. The courts of kings are the resorts of men of learning, and in this period, or the last, most of the Brahmanas are composed, and at the end the Upanishads come in, as a sort of reaction against these dreary dogmatic and ritualistic compositions.*

The process of transition would, of course, take place more emphatically in the next, or—

PERIOD V. PERIOD OF TRANSITION (*circa* 750 B.C.).

Theatre of Events: The entire Valley of the Ganges and a portion of the Transvindhyan country.

I think it is best to interpose a transition period between the last and the next, as the half-millennium is becoming too large a unit for our purposes.

In this period the reaction foreshadowed by the Upanishads culminates in the apothegmatic or 'synoptic' writings of the Śūtras; it also leads to the development

* The reader must be referred to works on Sanskrit literature for details. He may find it sufficient for his purpose to note that each of the four Vedas had its Brahmanas, and each Brahmana its special 'forest' edition (Aranyaka) for the use of hermits, and its Śūtras, or strings of rules. The later Puranas and 'decadent' Tantras complete the series. The Upanishads stand in a measure apart. They are theosophical treatises of the most daring and remarkable character.

Another special set of writings are the Dharmśāstras, or legal treatises; they grew up, perhaps, in the Śūtra period. The code of Manu is a late composition founded on a special recension of the Yajur

of the Sankhya philosophy. The nature of the literature has apparently induced Mr. Dutt to call an epoch embracing this period and the next the Rationalistic Age. But surely the appellation is scarcely a happy one, because the present period must be regarded as one in which all the evils of the caste system and of priestcraft were developed to an extraordinary extent, and thus prepared the minds of the people for the reforms of the next era.

Politically the period is marked, as the heading announces, by the commencement of Hindu expansion south of the Vindhya range.

There can be no doubt about the proper appellation of the next period, although it may be objected that we ought to use exact chronology.

PERIOD VI. PERIOD OF TRANSVINDHYAN CONQUEST
AND RISE OF BUDDHISM (*circa* 500 B.C.).

Theatre of Events: The whole of India, excluding, perhaps, the Northern Panjab, which has been 'Afghanized.'

This is the epoch of penetration into the whole of India, and, indeed, into Ceylon. In the west the kingdom of the Saurashtra (Guzerat-Surat) is said to have been Hinduized, and also the Dravidian kingdoms of the south—the Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas. This is also the epoch of the foundation, or at least the systematization, of the Sankhya philosophy,* with its orthodox rival, the Vedanta philosophy.† There is

* Said to have been founded by a certain Kapila.

† The writing of Sutras may be considered to go on during this period, but philosophy has managed to break away from priestly control.

one feature more important than all others—it is the birth era of the great man who left the ties that bound him to the earth to save a suffering world from sin and sorrow. In this epoch, Sakya Muni, or Gautama Buddha, founded what is now the principal religion of Asia, being professed, it is said, by a third of the human race.

In speculating on the extraordinary intellectual activity of India in this period, we must not forget that about 510 B.C. a Greek (?) officer, in the service of Darius, founded the twentieth satrapy of the Persian Empire, which included the Indus Valley, or a portion of it.

PERIOD VII. ERA OF THE GREAT MAGADHA EXPANSION (*circa* 250 B.C.).

The reader will not need to be told that Alexander's invasion has taken place (326 B.C.) before the date chosen for this epoch: Chandragupta, and his greater grandson Asoka, make the power of Magadha paramount in India. It has already been remarked that a large portion of the interest of Indian history centres in Magadha. It is difficult to say whether the first or the second monarch of the great pair conferred the greater glory on India. The north is the scene of Chandragupta's triumphs. Not only did he repel the invasion of India by Seleucus Nikator (the victorious): he compelled that monarch to resign to him the Indus Valley and Afghanistan. A European king is defeated and his kingdom dismembered by an Indian king!

Asoka gains military glory in the south; he then relinquishes the bloody triumphs of the sword for the peaceful honours of a royal missionary. When, for the

second time, an Indian king rules territory outside India,* the work of the great emperor is finished off and completed, and Buddhism conquers the largest part of Asia.

The most important literature of this period is, as might be expected, Buddhist. The Magadha golden age represents to most scholars a Sudra, or low-caste, domination. Buddhism is the natural religion for such a sovereignty—it has no respect of persons. It is also the religion which is most prominent in Northern India, at least in—

PERIOD VIII. ERA OF THE NON-ARYAN INVASIONS
AND INDO-SCYTHIAN RULE—BEGINNING OF THE
CHRISTIAN ERA.

This extremely interesting period of Indian history is even less generally known than the preceding epoch.

Before the commencement of our era we have the decline of the great Magadha kings, and the conquest of their kingdom by their *quondam* vassals (?), the non-Aryan Andhras of the south. In the north we have a 'Saka' invasion, and an invasion by the kings of Bactria, and later the establishment of the Buddhist † (?) dynasty of the so-called Indo-Scythians [the Yuechi Tartars (?)], of whom the most celebrated king is Kanishka. Literature is perhaps represented by some of the Dharmshastras.

* In the Indo-Scythian age, or that of Kanishka (next period).

† Kanishka, like Asoka, *adopted* Buddhism. Buddhist doings are certainly the most remarkable facts of the period.

44. The Medieval Emperors

PERIOD IX. PERIOD OF CONFUSION (*circa* A.D. 250).

The little that we know about this period is not very interesting or important.

PERIOD X. THE GUPTA ERA, OR AGE OF THE CHINESE PILGRIMS (HINDU RENAISSANCE) (*circa* A.D. 500).

The light which is thrown upon the dark places of Indian history by these welcome visitors is invaluable. Almost for the first time since Alexander's conquest we have satisfactory materials for constructive history, instead of depending upon epigraphy, numismatics, and various kinds of inference. The period includes the last of the invasions, that of the White Huns, and perhaps several victories of Hindu chivalry over non-Aryan races. These victories are associated with the great Gupta dynasty, and more definitely with the great king of that dynasty, Chandragupta Vikramaditya. This is the king whose eponymous connexion with the Hindu Sambat (?) era has caused an error of so many centuries in assigning him a date (the year 53 or 57 B.C. being quoted as belonging to his accession or reign). The chronology is even now by no means certain, nor are the events; but the latter seem to include the overthrow of the Sakas at a battle called that of Korur, but which may, perhaps, be better designated the Battle of Multan, and the conquest of the Saka kingdom of the west at the beginning of the fifth century. Possibly the achievements of Vikramaditya may have been mixed up with those of his father Samudragupta, whom Mr. Smith* calls the Napoleon of India. Lovers

* Early History of India, p. 227.

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of literature will not fail to give this epoch what may be called its cultural title. It is the age of Kalidasa, the author of the 'Lost Ring'! The religious literature is represented by the Puranas, which, in their early stage, are by no means despicable as evidence of culture. The gap between them and the extreme decadence of the Tantras* is immense. The metrical code of Manu is also attributable (at least, in its present form) to this age. From the Hindu point of view this is the most important portion of Indian history—it exhibits a revival of the most astonishing kind after nearly a millennium of decadence.

PERIOD XI. THE GREAT DECLINE PERIOD (*circa* A.D. 750).

This is, like the third century (Period IX.), a time of darkness, and there is very little to be said about it.

The rest of the periods are so well known as only to require enunciation.

PERIOD XII. THE EARLY MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST (*circa* A.D. 1000).

PERIOD XIII. THE FIRST MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE (A.D. 1200-1500).†

PERIOD XIV. THE SECOND MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE (A.D. 1500-1700).

PERIOD XV. THE STRUGGLE OF MYSORE, THE MAHRATTAS, AND THE BRITISH (1700-1800).

PERIOD XVI. BRITISH RULE (1800 onwards).

* The Tantras were composed under Mahommedan rule, which probably implies Hindu decadence.

† To the transition between the two Mahommedan periods belong the 'Memoirs' of Baber, and to the Second Empire, Abul Fazal and Fenshta. Firdusi had no immediate successors.

CHAPTER IV

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

(continued)

CLOTHED DATES: INDIAN SERIES.

WE found it necessary to devote the whole of the last chapter to the periodization of Indian history. We must now try to present a bird's-eye view of the most important events in that history by means of our usual clothed dates. As in the case of Greece, some of the periods will be almost transformed into clothed dates. We shall not require much more 'clothing' for the dates than is supplied by the language employed in describing the periods. We begin with the second period, as the first is concerned with events outside India.

INDIA I. After dividing off from the main body of the South-Eastern migration, Aryan colonists occupy the Panjab (*circa* 2000 B.C.).

We saw in the last chapter what this date is supposed to represent. The land is the circumscribed country of the Panjab or Five Rivers. The people are the Deva-worshippers, whose religious tenets had offended some of the Aryan tribesmen. The political

events consist in the driving of the original inhabitants from the fertile plains. The chief deity is Indra, the precursor of the Hindu trinity (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva); his priests are the Rishis, the precursors of the Brahmins. The literature consists of the Vedic hymns themselves, without any priestly additions.

We now take a leap of half a millennium to our next date, and find that all has changed. The tide of Aryan conquest has rolled on southwards to the upper basins of the Ganges and Jumna. The political events are contests between rival Aryan kingdoms, such as that between the Kurus and Pandavas chronicled in the 'Mahabharata.' If the chief deity is not Brahma, the priest is certainly now a Brahmin, and the Vedic hymns have additions, the Brahmanas or commentaries. The clothed date may run—

INDIA II. The Aryans cross the Sutlej and colonize the Upper Doab (*circa* 1500 B.C.).

This item may be almost immediately followed by another, again at a half-millennium interval.

INDIA III. The Aryans spread all over the Gangetic Valley. Janaka, a great king of Behar (almost an emperor of India) revises the Vedic Scriptures and starts (?) the Upanishads (*circa* 1000 B.C.).

It will be observed that the three dates hitherto proposed correspond to the three earliest periods of Indian history, described as the periods of the Vedas, the 'Mahabharata,' and the 'Ramayana.' They might be also designated the periods of colonization in the

Panjab and the Upper and Lower Ganges valleys respectively. Or, from the point of view of religious literature, they might be described as the periods of the Vedas, the Brahmanas, and the Upanishads. Hinduism, as we know it, is growing up, but the general colouring is still that of the primitive Aryan civilization.

The intermediate period which has been proposed between that of the 'Ramayana' and the rise of Buddhism will give us our next date:

INDIA IV. The Aryan-Hindus expand southward of the Vindhya Mountains, and westward towards Guzerat. Kapila founds the Sankya philosophy (*circa* 750 B.C.).

We assigned the compilation of the Upanishads to the millennium before Christ, and if this view be correct, the important movement which was generated by those scriptures may be legitimately connected with this epoch. It should impress upon the reader how necessary it is to respect the intellectual legacy of India, to reflect that perhaps centuries before the same thing could be said of Greece a well-reasoned system of mental philosophy existed in India. A special chapter will be devoted to this intellectual legacy, and in it works like the great Hindu epics, the 'Mahabharata' and 'Ramayana,' will be discussed. The philosophy is a subject itself. No attempt will be made to deal with it.

The political characteristics of the age must not be neglected. The Transvindhyan, or southern, expansion is very vague, but to the west the Hindus

perhaps met a non-Aryan people, whom they Hinduized, and who were the ancestors of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas revived the wonderful religion, the progress of which we are tracing, on the decadence of the Moghal or second Mahommedan Empire, and we 'took over' the country, not so much from the Moghals as from them. The reader will not, perhaps, need to be reminded that the Sutras or synoptic scriptures follow the Upanishads in this epoch.

In our next date we shall plunge into all the romance and thrilling interest of early Indian history.

INDIA V. Magadha power is founded; the rival (and oligarchical?) Lichavis of Vaisali are checked by a great king, Bimbisara; and the Aryan-Hindus expand over all India. A portion of the Indus Valley is incorporated in the Persian Empire. Buddhism and Jainism founded (*circa* 500 B.C.).

The attention of the reader has already been drawn to the possible connection between the Ionian (?) civilization of Greece and that of India through the medium of the Persian conquests. The commander of the first expedition of Darius was one Skylax, a Greek (?) of Caria. But that fact, of course, is insufficient to warrant us in fathering Indian civilization on Greece. Before the famous expedition the art of writing had been introduced into India, and we must connect this epoch, not with Hindu, but with Buddhist scriptures, such as the Jatakas or 'birth-stories,' tales

connecting famous characters with incarnations of the prophet.

The great ideas which we have to connect with the sixth and fifth centuries, then, are the development of a very high civilization, the birth of two new religions, and the starting of the Magadha Empire. In the last chapter the development of the Sankhya philosophy is referred to the present period, and so is the political expansion to the west. In the present chapter these developments have been referred to the last epoch, and I leave the double allocation just as it is, in order to emphasize the uncertainty of our knowledge. It is only in the next date that we are in contact with actual history. To proceed with our chronology, the next item is—

INDIA VI. Alexander the Great invades India, conquers Porus (king of the Jhelum - Chenab Doab, and perhaps feudal suzerain of the Panjab), and restores and enlarges his kingdom (326 B.C.).

This must be immediately followed by a subsidiary—

INDIA VII. In the confusion consequent on Alexander's death, the low-born adventurer, Chandragupta, expels the Macedonian garrisons and conquers the Panjab; then usurps the throne of Magadha, and founds the Maurya dynasty (322 B.C.).

A fact of almost greater importance is revealed by the next date, which has been alluded to in the last chapter.

INDIA VIII. Seleucus Nikator, having invaded India in imitation of Alexander, is defeated by Chandragupta, who thus obtains the whole of Afghanistan, as well as his Indian Empire (305 B.C. ; treaty 303 B.C.).

This astonishing fact of an Indian emperor conquering a European army and obtaining a cession of territory from its master ought to be sufficient to show the reader the extreme interest and importance of this early history, so imperfectly known. The representative left behind by Seleucus (who now started for the other end of the world to subdue his European rival at Ipsus) at the court of the Indian emperor has bequeathed to us the most fascinating description of life at the capital, Pataliputrapura or Patna. The 'golden' palace, the employment of the precious metals and stones in daily life, the gladiatorial contests, the royal hunts, the Amazonian guards, the king hearing causes while being massaged by his attendants—all these details give us a wonderfully vivid picture of that strange court. We can also admire the military administration, conducted by a 'War Office' divided into six departments, five concerned with the different arms of the service, and one with the miscellaneous departments. But we shall be particularly struck by the Municipal Board, divided similarly to the 'War Office,' in order to ensure the maximum of efficiency in working. When we read of

registration of births and deaths by the 'Pataliputra Municipality,' we are certainly inclined to speculate as to whether Niese's much-condemned ideas may not be nearer the truth than we fancy.

Did Chandragupta consent to reign as viceroy of the Macedonian, and was this registration of births and deaths really a Greek idea? If matters were so, it is easy to see that Megasthenes must have carefully avoided any reference to the reality of his own position, out of regard for his head! After the capital was removed from Seleuceia to Antioch it was physically impossible to control Bactria effectually, much less India. A country a year's march away from a controlling agency must clearly have been practically, if not theoretically, independent.

We now pass to a date which presents us with ideas untinged with any uncertainty whatever.

INDIA IX. Asoka (or Priyadasi), the grandson of Chandragupta, adds Kalinga* to the Empire (261 B.C.), becomes a monk, and makes Buddhism the state religion (240 B.C.).

We may picture these great emperors of Magadha as ruling almost all India, 'from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea,' as well as the bulk of the countries we know as Kashmir, Afghanistan, Beluchistan, Scinde, parts of Nepal, etc. As the date shows, Asoka certainly penetrated beyond the Deccan, or Peninsular India, to the Southern sea. Only the apex of the Peninsula remained apparently under non-Aryan rule.

* The coast country between the Mahanadi and the Godavery.

That Asoka was a mighty king and a great moral teacher is undoubted; that he was the founder of missionary effort is surely also true. He may be compared, perhaps, to St. Louis of France. Although he may not have 'evangelized' China, he made Buddhism one of the great religions of the world, and his missionary efforts were felt in all three continents. In India the emperor introduced a kind of Utopia—everybody was compelled to 'eschew evil and learn to do well!'

The history after Asoka is so confused and indefinite that the seeker after bird's-eye views may be recommended to neglect it for some centuries. The Magadha Empire declines (Asoka has no real successor till the Guptas come on the scene), and from the north and south enemies advance and absorb its territories. The Aryan is in great straits. The probably non-Aryan Andhras advanced on him from the south, and in the north Empires of non-Aryan character are also formed, embracing more or less extensive slices of Indian territory. We may bring the series of clothed dates up to the Christian era by the following:

INDIA X. Fall of the Maurya dynasty in Magadha; the Sungas reintroduce Hinduism (?) (183 B.C.).

and—

INDIA XI. The Andhras conquer Magadha (26 B.C.).

The golden age of India has passed away, and it is pleasing to reflect that a Hindu and a Buddhist king share its honours. There is another golden age to come, but the decadence now is very real. The

confused Indo-Bactrian, 'Saka,' and Indo-Parthian periods may be passed over, and the thread taken up again in the reign of the great Kanishka. This king's rule, which extended from Kabul and Yokhand to Agra and Guzerat, is perhaps one of the most important phases of the Central Asian Yuechi Empire (founded 70 B.C.).

Under Kanishka was held one of those assemblies or councils which always marked the Buddhist annals. The memory of this council lived long in the minds of men in the northern country, just as in the prophet's own country those of Rajagriha and Vaisali were red-letter days among his followers.

For the next date we return to indefinite chronology, though it must be admitted that a good many of our preceding figures are far from 'canonical.'

INDIA XII. Kanishka founds the Indo-Scythian 'one-man' dynasty of India, capital Peshawar; the Shah (or Sah) kings (the 'western satraps') rule Guzerat under him.* He adopts (?) Buddhism and rivals Asoka (*circa* A.D. 100).

Not long after the death of Kanishka his Empire broke up, although his son (?) Hushka (whom the student may remember by the likeness of the name to Harsha, the last great Hindu monarch of India) is said to have ruled with as firm a hand and over as large a territory as his father. The long Indian decadence is relieved by this 'Turkish' kingdom planted in the midst of the land of Chandragupta and Asoka;

* The common theory makes them vassals of Parthia.

Buddhism, which humanized the Sudra development, gets a fresh lease of life in the north, and does very similar work among Central Asian 'Sudras.' The old twentieth satrapy of Darius is recalled to our memory by the survival of this Turko-Indian kingdom in Kabul and the Panjab. But we have arrived at times, not only of decadence, but of darkness, of utter absence of historical material. As to religious literature, we may roughly classify this as the age of the Dharmshastras.

Having thus attempted to bridge over the gulf, we cannot do better than jump at once to the great renaissance of the Gupta kings with a clothed date.

INDIA XIII. Hindu revival and epoch of the Puranas. Samudragupta revives the Hindu Empire from Kanauj (?)*, and conquers the Pallavas (Malavas?) (A. D. 350).

This king's (Samudragupta) history is said to have been entirely recovered from coins and inscriptions. His fame seems to have been eclipsed by that of his more famous successor Chandragupta Vikramaditya. For this, perhaps, Kalidasa is responsible. Certain it is that the last-named great king was the patron of Hindu literature and art, and to his reign is referred the consolidation of classical Sanskrit, as against the semi-vernacular of the Buddhist scriptures, Pali, Prakrit, etc.

Our next date will be concerned with this Augustus of the second Hindu Empire.

* Pataliputrapura, Ajudhya, Prag (Allahabad), are more likely capitals. Kanauj was more of a centre in the 'S'iladitya' afterglow. But the Guptas are somehow linked with the last-named city.

INDIA XIV. Chandragupta Vikramaditya consolidates his father's Empire by the conquest of the western satraps (Sakas?). Decisive Battle of Korur (Multan?) (A.D. 395).

The last of the great invasions (at least, for about half a millennium) then supervenes, that of the White Huns. The Huns seem to have followed the general course of Aryan doings—that is, to have divided into two streams, one going to Europe and one to Asia. The European branch produced the famous but ephemeral Empire of Attila; the Asiatic that of the Ephthalites or White Huns. Our next two dates may represent to us two celebrated defeats of these unwelcome visitors; but between these epochs the invaders trampled on Hindu civilization, destroyed the kingdom of the Guptas, and introduced a state of things which was a sad contrast to the golden ages we have been considering.

INDIA XV. The White Huns, though defeated by Skandagupta in A.D. 445, destroy the remains of Kanishka's Empire (Afghanistan, capital Kabul; Gandhara, capital Peshawar?) and that of the Guptas. The Valabhi dynasty is founded in the west (at first tributary to the Huns) (A.D. 499).

INDIA XVI. The coalition between the revived power of Magadha and a Raj-

put (?) confederacy from Central India defeats the Huns, and the rise of the new Turkish power in Central Asia destroys the Hunnish Empire and gives India peace* (*circa* A.D. 550).

After this we have but one more event of the Hindu period to record, and that, curiously enough, is a kind of Buddhist revival. We must treat of Moslem, Mah-ratta, and British India in another chapter. The clothed date will bring before us the last great emperor of India.

INDIA XVII. After consolidating his Empire (though defeated by the Chalukya, Pulikesin II.), Harsha Siladitya holds his toleration feast at Allahabad (*circa* A.D. 650).

We have now reached the great gap between Hindu and Mahommedan India, which, though one of comparative peace and immunity from foreign invasion, is also a period of stagnation. The great event of the transition is, perhaps, the growth of that curious kind of Rajput feudal system which the Mahommedans found in India. The old Aryan chivalry is, naturally, driven by the invasions to the centre of the country, and from Central India probably came that great movement of revival which expelled the Huns.

The war of independence in India is headed by

* It has been said that no foreign foe invaded India for five centuries, but this account ignores the Arab invasion of Scinde.

a Rajput prince, and the Rajput princes are the true successors and survivors of the heroes of the epics.

We must remind the reader that our knowledge of the glorious epoch with which we close Hindu history is largely derived from the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hwen Tsang, of the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. respectively.

The first of these great men (of whom we shall have more to say later) is so absorbed in religious duties that he cannot spare time for worldly matters; but the second gives us a splendid narrative of the life and times of our last Hindu emperor, Harsha Siladitya. This account and the writings of Megasthenes almost complete the sum of contemporaneous literature which we have for the Hindu period. All else has to be gleaned from epigraphic, numismatic, and inferential sources.

CHAPTER V

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

(continued)

THE MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST.

WE left India in the last chapter in the darkness of that gap in her history which intervenes between the Hindu and Mahommedan periods. Politically, the broad features of the gap are the failure of the long line of Indian 'emperors,' and the breaking up of the country into small principalities without any idea of union. The Rajput chivalry has certainly come to the fore, as was foreshadowed by the war of independence, which is referred to in our penultimate clothed date of last chapter. But it is to prove insufficient to ward off the attacks of the new set of invaders. The religion becomes degraded, although the enlightened few still cling to the pure cult of the Vedas. Literature has almost ceased to be, and when it revives again the classical language is no longer the medium of expression.

THE PIONEERS OF MOSLEM CONQUEST.

The earliest settlement of the Moslem in India was of an ephemeral, evanescent nature, and may supply us with a clothed date as under:

INDIA XVIII. Mahommed* Kasim founds an Arabian kingdom in Scinde (capital Multan ?) (A.D. 712).

The story of this young adventurer, in the early and palmy days of Islamite progress, penetrating into unknown and isolated regions inspired with religious enthusiasm, is full of romance and pathos. Mahommed seems to have established a sovereignty less oppressive than the Hindu rule he superseded, but he was the victim of the vices of his sovereign, and the kingdom he founded faded and was forgotten.

The next step was not a settlement at all, and only led to the payment of tribute. During the interval which is supposed to have elapsed since our last date, we note that the power of the Arabs has passed into the hands of their 'pretorian' guards, the Turks. This revolution can be designated the era of the

SLAVE KINGS.

This phase of progress marks the innings of the *slave* all over the world. The Turks, from being the servants of the Arabs, became their masters, and often they suffered a similar fate to that which they imposed on the dominant race: they in turn had to succumb to their own slaves. In this way Alptagin founded the sovereignty of Ghazni, and his slave superseded him; these events can provide material for our next clothed date:

INDIA XIX. Sabuktagin supersedes his master on his death, marries his master's

* Mahommed Ibn Kasim (the son of Kasim) is perhaps his proper appellation.

daughter, and reduces the Panjab king Jaipal to the position of tributary prince (A.D. 976).

The son of Sabuktagin was the renowned iconoclast of Ghazni, Mahmud. We are not so much concerned with his numerous invasions of India (which were mostly raids) as with his one political achievement—the annexation of the Panjab. He vowed to lead a Holy War into ‘infidel’ Hindustan every year, and he almost kept that vow to the letter. The deeds of the mighty sultan may be summed up in a clothed date as under:

INDIA XX. After sixteen expeditions (in all), in which he penetrated as far as Kanauj and Somnath in Guzerat, Mahmud establishes a viceroyalty in the Panjab (A.D. 1026, date of Somnath).*

But the patron of Firdusi (and as such, in a way, the creator of the Shahnama), the man so highly praised by the author† of the celebrated Seljuk treatise on the Art of Government, was unable to create a lasting sovereignty, and our next date will announce ‘the man who did.’ (The rise of the Seljuks perhaps prevented the dynasty from becoming permanent.)

INDIA XXI. Ghor having succeeded to Ghazni, Shahab-u-din Ghorî defeats the

* The reader is supposed conversant with the well-known details of this celebrated raid.

† The appropriate name of this Turkish predecessor of Machiavelli is Nizam-ul-mulk.

62 Three Queens of the Moslem World

Rajputs, and founds the Afghan or Patan Empire of India at Panipat (A.D. 1192 [1193 ?]).

In the year previous to this the sultan had been defeated on the same spot by the Hindus, so that the number of battles in this Armageddon of Hindustan gets an addition of two in as many years. The Ghor sultan could not, or would not, stay to consolidate his Indian Empire, but on his death a portion of it fell to his viceroy, whose doings will give us a new date :

INDIA XXII. Kutb-u-din, viceroy of Shahab-u-din, founds the first Empire of Delhi (A.D. 1206).

The new sultan conquered Anhilwara in A.D. 1197, and Kalinjar, the Chandel* stronghold, in A.D. 1202, while his general, Bakhtiar, subdued Behar and Bengal on his behalf about the same time. He could not found a dynasty, however, and a kinsman mounts the throne, who does transmit his power—at least, to his grandson.

The accession of the new ruler may be embodied in a clothed date as under :

INDIA XXIII. Altamsh succeeds to the throne on the son of Kutb-u-din proving inefficient (A.D. 1210 [1211 ?]).

Another great woman, Sultana Razia, one of 'the only three women ever elected to the throne in the

* One of the Rajput dynasties in Central India.

Mahomadan East,* adorns this episode, for it is little else, and after about half a century we have to chronicle the rise of another slave adventurer. But this king, with whose doings our next date is concerned, had kept the Mongols out of India and supported a tottering throne for twenty years.

INDIA XXIV. After faithfully serving the last king of the line of Altamsh, Balban, his slave vizier, is called to the throne, but establishes a dynasty only in Bengal (A.D. 1266).

We now come to the

KHILJI DYNASTY.

We may embody the principal events occurring under this dynasty (which is also somewhat short-lived) in our next date:

INDIA XXV. After slaying his uncle, the founder of the dynasty (Jelal-u-din), Ala-u-din, conquers the Deccan (personally before his accession; through his favourite, Malik Kafur, after it) and Rajputana, and establishes an extraordinary system of espionage. He repels the Mongols, but anarchy results on his death in A.D. 1316.

* S. Lane Poole, 'Medieval India,' p. 74. The other two were, according to this author, Shajar ad Darr and Abish, in Egypt and Persia respectively, the former the opponent of St. Louis of France.

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64 The Mad Sultan of Hindustan

(We have already noticed the claims of his great emperor to fame.)

This date may be immediately followed by another:

INDIA XXVI. During the period of anarchy the Hindu upstart Khusrū is deposed and executed by Ghazi or Ghias-u-din Tughlak, who founds the Karauna or Tughlak dynasty A.D. 1321.

Of this dynasty the most celebrated king is Mahommed (Ibn) Tughlak, the madman (1325-1351). This extraordinary man, who, with the best intentions, plunged India into a whole series of miseries, has gained an unenviable reputation, principally by two of his acts of folly. These acts were the forcible removal of the capital from Delhi, and eventually back thither again, and his 'Chinese' expedition, when he punished the troops at home for the misfortunes of those who went to certain destruction through his own mistakes. There is another horrible memory which clings about the sultan's name: it is that of his ruthless conduct in hunting and slaying unfortunate defaulters, ruined by bad seasons and his own exactions, like wild beasts. Their king's cruelties and follies had driven these victims to the forest, and in that retreat he massacred them! These awful acts are still remembered in India.

This short-lived dynasty now declines, and the remaining clothed dates which deal with it will show us the

Decline of the First Empire 65

DECAY OF THE FIRST EMPIRE UNDER THE TUHLAKS.

From this epoch the history of the first Empire of Delhi is almost negligible by the student of world-history. But there are a few matters which demand notice. The whole story of the Empire abounds with illustrations of the criminality of allowing one individual to exercise autocratic power without restraint of some sort. Take the case of this sultan, among whose injuries to India we have not even mentioned his ruinous financial policy. (He gave away the money of the state wholesale, spent it recklessly in hare-brained projects, and then debased the currency to mend matters!) He had the best intentions, but from contempt of counsel he almost ruined India. Curiously enough, the good king whose reign now follows, like a kind of salve for the wounds inflicted by Mahommed the madman, would in all probability have done similar injury to his country had it not been for one circumstance, which our next clothed date may exhibit.

INDIA XXVII. The good, but weak, king, Firoz, under the guidance of his (converted) Hindu minister, Makbul Khan, brings about a kind of rehabilitation in India (A.D. 1351).

The student should carefully note the contrast between these two reigns—a notable piece of chiaroscuro in our word-picture (or, rather, a tale suggesting a word-picture by a skilled artist). The irony of fate brought it about that his cousin (happily his line failed) rather continued than checked the disintegration.

begun by Mahommed Tughlak. Mahommed ruled, at least at one period of his reign, a larger 'Empire' than any of his predecessors. But he is credited with having allowed two important provinces—the Deccan and Bengal—to become independent. Our story now reaches another 'gap,' for the 'Sayids' and 'Lodhis' of the decline period of the first Empire may be neglected, and our next date will seek to show the principalities carved out of it. Certain of these kings were capable rulers, but failed to bring about any permanent rehabilitation.

INDIA XXVIII. The first Empire disintegrates into the following kingdoms, founded somewhere about the dates* indicated: Bengal, A.D. 1336; the 'Bahmani' (see below) kingdom of the Deccan, A.D. 1347; Jaunpur, Malwa, and Guzerat, A.D. 1393.

The student will have to remember that the Deccan kingdom also disintegrated, and split up into the following states: Berar, 1484; Bijapur, 1489; Ahmadnagar, 1490; Bidar, 1492; and Golconda, 1512. To these the seeker after a definite picture of the India invaded by the Moghals must add the Hindu kingdoms. Besides the Rajput principalities of Central India, there was the old kingdom of Warangal, and to this must be added the new kingdom of Bijanagar. The latter absorbed and consolidated a number of small states, too petty to come into our history, and waged a long

* It is obviously always difficult to give the exact date on which an Oriental satrapy becomes independent.

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Wars with the Bahmani kingdom (so called) its Mahommedan founder had been 'discovered' and patronized by a Brahman, and his grateful protégé wished to perpetuate his name).

THE MOGHAL CONQUEST.

The word 'Moghal' may serve to emphasize the enormous change which Islam had produced in those Mongols who in the reign of Altamsh had driven the Central Asiatic Turks headlong into India, and whom Ala-u-din had so effectually crushed. Timur himself, who heads the list of great emperors, was a Turk on the father's side, but claimed descent from Chengis Khan through his mother. He must have had a number of Mongols, of a sort, in his army. In fact, we must always bear in mind that the great emperors of India are regarded as 'Turanian,' and we should begin their history, not with Baber, but with Timur. The clothed date may run—

INDIA XXIX. Timur invades India, takes Delhi, and it is sacked against his will (A.D. 1398).

We pass over, then, a gap almost as large as that between Hindu and Mahommedan India, as we have styled the flourishing periods of the rival faiths, and come to the first of a pentarchy of great rulers who are, for the general reader, the real emperors of Hindustan. Baber, the most engaging of Turkish (?) personalities, and a lineal descendant of the other 'Great Moghals,' is invited to India, where the last of the Afghan fainéants is disgusting the population, and a Hindu

revival is taking place under the great Rana Chitor. The clothed date may tell us the result of the willing response to this invitation.

INDIA XXX. Baber conquets the Afghans at Panipat, A.D. 1526; the Rajputs at Kanwaha, A.D. 1527; the 'Afghans' * again at Kanauj, A.D. 1528.

As the emperor died soon after his victories, and his son really lost the Empire, we may embody the latter's achievements in our next clothed date, which once more tells of stirring deeds at Kanauj.

INDIA XXXI. After wasting the fruits of his victory over Bahadur Shah, 'the consolidator of the Malwa-Guzerat kingdom,' Humayun is driven from India by Sher Shah at Kanauj (Akbar born during his wanderings) (A.D. 1540).

Humayun might never have been driven out of his kingdom if his brothers had been loyal to him, but Sher Shah, the Afghan adventurer, was a greater man than any of them, and really deserved the throne which he obtained. His beneficent rule was restoring prosperity to the distracted country when it was cut short by his death in a new Rajput war. The exiled Moghal took the opportunity thus afforded him, the results of which the clothed date may announce thus :

INDIA XXXII. Taking advantage of the confusion on the death of Sher Shah,

* This is Baber's own word for the men of the first Empire.

Humayun returns to Delhi, but dies within a few months by an accident (A.D. 1555).

AKBAR.

The reign of Akbar is a study in itself, and undoubtedly the golden age of Moslem rule in India. It is doubtful if the East ever had a sovereign like this eclectic monarch. Akbar's 'half-century' should be 'periodized' by the student, but we can only note its most conspicuous features in this brief review. The reader will remember that the great king was born during his father's romantic exile, and was brought up by foster-parents, and this fact coloured the early days of the new reign. The next date will reveal to us a new Panipat, and a new battle of the religions.

INDIA XXXIII. The Moghal power being expelled from Delhi by the Hindu upstart Hemu (a *soi disant* Vikramaditya), he marches on Panipat, but loses his artillery, and is defeated and slain by Bairam, guardian of Akbar (A.D. 1556).

The facts are by no means certain, nor are those to be represented by our next date, and the necessity for a new and scholarly history of India is emphasized.

INDIA XXXIV. Having conquered parts of Central India, Akbar frees himself from the oppressive tutelage of his guardian (A.D. 1560) and the tyranny of his 'nurse' (A.D. 1563).

70 Dramatic Possibilities in India.

The events of the 'nurse' episode would splendid play, but we cannot linger over them. We must content ourselves with sighing over the assassination of the great Bairam, the hero of the victory at Panipat, when he had been 'permitted to proceed' * on pilgrimage, had rebelled, been forgiven, and again gone off to the holy places of his faith.

We must try and make our clothed dates reflect the gradual conquest of Northern India, the edifice resting this time on so firm a basis as not to require reconstruction.

INDIA XXXV. Having conquered Oudh, Jaunpur, and parts of Malwa in A.D. 1561, Akbar storms Chitor in A.D. 1567, and finally conquers Rajputana (bringing in the practice of matrimonial alliances with the Hindus) in A.D. 1572, and Bengal in A.D. 1575.

This date may be immediately followed by another, which will announce all but the Deccan conquests.

INDIA XXXVI. After having reconquered Guzerat, A.D. 1584, Akbar subdues Kashmir in A.D. 1587, Orissa in A.D. 1590, Scinde in A.D. 1592, and Kandahar in A.D. 1594.

The next date is intended to finish the political bird's-eye view of the great emperor's reign.

* An Oriental euphemism for dismissal.

...DIA XXXVII. The princess - regent, Chand Bibi, having been murdered, the city of Ahmadnagar falls to Akbar (though becoming independent again under Malik Amber) (A.D. 1600).

The greatest of Indian 'khalifs' did not live long into the new century. His end was perhaps hastened by the deaths of his familiar friends and counsellors, Faizi and Abul Fazl. The latter was a general as well as a man of letters, and was perhaps murdered through the military jealousy of the crown prince.

It has been already remarked that 'Akbar' is a subject which demands special treatment. The reign of the great emperor contains material for many a thesis or monograph. We can only indicate very briefly the subject-matter of a few of these.

Reference has already been made to the 'nurse' episode, and that of Bairam Khan.

The personality of the emperor is a most fascinating one, and even his physical prowess might form an attractive subject for the pen.

The conciliation of the Hindu population must find a place in our list, and the subject brings to our minds the great Hindu administrator, Todar Mal. Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's Windsor (or Versailles), will occur to every lover of architecture. It contains buildings absolutely peerless in their artistic excellence, and exhibits all the characteristics, not only of the fresh young vigour of a new style, but of a veritable golden age. We may regard the deserted city as a kind of tomb of Akbar's dream-phantom, a universal and eclectic religion. One room is shown where the spirits of those

who lent their efforts to make the dream a reality. It may be thought still to hover. In it the emperor was wont to assemble the learned of his court (whom he rather robbed of power by his autocratic tendencies), to discuss the new cult. There is material for even amusement in the speculation as to whether Akbar's new greeting for the faithful ('Allahu Akbar!') meant 'Akbar is god!' Akbarism can be usefully contrasted with Asokism. The art of the period will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. The artistic reader will not need to be told that it reflects the individuality of the emperor.

The literary reader will note the poetry of Faizi, and the historian the extreme value of his brother's (Abd-ul-Fazl) chronicles.

JEHANGIR AND SHAH-JEHAN.

The reader may have gathered from the clothed dates that Akbar extended his Empire to the whole of Hindustan, but a portion only of the Deccan. His two immediate successors scarcely did more than hold what he had gained. There are no materials for any dates in the reigns of these celebrated princes. The arrival of the English ambassadors, Hawkins and Roe, and the biography of his famous queen, Nur-ul-jehan (Light of the World), are the principal matters of interest in the reign of the first-named. As to Shah-Jehan, the rebellion of his sons (disgraceful episodes of this nature disfigure the annals of his father Jehangir also) generally take up the time of the student of Indian history unprofitably. Shah-Jehan as an 'artist' will be discussed in the proper place. His misfortunes have

concern with political history. The climacteric of Moghal expansion and the decline it immediately led to must occupy our attention in a new chapter. The reader will doubtless perceive, after its perusal, that the important reigns of the second Empire are two—those of Akbar and Aurangzeb.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

(continued)

THE DECLINE OF THE SECOND MAHOMMEDAN EMPIRE AND RISE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

IN the last chapter we brought down our review of the history of India to the reign of Shah-Jehan, the grandson of Akbar, and failed to find any material in that reign for a clothed date. The same absence of political change marked the previous reign, that of Jehangir, the son of the great emperor. There were civil wars and character studies, but these matters are at the most episodal.

A complete change comes over the scene when his easy-going (from the religious point of view) predecessors are succeeded by a kind of Indian Philip II., and we must embody the occurrence in a clothed date.

INDIA XXXVIII. Accession of the fanatical king Aurangzeb, or Alamgir, after killing his elder brother and imprisoning his father (A.D. 1659).

The contrast presented to his pleasure-loving ancestors by the ascetic who practically lost the

Empire was immense. He ate little else save bread, and drank only water, and endeavoured to carry out the precepts of the Koran by embroidering skull-caps for a living. But he was fanatically cruel in his zeal for Islam, and his devastating wars in the south, undertaken to coerce the heretic Shiah principalities, brought about the real ruin, if the ostensible extension, of the Empire. Aurangzeb removed the capital back to Delhi from Agra. The latter city (though associated in our minds with Akbar, who had altered it so much as to give it his name) was really adopted as the administrative centre in the decline period of the first Empire.

Our penultimate clothed date has announced the fall of Ahmadnagar to Akbar, and its revival under Malik Amber. Just noticing in passing that this city (Ahmadnagar) had fallen finally in Shah-Jehan's reign, we may form a clothed date out of two other important conquests in the south.

INDIA XXXIX. Bijapur having fallen in the previous year, Aurangzeb takes Golconda in A.D. 1687.

The Rajput war, brought on by the fanatical oppression of the Hindus, to which the mosques at Muttra and Benares testify, had preceded. And before this another force had come into being. Descendants, probably, of that mysterious immigrant race of the south, whose origin is so obscure, 'the Yadavas,' with an amalgam of the older population of Maharashtra, the Mahrattas, under their founder Sivaji (see the historical summary), had begun by pillaging the Deccan

principalities, and ended by defending them against Moghal aggression. Our last clothed date is intended to announce a whole series of events and ideas of world import, and the student might usefully employ himself in amplifying it, so as to include them all. In the first place, the final conquest which the date announces was obtained more by fraud than by force, and this will help us to understand why it was so utterly ineffective.

By a curious irony of fate, often observable in history, and perhaps inherent in the nature of things, this culmination of territorial expansion by the Moghals was the beginning, not of a golden age, but of their decline. They would not have been compelled to employ artifice had they not been effete and decadent to the last degree. Besides this, the fanaticism of the emperor had completely alienated the Hindus. Those towering mosques of Benares and Muttra still speak to us of the principal cause of our own domination in India. The insults to the religion of Vikramaditya had done their deadly work, and there was no Rajput chivalry to follow the Moghal in his conquests. On the contrary, the Hindu nobility were headed in their rebellion by the emperor's own son, Akbar, a coincidence of name which may supply us with a *memoria technica*.

The Moghal army was quite unequal to the task of conducting a campaign in the south. The Deccan style of warfare, which had been adopted even by the Mahommedan states, was a guerilla system, which avoided direct attack, and to cope with which the cumbrous imperial camps, embarrassed by their innumerable followers, were totally unfitted. The huge aggregation of wealth, of course, invited the attacks.

enemy. Even the capture and execution of Sambhaji, Sivaji's son, which in a way announced the early failure of the line which the great robber chief had hoped to found, did nothing to ward off impending ruin. And although for the moment a great woman (who lives for us in the glowing pages of Meadows Taylor's historical novels), Tara Bai, the deceased chieftain's brother's widow, fills the gap, a new development, not so much dependent on personality, is at hand to represent Mahratta power.

Behind the failing royal house of Raigarh are rising those Indian mayors of the palace, the Brahmins of the Poonah Durbar. As the history of the reign is very uncertain (the emperor objected to chronicles of any sort, and the historian, Khafi Khan [or Professor Spy!], as he was christened, had to work under difficulties), we cannot do better than embody the various causes of decay with the date of the emperor's death. Though he failed even to nominate a successor, the prestige of his name kept the Empire together while he lived. The date must be a long one.

INDIA XL. The Jats having risen into power near Agra about A.D. 1690, and the Sikhs* later near Multan, the Empire is in the throes of dissolution, which the capture of Sattara in A.D. 1698 does nothing to avert, and the end is practically announced by the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707.

* Some connect them with the Satnamis, the organizers of a local Hindu rebellion, provoked by the emperor's fanaticism, in 1670. See also Chapter VII., heading 'The Reformers.'

Nothing more pathetic than the failure of Aurangzeb's life-work is revealed to us by history. A saint (in a way) to the last, he drives away the love that should have soothed his dying hour, through dread of retribution for his own undutiful conduct to Shah-Jahan. He does not even provide for an undisputed succession!

THE HINDU REVIVAL UNDER THE MAHRATTAS.

The reader can perhaps glean the story of the Mahrattas from the historical summary. He will remember Sivaji, the great founder, rising to power through the assistance of his father as an official of the Bijapur state, his foundation of Raigarh, his murder of Afzal Khan (the Bijapur commander), and his operations against the imperial troops. He will notice how the Treaty of Purandhar, ostensibly a surrender to imperial power, nevertheless officially recognized the Mahratta claims (the celebrated 'Chauth,' etc.). He will then find the robber prince an officer of the Imperial Government, escaping from uncongenial surroundings at court, where an opportunity was lost of turning him into an ally.

At the death of the founder of the new state it is already one of the great Powers of South India. The new Rajah (Sambhaji) is executed in a barbarous manner, but leaves an infant behind him, who is eventually cajoled into acknowledging the Moghal suzerainty, and allows his power to be usurped by the first Peshwa, or prime minister, Balaji Visvanath. The new head of the Mahratta sovereignty has under him the two fainéant princes of Sattara and Kholapur, the descendants of Sivaji, but the real repositories

of power are Holkar and Scindia, the 'Bhonsle' rajah of Berar and the Gaekwar.

The last-named princes of the Mahratta confederacy all carved out kingdoms for themselves somewhere about the same time. But the other apparently new Hindu Power was really of old standing. The Sikhs, too, traced their origin as a religious community at least as far back as the reign of Baber.

THE MAHOMMEDAN POWERS.

The Deccan, under Asaph Jah (Nizam-al-Mulk), Oudh under Saadat-ali-Khan, Bengal under Aliverdi Khan (rulers whose names are familiar to students of the British conquest), all became independent in this great confusion period. The emperors are perhaps the most insignificant of all the Indian powers, though the House of Timur nominally ruled India till the Mutiny.

Events now march on quickly to the English occupation. The first act in the new drama* is thrilling in the extreme, and may be compressed into our next clothed date.

INDIA XLI. The Mahrattas march to the north, and their power is recognized as far as the Chambal (A.D. 1738).

This may be immediately followed by a 'subsidiary'—

INDIA XLII. Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah (A.D. 1739).

The plundering expedition of the Persian (?) monarch had no political results. The sack of Delhi, which he

* This drama is eclipsed by a more important one in which the actors are the British.

had not intended (so it is said), but did not fail to profit by, was a rude awakening, showing how after two centuries of immunity the feeble power at Delhi could no longer repel the invader.

We have called Nadir Shah a Persian, but he was really an Afghan who had seated himself on the throne of the ruler of Persia (as feeble a man as his brother of India). On the assassination of Nadir, the Abdali House seized Afghanistan and Persia, and their invasions are mixed in a curious manner with the—

PROLOGUE TO THE DRAMA OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

The historical drama of most interest to British spectators occupies almost exactly a century, if we count from the beginning of the French wars in the south to the 'accession' to the viceregal throne of Lord Dalhousie, the last 'expansive' Governor-General. That would be from 1748 to 1848, or, to use round numbers, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The first act has two scenes—Plassy and Buxar—the battle at the latter place resulting in the transfer of political power in the Ganges Valley from the feeble representative of Timur to the English. The second act culminates at the end of the old or beginning of the new century, and is distinguished by the definite assumption by Wellesley of the hegemony in India. The third act culminates half-way through the new century, and shows Dalhousie consolidating and perfecting the supremacy inaugurated by his great predecessor.

Our next clothed date will show us the intense interest of the prologue—the two candidates for World-

Empire crossing swords in Southern India, and the victory eventually passing to ourselves.

INDIA XLIII. Madras having been alternately in the hands of the English and the French, the latter establish a Nizam of the Deccan (Hyderabad) and a Nawab of the Carnatic (Arcot) of their own (A.D. 1748).

This date will be recognized by the student of modern history as that of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the war of the Austrian succession, and was supposed to restore the rivals to their original position, but which quite failed to check the progress of Clive. But before contemplating the doings of the creator of the British Empire in India, the reader may be recommended to note the political geography. He knows, perhaps, that the Deccan is the old southern kingdom of Ala-u-din Khilji, to control which the madman Tughlak had tried to transport Delhi a distance of 700 miles. This separated off in the decadence of the first Empire, and became the Bahmani kingdom, which waged such a long series of wars with the Hindu remainder of the Yadavas (?), the Bijanagar revival. When the Bahmani kingdom had in its turn suffered disintegration, the old religious war was continued, principally conducted on the Mahommedan side by the Adil Shahi King of Bijapur. The Hindu kingdom fell to the attacks of a Mahommedan combination in 1565,* and thus when Aurang-

* At the decisive battle of Talikota, which would be a conspicuous landmark in Indian history (the fall of Hindu power in the south), were it not all written from the standpoint of Delhi. Meadows Taylor's history is an exception, and may be recommended to the reader.

zeb conquered the south his southern satrapy included the old Hindu kingdom and reached to the sea.

The Carnatic was a part of the dominion of this Hindu neighbour. Another important part of the same state was Mysore, in which a Hindu remainder state was founded about this time, soon to be overshadowed by that extraordinary Indian mayor of the palace, Haidar.

We may now present a date which will show the English reply to the French experiment in Empire-building.

INDIA XLIV. Having taken and successfully defended Arcot, Clive defeats the French and slays their Nawab at Trichinopoly (A.D. 1752).

Chronological sequence here compels us to journey with Clive to the other side of India, and piece in to our prologue what has been called the first scene in the first act of the great drama of 'British Arms in India.' The date may run as follows:

INDIA XLV. After having avenged the 'Black Hole' by the recapture of Calcutta, Clive defeats the Nawab of Bengal at Plassy, and sets up his own nominee (A.D. 1757).

The tragedy referred to is one of which most people know the details; they cannot certainly be recorded in our brief survey. In our next date we must return for a moment to the rising 'Madras Presidency.'

INDIA XLVI. Dupleix having been recalled by the French Government, his successor (?), Lally, and Bussy are defeated and the attempt at a French Empire finally checked by Coote's victory of Wandewash (A.D. 1760).

This must be supplemented by a subsidiary date, comprising all that we can say about the famous successor of Nadir, Ahmad Shah Abdali. We may call it the second act of the Mahratta 'drama' (India XLI.).

INDIA XLVII. After having ruled Northern India, and induced the Mahommedan power to combine with him, Ahmad Shah crushes the Mahratta power at Panipat (A.D. 1761).

THE FIRST ACT.

As has been already observed, we have robbed the first act of our drama of its first scene. It would be possible to make Plassy, Wandewash, and Buxar three scenes in the opening section. Either way, the sequence of both time and place cannot be preserved.

The scene which we have left is, after all, the most important event in the whole series.

The date which follows exhibits the transfer of power in the Lower Ganges Valley, by its legitimate owner, to English hands.

INDIA XLVIII. After the massacre (at Patna) of English prisoners by the new Nawab, he, the Nawab Vizier (of Oudh),

and the Emperor are defeated at Buxar. The last-named confers the 'Diwani' (civil authority) of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa on the East India Company (A.D. 1764).

As already remarked, the rise of the British Empire in India is a study in itself. We can only glance at its main features. Clive, of course, had been Governor of both Madras and Bengal. Calcutta was made the headquarters of government for the latter by Warren Hastings, who became the first Governor-General in 1774. But the doings of the great 'Proconsul' were more consolidatory than constructive. He was the Augustus to the Empire of which Clive had been the Caesar. Neither the Rohilla war, the Benares scandals, nor the disputes at Calcutta, must induce us to add to our already lengthy list of Indian clothed dates. We must, in fact, go on at once to the

SECOND ACT.

As has already been said, this is the Wellesley administration, the half-way house between the beginning and end of our 100 years. For the first time the idea of Empire, of undoubted hegemony in Hindustan is broached. It is impossible to choose out events sufficiently important for clothed dates in the confusion period between the two great consolidators, Warren Hastings and Wellesley. We must pass over the three first Mysore wars, neglect the character studies presented by Haidar and Tippu (recommending them as fascinating subjects for his pen to the writer of monographs), and collect the great achievements of the proconsulship in a comprehensive clothed date:

INDIA XLIX. Wellesley takes Mysore in A.D. 1799; annexes the Carnatic (thus creating the Madras Presidency) in A.D. 1801. In the same year he assumes the administration of the North-West Provinces; by the Treaty of Bassein he practically creates the Bombay Presidency in A.D. 1802; finally crushes Scindia and Holkar; and lays the foundation of the Central Provinces in A.D. 1804-1805.

We thus see the genesis of four more British 'satrapies' besides Bengal, which had been created by Clive and Warren Hastings. Similarly, our neighbour state of Afghanistan, which has been before the public so often in connexion with India, was created by that Ahmad Shah Abdali* whose doings we have hitherto only incidentally mentioned.

We must now conclude our dates, first by a comprehensive one giving the annexations up to Dalhousie, and then by a final one giving those due to that great Proconsul.

THE THIRD ACT.

INDIA L. Kumaon and Garhwal annexed under Hastings (Moirā) in A.D. 1816; a part of Burmah under Amherst in A.D. 1826; and Scinde (after the Afghan fiasco) under Ellenborough in A.D. 1843.

* Or, as he boastfully styled himself, Daurani, the cycle-producer or epoch-founder.

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This must be immediately followed by our final date—

INDIA LI. Dalhousie annexes the Panjab in A.D. 1849; Maritime Burmah in A.D. 1852; Nagpur (putting the finishing touch to the creation of the Central Provinces Chief Commissionership) in A.D. 1853, and Oudh in A.D. 1856.

Nothing has been said in this place about the initial troubles with the Sikhs, which led to the annexation war, or of the causes of a similar denouement in Oudh. Misgovernment led to the latter, and the former has been alluded to in the summary. The reader should note that Upper Burmah was added in 1886.

THE NUTSHELL PRESENTMENT.

The above inadequate review must have impressed upon the reader the enormous importance of the Hindu period of Indian history, and how easy it is to grasp its broad features. Taking the subject as a whole, there are eleven principal periods of Indian history, any one of which may be recommended to the historical specialist for exhaustive treatment.

First comes the Vedic period of colonization, reaching only to the Panjab. Next we have the 'epic' period of colonization in Upper Hindustan. Thirdly and fourthly, we have what may be called the Hindu Magadha and Buddhist Magadha periods. Short as these are, they are important above all else in the early history, of which Magadha is the grand keynote. Then come the period of non-Aryan invasion, the recovery under the Guptas, and the great decline. These three

periods considered together have all the fascination of startling contrast, and yet make up a homogeneous whole. The four last periods have also a certain continuity. The two Mahommedan Empires, the Mahratta transition, and the British period, generally mean Indian history to the average student. Let us hope that this misconception and dwarfing of the subject may be corrected by Indian historians of the twentieth-century renaissance!

CHAPTER VII

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST

(continued)

SUMMARY.

Religion—Buddhism—The Chinese pilgrims—The spiritual conquest of Asia—Hinduism: its Pantheon and Scriptures—The so-called Hindu Trinity—Evolution of caste—The decadence—The reformers—The modern Asoka.

THE MORAL, ARTISTIC, AND INTELLECTUAL LEGACY.

WE have been for a very long time engaged in trying to obtain a comprehensive view of the leading events in Indian history. The review has been concerned with almost the whole of human annals, instead of with a definite period, and could scarcely have been further compressed.

We must now try to console ourselves for the somewhat dry details we have had to consider by reflecting on the wonderful 'legacy' of India. We will begin by the

RELIGION.

Whatever we may think of Puranic Hinduism, we must always acknowledge the sublimity of the Vedantic theology or theosophy. But India is more remarkable

for the religion which she starts, but does not embrace, than for the faith which is usually associated with her name. To have developed two such remarkable religions as Buddhism and Jainism, this alone is surely sufficient to vindicate the claim of the Wonderland to treatment on exactly the same lines as in the case of Hellas. India has done quite as much for Eastern Asia as Greece for Western Asia and Europe, and the recognition of this fact is a matter of political importance in the present day. Our *entente cordiale* with France, now the keynote of European politics, was preceded by a dawning perception of what Europe owes to Paris.

It is unnecessary to 'point the moral' further.

BUDDHISM.

Though briefly glancing at Hinduism further on, we can only linger over one of the religions of India—that cult which she expelled from her shores, as France is now trying to expel ultramontane Roman Catholicism—we must *not* say Christianity! Does not the very fact of this expulsion of Buddhism tell us a good deal about the religion?

It was surely a non-Aryan* cult, unsuitable for the land of its birth. It sprang up in a part of India most accessible to non-Aryan influences, and it spread to non-Aryan lands. We have no space to summarize for the reader's information the facts about the faith of Gautama (or Sakyamuni), which he can obtain from the ordinary text-books. We may perhaps warn him that it is not as easy as it seems to find out what Buddhism

* Its founder, however, is sometimes claimed as belonging to the Indian warrior Kshatria caste.

was, though we perhaps have a great opportunity at the present time, from our position in regard to Tibet, of finding out what it now *is*.

The wonderful religion we are considering can perhaps be best described as a prophecy of Christianity. It had one grand distinguishing feature as compared with even the pure (?) cult of the Vedas. The non-Aryan ears that heard those hymns were to be cut off, the non-Aryan tongue that polluted the sacred words was to be torn out! The religion of Gautama had no such hideous features; it was in the highest degree tolerant, and is in every way suitable for adoption by that curious Sudra or low-caste sovereignty which Chandragupta founded,* about the time of Alexander's invasion. In the person of the founder's grandson it mounted the principal throne of the Aryan world.

The religious revolution of that curious dawn period the late sixth century, has certainly introduced into Indian story a whole new world of poetry and romance.

The imagination fails to paint the extraordinary depths of veneration felt by the followers of the great prophet † of Eastern India, even for roads hallowed by their master's footsteps.

To this veneration we are indebted for some of our most important sources of early Indian history. Besides the chronicles of Megasthenes, the most valuable direct record which we possess of the pre-Mahommedan period is derived from the 'diaries' of the famous Chinese pilgrims. Historians count about five of these pil-

* The Nanda dynasty, which preceded Chandragupta, was also low-caste. This remarkable reign of the outcast in the land of the exclusive Brahmin looks like foreign conquest!

† We must remember that Buddha may be as 'eponymous' as Homer, and be cautious in our views about his personality.

grimages, but the most celebrated are the first and third of Fa Hian and Hwen Tsang, at the beginning of the fifth and seventh centuries of our era respectively (A.D. 399 (400?) and 629). If there were nothing else inspiring and alluring about the history of India, the adventures of these devout men would be quite sufficient to give it that character.

With their lives in their hands they started to visit the sites consecrated by association with the life of their prophet, to study at the great convents of India, to bring back relics, to return saturated with influences derived from the Buddhist Holy Land itself, and with as authentic versions of the Scriptures as they could procure. Words are powerless to describe the hardships and dangers passed through by the pilgrims, nor would they ever have come to the end of their journey alive had it not been for the wonderful religion developed on Indian soil, and sent forth to civilize and humanize mankind. Thanks to the missionary force of Buddhism, these pilgrims could find friends and coreligionists over the major portion of their route.

We can surely spare some of our interest and enthusiasm for these little-appreciated heroes, whose indomitable energy and zeal for the truth enabled them to triumph over all the dangers of the road.

Can we picture to ourselves the emotion with which the travellers first set foot in the birthplace of the prophet, or in the city whence its royal champion had sent forth the new faith to conquer the savagery of the world? How must their hearts have swelled with thankfulness in looking back on the perils they had passed! The hungry desert, where no living thing could find a refuge, marked by no object to relieve the dreary waste, save the whitening bones of those

who had died in the attempt to cross it ; the huge perpendicular walls of stone on the Hindu Khush, where the slightest false step might dash the climber thousands of feet down on the rocks below—such must have been the main outlines of the retrospect. Does it not cheer the heart and make the pulse beat quicker to dwell on such episodes as these in the annals of our race ? We need such a stimulant more than others, in this commonplace old England of ours, where we encounter no perils save from the enemies of society whom (from our inability or unwillingness to tackle the problems of criminal administration) we cherish in our midst. We still have a chosen few who strive to promulgate our grand old English Gospel of ‘danger for danger’s sake,’ a few adventurous climbers and explorers (men like Lugard and Rhodes) who do even more, perhaps, than the soldier to keep up our languishing virility. But these men need an Asoka to lead them, and it is difficult to see where he is to come from. While we are waiting for him we must try to keep the flag flying, and it is these men of old time whose deeds are burnt into the pages of history in indelible characters who can cheer us and support us in our task, if we will but learn the lesson which their lives teach us. Only a Chinese pilgrim, you will say ! Aye, only a Chinese pilgrim ; but achievements of this sort are so much greater than those of the men who sway the force of other men. ‘The battle of the warrior—the confused noise, and the garments rolled in blood,’ do not accomplish what moral force does. The whole world acknowledges its conqueror when it meets the magic power of the strong, invincible human heart, not leaning on itself alone, but nerved to action by high and holy resolve.

Apologies seem due to India for choosing as her religious legacy a cult which she did not herself adopt. But the enlightened Hindu of the present day would probably admit that his religion is indebted most, not to itself, so to speak, but to those faiths, one of which arose outside of India, while the other was banished from Indian soil, the sublime cult of the Vedas, and Buddhism. What a debt does Asia owe to its Wonderland for that marvellous religion which it sent out gradually to conquer the Far East! Ceylon first, then (on the other side of India) Kashmir, Afghanistan, parts of Central Asia, received the message. Korea,* Burmah, Siam, Java, Sumatra (Japan coming, perhaps, after Burmah in point of time), all yielded to the conquering monks. Finally, the Empire of Tibet, (one of the Eastern Empires which we shall have to consider in the next volume), adopts Buddhism, and in the seventh or eighth century of our era, by conquering Turkestan, still further spreads the influence of the yellow robe. How or when China, the greatest 'conquest' of all, succumbed is not quite clear. As already stated, the propagandism is probably referable to the time of the Indo-Scythian kings, to the influence of Kanishka, the Asoka of the North. It is certainly a marvellous tale, and its comprehension should make us all register a mental vow never again to fail in our appreciation of the Chinese, who sent forth those heroic pilgrims, or of the Hindus who developed Buddhism.

Nor let us affect to look down upon the religion of the Wonderland, degraded though it be from the lofty standard of the Vedas. Rather let us feel an intense

* The early spread of Buddhism to Korea without affecting Japan is, perhaps, intelligible in the light of recent history.

respect for a people to whom faith is so much, whose every act of daily life is a kind of prayer. Then perhaps we, who live in faithless Europe in a faithless age, may possibly recover—not the simple faith of a childlike people, but a deeper, broader type, which has left puerility behind, and risen to a spiritual manhood.

Fa Hian was as simple as he was heroic, and had a single eye for religion. His successor was a man of broader culture, and has left us a picture of ancient India which is as valuable as that of Megasthenes. Hwen Tsang speaks of the people of India in the same strains of enthusiastic admiration for their goodness and gentleness as do all reliable observers. He found the old Empire of Magadha, with its capital Pataliputra (which had superseded the old Rajagriha), still existing. The emperor was Siladitya, who continued the great quinquennial alms-giving which had been ordained by his predecessor Asoka. Of this, and the way in which the emperor continued the synods of the great Buddhist autocrat, the Chinese pilgrim has left us some interesting details. Hwen Tsang is believed to have taken up his residence at the Buddhist monastery of Nalanda, and would have there had the best opportunities of observation. Siladitya's method of using a synod was as a means of public discussion between the professors of the rival religions of India. In all probability the discussions, amicable enough under this tolerant monarch, relapsed into acrimonious disputes on his decease.

At all events, when Hwen Tsang's chronicle ends there is a blank of some centuries in the history of India. When the curtain again rises, Buddhism has disappeared.

Jainism, by some considered an older cult, alone survives.

HINDUISM.

The legitimate religion of Hindustan is a subject far more difficult to deal with than the cults at which we have been glancing. But it is impossible to pass on without saying a few words about it. We will confine our attention to the Pantheon and the Scriptures.

THE VEDIC CULT.

The Vedantic religion, or Vedism, as it may be called, seems to have had a kind of pentarchy of gods*—Indra, the rain god; Agni, the fire god; Surya, the sun god; Soma, the personified plant, from the worship of which arose the cult of the Dionysus of India; and Rudra, the destroyer. Some think that Varuna (Heaven), and perhaps other pre-Vedic gods, were also worshipped. Some also trace the germs of the later Hinduism to this early cult; Rudra is, indeed, evidently the predecessor of Siva.

This primitive cult, which seems to be little else than the old Aryan element-worship, had, of course, the Vedas for its Scriptures. The use of such a term must not blind us to the fact that the hymns, like the Homeric poems, were handed down orally, before writing was in vogue.

It is impossible to assign a date to this early period, but we are perhaps safe in attributing the development to a time previous to 1000 B.C.

BRAHMANIC VEDISM.

For the next period in the evolution of Hinduism

* We can make a pentarchy of deified elements—the rain, the fire, the sun, the heavens, the dawn (Usha?).

we cannot employ any more precise chronology than before. All we can say is that the phase is later than 1000 B.C. As the commentaries (Brahmanas) are for the most part in prose, which postulates a knowledge of writing, it would seem that we should date them considerably later than 1000 B.C. Besides the Brahmanas, the Scriptures of this late Vedism consist of Aranyakas, or Forest Books, esoteric literature for study in seclusion, and Upanishads or philosophical treatises. Here the series of inspired writings (hymns orally handed down, written hymns, commentaries general, esoteric, and philosophical) ends, and we come to the transition epoch, during which Buddhism mostly holds the field. We can see the genesis of the modern Hindu social system: when once a priest comes in, the evolution of the four castes starts quite naturally. To the warrior caste belongs the prince who used to be his own priest. The Vaisyas are those who belong to neither of these categories; the Sudras are the conquered aborigines, who, as we have seen, founded an Indian Empire far more glorious than that of their conquerors!

The later Hinduism has, as above stated, its roots in the Vedic cult. It was probably evolved during the process of opposition to Buddhism which marks—

THE GREAT TRANSITION (*circa* 500 B.C. to A.D. 200?).

We shall probably not be far wrong in ascribing to this transition epoch not only the rise of Buddhism, but the last efflorescence of Vedantic literature, the so-called Sutras (threads) or aphoristic condensations of the diffuse Brahmanas.

And possibly we may refer also to this epoch (and regard as a kind of link between the modern and the ancient schools) the Dharm Shastras, or legal codes, of which that of Manu is the best known and the most important.

THE LATER HINDUISM OF THE PURANAS.

The most remarkable point about the later development of the special creed of the Wonderland is the so-called Hindu Trinity. In this group are generally included Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer, in whom some recognize the Rudra of Vedantic times. Possibly the popular god Ganesha would be more appropriately grouped with the two deities whose worship is most prevalent (Siva and Vishnu). At all events, we must remember that Brahma has, or should have, no temples or graven images, and on the whole it seems a misnomer to speak of a Hindu Trinity. The worshippers of Vishnu and Siva both claim for their deity that he is the one god. To the educated Hindu, at all events, there is no such thing as polytheism—he only worships the one Supreme Being under different manifestations.

THE LATEST HINDUISM OF THE TANTRAS.

It is perhaps a mistake to speak of the Hinduism 'of' either the Puranas or the Tantras. These writings are, however, conveniently grouped into the last two phases of the national religion. The Tantras represent the decadence of Hinduism (indeed, a kind of religious licentiousness), and are referable to the latest epoch. I have, however, abstained from giving any dates except

conjectural ones for the transition, because the chronology is so absolutely uncertain.

THE REFORMERS.

No sketch of the religion of Hindustan, however slight, would be complete without a mention of the great reformers of mediæval and modern times.

RAMANANDA.

There is, perhaps, more interest attaching to Ramananda on account of his successors than for his own sake. He belongs to the fourteenth century, but his followers, Kabir and Nanak, the apostles of the Sikh* religion, to the sixteenth. To the latter century belongs an almost equally celebrated man, who was an adherent of the reformer's teaching, Tulshi Das, the author of the Hindi version of the 'Ramayana.' Another reformer, who, like Kabir and Nanak, was a contemporary of Luther, is the Bengali Chaitanya.

RAMMOHAN RAI.

It is significant that during the two centuries of Mahommedan supremacy under the great Moghals these restorers of Hindu monotheism should have had no imitators of any note. As the eighteenth century is verging to its close we come to a man who is considered by some as almost the founder of the science of comparative religion.

The indebtedness of his country—and, indeed, of the world—to Rammohan Rai is incalculable, and we may well close our remarks on the religion of the Wonder-

* The Sikh deity, or manifestation of the deity, is a book, their sacred volume the Granth.

land with a tribute to his memory. It was owing to him that the dreadful practice of Sati (Suttee) was abolished in India, and his eclectic religious teaching led to the foundation of the Indian Theistic 'Church' of the Brahma Samaj. The new Church was developed and led by the better-known reformer, Keshab Chandarsen, who only died in 1884. This celebrated man called upon all India to embrace Christ (from a Unitarian point of view) at a public meeting in Calcutta! A younger 'Church' is the Arya Samaj of Dyanand Saraswati.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIA, THE WONDERLAND OF THE EAST *(concluded)*

THE MORAL, ARTISTIC, AND INTELLECTUAL LEGACY *(concluded)*

SUMMARY.

The styles of Indian architecture—Wonders of decoration at Ahmadabad—The dream in marble—Altamish, Akbar, and Shah-Jahan as builders—The Indian Bible—Hindu history—The softening influence—The hardening influences—The troubles of the hour in India—The remedy.

INDIAN ART.

WE have no space for any description of the products of the 'morning land,' as the Germans beautifully call India. That subject in itself would demand an entire volume. The fabled wealth of the gorgeous East was, of course, largely imaginary, and the principal source of it, to the extent that it was real, to be traced in the unbounded industry and patience of its inhabitants, and the equally unbounded power and rapacity of its rulers. We may mention, however, that India's curious appendage, Ceylon, itself a little gem of the earth, is still the home of the pearl.

In the wealth which is more valuable than 'barbaric gold,' the indestructible productions of human genius, the Wonderland abounds.

It is perhaps well for us that we have no specimens of the painter's art remaining from the world's Golden Age; our feelings even as to the Hellenic genius might have received a shock! The shock would have been still greater in the case of India, and we may say, almost thankfully, that painting is not found at all on Indian soil. Indian art is best illustrated in buildings, and we may perhaps say that nowhere is the sister art of sculpture so emphatically the handmaid of architecture.

Following generally the lead of the great historian of the builder's art, we may enumerate the following five styles of Indian architecture: the Buddhist, the Jain, the Aryan Hindu, the Dravidian Hindu, and the Indian Saracenic. The Indian Saracenic has four principal subdivisions, which should be borne in mind by the tourist who wishes to appreciate the beauty and the historical value of the buildings which have survived the assaults of the destroyer (and the restorer!) in India. These subdivisions are the Early and Late Patan, and the Early and Late Moghal, styles, corresponding, of course, to the two Mahommedan Empires of which we have been treating.

If the reader should wish to accept the Chalukyan style of Mr. Fergusson, he will get a sixth style. It may be regarded as a link between the Hindu and Dravidian styles.

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST STYLE.

The churches (*chaitya*) and monasteries of the Buddhists must attract the cultured tourist independently of their artistic value. In the remains of the great monastery at Nalanda he will find, perhaps, materials for a mental picture of what that great building was like; it will assist him to follow Hwen Tsang in his wanderings. For five years the pilgrim resided in the company of many thousands of priests in an abode of marvellous beauty. If we can conjure up the vision of those richly decorated pavilions, the jade-work on the columns, and the light flashing from the many-hued glazed tiles of the roofs, we shall indeed wonder at the men of old time. Those who wish to follow the decadence of Buddhist art can do so by comparing the 'rails' at Sanchi, attributed to the first century of our era, with that at Bharut, or the earlier one at Buddh Gaya. At the latter place the rail is said to have been erected by Asoka himself in memory of the attainment under the famous tree of true Buddhahood, or enlightenment, by the founder of the religion.

THE JAIN STYLE.

While it may be difficult for anyone but an expert to distinguish Jain from Buddhist architecture on the one hand, and from Hindu work on the other, the most striking examples of the style have a pronounced individuality. There is a Jain temple on Mount Abu, the pendent roof of which recalls similar details in the so-called 'decadent' period of English Gothic, the Perpendicular or Third Pointed style. Mr. Fergusson gives the palm of superiority to the Indian building,

but the fan tracery vaulting may count for a good deal on the European side. Both may really be claimed as representing some of the most exquisite stone-work in the whole world. The critical observer may note that while Buddhist work is essentially 'square,' and avoids even the semblance of an arch, this feature is at least simulated in both Hindu and Jain buildings. In both of them, also, we find the sikra or spire, the proportions of which are often of an ideal beauty.

THE ARYAN HINDU STYLE.

It is exceedingly difficult to describe the characteristics of what should be the special architecture of India, as the variety of form is very great. At such different localities as Muttra, Udaipur, Khujaraho in Bundelkhand, and in Orissa, are found the best specimens of the style. When most artistic they will generally be found to belong to the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth centuries of our era, which seem to form a golden age of the building art all over the world. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the style is the exquisite symmetry of the sikra or spire, which has already been mentioned. Growing up further to the north, the Hindu style proper shows naturally more traces than the others of the influence of the Graeco-Bactrian and other hellenized kingdoms on the borders of India. The columniation often recalls the Greek orders; but the treatment is more free.

THE DRAVIDIAN STYLE.

More difficult to describe than any, the Dravidian style is still easily recognized by the tourist from its

localization ; its territorial limits are, roughly, those of the Madras Presidency. The massive character of the temples, some of them (as at Ellora) being hewed out of the solid rock, is relieved by the sculptured details, the display of which seems the principal object of the Dravidian artists. The buildings at Tanjore and Madura, etc., possess an acknowledged celebrity, and at Ramisseram, on the island of Paumber, is a temple which is one of the wonders of the world. Their mere dimensions place the Ramisseram corridors at the head of all similar buildings. Seven hundred feet of elaborate columniation in each corridor would produce a feeling of stupor in the beholder, even if his artistic senses were not gratified. But here, the ornamentation is chaste and free from the vulgarity which its date of execution—long after the Golden Age—might lead one to expect.

THE INDIAN SARACENIC.

While the reader will gather that each of these Indian architectural styles forms a subject in itself, the Indian Saracenic could not be adequately treated unless it were divided into at least four subdivisions. These subdivisions might be Early and Late Patan, and Early and Late Moghal, and are highly interesting from the historical as well as from the artistic point of view. The Early Patan, of which typical examples can be studied in the great mosques of Altamish (or Altamsh) at Delhi* and Ajmir, seems to reflect, like our own Early English, the young, fresh national vigour of the Turkish 'slaves,' who were suc-

* The mosque at Delhi was begun by Kutb-u-din, and bears his name.

The 'Vegetable' in Art at Ahmadabad 105

ceeding the Arabs in their own domain, and exchanging the rôle of servant for that of master. The Late Patan shows a severe simplicity in the north; but in the south, whither the glory of the first Empire seems to have departed when decadence set in at Delhi, some of the details, at least, show the most remarkable elaboration. In a rather tumble-down building at Ahmadabad I remember seeing a window which seems to be the most beautiful and successful instance of conventional ornamentation to be found anywhere. The forms given by Nature are modified to exactly the extent required to produce an absolutely satisfying effect. I hope the authorities are looking after this wonderful window, which seemed very much neglected when I was at Ahmadabad.

The Early Moghal architecture seems associated in the mind with the single name of Akbar, just as the Late Moghal style is associated with a single name also—that of his grandson Shah-Jahan. It seems a very short time for decadence definitely to set in, but sometimes these artistic revolutions take place quite suddenly. (The reader will understand that in the south Late Patan work runs into the Late Moghal period in the north—*i.e.*, until the conquest is complete.)

In the Indo-Saracenic style we have some of the most marvellous creations of human genius, among which the palaces and tombs of Delhi and Agra hold (in popular estimation) the first place. The best of the work seems to have been of an eclectic character, deriving some of its characteristics from nearly every source of influence with which it came in contact. The lovely gem inlay on white marble (*pietro duro*) is

possibly derived from Europe, having much in common with Florentine work, but it grew to greatest perfection on Indian soil. In the Taj Mahal (see below) the ornamentation is so profuse as to be almost meretricious, but in the palace at Delhi it is characterized by that moderation which is the essence of true art. This *pictro duro* work gives us the best dividing-line between the Early and Late Moghal styles, which may almost be called the styles of Akbar and his successors. The early period is, in fact, practically the reign of Akbar, and the architecture belonging to it is, like everything else connected with this extraordinary man, absolutely *sui generis*. If there be an Indian Pericles, it is surely this great Moghal, who certainly created an epoch for the building art in India, if in no other particular. The specimens of his style can be studied in Akbar's favourite residences at Allahabad and Fatehpur Sikri, and in his tomb at Secundra. As stated above, the gem inlay (or mosaic, as it may be termed colloquially) is the principal characteristic of the later Moghal work, which is as intimately connected with the name of Shah-Jahan as the earlier style is with that of Akbar.

We can only mention one work in this style (the magnificent buildings at Shahjahanabad [new Delhi] have already been referred to), the celebrated tomb of Shah-Jahan's favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal (or the Chosen of the Harem), the so-called

TAJ MAHAL.

Lovely beyond description, this world-renowned building has been said to lack virility; but is this a fair description of a building which might almost be

styled an embodiment in stone of the 'Eternal Feminine'? (*Das ewig weibliches ziehet uns an*).

The dying empress implored the heart-broken monarch to build her a tomb which should perpetuate her memory, and he would naturally sound 'the feminine note' in complying with her wishes. It has been well said by the historian of India (Talboys Wheeler, the only one, except, of course, Meadows Taylor, who seems to feel the romance of the Wonderland) that 'its walls are like muslin dresses, radiant with flowers and jewels, and its perforated gates like lace veils.' Decadence undoubtedly is, so to speak, a note to be heard in the music of that symphony in stone which enchants us where the royal lovers lie side by side in the wonderful tomb that seems to

'Lay death like a kiss upon their lips.'

It tells us that when the composer of this symphony had followed his queen to her gorgeous resting-place, the Golden Age of the second Empire had passed away. The decline had begun in the reign of the unnatural son, who followed his father to the grave with tears in his eyes and secret joy in his heart. All these sad memories seem but to increase the fascination of this masterpiece of Indian Saracenic building. Anyone who could appreciate the first sight of the 'dream in marble' on Jamna's bank, especially if he looked at it down the old avenue of cypresses which some Philistine 'improver' has cut down, would surely exclaim, 'If this be decadence, decadence let it be!'

* One can imagine a similar remark being made about some of our magnificent churches in the Perpendicular style—for instance, the choir of Gloucester.

LITERATURE.

We will make no attempt to give an account of the wonderful Sanskrit drama (towards the study of which such works as the 'Toycart' and Kalidasa's masterpiece ('Sakuntala') should attract all lovers of the beautiful). We will confine our attention to one work, the neglect of which is really more than astonishing, one is almost inclined to write scandalous—

THE 'RAMAYANA.'

It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the great epic of Valmiki (the Sanskrit), or rather of Tulshi Das (the Hindu version), is the most venerated book in the whole world. It combines the merits of a Shakespeare and a Bible. It is impossible to describe in a few words the wealth of poetry and moral teaching which this principal volume of the Hindu Scriptures contains. To understand the frenzy of enthusiasm which the great epic arouses in the mind of the simple villagers of India, it is necessary to have actually witnessed a theatrical performance of some part of it. For days before and after the representation the spectators simply live the drama themselves. They identify themselves with the principal characters, and feel a personal interest in their fate. The characters of Rama and Sita are in every way worthy of the admiration they excite—no more attractive pair can be found in the whole range of literature. Out of the materials here collected could be compiled dozens of dramas, and a whole series of pantomimes, for, of course, the fairy element largely predominates. If disposed to criticize some of the stories as childish, we

must remember that the literature belongs to the childhood of the world.

THE NUTSHELL PRESENTMENT.

It is hoped that what has preceded has been sufficient to give the reader some slight idea of the Wonderland and her glories. He will, perhaps, have been interested in picturing his own ancestors leaving the Russian Steppes (?) in company with those of Darius and of Vikramaditya, whoever that much-discussed king may be. He will have greeted the sectarian squabbles which caused the split in that important borderland—where neglect of the lessons of history* once sent a noble British army and British prestige to a common doom—with a smile, and thought how alike human nature is in all ages. He will have accompanied (in imagination) the Vedantic immigrants as they followed the sacred rivers in their downward course—it was Indra himself who led them on! We may hope that in musing over the history (?) revealed by the great epics, he has not been too eager to pin his faith to any one of the various theories propounded by scholars, but has kept an open mind. Down the banks of the great waterway he will have arrived, at all events, at the neighbourhood of that focus of early Indian history, Pataliputrapura. There all the wonders of the dawn period crowd upon the observer. The rise of Buddhism, and the revenge of the low-caste man for the contumely of the Brahmin and the 'sons of kings,' when he mounts the throne, are surely

* It will do so again if we let 'His Majesty' of Afghanistan get 'swelled head,' and fancy he is so very indispensable to us.

connected in some curious way. At all events, Brahminism could have little power in such an epoch, and we are not really surprised that the low-caste emperor adopts the Buddhist creed. How singular, if it be true, that the envoys sent by the Aryans to spread their faith and civilization in the now Aryan south should have responded by preparing a Hindu rehabilitation to work up northwards to the old capital. At all events, when the 'grandmotherly' Empire of Asoka declines, it is the power of those Southern Andhras which bolster up the tottering throne. But their religion is supposed—from their buildings—to be Buddhist, and they did not use coins.* Certainly Buddhism still holds the field; the northern councils, under the Indo-Scythian kings, rival those of the south. Buddhism, especially in the new and more popular form of the Greater Vehicle, is effective in humanizing and softening not only the low-caste kings, but the fierce non-Aryan invaders. It is not until these last have in their turn declined, that we get a legitimate successor to King Janaka (see India III.) and a genuine Hindu revival. No wonder that the Hindus took the names of the great Gupta kings for their era, and confused our minds as to chronology! This, then, is the great backbone fact of Hindu history: the Aryan Hindu has almost a millennium of hibernation, like the Semite in our last volume. The literature revives like the political power, and the Sanskrit drama is the legitimate 'successor' of the 'Mahabharata' and the 'Ramayana' on the intellectual throne of India.

* This problem of the Andhras is one, like countless others connected with their country, which we want Indian scholars to work out.

Just in the same way Æschylus succeeded to Homer in Greece, and in a similar Golden Age.

When, therefore, we admire Indian literature, let us keep in mind the two Golden Ages of the Hindus, and the long period which separates them.

When we admire Indian art we must be on the lookout for non-Aryan sources of it. When we read Indian history we must remember that the Mahommedans and ourselves are conquerors, and, though we may both have been invited* in, both in a sense invaders. When, therefore, we note how the two Mahommedan Empires and our own follow the Hindu collapse after Hwen Tsang's visit, we must recognize that this is, at all events, not *Hindu* history. The Mahratta revival is most emphatically Hindu history, and should be given its proper place in our text-books.

L'ENVOI.

Instead of allowing the Hindus to think that we (the followers of Mahommed and of Christ) want to combine to crush them, cannot we prove to them by our acts how grossly we have been misunderstood, and that, on the contrary, we want to help them, in concert, to a new rehabilitation? The first step towards that ideal is to 'know and understand'—towards that knowledge and that understanding it is hoped that these pages may be some slight contribution.

* The earliest Moslem settlement in Scinde seems to have been certainly *welcome* to the people; hence its importance.