

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Central Archaeological Library

NEW DELHI

Acc. No. 75557

Call No. 954.16/cho

49

HISTORY OF BIHAR

Government of India,
Ministry of S. & C. A.
Gazetteers Unit

Professor Kishorechandra Ghosh, M. A., D. Litt.

Professor, P. N. S. College, Patna,
Bihar, and formerly, Professor,
University of Calcutta, Calcutta

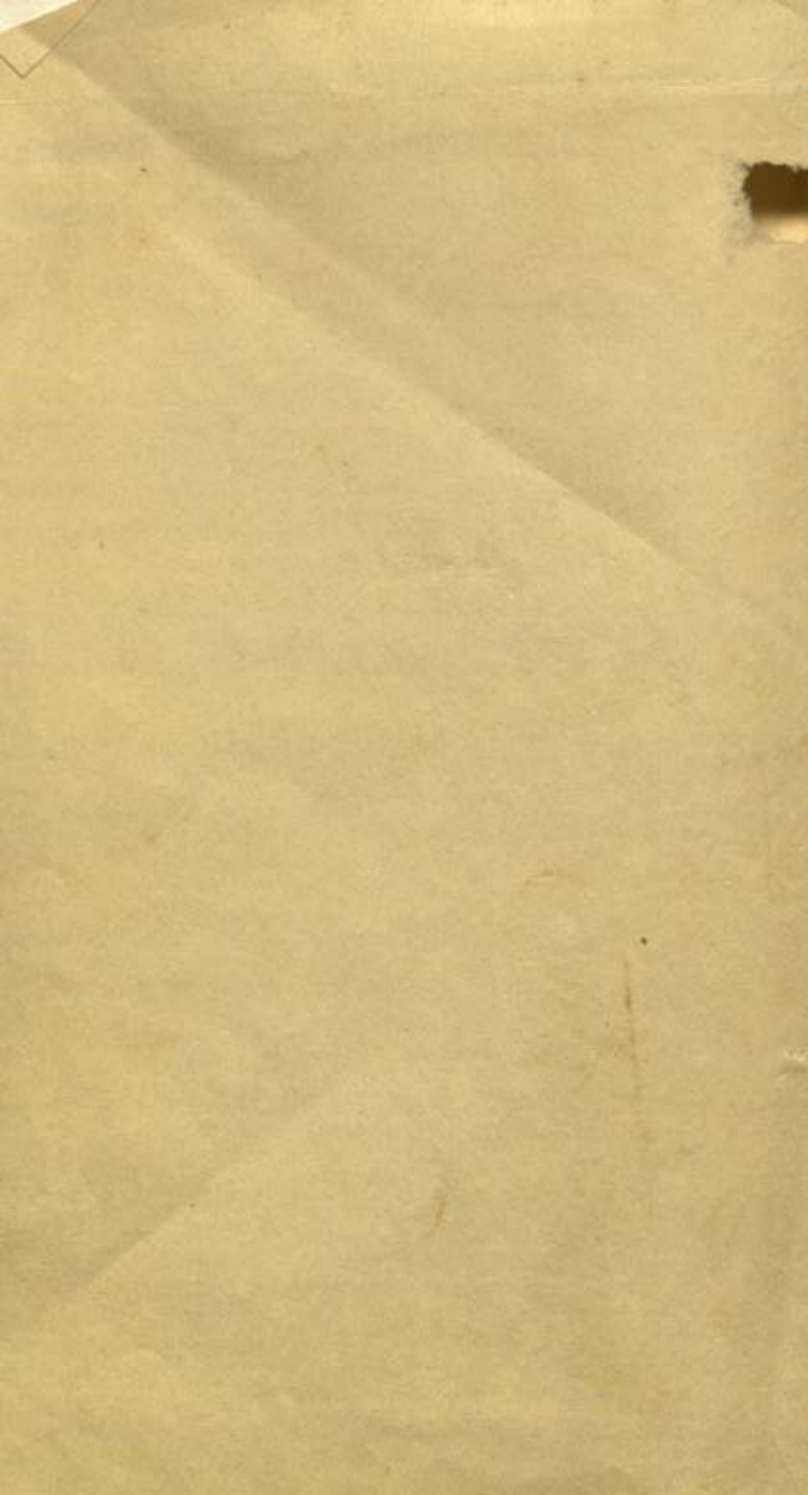
Formerly, Professor of History,
University of Calcutta,
Calcutta, India
and formerly, Professor,
University of Calcutta,
Calcutta, India

Government of India,
Ministry of S. & C. A.
Gazetteers Unit

MOYILAL BANARJIDASS

Proprietor, 10, Chitpore Road, Calcutta

Printed by the Government of India, Calcutta



HISTORY OF BIHAR

(With a Foreword by Dr. B. S. Tripathi

M. A. , Ph. D. (London), Hindu University, Banaras)

75557



By

Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary. M. A. (Pat),

Puransastri, F. R. A. S. (London)

Hindustani Culture Academy Prizeman

Head of the Department of History

Ganesh Datta College

Begusarai (Bihar)

Fellow, Bihar University

954.16

Cho

Selling Agents :—

MOTILALL BANARSIDASS

PUBLISHERS & BOOK-SELLERS

PATNA-4, BENARAS- & DELHI-6

Price Rs. 12.50

Published by
Smt. Shanti Devi
C/o Sri R. K. Choudhary
P. O. Madhipura (Bihar)

75557
विनायक. 13.5.88
विदेश सख्या. 954a.16/Cha.
नई दिल्ली

1958

All rights reserved by the author

Printed by:—

Page I—192 at Swatantra Nava Bharat Press Patna.
Page 193 onwards at Bharti Press Patna.
Title, Preface Etc. at Navajiwani Press Patna.

PREFACE

My primary aim in writing a Short history of Bihar has been to draw the attention of the scholars towards the necessity of having a complete, comprehensive & exhaustive history of our own people. The Study of our own history has been widely neglected in the past and even today it has hardly advanced beyond the experimental stage and, too frequently, it is a mere appendage and not, as it should be, a roundwork of the history of Bihar. We have forgotten the accumulated and transferred wisdom of our ancient seers and prophets and any attempt, though nominal, towards the revival of their contributions to progress, will help us to ensure a healthy outlook in understanding our own past and assessing our future.

Bihar needs no introduction to historical world. As sister Nivedita observes "The peculiar significance of Bihar in the comity of Indian people rises out of its position on the frontier line between two opposing spiritual influences. To this day it is the meeting place of Hinduistic & Mussalman civilisations.....All sorts of modified institutions, representing mutual assimilation, arise along the border-line. Costumes, language manners & habits of life are full of compromise....It has doubtless been this close contiguity of highly diversified elements within her boundaries that has so often made Bihar the birth place of towering political geniuses. (*Footfalls of Indian History-PP.57-58*)

An attempt to write the history of Bihar on such a scale as this was never made before. In a work such as this short history containing every aspect, the task of selection of topics is necessarily difficult and I must, therefore, ask the pardon of those readers whom I may, inadvertently, have offended by not including or by passing over lightly, events which are of special interest to them. The book is mainly a catalogue of political history and a brief summary of social, economic and cultural tradition has also been given.

I owe a word of apology to my readers. The book was written as early as 1948 and was ready for the press in 1949. It was sent to Dr. R. S. Tripathi of the Hindu University in 1949 and he kept it for about nine months. He was kind enough to go through it and make necessary suggestions. It was sent

to the press in 1951 and half of it was printed as early as 1952. Due to the shortage of antique paper, its publication was kept in abeyance till 1956-7, & in the meantime the press was shifted to Delhi. It was through the kind efforts of Sri Dewachand Jain that the publication was resumed in July 1957. Since 1951, there have been numerous discoveries on different periods of Bihar history & I feel that if any attempt was made to incorporate all of them, the size of the book would have been bulky beyond imagination. Since then, I have myself written three different volumes on three different aspects of Bihar history. Those works, when printed, will show how Bihar needs greater attention at the hands of our scholars. The work, for the present, may be taken as a pioneer one & I must frankly admit the defects characteristic of all such pioneer works. If it ever goes in print for the second time, I shall try to make necessary changes & additions, on various aspects, which have been roughly discussed here. Though myself a pioneer, I do not claim any originality & I am deeply indebted to all of them whose works, in any shape or form, have been utilised here. For the benefit of researchers on the subject, I have appended a list of few hundreds of articles, published on different aspects of Bihar history in different journals.

I sincerely acknowledge the encouragement and cooperation, ungrudging help and sacrifice, extreme confidence and faith in, my work which was extended to me by my teachers, well-wishers and friends. My thanks are due to Drs A. S. Altekar, K. K. Datta, P. K. Gode, D. C. Sircar, B. P. Sinha and Professors N. A. Gore, Librarian, Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, S. H. Askari of the Patna University, and Dr. Ramsaran Sharma who evinced a keen interest in my work & helped me in procuring some of the valuable books on the subject. I am also thankful to Principal G. D. Chakravarti of Muzark College, Sultanganj & Principal S. N. Singh of G. D. College, Begusarai, for their kind help & advice.

I must express my deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Ramashankar Tripathi, M. A., ph. D. (London), Principal, Central Hindu College, Banaras, an eminent historian and savant, who has laid me under a deep obligation by not only going through the work in manuscript but also by contributing a learned FOREWORD to this humble volume. I am very much thankful to Dr. Upendra Thakur, Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Patna University, my erstwhile colleague here, for kindly preparing the *Index* of this volume. My thanks are also due to Sri Kunjabehari Sharma of

the Chitrakala Studio, Begusarai, for having prepared the cover design & some photographs for the blocks. My thanks are due to my erstwhile students and now colleagues in, the Department, Profs. A. Kumar and Arun Kumar. In spite of my best effort's, the book could not be made free from evils of printing mistakes & for this I can at best crave the indulgence of my readers. I am grateful to Sri Dewachand Jain for having taken all the troubles in connection with the printing of this work.

Department of History and Ancient

Indian History and Culture

Ganesdatta College

Begusarai

Mahavira Jayanti, 1958.

Radhakrishna Choudhary

FOREWORD

Shri Radha Krishna Choudhary, M.A., Head of the Department of history, G. D. College, Begusarai, deserves congratulations on the completion of his book entitled 'History of Bihar'. Although much work has already been done on its early history, I believe this is the first attempt to give a connected and and succinct account of Bihar from remote antiquity to the present day. The author has vividly traced the rise and growth of its power, and how in the course of centuries it has passed through many upheavals and political vicissitudes. He has also depicted its social, economic and cultural life during the ages. It is a fascinating story indeed, full of splendours as well as tragedies. When scenes unfold themselves in the ancient past, we behold many remarkable personalities strutting on the stage, and their achievements in thought or action raised Bihar to a position of supreme importance. But as the drama of its history develops, it lapses into insignificance and monotony, unrelieved by any great event. In recent times, however, Bihar proved true to her glorious heritage by the noteworthy part it has played in the struggle for freedom. Such, in brief, is the long chequered history of Bihar, and it has been well treated in the pages which follow. Shri Choudhary displays in his work sound judgement, critical acumen and a commendable capacity for marshalling facts and expressing them in a lucid manner.

R. S. Tripathi

M. A., Ph. D. (London)

Professor & Head of the Department
of History & Principal
Central Hindu College,
Banaras Hindu University

FOREWORD

CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
(i) Preface	(1) - (iii)
(ii) Foreword	(v)
(iii) Contents	(vi) - viii
Chapter 1	
<i>Introduction</i>	1 - 16
- (a) Early history of Mithila,	
- (b) Early history of Vaishali,	
- (c) Anga, (d) Magadha,	
- (d) Two important ancient	
- cities—Rajgriha and Pataliputra—	
Chapter 2	19 - 32
<i>Emergence of Magadhan Imperialism.</i>	
- (a) Three great Religious Systems,	
(i) Jainism ; (ii) Buddhism,	
(iii) Ajivikas.	
- (b) Emergence of of Magadhan Imperialism—	
Chapter 3	33 - 52
<i>The Mauryan Empire</i>	
- (a) Political history	
(i) Asoka's Dhamma, (ii) Asoka's	
conception of kingship	
- (b) Disintegration of the Empire	
- (c) Mauryan administrative System	
(i) General; (ii) Administrative changes introduced	
by Asoka; (iii) Municipal and local administra-	
tion; (d) Social condition, (e) Classification of	
Asoka's Inscriptions.	
Chapter 4	53 - 57
<i>From the fall of the Mauryas</i>	
<i>to the rise of the Guptas—</i>	
- (a) The Sungas and the Kanvas.	
- (b) The Satvahanas	
- (c) The Kushanas—	

Chapter 5

58—74

The Gupta Empire

- (a) Political history,
- (b) Cultural life and administrative system

(i) General; (ii) Mauryan and Gupta Art
(iii) Administration, (iv) Fabien

- (c) Social and economic condition.
- (d) Decline of Buddhism.

75—85

Chapter 6

From the fall of the Guptas to the rise of the Palas

- (a) Political history
- (b) The University of Nalanda
- (c) Social condition
- (d) A brief account of the Chinese travellers who visited Bihar.
- (e) A survey of economic condition upto 7th century A. D.

86—127

Chapter 7

The Palas and Senas of Bengal and Bihar and the Karnatas of Mithila.

- (a) Political history—(i) The Palas—extent of Pala rule in North Bihar—Decline of the Palas; (ii) The Senas; (iii) The Karnatas of Mithila—Nanyadeva, Gangadeva, Narsinghadeva, Ramasinghadeva, Harasinghadeva.
- (b) Administrative system—(i) Pala and Sena administration; (ii) Administration of Mithila under the Karnatas.
- (c) Cultural history—(i) Cultural life during the Pala and Sena periods—(a) Vikramsila University, (b) Two Eminent Buddhist teachers of Bihar—(i) Shantirakshit and (ii) Dipankar Srigyan
- (c) Social and economic condition, (d) Art; (ii) Cultural life of Mithila under the Karnatas.
- Note—Length of the reign of the Karnatas.

128—182

Chapter 8

The Turko-Afghan period

- (a) Political history—
- (b) The Oinwaras of Mithila—Bhogiswara, Ganeshwara, Malik Arsalan, Virasingh and Kirtisingh Ghiasdeva, Alam shah, Nasrat Shah, Nasir Shah, Ibrahim Shah, Shiva Singh, Dronwara

King Puraditya, Padma Singh, Hari Singh, later rulers*

- (c) Expansion of Muslim power in Mithila (1193-1545) Bakhtiyar's control over a part of Mithila. Ali Mardan, Ghyasuddin Iwaz, Tughril Tughan Khan, Balban, Allauddin, Ghyasuddin Tugluq Haji Illyas of Bengal, Firuz Tugluq, Jaunpur's conquest of Mithila, Lodi conquest of Mithila, The Lohanis, Nasrat Shah, Babar. Humayun and Sherahab.
- (d) Organisation of Financial administration and economic condition during the Turko-Afghan period.
- (e) Cultural life during this period—(i) Administration; (ii) Social condition, (iii) Literature and Art - Vidyapati.

Chapter 9

183—222

The Mughal Period

- (a) Political history—Babar, Shershab and Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, (a) The Cheros, (b) Vain attempts of Hindu princes; Aurangzeb,
- (c) Tirhut, (d) Allivardi's regime in Bihar (i) Maratha invasion, (iii) Civil war and the Afghan rising.
- (b) Administrative system—
 - (i) Shershab's administration—
 - (ii) Administration of Bihar during the Mughal period—
 - (iii) Revenue administration—
 - (iv) Decline—
- (c) Trade, Industries and commerce—
- (d) Cultural life—
- (e) Bihar through the foreign eyes—

Chapter 10

223—283

The British Period

- (a) English Settlement in Bihar
- (b) From the death of Allivardi to battle of Plassey—
- (c) Bihar after the battle of Plassey—
 - (i) Bihar under Mirkasim—
 - (ii) After the fall of Mirkasim—
 - (iii) Economic condition—
 - (iv) Warren Hasting and after—Administration—
 - (v) After 1785

— See my separate book on the subject - "History of Muslim rule in Tirhut" (1200-1765 A. D.)

--Nepal war

(vi) Bhagalpur in the 19th century.

(vii) Indigo and Sugar Industry in Tirhut—

—(d) A brief survey of our economic history during the British period—

—Saltpetre Indigo and Sugar, Trade Centres, Export and Import, Craft in Tirhut, Buchanan's survey report—(i) Agriculture, (ii) Industry.

—(e) The Industries of Bihar

—(1) Patna Division, (2) Tirhut Division, (3) Bhagalpur Division (4) Chotanagpur Division.

—(f)—(i) Santhal Outbreak

(ii) Sepoy mutiny.

Chapter 11

284 - 325

Our Own Times

—(a) The Bengal Renaissance—

—(b) Our Struggle for independence—

(i) National movement

(ii) The makers of modern Bihar—Khudabaksh, Bisheshwar Singh and Shaligram Singh, Maharaj Lakshmeshwar Singh and Rameshwar Singh, Mazharul Haque, Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Dr. Sachidanand Singh, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others.

(iii) Agitation for the Separation of Bihar

—(c) Growth of Education.

—(d) Constitutional history since 1815—

—Provincial administration—

—National movement and constitutional progress.

—The local self Government—

326 - 424

Appendix

(a) Chronology of kings, dynasties & governors who ruled Bihar.

(b) Chronology of event with approximate dates—

(c) Synchronistic Table

(d) Bihar Bibliography.

(e) Plates (32 plates)

(f) Index—

Works by the same author—

- King Puraditya, Padma Singh, Hari Singh, later rulers*
- (c) Expansion of Muslim power in Mithila (1193-1545) Bakhtiyar's control over a part of Mithila. Ali Mardan, Ghyasuddin Iwaz, Tughril Tughan Khan, Balban, Allauddin, Ghyasuddin Tugluq Haji Ilyas of Bengal, Firuz Tugluq, Jaunpur's conquest of Mithila, Lodi conquest of Mithila, The Lohanis, Nasrat Shah, Babar, Humayun and Shershah.
 - (d) Organisation of Financial administration and economic condition during the Turko-Afghan period.
 - (e) Cultural life during this period—(i) Administration; (ii) Social condition, (iii) Literature and Art—Vidyapati.

Chapter 9

183—222

The Mughal Period

- (a) Political history—Babar, Shershah and Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, (a) The Cheros, (b) Vain attempts of Hindu princes; Aurangzeb,
- (c) Tirhut, (d) Allivardi's regime in Bihar (i) Maratha invasion, (iii) Civil war and the Afghan rising.
- (b) Administrative system—
 - (i) Shershah's administration—
 - (ii) Administration of Bihar during the Mughal period—
 - (iii) Revenue administration—
 - (iv) Decline—
- (c) Trade, Industries and commerce—
- (d) Cultural life—
- (e) Bihar through the foreign eyes—

Chapter 10

223—283

The British Period

- (a) English Settlement in Bihar
- (b) From the death of Allivardi to battle of Plassey—
- (c) Bihar after the battle of Plassey—
 - (i) Bihar under Mirkasim—
 - (ii) After the fall of Mirkasim—
 - (iii) Economic condition—
 - (iv) Warren Hasting and after—Administration—
 - (v) After 1785

— See my separate book on the subject — "History of Muslim rule in Tirhut" (1200-1765 A. D.)

--Nepal war

(vi) Bhagalpur in the 19th century.

(vii) Indigo and Sugar Industry in Tirhut --

—(d) A brief survey of our economic history during the British period—

—Saltpetre Indigo and Sugar, Trade Centres, Export and Import, Craft in Tirhut, Buchanan's survey report—(i) Agriculture, (ii) Industry.

—(e) The Industries of Bihar

—(1) Patna Division, (2) Tirhut Division, (3) Bhagalpur Division (4) Chotanagpur Division.

—(f)—(i) Santhal Outbreak

(ii) Sepoy mutiny.

284 - 325

Chapter 11

Our Own Times

—(a) The Bengal Renaissance—

—(b) Our Struggle for independence -

(i) National movement

(ii) The makers of modern Bihar - Khudabaksh, Bisheshwar Singh and Shaligram Singh, Maharaj Lakshmeshwar Singh and Rameshwar Singh, Mazharul Haque, Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Dr. Sachidanand Singh, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others.

(iii) Agitation for the Separation of Bihar

—(c) Growth of Education.

—(d) Constitutional history since 1815 -

—Provincial administration—

—National movement and constitutional progress.

—The local self Government—

326 - 424

Appendix

(a) Chronology of kings, dynasties & governors who ruled Bihar.

(b) Chronology of event with approximate dates—

(c) Synchronistic Table

(d) Bihar Bibliography.

(e) Plates (32 plates)

(f) Index -

Works by the same author—



CHAPTER I

Introduction:—Our history goes back to the primitive civilisation of the old stone and copper age. We find the remnants of that civilisation even today. From the pre-historic time right up to the present moment, our history is a process of continuous growth, though there have been certain periods of decadence. It was an important centre of civilisation. Our history practically begins with the coming of the Aryans. The Aryans were agriculturist and knew the use of fire. The Aryans were divided into various tribes and during the early period of their arrival, they were democratic in character. Nabhanedistha, son of Manu, founded an Aryan kingdom here. The most important king of this dynasty was Vishal, after whose name the city of Vaishali was established. The official priest of this dynasty belonged to the Angiras Gotra. Mithila was Aryanised by Mathava Videgha. King Anga established the Anga kingdom. Videha was first to be Aryanised in the east. Magadha remained outside the pale of Brahmanical civilisation for a long period. We contributed much to the development of Indo-Aryan culture.

Our contribution to the development of vedic literature is also remarkable. Anga, Magadh and Mithila played an important role in the evolution of vedic culture and civilisation. Certain points of

religion and philosophy found expression in our land. King Janaka of Mithila and Jarasandh of Magadh were addressed as Samrat. They exercised sovereign authority over a great part. It is said about Jarasandh that he had imprisoned in his cell a large number of rulers of various countries. We contributed the imperial system of administration to the Indo-Aryan culture. According to Mahabharat, Gayatri originated in south Bihar. Gayatri is the backbone of vedic worship. A part of Yajurveda was compiled in Mithila by Yajnavalkya. Viswamitra, the great sage is associated with our land and it is here that he obtained the fulfilment of his highest desire. He performed his austerities on the river Kausiki and acquired the designation of Maharsi. The predominance of the Vasisthas in Bihar is amply demonstrated by the Buddhist literature. The Vratya-hymn of Atharva-veda¹ is also attributed to Magadha. Other vedic seers, viz., Rsi Dirghatamas, his son Kaksivan and the latter's daughter Ghosa contributed to the development of vedic culture. Mahabharat places Dirghatama at Rajagriha. Ghosa was married very late. Anga and Magadha were well known to Atharva-veda and Gopatha Brahmana. Mithila was well known to Satpatha Brahmans. The four main centres of civilisation were Mithila, Vaishali, Anga and Magadha.

(a) **Early history of Mithila.**² Mithila was

1. See Author's forthcoming publication on the "Vratyas"
 2. Based on writer's paper published in the JBRS.

the centre of earliest Brahmanical civilisation. There is no particular reference about it in the vedas. It is quite likely that in course of Aryan expansion, it might have taken a long time to establish the Aryan supremacy in the east. It is perhaps the only centre which has been able to preserve its cultural continuity since the beginning of Aryan civilisation. It has not till now lost the tradition of its brilliant culture of the past. While certain eastern tracts remained outside the pale of Aryan civilisation, the full Aryanhood of the people of Videha is readily accepted. The Videhans had their capital at Mithila. Book one of the Satpatha Brahmana relates a legend in which three stages of the eastward migration of the Aryans can be clearly distinguished. Mathava, the king of Videgha, whose family priest was Gautama Rahugana, was at one time on the Saraswati. Agni Vaiswanara thence went burning along the earth towards the east, followed by Mathava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadanir (Gandak), which he did not burn over. It is to Videgha Mathava that the Brahmanisation of this region is attributed and he is probably its earliest recorded monarch.

The origins of Videha and Mithila are purely mythical. The Vishnu purana gives the following origin of Mithila—"Nimi, the son of Ishvaku, instituted a sacrifice, and asked Vasistha to preside. Vasistha replied that he had already been engaged by Indra in a sacrifice. Nimi made no

answer and Vasistha thought that he had agreed and went away. Nimi employed Gautama and other Rsis and started his sacrifice. Vasistha came in all haste to Nimi but finding Gautama and others employed, he cursed Nimi that he should thenceforth cease to exist in a corporal form. He cursed Vasistha in turn and both abandoned their human bodies." After Nimi's death, the Rsis agitated his body and a boy was produced and was named Mithi (product of churning) who succeeded his father and his country came to be known as Mithila. Mithi was self-born, so his successors came to be known as Janaka, meaning, self born. According to Mithilakhand of Brhad-Vishnupurana, Videha means one whose body is gone. According to Panini, Mithila is the town where the enemies are crushed. The above story about Mithila displays the hold of the priestly class over the Aryan kings and also the fact that the Aryans in India were acquainted with the Egyptian custom of embalming the dead bodies.

From Ramayan we learn that Siradhwaj Janaka made his position secure in Mithila by killing one Sundhanvana, the Sankasya and placing his brother Kusadhwaj on his (Sudhanvana's) throne. This fact has also been attested by Vishnupurana and as such the statement made in Bhagwat that Kusadhwaja was the son of Siradhwaj is rejected. King Janaka of Upnishadic fame was a direct descendant of Siradhwaja Janaka. It is stated the Divodas defeated a Maithil king. Kausalya king Para Atnara

Hairanyanabha conquered Videha and this shows that once Kosala and Videha were united. That is why Videha had some aversion for Kosala. Egge-ling is of opinion that the people of Kosala and Videha claimed Videgha Mathava as their common ancestor but the two branches were separated by river Sadanir. Videha constituted the extreme east of the Aryan lands. In the face of non-availability of facts and other corroborative evidences, it is very difficult to locate these stray references in the political history of Mithila. This much is certain that in course of time, the Videhan monarchy succeeded in establishing a powerful empire.

During the time of king Janaka, Videha was at the apex of its glory. He was a contemporary of king Dasrath of Ayodhya and king Pramati of Vaisali. He concluded a matrimonial alliance with the king of Ayodhya. Janaka was the most popular king of his time. The Brahmanical system was fully stabilised in Videha. His court was thronged with Brahmanas from the Kuru-Panchal country. Brhdaran-yaka upnishad is full of praise for him. If the theory of the eastern origin of white Yajurveda be accepted, it is quite likely that it must have originated in the land of Videha. The famous philosophical discourse took place in Videha and king Janaka also took a leading part in that. He was renowned for his munificence. At the Aswamedha sacrifice, he sought to know as to who was the wisest man in the sacred assembly and offered prize of one thousand cows to

be presented to the man who proved himself to be the wisest. Yajnavalkya defeated all, won the prize and became the preceptor of the king. In Book Eleven of the Satpatha Brahmana, there is a repeated mention of the same story of how king Janaka confounds the priests by his knowledge and finding not a single satisfactory answer, he remarks even upon Yajnavalkya that the true meaning of Agnihotra, or fire sacrifice, had not yet dawned. Yajnavalkya betakes himself to king Janaka and begs to be instructed by him. In the mantra period, Videha took a leading part in the development of vedic culture. Brhad-ranyak Upnishad gives another instance of a dialogue between Maitreyi and Yajnavalkya at his court and these dialogues point to the great erudition of Maithil women of our ancient time. Mithila was one of the flourishing towns. From Mahabharat we learn that king Janaka disputes with nun Sulabha. According to Sabhaparvan, Bhima, after the accession of Yuddhisthir, defeated the king of Videha in course of his Digvijaya. Karna is also said to have conquered Mithila. Krishna with Bhimasena and Arjuna visited Mithila on his way from Indraprastha to Rajgriha. According to Dr. S. N. Pradhan Shreekrishna Vasudeva went to Mithila to see his Brahmana friend Srutadeva and there he found Vahulasva reigning. Vahulasva was a descendant of Sirdhwaj Janaka. According to Venaparva Kausiki formed the eastern boundary of Mithila. Vishwamitra attained his Brahmanhood on the Kausiki. During the Mahabharat war, Videha was an ally of Kuru.

The Maithil king Ksemadhurti fought for Duryodhan against the Pandavas. He is mentioned as Ksemari in Vishnu Purana and Ksemadhi in Bhagwat-Purana. Why did the king of Mithila fight against the Pandavas? According to Adiparva, Pandu, the father of the Pandavas, had conquered Mithila and had incurred the wrath of Maithil king. According to Sabha-parva, Bhima and Karna had attacked Mithila and Nepal. All these acts of aggression had irritated the Maithil king, who was waiting for an opportunity. Duryodhan was well-known in Mithila, where he learnt Gada-Vidya or the science of Mace, for which Mithila was famous in those days. During the course of war, Balram, the preceptor of Duryodhan, took shelter in Mithila. In this war Videhan king Kritakshana Janaka was killed.

According to Mahamallaummagga Jataka, the great city of Mithila was composed in part of four suburbs extending beyond each of its four gates, and called not Gamas but Nigamas. These were named respectively east, west, south and north "market-towns". From Jatakas, we learn that the kingdom of Videha had 10,000 villages. It was frequented by merchants and during the time of Buddha, people came from Sravasti to sell their wares in Videha. From Jataka (volume 4) it appears that polygamy was in vogue. Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, declined to give his daughter Sumedha in marriage to a Videhan prince who had large number of wives. The Maithil kings were men of high

culture. In the time of Buddha we find Sumitra, the king of Mithila devoted to the study of true law. The Videhan prince used to be educated at Taxila (Jatak—Vol. vi). Videha was famous for sword manufacture. Mahaummagga Jataka No. 539 mentions king Janaka of Videha, where he is said to have pronounced, "though the whole of Mithila burns, nothing of mine burns".

With the disappearance of the Parikshitas, interest is transferred to the kingdom of Videha. There is evidence of long rivalry between Videha and Kasi, whose king Ajatsatru was exceedingly jealous of Janaka's fame. The Kasi kingdom had a powerful hand in overthrowing the Videhans. Among the sixteen Mahajanpadas, Videha was an important kingdom. After Janaka Kritakshan, Ugrasena or Vahulasva became another important king of Mithila. He was a great patron of learning and philosophy. Learned philosophers from far off countries assembled at his court. The Arthasastra records the downfall of the last of the Janakas, Karala, by name. Karala lost his throne as a punishment for an assault on a young Brahman wife. After him the kingship was abolished and replaced by a republic. Videhas joined the confederacy of the Vajjis. It was in the Buddhist period that Mithila and Vaishali merged into one. During that period the Maithils used to go to Suvarnabhumi for trade.

In the Buddhist literature, Videha is mentioned as a republic. Vajjis existed when Mahavir died.

Kautilya mentions Lichchavis separately and means by the Vrijjis the Videhas only. Videhas are treated as republicans by Patanjali. The Vrijjian oligarchy replaced the old monarchical rule of Videha and the centre of political gravity shifted from Janakpur to Vaishali, though Mithila continued to maintain the progress of her cultural autonomy in full swing. The Kalpasutra tells us that Mahavir spent his rainy seasons at Champa, Sravasti, Vaishali, Mithila and Rajgriha. Even during that period, its cultural fame spread far and wide. We learn from Jain-sutras that Mahavir was a Videha and his most famous resort was Mithila, where he spent his six monsoons.

Ajatsatru conquered Vaishali and occupied Tirhut. Vaishali continued its influence on Mithila for a long time. During the time of Asoka, Buddhist priests from Magadha and Tirhut went in large numbers to preach Buddhism in Tibet.

(b) **Early history of Vaishali** :—It is said that Rsbha after making over his region to Bharat retired in his old age at Salgrama on the Gandaki. According to the legends the cult-struggle of Saiva-Vaisnava character between the worshippers of Aja-Ekpada (Rudra in elephant form) and Kurma (tortoise incarnation of Vishnu) originated in the Vaishali region. The present Hariharkshetra is an indication of the same. According to Puranic version Vaishali held sway over Malava for some time.

Srimad Bhagwatpurana gives the following chronological list of the kings of Vaishali :—(1) Dishta, (2) Bhalandan, (3) Vatsapriti, (4) Pransu, (5) Pramati, (6) Khantira, he was a dutiful king, (7) Chaksus, (8) Vivin-sati, (9) Rambh, (10) Khanimitra, (11) Karandhama, (12) Avikshit, (13) Marutta, (14) Dama, (15) Rajyandhana, (16) Sudhriti, (17) Nara, (18) Bandhunana, (19) Begbana, (20) Bandha; (21) Trnbindu (his wife was Alambusha), (22) Vishal, (23) Hemchandra, (24) Dhrumaksh, (25) Sanjam, (26) Krisanasva and Somadatta, (27) Sumati and (28) Janmejaya (Bhagwatpurana, 9th Skanda, chapter 2, sloka 33-36)

Khanitra renounced the throne. He was childless and had adopted one Karandhama of Turvasa family. Karandhama proved to be a powerful king. In the Asvamedhaparva of Mahabharat he has been highly spoken of. He was assisted by Angira priests. In order to strengthen his position, he concluded matrimonial alliance with Prince Hemchandra and the kings of Kasi, Anga and Vanga. In the same way he maintained his connection with Vidarbha and Malwa. The rule of this family came to an end with Rastra-Vardhan, a philosopher king. The house of Trnbindu supplanted the house of Karandhama. He was a local prince who rose to eminence by sheer dint of his merit. He was succeeded by his son Vishal, who founded the city of Vaishali. Pramati was a contemporary of Ram. After Pramati,

Vaishali was annexed to Kosala. After the decay of Kosalan hegemony, Vaishali came under the sway of Mithila. After the disintegration of the Videhan monarchy, the entire area was broken into a number of aristocratic republics with Vaishali as the federal capital.

Vaishali consisted of three distinct portions viz. Vaishali, Kundagama and Vaniyagama. According to Valmiki (Balkanda—Chap. 47, x. 11-2) it was founded by Ikshvaku. It was an excellent town, a veritable heaven. In Buddha's time, it was encompassed by three walls. It was a populous and prosperous town. It was proud, charming and delightful. Crowded with many people, adorned with buildings of every description, towers and palaces and numerous gardens and groves (Lefman, Lalitvistar, chap. 3, P. 21). In the sixth century B.C. the Lichchavis emerged as the most important political power. The earliest political fact about them is that they gave one of their daughters in marriage to Bimbisara of Magadha. They were also on friendly terms with the Kosala king Prasenjit and the Mallas. They were defeated by Ajatsatru. They enjoyed suzerainty during the Mauryan period.*

The history of Vaishali is very important from the administrative point of view. It was an oligarchical republic. Citizenship was confined to the

*For a detailed discussion about the history of Vaishali, please refer to my paper "A peep into the Early History of Vaishali" published in the "Journal of Oriental Studies" Vol. I, No. 2, of 1949 (Bombay).

members of the confederate clans. Hoernle is of opinion that the governmental authority in Vaishali was vested in a senate which consisted of the head of the resident Kshatriya clans and was presided over by a king assisted by a Viceroy and a commander-in-chief. According to Stevenson, it resembled a Greek state. Each citizen had the right to call himself a Raja, which was regarded as a synonym for Kshatriya. The Sanghas or corporations were united and hence unconquerable. The public hall was known as Santhagar. They met there to hold religious and political discussions. The elders were highly respected. There was an officer known as Regulator of Seats. His duty was to see that the members sit in order of seniority. All matters were settled by majority vote. A quorum was fixed for the meeting. The Nayaka or the Chief Magistrate was elected by the people. He was an executive officer and carried out the decisions of the Assembly. The Vinichay-Mahamatta enquired and examined the accused and his duty was to ascertain the guilt. They evolved a system of polity and government which was unique in the history of the then world. The Buddha had predicted that the Lichchavis could not succumb as long as the members met in concord, carried on their business in concord, enacted nothing that was not already established and acted in accordance with the ancient institution of Vaishali. (Dialogues of Buddha, Vol. II, P. 80). Vaishali was an important centre of Buddhism. Lord Buddha visited

Vaishali on several occasions. The Second Buddhist Council was held here. (Vide Author's "Siddharth".)

The Lichchavis were very hospitable. In case of a foreigner visiting the capital, they would go in a body to receive him. They wore coloured garments, (Mahavastu-I. P. 259). It is said that eighty-four thousand conveyances went out of the city of Vaishali. They were hardy and active and independent in their character. They sent their children in distant countries for education. They cremated and buried the dead and sometimes exposed. Banking was evidently a prominent feature.

(c) **Anga** :—Till now very little is known about the actual history of Anga, which included the modern districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. According to Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, 1871, P. 476), the territory now included in Monghyr district formed part of the Madhyadesa or "midland" of the first Aryan settlers. Mudgagiri, mentioned in Mahabharat, was the capital of a kingdom in Eastern India near Vanga and Tomralipta (Mahabharat, chapter VI. 29). According to Digvijayaparva, Monghyr was a monarchical state during early times. According to Sathaparva, Bhima, after defeating Anga king Karna, fought a battle at Mudgagiri and killed its chief. At the dawn of history, Anga was the country to the east of Magadh and west of the chieftains who dwelt in the Rajmahal hills. Pargiter is of opinion (JASB—1897-95) that Anga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and also extended

northwards up the river Kausiki and included the western portions of the district of Purnea. The area lying north of the Ganges was known as Anguttarap. Kasyapa Vibhandaka had his hermitage on the river Kausiki. His son Rishya Sringa was beguiled by the courtesans of Anga into a boat and brought down the river to the capital. Modagiri and Kausiki-Kachcha had rulers who are distinguished from Karna whose realm (Anga) clearly lay between the Magadhas and the Parvatvasins (Rajmahal Hills). The Anga dominion at one time included Magadha and Shantiparva refers to an Anga king who sacrificed at Mount Visnupada.

Anga had its capital at Champa which is identified with modern Bhagalpur. Till the time of Buddha, it was considered to be one of the six great cities of our land. It was noted for wealth and commerce. Both Anga and Magadha struggled hard for supremacy and in this contest Anga succeeded and annexed Magadha. On the authority of a Jataka, it is said that Rajgriha formed a part of Anga. Brahmadatta, the king of Anga, defeated the Magadhan king. King Bimbisara of Magadha finally defeated and killed Brahmadatta and annexed Anga. The success of Anga did not last long. Anga became an integral part of the growing Magadhan Empire. In the time of Buddha, the Raja of Anga was simply a wealthy nobleman, of whom nothing is known except that he granted a pension to a Brahmana. (Rhys Davids—

Buddhist India—P. 23-24). Lord Buddha is said to have visited Auguttarap, a flourishing Janapada and an important centre of trade. In Mahajanaka Jataka reference is made to voyages between Champa and Suvarnabhumi. The people of Anga colonised Annam and named it Champa. It flourished for several centuries.

(d) **Magadh** :—Magadha had its two ancient capitals at Girivraj and Pataliputra. It had a unique history of its own. The discovery of terracotta figurines leads us to believe that it was the centre of Pre-Aryan civilisation. During the course of early Aryan expansion, it was not Aryanised and thus remained outside the pale of Aryan civilisation. The orthodox Brahmanical literature condemns Magadha as the land of low castes and it is looked upon with aversion by the Vedic Aryans. Manus did not include Magadha in the list of Brahmanical lands. The name does not occur in the Rigveda. The word "Kikata" in the Rigveda has been taken to mean Magadha by the vedic scholars. Magadha belonged to the Munda and non-Aryan group. According to Aiteraya Brahmana, Vanga, Magadha and Chera people did not belong to the Aryan group. Recent historical researches have shown that Kikatas were a non-Aryan people and were the inhabitants of Magadha. Some scholars link Magadhan civilisation with the Indus valley civilisation. The strength and superiority of its civilisation checked the growth of Aryanism in this part of our land.

Some scholars have associated Magadh with Vratya civilisation. The Magadhans were democratic in character.

Brihadratha founded the earliest ruling dynasty of Magadha. He founded the city of Girivraja or Vasumati (Rajgriha). The most important king of this dynasty was Jarasandha who was despotic and strong. He snatched away various provinces of other kings and kept them in prison. He was a contemporary of Dhritrastra. His empire extended up to Mathura and Bharatpur in the west and Kalinga, Vanga and Pundra in the east. His son-in-law, Kansa, created havoc in Surasena. The people, being very much annoyed with his tyranny, rose against him under Vasudeva Krishna. Kansa was killed. The Yadavas in Matsya revolted against Jarasandha. Krishna and Pandavas made an alliance with Yadavas, defeated and killed Jarasandha and liberated all the imprisoned monarchs. This gave a new life to many of the suppressed kings who hailed the Pandavas as the liberators. The Pandavas gave the Magadhan kingdom to Jarasandh's son, Sahdeo. King Viswajit of Anga was a contemporary of Jarasandah.

Two important ancient cities

(e) **Rajgriha** :—It was also known as Kusagrapura or the royal city of best grass. It had very old buildings which showed a mature culture and a high standard of art and craftsmanship. According to Hardy, it was so called because every house resem-

bled a palace. In the early Hindu period, it was known as Girivraja. It came into prominence during the Buddhist period. Formerly it was the capital of Magadha. Before Jarasandha, Pandu attacked and killed the king of Magadha. It became powerful during the time of Jarasandha. It was extremely beautiful. It was adorned with five mansions. It was full of cattle and free from all dangers. The five hills viz., Vaibhara, Varaha, Vrsabha, Rsigiri and Chaityaka, protected the city. There were many beautiful shops. The Puranas regarded it as a sacred city. During the time of Bimbisar it was the centre of Jainism. Ajatsatru repaired the city. Mahavir spent his time here and is said to have converted Bimbisar to Jainism at Rajgriha. Buddha also spent his time here and the great Mahaparinibban-sutta was delivered here. After Buddha's death, the first Buddhist council was held here. It was considered by Anand to be one of the few cities where Buddha could attain Nirvana. Aswaghosh spoke highly of this city.

Pataliputra :—It came into prominence after Girivraja. It was not a big city when Rajgriha was flourishing. It succeeded Rajgriha as the capital of Magadha and this took place after the death of Buddha. It is said that Udayin founded Kusumpore on the south bank of the Ganges which was later on identical with Pataliputra or the fortress of Patal built by Ajatsatru as a protection against the Vajjian confederacy. From a drama of Bhasa, it appears that

Darsaka gave his sister in marriage to the king of Vatsa country to hold in check a confederacy of kings, probably of North Bihar, in order to watch these enemies more effectively and also to take advantage of the river high way for the commerce which was fast increasing. Owing to the intercourse with the west, Pataliputra was selected as capital. According to Mudraraksas, Kusumpore was another name for Pataliputra. Megasthenes's Palimbothra is identified with Pataliputra. During the time of Asoka, the Buddhist council was held at Pataliputra. It was a great city with massive walls and palaces. It was the most important place for learned disputations. It was, to all intents and purpose, the centre of imperial ideas.

Trade and commerce were also carried on efficiently. The growth of political unity gave an impetus to the development of trade. The trades people had their own guild. No work, small or great, was looked upon with hatred. The dignity of labour was highly valued. For trade, the people used to go out in far off countries. A new development in our politics is clearly traceable from the sixth century B.C. A large number of powerful kingdoms grew up till at last one great monarchy swallowed up the rest and then laid the foundation of a great empire. Pataliputra remained the Imperial capital of India for centuries.

CHAPTER II

EMERGENCE OF MAGADHAN IMPERIALISM

(A) **Three great Religious Systems** :—Before dealing with the emergence of Magadhan Imperialism, it will be better to deal with the rise and development of two important religious systems. In politics we pronounced the philosophy of freedom and in religion the philosophy of universal brotherhood. It is in our land that the two great religious systems, viz. Jainism and Buddhism, were pronounced.

(i) **Jainism*** :—Vardhamana Mahavir was the founder of this religion. The name of his father was Siddharth, a Jnatrika chief of Kundapura and the name of his mother was Trisala, a Kshatriya lady. We do not know much about his early life. He left home at the age of thirty and wandered as naked ascetic in several countries of Eastern India. He practised penance for twelve years. In the thirteenth year of his penance, he gained the higher spiritual knowledge and became the head of a sect called "Nigranthas" (free from fetters). His followers came to be known as Jainas from the "Jinas"

*He is said to have been born at Vaishali, but the point is still controversial. For his birth place, see writer's article in the List and Summaries of Paper, Ahmedabad Session of the All India Oriental Congress, 1953.

(conquerors). For three years he roamed about as a religious teacher and died at Pava at the age of seventy-two. He emphasised on the vow of Brahmacharya and the need of discarding all external things including garments. He propounded three-fold paths, viz., right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. He did not give any place to a supreme creative spirit rather he emphasised on the purity of soul. He attached much importance to the doctrine of non-injury. Later on, his sect was divided into two branches viz., Svetambar and Digambar. In the fourth century B.C. a famine broke in south Bihar, as a result of which an important section of the Jainas headed by Bhadrabahu went to Mysore. Those, who were left behind, convoked a council to revive the knowledge of the sacred texts and they compiled the twelve Angas, which are regarded as the most important part of Jaina canon. When the followers of Bhadrabahu returned, they refused to recognise the canons of their co-religionists here. The co-religionists of Bihar came to be known as Svetambars (clad in white) and those, who followed the directions of the teachers regarding nudity came to be known as Digambars (naked).

(ii) **Buddhism*** :—Gautama Buddha was born in Lumbinigram near Kapilavastu and was the son of Raja Sudodhan. His mother's name was Maya. His mother died in childbirth and he was brought

*For exhaustive treatment, See Author's "सिद्धांत" Published by Abhinava Granthagar, Patna 4.

up by his aunt and step-mother Prajapati-Gautami. He was married at the age of sixteen and his wife's name was Yasodhara. At an early age he was moved to see the vision of old age, disease and death and this convinced him of the hollowness of this world. At the age of twenty-nine he renounced the world. For six years, he spent his life as homeless ascetic. Under the pipal tree at Bodh-Gaya, he attained his highest spiritual knowledge. He became known as Buddha or the Enlightened one, Tathagata (he who attained the truth). He is also known as Sakya-muni or the sage of the Sakyas. He went to Sarnath and preached his doctrine. He laid the foundation of the Buddhist order of Monks (Sangha). His cousin, Devadatta, broke away from him and established a rival sect, which survived till the Gupta period. He died at the age of eighty at Kusinagara. He taught "four noble truths" to his followers concerning suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering and the way that leads to the destruction of sorrows. He propounded a "middle path" also called the noble eight fold paths, viz., right views, right speech, right aspiration, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right contemplation. This was the path that led to the Nirvana, which meant the extinction of craving. Nirvana was a peaceful state to be realised by one who was free from all wants. His message was, "Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence."

He prescribed certain morality i.e. the doctrine of non-injury, abandonment of stealing, falsehood, slander, luxury and hankering after wealth and performance of bloody sacrifice etc. He emphasised on concentration and insight. These lead to sambodhi (enlightenment) and Nirvana. He also believed in the theory of transmigration and Karma. He rejected the authority of the Vedas and inculcated reverence for saints. He challenged the supremacy of the Brahamanas. His moral principles were not accompanied by metaphysics. He considered man as the arbiter of his own destiny. The female members were also admitted to the Buddhist monastery. Equality of rights, irrespective of caste, was recognised. He introduced the practice of holding religious discourse in common people's language. Its ethical science influenced the people at large. He believed in the common humanity and accepted the oneness of all life. He laid very great stress on reason and enjoined on his followers to reflect on the happenings of life and its consequences in the dry light of the reason. The conception of existence of immutable law forms the bulwark of his teachings. He emphasised much on discipline. Buddhism was a struggle against madness after wealth and it taught that real happiness did not come through possessions but through mental and moral development. The chief feature of the system was its Trinity. His disciples were of two kinds, viz., (a) pasaka or the Lay Disciple who lived with his family and (b) Bhiksu, who renounced the

world. He did not nominate anybody to succeed him. He said that the "rules of the order" shall be their teacher.

Its social and political effects were of immense importance. Political effects of Jainism and Buddhism were of greatest importance in our history. They directed criticism against the Brahmanical oligarchy. They were based on justice, charity and brotherhood and the people were required to be kind not only to their fellow-beings but also to beasts. According to these new gospels, king's duty was now to construct alms-houses, to erect hospitals, to plant trees and open roads etc. The sangha prevailed upon the people to get rid of all passions. Asoka's State was the epitome of Buddha's conception of state. To a great extent Buddhism was a social revolution though Bhandarkar does not accept it as such. It was not a revolt against the existing economic order. With its rise, Hinduism shranked into insignificance. It helped the growth of Bhakti cult. Buddha also stated certain principles about the strength of the state. When the Magadhan chancellor wanted to know his opinion as to the advisability of invading the Vajjians, Buddha pointed out certain traits of the Vajjian state and opined that the Vajjians could not be overcome by the Magadhan king. Buddha's verdict may be given in his own words, "So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out Vajjian

business in concord, so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with ancient institution of the Vajjians, so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian chaityas (ancient monuments) and follow the religion established, so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhats among them, so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper." Buddha also taught seven conditions of the welfare of the community, viz., (i) to meet together in assemblies, (ii) to do everything in concord, (iii) to act in accordance with the rules of the Sangha, (iv) to respect the elders, (v) to be free from wants, (vi) to delight in a life of solitude and (vii) to train minds. If the mendicants follow these principles they were bound to rise. The rise of Buddhism gave birth to the monastic order of the world. The order commanded worldwide reputation and was based upon democratic principles. This was the greatest religious corporation, the world has ever seen.

This new religion came to the masses as a welcome relief from the priest-ridden and caste-ridden society. It influenced one and all. It freed religion of all elaborate and costly ceremonials. The discourses were inspired by human feelings. Its universalism led to its rapid progress. The Buddhist church was organised in a systematic way and membership was open to all.

Four general councils of the Buddhist church were held. The first council was held a few weeks after the demise of Buddha in the Sattapanini cave near Rajgriha in which his discourses were collated, classified and adopted as authoritative canonical texts by an assembly of five hundred monks. His teachings were divided into two Pitakas—Vinaya and Dhamma. They dealt with the discipline and doctrine of the monks. The council was presided over by Mahakassapa. Upali and Ananda were the authorities for the Vinaya and Dhamma-sutras respectively. One hundred years after the Mahaparinibban, the Vaishalian monks adopted certain practices which were contrary to the Vinaya-pittaka. To solve this problem, the second general council was convoked at Vaisali in 383 B.C., in which monks from all parts of India participated. The council failed to settle the disputes as the Vaishalians stuck to their own views and the result was the great schism in the Buddhist church. Those who accepted the orthodox Vinaya rules came to be known as Sthaviras, while the changers came to be known as Mahasanghikas. The third council was held at Pataliputra in 225 B.C. Mogalliputta Tissa presided over this meeting. This council is important because (a) it made a new classification of the Buddhist canonical text by addition of a third Pitaka known as Abhidhamma-Pittaka, which contained the philosophical interpretations of the doctrines of the existing two Pittakas, especially of the Dhamma-pittaka. Buddhist teachings now came

to be known as Tripitakas ; and (b) the canonical literature was definitely settled so as to eliminate all disruptive tendencies. It made all schisms within the church punishable. The last and the fourth general council was held in Kashmir in the time of Kanishka. It was presided over by Vasumitra. The Sarvastivada teachers of Kashmir had some differences. This council settled that and composed commentaries on three Pitakas. The commentaries came to be known as Bibhasas.

(iii) **Ajivikas** :—A less important sect known as the Ajivikas also flourished in Magadha. Makkali Gosala was one of its foremost teachers. According to Hoernle, Gosala belonged to Maskarin class of religious mendicants. The word is explained by Panini as a mendicant who bears a maskara or bamboo rod. The ground for the development of non-Brahmical religious sects in India was prepared before the 6th century B. C. It is generally believed that Upaka, a religious leader, was a Magadhan and if the legend of Upaka be accepted, it must be taken to imply that Ajivika mendicants roamed the roads of Magadha at least a generation before the commencement of Gosala's ministry. The term 'Ajivika' was sometimes used to denote a wider class of heretical mendicant with varying beliefs. It did not encourage caste distinction and allowed equal status to the female members. The fundamental principle of the Ajivika philosophy was Fate, usually called Niyati. Fate was responsible for exis-

tence. Ajivikas never wholly excluded Karma, but insisted that it operated in an automatic and determinate manner. Vaisnavite tendencies are to be found in Ajivika doctrine at a much later date. It has been suggested by the latest authority on the subject (Prof. A. L. Basham of the London University) that the Panchratna Vaisnavism borrowed the doctrine of Niyati from the Ajivikas. It also later on influenced the Madhva School of Vaisnavism the Ajivikas employed music in their religious practice. Asoka's liberality towards them is well-known.

(b) Emergence of Magadhan Imperialism:—

Magadha emerged as a powerful state in the sixth century B.C. It was an important centre of Buddhist, Jaina and Ajivika activities, Jainism and Buddhism secured royal patronage at Magadha. The famous seats of learning, viz., Nalanda and Odantpuri flourished within the limits of Magadha. The Brhadrath dynasty was thrown out and the new dynasty was established in the sixth century B.C. According to Purana, the dynasty was founded by Sisunag and Bimbisar belonged to this dynasty. But the Puranas contradict themselves when they say that the Sisunagas would destroy the Pradotyas. According to Pali texts Chandra Pradotya was a contemporary of Bimbisar. It has now been accepted that Bimbisar was a scion of Hiranyaka dynasty and preceded Sisunag. He defeated Brahmadatta and annexed Anga. He built new Rajgriha. The annexation

of Anga was the first step taken by Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy. He may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan Imperial power. In order to strengthen his power, he concluded matrimonial alliances with the more powerful neighbouring states viz., Kosala and Vaishali. His Lichchavi wife was the mother of Ajatsatru. He maintained friendly relation with northern and southern states. He sent the famous physician Jivaka to Chandra Pradotya of Avanti when he was suffering from jaundice. He received an embassy from king Pukhusati of Gandhar. He launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Asoka sheathed his sword after Kalinga.

He was an able king. His government was well-organised. His officials were called Mahamattas. Their activities were watched. The criminal law was very severe. He became successful imperialist because he had certain advantages. He was the ruler of a compact kingdom protected on all sides by mountains and rivers and his capital Girivraja was enclosed by five hills. It was girded with stone walls. Trade was prosperous due to successful navigation. He was succeeded by his son Ajatsatru also known as Kunika.

Ajatsatru was an arch imperialist. He continued the policy of aggrandisement. One of the chief events of his reign was the war with Kosala. It was a tough contest and it is said that Ajatsatru was

once taken as a prisoner in chains. Ultimately the peace was concluded and a princess of Kosala was given in marriage to him. This made the position of Magadha preponderant over Kosala. By the fourth century B.C. Kosala formed an integral part of the Magadhan empire. His invasion against Vaishali was also successful. He occupied Vaishali and the territory was annexed to the Magadhan empire. The republican tribes of northern and western borders were restive and they entered into alliance with the enemies of Ajatsatru in Kasi-Kosala. He had thus to face the hostility not only of Sravasti but also the Vajjians of Vaishali and Mallas of Kusi-nagara. It was with a view to repel the Vajjians that he fortified the village of Pataligram on the confluence of the Son and the Ganges. It was this famous fortress which developed into the stately city of Pataliputra, our ancient metropolis and continued to be so for many centuries to come. The city was destined to be the capital not only of Magadha but of India. The annexation of Kasi and Vaishali brought him face to face with Avanti and this had a great influence on the subsequent policy of Magadha. He brought his sway over-entire Bihar. He constructed roads and inns for the safety of his subjects. During his reign a Buddhist council was held at Rajgrih.

According to Buddhist and Jain sources, his son Udayi succeeded him, but according to Purana, Darsaka was his immediate successor. Udayi had

to fight with the king of Avanti. Out of fear of Avanti's aggression, he transferred his capital to Pataliputra and laid the foundation of that city. Udayi was succeeded by Anirudha, who spent his lifetime in settling with the Lichchavis. He was succeeded by Raja Nandivardhan, who was a Jain. He included the Avanti kingdom into the empire. After that Magadhan history is obscure. According to Buddhist tradition, Munda and Nagdasaka followed Anirudha but all of them were incapable kings. The subjects remained unsatisfied and banished the last ruler. Sisunag, an Amatya, was raised to the throne. He was succeeded by his son Kalsoka. In his reign the second Buddhist council was held at Vaishali. He transferred the capital permanently from Girivraja to Pataliputra. He was succeeded by Bhadrasena who reigned for seventeen years. The ninth king of the dynasty was Nandivardhan and the tenth Panchmaka. The last king was overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda at Pataliputra. He founded the Nanda dynasty in Magadha.

Mahapadma is said to be born of a low caste woman. He is said to have usurped the throne. The family was of a base origin and it acquired power by murder of the legitimate king. The Nandas ruled for two generations only. The dates of this dynasty cannot be ascertained with precision and accuracy. Mahapadma was a great conqueror. He uprooted the Kshatriyas and extended the limits of his dominions far and wide. If Nandraj of Hathigumpha

inscriptions be identified with Mahapadma Nanda, then it is quite likely that he conquered Kalinga. According to Purana, he conquered Kosala, Vatsa, Panchal, Kuru, Surasena, Haihaya, Asmaka, Kalinga and Mithila. Some sources even go to show that his empire extended up to Northern Karnatac. Some Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala of the Bombay Presidency was under the Nanda hegemony. He can rightly be regarded as the first historical paramount ruler of India. Magadha emerged as the first imperialist state in his reign.

He was a vigorous ruler. The case of his wide dominion is supported by the Greek evidence which refers to the most powerful people who dwelt beyond the Beas in the time of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Pataliputra. His treasury was always full. He was an efficient commander. He encouraged trade, commerce and agriculture and introduced uniformity in weights and measures. He also introduced the system of custom duties. He ruled for about forty years. He was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled in succession. The last king Dhana Nanda was ruling at the time of Alexander.

The Nandas were extremely unpopular owing to their base origin and wickedness. They were haters of the Brahmanas. They were heretics in the Hindu eyes. Arthasastra states, "This Sastra has been made by him (Kautilya) who from intolerance (of misrule) quickly rescued the scriptures and the

science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda kings." The fall of the Nandas was brought about by an attack of a confederacy of the Northern powers. Chanakya played a leading role in bringing about their fall. Chandragupta assumed the command of the native revolt and when all oppositions were crushed he stood forth as the unquestioned leader of Northern India. Alexander's invasion did not directly affect Bihar. It is presumed that Alexander was frightened to hear about the magnificent army of the Nandas and could not venture to come over to this side.

CHAPTER III

THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

(a) **Political History** :—Chandragupta Maurya was a scion of the Maurya clan at Pippalivana. He overthrew the Nanda dynasty with the help of Chanakya. He liberated the north-western part of our country from the Macedonian yoke. He inherited from the Nandas a huge army. The northern states were over-run and subjugated. He was the first paramount sovereign of India whose authorities extended from the Bay of Bengal to Arabian sea. He acquired Avanti and Malwa and his empire extended up to Saurashtra where his Vaisya official Pushyagupta was stationed. According to Tamil-tradition he carried his victorious arms upto Tinnevely district. In certain Mysore Incriptions his rule is referred to. Seleukos, the Greek general, tried to recover his lost Indian territory. He crossed Indus and attempted to attack India. Seleukos was obliged to retire and concluded peace which was humiliating for him. He abandoned all thought of Indian conquest and surrendered a large part of Ariana to the west of Indus. Chandragupta gave him five hundred elephants and received in return Paropanisadai, Aria, Arachosia (Kabul, Herat and Kandhar) and Gedrosia. A matrimonial alliance was achieved between the two. Seleukos gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta. A Greek

envoy was accredited to the court of Pataliputra. Hindukush became the frontier between the Mauryan and Seleukidan empire. No other monarch of India could ever extend his empire upto that scientific border after Chandragupta. In course of eighteen years, he thus established a very large empire and his achievements certainly entitled him to rank as the greatest kings known to history. He reigned for twenty-four years but his last days were not happy. He became a Jain and when a great famine broke out, he abdicated his throne and went to Mysore where he died. He established his power so firmly that for two generations Mauryan alliance was courted by the potentates of Hellenistic world. All these were no mean achievement. It was for the first time that we were united under one king. The Magadhan hegemony was now an established fact in history.

Chandragupta was succeeded by Bindusara. He maintained the empire and succeeded in suppressing a revolt at Taxila. The relation with the Hellenistic world continued unbroken. He received a Greek Ambassador Deimachos. Bindusara requested Antiochos to send fig, wine and a professor. Antiochos sent figs and wines but regretted that he could not oblige him with a professor as it was not lawful for Greeks to sell a Professor. Ptolemy Philadelphus also sent his Ambassador Dionysius to his court. Bindusara was succeeded by Asoka.

The reign of Asoka forms one of the most glori-

ous epoch in the whole history of humanity. He is one of the most remarkable personalities who dedicated his life to the promotion of moral welfare of the people. For him, humanity was the highest religion. He preached and practised the virtues of concord, tolerance and non-violence. His generosity and forbearance were matched by his sincerity and veracity. For thirteen years he continued Mauryan policy of expansion and conquered Kalinga after a terrible conquest. The Kalinga war marked a turning point in his career. It awakened in his heart the feeling of remorse and regret, which crystallised into a steadfast resolve that led to a momentous change in his policy. It is a unique example in the history of the world. He was influenced by Buddhist teaching and was devoted to Dhamma. He declared, "The chiefest conquest is that won by the law of piety." He became the lay worshipper of Buddha and established intimate relations with the Buddhist Sangha. He established philanthropic institutions in foreign countries. *It was from Pataliputra that the first international missionary of peace and cooperation was sent out to the different parts of the world.* The proclamations were engraved on pillars.

(i) **His Dhamma**¹ —He was opposed to all sorts of inequalities and was the pioneer of the movement for humanitarian religion. His conception of Dhamma was not a spiritual doctrine but a

1. For details, please consult my "Studies in Ancient Indian Law and Justices."

practical proposition. It was a code of conduct to make the life happier and purer. It was the science of life. It had no metaphysical or theological basis. He developed a sort of pious despotism. It aimed at educating the people into a common view of the ends and ways of life. He emphasised on self-examination and adherence to one's own faith. He blended in himself the duties of the monarch and the missionary. He analysed Dhamma as follows, "The root of all advantage is readiness to action". He laid emphasis on earnestness, strong power of action, self will and the like. It is through action that a man becomes great. It offered practical proposition and his conception of Dhamma was a form of Rajdharma consisting of politico-moral principles.

His scheme of toleration offered a scheme of active cooperation (Samvaya) among all sects of people for their development. He thus cleared the path for all sects and exponents of different faiths to come together and discuss their thoughts in a reciprocally helping way. He propagated the toleration of thought and faith broadbased on knowledge, comparative study and the power of understanding and appreciation. His Ahimsa moralised politics and synthesised the individual, society and the world under the domination of the respect for all life. His aim of life was ethical reverence and he wanted entirely universal absolute purposiveness with regard to the maintenance and enhancement of life. His conception of religion was synonymous

with duty. Vihar Yatra was substituted by Dhamma Yatra. The sound of war drum was replaced by the sound of Dhamma. This great example of ethical idealism in the whole of human conduct, action and institution, influenced not only the contemporary civilisation but also the posterity. He stood for the judicial practice of equality of punishment and of procedure. The principle of liberty was safeguarded and the rights of the people were not infringed with.

He personally waited upon the persons of various sects because he knew them to be persons in whom were established the principles of piety or duty and he knew them to be the custodians of higher form of culture and civilisation as well as the disseminators of learning in all parts of country and outside. Dignity of labour was highly valued. He requested the Brahmanas and Sramanas to cooperate with one another for the growth of knowledge. Material welfare of the people formed an important part of the state-programme and of Dhamma. He enunciated certain principles which constituted the life-blood of Dhamma. These are (a) respectful attention to parents, preceptors, teachers, seniors, men of experience and high personages, honouring them in all humility and follow their advice, (b) Seemly behaviour and liberality to the Sramanas, friends, associates, Kinsmen, Brahmana and slaves, (c) Parental feeling towards the subject and Vice-versa, (d) Non-slaughter of the living being so long as it

was permitted by the nature to live, because he thought that all living creatures formed links in the endless of chain of existence. Other features of Dhamma were ; (i) True charity and (ii) True ceremonial. The Dhamma-discipline comprised Dan (charity), Daya (compassion), Satyam (truthfulness), Saucham (Purity), Sadhuta (Saintliness), Sanjam (self-control), Kritagyata (gratitude) and Drih-Bhaktita (Stead fastness). An unparalleled aureola of light was shed by this philosopher-king round the country of his birth through his human policy and wonderful activity. He proclaimed, "there is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world." He was no passive spectator of events lost in contemplation and self-improvement. If a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Caesar (Koppen) His name shines almost alone like a star (wells).

(ii) Conception of Kingship :—His edicts preach the loftiest lesson of goodness, gentleness, charity and mutual respect that humanity has ever heard. He was not satisfied with what the officers did. The information was to be sent to him even if he was eating or in ladies, apartments or wherever else he might be. The official reports were to keep him informed of the peoples, business. We find a similar statement in Arthasastra where Kautilya says, "when in the court, he shall never

Gazetteers Unit

cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he is sure to endanger confusion in business and to cause thereby public dissatisfaction, and himself prey to his enemies of a king the religious vow is his readiness to action, satisfactory discharge of duties is his performance of sacrifice In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness." Asoka said, "the king is to us even as a father ; he loves us as he loves himself ; we are to the king even his children." The king had to forego his own advantages for the general good. Protection of the subjects was the highest of the royal virtues. In Rock Edict Five, he says, "No duty is more important than promoting the welfare of all men." He considered merit as the only criterion in all branches of service. He desired that all sects should dwell everywhere in his dominion. Individual liberty was guaranteed. He put into practice the Upnishadic conception of neighbourhood and love. He wished that everybody should master the world by love, service, affection, simplicity, charity etc. Doers of good never enter ruin. The ideal filial relation between the ruler and the ruled is desired by Asoka to be one that subsists between the loving parent and loving son. This parental feeling is expected to be reciprocated by the filial feeling of or attitude on the the other. He personally went to the country folk to explain the significance of Dhamma and he emphasised

that one could attain the highest thing in life by following the rules of Dhamma.

(b) **Disintegration of the Empire** :—After Asoka, the empire suffered a gradual decay. The provinces asserted their independence and the central authority was weakened. The Magadhan hegemony was brought to a close for the time being. Dr. Smith is of opinion that the fall of Mauryan Empire was due to the Brahmanical reaction whose privileged position was seriously affected during the reign of Asoka. His policy had produced discontent and when his strong hands were withdrawn, the Brahmanas revolted against his system. But this view does not hold good now in the light of modern researches. There is nothing to show that he was an enemy of the Brahmanas. Even Kalhana, the Brahmana Historian, praises him for his piety. Bana applies the term “anarya” (ignoble) to the general who killed Brihadrath. The main cause of the downfall was that he could not centralise his empire. He gave fullest liberty to the Provincial Governors and Local Administrators. With the expansion of the empire, the need of the hour was the strong centralised administration but Asoka lacked in this direction and remained busy in propagating his noble mission. The Bherighosh was substituted by Dhamma-ghosh. The army remained inactive for a long period. Diplomacy unbacked by arms is of no use. That was the case with Asoka also. He was guided by noble ideas but he

failed to see the inherent weakness that lay at the root of every imperial system. The weakness of his successors and the internecine struggle are the important factors, no doubt, but his personal negligence of this aspect of kingly duty can not be overlooked. His provincial governors also took advantage of his weak successors. Asoka, as a diplomat, should have noted with caution the rebellion at Taxila during the reign of Bindusara. The ease with which Pushyamitra overthrew Brihadrath in the very sight of the troops shows that the last of the Mauryas had lost touch with his armed forces. It was difficult to control the outlying provinces. The process of disintegration was accelerated by the members of the royal family, some of whom set up independent sovereignties and cruelly oppressed the people. The Greek invasion added fuel to the fire and the local distracted conditions made the ground ready for the coup d'etat, which was successfully given by Pushyamitra Sunga.

(c) Mauryan Administrative System :—

(i) General :—The facts, stated above, show that the empire was highly organised and Magadha was at the peak of its civilisation. Chandragupta built up an efficient system of administration and was himself a stern administrator. In the administrative reorganisation, he was immensely helped by Kautilya. The state was benevolent in its outlook and it was something like a mixture of benevolent autocracy and rural democracy. Megasthenes, the

Greek Envoy, spent a considerable time at Pataliputra and he has left a graphic description of the city of Pataliputra and the working of its administrative system.

Pataliputra was the imperial capital. The city measured about nine miles in length and one and half miles in breadth. It was defended by a massive timber pallisades. It had sixty-four gates and five hundred and seventy towers. The Royal Palace excelled in splendour and magnificence all the contemporary palaces of the world and its pillars were adorned with golden vines and silver birds. The area was studded with various fish-ponds and variety of ornamental trees and shrubs. The Imperial court was luxuriantly decorated. The king was carried in golden palanquin, when he made his public appearances. Animal-fighting was his favourite diversion. King was very much interested in hunting. In hunting trip he was attended by armed female guards who were obtained by purchase from foreign countries. The road for sovereign's procession was marked off with ropes. The king was to show himself to subjects at least once a day. His army was maintained at enormous numerical strength. It was well-organised and highly efficient. It was a standing army drawing regular pay. The army was controlled by the war office. This office was organised on elaborate system. A commission of thirty members was divided into six boards consisting of five members. The first board was in charge of Admiralty, second

Transport, third Infantry, fourth Cavalry, Fifth chariot and sixth elephants.

According to Megasthenes there were seven classes of people, viz., Sophists, Agriculturists, Herdsmen, Shepherds and Graziers, Artisans and Traders, the military, the overseers and the councilors. The central government kept a special watch over all classes of people. The core of administration was its spy system. According to Kautilya, the working of the machinery of the government depended mainly upon the successful utilisation of secret information. Cipher writing was used by spies and carrier-pigeons were employed to carry secret intelligence. Criminal law was efficiently administered. The crime was repressed with severity. There were two important law courts, viz., Dharma-Sthiya and Kantakasodhana. According to Smith, criminal law was characterised by the uncompromising sternness and slight regard for human life.¹

The crown had the right to levy taxes and the crown's share was generally one-fourth of the produce. The agriculturists were exempted from military service. Irrigation system was highly organised. Chandragupta maintained a special Irrigation Department. His Vaisya official Pushyagupta formed a lake called "Sudarshan", but he could not

1. For details please refer to my book "Studies in Ancient Indian Law and Justice and also my Paper 'Kautilya's conception of Law and Justice', Submitted to the IXth Session of the International Congress of Historical Science (Paris 1950).

complete it. The roads were efficiently maintained. A royal road connected the north-western frontier with the capital. The local administration was organised on efficient basis and the villagers had some share in the administration. Practically speaking, the villagers controlled the local administration. The Nagarakas or the Town-prefects had to register every arrival or departure from his jurisdiction. Special duties were levied on foreign liquor. The administration of distant provinces were entrusted to the Viceroys who were generally the members of the royal family. The Imperial court kept watch over the Viceroys through the special agents who supervised that occurred in the country. People were honest and truthful and according to Arrian no Indian could be accused of lying.

The Mauryan Emperors rightly understood that the efficient management of the state can be possible only when the loyalty and cooperation of the people are secured. Their aim was to unify different organs of the governmental machinery. Though they were benevolent despots, they claimed some rights and privileges as a part of their royal prerogative. The Mauryan king enjoyed the following privileges, (i) The control of legislation, (ii) Issuing of ordinances, (iii) Promulgation of ordinances, (iv) Framing of the Budget, (v) Deciding Foreign policy, (vi) Appointment and dismissal of officials (vii) Maintenance of Ports, Roads etc. and (viii) Publication of the Edicts. The king was the administrative head

and the yuvaraj stood next to him. Other important functionaries were, Senani (commander-in-chief). Purohita (Royal chaplain), Mahisi (chief queen), Suta (charioteer), Gramani (citizen), Kshatri (chamberlain), Sanghrahitri (Treasurer). Ministers and other high officials were appointed after a good deal of test. The strength of character, purity of sentiments, the feeling of gratitude and firmness of devotion were some of the best traits of a minister and other high officials. They were expected to be free from wrath, conceit and malignity, cruelty and oppressiveness. They should be genial in temperament. They were to carry the orders of the king. In administrative matters, the ministers advised the king. According to Arrian the ministers were "to advise the king or the magistrates of self-governed cities in the management of public affairs". According to Diodorus the councillors and Assessors deliberated on public affairs and the advisers were taken from their ranks.

After the king came the Mantri-parishad. Its main business was to advise the king. When the ministers met together, they formed the Mantri-parishad which deliberated upon the administrative affairs. Ministers were also individually consulted. We may compare it with the modern cabinet but Mantri-Parishad had not much wide powers. Sometimes the Mantrins and the Karmasachivas were called together for joint deliberation. Strict secrecy was maintained. The Mantri-parishad was

presided over by the Prime-Minister. While appointing the Amatyas, the king consulted the Prime-minister. The decision of the Mantri-Parishad was reported to the king by Prativedakas, who watched the proceedings of the council of ministers. Asoka did not interfere in the deliberations of the Parishad.

Besides the Mantrins, there were Mahamatras who were entrusted with the responsible tasks of the state. They were ministers incharge of general affairs. The Voharika-Mahamatras were incharge of the administration of justice, the Senanayak Mahamatra, incharge of the army, Ganaka-Mahamatra, incharge of accounts, Antepur-upcharak-Mahamatras incharge of the inner apartments of the royal palace and Vinischaya Mahamatra, a judicial investigator below the rank of Voharika. There was a clear differentiation of function in the government and there was a separate head for each department.

(ii) Administrative changes introduced by Asoka:—After the Kalinga war, Asoka diverted the entire resources towards the propagation of Dhamma. He created a Department of Dhamma, manned by Dhamma-Mahamatras who were a class by themselves chiefly devoted to the inculcation of Dhamma. The main task of this department was to advise the king on religious matters. From the study of the edicts we come to the conclusion that they had the following functions :—

- (i) to encourage true spirit of tolerance (R. E. 12)

- (ii) to work for the welfare of the virtuous (R.E.5)
- (iii) to preach truth and law of duty (R.E.5 and P.E.7)

(iv) to persuade people to honour all sects of religion (R.E.12)

(v) to work for the happiness of the neighbouring countries and to protect the religious against molestation (R.E. 5 and P.E. 7)

(vi) to protect one, who is bound in chain i.e. in Jail, against molestation and to grant him release in extraordinary circumstances (R.E.5)

It is quite likely that they had a share in the Jail administration of the time.

Other officers were duty bound to support them in their activities. The Dhamma-Mahamatras, besides their own work, looked to the strict observance of the state-regulations in all matters. Whenever necessary the services of the Pradestras, Rajjukas, yuktas and Dutas were requisitioned by the Dhamma department and this was not regarded as an encroachment upon other's power as all the Government departments were guided by the same spirit of service to the people.

Other important department was that of Striadhya-Mahamatras. They preached Dhamma among the ladies and carried out the orders of the state. They looked to the interest of women in general and tried to keep them away from mischief. The Vrchbhumikas communicated the imperial message to the people. As this work could not have been

done by one man and as such a department was maintained. A separate record was maintained regarding the appointment of Dutas or Ambassadors. They represented king's view in foreign countries. The Public Works Department looked to the planting of shade-trees, sinking of wells, excavation of tanks, making of cave-dwellings and the erection of alms-houses. In foreign countries this was done under the supervision of the Dutas. The Rajjukas and Purushas made king's orders known to general public through their own agencies. Asoka granted three days' respite in a death sentence. The king delegated the right of hearing appeal to the Rajjukas. Judicial administration was completely free from outside interference. The Yuktas were connected with the administrative secretariat. The Rajjukas also controlled the collection of revenue and put forward scheme for its best utility. The Pradesikas were responsible for efficient administration in the provinces.

Asoka's administrative system represented the highest form of humanity. He wanted to convert his empire into the kingdom of righteousness in which the government should guide the people in right way. The prisoners were supplied with the amenities of life in Jail. They were given all facilities of life and were protected against molestations. They were paid allowances to support their families. Once in a year, he effected one Jail delivery. The custodians of peoples' justice were freed from all wants and external interference.

(iii) Municipal and Local Administration:—

The Municipal administration was carried on by a commission of thirty members divided into six boards. The first board looked to the Industrial Arts and fixed the rates of wages. The second board looked to the foreign visitors and residents. They were closely watched. The third board was responsible for the registration of births and deaths. The fourth board looked to the development of trade and commerce, regulated sales and enforced the use of weights and measures. Merchants paid a license tax. The fifth board supervised the manufacture and the sixth board collected tithe. It had all the modern traits of an organised government. Other important cities, such as Taxila and Ujjain, were governed on the same line. The Municipal Commissioners in their collective capacity were required to control all the affairs of the city and all public works. Pataliputra was the biggest city of the then world. During the time of Asoka, the city administration was under the control of Nagaraka Mahamatras. The judicial administration of the city was under the city magistrate. From Pillar Edict Four, it appears that Asoka made Rajjukas the supreme head of the local administration. The Rajjukas were like the expert nurse to whose care the emperor entrusted the welfare of his subjects.

Though the people had very little share in the central government, there are enough materials to show that they played a conspicuous part in the local

administration. In every village, there was a headman either nominated by the king or elected by the people. The headman, assisted by an assembly of villagers, transacted the affairs of the village and maintained peace and order. Each village formed a close corporation invested with large powers and responsibilities. It had absolute control over persons and property belonging to the village and was held responsible for the regular payment of the revenue. The king was bound to respect the local usage. Kautilya reveals that the people were recognised as one of the most important factors of the state. Village was organised and controlled by the people. The local courts took cognisance of both civil and criminal cases.

(d) Social Condition :—During this period the caste-system became very rigid and social distinctions were clearly marked. No body was allowed to marry out of his own caste. According to Megasthenes, philosophers were simple in habits and spent their time in philosophical discoveries and problems. The coming of the Greeks affected the rigidity of the caste-system. Some of the foreigners adopted the Hindu religion and some of them established matrimonial alliances. According to Kautilya, agriculture, cattle breeding and trade became the common occupation of the Vaisyas and Sudras. The growth of Imperial system crystallised the social distinction and the whole thing was legalised by the Manava-Dharma-sastra under aegis of Brahmana

king Pusyamitra Sunga. Women were denied the privilege of reading the sacred scriptures. The noblemen and rulers practised polygamy. For the moral and social uplift of women, Asoka created Striadyaksha department. Slavery was an established institution. The people never drank wine except at sacrifices. Houses and property were unguarded. Good order was maintained in the society. The lot of common people was not very satisfactory. The agriculturists were exempted from fighting and other public services and were devoted to the tilling of the land. They were regarded as the greatest benefactors of the society and nobody had the right to molest them. Though Buddhism was the predominant religion, the vedic rites and customs were also followed. The system of sacrifice was in vogue.

(E) Classification of Asokan Inscriptions :—

His inscriptions may be divided into three classes :—

- (a) Rock Inscriptions, (b) Pillar Inscriptions and (c) Cave Inscriptions.

A—Rock Inscriptions :—They are fourteen in number and have been found in eight different places :—

- (1) Shahbazgarhi (in Peshawar district)
- (2) Mansera (in Hazra district in N. W. F.)
- (3) Kalsi (in Dehradun district)
- (4) Girnar (in Kathiawad)—
- (5) Dhauli (in Puri district)
- (6) Jaugada (in Ganjam district)



(7) Sopara (in Thana, Bombay)

(8) Rock Edicts 11, 12, 13—Separate Kalinga Edicts.

Minor Rock Inscriptions have been found at

(1) Rupnath in Jubbulpur district

(2) Sasaram in Shahabad district

(3) Bairat in Jaipur Estate

(4) Maski in Nizam's dominion.

Its importance lies in the fact that it records the name of Asoka as its author. The term "Samaja" in the first Rock Edict has been explained by Dr. Thomas as plainly a celebration of games but it was really a gathering which abounded in a hundred varieties of meat and curry and that is why the edict says, "Here no animal may be slaughtered for sacrifice."

(B) **Pillar Edicts**—They are six in number.

(1) Delhi—Topra Pillar

(2) Delhi—Mirat Pillar

(3) Lauriya—Araraj Pillar } are close to one

(4) Lauriya Nandan Garh } another in Cham-

(5) Rampurva Pillar } paran district.

(6) Allahabad.

Minor Pillar Edicts are at Sanchi, Sarnath, Rummindei and Nigliva (Nepal Terai).

(C) **Cave Inscriptions** :—There is only one cave Inscription, known as Barabar Hill Cave Inscription. Asoka dedicated these caves to the Ajivikas.

The language used in these inscriptions is Pali and the script is Brahmi. In Mansera and Shahbazgarhi, the script is Kharosthi.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE FALL OF THE MAURYAS TO THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS.

(A) **The Sungas and the Kanvas** :—The glory that was Magadha ended with the fall of the Mauryas. The political unity, achieved under the Magadhan hegemony, vanished. The Sungas failed to arrest the centrifugal forces which had full play for a period of about four hundred years. Some scholars hold the view that king Kharavela of Kalinga was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. They have done it on the basis of Hathigumpha Inscription wherein Kharavela is credited with large conquest and numerous victories in northern and southern India. Kharavela invaded Magadha twice and defeated its ruler in the battle of Gorathgiri near Barabar Hills. He harassed Rajgriha and approached Pataliputra. The then Magadhan king is read as Brihaspatimitra, who is identified with Pushyamitra. Dr. Mazumdar and Raichoudhary doubt this identification and hold that Kharavela could not be a contemporary of Pushyamitra (187—151 B.C.). Sri Jaychandra Vidyalankar identifies Brihaspatimitra with Brihadrath and his contention seems to be tenable. It is said that Kharavela, on hearing the progress of Greek soldiers, proceeded to face them and when he reached Gorathgiri, the Magadhan soldiers got encouraged. As a result of this, the foreigners had

to retreat. In the twelfth year of his reign, he subdued the king of Magadha and took away the Jina-murti to Kalinga, which was brought by the Nandas. It seems probable that this event must have taken place during the chaotic period of the later Mauryas.

The Sungas, under the leadership of Pushyamitra Sunga, replaced the Mauryas. This period is characterised as one of Brahmanical revival. The Sungas commemorated their sovereignty by Barhut inscriptions. The people submitted to this new rule as they were tired of the oppression of the later Mauryas, who were incapable of stemming the tide of the Greek invasion and failed to maintain the prestige of Magadhan arms. Internal strife was at its apex. The empire was divided into petty states. Kunala was succeeded by his sons, one of whom Bandhupalit is said to have ruled at Pataliputra and Ujjain. The two most prominent later Mauryan kings, Dasrath and Samprati, were followed by Shalisuka who was quarrelsome and unrighteous and cruelly oppressed his country men. His successors were Devavarman, Satandhanas and Brihadrath. Brihadrath was murdered by his Brahman commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Sunga. He maintained the stately grace of Pataliputra. He defeated the king of Vidarbha. According to Patanjali and Kalidasa, the Greek invasion took place in his time. Some authorities suggest that the Greeks came up to Pataliputra. He revived the Asvamedha sacrifice and himself performed two. This marked the beginning of

Brahmanical revival. He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. In his reign Vidisa acquired prominence. He is the hero of Kalidasa's drama. After him again our history is thrown into the limbo of oblivion and succeeding reign is still surrounded in mystery. It is said that his son Vasumitra defeated the Greeks. Modern Besnagar in eastern Malwa continued to be centre of political and religious importance. Its princes had diplomatic relations with Greek potentates. The dynasty was overthrown by a minister named Vasudeva.

Kanvas ruled Magadha for about forty-five years. The Sunga and the Kanva periods of our history added a glorious chapter in the arena of religion, literature and art. Vidisa, Gonarda and Barhut were the centres of such activities. Bhagwat religion was the most important religion of the time. Patanjali was the greatest literary genius of the period and famous railing at Barhut was constructed during this period. The Kanva dynasty was thrown by the Satvahanas, who were contemporaneous with the Sungas.

(B) The Satvahanas :—They became prominent under the magnificent and glorious rule of Gautamiputra Satkarni who annihilated the Sakas in India. His empire extended up to the limits of Magadha. Vasisthaputra Pulumayi conquered Magadha and annexed it to his own kingdom. According to the Puranas, the supremacy of the Satvahanas in the north continued for fifty-two years only. Our

history is again obscure after that. They made the caste-system flexible. They intermarried with the Sakas. The Brahmanas began to take up arms. They granted immunities to Vataka and Kshetras, i. e., gardens and fields, conferred on privileged individuals and communities by royal personages. Such plots were not to be interfered with by anybody and thus the lot of the rural population was made harder.

(C) **The Kushans** :—Kanishka is said to have defeated the Magadhan king. It is said that he took the great poet Aswaghosh with him. Kanishka's coins have been found in Ranchi and recently in Buxar and on this authority we can safely assume that our land was under the sway of the Kushans. His reign is remarkable in the history of the progress of Buddhism.

was during his reign that a new school of Buddhism came into prominence. It was known as Mahayan or the great vehicle. It differed with old Buddhism known as Hinayan or Lower vehicle. The genesis of Mahayan can not be found in the teachings of Buddha himself. Buddha prescribed the three vehicles of Nirvana, viz., (i) Arhatyan i. e. those who want to achieve their own salvation, (ii) Pratyeka-Buddhyan i. e. those who with their salvation want to do good for others and (iii) those who have renounced their own salvation in order to help others and to this end have dedicated their lives. The Mahayanists denounced the other two

and declared that Budhyan was the only great vehicle. In order to have canonical sanction they compiled many sutras and deified Buddha and Bodhisattvas. This was a novel feature of Mahayanism. They emphasised on devotion and worship of Buddha as means of salvation and introduced image worship with rituals and ceremonies. Reason was superseded by faith and devotional worship took the place of individual self-effort. They also adopted Sanskrit instead of Pali. The famous Mahayanists were Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Asanga, Dignag and Dharmakirti. Nagarjuna formulated its basic ideas. After Kanishka, our history is again shrouded in mystery and the curtain rises with the Guptas.

CHAPTER V

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

(A) **Political History** :—The political curtain rises upon the wedding of princess Kumardevi. Eight hundred years ago, king Bimbisar had strengthened his hold on Magadha by marrying a princess of the Lichchavi dynasty. The same policy was followed by the Guptas. Chandragupta I was the son-in-law of a Lichchavi family. He was a petty landlord of Bihar but the matrimonial alliance with the Lichchavis gave him courage to stand and make a bid for the imperial power in India. This shows that the Lichchavis must have possessed considerable political power in North-eastern India. It seems that before the rise of the Guptas, the Lichchavis were in possession of Pataliputra.

The origin of the Guptas is still a mystery though it is contended that they belonged to a Vaisya caste, Late Professor R. D. Banerjee is of opinion that the foundation of an independent kingdom in Magadha amounted to the liberation of the people from the thralldom of the hated Scythian foreigners. The founder was a person named Gupta. Early in the fourth century A.D., a petty landlord of Bihar, Chandragupta I, founded an independent kingdom. He led the war of independence against the Scythians and thus united the people of Magadha under his own leadership. He assumed the title of Maharaja-

dhiraj. His matrimonial alliance with the Lichchavi princess marked a turning point in our history and thus Magadha rose after four centuries of slumber, once more to take its place in the vanguard of national armies and again brought independence, self-realisation and glory to our people. Magadha once more became the mistress of an empire. His marriage is attested by some of the gold coins, which Allan takes to be the memorial medal struck by Samudragupta in honour of his parents. We do not know much about Chandragupta's dominion. According to the Puranas, his authority extended upto south Bihar, Prayag, Saketa and the adjoining districts. The Gupta Era, i. e. 320 A.D. marked the beginning of his accession. He was a Hindu Vaisnava king and the struggle between the Magadhan people and the Scythians was one of between the followers of Hinduism and Buddhism.

He was succeeded by his son Samudragupta who stood for the principle of war and aggression. He made an elaborate plan of conquests in different directions and realised to a degree which has justly won him the title of Indian Napoleon. What he saw, he coveted and what he coveted, he conquered. His campaign involved three hundred miles and he exterminated the following monarchs, viz., (1) Rudradeva, (2) Matila, (3) Nagadatta, (4) Chandravarman, (5) Ganpatinag, (6) Nag-sena, (7) Nandin, (8) Achyuta and (9) Balvarman. He subjugated Bengal, Kamrupa, Nepal, Malwa,

Arjunayana, Yaudhey, Madraka and Abhira etc. His empire was thus larger than any since the days of Asoka. All parts of India acknowledged his sovereignty. Twelve south Indian rulers were defeated and captured but later released and later reinstated when they acknowledged his sovereignty. The frontier kings paid him homage and tributes. He was a magnanimous conqueror and generous towards the fallen foe. King Meghavarman of Ceylon sent two monks, one of whom is stated to be his brother, to visit the monastery which Asoka had built. They met with scant courtesy and made a representation to the Ceylonese king. Meghavarman sent an embassy to Samudragupta and requested him to found a rest house and soon a magnificent structure was built known as Mahabodhi Sangharam. The decision to build monastery was duly engraved on a copperplate.

He performed Asvamedha Yajna. He was famous for the proficiency in the humanities of the time. He was fond of the company of learned men and was the prince of the poets. The inscriptions sum up his achievements as follows, "The exterminator of all kings, without a rival in the world, whose fame was known as far as the four oceans, the equal of Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and Antaka, armed with the axe of the Kritanta himself, the giver of many cows and gold pieces out of his lawfully acquired abundance and reviver of long lost ceremony of horse-sacrifice." He was a Vaisnava but by no

means inconsistent with militarism. He was succeeded by Ramgupta¹, whose successor Chandragupta II overwhelmed all the memory of his father.

Chandragupta II assumed the title of Vikramaditya. The western Satraps were still holding their own and continued to be important factor in contemporary politics. He won over the Vakatakas by a matrimonial alliance. His daughter Prabhavati was married to Rudrasena II Vakataka. This matrimonial alliance has been characterised as the master-stroke of his diplomacy as the Vakataka power occupied geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominion of the satraps. A scion of Kanishka was ruling somewhere in north-western India and was once again trying for the recovery of the lost imperial position. Chandragupta II annexed Malwa, Gujrat and Saurashtra and this brought Gupta Empire into touch with the western sea ports. This gave an impetus to the overseas commerce and there was a free flow of ideas from foreign lands. The European and African trade received universal impulse with the Gupta conquest of Kathiawad ports and once more the road from Pataliputra was open upto the sea. In return for our products, Roman gold poured into the country. Gupta supremacy in Bengal became an established fact. He introduced new innovations in our currency system. He issued gold coins of three different

1. This point is controversial.

weights i. e. (a) of 121 grains, (b) of 126 grains and (c) of 132 grains. For Gujrat and Kathiawad he issued silver coinage which was a copy of the western Satraps. Various types of copper coins were also issued. He was unquestionably the paramount ruler of India.

He was succeeded by Kumargupta I. His reign was peaceful all throughout but his last years were seriously disturbed owing to the invasion of Pusyamisras. The Hunas also disturbed his peaceful reign and he sent the crown prince Skandagupta to avert the dangers. Skandagupta retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. His age is famous for literary grandeur and arts. He was a tolerant ruler and assumed the title of Mahendraditya. The task of fighting the Huna menace fell on him. He devoted himself to the task of securing safety and security of his country. The Magadhan people had been weakened owing to the internal strife and they had forgotten the sacred task of defending their country. Skandagupta remained faithful to the tradition and he did his best to save the empire. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hunas but he was forced to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. Though a devout Vaisnava he followed a tolerant policy. He is said to have erected the five stone images of Jain Trithankaras. The abrupt debasement of coinage in the latter part of his reign indicates the financial distress. This led to the lowering of the purity of currency. He was succeeded by a host

of weaklings and the forces of disintegration set in. Skandagupta assumed the title of Vikramaditya and his memory is still preserved in Kathasaritasagar. Our history after Skandagupta is again in obscurity.

He was succeeded by Kumargupta II and he was followed by Buddhagupta. The unity of the empire was maintained till the days of Buddhagupta, though the authority, now, was limited from Bengal to central India. During his time the Hunas under Mihirkula and Toraman pushed their conquest deep into our territory. Buddhagupta was followed by his brother Narasinghgupta Baladitya. His kingdom was invaded by the Hunas and he fought Mihirkula. He was defeated by Toramana. Toramana helped one Vainyagupta to capture the throne of Magadha. Vainyagupta issued coins with the title of Dvadasaditya. His seal with imperial titles has been discovered at Nalanda and his inscription has been discovered in East Bengal. The internal strife had become so rife that Narasingha Gupta made peace with Mihirkula Huna and agreed to pay tribute. This strengthened the hands of the Huna. The Magadhan Emperor failed to defend Magadha. It is said that Narasingha Gupta made that alliance simply to store up his energy and he ultimately defeated Mihirkula. Narasinghgupta was succeeded by his son Kumargupta III. He suffered at the hands of Yasodharman. He was succeeded by his son Vishnugupta and with him came the end of the empire in about 550-51 A.D. The later

Guptas restored the glory of the line to a certain extent under Adityasena in the latter half of the seventh century but they also disappeared in the eighth century.

After the fall of the Guptas, Yasodharman once again attempted to unify the political power but to no purpose. After that various independent chiefs rose up, of which the Maukharis were the most important people. It is said that they belonged to Gaya district. Thus for a long period Magadha continued to be the imperial capital of India. At about 588 A.D. after the death of Prakataditya, there was a revolution in Magadha and Gauda. The various independent chiefs fought among themselves and Magadha came under the sway of Bengal. Sasanka, the famous king of Bengal, extended his authority over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Malwa. The fall of the Guptas created a period of chaos and confusion in our history.

(b) Cultural life and administrative System:—

(i) General :—It has been called the golden age of our history. It witnessed internal security and material prosperity. Brahmanism was the ascendant religion and it was patronised by the Gupta kings. Hinduism was flexible and it assimilated various foreign elements. Buddha came to be regarded as one of the ten incarnations of the Hindu Pantheon. Brahmanism was changed into Hinduism. Vishnu was the most famous deity. Shiva, Lakshmi, Durga, Bhagwati and Parvati were also worshipped. Asvamedha,

Vajpeya and other sacrifices were revived. Buddhism was declining and it was more influenced by Hinduism.

The court was always surrounded by intellectual celebrities. The Gupta emperors were patrons of learning. Kalidasa flourished during this period. Other important writers were Harisen, Vatsapati, Amarsingha, Vasuvandhu, Dignag, Aryabhata, Varahamihir and Brahmagupta. Dhannantari was the famous physician. This period is remarkable for the contribution towards the various branches of scientific knowledge and literature. Education was at its highest level. Chandragupta II's court was adorned with nine gems. He paid heed to the advancement of the cultural philosophy.

Art, architecture and painting reached the apex of glory. The achievements of Gupta art are illustrated by the Ajanta caves. Plastic art reached a high level of perfection and it liberated itself from the Gandhar influence. It is distinguished by vitality, freedom from extravagant and exquisite technique. Painting attained highest proficiency. Griffith observes, "Ajanta is so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour that one can not help ranking it with best arts of the ancient world." (The paintings of the Buddhist caves of Ajanta, P.7) A comparative survey of Gupta culture with the Mauryan culture will not be out of place here.

(ii) **Mauryan and Gupta Art** :—The reaction against the Greek invaders gave birth to the Mauryan upheaval and similar movement against the Scythian domination apparently brought the Guptas to the forefront whose crowning achievements were the final overthrow of the Saka rule in India. Mauryan art approached perfection. Marshall speaks of the extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterise all Mauryan work and which has never been surpassed by the finest workmanship of Athenian buildings. Asoka's massive monolithic sandstone pillars are not only wealthy monuments of his magnificence, but also of the highest interest as the earliest known examples of our stone-cutters' art in architectural home. In the field of art, Gupta period was an age of culmination. We enter upon the classical phase of Indian sculpture. Perfect types of Buddhists and Brahmanical divinities evolved. Decorative elements and emotional display characterise the Gupta art. In the realm of architecture it did not make any remarkable progress.

(iii) **Administration** :— The king was the supreme head of the state. The administration was carried on with the advice of his ministers. Some of them combined civil and military functions. There was an efficient organised bureaucracy. The criminal law was mild. Judicial torture was not practised. Land revenue was the main basis of finance. As the royal officers were paid servants, they had not to live on the people.

Kingship was hereditary and its divine character was also accepted in the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The king was considered as an incarnation of Vishnu. He was the chief head of all administrative machinery. His main task was to defend the country against foreign invasion. He administered justice, led troops and had the largest share in the formulation of state policy. He was assisted by a council of Ministers and we find the mention of following ministers, viz., (a) Mantrin (the confidential adviser), (b) Sandhivigrahika (Minister incharge of war and peace), (c) Akshapataladhikrita (Minister in charge of records), (d) Mahabalahikrita and (e) Mahadandanayak. There was a special class of officials known as Kumaramatyas.

Justice was administered by the king and his officials. In the district headquarter, the Judges were helped by Seths and Kayasthas and other representatives. The village council was responsible for the judicial administration in the villages. The principal source of king's revenue was one-sixth of the land produce. Taxes were often collected in kind. Forced labour was also known and extra cesses were also levied for special purposes.

For administrative convenience the empire was divided into several provinces also known as Desa or Bhukti. They were placed under the governor or the princes of royal blood. The provinces were divided into districts. The local and provincial governments were carried on by regular bureau-

cacy. Tirabhukti was one of the important administrative centres.

The excavations at Basarh give us a glimpse of the system of provincial administration as carried on in Tirabhukti, which was the provincial capital of Vaishali and Mithila.

A clay seal reads, "Mahadevi Sri Dhrubsvamini, wife of Sri Chandragupta and Mother of Govindagupta." It is presumed that Govindagupta was the governor of the province during the lifetime of his father. From a seal of a general belonging to the establishment of the heir-apparent, it seems that the Yuvaraja had his separate military establishment. The guilds commanded respect and were autonomous bodies. They had their own rules and they looked to the management of the temple. It is evident from the Basarh seals that in Tirabhukti, Kumaramatyia was entrusted with the district administration in subordination to the provincial governor called Uparika. Various treatises on law were written and the most important were Yajnavalkya and Narada Smritis. Yajnavalkya paid more attention to the legal matters and improved his views regarding the rights of women whom he permitted to inherit equally with men. He elaborated the subject of trade and ownership and recognised the written documents in evidence. Sri Kane observes, "From the days of Yajnavalkya Smriti down to modern times the land of Mithila has produced writers whose names are illustrious".

From what we have seen above, it is clear that district administration was carried on by the Kumaramatyas. According to Damodarpur copper plates and Basarh seals, the district officers were responsible to the provincial governors. The district officers were assisted by a council comprising representatives of the principal local interest, viz., bankers, the chief merchants, artisans and the chief scribe. The important functionaries were the record-keepers. Village was the lowest unit of administration and it was carried on by a village Panchayat. The village headman maintained peace and security within his jurisdiction.

(iv) **Fahien** :—The Chinese pilgrim, Fahien, visited our country during this period. Here he spent six years in his studies. For three years he stayed in the imperial city of Pataliputra, where he learnt Sanskrit, which had replaced the old Pali language. He was very much impressed to see Asoka's palace. Near that palace stood the two imposing and elegant monasteries where the Hinayan and the Mahayan monks were busy in the exposition of the Buddhist Law of Piety. They attracted seekers of all knowledge from all parts of the country. He was much impressed with the wealth and progress of Magadha. The Magadhans vied with each other in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. The Buddhist procession annually paraded the city and that was a splendid scene. Pataliputra had excellent hospital where patients from

all parts of country came. They were supplied with food and medicine and sufficient care was taken. People emulated each other in the practice of virtue. The principle of Ahinsa was still dominant. There was no wine-shop in the market place. People were vegetarian. They did not take pigs, fowls, onions and garlies nor drank wine. The social outcastes were called chandals. The king made grants to monasteries. Brahmanism was predominant in Madhyadesh and the king himself was a devout Vaisnava. The relation between the Brahmanas and Buddhists was cordial. Religious persecution was absent. The people enjoyed the blessings of peace. The liberty of conscience was assured. Gaya was desolate and empty and Kapilavastu and Kusinagara were also decaying. Only two hundred families occupied Sravasti. Roads were safe for the travellers. According to Fahien, it was at Vaishali that Buddha, having given up the idea of living longer said to Ananda—"In three months from this I will attain to Parinirvan and Mara had so fascinated and stupefied Ananda, that he was not able to ask Buddha to remain longer in this world". More details about the history of Bihar from the Chinese travellers will be discussed later on. Fahien also throws some light on the history of the Nirvana of Ananda.

(C) Social and Economic Condition :—

Attempts were made in settling the caste-system and keeping them confined to their respective spheres of duty but to no purpose.

With the change of economic and political system, the people began to take up different professions for their livelihood. Even the priests took up the profession of arms. The influx of foreigners led to a new synthesis of culture and most of them were admitted into the framework of our caste-system. Marriage rules were made elastic and inter-marriages became very common. Yajnavalkya accepted the equal rights of woman in property. High class women began to take active part in the administration. The queen-consort had an important position in this period. The system of veil is absent from the Vaishali terracottas. Liberal education was given to the girls of upper classes. They took keen interest in the cultural activities of the country. Polygamy was widely prevalent. Women of lower classes had practically no right. South Bihar was famous for wealth and prosperity. The people did not practice deceit and kept their sworn obligations.

Brahmanas, cows and old Hindu scriptures came to be glorified. Intense belief in Varnasrama Dharma and abject submission to be Brahmanas came to be regarded as cardinal virtues. The epic and puranic heroes superceded Vedic gods. Indra was supplanted by the Trinity—Brahma, Visnu and Mahesh. The sight of yellow-robed ascetic and Kapalikas came to be regarded as evil omen. The Guptas appeared as the protector of the Brahmanical revivalism. Any kind of speech with the

Mlechhas and Antyas was not sanctioned and journey to Mlecha land was prohibited. A hidden treasure was regarded as the property of the Brahmanas. Parasara Smriti fixed occupation for different castes.

The Gupta terracottas throw a flood of light on the lot of common man. The artistic representations point to a great difference that separated the people from the rulers. The common man was pushed to degraded position and was economically hard hit. According to Parasara, a Vaisya or a Sudra should always live by trade, agriculture and handicraft. Slavery was not unknown. From the Inderkhaira inscription of Skandagupta, we learn that the division of classes took place on the economic basis and the ranks of different feudal heirarchs were also fixed. Feudalism took a definite shape during the Gupta period. Various plates of the Gupta period give us a glimpse of the system of land revenue administration. After the decline of the Gupta rulers, the feudatory chiefs usurped the imperial prerogative of issuing grants. Lands were properly surveyed and measured.

Vaishali antiquities reveal to us the huge organisation for commercial purposes. Banking was prominent in Vaishali. According to Dr. Bloch, something like a modern chamber of commerce existed and most of the persons to whom the seals belonged carried on business transactions with the royal family of Vaishali. According to Dr. Vogel, the Vaishali seals bearing the legend Sresthi-Sarthavah-

Kulika-Nigama, or corporation of bankers, traders and merchants, indicated a special tribe employed as a captain of mercenaries. Nagar-Shresthin was the President and the chief executive officer of the city. The office of the Prathama Kulika was a regular institution. Clay was the ordinary material used for sealing in Vaishali. All these go to show that Vaishali was an important centre of trade and commerce.

(D) **Decline of Buddhism** :—Buddhism had its powerful exponents in Asanga, Vasubandhu, Kumarjiva and Dignaga in this period. Its decline began in the succeeding centuries. The Hunas destroyed monastic establishments. The real cause of decay lay in the rottenness which overtook the Sangha. The inherent defect lay in the undue emphasis on monastic life and the gradual transformation of Buddhism by the introduction of some features of Brahmanism against which Buddha had raised his voice of protest. With his deification and admission into the Vishnuite pantheon, there was little to distinguish the Buddhist laity from their Brahmanical neighbours. Great temples, endowed with wealth, were built and monasteries came to be patronised by wealthy persons. Unworthy people entered the monastic life because they found life there a bed of roses and unfortunately they formed the majority in the order and the rules began to be relaxed and certain vices sanctioned. Many Tantric texts were introduced and this phase, which

evolved out of Mahayan, came to be known as Vajrayan or Tantric Buddhists. The Vajrayanists wrote many books on their own doctrines and propagated them secretly among their followers. According to Vajrayanists, Buddha preached not only one but three Dhammas, viz., (a) Sravakyam at Sarnath, (b) Mahayan at Rajgriha, and (c) Vajrayana for the highly evolved people at Dhanyakataka in the South. They introduced esoteric practices in which wine and women were the most essential things and such practices naturally attracted persons. It destroyed the ethical fervour of monastic order.

By the 9th century A.D. Vajrayana was firmly established and Nalanda was the greatest centre of Mahayan and Vajrayan. The Vajrayan's mystic practices were passed for spiritualism in our country. They had such great influence that the princes lavishly gave endowments. The destruction of Buddhist monasteries left them in lurch and they were without any guide to advance their cause. Their intellectual decline is well illustrated by Yuan Chwang. When the neo-Hinduism asserted itself, the monastic and contemplative elements were borrowed by the Saivas and the devotional elements by the Vaisnavas. With the moral and intellectual decline, they were left as a boat without a rudder.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE FALL OF THE GUPTAS TO THE RISE OF THE PALAS

(A) **Political history** :—Sasanka, a Gauda, was appointed as Mahasamanta of Magadha by Jaynaga but later on he asserted his authority and became a powerful monarch. He was very ambitious and a powerful king and ruled over a vast territory. His dominion included Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the intervening tracts of Tirabhukti and Kasi. Hieuntsang mentions his associations with Magadha. His seal and coins have been discovered at Rohtasgarh, Nalanda and Gaya respectively. In the west his dominion extended up to Banaras. He was a devout Saiva. It is said that the Budha temple at Gaya was constructed by his Brahmin minister. The king of Kamrupa, Bhaskaravarman, was an enemy of Sasanka and he supported Rajyavardhan against Sasanka. Sasanka was so much pressed by the combined army of Harsha and Bhaskaravarman that he had to leave his own kingdom and take shelter in south Bihar. But Harsha was not well received by the easterners and was forced to conclude a treaty with Sasanka. During this period Sasanka's capital was at Varunika near Rohtas in Shahabad district. There he had established a mint. After his death there was a change in the political condition of Hiranyaparvat

(Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts). Purnavarman rose into prominence in Magadha.

In the early part of the 7th century A. D. Kosi formed the common boundary of the province of Kamrupa and Mithila. According to Buchanan, Kosi joined the Brahmaputra. The land donated by the Niddhanpur charter lay in eastern Mithila and we learn from the same epigraph that the produce of the land was increased by the Kausiki river. As Purnea formed the North-eastern boundary of the Kamrupa kingdom, the Kamrupa king could conquer Mithila without going to Pundravardhan. In the sixth century, Gupta power was on the decline and during this period, Yasodharman of Malwa invaded the whole of Eastern India. In the sixth century, Mahabhutvarman of Kamrupa conquered a part of Eastern Mithila and Morang. During the latter part of the century, Mahasengupta invaded Kamrupa and acquired this area (Aphsad stone Inscription). Bhaskarvarman, assisted by Harsha, defeated Sasanka and acquired this area and from his victorious camp at Karnasuvarna issued his famous Niddhanpur plates. Bhaskarvarman's sway over a part of Mithila is confirmed by the fact, that from there he could actively assist the Chinese envoy Wang-Hiuen-tse.

After Sasanka's death, chaos and confusion followed. Harshavardhan extended his authority upto our land. From Yuan-Chwang's record we learn that his sway extended upto Santhal Pargana, Purnea and Rajshahi district. Yuan-Chwang visited

Banaras, Vaishali, Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea. These were the important cities of the time. In North Bihar, Buddhism was decaying but Magadha continued to be centre of Mahayan Buddhism.

Harsavardhan appointed Madhavagupta as the deputy of South Bihar and North Bihar was under the control of Arjun. After his death, his empire fell prey to the chaotic condition and it was divided into various petty states. In Chinese texts Arjuna's name is given as Na-fu-ti-o-lo-na-shuen. According to the story preserved in the Chinese text this Arjuna attacked a Chinese mission under Wang-Hiuentse that was sent by the Chinese emperor to Harsha. Arjuna killed most of the members of the mission and plundered their property. Wanghiuentse fled to Nepal, secured seven thousand soldiers and twelve hundred from Tirhut and disastrously defeated and imprisoned Arjuna and took him a captive to China. Wang stormed the capital of Arjuna and Bhaskarvarman of Assam sent supplies to the Chinese leader. The Chinese leader got sufficient help from Tibet and the chaotic political condition accounted for the rise of the Tibetan authority over Mithila and Nepal. The whole event took place between 647 and 650 A.D. The Tibetan influence continued for about a period of about fifty years. Though this point is still a matter of controversy, the fact remains that there was some sort of political upheaval after Harsha's death. It is generally accepted that in 703 A.D., Mithila threw off the

Tibetan suzerainty. It is believed that the overthrow of the Tibetan rule was marked by the re-establishment of the later Guptas in Magadha. No inscription or coins of the later Guptas have been discovered in Tirhut.

In South Bihar, Adityasena, the successor of Madhavagupta, took advantage of the chaotic condition and extended his sway from Malwa to Bengal and invaded the Chalukyas of Karnatak. He performed the Asvamedha sacrifice thrice. His son Devagupta was defeated by Chalukya Vinayaditya. Vinayaditya's son Vijayaditya probably invaded Magadha. In about 690 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hun-lun came to Magadha and there he found Devagupta, son of Adityasena, ruling. Hun-lun has mentioned the temple constructed by Adityasena in the west of Nalanda. The monks from the south used to live in that temple. Hiranyapurvata existed as an independent state. In the seventh century A.D. the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj which was a flourishing centre of trade and commerce. The king of Kanauj, Yasovarman, is said to have defeated the king of Magadha and Gauda. Both these states remained under the sway of Yasovarman for about eight years, which was followed by a period of chaos and confusion.

(B) The University of Nalanda* :—Our country was the cradle of civilisation and culture from

* For detailed reference see my article on Nalanda in the 2nd issue of G. D. College Magazine, Begusarai.

times immemorial and it continued to be so even during this period. We possessed the famous University of Nalanda which attracted students from all over the world. The Nalanda University was established in Gupta period and since then it flourished for about eight centuries. It taught the spirit of universalism and peace.

Cunningham is credited with having brought to light the present site of the Nalanda University. Hicuntsang has also thrown sufficient light on the subject. It is said that the University was located in Bargaon. The seals bear the insignia, "Sri Nalanda Mahavihariya Aryabhiksu Sanghasya." Nalanda was famous for its glory and cultural activities. Harshavardhan patronised the University and got many Viharas built. Two seals of Maukhari and two seals of Harshavardhan have been discovered. Hiuentasang has pointed out that the Maukhari king Purnavarman had got the copper statue of Buddha built at Nalanda, for the preservation of which a six-storied building was necessary because of its length.

After Harshavardhan, the University came under the patronage of the Palas and it remained so till the end of the twelfth century A.D. Several Pala coins have been found and according to the inscriptions of Devapala, Viradeva was appointed as the head of the University. The Pala rulers were very much fond of learning. Gopala established a monastery for educational purposes at Odantpuri and

Dharmapala established another at Vikramshila. They granted villages and small states for the maintenance of the University.

Educational System :—There was only one main gate guarded by Dwarpal or the gate-keeper. He used to examine all the students who came for admission in the University. This entrance examination was so difficult that every seven or eight out of ten students failed to come through. There was a provision for more than ten thousand students and the system was residential. The Buddhist Bhiksus were the University teachers. The educational system was based on ancient line and the students were highly disciplined. By a good synthesis of austerity, celibacy and devotion, the career of the student was sought to be made perfect. Besides the Buddhist literature, other subjects were also taught and those included the Vedas, Hetu-vidya, Sabda-vidya, Tantra, Sankhya etc. In the time of Hieun-tsang there were about ten thousand scholars who were well versed in more than ten subjects and near about five hundred who were well-versed in thirty subjects and the then Vice-chancellor Sheelbhadra was well-versed in all the subjects. Hieun-tsang was the disciple of Sheelbhadra.

According to Itsing, the system was divided into two parts, primary and secondary. In the primary stage grammar was taught and in the secondary stage, Hetu-vidya, Abhidhamma Kosha and Jataka etc. were taught by degrees. Discussions on every

subject formed an important part of the teaching. There was no inequality of treatment and favouritism, in any form or shape, was absent. Merit got its own reward. Education was free. Expenses were met by donations, state-grants and other such contributions. The University had one of the biggest libraries of the time. Dharmapal, Chandrapala, Gunmati, Sthirmati, Prabhamitra, Jivamitra, Gyanchandra, and Sheelbhadra etc. were some of the noted scholars. Jivamitra was the founder of "Mul-Sarvastivada-Nikaya". The religious ideology was predominantly Mahayanism. It was also becoming the centre of Tantra cult in the seventh century A.D. The spirit of tolerance was not lacking.

(C) Social Conditions :—Despite the occasional political upheaval in our history, the country enjoyed the benefit of good government and peace. Common people were not at all concerned with the political upheaval. Taxes were light and the labour was usually paid but traces of slavery are found in our history. The roads and river routes were not so safe as during the Gupta period. Our age-old imperial city of Pataliputra was now on decline. From Hieun-tsang's account we learn about the inner clothing and outward attire of our dress had no tailoring. A fresh white coloured was favoured. The women wore a long robe. Garland and necklaces were in vogue. The people were of pure moral principles. Onions and garlies were very little used.

The women took active part in religious discourses and keen interest in the cultural activities. We are told that Princess Rajyasri sat behind her royal brother and listened to exposition of the doctrine of great vehicle. Though the caste system was strictly maintained there were some fluctuations in the rule owing to the impact of foreigners. Rajputs had come into prominence and they had taken the place of the old Kshatriya families. Vaisyas and Sudras figured as political rulers and this led to the relaxation of social rules and customs.

(D) A brief account of the Chinese travellers who visited Bihar :—Tradition asserts that a large number of Chinese travellers visited Bihar. Besides Hieun-tsang, the following Chinese and other travellers are known to have come.

(1) Hieun-Chiu (also known as Prakasmati) spent his time in Sin-che temple and returned by way of Nepal and Tibet.

(2) Taou-Hi (also known as Srideva) dwelt in Kosi country.

(3) Sin-Chiu (also known as Charitavarma) lived in the Sin-che temple.

(4) Chi-Hing (Prajnadeva) visited Sinche temple.

(5) Tang visited Vaishali and Kosi country.

(6) Hui-Lwn (Prajnavarma) visited Sinche temple.

According to Hieuntsang, the kingdom of Vaishali was about one thousand miles (=5000 Li.) in

circuit. Vaishali abounded in fruits, flowers, mangoes and plaintains. The land was fertile. The country was blessed with a temperate climate. The Capital of the Vrijjian kingdom, Chansuma, (Janakpur) lay in ruins and was about three miles in circuit. The inhabitants had discarded Buddhism. Vaishali, twelve miles in circuit, was inhabited by Jains, Buddhists and Hindus. The city was in a state of ruin and all Buddhist traces, except three or four, had disappeared. Itsing throws a flood of light on the actual practice of Buddhism in the seventh century A.D. He visited Mithila and Vaishali. (J. Takakusu Itsing's record of Buddhist religion—Oxford-1896).

(E) A Survey of our Economic Condition upto the 7th century A.D. :- Agriculture was the chief occupation of our people. One of the main duties of the king was to protect agriculture. According to Megasthenes, the husbandmen formed the bulk of the population. Arrian speaks of the tillers who formed the most numerous class of the population. They enjoyed perfect immunity from the ravages of the war. According to Kautilya, the land belonged to the king. He enjoins that the lands prepared for cultivation should be given to tax-payer for life. Lands were set apart for the pasturage by the king himself. There were slaves and hired labourers. The day-labourers were paid either in cash or in kind. The workers, guilds were watched by the Collector-General. Gold and silver coins were in use. Barter was also prescribed. The rate of interest

varied and there is a reference to the compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, corporeal interest and daily interest.

Trade was prosperous. The merchants used to enter into trade partnership with one another. Hawking was also resorted to. Carts and caravans were used for trade purpose. Stories from the Jatakas prove that term sea, sea-trading and ships were used in connection with the trade-talks. Sea-voyage was not unknown. There were land-traders, sea traders and horse-traders. Kings' purchases were effected by an officially regulated price.

The people of Magadha were rich and prosperous. Magadhan towns were very large. The land of Hirnyaparvata was well-cultivated and productive. The land of Champa was level and fertile. It was regularly cultivated and productive. Magadhan rice was of exceptional variety and was remarkable for its shining colour. Wheat was scarce in Magadha. millet was also a rarity. Ghee, oil and milk were found everywhere. There were also sweet lemons and sugarcanes. Silk and cotton cloths were manufactured in abundance. Pillow covers were made of linen. Ornamented cloth was not allowed to be used. Iron and copper elements were in abundance and people used them for various purposes. Earthen utensils included bowls, pitchers, oil-pots, water-basins etc. Wooden and bamboo implements were also used by the people.

The lot of the common man was not very good.

They had to depend on their own labour. The caste-distinction was so rigid that the people of lower-strata were not allowed things meant for higher classes. Brahmana and Kshatriya joined together for the exploitation of common men. They controlled the instruments of production and the political power. The economic system was based on feudalism, though its character differed entirely from that of the western system.

CHAPTER VII

THE PALAS AND THE SENAS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR AND THE KARNATAS OF MITHILA

(A) Political History

(i) **The Palas** :—The period of anarchy ended with the rise of the Palas in Bengal. Under the Pala hegemony we came to be linked up with Bengal and once again came to be involved in all India politics. Gopala was the founder of Pala dynasty. He brought Magadha under his control. His capital was at Odantpuri. He was succeeded by his son Dharmapala. He was one of the greatest kings of the dynasty. He did much to restore the greatness of the imperial city of Pataliputra and tried to shift the centre of political gravity from west to the east. He set up a camp of victory at Pataliputra. He inherited a small kingdom but his diplomacy enabled him to establish a vast empire and he began to take active part in the contemporary politics. He installed his nominee Chakrayudh in place of Indrayudha on the throne of Kanauj. During the famous tripartite struggle for the supremacy of Kanauj, Bihar became the scene of marches and counter-marches. In that famous tripartite contest, the Palas, Pratiharas and Rastrakutas participated. With the support of Rastrakuta king, Dharmapala got his nominee accepted by the kings of Punjab

and Northern Rajputana. He made an alliance with the Rastrakuta power and defeated Nagbhata Pratihara at Monghyr. He established peace and harmony.

He established a vast empire in North India. He assumed the full imperial titles Parameswara Parambhattarak Maharajadhiraj. That he introduced pomp and grandeur worthy of the empire he had built would be evident from the following description of what looks like an Imperial Darbar held in Pataliputra. "Now-from his royal camp of Victory, pitched at Pataliputra, where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of Bhagirathi make it seem as if a series of mountain-top had been sunk to build another causeway (for Rama's passage); where, the brightness of daylight being darkened by densely packed arrays of rutting elephants., the rainy season (with its masses of black-clouds) might be taken constantly to prevail; where the firmament is rendered grey by the dust, dug up by the hard hoops of unlimited troops of horses presented by many kings of the north; and where the earth is bending beneath the weight of the innumerable footsoldiers of all the kings of Jambudvipa, assembled to render homage to their Supreme Lord" (Khalimpore copper-plate). He was a great patron of Buddhism and of the Buddhist writer, Haribhadra. He was not hostile to the Brahmanas. He granted lands for the worship of Brahmanical gods and followed the rules of caste. He appointed Garga, a Brahmana, as his minister.

Religion did not influence his political motive or design.

He was succeeded by his son Devapala. He renewed struggle with the Gurjaras of the west and Dravidas of the South. He claimed victories over the Hunas, the kings of Orissa and Assam. According to the epigraphic evidence his empire extended upto the Kamboja country and Vindhya mountain. He received an embassy from king Balaputradeva of Sumatra. He preferred Monghyr as the seat of his camp of Victory. He raised the kingdom to the climax of glory. He defeated the Rastrakuta king Amoghavarsa. Mihirbhoja later on defeated Devapala and regained supremacy over Kanauj. The eastern limit of Pratihara empire extended upto Bihar but Devapala wrested Western Bihar from him. In order to check the Pala advance in Bihar Mihirbhoja constructed a fort known as Bhojpur in Shahabad district. Devapala was a great patron of learning and during his reign Bihar was the seat of Buddhist culture and learning. With his permission, the king of Sumatra constructed a hostel in the University of Nalanda for the students of Sumatra. From a copper-plate inscription found at Monghyr, we learn that Devapala endowed five villages near Rajgriha for the maintenance of that hostel. It was during his reign that Afgan Brahmana Viradeva was at Nalanda.

He was succeeded by Vigrahpala I who was a weak ruler. He soon abdicated in favour of Narayan-

pala. His authority extended over Tirhut and Magadha. The Gandaka and Son rivers divided the boundary of Pala and Pratihara Empires. After some time the Pratiharas extended their influence upto Tirhut, Purnea and Rajgriha. Taking advantage of the weakness of Narayanpala, the Pratiharas extended their influence upto Magadha, Hazaribagh and Ranchi. Thus his authority in Bihar extended only upto Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Santhal-Pargana and hence it is likely that Monghyr or Champa continued to be his eastern capital. His three inscriptions seem to prove that the kingdom of Magadha was in his possession. The paucity of material does not enable us to arrive at any final conclusion about the exact location of his empire. He also probably came into conflict with the Rastrakuta king Krishna II. A Pratihara record of 837 A.D. shows that a chieftain named Kakka gained renown by fighting with the Gaudas at Monghyr. One of his inscriptions has been discovered at Odantpur. He concluded a matrimonial alliance with the Rastrakuta power. Under his regime, the Palas became weak and the internal disorders began. The Rastrakutas and the Pratiharas took advantage of the situation and brought whole of Northern India under their control.

He was succeeded by Rajyapala (908-32) and Gopala II (932-49). He took advantage of the weakness of Kanauj and gained sway over Magadha. Gopala II was soon faced with another difficulty.

In the west Yasovarman Chandella (920-50), having occupied Bundelkhand, invaded Magadh and Mithila and defeated the Kambojas. His son Dhanga (950-95) established his authority over Anga and Gauda. Being forced by Chandella invasion Gopala II and his son Vigrahpala II had to take shelter in Bihar. During the reign of Vigrahpala II Pala authority was once more shakened. He was succeeded by Mahipala (988-1038) who restored the Pala power and prestige. After defeating the Kambojas he captured northern Bengal and then established his authority over Magadha. On the basis of an inscription of Kalachuri princes Sodhadeva Dr. H. C. Ray infers that his (Sodhadeva's) dominion included Sasram in Bihar and he is of opinion that the destruction of Pratihara power might have facilitated the rise of such an independent principality. Nothing is known about his reign definitely. The epigraphic evidence shows that Mahipala was in possession of North and South Bihar. The Imadpur Image Inscription of Mahipala proves his sway over Mithila but scholars even now do not agree on this point. The recent discovery at Naulagarh* proves, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the Palas had complete sway over North Bihar. On the authority of a Ramayan manuscript colophon, it has been said that one Gangeyadeva was ruling in Tirabhukti at that time. The validity of this colophon is open

* Please refer to the Bulletin of the Jayaswal Archaeological and Historical Society and Museum, Begusarai. G.D. College Bulletin Series No. 1.

to serious objections and on no account can it be possible to disown the claim of Mahipala over Mithila.* Mahipala after taking Mithila extended his sway upto Kasi. He is regarded as the restorer of Pala fortune. He was succeeded by Nayapala (1038-55) and after him came Vigrāhpala III. They came into conflict with Karna Kalachuri. Vigrāhpala III married Yauvansri, the daughter of Chedi king. His power was limited to certain portions of Bihar. He had three sons viz. Mahipala II, Surpala and Rampala. Mahipala II was a weak king. Rampal, the youngest brother of Mahipala II, restored the glory of his empire to a certain extent. The local chieftains asserted their independence. He defeated the Pithipati Devarakshit, son of Vallabhraja of Magadha of Chikkor family. In this contest he got the help of Rastrakuta Mathandeva of Bhagalpur. Rampala thus held sway over his Samantas and raised a powerful army and crushed the Kaivartas. He conquered Kalinga and Kamrupa. After his death, the Pala hold over Bihar became loose. A Brahmin family of Gaya asserted independence and assumed royal titles. The Manas of the mercantile community of Hazaribag became independent of the Pala authority, which, now, extended from Patna to Rajmahal. The Palas were the last great Hindu Emperors whose commands were issued from the historic city of Pataliputra.

* Vide my article "Gangeyadeva of Tirabhukti" Cf. The Karnatas of Mithila (discussed in this Volume).

Extent of Pala rule in North Bihar :—While there are sufficient proofs of Pala's sway over Magadha and South Bihar, we had practically no evidence about their hold on Mithila. In the last chapter we closed our narrative on Mithila with the overthrow of Tibetan rule in 703 A.D. For a connected history of Mithila after that event, we have practically no reliable evidence and hence we have to depend solely on the solitary account of Lama Taranath. According to that account Chandra dynasty ruled in Bengal before the rise of the Palas and Balchandra of that dynasty established his rule in Tirahuti, (Tirhut). His son Vimalchandra, returned the fortunes of his family and ruled over three kingdoms of Bengal, Kamrup and Tirhut. He married the sister of Bhartrihari of Malwa and was succeeded by his Govindachandra. He was succeeded by Lalitchandra and both of them attained Siddhi. They ruled over the same territories. Then ensued the period of anarchy in the five eastern provinces presumably Bengal, Kamrupa, Odivisa, Varendra and Tirabhukti. According to Taranath, Bengal ruled over Kamrupa and Tirahut. Taking advantage of the chaotic situation, Gopala established the Pala dynasty in Bihar and it appears that he exercised some influence over Tirhut.

Dharmapal is referred to as Uttarapathasvamin by a Gujrati poet Soddhala. The expression "Panch-Gauda" is most probably reminiscent of the Gauda Empire of Dharmapala. According to the Monghyr

copperplate of Devapala, Dharmapala extended his sway to the west of Bengal. He is said to have subjugated Kamrupa, Tirahuti, Gauda and other countries (Account of Lama Taranath). From Svayambhuherana, we learn that Dharmapal occupied the throne of Bengal. The Monghyr copperplate refers to his campaign at the foot of Himalaya. He must have gone to Nepal after conquering Mithila. There is no room for any doubt that both Dharmapal and Devapal held sway over the whole of present Bihar and undivided Bengal. The Bhagalpur grant of Narayanpala, which was issued when the king was staying at Mudgagiri, records the grant of village Makutika to the temple of Siva and Kalaspata situated in the Kaksa Visaya of Tirabhukti. There is no doubt that Narayanpala held sway over Tirhut, till the 17th year of his reign. There is nothing to doubt his suzerainty in Mithila, as no king can grant anything in a place where he holds no sway. It is presumed that with the advance of the Pratiharas, the Palas retired to Tirbhukti.

That Mithila was under Mahipal I is evident from the Imadpur image inscriptions. The recent discovery, of the two Pala inscriptions from Naulagarh in Begusarai subdivision of Monghyr district and one from Bangaon in Saharsa district, shows the defeat of Pala rule in North Bihar. The Naulagarh inscription No. 1 refers to Vighrahpaladeva and I have attributed it to Vighrapala II. During this period, the Palas were losing hold in Bengal and

Bihar. To me it seems that Mithila continued to be one of five divisions of Bengal since the inception of Pala and became an independent state under the Karnats. Vigrahpala III tried to retrieve his patrimony in North Bihar and strengthened his position there. The Bangaon copperplate of Vigrahpala III (edited and published by Dr. D. C. Sarkar) who adds a new name to the list of the Pala Jayaskandavaras. This charter was issued by king Vigrahpala IV from Jaya-skandavara (temporary capital) at Kanchanpur. This records the grant of land to the Brahmanas. A palm-leaf manuscript of Kubijamatam (H. P. Sastri-catalogue-54) notes in the colophon that the manuscript was copied under the reign of Buddhist Emperor Rampaldeva. Rampala was the suzerain of Nepal. He recovered Mithila and Assam. We learn from the Kamauli copper plate grant of Vaidyadeva that Rampala spread the glory by gaining the country of Janaka i.e. Mithila. Mithila passed out of the hands of the Palas during the time of Rampal and it is likely that Nanyadeva defeated Rampala and took possession of Mithila and carved out an independent kingdom in 1097 A.D.

Decline of the Palas :—By the time the Palas had established their power in Bengal, a new political force had emerged on the arena of our political scene. The Muslims had begun to invade India. The foreign invasion gave a death blow to our ruling powers as a result of which most of our states failed to maintain their independence. During the time

of the invasion of Rajendrachola of South, Magadha was under the Pala hegemony. During the time of Nayapala, the Kalachuri king Karna (1041-73) was the strongest power. He invaded Magadha. Acharya Dipankara Srijnan of Vikramshila urged upon Nayapala and Karna to realise the gravity of the situation created by the invasion of the Turks and he succeeded in persuading them to come to terms. In 1041 a treaty was signed between Karna and Nayapala. During this period Chalukya Someshwara of Kalyan (1041-70) and his son Vikramaditya invaded North India and with them came the Karnatas of Tirhut and Nepal and the Karnata Kshatriyas or the Senas of Bengal. Vikramaditya extended his authority upto Magadha, Nepal and Assam.

Vijaysena expelled Madanpala and he proved instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Palas. The Sena power was established by the middle of the 12th century A.D. During the time of Vijaysena, Patna and Monghyr were the remnants of Pala dominion. Gaya came to be ruled by Govindapala in 1160 and he came into conflict with the Senas of Bengal. An inscription, at Jaynagar in Lakhsarai of Monghyr district, refers to one Palpala, but it is very difficult to identify him with any Pala monarch in the absence of other corroborative evidences. From east came the Senas and from west the Gahalwads in Bihar. Govindachandra occupied Maner (1124) and Monghyr (1146). Vijaychandra

occupied Shahabad (1169) and Jaychandra occupied Patna and Gaya. Thus pressed by both the flanks the Pala power was crushed. The Karnats of Mithila under Nanyadeva asserted their dependence. Lakshmanasena occupied Magadha and drove out the Gahadwalas. He extended his power upto Benares and Allahabad. The Pala jurisdiction was limited to the modern Bihar town of Odantpur.

The series of foreign invasions from the west and the South must have shaken the Pala kingdom to its very foundation. For Gaya inscriptions testify that their power in Magadha was also being reduced. While fighting against the Varendras, Rampal had to beg for help in all possible quarters and a list of his supporters shows the picture of the political dismemberment of the Pala Empire. The important allies were the Rastrakutas and Bhimyasas, the king of Pithi and Lord of Magadha. Almost all the allies of Rampala belonged to South Bihar and south-west Bengal. The establishment of two Karnata dynasties hastened the disintegration of the Pala empire. These were the Senas in west Bengal and the Karnatas of Mithila. Nanyadeva of Mithila proved a far more dangerous foe. He invaded Bengal. Within the ten years of the death of Madanpala, the Palas passed out of history.

(ii) **The Senas** :—By the end of the eleventh century India was practically divided into petty-states and had become the scene of mutual jealousies and factions. On the ruins of the Pala Empire,

Vijaysena of the Sena dynasty had established his sway over Bengal and he extended his sway upto Rajmahal. During that particular period a new Karnata dynasty under Nanyadeva was established in Mithila. He was the most notable adversary of Vijaysena. He, after having consolidated his authority in Mithila, turned his attention towards Bengal which was then in a process of political disintegration. Some writers have come to the conclusion that the two Karnata chiefs, Vijayasena and Nanyadeva, at first, combined their forces to break the powers of Vanga and Gauda but ultimately fell out and fought over the prize which went to Vijaysena. Nanya is said to have been imprisoned by Vijaysena. The Senas also extended their sway upto Mithila and according to Vallal-charitra Mithila was one of the five provinces of Vallala's kingdom. The Pratihara Empire had begun to pay tributes to the Ghaznavides. The subjects of Kanauj revolted against the Pratihara authority and in about 1090 A.D. Chandra Gahadwal established a new dynasty in Kanauj. He wrested Benares from the Kalachuris. At that time Magadha was under the control of Madanpala. In the early Sena period, Pithi denoted the whole of Bihar except Mithila. In the later Sena period a family of kings with names ending in—"Sena" are known to have ruled over a kingdom called Pithi. An inscription, found in Gaya district, records the grant of a village to the Vajrasan (i.e. Mahabodhi temple) by the king, Acharya Jayasena, Lord of Pithi. They

were not related to the Senas of Bengal. The matter is still controversial.

In order to save himself from the Sena attack, Madanpala secured the help of Chandra Gahadwal. With his help, he threw off the Sena authority in 1097 A.D. Thus by the last decade of the 11th century A.D. the political condition of Bihar was chaotic. The rule of Thakuri dynasty ended in Nepal and anarchy reigned supreme. Nanyadeva of Mithila took advantage of this opportunity, invaded Nepal and established a new dynasty in 1097. Magadha was still ruled by Madanpala and Kalachuris had still their sway in some parts of Chotanagpur. In order to keep the Kalachuris under control, the Gahadwals made an alliance with the Palas of Magadha, the Gangas of Orissa and the Cholas of the South. The Karnats of Mithila had good relations with the Gahadwals. Bihar just maintained the balance of power and it was in the best interest of the Gahadwals to secure alliance with these two kings of Bihar. Vijaysena was succeeded by Vallalsena.

Vallalsena exterminated the Palas of Magadha. There is a reference about his expedition against Mithila during the lifetime of his father. The recent discovery of an inscription of Vallalsena by Dr. D. C. Sarkar shows that he also held Bhagalpur in North Bihar. Mithila tradition asserts that Vallalsena at the instance of his father invaded Mithila and imprisoned Nanyadeva and in recogni-

tion of his services Vallala was adorned with the title of "Nihasankha-Sankara". Pargana Nishankhpur Kurha in Madhipura subdivision is still reminiscent of that. It was the Sena administrative centre. On the basis of a passage in Laghubharat (chapter 2) Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu believes that Vallalsena went on a conquest to Mithila. The inscriptions of Vallalsena and Laksmansena do not refer to any campaign against Mithila. He is said to have shown his military talents in connection with his expedition against Mithila. On the basis of meagre sources it can be said that he might have conquered some portion of Eastern Mithila. According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, the Bengal province of Mithila included the whole of the country, called Morang. Birbandh is said to be the dividing line between the Karnats of Mithila and the Senas of Bengal. This Birbandh was never completed. It is probable that it was erected by Lakshman II who was subdued and expelled from Nadia by the Mussalmanas. (Bhagalpur District Gazetteer). Mr. G. M. Sarkar, writing in the Journal of the Department of Letters in 1927, observed that there was no positive evidence of Sena rule in Mithila. Unless further evidence is forthcoming, no last word can be said on this particular point. No political event of utmost importance took place in his reign and it seems quite likely that he concentrated much on the solidification of his empire. His was the peaceful reign and he devoted his energy in making social reforms. He concluded matrimonial

alliance with Chalukya king. He assumed the title of Ariraja-Nihasanka-Sankara. According to Vallal-charitra, his dominion included Vanga, Varendra, Radha, Bagdi and Mithila. He was succeeded by his son Lakshmansena.

While Vallalsena had succeeded in giving a death blow to Palas of Magadha, he could not establish his complete authority there. After Govindapala, the whole of Magadha passed into the hands of the Gahadwalas and this is proved by an inscription. The rise of Gahadwals was a menace to the Senas. Lakshmanasena succeeded in driving the Gahadwals from Magadha. The process of Sena consolidation begun by Vijayasena was completed by Lakshmana Sena. The Kalachuri king Yashakarn made an alliance with Lakshman Sena and invaded Benares. In course of his campaign, the Kalachuri king came upto Champaran, but the point is still very much controversial. Govinda Chandra Gahadwal ousted the Kalachuris from Benares but Lakshmanasena extended his sway upto Magadha, Benares and Allahabad. The contest for the supremacy over Bihar between the Gahadwals and the Senas continued for a long time. Govindrachandra Gahadwal took Magadha from Lakshmanasena. Vijaychandra and Jaychandra Gahadwal occupied Patna, Gaya and Shahabad. The Gahadwals retired from Bihar after 1192. Nanyadeva of Mithila maintained his isolation from all these policies of aggression and remained busy in stabilising his own new settlements.

Before we pass over to the Turko-Afgan period, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the Karnata dynasty of Mithila. The Sena practically collapsed with the death of Lakshmanasena. The Muslim invasion had already hastened the fall of the Senas. After Lakshmanasena came Visvarupasena and Kesava-sena. They were weak kings. The rise of rebellious feudal chiefs added fuel to the fire and the extinction of the Senas became a reality.

(iii) **The Karnatas of Mithila*** :—The emergence of the Karnatas in the political arena of North Eastern India has been a long standing problem in our history. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that the Karnata settlers under Nanyadeva of Mithila were the remnants of Rajendra Chola's army. Mr. R. D. Banerjee thinks that they were the Karnata allies of Chedi king, son of Gangeyadeva and sovereign of Mithila who overran Tirhut. But we should remember that Karnat's expedition took place about forty years before the accession of Nanya in Mithila and Vijaysena in Bengal. Jayswal's contention of the origin of the Karnatas as the remnants of Rajendra Chola's army does not stand in the light of modern researches. The very title (of Nanya), Mahasamantadhipati, indicates that he was not the leader of the Karnatas. The rise of the Karnatas in Mithila may be connected with the Chalukya invasion of Northern India during the rule of Someswara I and

* For detailed reference please refer to my paper "Nanyadeva and his contemporaries" in the Proceedings of the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress.

Vikramaditya in the second half of the 11th century and the early years of the next century. During the rule of Somesvara I (1040-69), his son Vikramaditya led an expedition against North eastern India and a number of military adventurers accompanied him. Such adventurers carved out small principalities in Bengal and North Bihar. Another theory about the Karnatas of Mithila is that they were merely the results of a revival of the eclipsed royal Karnata power of Magadha (vide, C. S. Srinivaschari in the Proceedings of A.I O.C. III—Madras—1924)

Nanyadeva—Nanyadeva, the founder of the Karnata dynasty of Mithila, was the Mahasamantadhipati and it is quite likely that he might have, for sometime, acknowledged the sway of his Chalukya master. He played an important part in North Indian politics. For about two hundred and twenty five years his dynasty claimed sovereignty over Tirhut, Mithila and Nepal. He became the king of Mithila in 1097 A.D. His contemporaries were (i) Rampala and his successor Madanpala, (ii) Vijaysena, (iii) Govindachandra Gahadwal and (iv) Raghav of Kalinga. Nanyadeva distinguished himself in war and peace.

He wrote a commentary on Bharata's Natya-sastra. He is said to have broken the name and fame of Malwa, defeated the heroes of Sauvira and broken the powers of Vanga and Gauda. The contention of Mr. Jayaswal that Nanyadeva was friendly to the Gahadwals does not stand in view of

Nanya's assertion in his commentary that he defeated the power of Gauda and Vanga. He also holds that Senas went against the Karnatas of Mithila who were friendly to the Gahadwals. Jayaswal's contention of Gahadwal's influence over Mithila does not hold good. Mithila tradition does not show any sign of Nanya's contact with the Gahadwal king. Had he maintained the balance between the Senas and Gahadwals, he could have also embarked on aggressive policy. Dr. Tripathi does not mention the move of any Gahadwal king towards Mithila nor does he mention the name of any Karnata king of Mithila as an ally of Gahadwal king of Kanauj.

Mithila tradition asserts that Vallalsena, at the instance of his father, invaded Mithila and imprisoned Nanyadeva. In recognition of his services, Vallalsena got the title of Nihasank-Sankara and he is said to have established the Nishankpur pargana (Saharsa district) in Mithila. Nishankpur was the Sena administrative centre. Nanya's son Gangadeva is said to have reconquered the lost territory of his father. Nanya laid the foundation of a well-established Karnata kingdom of Mithila on a sound basis and with an efficient administrative system. He confined his aggressive ambition upto Nepal and he successfully maintained the individuality of Mithila and his position through his skill and far-sightedness. The disturbances that took place between the Thakuris of Nayakot and Patan gave an opport-

unity to Nanyadeva. According to the Nepalese tradition, he captured the whole of Nepal and after dethroning the ruling princes established his court at Bhatgaon. The Mallas of Nepal traced their descent to Nanyadeva. The Nepalese history is conspicuous by the absence of coinage after 800 A.D. and this leads us to believe that the Pala domination was followed by the Karnata domination. The disturbances that led to the restoration of Thakuris of Nayakot originated in Tirhut, where the Karnats had already entrenched themselves. If Nepalese tradition is to be relied upon, Nanya captured two Nepalese princess-Jagadevanalla of Patan and Kathmandu and Anandmalla of Bhatagaon and there after established his court at Bhatgaon. According to Sylvain Levi, the chroniclers have fallen into a blunder by introducing the Malla kings into Nepal at this period. Nanya's invasion of Nepal took place between 1119 and 1120 A.D. Mr. Regmi thinks that Nanya occupied Nepal valley for the second time in 1141 A.D. While the region between Purushpur and Kamrupa was under the sway of the Muslims, Mithila was the only independent Hindu kingdom in North-eastern India. Nanyadeva died in 1147 A.D. He laid the foundation of a well-established kingdom, which existed for more than two hundred years independent of all external control.

Nanya had two sons Malladeva*, the heir

*See My paper—"The Karnats of Mithila" to be published shortly in the ABORI—

apparent, and Gangadeva. My contention is that the kingdom was divided among these two brothers after the death of Nanya. That Malladeva ruled Mithila is based on epigraphic evidence and the ruins at Bheet Bhagwanpur (Darbhanga district) with an inscription on the pedestal of Lakshmi Narain. "Om Sri Malladevasya" leads one to conclude that those ruins are the part and parcel of once-magnificent capital of Malladeva. Its authenticity has to be proved by other corroborative evidences. He is said to have been the patron of one Sri Vardhman Upadhyaya. Malladeva became the king of Eastern part and Gangadeva of the Western part of the kingdom.

According to Vidyapati, Malladeva was a valiant hero. He went to Kanauj king Jayachandra but due to his quarrelsome nature, he could not stay there long. Thereafter he went to the Chikkor king. In the meantime there broke out a struggle between the Chikkor and Gahadwal kingdom. The chikkors belonged to the kingdom of Pithi and at one time played a very important part in the history of North-eastern India. Pithi was a very important kingdom. It was most probably on the western or northern boundary of Magadha and was perhaps represented by the Trans-Son district and was probably a buffer state between Kanyakubja and Gauda. Sandhyakar Nandi in his "Ramcharita" calls Bhimiyasha Pithipati and Magadhadhipati. According to Vidyapati (Purush-pariksha-1. 3), the

Chikkor kingdom, during the time of Malladeva, had not the means to measure arms with so mightily a monarch as king Jagachandra of Kasi. The Pithis, then, were feudal chieftains. Malladeva was the cause of struggle between the Chikkors and Gahadwals. Malladeva is called 'Pratimalla' by Vidyapati.

Tradition asserts that one of Nanya's son ruled in Nepal. It seems that Gangadeva ruled in Mithila and the other who is none else than Malladeva ruled in Nepal. Gangadeva was not on good terms with his brother. On the basis of Bheet-Bhagwanpur inscription, it has been asserted that it was the capital of Malladeva. The border of Nepal territory falls within 40 or 45 miles from Bheet-Bhagwanpur and it seems probable that he ruled the eastern portion of Tirhut and some portion of Nepal. The division of the Karnat kingdom amongst them weakened the state. Malladeva was brave king but the tradition preserves little information about him. The accepted view is that Gangadeva succeeded Nanyadeva. Gangadeva was an efficient ruler and he organised his kingdom thoroughly and on scientific lines. He is credited with having reorganised the administrative system on a sound footing. Even today certain big tanks of Darbhanga are ascribed to him.

Gangadeva—There has been much controversy about Gangadeva on the basis of the colophon of a Ramayan Manuscript. Bendall identified Gangadeva of the Colophon with Kalachuri king but exa-

mined in the light of new facts, this identification does not stand. The year given in the Manuscript in samvat 1076 but as the Colophon does not specify the era to which it belongs, it does not admit of verification. Mr. Chanda (Gaud-Raj-Mala) has suggested that Magadha was under the Palas, the country to the west under the Chandelas, Gangeyadeva Kalachuri could not have extended his rule to Tirhut. The term 'Gaudadhwaja' exists in the Colophon towards which our attention was first drawn by Bendall. In Dr. Raghubir's copy of the Colophon, to which Mm. Mirashi has taken recourse, there exists "Garudadhwaja" in place of Gaudadhwaja. This gave rise to another problem and that is the standard of Eagle. On the basis of these two Colophons, the following facts are clear:—

(i) That Gangeyadeva was ruling in Tirabhukti in the year 1076 of an unspecified era.

(ii) That he bore the title of Maharajadhiraj and the Virada Punyavaloka

(iii) belonged to lunar race

(iv) Mm. Mirashi does not regard the identification of Gangeyadeva with Kalachuri king as tenable. The whole trouble lies in fixing the date of the Colophon. For Kalachuri domination of Tirhut we have no epigraphic record. Even the Goharwa plates of Karnadeva, which mention the military conquests of his father, does not say anything about his domination in Tirabhukti. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar believed that this Gangeyadeva was the Karnat king

of Mithila and son of Nanyadeva. According to Dr. Mazumdar, Samvat 1076 should be taken to mean Saka Era and should be fixed at 1154 A.D. Bendall, on account of the archaic nature, took it to mean Vikrama Samvat and fixed it at 1019 A.D. Scholars, with the exception of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, have since then followed Bendall.

The Karnatas were also called Maharajadhirajas and they had Viruda ending in Avaloka. Even if we read Garudadhwaja in place of Gaudadhwaja. Gangeyadeva's supremacy over Bengal can not be called in question. The scribe Srikur may be identified Srikar, founder of the 'Naurangbadi Mul' among the Karna Kayasthas of Mithila. There is no mention of any Srikar Kayastha in Mithila Panji. The manuscript, when written in Tirabhukti must have been written by a Karan or Tirhut Kayastha. Another Colophon may give us the correct name of the scribe as 'Srikar'. The year 1076 should be referred back to the Saka Era and taken to be equivalent to 1154 A.D. When Gangadeva was ruling. Gangadeva was a powerful ruler who took revenge against the Palas and Senas. Bengal was then fishing in the troubled waters and Gangadeva took advantage of the situation and strengthened his own position. He was succeeded by Narasinghdeva. He fought with the king of Nepal with the result that Mithila and Nepal were separated. Tradition asserts that Narasinghadeva used to go to Kanauj with his uncle

Malladeva. After the end of Jayachandra's reign, he went to Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori and fought for him. It is evident that the Karnat king, Narasinghadeva, was a contemporary of Muhammad Ghori. Tale four of Vidyapati's Purush-Pariksa refers to Shihabuddin Ghori's rule. Here Vidyapati refers to Chachikadeva Cauhan. Dr. Kanungo's statement that "the Karnataka kingdom unner Ari-malladeva was breaking into fragments about this time (1213-27)" does not find support in Mithila tradition. (For Kanungo's statement-cf-Sirkar-History of Bengal-Vol II P. 22-23). There was no such ruler of the name of Arimalladeva in Mithila. During this period, Narasinghadeva was ruling in Mithila. Arimalladeva was ruler of Nepal and he had a long reign. Levi believes that the existence of a Malla dynasty in a part of Mithila is not wholly impossible. Arimalladeva seized power in Nepal valley in 1197 A.D. It seems that Dr. Kanungo has confused this Arimalladeva with the Karnataka king of Mithila. Illtutmish concentrated large forces on the Tirhut frontier during the time of Narasinghadeva.

He was succeeded by Ramasinghadeva and during his reign various commentaries on Vedas were compiled. He was a very successful king and he efficiently organised the administrative system. Karmaditya is said to have been his minister. Ramsingh succeeded in maintaining the independence of Mithila. He was succeeded by

Shaktisinghadeva and the latter by Harasinghadeva. He was the last but the greatest king of the time.

The introductory verse to "Sugati-Sopana" gives us a picture of the then political condition. It refers to Gauda. Some sort of contact with the Muslims is indicated in the verse. A verse in the "Danratnakar" says that Mithila was sinking in the ocean of the Mlechhas. Chandeswar and Jyotirishwar testify to the fact that Harasinghadeva defeated some Muslim power. It is believed that he was able to recover his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the Muslims that 'Danratnakar' and 'Dhurtasamagam' were composed. The expulsion of the Muslims was definitely transitory because we find that in 1324, Harasinghadeva lost to the Muslim the last semblance of independence in North-eastern India. According to Vidyapati's Purush-Pariksha, Harasinghadeva had friendly relations with Ramadeva, the Yadava king of Devagiri.

In 1323-24, Ghiyasuddin Tugluq led his victorious forces into Tirhut and reduced the kingdom. Ferista gives the following account of the capture of Tirhut kingdom—"As the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand.

The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort surrounded by seven ditches, full of water and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken prisoner and great booty obtained".

Harasinghadeva's rule is regarded as one of the brightest periods in the Karnata history of Mithila. He devoted his attention towards the social reform and educational progress. After being defeated by Ghiyasuddin Tugluq, he fled to Nepal and established himself at or near Bhatgaon and his descendants continued to rule that country till 1769. Even after his departure, three of his successors Mati Singh, Sakti Singh and Shyam Singh ruled in successive order for fifteen, twenty-two and fifteen years respectively. Tirhut became practically a dependency of Delhi Empire. Ghiyasuddin placed Tirhut under Kameshwar, the founder of the Sugauna or Thakur dynasty or the Oinwar dynasty.

After being defeated by the Muslims, Harasinghadeva conquered Nepal in 1324-26 A.D. and ruled at Bhatagaon. According to Wright, the successors of Harasinghadeva were as follows —1) Matisingh (son) —Shakti singh (son), who abdicated in favour of his son Shyamsingh, who had no male issue and whose daughter was married to a prince of the Malla dynasty. Shakti singh sent

presents to China. The Chinese Emperor was so pleased as to send him in return a seal with the name of Shaktisingh engraved on it and in addition the title of Ram.

The Chinese Emperor Hang-Wu sent two emissaries to the king of Nepal whose name was Ma-tana (Mati singh). The Chinese envoy brought an official seal, confirming Matisingh in his kingly office. In return, the Nepalese king sent to Peking a gift containing a gold shrine and sacred books. This exchange of mission again took place in 1390, 1399, 1409 and 1413. Shyamsingh received a seal from the Chinese Emperor confirming his accession. The successors of Harasingh were regarded as genuine rulers of Nepal by the Chinese Emperor. Jayasthiti, a descendant of Harasinghadeva, married Rajalladevi and this matrimonial alliance strengthened his position. Jayasthiti became king of Nepal after defeating Jayarjuna.

The successors of Harasingh also ruled in a very limited portion of Mithila, which by the time had become a part of Delhi sultanate and was then ruled by the Oinwar dynasty. The Karnats succeeded in struggling against the enemies till 1376-78. Local rulers like Narsingh and Ramsingh ruled within a very limited period. Thus a brief review of the Karnatas of Mithila shows that they maintained the independence of Mithila for about 225 years. During the period under review, Mithila played an important part in the history of India. Harasinghdeva

was an able administrator and a great patron of learning.

(B) Administrative System :—

(i) Pala and Sena Administration :—The Palas and the Senas established strong government. The Empire was divided into a series of administrative units in Bengal and Bihar. They exercised direct administrative control over Bengal, Bihar and Assam. The king was the supreme executive head. The provinces were known as Bhuktis and Bihar was divided into Srinagara-bhukti and Tirabhukti and the province was divided into district. We have references to Kaksa and Krimla Visya in Bihar. Visaya stood for district. The kings assumed the titles of Parameshwara, Paramabhat-tarak and Maharajadhiraj. The term "mantri" is also referred to in the Pala Inscriptions. He was an important official of the state. The government was monarchical. Feudatory chiefs were created. The government controlled not only the political, economic and social affairs of the state but also the religious and moral affairs. Dharma-pala maintained the rules of caste. The religious professions of the Pala kings did not influence their policy of the state. The Brahmanas were generally appointed ministers by the Buddhist Palas. The important functionaries of the state were; (i) Raj-putra, (ii) Mantri, (iii) Mahasandhi-Vighrahika, Minister incharge of peace and war, (iv) Rajamatya (junior ministers), (v) Mahakumaramatya and

(vi) Duta. Angaraksa was the head of the royal body-guard. There were Adhyaksas or superintendents of every department. The revenue department was highly organised and the terms Bhag¹, Bhog², Kara³, Hiranya⁴, Uparika⁵ etc., have come down to us. The king got one sixth of the produce. The villagers also paid taxes for protection against thieves, customs and tolls, fine for criminal offences and ferry dues. There were separate judicial (Dharmadhikar). Police (Mahapratihara) and Military (Senapati) departments. According to Nalanda copper plate of Dharmapala there were five military divisions viz—Elephant, Cavalry, Chariot, Infantry and Navy. A slight change took place during the Sena rule. They attached great importance to religious and social aspects of administration. The queen and Purohita came into prominence. The office of Rajyapandita was instituted.

(ii) **Administration of Mithila under the Karnatas** :—The Karnata period is regarded as the golden age in the history of Mithila. Viewed from the literary, cultural and administrative standpoint this period stands as the most brilliant in our history.

Feudalism was the basis of social and political organisation. The establishment of the Karnat kingdom over a vast tract of eastern India necessitated the

1. Land revenue paid in kind.
2. Periodical supplies of fruits, flowers etc.
3. A generally property tax levied periodically.
4. Tax levied on special kinds of crops.
5. Imposts levied on temporary tenants.

organisation of a sound administration. Mithila had already formed a part of the Pala Empire and seems to have been the seat of provincial administration. Under the Karnatas, the constitution was under the council of Elders and the main task of the council was to check the despotism of the king. Whenever king's despotism offended the nobles, they checked it through the council. The important officials were Mahasandhi-Vigrahika, Mahamudradhikrita and Mahasarvadhikrita. The judicial head was known as Mahadharmadhyaksas and the prime minister as Mahamattaka. They had immense powers.

The king carried on the administration of the State with the advice of the ministers. We have got a complete list of king's ministers. Nanyadeva's minister was Shreedhar Das, son of Batudas, Shreedhar Das had the title of Mahamandlik under Lakshmanasena. He also served under Gangadeva. In contemporary literature and inscriptions, Karmaditya is described as Mahamatya and Mahasandhi-vigrahika of Ramasingh. Vireshwar was the prime minister of Harasinghdeva and his son Chandeswar was Sandhivigrahika. Chandeswar united in himself the office of the chief justice or the Pradvivaka.

The ministers were feudal barons and that position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and places for which Devaditya, Vireshwar and Chandeswar are noted. A verse in introduction to Sugati-Sopana shows that Gane-

shwara presided over the council of feudatory rulers. He was the chief of the feudatories with high sounding title of Maharajadhiraj. Besides these officers, there were officers in charge of transfer department, the keeper of the treasury and the keeper of the seals.

Gangadeva is credited with having organised the Karnata administration on a sound basis. For an efficient administration of the revenue department he introduced the system of fiscal division or the Parganas. A Choudhary or a headman was appointed in each village to collect the revenue. Village Panchayats were organised to settle the village disputes. Ramsinghadeva appointed an officer in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the new canons of conduct introduced by him. He appointed the police officers in each village to maintain peace and tranquillity. The police had to make daily report of all occurrences to the village headman or Choudhary. In return of his services, the Choudhary was given a jagir. The Patwari System was instituted to keep the village accounts. He was paid out of the village fund. Peace and tranquillity reigned supreme and this gave Mithila a chance to produce first rate sanskrit scholars.

(C) Cultural History

(i) Cultural life during the Pala and Sena period—The Palas raised Eastern India to a prominent position and they maintained cultural relation with the foreign countries. They left no stone unturned

to foster religion and culture in our land and the University of Vikramshila was their creation. Before passing on to the cultural condition, I shall here deal, in brief, with salient features of the educational system at Vikramsila.

Dharmapala was a Buddhist and a patron of learning. He established the University of Vikramshila. It was a famous centre of learning and people from far off countries used to come here for the sake of study. There were about hundred eight professors in the university and it was managed by a governing body of six members. It was furnished with a very good library. Ratnakarshanti of Odantpur was appointed Dwarpandita of Vikramshila. He was invited by the Ceylonese king and he went there to preach Buddhism. He wrote many books on Logic.

There were six gates and as many gate-keepers. Prajnakarmati was on the southern gate, Bagiswar-kirti on the western gate, Ratnakarshanti on the eastern gate, Narope on the northern gate, Ratnavraja on the middle and Gyansri Misra on the second middle. During the time of Dharmapala Buddhagupta was the head of the university. After that it was managed by Dipankara. Sheelrakshit of Odantpur gave Dipankar the title of Shri-Gyan. He was also known as Atisa. In compliance with the request of Nayapala, he accepted the professorship of the university. His fame spread far and wide. He was invited by Tibetan king. He pro-

ceeded to Tibet and sun of Buddhism set with his departure. His monumental work 'Bodhipatha pradeep' is still held in high esteem by the Buddhists.

One of our most famous scholars during this period was Shantirakshit. He studied Tripitaka in the University of Nalanda and then took to the study of famous Mahayan Scripture, Abhisamayalankar, under Vinaysena. He then studied the philosophy of Nagarjuna and wrote a commentary known as Madhyamkalankar. He is credited with having laid the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet. He went to Tibet in 724 A. D. The Tibetans were very much influenced by his teaching. On his advice a Buddhist monastery, on the lines of Odantpuri, was built in Tibet. It was established by Shantiraksit but it was Atisa who crystallised Buddhism in Tibet.

In the Vikramsila University special stress was given on the Tantra cult. Besides that, Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic etc. were taught. At the time of its destruction the head of the University was Sakyasri. The Pala rulers also generously granted for the mintenance of the Nalanda University. The Pala king had permitted the king of Suvarnadvipa to build a hostel at Nalanda and for the maintenance of that Devapala endowed five villages near Rajgriha.

(B) Two Eminent Buddhist Teachers of Bihar

(i) **Acharya Shantirakshit**—He was born somewhere near Anga. He read at the feet of

Acharya Gyangarbha and became well-versed in Mul-Sarvastivada-Vinaya. After that he studied Tripitakas in the University of Nalanda and then took to the study of famous Mahayana scripture, Abhisamayalankar under Vinayasen. He wrote a commentary on the philosophy of Nagarjuna. He was a professor at the University of Nalanda. His important works are Madhyamalankar Vriti, Madhyamalankar Karika, Bodhisatvasambarvimsika Vriti, Tattva-sangrah karika. Vadnyayapanchi tartha, Satyadwaibibhangparyika and a number of works on Tantra. He laid the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan king, Khri-Srong-Lde-Btsan (Asoka of Tibet), was very much influenced by his teaching and became his disciple. Some of the Buddhist Texts were translated into Tibetan by Shantirakshit. After his death, some religious controversies cropped up and his disciple Kamalsheel was invited to Tibet to solve the problem.

(ii) **Dipankar Srigyan**—(also known as Atisa) He was born somewhere near Anga. He was initiated to Sramanhood by Acharya Bodhibhadra at Nalanda. At the age of 18, Dipankar became one of the famous learned men of his time. He also read with Narope of Vikramsila and Sheelrakshit of Bodhgaya. He then proceeded to Suvarnadwip to study under Dharmapala. During his time, Vikramsila had a galaxy of Scholars, Viz. Shantibhadra, Sthavirbhadra and others. Vikramsila was the centre of Tantricism and most of the 84 Siddhas be-

longed to this Vihar. Dipankar went to Tibet and stabilised Buddhism there. He wrote about 55 books on philosophy and 70 on Tantricism. He was the embodiment of learning. He also took part in the current political affairs and we have seen how he was instrumental in bringing about a treaty between the Pala king and his neighbour. He died at the age of 73.

(c) **Social and economic condition** :—As in other parts of our country, Bengal and Bihar, under the Palas and the Senas had practically the same social structure. There were various castes and sub-castes. The Varnashram Dharma had come to stay but its rigidity had been in a state of flux. With the development of different arts, professions and crafts, various castes and sub-castes came into existence. The social distinction was still there. With the rise of the Palas, we find a sort of relaxation in these social rules. The Palas were Sudras and the political rise of the Sudras made this relaxation possible. With the advent of the Palas came again the rise of Buddhism and the democratic trend in religion. To maintain the so-called theory of Varnashrama Dharma, the Brahmanas, as usual, raised them to the status of Kshatriya. They were Buddhists and tolerant towards their subjects. They granted toleration to all sects. The list of the finds of images shows that a large number of Hindu gods and goddesses were worshiped during the Pala period. Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and other religions flourished

side by side. Religious persecution was not rare. The state did not interfere with the private life of an individual. With the coming of the Senas, Buddhism got a set back and they again began to advocate the cause of Sanatan Dharma with all its qualities.

The people were honest, amiable and hard working. The Buddhists maintained a high moral standard. Education was highly valued and people travelled in different parts of country to learn. Women enjoyed less privileges. Even up to the Sena period, Purdah system was not much in vogue. In respect of their person and property, they enjoyed few legal rights and privileges. Married women sometimes helped their husband by earning money by means of spinning, weaving or by some other technical art or mechanical occupation. Rice, fish, meat, fruits, vegetables etc., constituted the chief diet. Milk and its preparations were very popular. The system of Kulinism in Bengal rose during the Sena period.

In villages, the people were simple. Land was source of revenue and other incomes. Lands were granted for pious purposes and educational institution. During the Pala and Sena period the pious endowments were made by the kings in favour of the temples and religious foundations and such grants were rent-free. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people but there were various kinds of trades. People used to go to far off coun-

tries and there was a regular contact, through sea, with the foreign countries.

(d) **Art** :—Between the period 800-1200 there practically evolved a new type of art which came to be known as the Eastern Indian School of medieval art. The Palas were Buddhists and as such various Buddhist establishments received their patronage. The Brahmanical influence in the villages and towns continued and the art could not be completely Buddhistic. The art was influenced by religious thought and ideas. Various iconographic figures of Gods have been discovered. Generally the rich persons helped in having the temples built and images installed. The artists were asked to translate the personal religious expression and objects of donors into the art to the best of their ability. The artists ordinarily belonged to a professional class.

The Pala and Sena sculptures are carved out in blackstones and metal images are cast in a brass. Proportion, symmetry, balance, repetition and even composition are some of the salient features of the art of this period. Experience is translated into objects of art and later canonised by respective cults. Images are generally cut out from the rock-slabs. Pala art and culture thrived on the patronage of rich individuals and it derived its inspiration from the private wealth. During the time of the Senas, there was a change in the attitude of the court. They developed a pompous and luxurious

court life and we find its reflection in the Sena art where over-sensitiveness of form and gestures and sensuous worldliness and ornamentations are predominant. The rich ornamental sanskrit language had its counterpart in the exuberant and luxuriant art of the Sena period. The peculiarity of the Pala art was the human figure with its spiritual and mundane suggestiveness. The period is marked by the development of plastic art in all its extravagant form and shape.

(ii) **Cultural life of Mithila during the Karnata rule.** :—The Karnata rule in Mithila left its permanent impress on her culture and literature. Chandeswar and his family kept high the banner of Smritic studies. Sridatta Upadhya, Harinath Upadhya and Bhavesvarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakshmipati and others contributed much towards the development of this branch of literature. Padmanabh Datta started an important school of Grammar. Sridhar Dasa's "Saduktikarnamrita" is an important Anthology of this period. Jyotirishwara composed the earliest extant work in Maithili Vernacular. Mithila was the home of Navya-Nyaya, which is an amalgam of Nyaya (Logic) and Vaisesik (the knowledge of substance). This amalgam of the two systems became prominent in the 12th and 13th centuries. According to these two systems, the origin of the world from atom is common. These form a closely connected pair. Of late Vaisesik became very popular. It received its name

from the category of "particularity" (vises) on which great stress is laid on the theory of atoms. It set up six logical categories viz. quality, substance, motion, generality, particularity and inherence and later was added a seventh, non-existence. This was later on divided into prior and posterior non-existence, mutual non-existence and absolute non-existence (as fire in the water). It explains why the soul can not be conscious of all objects simultaneously. In Gautama, the Indian mind is independently arrived at an exposition of the syllogism as the form of deductive reasoning. Maxmuller observed, "This perfect state of freedom, or resignation, can, according to Gautama, be realised in one way only, namely, by knowledge. The Nyaya and Vaisheshik systems, though they aim at salvation, are satisfied with pointing out the means of it as consisting in correct knowledge." Neither of these systems accepted that existence of God and their theology first developed in Udaynācharya's *Kusumanjali* where god was regarded as a special "soul". According to Dr. D. C. Sen the civilisation of Bengal, the new learning especially that of Logic, which made the tols of Nadia famous throughout India, came from Mithila, when Magadha ceased to give light to the eastern world. O'Malley has rightly observed, "The history of of Mithila centres round the court engrossed in luxurious enjoyment of literature and learning." Vedānta, Nyaya, Mimamsa and Sankhya systems had their beginning in Mithila. It remained the centre

of orthodox Brahmanical civilisation and the defence of orthodoxy led to the development of Nyaya and Purvamimamsa. For centuries it was the centre of learning, where students flocked from different parts of the country. Just about the time of Muslim conquest of Bihar, Mithila gave shelters to Buddhist Scholars. Tradition asserts that the learned teachers did not allow the students from outside to take down notes but the Bengali used to commit to memory all that was taught and then carried the same to Bengal. Mithila, being comparatively free from the foreign invasions, was in a position to give protection to a large number of scholars from adjoining countries.

The Karnata rulers also did their best to raise moral and cultural standard of the people. Rama Singha Deva framed rules for the guidance of Hindus in their religious and social observances. To adjudicate upon all such questions arising out of the working of these new canons, an officer was appointed. Harasinghdeva instituted the Panji system in Mithila and he grouped the Maithil Brahmans in three main divisions viz. Srotriya, Yoga, and Jaybars. A further classification of subcastes was made. Since then the genealogy of every family has been kept intact. Various temples were constructed and wells and ponds were dug at the cost of the state. State-grants were given to the educational institutions.

In the field of arts and architecture, we have practically no remains at our disposal except few

scattered pieces of stone-images and door-frames. Art was directly influenced by the Pala and Sena art and whatever we have bears testimony to this fact.

The Andhratharhi-inscription on the pedestal of Kamaladitya, ascribed to Sridhar, is in black stone. The Bheet Bhagwanpur ruins, referred to above, containing the images of Lakshmi Narayana, Mahavidya Bhagwati, Surya, Ganesh etc., are the fine specimens of Karnata sculpture. A set of two representations of man-woman in embrace is on the door frame there. These are in Black Gaya Stone and are finely carved out. The religious themes are endowed with worldly consciousness. The iconoplastic representation is vivid and we find its counterpart in literature in Vidyapati's poetry.

Jyotirishwar's works are a mine of information on the life and condition of the people of North-eastern India. In his Varnaratnakara, he gives us (i) the lists of lower castes and classes; (ii) description of a hero; (iii) an account of the royal court; (iv) list of delicacies in Mithila; (v) description of seasons; (vi) an account of gambling; (vii) an account of the march of conquest of the king; (viii) an account of the forest; (ix) description of wrestling (x) gruesome description of cemetery and burning ground; (xi) list of saints; (xii) list of mountains; (xiii) enumeration of Rajput clans; (iv) an elaborate account of the surrounding of a fort and (xv) an account of ships. It is encyclopaedic in character and is an important source of knowledge for the period. A critical and analyti-

cal study of this work is still a desideratum. No aspect of life has been left out in his work.

Note :—(Length of reign of the Karnat rulers.)

Nanyadeva—1097-1147 A. D.

Gangadeva—1147-1188

Narasinghadeva—1188-1227

Ramsinghadeva—1227-1285

Harasingadeva—1285-1324

CHAPTER VIII

THE TURKO-AFGAN PERIOD

(A) **Political History**:—Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar made repeated attacks against Bihar. After the fall of the Gahadwals, the central authority in Magadha vanished and the various chiefs of Magadha began to fight amongst themselves. The king of Palamu asserted his independence and maintained for a long time. Bihar comprised Rajmahal hills, the Ganges and the hilly tracts of Gaya district. The area from Rohtas to Kharagpur and Rajmahal was still under the sway of Hindu rulers. King Indradyumna ruled in Kharagpur of Monghyr district was still holding his own. Muhammad Bakhtiyar organised an attack upon the fortified city of Bihar. They captured the fortresses and acquired great booty. The greater number of the inhabitants of the place were the Sramanas and they were all slain. He was joined by wandering Khiljis and Turks. His eastward expansion through North Bihar was barred by the powerful Karnata kingdom of Mithila and so he made a drive in South Bihar, where he established military outposts. He captured our famous University town and the Buddhist Viharas were destroyed by the followers of the crescent and all the valuable books and manuscripts were burnt. The name Bihar was derived from the term Buddhist Vihar. He defeated the Hindu

king, Indradyumna of Kharagpur. After returning from Delhi to Bihar in 1193, he hatched schemes of conquest. In 1202, he left Bihar with a large body of horse and marched on Nadia. He wrested Bengal from the Senas. His authority in Bihar was predominant along the Southern banks* of the Ganges right upto the Rajmahal hills. He also held the riverine tracts on the north bank of the Ganges from the mouth of the Gandak river to that of Kosi. Throughout the middle ages, Bihar served as the stepping stone to the sovereignty of Bengal from the time of Bakhtiyar to that of Allivardi. He organised his government on feudal lines and the country was divided among the army officers, most of whom settled here. But just after his death, the submerged Hindu principalities threw off the scattered muslim outposts on the defensive.

In 1206, Qutubuddin Aibak became the king of Delhi. His dominion extended from Delhi to Bengal and Lahore to Kanauj and Gujrat. During his reign there arose some disputes between the Khilji amirs of Bengal. Qutubuddin sent Rumi to settle disputes among the Khilji armies and place each in his own fief. In 1207 Rumi passed through Kosi area. The chief of Bengal, Hisamuddin Iwaz, hurried to receive him. Hisam was the fief-holder of Gangotri in the riverine tract at the mouth of the Kosi. Rumi made him the fief-holder of Devakot.

After the death of Qutubuddin, Hisamuddin-Iwaz asserted his independence in Bengal and assumed

the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. In those days Lakhanauli was the stronghold of Muslim influence of Bengal. Hisam is said to have exacted tribute from Tirhut. Hisam exercised control over Bhagalpur district and he re-annexed South Bihar. The nature of his rule in Bihar was that of a military occupation. When Illtutmish ascended the throne, a large part of Bihar was under the control of Hindu rulers. He conquered Magadha and established his authority there. In 1225 he wrested south Bihar from Hisam and placed it under his own Governor Mirza Jani, but he was defeated and slain by Illtutmish's son Nasiruddin, governor of Oudh, who occupied Lakhanauli in 1225. Nasiruddin was made the governor of Lakhanauli in 1226 and in 1228 Alauddin Jani was made in charge of Lakhnauli. Illtutmish advanced into North Bihar and is said to have conquered Darbhanga but it is doubtful if it resulted in permanent occupation. According to Badaoni, Iwaz acknowledged the authority of Sultan Illtutmish.

At the beginning of Masud's reign, Sanjar entitled Guraitkhan, having ensured the obedience of native landholders, invaded Bihar. He plundered the province, no doubt, but he was slain and Bihar thus became free from central control. During the time of Illtutmish, Tughan Khan was the governor of Bihar. He demanded the surrender of Lakhanauli from the Mamluk chief Aor Khan and led the Bihar army across the frontier to enforce his claim. A battle was fought and Aor

Khan was killed. Tughan Khan became the master of Bengal and Bihar. But Delhi's authority over Bihar and Bengal continued. After 1230 Lakhanauti and Bihar became two separate provinces. In 1242 Tughan Khan issued an inscription in the Baridargah (Bihar-sharif). In December 1242, the Bengal governor Tugril Khan resented Kurait Khan's invasion of Bihar. The Barahdarhi Inscription of 1264 records the construction of a tomb there by one Tatar Khan, son of Arslan Khan, governor of Karrah, who had forcibly occupied Lakhanauti. It is quite likely that on his way to Lakhanauti he might have conquered Bihar as well. From 1236 to 1245 he enjoyed his power and secured from Reziya Begam a formal recognition of his status as a ruler of Bihar and Lakhanauti. He kept himself aloof from the court politics. He sent congratulatory presents to Delhi court and pursued his forceful policy of aggression. He started with a successful raid into the kingdom of Tirhut which yielded him rich booty but no submission. He was the defacto sovereign of Eastern India. From his inscription in Bihar we find the following lofty titles which he took unto himself, "Majlis-i-Ala Ghyas-al-islam wa al musalmanin Mughis-al Muluk wa al-Salatin Abi-al-Fatha Tughral-al-Sultani." After him Malik Jalaluddin Masud Jani ruled as the governor of Bihar and Bengal from 1247 to 1251.

The hold of Delhi Sultanate upon South Bihar was not yet complete. Independent Hindu princes survived. Inscriptions testify to the Hindu

occupation of Gaya. After 1265, Muslim authority was once again strengthened in Bihar. Though Gaya was not directly annexed to the kingdom of Balban, it was under his sphere of influence. He established military posts at Bhojpur, which was then a stronghold of rebels. Tughril Khan revolted in Bengal and defeated the royal force in Gogra in Bihar. After Balban's death, Nasiruddin Bughra asserted his independence and kept Bihar under his sway. He conquered some portions of Bengal. Kurait Khan lost his life in repelling the seige of whole of Bihar. During this period, Chota Nagpur and Tirhut maintained their independence under Hindu rulers. The Baradarhi Inscription leads us to believe that Tajuddin Arsalan Khan held independent sway over Bihar under the title of Sultan. He died in 1265 and was succeeded by his son Tatar Khan. He was renowned for his bravery. He did not acknowledge the Sultan of Delhi. Katlu Khan, the youngest son of Samsuddin Firoz of Lakhanauti, held sway over Bihar.

The area of North Bihar, called Tirhut, extended up to Gorakhpur. It maintained its independence even when our other parts were conquered by the Muslims. Nothing is known to us about the exact location of Allauddin's dominion in Bihar though a tale in Vidyapati's *Purushpariksha* refers to the friendship of the Karnata king of Mithila with that of Yadava king of Devagiri. No authentic account of the period is available before Ghiyasuddin Tugluq. Ghiyasuddin Tugluq, after having

settled his affairs at Oudh, proceeded towards Bengal via Tirhut. The Karnata king Harasinghadeva opposed but to no purpose. On his return from Bengal in 1324 he defeated Harasinghdeva who fled across the Nepal border and the last semblance of Hindu independence of Mithila vanished. The capital of Mithila was looted and destroyed. In 1330 the chief of Sonargaon revolted against the Tugluq authority and Muhammad Tugluq proceeded to suppress him. In course of that campaign Tirhut was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate and it became a dependency. It began to pay tributes to Delhi. He issued coins from the mint Tuglakpura alias Tirhut. Various parts of his empire revolted and asserted their independence. In 1339 Haji Illyas, also known as Shamsuddin, revolted, captured Lakhanauti and invaded Tirhut and Nepal. In 1345 he asserted the independence of Bengal and ravaged Kathmandu in 1346. He established his authority over Tirhut, Bihar and Banaras. The whole of Northern India was in a state of flux and turmoil. The Hindu chiefs of Gorakhpur, Champaran and Tirhut had thrown off the allegiance and had asserted their independence. Tirhut was torn by internal discord and as such it was the first country to feel the weight of the arm of Illyas Shah. This emboldened him to extend his arms to Champaran and Gorakhpur.

Firuz Tugluq undertook two expeditions to bring Bengal under control in 1354 and 1360 which proved to be abortive. He marched through Gorakh-

pur, Kharosa and Tirhut. The king of Gorakhpur, Udayasingh, paid a lac of tankas and became the recipient of imperial favour. In 1358, the Sultan sent presents to Shamsuddin of Lakhanauli. These presents were sent under the charge of Malik Sarifuddin. Arriving at Bihar the party learnt that the Sultan had expired and that his son had become king under the title of Sultan Sikandar. The party was detained at Bihar and the event was communicated to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered that the presents should be brought and the horses should be made over to the Bihar army. Firuz personally marched against Sultan Sikandar and on his return journey moved by way of Bihar to Jajnagar. For the control and safety of his empire, he placed the frontier under his own well-wishers. The fief of Bihar was placed in charge of Malik Bir Afgan. A Jain inscription of Rajgir refers to one Malik Baya, an official of Firuz Tugluq. This campaign of Firuz was a reconquest of the Gangetic Doab and the territory extending from Oudh to Kosi. Arrangements were made for the efficient administration between Sarju and Kosi. In 1354, he made Tirhut a tributary of Delhi and placed it in charge of a revenue officer for revenue collection. The Karnata authority was limited to the adjoining villages of Simaraon. Though Bihar was under the suzerainty of Delhi empire, Bengal remained independent till 1538. Towards the end of the 14th century, Khwaja Jehan of Jaunpore was entrusted with the administration of the region between Kanauj and Bihar. He subjugated the

fiefs of Bihar and Tirhut. He was also known as Malik-us-Sharq. In 1399, he asserted his independence in the east. His brother Ibrahim Sharqui was a contemporary of king Shiva Singh of Tirhut.

In the fifteenth century, the Suryavamsi dynasty of Orissa under Kapilendra became very powerful. Kapilendra extended his sway up to Santhal Pargana, Hazaribagh and Ranchi. Magadha continued to be a part of Delhi Sultanate. Bihar was included in the Bengal Viceroyalty of Delhi kings until 1320 A. D. when Ghiyasuddin Tugluq again separated it. In 1397 it was attached to Sharqui kingdom of Jaunpur.

Sharqui dynasty continued to rule when Bahlol Lodi established a new dynasty in Delhi. Hussain Shah of Jaunpore extended his authority upto the east. He made a truce with Bahlol Lodi. He invaded Tirhut. According to R. D. Banerjee his authority extended upto Bhagalpur. Kapilendra is said to have defeated two Muslim Sultans but those two Sultans have not yet been finally indentified. R. D. Banerjee identifies one of them with Bahmani Sultan while Sri Jaychandra Vidyalankar identifies the other with the Sharqui Sultan. Hussain Shah was defeated by Bahlol Lodi, who wrested Jaunpore from him. Hussain fled to Bihar and saved his dominion in Anga and Magadha. Bahlol was succeeded by Sikandar Lodi who deprived Hussain of Magadha. He annexed Bihar and ordered Ahmad Khan, son of Hussain Sharqui to realise tributes from the chieftains of Tirhut. Dariya Khan Lohani

was entrusted with government of Bihar. Sikandar Lodi was succeeded by Ibrahim Lodi, who misbehaved with the Pathans and his policy alienated the nobles. They revolted against his authority under Dariya Khan Lohani and declared their independence. Dariya Khan Lohani's son Bahadur Khan was proclaimed king in his father's fief of Bihar and assumed the usual prerogative of eastern royalty. This bold act of defiance attracted many malcontents and he soon occupied the country to the east of the Ganges. In this campaign he was joined by Nasir Khan Lohani, governor of Ghazipur.

By 1493 A. D. Allauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal had founded a new Hussaini dynasty. He is said to have ruled over Bihar. He was a great builder and his inscriptions have been found in Cheran and Ismailpur in Saran district. The vault over the tomb of Shah Nafa at Monghyr has the inscription recording its construction by Prince Danyal, son of Allauddin Hussain Shah. Another inscription has been found on the Bonhara mosque in Patna district. His inscription of 1509-10 has been found at Nawadah, a village near Old Barh. When Emperor Sikandar Lodi, having subdued Bihar, advanced against Hussain Shah, Prince Danyal went to meet him. The plenipotentiaries selected the town of Barh for the conclusion of the treaty by which the Emperor was allowed to retain "Bihar, Tirhut and Sarkar Saran and all other countries he had subdued provided he did not invade Bengal". (Stewart—History of Bengal, P. 114). Allauddin Hussain

Shah's inscriptions in Saran prove that his authority extended upto Saran and according to Mithila tradition he ruled over Mithila, if not over whole at least over the eastern part.

During the time of Allauddin Hussain Shah various powers were making a bid for supremacy in Eastern India. With a view to make himself strong, Allauddin turned his attention westward. Hussain Sharqui, defeated by the Lodis, fled to Bengal where he was generously treated by Allauddin. Sikandar Lodi understood the political motive of this generosity. The rebellious landlords of Bihar had urged upon Hussain Shah to attack Sikandar and Hussain marched but was defeated and pursued upto Patna. Hussain left Malik Kundu in the fortress of Bihar and fled to Kahalgaon. Sikandar drove Kundu from Bihar, left some officers to subjugate our land and marched into Tirhut, where he received the allegiance of the Raja. Mubarak Khan Lohani was left to collect the tribute imposed upon the Raja of Tirhut and returned to Bihar. This invasion of Bihar irritated Allauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal and the contest, referred to above, between the two was inevitable. Inscriptions prove that Allauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal held sway over a great part of North and South Bihar. That tradition was maintained by Nasrat Shah of Bengal.

Within two years of Nasrat Shah's (1519-1532) accession, Lodi empire began to crack. By 1522 the country from Jaunpore to Patna became independent and Lohani State was set up in Bihar. Nasrat

Shah entered into an active alliance with eastern rebels and the common interests of security bound the new state of Bihar to Bengal. This friendship became a cardinal point in our foreign policy. Hajipur became a strategic base and controlled all our river entrances. Across Gandak, the hold on Saran was widened. Rebel Afgan chiefs after Panipat flocked to the east and Behar became the centre of resistance to the Mughals. Nasrat exerted to build up an Eastern Entente. In the meantime he realised the strength of the Mughal army and professed neutrality. By the death of Bahar Khan Lohani, the eastern confederacy was deprived of one of its best stalwarts. Nasrat Shah put the Raja of Tirhut to death and appointed Allauddin its governor and extended his kingdom across Gogra into the district of Azamgarh in Uttara Pradesh. His son-in-law Makhdum Alam was put in charge of the fortress of Hajipur.

During the early years of Muslim rule, the Provincial Governor resided at the town of Bihar-shariff. As a result of the confusions necessitated by the weak Lodi rule, Patna again became an important centre. Its situation made it very important from business and commercial standpoint. In the following centuries it again became the centre of political convulsions and reactions. The rise of Patna into prominence was marked by the Afgan revival under the leadership of Shershah, who made it the headquarter of a small independent kingdom. Standing on the bank of the Ganga, Shershah

remarked—"If a fort were built in this place, the waters of the Ganga could flow far from it and Patna would become one of the great towns of the country". A fort was soon built. Since then it has again played an important part in moulding our history through different courses.

(B) The Oinwaras of Mithila :—Kirtilata is an important work of Vidyapati which gives us a detailed chronological history of Mithila under the Oinwaras. The last semblance of the independent Hindu kingdom of Mithila was destroyed in 1324-25 A. D. Ghiyasuddin Tugluq. He placed Kameshwara on the throne of Mithila—Kameshwar was a Rajpandita. Though the Karnats were defeated, some local chieftains were ruling in Mithila side by side with the Oinwara dynasty, whose capital was at Sugauna in Madhubani subdivision. Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to believe that the political status of Kameshwara dynasty was no better than of a dependant kingdom. Internally he might have enjoyed autonomous status but externally he was under the control of Delhi.

It is really a very hazardous task to ascertain truth out of a confusing and conflicting heaps of materials. Mithila tradition asserts that Firuz had handed over the kingdom to Kameshwara but he did not like to shoulder the administrative responsibility and requested Firuz to nominate Bhogiswara, who was his friend. This particular point is not even supported by another local tradition which asserts that Muhammad Tugluq handed over the kingdom to

Kameswara in 1340 A. D. (Hijri 741) and directed Samsuddin Illiyas of Bengal to realise the tribute and supervise the kingdom. It approaches truth better than the first source. Bhogiswara was made the king of Mithila by Firuz Tugluq—*Mithila Darpan* gives us a different picture altogether and does not accept Kameshwara as the first king of the dynasty. Nor does it refer to any Muslim invasion except one in the reign of Sivasingh. Bihari Lal's *Aini-Tirhut* is similarly confusing and conflicting. All these above accounts are based more or less on heresay and traditions, but for the construction of the history of Mithila, they are important. These sources, unless supplemented by more reliable evidence, should be tapped more cautiously. For a scientific history of the Oinwara dynasty, *Vidyapati is the most important source and we have to depend upon him for reliable information*. He served under a large number of kings and queens of this dynasty and as such his knowledge of the ups and downs in this family must have been first hand. Of all these conflicting evidences, I accept Vidyapati's version. Kameswar was succeeded by Bhogiswara (Bhogis Rai),

Bhogiswara who was a friend and contemporary of Firuz Tugluq. He was noted for his charity and has been compared with Bali. The date of his accession may be approximately fixed between 1353 and 1355 A.D. Kameswara had three sons of which Bhogiswara was the eldest. The name of his wife was Padma Devi. Mithila tradition asserts that he died in 1360. There was some sort of tussle for the throne after his

death, but later on, good sense prevailed and his son Ganeswara succeeded to the throne.

Ganeswara He was a very brave and powerful king. His accession to the throne was not liked by his nephews and they, with the help of Kumar Arjun Rai and Kumar Ratnakara, became instrumental in killing Ganeswara—This account again does not tally with our poet who says the Arslan (meaning brave) killed Ganeswara. It is true that the forces of disintegration were again let loose during the reign of Firuz Tugluq and the various chiefs took advantage of this situation. How to explain this dilemma? If Ganeswara died as result of the civil war, Vidyapati might have concealed this particular fact to save the prestige of his patron, Kirti Singh whom he compares with such great personalities as Bali, Krishna, Rama, Parasurama etc. In those days of feudal ascendancy, it was difficult for the court poet to say or write anything that ran counter to the wishes of the masters. The doubt is further aroused when we find that he failed to give us the correct and full name of the Muslim ruler who killed Ganeswara. It can not be accepted that the poet did not know the full name of the Muslim Malik, because our poet accompanied the aggrieved princes to Jaunpur and witnessed the successful conclusion of war against Arslan. This conspicuous omission on the part of the poet, when he himself was a party to the whole show, excites suspicion. We are told that Ganeswara was murdered by Malik Arslan or Aslan in Laksmāna Samvat 252= 1371-72 A. D. and since then he continued to rule

over Mithila till he was finally routed by Ibrahim Shah Sharqui of Jaunpur. The claim that Malik Arslan occupied Bihar and realised tribute from Tirhut also lacks corroborations. Between 1370 and 1375, the frontiers of the Tugluq Empire were secured by placing them under great Amirs and well-wishers of Emperor. The fief of Bihar was given to Malik Bir Afgan who showed no laxity in coercing the insurgents of those parts and confiscating the territories on the frontier. These points reveal to us that here our poet has concealed the truth. We can not preclude the possibility of a civil war after Ganeshwara. Malik Bir Afgan might have taken advantage of this situation and extended his influence up to Tirhut. With no prospect of unity among themselves and the constant threat of permanent occupation of Mithila by the Muslims, Vira Singh and Kirti Singh saw no other alternative but to approach the Sharqui kingdom for help which they hoped to get for the mere asking. Sharqui kingdom was also a rising kingdom and a timely help to Maithil refugee kings would certainly prove to be a source of a strength to Sharqui dominion. Perhaps that was the motive which goaded Ibrahim Shah to take a lead in this matter and he succeeded in making Mithila his own dependancy.

We find no corroboration of Vidyapati's contention that Ganeswara was murdered by Arslan. Another authority asserts that Ganeswara was killed fighting either for Bengal or Delhi's cause. The

Malik Arslan and the disturbed political condition of Mithila

reason is that Ganeswara, taking advantages of Firuz's weakness, is said to have asserted independence and though Tirhut became independent, Magadha remained under the control of Firuz. All these circumstances might have emboldened the Maithili king to reassert his independence or his dependent status might have forced him to join Firuz Shah in his momentous campaign. Both these propositions are possible in the face of evidences that we have. If we accept Mithila tradition, then in that case we may infer that his opponents took advantage of Firuz's weakness and killed Ganeswara with a view to setting up Bhavesa or Bhava Singh. Even Vidyapati himself has accepted that Bhavesa or Bhava Singh ruled in Mithila. Mithila tradition is unanimous in asserting that Bhavesa ruled. On the authority of Mithila tradition, as given by Pandit Chanda Jha, Grierson concluded that Bhogiswara divided his kingdom with his brother Bhava to be reunited again under Siva Singh. Hara Singh and Tripurar Singh, sons of Bhavesa, have been represented as enemies of Kirti Singh whom the latter killed and got back his kingdom. Jayaswal also contends that Bhavesa ruled after 1370. Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has made the confusion worst confounded by placing Vira Singh and Kirti Singh before Bhavesa as kings of Mithila. As we know from Kirtilata, Kirti Singh was made king by Ibrahim Shah Sharqui who came to the throne after 1401 A. D. At the time of Ganeswara's death they were mere children and it does

not seem probable that they ruled in succession in the face of Bhava Singh, supported by his two strong sons who had been responsible for this new political set up. There is no possibility of the rule of these two brothers ruling before the time of Ibrahim Shah. Bhava Singh has been mentioned by such eminent writers as Chandeswara, Vachaspati Mishra and Misaru Mishra. Even the latest joint Editors of Vidyapati Prof. Khagendra Mitra and Dr. B. B. Mazumdar have proposed that Bhogiswara and Bhavesa ruled during the same time and they thereby accept the division of kingdom between the two sharers. I wonder how could they fail to trace out the identity of Arslan. They have tried to show that Arslan destroyed both these branches of Kameshwar dynasty and in support of this they point out that Vidyapati has not used in the epithet Raja for Deva Singh in Bhuparikrama. How does it solve the problem? Deva Singh has been called a Nripati and some poems were also composed in his name. The fact is that Bhava Singh had a fairly long reign. Mithila was passing through a critical stage and even before Ibrahim Sah, it had been sacked by Khwaja Jahan, who brought it under his control. The weakness of Mithila was the main cause of frequent foreign invasion. On the basis of above discussion, it appears that after 1371-72 A. D. some sort of anarchy prevailed in Mithila. If the cause of Ganeshwara's death was the fratricidal war, then it is likely that his supporters might have tried to create

anarchical condition. A glance over the medieval history of India will show that such fratricidal war for the succession to the throne was not very uncommon in those days and Mithila did not prove an exception.

Vidyapati's outlook was thoroughly conservative owing to his association with the court. A critical and penetrating study of Kirtilata will speak of his outlook towards the Muslim. In those days when Muslims were looked upon with hatred, because they were conquerors, our poet thought it wiser to throw the entire blame of Ganeswara's murder on a muslim Malik, whose name he seems to have intentionally suppressed and thereby concealed the real fact because the true statement of facts would have marred the beauty of a 'prasasti (i. e. in Kirtilata). We should also note here that he is silent about the partition of the kingdom though he accepts both Bhava Singh and Deva Singh as rulers. Now if Arslan ruled Mithila after the alleged murder, then how could Bhava Singh and Deva Singh rule? Thus indirectly he supports our contention that these two must have ruled after Ganeswara (if the alleged murder incident be true) or during the life time of Bhogiswara (if the question of partition be accepted). His main aim was to idealise the father of his hero, Kirti Singh and therefore he tried to show that with him (Ganeswara) vanished all the good qualities. Giving due discount to hyperbolic expression, it is reasonable to accept that all round deterioration came in the wake of political instability. I am

inclined to believe that this Arslan was an imaginary character, found out by our poet to cover up the rotten atmosphere of the court which had culminated in the murder of Ganeswara. Political unstability and internal strife enabled the Muslims to make frequent inroads into the country and when Vira Singh and Kirti Singh came of age, they took upon themselves the responsibility of freeing and making Mithila strong.

Mithila tradition asserts that when Vira Singh and Kirti Singh came of age, they went to Delhi and with the help of Firuz got back their kingdom, while Kirtilata gives us a different version altogether. It is quite

Vira Singh and
Kirti Singh's search
for help.

likely that before going to Ibrahim Sah, they tried their luck with the king of Bengal and lastly with the Tugluq king of Delhi. All these are evident from various references to Muslim kings in the *Padavali*¹

Ghiyasdeva and we learn that when they failed everywhere, they went to Jaunpur.

Bengal was the next door neighbour of Mithila and as such an approach for help in times of crisis can not be possibly ruled out. In poem No. 2 of the *Padavali*, Ghiyasdeva is referred to as "Surtana". This king may be identified with Ghiyasuddin Azam of Bengal, who ruled from 1389 to 1409 A. D. Why did Vidyapati dedicate a song to this Muslim king? Before proceeding to Delhi or Jaunpur, these two brothers approached Ghiyasuddin Azam of

1. *Padavali* (of Vidyapati) edited by Prof. Khagendra Mitra and Dr. B. B. Mazumdar.

Bengal, a very attractive figure in Bengal history. He is said to have been a very fast friend of Hafiz but its authenticity is disputed. It seems probable that Ghiyasuddin Azam impressed Vidyapati by his personality and he composed a poem to please the

Alam Sah

Sultan. Alam Sah, referred to in Nagendra Gupta's *Padavali*, is said to have got a similar poem composed in his name. About this Alam Sah also, there is a lot of confusion. Dr. Sahidullah, placing reliance on Jayaswal's researches, has placed Alam Sah in the middle of the 15th century. If that be accepted, then we have to note that Alam was the title of the son of Muhammad (Saiyyad dynasty) and not the name. Alam Sah ruled within the forty miles of Delhi between 1444 and 1448 A.D. He was a feeble minded and mean spirited king. In Mithila, a tradition is current that Vidyapati went to Delhi to secure the release of Shiva Singh but there is no solid historical basis behind this statement. Besides, Shiva Singh can not be a contemporary of this king of Delhi. If this is not the case, the chances of Vidyapati's visit to Delhi do not arise. This Alam Sah was not so renowned a king as to attract Vidyapati's attention. There must have been one such Alam Sah with whom Vidyapati must have come into contact or must have heard about him. Simply the word "Sah" should not confuse us with the fact that he was a king. It has been said above that Vidyapati visited Ghiyasdeva's court with a begging bowl for help in restoring status quo in

Mithila and it will not be out of place to suggest that in his poem he referred to Saint Alam Sah, who lived during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Azam. His full name was Nur Qutub Alam, son of Ala-ul-Haque, a noted saint. He was a friend of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam and our poet must have been impressed with his personality.

It appears that Vidyapati's political mission at Bengal did not succeed. Therefore they might have proceeded to Delhi for help. The Tugluq dynasty had helped the ancestors of Kirti Singh in becoming kings and Firuz had addressed his grandfather as 'dear friend'. This old tie of friendship might have encouraged them to go to Delhi for help in getting themselves reestablished once again on the throne of Mithila. In 1394 Khwaja Jahan, Malik-Us-Sharq (or Lord of the East) had subjugated the fiefs of Bihar and Tirhut. The extension of his influence in Tirhut perhaps goaded the Tirhut refugee kings to seek help from the decaying Tugluq Empire, when they failed in their mission at Bengal. Tugluq Empire itself was then in a process of political disintegration. With the help of Amirs and nobles

Nasrat Sah

Nasrat Khan, grandson of Firuz Tugluq was declared king. He assumed the title of Nasiruddin Nasrat Sah and it seems that Vidyapati composed poems in his name also. There seems to have been a division of kingdom between Nasrat Sah and Muhammad Sah. Nasrat Khan ruled between 1394 and 1399. Nasrat Sah has been referred to as Rai Nasrat Sah. Here we should not confuse him

with Nasrat Sah of Bengal. Here at Delhi also, they failed in their mission. The invasion of Timur had added fuel to the fire of political instability. Thus, being disappointed both at Bengal and Delhi, they had no option but to knock at the door of Jaunpur, the rising Sharqui kingdom, for help. As stated above, the Sharqui king helped them because an alliance with Mithila was important both from political and strategical point of view. Sharqui's help was a living example of the farsighted statesmanship of Ibrahim Sah, the greatest king of this line.

Let us now discuss here the identity of another Muslim king named Nasir Sah. We
 Nasir Sah can not adduce any more argument in the present state of knowledge. The difficulty is that certain writers have confused Nasrat Sah with the descendants of Allauddin Hussain Sah but even a layman can not believe that Vidyapati lived for 150 years or so. Nasir Sah should be identified with the grand-son, Nasiruddin Mahmud Sah (1442-1459), of Hazi Illiyas. Why Vidyapati, in his old age, dedicated his poems to this Muslim king, would certainly remain a mystery till further evidence on this point is forthcoming. The title "Panch Gaudeswara" signifies that he was a powerful ruler. One thing may be remembered in this connection. After Kirtilata, wherein Vidyapati compared Ibrahim with God, he has nowhere mentioned any Sharqui ruler. It seems that the successive Sharqui invasion of Mithila produced some sort of hatred in poet's mind and that is why he left Sharqui king out of picture in his poems. The ex-

haustion of Sharqui power and the consolidation of the Bengal kingdom under Nasir Sah, whose liberality was well known, enthused the poet. The fact, that Bhagalpur was included in his kingdom, suggests that he held sway over a part of Mithila and our poet was right in calling him Panch Gaudeswara. Nasir's qualities of head and heart might have given some amount of confidence to the poet. The regular contact between Mithila and Bengal had drawn the two States closer and made them so friendly that the occupation of any part of Mithila by Bengal's king did not mean much though the same action by any other Muslim ruler of the West was generally taken to be humiliating. The title, ascribed to Nasir Shah, hints at the possibility of his domination over a part of Mithila. While Vidyapati has used the term Surtana for Gyasdeva, he has used Panch Gaudeswara for Nasir Sah and this distinction clearly gives us the real position of two rulers.

Vidyapati has given us a graphic description of the kingdom of Jaunpur and also the traits of culture then obtaining there.* It has been pointed out that Vira Singh followed Ganeswara and the former again was followed by his brother Kirti Singh. But the arguments set forth above, clearly prove that such was not the case. We have no positive evidence to show the Vira Singh ever sat on throne. Scholars have been misled by the epithet maharaja used for Vira Singh but that should not

* See Author's forthcoming paper on this subject.

confuse us because we find such laudatory praises for patrons in various works of the court poets. Mr. Chakravari has rightly observed—"Even with this title it is doubtful if he was the king, for even ministers like Chandeswara and Ramdatta had been given this title in the colophons of their works." Even Mithila tradition fails to support the argument that Vira Singh ever became a king. It appears that Vira Singh predeceased his brother and thus paved the way for Kirti Singh's rule.

At Jaunpur, Kirti Singh acquainted Ibrahim Sah
 Ibrahim Shah with the chaotic political condition of Mithila and prevailed upon him the necessity of his intervention against Arslan or usurper whoever he might have been. As I have pointed above this Arslan is nothing more than a fiction, and the real enemy might have been Bhava Singh or his other cousins. In the present state of knowledge, it is better to leave the matter unsettled. Here we have simply to know that Ibrahim Sah granted their prayer. He was shrewd enough to understand the implication of this help and he took advantage of this god-sent opportunity without allowing the grass to grow under his feet. The political condition of Jaunpur was such as to call for an alliance like the present one. He was surrounded on all sides by rival states and therefore his necessity was also greater. A thorough evaluation of the Sharqui history proves that Ibrahim was one of the greatest kings of medieval India who rightly valued political alliance even with the Hindu king. Caste in poli-

tics had lost all significance and it was political interest which moulded the policy of the State, be it Hindu or Muslim. Ibrahim ordered his army to march against Tirhut.

Ibrahim's army reached Tirhut between 1402 and 1404. After defeating the enemy and putting an end to the anarchical condition, Ibrahim made Kirti Singh the king of Mithila. It is evident that the ceremonies of his accession to the throne were celebrated in the presence of Ibrahim Sah. This points to his subordinate vassal status. Since then Mithila continued to be under the tutelage of the Sharqui kingdom for a considerable period. Kirti Singh might have ruled between 1402-1410 A.D. After Kirti Singh we come to the greatest and the most important king of this line, Shiva Singh.

Shiva Singh was the greatest king of this dynasty.

Shiva Singh He occupies a prominent place in the history of North-eastern India in general

and Mithila in particular. He succeeded in bringing about unity in Mithila. The exact length of his reign is not known. He must have begun to rule before 1410 A.D. There is a lot of confusion among the scholars about the authentic date of Shiva Singh, son of Deva Singh. It is contended that the manuscript of the *Kavya Prakash-Viveka*, giving us the date 1410 or L.S. 291, has also given rise to certain confusion. Shiva Singh was the son and successor of Deva Singh Garudanarayan, who represented the elder line. He is said to have died in Saka era 1324-and L.S. 293. These two dates are conflicting and no reliance can

be placed on these dates until the last word is said on the L.S. era and its corresponding eras used in Mithila in those days. Mithila tradition asserts that Shiva Singh began to take active part in administrative matters at a very early age of fifteen. The same source tells us that Kirti Singh died childless and therefore Shiva Singh could unite both the parts of his paternal kingdom. As the colophon of the *Kavya-Prakasha* is the only authoritative source about Shiva Singh's date, we may assume with some amount of certainty that he ascended the throne in 1410 A.D. Deva Singh retired in favour of his son because he was too old to carry on. Shiva Singh had a very short reign.

Vidyapati has dedicated a large number of his poems to Shiva Singh and wrote his famous Purush Pariksha at his instance. According to Vidyapati, Shiva Singh was the eleventh incarnation of God, incarnation of Shiva, powerful monarch and Mithilabhup. *Kirtipataka* also contains praise for this monarch. This work, originally discovered by Mm. H.P. Sastri, is eloquent about Shiva Singh's prowess. From all local sources it is evident that Shiva Singh was a powerful ruler. He is said to have made Mithila an independent state. This is further corroborated by the fact that he issued gold coins. Though he had a very short reign, he won victories against some Muslim kings, whose identification is still a problem in the history of Mithila. As the name of no Muslim ruler is given, scholars have conjectured certain possible names. We have to bear in mind that the

whole of India in the first half of the 15th century was in a process of political disintegration and all ambitious kings aspired to fish in the troubled waters. Delhi had just heaved a sigh after Timur's invasion and was entangled with certain native powers. Ibrahim Sah remained busy with Delhi from 1405 to 1416. Bengal was also passing through political convulsions. The opportunity was thus ripe for an ambitious prince to take a lead in asserting independence. A wise and successful ruler like Shiva Singh did not fail to grasp the situation and he made a bold attempt by striking gold coins.

With this background of political situation then obtaining in Northern India, we shall pass on to discuss his relationship with the contemporary Muslim rulers. He was a great hero and led a victorious campaign against Gauda and Gazzana. The period, under review, was one of ups and downs in the history of Northern India and every aspirant for imperial power was always in search of such opportunities as might help them in doing so. It has been asserted that the kings of Gauda and Gazzana came to war with huge armies but Shiva Singh defeated them. Like Mithila, Bengal was also passing through a period of political instability and it is likely that Shiva Singh might have weighed his arms against Gauda. The murder of Ghiyasuddin was followed by Saifuddin Hamza Sah (1409-1410) who took the title of Sultan-Us-Salatin or king of kings. It brought in its train violent civil war. Raja Ganesh took advantage and usurped the throne. After him his eldest son who

turned a Muslim, Jalaluddin (Jadusena), came to the throne. He seems to have been a contemporary of Shiva Singh. His only object of leading an expedition against Gauda must have been to extend his political sway over that part. As Jalaluddin himself was the son of a former feudal chief, Shiva Singh thought of conquering this newly converted Muslim king. He might have done so to conquer Bengal and make it a Hindu province. He is said to have defeated Jalaluddin and annexed some portions of his kingdom.

Dr. Mazumdar has tried to show that Shiva Singh helped Ganesh in suppressing Hamza Sah and Bayazid Sah. According to Vidyapati Shiva Singh acquired fame by defeating Gaudeswara. Dr. Mazumdar's contention is not fully convincing because he became king in 1409-10 A. D., perhaps a year earlier than Shiva Singh. It does not seem probable that on the very year of his accession, Shiva Singh could have taken such a bold step. The Maithil king, in collaboration with other local Hindu chiefs, seems to have defeated Jalaluddin because he had taken up Islam even after his being purified according to Hindu rites. Mithila was the only Hindu kingdom and that is why Shiva Singh seems to have taken upon himself the task of extending the influence of Hindu religion, and at the same time, of saving it from utter ruin at the hands of the Muslim. In so far as the protection of Dharma is concerned, our poet compares him with Ram. There is no possibility of Ibrahim Sah coming over to this side (i. e. upto Mithila and Bengal) as he was engaged

with Delhi between 1405 and 1416 A. D. We are told that he had some tussle with Shauī kingdom in which Ibrahim Sah was defeated. As we have shown above, Ibrahim did not personally come over to this side during his reign. Probably his representative, deputed by him, went to suppress the rising in Bengal and on return tried to bring under control Shiva Singh, who had assumed independence and had struck gold coins. Gajjanewar here implied the Muslim king and not the king of Gazni as held by some Scholars. "Gajjan" is used probably in the form of an epithet for the Shauī king or his representative. In Mithila tradition we are told that he began to rule independently and therefore he had some differences with the Nawab of Bihar. He must have been the representative of Shauī kingdom. The fact of Mithila's independence under Shiva Singh is proved by the events following his death. Had Mithila been a dependent state on Shauī kingdom; there was no necessity of any further invasion against that state.

In course of his struggle against the Muslim power, he is said to have been killed or defeated. His Minister, Amritkar, went to Patna and settled everything with the Muslim chief. There is no doubt that Shiva Singh was one of the greatest kings of Mithila. Though his reign was very short, he has left a halo behind his name and has been immortalised by Vidyapati. His Viruda was Rupnarayan. A powerful king, a great administrator and a great general, a patron of learning and art, Shiva Singh is

noted for his benevolent activity and catholicity of spirit. Though a stern Hindu, he did his best for his Muslim subjects and granted land to one of the Muslim saints. Though much legened has centered round this attracting and charming king, a thorough and scientific search is bound to throw more light on his career and achievements and his relation with contemporary powers. No last word can be uttered on the merits and demerits of this great Oinwara king, who may rightly be called the last of the great Hindu kings of North Eastern India.

The eclipse of Shiva Singh's power gave a signal for the total disintegration of the house of the Oinwara and also for the gradual but complete occupation of Mithila by the Muslim. After his defeat, his family members, under the care of Vidyapati, shifted to a village Raja-Banauli in Nepal, where Shiva Singh's friend Puraditya "Arjun Vijayee" was ruling. Here again the traditional accounts are conflicting. From *Likhnawali*, it is evident that Puraditya had carved out an independent kingdom or a Janapada in Saptari after having slain his enemy Arjun. He is called Dronawara Mahipati. He defeated all his enemies. We have discussed above the local tradition of a civil war for the throne between the two branches of Kameshwara dynasty. Bhava Singh's son, Tripura Singh, has also been associated with the murder of Ganeswara. Arjun Singh was the son of Tripur Singh. Perhaps the family feud was at the root of this trouble and taking advantages of this ugly situation, Puraditya

succeeded in killing him and creating for himself a small independent Janapada in Saptari, a district in the Nepal territory. Arjun is mentioned in the Ram Bhadrapur manuscript and one Amara is mentioned in the Padavali. Both Arjun and Amara were sons of Tripur Singh. Ashoka pillar at Luriya Nandan Garh in Champaran contains an inscription dated V. S. 1556 (1499 or 1500 A. D.) which reads "Nripa-Narayan Suta Amar Singh", This Amar Singh is no other than brother of Arjun Singh. These two brothers were probably local chieftains and were defeated by Puraditya. After Arjun, Amar exercised some political powers and that is evident from the above inscription. They all belong to the same dynasty and naturally Vidyapati's occasional references to these princes are not unnatural.

The word "*Baudhau-Nrisansa-yate*" is still controversial. Mm. Umesh Mishra thinks that Arjun was a Buddhist and was ruling in Saptari. It is said that when Vidyapati reached Puraditya's capital and got dug a tank and called a meeting of the learned Pandits to celebrate a yajna, the Buddhist of Arjun's kingdom created disturbance. That led to war between Arjun and Puraditya. Arjun was defeated and Saptari Pargana was conquered by Puraditya. He has not cared to give any authentic source in support of these arguments and hence no credence can be given to this conclusion arrived at by the learned scholar. There is no room for any doubt to accept that Arjun was a son of Tripur Singh. What seems probable is that before going to Puraditya,

Vidyapati tried to seek shelter with Arjun and when he did not see any chance of getting any asylum there, he went to Shiva Singh's friend Puraditya. As is evident from Vidyapati's activities, he did not feel happy and anyhow spent his time there. His genius was directed towards writing sample letters for ordinary persons and in copying out the Bhagvata. He could not produce any original work of repute.

From the term "*Baudhau-Nrisansa-yate*" it appears that Arjun's behaviour towards his kinsman was cruel. That supports our contention. He belonged to a branch of the Oinwara, whose record is not praiseworthy and whose descendant could never get a chance to rule. In keeping with the tradition of his father Tripur Singh, he showed scant respect to his cousin's wife, Lakhima, when she needed help, after Shiva Singh's arrest and under the circumstances she took shelter with Puraditya. Another scholar, Dr. Sukumar Sena has used Baudhau in place of Bandhau—to suit his own argument, but he has emphatically pointed out that they were not Buddhists. Though attempt has been made to prove that this Arjun was Jayarjuna of Nepal, there is no evidence to support this point. According to Bendall Jayarjuna died in Nepal Samvat 502 (1382 A.D.) While Vidyapati's Likhnavali could not have been written earlier than L. S. 299 (1417-18 A. D.) Thus there is no possibility of identifying Jayarjuna with Arjun of Likhnavali. Even if we accept the story, presented by Mm. Mishra, it may be interpreted

in this way—when the Buddhist-influenced subjects of Saptari began to disturb the Yajna, Arjun instigated them to do so as he had no respect for his cousin. He was ultimately killed. The word indicates the intemperate and cruel behaviour of Arjun against his kinsman. This is not very unnatural in those days when personal interest superceded all other considerations.

Mithila tradition asserts that after Shiva Singh Padma Singh again accepted Muslim sovereignty. He is said to have ruled for six years and founded new cities. He was the younger brother of Shiva Singh and was like Bhim in the battle. No authentic history about this king is known. He has also been mentioned in one of his poems. After him came Hari Singh.

Hari Singh There are conflicting evidences about the successors of Shiva Singh and we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion unless further evidence is forthcoming. Mm. Parmeshwar Jha has identified this king with Hari Singh mentioned in the *Purusha Pariksha* but this is untenable in the face of the fact that (i) Gorakhpur king Udaya Singh cannot be a contemporary of this king, (ii) Kalanidhi, in his remark has used the past, (iii) *Purusha Pariksha* was written during the time of Shiva Singh and it can not relate a story of incident, which took place after his reign. We stand on a better footing with regard to Narsingh, son and successor of Hari Singh. Narsingh's viruda was Darpnarayan. He has been mentioned by Vidyapati, Vachaspati Mishra,

Ruchipati and Vardhaman. His date can also be ascertained on the basis of the Kandaha inscription discovered in the Madhipura Subdivision of Saharsa districts. Here also we are confronted with a serious problem of date and, as stated above, these difficulties are bound to be there till the question of Lakshman

Later rulers Sena era is not finally settled. He

was succeeded by Dhir Singh Kansanarayan. He was succeeded by his younger brother Bhairav Singh, whose Viruda was Rupnarayan and Hari Narayan. He is said to have subjugated the lord of Pancha Gauda. He has been compared with Karna and has been called Bhumi-pal Siromani. The confusing sources do not enable us to arrive at any conclusion about Bhairava Singh and his connection with Kedar Roy of Bengal stands problematic. Bhairava Singh dug hundreds of tanks, gave away towns and pattanas as gifts and performed the Tulapurusa gift ceremony. He was succeeded by his son Rambhadradeva whose Viruda was Rupnarayan. Being attracted by the fame of this king, Sri Ram Bhatta, while on his pilgrimage to Gaya, went to Tirabhukti and paid homage to the Maithil king. On his return to Prayag, he noted this fact at the end of his commentary on the *Sarasvata grammar*.¹ Rambhadra was succeeded by Lakshminath whose Viruda was

१. गयाया निर्गतो रामस्तीरभूक्तारव्य देशम् ।

रूपनारायणं विप्रं सन्तुष्टं स्वगिराकरोत् ॥

रूपनारायणाद भूपादाज्ञां प्राप्य सुतान्वितः ।

तीरभूक्तारव्यदेशाच्च प्रयागं समुपागतः ॥

Kamsanarayan. During his reign Sultan Sikandar Lodi invaded Mithila. The Oinwara dynasty finally ended with the invasion of Nasrat Sah of Bengal who came down upon Tirhut, killed the Raja and made the Oinwara dynasty extinct.

No conclusive account of the history of Mithila is available to us after the dismemberment of the Oinwara dynasty. The *Nepal Manuscripts* contain stray references about various local chiefs and it is not possible, in view of the paucity of sources, to identify them. In the first half of the 15th century (C. 1434-35) one Raja Prithvi Singh Deva ruled in Champaran. His successor was Sakti Singh who was followed by his son Madan Singh. They ruled over Champaran and Gorakhpur. Nothing is known about their ancestry. Perhaps they were the local chieftains ruling in different parts. It has been asserted that no family in Tirhut can at present be identified as lineally descended from the Oinwara root. (Vide—S. N. Singh—*History of Tirhut*—P. 81 F. N.) There are some Maithil Brahman families even today who claim descent from the Oinwaras.¹

1. Sri Atul Chandra Kumar of Araidanga, district Maldah (West Bengal) informs me that his family is lineally descended from the Oinwara dynasty of Mithila. The fact remains to be verified.

(C) Expansion of Muslim power in Mithila

(1193-1545 A.D.)

Towards the end of the 12th century, the independent Hindu Kingdom of Bengal was swept away by the torrent of Muhammadan invasion. The eastward expansion of the Muslim power through North Bihar was at this time barred by the powerful Hindu Kingdom of Mithila under Karnata dynasty. Mithila lay between the Kosi and the Gandak. The Burhi (old) Kosi formed the boundary between the territory of Lakhanavati and the kingdom of Mithila. Throughout the medieval period, Kosi was regarded as the indisputable boundary between Tirhut and Bengal. In the first decade of the 13th century Muhammad Bakhtiyar entrusted Husamuddin Khilji with the defence of the western march in the direction of Oudh and Tirhut. A major part of Purana formed part of the possessions of Bakhtiyar who appears to have conquered this eastern portion of Mithila from Lakhanavati. Lakhanavati, at that time, was bounded by a north-easterly straight line from the modern town of Purana to Rangpur, on the east by the Tista, on the south by the Ganges and on the west by the lower course of Kosi and from its mouth across the Ganges to the Rajmahal hills. Within this limit, Bakhtiyar firmly held. He also held the riverine tracts on the northern bank of the

Ganges from the mouth of Gandak to that of the Kosi. Through the riverine tract of Bhagalpur and Monghyr lying north of the Ganges lay the highway of communication between Bengal and Oudh down to the middle of the 14th century.

One of the Khilji Amirs, Ali Mardan, took refuge with Qutubuddin in 1207 and instigated him to send an army against Malik Izzuddin, who had been raised to the throne of Lakhnnavati after the murder of Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1206. Qutubuddin ordered his Oudh governor Qae-Maz-Rumi to march and settle disputes among Khilji Amirs and place each in his own fief. When Rumi crossed river Kosi, Hussamuddin Iwaz hurried to receive him and place his services at his disposal. From 1208 to 1210 Hussam ruled over Lakhnnavati as a vassal of Delhi. In 1210, Ali Mardan was appointed Viceroy of Lakhnnavati. He crossed Kosi in March 1210, and Hussam received him there. After Qutubuddin's death, Ali Mardan asserted independence and styled himself as Sultan Alauddin. A conspiracy under the leadership of Hussam killed Ali Mardan and Hussam became the ruler of Lakhnnavati in 1213. The position of the Karnata kingdom of Mithila became very insecure as it was now sandwiched between two powerful Muslim Kingdoms of Oudh and Lakhnnavati. The Muslim Sultans of Bengal occasionally raided the Karnata Kingdom of Mithila and Sultan Hussam-uddin-Iwaz is said to have exacted tribute from Tirhut.

Sultan Ghyasuddin Iwaz (1213-1227) of Bengal was a powerful ruler. He exacted tribute from Tirhut but failed to establish any lasting supremacy. Though the exact nature of his rule in Tirhut is not yet known, it can be said that he controlled the outlying eastern areas of Tirhut Kingdom. His Kingdom consisted of Lakshnavati, Purnea, Tajpur, Ghoraghat and Barbakabad. Illutmish led an expedition against Bengal (1225 A.D.). The force of Illutmish and Ghyasuddin met somewhere near Monghyr, Sakrigali and Teliagarhi Pass. Ultimately a treaty was signed. *Illutmish separated Bihar from Bengal.* Malik Jani was appointed Governor of Bihar. After the return of Illutmish, Ghyasuddin, with the help of Narasinghdeva of Mithila, expelled Malik Jani. It was in Tirhut that Illutmish had concentrated a large force against the rising of the Hindus of Oudh. The leader of this large force was Prithu. Illutmish's army under Prince Nasiruddin reached the borders of Lakshnavati and overthrew Sultan Ghiyasuddin. It is stated that Narsinghadeva apologised and saved his kingdom from being absorbed. The Karnat rulers of Mithila followed the policy of "Vetasi-Vritti" (i.e. to bend like the supple cane under the pressure of the tide and become straight again) with regard to the Muslim rulers. Their weakness offered opportunities for aggression.

Tughril Tughan Khan of Bengal started a successful raid into the Kingdom of Tirhut. The raid yielded him rich booty but

no submission. Mr. Rehmani, on the authority of the Bayaz of Mulla Tia, asserts that Tughan Khan conquered and captured the Karnata kingdom and imprisoned its ruler. The fact remains to be corroborated by other evidence.

Balban

Balban drove out its rebellious governor, Malik Masud Jani, and harried the province as far as the frontiers of Tirhut. When Sultan Mughisuddin assumed independence at Lakhnnavati, Balban marched against him by way of Tirhut till the progress was arrested by the Bengal army. In Hijri 697, there took place another Muslim invasion against Mithila. The Muslim army was led by Sheikh Muhammad Ismail. At first victory smiled on the Karnata but ultimately they were forced to agree to pay tax. The above account, based on Mulla Tia, further asserts that the king was arrested and when the latter promised to pay tax, he was released and

Allauddin

appointed commander-in-chief of the Hindu army. It is said that Sakra Singh helped Sultan Allauddin Khilji in his struggle against Hammir of Ranthambor. Mithila tradition, as pointed out by Mahamahopadhyaya Parmeswar Jha, asserts that Sakrasingh with his minister Devaditya and his son Vireswar went to help Allauddin.¹ Hindu rulers of Tirhut still maintained their independent status.

1. Chandeswara, in his "Kriyacinatamani", says—

स्रष्टासौ राजलक्ष्म्याः सचिवकुल गुरुस्तेजसा विद्वसाक्षी
क्षीणानायानुकम्पा परवशहृदयो जङ्गमः पारिजातः
दृष्टत्सेनापतीनाम पथगतिमतां बुद्धिसिधोरगस्यो
हम्बीरध्वान्तभानुनिखिल निजगुणस्तोषयामास विश्वम् ॥

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tugluq was the first Delhi ruler who successfully sacked Mithila. He marched towards Bengal through Tirhut. He started in the beginning of January 1324 with the object of conquering Tirhut and Bengal. Ibn Batutah says that at the instigation of Bughra and Nasiruddin, the fugitives, Ghiyasuddin invaded Bengal. He advanced to suppress the Bengal Governor, Bahadur Shah. When the imperial army left Delhi Bahadur Shah retired to Sonargaon while Nasiruddin, joining the Emperor at Tirhut, came with the latter to Lakhnnavati. The Sultan had marched with efficient army. We learn from Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi that when the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnnavati, Sultan Nasiruddin, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan, and without the sword being called into requisition, all the Rais and Ranas made their submission. According to the author of Riyaz-us-Salatin, Ghiyasuddin stormed the fort of Tirhut. The government of Tirhut was left in the hands of Ahmad Khan, son of Malik Tabliga, after which the king returned towards Delhi. Tirhut became a dependency of Delhi. Muhammad Tugluq issued coins with the mint named Tugluqpur urf Tirhut. Two of them still exist. They belong to the forced currency and one is dated 1330-31. These coins are unique because they are the living examples of his mad attempts to force the people to use brass coins in place of silver for the same value.

Shamsuddin Haji Illiyas Sah of Bengal (1342-

57) took advantage of the chaotic situation. Rulers of Gorakhpur, Champaran and Tirhut had thrown off foreign allegiance and had become practically independent. They were divided among themselves and their disunity and weakness emboldened Haji Illiyas to make a bid for supremacy and the first kingdom to feel the weight of his arms was Tirhut. He subjugated Tirhut without any difficulty. He divided his Tirhut kingdom into two parts. He fixed Burhi Gandak as the boundary line and forced Kameswara (the founder of the Oinwara dynasty) to shift. He controlled the area from Nepal Tarai to Begusarai. When Kameswara objected to this division, he quelled his power. Shamsuddinpur in Samastipur subdivision still commemorates his name. He extended his arms beyond Tirhut to Champaran and Gorakhpur. The rulers of those countries transferred their allegiance to him. He rebuilt the greater number of forts. By the first half of the 14th century, the Muslims definitely occupied the southern portion of Tirhut. He founded the city of Hajipur, which was the most important place during the Muhammadan period. He built a strong fortress and posted his army there. After the death of Muhammad Tugluq, Haji Illiyas, who used to send presents now and then to Delhi, asserted independence.

The startling victories of Haji Illiyas opened the eyes of Sultan Firuz Sah Tugluq who did not fail to assess its political implication. He started an expedition against the Bengal

Sultan with the object of punishing the latter who had invaded and managed Tirhut and harried the frontier between the Bengal kingdom and Delhi Empire. So the problem was not one of conquest but of a reconquest of territory from Oudh to Kosi. He was assisted by the local chiefs. Udaya Singh of Gorakhpur presented him a lac of tankas and two elephants and in return he got the imperial favour. He also subjugated the chief of Champaran. This route lay across the Ganges to Kosi river. He reconquered and reunited Tirhut and placed it in the hands of Bhogiswara, son of Kameswara. For administrative purposes, he appointed a Qazi in Tirhut. Vidyapati in his *Kirtilata* has mentioned Firuz Sah. Between 1370 and 1375, the frontiers of the Tugluq Empire were secured by placing them under great Amirs and well-wishers of the Emperor. The fief of Bihar was given to Malik Bir Afgan who showed no laxity in coercing the insurgents of those parts and confiscating the territories on the frontier. *Bihar, then, did not include Tirhut.* Firuz Sah is also referred to in the Rajgir Jain inscription (JBORS V-Pt. II) and also in a number of songs in Mithila. The said inscription refers to Sultan Firuz Sah. By his command Malik Vaya was the Governor of Magadha.* There is no doubt that both Magadha and Mithila were under his sway. On the authority of Yahya-Bin-Ahmad's "Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi," it is asserted that the fief of Tirhut (along with

* 1. Malik Vaya is also mentioned in the chakwar tradition.

Bihar) was granted to Malik Bir Afgan.

Firuz's first expedition of Bengal only resulted in the confession of weakness and even the second Bengal invasion proved abortive. It exhibited his weak and vacillating nature. His Sindh expedition displayed lack of his military ability and tactics. Tugluq empire in the last quarter of the 14th century was in a process of political disintegration. The House of Tugluq was divided and it was on the point of dwindling like a house of cards. Taking advantage of this chaotic political condition Khwaja Jahan, Malik-us-Sarq (or Lord of the East) had subjugated the fief of Bihar and Tirhut. We are told in Vidyapati's Kirtilata, that Vira Singh and Kirti Singh sought the help of Ibrahim Sah Sharqui of Jaunpur. Vidyapati also accompanied them to Jaunpur. He has given us a graphic description of the kingdom of Jaunpur and also the traits of culture then obtaining there. At the request of Kirti Singh, Ibrahim Sah ordered his army to march against Tirhut. His army reached Tirhut between 1402 and 1404. Qazi Khwaja and Makhdum were fighting on behalf of Ibrahim Sah. In his march against Tirhut, he was helped by Manohar Raja. Under Malik Muhammad Gani, the Sharqui army crossed the Gandak and the two armies met in the field of Raipur. Ibrahim Sah occupied the throne and after defeating the enemy and putting an end to the anarchical condition, he made Kirti Singh, the king of Mithila. The Sharqui influence in Mithila continued for a

Jaunpur's conquest of Mithila under Ibrahim Sah

pretty long time. Ruknuddin Barbak (1459-1474) also extended his influence over a portion of Tirhut (vide Dinajpur inscription).

The Lodis supplanted the Sharquis. Towards the end of the 15th century A. D., Sultan ^{Lodi conquest of Mithila} Sikandar-ibn-i-Sultan Bahlol Lodi of Delhi advanced upon Bihar and Bengal, defeated Hussain Shah Sharqui near Patna and occupied Bihar, Tirhut and Saran. In the Sharqui-Lodi contest for supremacy, Sikandar Lodi swallowed up the Jaunpur kingdom. Bengal was then under the Hussain Sahi dynasty. Allauddin Hussain Sah extended his empire into Orissa, Assam, Chittagong, and reigned all over North and South Bihar upto the western limits of Sarkar Monghyr, where his son Danyal erected a vault over the shrine of Pir Nafa. The fugitive Sharqui ruler sought asylum with Allauddin Hussain Shah (1493-1519) who showed kind treatment to the fugitive king and allowed him to cross the frontier into Colgong. Sikandar Lodi grasped the political motive and in 1495 moved upto Tuglupur (Tirhut ?) on the Bengal frontier. Hussain Sah's army was sent under Prince Danyal to intercept the Lodi army and the two armies met at Barh. Under Sikandar Lodi's instructions, the Lodi generals, Mahmud Lodi and Mobarak Lohani opened negotiations for peace and ultimately non-aggression agreement was entered into and it was followed by a delimitation of the frontiers. Danyal undertook not to give shelter to Sikandar Lodi's enemies. Sikandar conferred the district round

Tugluqpur on Azam Humayun, while Bihar became the Iqta of Darya Khan Lohani. Hussain Sharqui remained and died at Colgong. Inscriptions found in Monghyr and Bihar prove that in South Bihar Hussain Shah's control extended within a few miles of Patna. The occupation of whole North Bihar, including the trans-Gandak area either in accordance with the terms of the treaty or as a result of the military operations started immediately on Sikandar's withdrawal, is proved by his inscription at Saran. (Vide—JASB-1874, 304.¹) It appears that Sikandar Lodi, at first, swept away Tirhut and exacted heavy tribute, but after his withdrawal, the whole area was conquered by Allauddin Hussain Sah, Sikandar is referred to in a contemporary Sanskrit work wherein his connection with the ruler of Mithila is mentioned.² Rambhadra Rupnarayan was the king of Mithila.

From a Persian book 'Wakiat-i-Mustakhi' by Sheikh Rajkula Mustaki, we learn that the Raja of Champaran was subdued by Mian Hussain Farmuli, who was the Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran. Taking advantage of the unstable political situation, the Lohanis set up an independent State in Bihar.

1. Al Badaoni writes—"Sultan Hussain leaving his deputy Malik Kandhu in Bihar proceeded to Khul Gawna, a dependency of Lakhnavati:—In 1495 A. D. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi died and his son Ahmad Khan was styled Azam Khan Humayun. The Sultan returned from Tirhut and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutuli-Mushaiki-i-Azam"—

2. Mahamahopadhyaya Bibhakar in his "Dvaitiveka" says—

“सिकन्दर पुरन्दरो गुरुदुरोदरक्रोडया
दिनं गमयति ध्रुवविविध नागरी विभ्रमैः ।
प्रवण्डरिपुमण्डला मुकुट कोटि कोटि प्रभा
समाजित पदाम्बुजं यमिह मित्रभावनयन ॥

The Lohanis Areas lying between Jaunpur and Patna became independent. Friendship with Lohani kingdom now became a cardinal point in Bengal's foreign policy. Hussain Sah was succeeded

Nasrat Shah by his son Nasrat Sah (1519-1532) who rounded off his father's conquest of North Bihar by the annexation of whole of Tirhut over which he placed his brother-in-law Allauddin and Makhdum-i-Alam. On the authority of Riyaz-us-Salatin, it is said that Nasrat Sah captured and killed the Raja of Tirhut. He posted Allauddin and Makhdum at Hajipur, the headquarter of Bengal Governors. Hajipur was an important strategic base and it controlled all river entrances in Bihar. Across the Gandak, the hold on Saran was widened to include the riverine tracts on both sides of the Ghogra as far as Azamgarh, as is evident from the Sikandarpur-Azamgarh inscription (JASB-1873-296). Nasrat was a powerful king. He made Bihar the centre of resistance against the Mughals and was instrumental in bringing about an eastern Entente. His anti-Mughal confederacy failed. Nasrat had professed a neutral attitude.

Babar Babar, after his victory at Panipat, bestowed Saran on Sheikh Zada Sah Muhammad Farmuli and this affected directly Nasrat's territory. Bahar Khan Lohani, who was one of the strongest supporters of the Eastern confederacy, died. Sher Khan accepted a Mughal Jagir in South Bihar and this also affected the Afgan unity. The Lodi pretender Mahmud

rallied the Afgans under his standard and boy king, Jalal Khan (Lohani), fled to Hajipur. Jalal and his party ultimately sent submission to Babar. The Mughals crossed over into Saran and at his camp in a village in the Nirhun pargana Babar received the submission in person of Jalal, who was re-instated in Bihar as a tributary vassal, Bengal was still at peace with the Mughals. Laskar Wazir Hussain Khan and the Shahzada of Monghyr signified their consent on behalf of Nasrat to Babar's term of agreement. It is contended that Raja Rupnarayan of Tirhut paid tribute to Babar. Thus it appears that Tirhut remained under the Hindu

Humayun and Shersah Raja subject to the payment of tribute. During the time of Humayun, Hindal was the governor of Tirhut. Hindal, by evacuating Tirhut, had allowed Sher Khan an opportunity of extending and consolidating his territories in the regions to the west of Bengal. According to Tarikh-i-Daudi, Sher Sah's march lay north of the Ganges through Tirhut. About 1540, Makhdum Alam, in charge of the fortress of Hajipur, revolted against Mahmud Sah, son of Nasrat Sah. Makhdum joined hands with Shersah. Makhdum proved very useful to Shersah in his campaign against the Mughals. Shersah entered into a compact with Makhdum Alam and defeated the latter's enemies. Hajipur became one of the main strongholds of Sher Khan. Hajipur was captured in 1543, under the orders of Humayun, by Hindal. Several Pathan families settled in Tirhut.

(D) Organisation of Financial administration and Economic condition during the Turko-Afghan Period :—

Feudalism was the basis of all organisation during the medieval period of our history. The Muslim political thinkers adjusted themselves with our prevailing financial system. Their main object was solvency. The state did not follow any organised economic or financial policy. It did not aim at the improvement of the condition of the people. No attempt was made to improve the method of production and the question of equitable distribution was beyond the policy of the state. The basis of our finance was land revenue. For assessment of land revenue all cultivated lands were classified into following sections :—(i) Ushri Lands subdivided into (a) lands whose owners accepted Islam of their own accord and were left in possession of their lands; (b) all lands conquered by force and distributed among the Muslim soldiers and (c) waste land developed by the Muslims. Rulers like Qutubuddin, Muhammad Tugluq and Firuz Tugluq recognised such lands in India. (ii) Kharaji lands were settled by the state. The claims were settled by the rulers. This method was more or less known to us because we find that even in our ancient times the law books recognised the right of the king to levy taxes on land and settle the claims. This system was accepted by the Muslims when they came here.

As a matter of fact they did not bring any striking

reform in our land revenue system and the normal method continued to exist. The method of assessment for the first time was adopted by Allauddin Khilji.. Jiziya was another source of imperial revenue. The central finance department was under the control of the Wazir. He appointed civil servants and organised agency for the collection of the revenue. There were also state factories known as **Karkhanas**. Private enterprise was the order of the day. A large mass of population had to remain busy with the agricultural work, few persons were engaged in industrial works such as textile, sugar, metal, stone, bricks and paper industries. Trade was highly organised. For cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind, Bengal was the richest country. Uniformity in price was not maintained and it varied according to the needs. The following chart gives a comparative estimate of the prices during the time of three monarchs—

Name—Allauddin—Muhammad Tugluq—Firuz			
of	↓	↓	↓ Tugluq
commodities			
(1) Wheat	→ 7½ Jital per md.	12	→ 8
(2) Barley	→ 4	→ 8	→ 4
(3) Paddy	→ 5	→ 14	→
(4) Pulse	→ 5	→ x	→ 4
(5) Mutton	→ 10	→ 64	→ x
(6) Ghee	→ 16	→ x	→ 100

Allauddin efficiently put into practice the theory of price control. The rise in the price during Muhammad Tugluq's time is due to the fact that he orga-

nised various futile campaigns and spent extravagantly in other matters. The people had to bear the burden of heavy taxation while the nobles rolled in luxury. Amir Khusrav's remark is worth mentioning—"Every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant."

(E) Cultural life during this period :—

(i) **Administration** :—During the Turko-Afgan period, Bihar formed a part of the Delhi Sultanate. It was placed in charge of the Viceroys who were also called Naib-Sultans. All powers were vested in the Naib Sultan and he was just a miniature of the Delhi Sultan. He was a despot and exercised executive, judicial and legislative power. The exercise of such powers varied according to the strength and weakness of the Naib Sultan. He was subject to the control of central government. He got his pay from the provincial revenue. He used to send the revenue to the central exchequer. At times he had to render military help to the Sultan and he maintained local militia for the safety of his administration. There were various independent Hindu chiefs who carried their administration on their own lines and the Naib-Sultans did not interfere so long as they peacefully paid the tribute. For efficient administration province was subdivided into smaller units which were placed in charge of Muqtas or Amils and still further lower divisions were under Shiqdars. Village autonomy was not disturbed. Administration, central or provincial, could not be successfully carried on due to the intrigues of the nobles and the lack of cooperation. The officers fought amongst themselves and put their selfish interests above the national benefit. That is why the

working of the administration during the Turko-Afghan period was never sound and successful.

(ii) **Social condition** :—The system of slavery became a common feature of our social life during this period. The reason was that the Muslim Sultans and nobles maintained a host of male and female slaves. The slaves were a source of pecuniary gain especially during the time of wars and famines. They were sold like other commodities. The rules about women were also severe. Fidelity in their conjugal life was regarded as the highest type of morality. They had to depend on their husbands or other male members. They were secluded in their homes. Purdah system became more elaborate. Early marriage was in vogue. The practice of Sati became prevalent among certain classes. The passion for wine and women was a remarkable feature of the society during this period. Prostitutes were also known.

Our life was very much influenced by the Muslim thought and culture. Certain new social and religious ideas came in the train of Muslim invasion. A spirit of mutual harmony and toleration in different aspects of life followed the bitter political strifes. They began to respect each other's philosophy, culture and religion. The democratic principles of Islam influenced our social and religious systems and this led to the rise of liberal movements. The orthodox Hindus, in order to strengthen their position against the spread of Islamic faith, increased the stringency of the caste-rules and formulated

various new rules. Various types of new movements sprang up and it helped the growth of mutual relationship, harmony and toleration. Sir John Marshall observes, "Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive."

(iii) **Literature and Art:**—This period is remarkable for the growth of our vernacular and sanskrit literature. The reformers had to take recourse to the local dialects for the propagation of their own thought while the Orthodox Hindus stuck to classical sanskrit literature. With the fusion of the two cultures, there arose a new language known as Urdu, "out of the mingling of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of sanskrit origin." This showed the way for the linguistic synthesis of the two great peoples. Various Muslim writers wrote in vernaculars.

Here, Mithila was the centre of orthodox views and as a result of that various works in sanskrit were written. The Brahmanas of Kanauj, Magadha and Gauda, after having been badly vexed by the Muslims, took shelter in Tirhut, Nepal and Tibet. The peaceful atmosphere of Tirhut made it the centre of learning and culture in the middle ages. Its connection with Nepal and Tibet continued.

Tirhut was preserver of our cultural tradition during this period of political turmoil. The Oinwara dynasty encouraged the growth of sanskrit literature. The most prominent writers were Jagaddhara, Vidyapati, Sankara, Vachaspati Misra and Paks-hadhert Misra. Jagadhara wrote many commen-taries and original works on erotis and Music.

Vidyapati wrote on Smriti, Niti, Puja and, in Maithili, a large number of religious songs. "Seven cities might have contended for the honour of the birth place of Homer but with the exception of the poet, Vidyapati. I can recall no other name of a poet claim as their own by two peoples speaking two different languages" (quoted in Harnandan Thakur's 'Mahakavi Vidyapati') Grier-son called it an unparalleled event in the history of literature. Vidyapati wrote a number of works Vir—Saivasarvasva—Sara, Gangavakyavali, Dan-vakyavali, Durgabhaktatarangini, Gayapattalaka Varsakrtya, Likhnavali, Purushparika, Gora-kshvijayanatak, Bibhasagar, Kirtilata, Kirtipataka and Padavali. And the above works reveal that he was capable of selecting and marshalling facts from different sources. His accounts are picturesque and realistic and he is the mirror of his age. The highly sophisticated descriptions in his Padavali are refreshing and they are limited to the simple life of village folk. He has expressed every thing in artistic and musical language. He was highly proficient in Music. It was Vidyapati who laid the foundations of Maithili literature deeply and permanent-

ly. He is known as the most versatile and distinguished scholar. Chaitanya immortalised the songs of Vidyapati. Mithila gave protection to a large number of scholars from the adjoining countries.

The assimilation of two cultures led to the new styles in art and architecture and music. In all these, basic element remained the old Hindu but the finish and outward form became Persian and it served the purpose of the Muslim court. The period, under review, represented the blending of two styles and it derived its character from both the sources. Our craftsmen and sculptors were guided by their own art traditions. During the Sharqui rule a new style of architecture developed. The influence of Hindu art is completely visible in this architectural style. The most remarkable feature was that Sharqui Mosque at Jaunpore had no minarets of usual type. Thus we see that in all aspects of our cultural life during this period, there was peace and harmony which helped the synthesis of the two peoples in all branches of social life.

CHAPTER IX

THE MUGHAL PERIOD

(A) **Political history** :—The defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat (1526) and of Rana Sanga at Khanwa (1527) opened a new chapter in our history. On the eve of Babar's invasion, the Bihar Afgans had rallied round Mahmud Lodi, brother of Bahlol but on the approach of Babar, most of them submitted. In his memoirs Babar gives a list of thirty Sarkars and the Zamin-daris extending from Jhelum to Bihar and he did not make any alterations in the administrative arrangements of his predecessors. While giving provinces to a commander, Babar appointed a Divan himself. Muhammad Zaman was the commander and viceroy of Bihar but Murshid Iraqui was appointed Divan. From his list it appears that Raja Rupnarayan of Tirhut paid him a tribute of two lacs and fifty thousand tankas. The Tirhut Raja acknowledged his suzerainty. Babar divided the revenue of the empire among the officers, reserving a fairly good portion. He bestowed Saran on Shah Muhammad Farmula. While Babar was busy in settling with the Rajput Chiefs, Nasrat Shah of Bengal was busy in consolidating his power. He gave shelter to the rebel Afgans. Babar concluded peace with Nasrat Shah according to which Magadha came under the sway of the Mughals and Tirhut remained with Nasrat Shah. Hajipur was the administrative centre

of Tirhut. Nasrat appointed his son-in-law Makhdum as his Chief at Hajipur. In the battle of Gogra (1529) Babar defeated the Afgans. In 1530 Babar died and was succeeded by his son Humayun.

In the meantime Nasrat Shah of Bengal also died and succeeded by his son Alauddin Firuz, who reigned for about three months and was murdered by his uncle Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, who usurped the throne in 1533. He was immediately involved in trouble by the rebellion of Hajipur Chief, Makhdum. Makhdum was in alliance with Sher Khan. The two rebels defeated and slew Kutub Khan, the governor of Monghyr, who was sent against them by Mahmud. Emboldened by this Makhdum rose in revolt against Mahmud but was defeated and slain.

After the death of Babar an attempt, with some success, was made to revive and revitalise the Afgan supremacy. Shershah emerged as a comet on the scene of our history. His original name was Farid. He was born in Bejoura (1472) and was trained in the school of adversity. His step-mother had a prepondering influence upon his father Hasan who was always indifferent to his son. He began his career under Bahar Khan Lohani as the guardian of his minor son Jalal Khan. Sher made himself the virtual dictator of Bihar and saved it from being absorbed by Nasrat Shah of Bengal. The Lohani nobles grew jealous of him. They formed a confederacy in alliance with Muhammad Shah of Bengal against Sher Khan. In 1534 Shershah defeated the

Shershah
&
Humayun

allied troops at Surajgarha. This victory was a turning point in his career and its political effects were far-reaching. He emerged from obscurity into the arena of politics to run a race for the empire with the hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun. It made him the undisputed leader of Bihar. He secured from Bengal the territories from Kiul to Sakrigali. He had not forgotten the death of his confederate Makhdum and he wanted to avenge his death. He, having restored order in Bihar, returned to Bengal and defeated and wounded Mahmud. Sher Khan entered Gauda in triumph and assumed the royal title while Mahmud fled for protection to Humayun, who, in response to an appeal from him, had taken advantage of Sherkhan's pre-occupation in Bengal to capture Chunar and had now advanced to Bihar. In 1537 Shershab blocked the city of Gaur. The defeat of Humayun at Chaunsa in 1539 widened the limit of Sherkhan's ambition and made him the defacto ruler of vast territory. He now assumed the title of Shershab and ordered the Khutba to be read in his own name. The coins were struck. The Afghan victory at Bilgram undid the work of Babar and the sovereignty passed into the hands of the Afgans. His dominion extended from Kanauj to the Bay of Bengal and from Himalayas to Jharkhand and Birbhum. In the forest areas of Shahabad district there lived an aboriginal people named the Cheros. They rose to power under the leadership of Maharath in the 16th century. He organised the army

and made attacks on the neighbouring people. During the period of Humayun's struggle with Sherkhan, he had greatly increased his power and had openly defied Sher by cutting off supplies to his camp. Shershah sent Khawas Khan against the Cheros and they were brought under control. *Thus for the first time, since the Guptas, Bihar again exercised a dominating influence over the Northern Indian Politics.* He transferred the capital to Patna. Patna was duly fortified and it again rose into prominence and became the centre of political gravity. *It was during his time that the modern area of our province was defined. Monghyr and Bhagalpur were separated from Bengal and Tirhut was made a part of Bihar.* Biharshariff sank into insignificance. Prior to Shershah, Patna was the seat of local government. He ordered the skilful carpenters and bricklayers to make immediately an estimate for building a fort at Patna. They submitted an account of five lacks and the amount was made over to the trustworthy persons. The fort was completed within a short time. His administrative system, with all the handicaps of a mediaeval state, was really unique in our history and we shall deal with the same in the next section.

Down to 1563, North Bihar with Hajipur at its capital continued to be ruled by Sur-Afgans, South

Akbar Bihar, with Bihar Shariff as its capital, was

under an Afgan named Sulaiman Karrani.

When Jalal Shah Sur was murdered, Sulaiman Karrani made himself the master of whole Bihar and Bengal in 1564. He conquered Orissa. He acknow-

ledged the sovereignty of Akbar and had pacific relation with Munim Khan, the Mughal Governor of Jaunpore and Ghazipur. The two sons of Sulaiman, Bayazid and Daud, asserted their independence and Daud attacked the Mughal frontier district. Here we have to remember that after the second battle of Panipat the Mughals had reestablished their authority and were busy in consolidating their Empire under the ablest ruler Akbar. Akbar personally led an expedition against him and captured Patna and Hajipur (1574). Daud had assumed the title of king without securing the royal assent. Khankhana was deputed against him. Daud gave him two lacs of rupees and other precious goods and peaceably settled the matter. But the war between the Mughals and Afgans became inevitable and actually took place. Fatch Khan Barha, with a strong body of Afgans, maintained an obstinate resistance against the Mughals but ultimately he fell. Daud fled, chased beyond Gauda and destroyed. A Hindu chief Gajapati rebelled but was eventually subdued. Kham-i-Azam was appointed the governor of Bengal and Tirhut and ultimately Hajipur was conferred as a Jagir on Ajam Khan, who had embraced Akbar's new religion. Hajipur was the hotbed of rebellions against the Mughal. Todarmal was entrusted with the task of chastising the Afgans.

Akbar appointed Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar with his headquarters at Patna. The Mughal army followed the Afgans upto Mokameh leaving Munim and Todarmal behind. They cap-

tured Suryagarha, Kahalgaon, Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Raja of Kharagpur, Gidhour and other local chieftains submitted. Muzaffar Khan crushed and drove the Afgans from Sasram and Rohtas to Jharkhand. Daud's cousin, Junaid, was still a source of trouble. In 1575, for administrative purposes, the area from Chousa to Teliagarhi Pass was made a separate province of Bihar and Muzaffar Khan was appointed its Governor. In the same year, Daud Khan was defeated by Munim Khan. Munim made peace with Daud which Akbar did not approve and Akbar himself marched to the scene. In a battle near Rajmahal Daud was taken as a prisoner. Thus Bihar was annexed to Akbar's Empire. The newly appointed Governor Hussain Quli Khan Jahan (1576) stabilised the Mughal empire in Bihar and in this he was helped by the Governor of Bengal.

Akbar formed a separate province of Bihar with Magadh, Tirhut and Anga. For administrative purposes he divided Bihar into seven sarkars. Viz., Rohtas, Bihar, Monghyr, Saran, Champaran, Hajipur and Tirhut. In recognition of his military services, Todarmal was made the Mushrif Dewan (in 1575) of Bihar. It carried with it a higher dignity. After Muzaffar Khan, Azam Khan, Shahbaz Khan and Said Khan became the governors of Bihar respectively. Jharkhand and Palamu were still outside the hegemony of the Mughals. In 1585 Shahbaz Khan extended nominal Mughal authority from Rohtas to Ranchi. In 1587 Man Singh was made the governor of Bihar and in 1589 he became the

governor of Bengal and Bihar. In 1592 he made Rajmahal the capital of Bengal and extended Mughal authority upto Northern Orissa. From Rohtas he invaded Palamu and brought the whole of Bihar under Mughal control. After the death of Akbar, the people of Palamu and Jharkhand ousted the Mughal army. The Hindu Rajas made repeated attempts to throw off the Mughal yoke. Raja Gajjan Shahi of Bhojpur organised a revolt which was suppressed.

Akbar's religious views offended the orthodox Muslims. Such Muslims believed their fate in danger and wanted to place orthodox sovereign on the throne. Their choice fell upon Akbar's half-brother, Hakim, a drunkard. He was believed to be an orthodox Muslim. The Bengal and Bihar Muslim officials rose in revolt. In Bihar orders were issued for the resumption of all grants. The branding regulation was enforced and the foreign and field service allowance of the troops, fixed at 50% in Bihar on their ordinary pay, was reduced to 20%. The unpopularity of these measures was enhanced by the severity with which they were enforced. It aroused the sentiments of the malcontents. Mulla Muhammad, the Quazi of Jaunpore, decreed that the rebellion against a sovereign who had apostatised from Islam was a religious duty. He was one of the renowned Jurists of the time and his decree kindled the fire of rebellion. The fire first broke out into flames in Bihar. The caravan, carrying Bengal's contribution to Imperial treasury, was attacked and

plundered by the rebels. The commanding officer was captured and put to death. Todarmal was called from Bengal to suppress the rebellion. Just after his departure, a rebellion broke out in Bengal. A force was sent to suppress the rebels and defend Teliagarhi. That force was defeated by the rebels and they captured Muzzaffar Khan and put him to death. The rebels of Bengal and Bihar concentrated near Teliagarhi and caused the Khutba to be recited in Muhammad Hakim's name. With the approach of Todarmal's army they retired and he took refuge in Monghyr, where the rebels besieged him for four months. Akbar sent Khan Azam who forced the rebels to raise the seige. During the absence of Azam Khan, the rebels again rose their head. Bihar thus became practically independent of central authority. Bahadur Badakshi had usurped the government of Tirhut, seized the public treasury and proclaimed himself king under the title of Bahadur Shah. The loyal officer, Muhib Ali Khan of Rohtas defeated Bahadur and recovered Patna from the hands of the rebels. Fresh arrival of army relieved Monghyr and Patna. Bihar City, Gaya and Sherghati were captured. The two generals, Azam Khan Koka and Shahbaz Khan fought amongst themselves which gave an opportunity to the rebels. Mughal arms were paralysed by the pride of Shahbaz Khan who refused to obey Azam Khan and set up an independent court at Patna. Azam Khan and Todarmal stayed at Hajipur. This internecine quarrel delayed the recovery of Bengal and the restoration of peace

and order in Bihar. In 1590 the rebellion was finally crushed by Mansingh and his son Jagat Singh. Peace was restored and order established. Mansingh's governorship of Bihar has been summed up as follows—"The Raja united ability with courage and genius with strenuous action; he administered the province excellently; the refractory became obedient" (Akbarnama-III-872). He subdued Gidhaur and its Raja Puranmal. Mansingh's brother was married with the daughter of Puranmal. Then he subdued Sangram Singh of Kharagpur. He marched against Anant Chero of Gaya district. During his absence, his son Jagat Singh guarded Patna. Taking advantage of Mansingh's preoccupation in southern districts, two Muslim rebel leaders of Bengal made raids in Darbhanga and Purneah and penetrated to fourteen miles in Hajipur. Jagat Singh defeated them. Mansingh realised the strategic importance of Rajmahal and made it the capital of Bengal. The Afgans under Usman Khan rebelled in 1600 but to no purpose. Prince Salim rebelled and misappropriated the Bihar revenue of thirty lacs, occupied Hajipur and Patna and assigned them as jagirs to Qutubuddin Kokaltash.

During the time of Jahangir the capital of Bengal was transferred from Rajmahal to Dacca because a change in the course of the Ganges made the city inaccessible to war boats and unsuitable for strong defence. The centre of political gravity shifted to East Bengal. From 1608 to 1612 Abdur Rahim was the governor of Bihar. The Raja of

Bhojpur was suppressed. In 1616 Ibrahim Khan became the Subedar of Bihar. In 1621 Prince Parwez obtained Bihar as his Jagir and he was the first royal prince of Mughal blood who came to rule Bihar. He ruled by his deputy, Muchlis Khan, who was the Dewan and Bakshi of Bengal. On the approach of Shahjahan, who had revolted against his father, Muchlis Khan fled away. Shah Jahan, after having conquered Orissa and Bengal, entered Bihar in 1624. Prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan forced him to retreat and he fled to Deccan in 1626. After the suppression of rebellion, Prince Parwez built the "Sangi Masjid" at Patna, made over the government of Bihar to Mahabat Khan and his son and left for Delhi. As they too did not like to be away from Delhi so soon, they left and Roostam Khan Soofi was made the governor of Bihar. In 1625 Medni Roy of Palamu conquered large portion of the Kingdom of Jharkhand. Jahangir annexed Chota Nagpur and Ranchi to his empire.

Shah Jahan, on his accession, made Alam Khan the governor of Bihar (in 1628). From 1632 to 1639

Abdullah Khan was the governor of Bihar.

Shah Jahan

In 1637 the Raja of Bhojpur revolted. Abdullah Khan was sent against him. Abdullah was an oppressive ruler and so he was recalled and Shaista Khan was appointed the governor of Bihar. He ruled from 1639 to 1649. During this period, the cheros of Palamu were a dominant people. The growing pressure of Rajput expansion in the Gangetic

valley dislodged the Cheros from the district of Shahabad. By the first quarter of the 17th century, the Chero Chief, Medini Roy, extended his sway and made himself the paramount lord of the southern part of Gaya and a large portion of Hazaribagh and Sirguja and penetrated into Chota Nagpur. An attempt was made by the discontented nobles including Pratap's own uncle to dethrone him. Thus there were two parties among the Cheros now and both sides wanted help from the Mughal Viceroy of Bihar. The Mughals took advantage of this family dispute and took possession of Deogaon. Pratap's kingdom was turned into a fief subject to an annual payment of a lakh of rupees. It was beyond Pratap's capacity to pay such exorbitant tribute regularly. As a result of this internecine quarrel Tejrai became the king of Palamau. In 1643 Shaista Khan again invaded Palamau and Pratap Rai was restored to the throne. He came to Patna and was given the Mansabdari of one thousand. Shaista Khan was succeeded by Sadullah Khan as the Governor of Bihar and he ruled till 1656 when it was transferred to Sipar Sheko, the grandson of the emperor. Sipar's deputy was Bahadur Khan. Allawardi was appointed the governor after Sipar. In 1657 Shah Jahan fell ill and the civil war, for the throne, began. Shah Shuja, the Governor of Bengal, declared himself the king and having allied with the Subedar of Bihar, proceeded to Agra. A son of Dara, Sulaiman Shikoh and Jai Singh defeated him and he fled to Monghyr. Shuja made peace with Sulaiman and proceeded to

free his father who was imprisoned by Aurangzeb but Shuja could not succeed. According to a treaty of 1658, Shuja was permitted by Dara to add Monghyr to his Bengal Viceroyalty on condition that he would stay at Rajmahal and not at Monghyr. After the battle of Samugarh Aurangzeb sent an Imperial Farman conferring on Shuja the Viceroyalty of the whole of Bihar in addition to that of Bengal. But this was a temporary arrangement and it lasted for few months. Daud Khan Quaraishi, the first Governor of Bihar under Aurangzeb (1659), helped Mir Jumla against Shuja with men, boats and other necessary materials for warfare. Some Pahalwans and Afgans from North Bihar were also sent. Bihar was an important scene of civil war because it was here that marches and counter-marches of the imperialist and the Shuja's army took place. Mir Jumla vanquished Shuja. In 1660 Mir Jumla was made the Governor of Bengal and the administrative separation of the two provinces was restored. Mir Jumla exercised some control over Bihar also.

(b) *Vain attempts of Hindu Princes*—Bihar did not prove a bed of roses for the Mughal princes and governors. Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur rebelled against the Mughal authority but was suppressed by Jahangir's governor Baz Bahadur. Sangram's son embraced Islam as Raja Roz Afgan in the time of Shahjahan. His son Raja Bahroj helped the imperial forces under Mir Jumla against Shuja

For details, consult my forthcoming book. "History of Muslim rule in Tirhut" (1206-1765).

in the civil war. The Bhojpur king was chastised by Abdul Rahman (1608-1612). Bhojpur was the centre of constant troubles against the Mughal. The hilly country near Purnea known as Morang was also a source of continuous trouble. In 1664 two forces were sent from Darbhanga and Gorakhpur to co-operate in chastising the rebel Raja of Morang. Though the campaign took time, it ended in success. The Gorakhpur Fauzdar, Allawardi Khan, presented to the Emperor some precious things and fourteen elephants exacted from Morang. It was finally annexed in 1674 by Shaishta Khan. The Cheros of Palamau were giving constant troubles to the Mughal.

Aurangzeb—Bihar played a remarkable role, during the time of Aurangzeb, in stabilising his claim as the Emperor. We have seen that Bihar had the status of an absolutely independent administrative unit of the Empire. The Bihar governors were in no way sub-ordinate to the Governor of Bengal. During Aurangzeb's reign, Daud Khan Quaraishi was the first Governor of Bihar (1659-1664). He played an important role in the fight against Shuja. In order to buck up the soldiers' morale, he advanced three months' salary to the soldiers. Shuja's activities were neutralised. The news, that Fidai Khan was marching towards Patna, alarmed Shuja. Shuja married his son Zainuddin to the daughter of a retired officer, Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu, with the hope of regaining his lost fortune but all to no purpose. From Patna Shuja fled to Monghyr and arranged for his

defence. Raja Bahroz of Kharagpur guarded the southern hills, through which ran a path to Rajmahal. Mir Jumla bought Raja Bahroj and under his guidance the imperial army threatened Shuja, who fled away and was followed by Mir Jumla. Mir Jumla left Prince Mahammad in charge of Monghyr. Shuja halted at Sahibganj for fifteen days and put his confidence in the Zamindars of Birbhum who were later on purchased by Mir Jumla. Shuja hastened to Rajmahal. Circumstances and fate were conspiring against Shuja. Allawardi Khan, the Governor of Bihar during Shah Jahan's time, had formerly joined Shuja at Patna but now in his critical days he joined hands with anti-Shuja elements. Rajmahal was occupied by Mir Jumla and the area extending upto Hugli passed out of Shuja's hand. Shuja's plans were destroyed and he was forced to flee to Arakan.

In the absence of Daud, the refractory chiefs had begun to make their headway. On his return, Daud settled at Patna and chastised them. He, then, proceeded to subjugate the Raja of Palamau, with the intention of chastising the Cheros. Daud was asked to conquer Palamau. The attack was organised in 1661 and Daud was accompanied by Mirza Khan, Fauzdar of Darbhanga, Tahawar Khan, Jagirdar of Chainpur and Raja Baharoj of Monghyr. The Raja of Palamau agreed to pay the promised sum and sent his Chief Minister, Surat Singh, with his mission. He promised to pay a tribute of one lac to the Emperor and half a lac

to the Khan. Daud reported these terms to the Emperor and waited for reply. In the meantime a Palamau party plundered a convoy of grain coming to the Mughal army. Raja disavowed it but Daud refused to listen. Aurangzeb ordered Daud to destroy the Raja. The Cheros of Palamau were at last defeated and the "breeze of victory blew on the yak cows' tail hanging from the standards of Islam." Daud left Palamau in charge of Fauzdar Mankali Khan. In 1666 it came under the direct control of Bihar governor. The Cheros continued burning the light of their independence in the wild rocky county of the South Palamau fort. For worsening the Cheros, Daud was given a special robe and several bighas of land in Gaya district. He led the foundation of Daudnagar, which became the permanent home of his family and descendants.

Daud Khan was succeeded by Yadgarbeg alias Laskar Khan as the Governor of Bihar. At that time, Patna was one of the largest cities. Laskar continued up to 1668 and he was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan (1668-73). During his Governorship, some impostor in Morang claimed to be Shuja. The Emperor ordered for his execution. The most devastating famine took place in 1670. According to a Dutch account the cause of famine was the failure of rice crop and the flood in the Ganga. Scarcity and famine were greater than had ever been known within the memory of men. Corpses remained extended on the roads and market

places. A woman ate her own child. Much has been written about this famine by the contemporary writers and visitors. For a brief period, the administration of Bihar was vested in Saifulla or Tarbiat Khan. In 1677 he was the Fauzdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga. The third son, Azam, was appointed the Governor of Bihar, but he was soon transferred to Bengal. Saif Khan succeeded Azam. It is said that he plundered Patna factories and put Meverelle in irons (1684). Gangaram Nagar revolted against the imperial authority. He was sent to Bihar by one Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur in 1680 when the latter went to Deccan as Vice roy. Gangaram was asked to manage his estates. His rise excited the jealousy of Khan's servants and they wanted to poison his ears against Gangaram. Gangaram, knowing all these, went to his master and regained his affection. But his rivals tried against him. The peasantry of Khan's Jagir was unruly and did not pay rent except under coercion. For collecting the revenue, Gangaram had to maintain a large army and this fact was misrepresented by Khan's courtiers as an evidence of his design for independence. Khan grew suspicious and summoned Gangaram. Gangaram revolted. He collected soldiers and plundered the city and laid siege to Patna. He set up a bogus prince Akbar and called upon the people to rally round him. The siege was raised and he was wounded and his revolt was suppressed. Saif Khan, the weak and miserly Governor of Bihar, was dismissed

for his cowardly and incompetent handling of the situation. Saif is said to have imprisoned the chief of the Singhiya factory in North Bihar. Prof. Askari does not accept the above criticism about Saif Khan and he holds that Saif Khan was a capable man, author and patron of learning. Saif Khan was succeeded by Safi Khan. During his governorship there appeared at Patna a young man calling himself a son of Shah Suja and pretending to have effected his escape from Arakan. According to Stewart he called upon the people to espouse his cause but Safi Khan seized him and put him in irons. Stewart is of opinion that Gangaram's revolt took place after this event. The Bhojpur Raja, Rudra Singh, caused trouble to the Mughal. Safi was one of the best Mughal governors of Bihar. His rule is marked by peace, prosperity and splendour. He erected lofty buildings, mosques, Madrasas and Sarais and gardens. He set up a town, Safiabab, near Monghyr. Under his orders, a big well was excavated there. At that time Mukhlis Khan was the Fauzdar of Monghyr. Two Brahmans of Tirhut displayed their intellectual attainment before the Emperor. Identification of these Brahmans has not yet been possible. Buzurg Ummeed Khan succeeded Safi. During his time Sepahdar Khan was the Fauzdar of Darbhanga. He reported to His Majesty to the effect that the Banjaras in the vicinity of Rajpura had created disturbances. The Banjaras were wanderers in the guise of traders in grain and travellers. They used to plunder imperial treasures. Orders

were soon issued to the Chief Bakshi, Baharmand Khan, to despatch to the Subadar and Fauzdar so that they might cope with the situation.

Ummeed Khan was succeeded by Fedai Khan (1695-1702). He was promised an increase in his rank if he promised to hold the Fauzdari of Tirhut in addition to his own duties. During his regime, the Banjaras again created trouble in the Tirhut region. Fedai Khan was directed to undertake the task of punishing the Banjaras. They had spread over the district. In 1701 Shamshir Khan was appointed the Fauzdar of Tirhut and Fedai Khan, in addition to his duties, was given the Fauzdari of Palamau. After 1702, Shamshir Khan, in addition to his Fauzdarship of Shahabad and Tirhut, took the charge of Subadari of Bihar. His governorship lasted for one year. Bihar was conferred on Prince Azimusshan. He was an indolent prince and could be won over by bribe. He granted letters patent to the English in Bengal, viz., three villages for a poltry sum. In 1703, Bihar was added to the Prince's Viceroyalty of Bengal. By this time Murshid Kuli Khan had become prominent. Azimusshan beautified the city of Patna and it was named Azimabad after him. Raziuddin Khan of Bhagalpur, a man of profound scholarship, helped the compilation of Fatwa-i-Alamgiri. He was also a good soldier and administrator. Azimusshan established Sarais and charitable institutions.

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by civil war and weak successors, who failed to maintain the

integrity of the Empire. The Provincial Chiefs took advantage and began to raise their heads. Hamilton secured a Farman for the East India Company from Emperor Farrukhsiyar. Between 1715 and 1727 Mir Jumla, Sarbuland Khan and Fakrudaullah were the Subadars of Bihar. Bihar came to be joined with the Subah of Bengal which had become practically independent of Delhi control under Murshid Kuli Zafar Khan (1703-27), Governor of Bengal. In 1733, Bihar was annexed to Bengal under Nawab Shujauddin. He appointed Alliwardi as the Fauzdar of Rajmahal and the Deputy Governor of Bihar. During his Governorship, the Maratha invasion of Bihar took place. Before we pass on to discuss the Maratha invasion and the career and achievement of Alliwardi, it will be better to review, in brief, the political history of Tirhut, which played an important part during this period.

(c) **Tirhut**:—We have seen that Akbar conferred Hajipur as Jagir on Azam Khan. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tirhut consisted of (i) Hajipur with eleven Mahals and an annual income of about seven lacs, (ii) Champaran with three Mahals and a revenue of about one and a half lac and (iii) Tirhut with seventy-four Mahals and a revenue of about five lacs. The assessment was made under the supervision of Todarmall. The duties of revenue collectors were clearly defined. According to Ain-i-Akbari, the revenue collector should be a friend of the agriculturists and he should be truthful. He should be accessible to all. He should assist

the needy husbandmen with advances of money. We have taken up Tirhut independently because from the time of Jahangir, it was governed separately from Bihar and Patna for purely revenue adjustment. There is no separate mention of Tirhut revenues in Shahjahan's time. In 1685 Aurangzeb revised the assessment as follows:—

1685 A.D.—1720 A.D.

Champaran—From 1,37,835 to 2,10,151—2,40,603.

Hajipur—,, 6,83,276 to 10,29,309—11,33,185.

Tirhut—,, 4,79,494 to 7,69,287—7,37,080.

In about 1720, Alliwardi Khan conferred upon Raghava Singh of Darbhanga the title of Raja. Raghava Singh acquired the Mukarrari lease of Sarkar Tirhut at one lakh of rupees annually. He paid annual Nazrana of Rs. 50,000/- to Nawab's Diwan, Raja Dharnidhara. Raghava Singh was succeeded by Vishnu Singh and the latter was succeeded by Narendra Singh. During his reign Tirhut was subjected for a third time in 1750 to the revision of assessment by Alliwardi. Narendra Singh was harassed by Alliwardi and a war between the two ensued on the bank of river Balan. Narendra Singh came out victorious. It is said that when Afgans rose against Alliwardi, Narendra Singh helped the latter.

(d) Alliwardi's regime in Bihar :— Shujauddin appointed Alliwardi as the Deputy Governor of Bihar.

For details-see author's "History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut" (1206-1765).

Here the weak and arrogant administration of Farkrudaullah had given rise to various disorders. The whole province was in a distracted and unsettled state. It was not an easy task of administration for Allwardi. The Zamindars had become rebellious and turbulent. Allwardi courageously faced the situation, restored order in Patna and won the confidence of his subjects and his army. He, then, strengthened military establishment and appointed Abdul Karim Khan of Darbhanga who had under him 1500 Afgan soldiers. The Banjaras, who used to create disturbance in the State, were chastised and Allwardi got an immense booty. He was an astute politician. He created dissensions among the Zamindars and thus weakened and suppressed them. Most of them submitted without any opposition. Raja Sunder Singh of Tekari and Kamgar Khan and other defied his authority. They had ceased to pay the government dues. They were suppressed and forced to pay all arrears. Rajas of Bettiah and Bhanwarah were also subdued. The Chakwars, belonging to the Bhumihar Brahmin community of Begusarai Subdivision, had become very powerful. They defied the authority of the Subadar of Bengal and the Emperor of Delhi. They had made themselves semi-independent and stopped the payment of the government. On the authority of Holwell it has been asserted that they "laid everything that passed on the river (Ganges) by Monghyr under contribution and put the European settlement to extort their trade to and from Patna". Allwardi warned the

young king of the Chakwars who submitted after short resistance and acknowledged allegiance to Bengal and Delhi. The Afgan leader, Abdul Karim, was murdered as he showed his independent spirit. Alliwardi restored order in Bihar, improved its financial position by imposing additional taxes and thus stabilised his authority.

He was very ambitious. He slew the debauch administrator, Sarfaraz Khan, to realise his own end. Thus, after killing the son of Shujaddin, Alliwardi usurped the masnad of Bengal and Bihar and legalised his position by securing a Farman from Delhi. He made Haibat Jang, his own son-in-law, the Deputy Governor of Bihar. Haibat Jang placed Abdul Ali Khan in charge of the administration of Tirhut in addition to his duties as the Revenue Collector of Bihar and Biswak. Aaullah Khan was made the Fauzdar of Bhagalpur. Alliwardi was now the undisputed master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Haibat Jang consolidated his authority in Bihar with the help of his Dewan Rai Chin-taman Das. He chastised the Zamindars of Bhojpur, Vir Bharat Singh and Uddant Singh. The Afgan Fauzdar of Shahabad, Rohsan Khan, was in league with those Zamindars. He got him murdered. With the co-operation of Raja Sunder Singh and Jaikissan Singh of Palamau, he brought under control the powerful Raja of Ramgarh. He tried to improve

For a detailed account of the Chakwaras—See writer's—
 “The Chakwaras of Begusarai”, [G. D. College Bulletin, No.3]
 and “History of Begusarai” R. C. Volume.

the administration of Tirhut Sarkar. He won the goodwill of Hindu Rajas who helped him in his administration. He reposed confidence into two Kayasthas, Raja Kiratchand and Raja Ramnarayan. He maintained the peace in Bihar by suppressing the Afgans.

(i) **Maratha Invasion** :—The decay of the Mughal Empire opened a new vista and presented an opportunity for aspiring powers. The weak successors, selfish quarrels among nobility and the moral decadence of the rulers and officials paved the way for the final disintegration of the empire and the assertion of independence by the provincial chiefs. The Marathas took advantage of this opportunity and began to prepare for the establishment of an empire on the ruins of their predecessors. Raghuji Bhonsle followed the path of expansion and raided Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. At that time Alliwardi was in-charge of Bengal Subah. We have seen that his deputy had alienated the Raja of Ramgarh, who, thus antagonised, did not oppose the Marathas when they invaded Bengal. The Marathas harassed Alliwardi, who, however, tackled the situation with the help of his Afgan soldiers. In the meantime he appealed to the Emperor for help and distributed ten lacs of rupees to his troops. Saif Khan was his Deputy Governor of Purnea and he came with five thousand soldiers. The Naib Nazim of Patna, Zainuddin Ahmed, pressed Alliwardi to attack the Marathas before the drying of the roads and in 1742, September, Alliwardi surprised the enemy. Bhaskar fled

away and the Marathas retreated in 1743. In response to Alliwardi's request, the Emperor had sent Safdar Jang, the Governor of United Province, to protect Bihar. Instead of protecting Bihar, Safdar Jang's army committed atrocities. This was an instance of how faithfully the emperor's order was carried out by his Viceroy. Safdar Jang wanted to extend his own influence in Bihar and he began to act as a dictator. This created a panic in the city. His oppressive measures disturbed the trade of Bengal with Bihar and affected the English East India Company's Commerce. He retreated when he heard about Balaji's coming to Bihar.

The second Maratha invasion took place in 1743. In 1743 Raghuji Bhonsle marched through Ramnagar towards Katwa and he was bent upon exacting Chauth from these provinces. Peshwa Balaji Rao was a rival of Raghuji Bhonsle and the Emperor, with a view to counteract the wishes of Raghuji, appealed to the Peshwa. Peshwa agreed to oppose Raghuji. In February 1743, Peshwa reached Bihar with a strong force. It created a great consternation throughout the province. The Peshwa passed through Monghyr, Daudnagar, Tekari, Gaya, Manpur, Bihar and Sasaram and reached Patna. The Nawab and the Peshwa agreed that the former would pay Sahu Raja the Chauth besides Rupees Twenty-two lacs for the expense of the army and the latter would effect a final settlement with Raghuji. As a result of the second Maratha invasion, the citizens were harassed

and the houses and towns were plundered. Ahmed Khan Quereshi tried to defend the fort of Ghaushpore. The people were so much alarmed that a large number of inhabitants left Bhagalpur and crossed the Ganga for safety.

The third Maratha invasion took place in 1744. In the intervening period of peace, the Maratha chiefs had met together and Sahu had imposed upon them a compromise (in August 1743) by which the four Subas of Malwa, Ajmer, Agra and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Tekari and Bhojpur including Daudnagar, yielding a revenue of twelve lacs, were assigned to Peshwa, while Raghuji was to enjoy the Subas of Bengal and Orissa in entirety and all Bihar excepting the parts given to the Peshwa. Thus the province of Bihar was partitioned between two Maratha leaders with their respective spheres of influence. The Nawab was outwitted. Alliwardi, therefore, wanted to pay back the Marathas in their own coins. Ghulam Mustafa Khan assured to bring Bhaskar to friendly interview and then kill him, provided he was given the Governorship of Bihar. Alliwardi agreed. His aim was achieved.

The Marathas plundered the city and the merchants and weavers fled wherever they could. They snatched gold and silver, looted the villages and set fire to the houses. They robbed the property and abducted women. An entire stop was put to the English business at Calcutta, Kasimbazar and Patna and the English had to raise a militia for their protection. The successive invasions dried up the re-

venue of Alliwardi. They pillaged Bihar and plundered Futwah. They pillaged forty-two hundred pieces of cloth belonging to the Company, and burnt a godown where saltpetre was deposited. The Company could not get any supply of saltpetre at Patna. Some of the Maratha families settled in Deoghar subdivision. The political effect of the Maratha invasion, for Bihar, was that it created an opportunity for the rise of another danger for Alliwardi in the shape of the rebellion of his Afgan generals in conjunction with the Maratha invaders. They were incited and helped by Mir Habib and associated with Marathas. The ready offer of shelter by the English to some of the ravaged inhabitants engendered in the minds of those people a feeling of sympathy and faith in the English Companies.

Alliwardi failed to keep his promise to Mustafa who left the service of Alliwardi in disgust and took away some guns and elephants from the government of Rajmahal, stormed the fort of Monghyr and appeared before Patna in open rebellion. Mustafa was beaten back. He invited Raghuji Bhonsle to invade Bihar. Raghuji invaded Bihar. Raja Uddant Singh of Jagdishpur was hostile to the Governor of Bihar. Raghuji invaded Bihar via Birbhum and Kharagpur hills, plundered Sheikhpura and Tekari and reached near the Son river. He realised rupees fifty thousand from the Raja of Bhojpur. After that he surprised Alliwardi on the deep stream of Champanagar at Bhagalpur. In the meantime the Afgans created disturbances. Emperor Muhammad Shah promised

the Marathas to pay a Chauth of ten lacs from Bihar. The amount was to be remitted by the Subadar to the Imperial treasury from where it was to be remitted to the Marathas.

(ii) **Civil War & the Afgan Rising:**—The domestic revolution of 1745 turned Alliwardi's strongest allies into his bitterest enemies. His army was filled with the Afgans and the Hindus. The Afgans were the most numerous and efficient elements. Their consciousness of superiority and cohesion made them quite irresistible if they could be united under one great leader. Gulam Mustafa Khan was a brave and veteran general and his strength made him a formidable danger to Alliwardi's throne. Alliwardi had promised him the governorship of Bihar but he could not keep his promise. An armed conflict became inevitable. Through gold and money, Alliwardi won over Shamser Khan and Sardar Khan. Mustafa resigned and got his arrears of seventeen lacs. With the intention of wresting Bihar from Haibat Jang, he set off for Patna. Sword was the best imperial sanad in that age and Mustafa held that in his hand. In order to defend the capital, Haibat Jang hurried back to Tirhut and organised a most efficient plan for defending Patna.

Mustafa invaded Patna from two directions. One division was led by Buland Khan Ruhela and the other by Mustafa himself. But in the face of heavy opposition he realised his powerlessness and retired south westward to the Son river. Alliwardi arrived at Patna. Mustafa was expelled out and he took

shelter in Chunar, which then belonged to Oudh Subah. At last Mustafa was shot dead. At this sight, the Afgan army broke and fled to the villages under the leadership of Mustafa's son, Murtaza. This civil war created new problems for Alliwardi and it gave an impetus to the Afgan rising. The dismissal of Samsher Khan and Sardar Khan added fuel to the fire in 1746.

When the Patna Governor, Zainuddin, wanted to reappoint the Darbhanga Afgans, they wanted to settle the terms of pay and service. In January 1748, Zainuddin and the Afgans met at Hajipur. The terms were settled and 13th January was fixed for the ceremonial presentation of the Afgans and their retainers. At this ceremony, Abdur Rashid Khan stabbed Zainuddin and then followed a general assault and plunder. The whole palace and city were now in uproar and alarm. There was none to oppose the Afgans and the entire city of Patna passed into their hands. For three months (January to April) Bihar was practically under the Afgan rule. Haji Ahmed's treasure was dug out, which yielded about seventy lacs of rupees and about three lacs were secured from Zainuddin's house. The Patna people were robbed and dishonoured and the Dutch factory was plundered. Shamsheer now began to increase his army to face Alliwardi. The Afgans swarmed out of the ground like white ants.

The loss of Bihar threw Alliwardi into the deepest grief. In campaign against Bihar Afgans required a vast expense. Loans were raised from far and

near. Fifteen hundred men from Purnea joined him in the way. With all these arrangements he marched towards Bihar. In April 1748, at the battle of Rani-sarai, Nawab's victory was complete. He finally entered Patna in triumph. After waiting for six months at Patna, and appointing Sirajudaullah as Naibnazim of Bihar with Jankiram, as his assistant, Alliwardi left for Murshidabad. The Afgan bid for supremacy was an event of exceptional importance in the 18th century. It accelerated (i) the dismemberment of Mughal Empire, (ii) helped the rise of the Sikhs and (iii) kept East India Company in constant anxiety and (iv) influenced their North-western policy.

Alliwardi also kept watch over the movement of the Europeans. Between the English and the French, he followed a policy of strict neutrality. They always tried to please him. In 1751 he set to the reorganisation of the administration. Ram Narayan was made the Deputy Governor of Bihar. He was a sound financier and astute politician. He arranged for the regular collection of customs and subdued all other Zamindars of the province. Alliwardi was a tactful administrator. He rebuilt and restored many towns and villages and wanted to improve agriculture. Hindu officials played an important part in his administration. The city markets were controlled by local Zamindars. Monghyr was the famous centre of gun manufacture.

(B) Administrative System

(i) **Shershah's Administration** :—Shershah was the greatest administrative genius of his age. He was the first Muslim, who studied the good of his people and believed that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration. According to Shershah, crime and violence prevented the development of country's prosperity, and justice was the most excellent of religious rites. He said, "it behoves the great to be alway active". He appointed court of justice everywhere. He was famous for his impartiality. Criminal justice was administered by chief Shiqdar and the revenue disputes were settled by chief Munsif. Mir-i-adals were appointed for trying civil cases. He impressed upon the Amils and Governors that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered then they should arrest the Muqaddams of the surrounding villages and compel them to make good the loss. There was in every Pargana one Amin, one Shiqdar, one treasurer, one Karkun to write Hindi and one to write Persian. The Governors were to measure the land and collect revenue according to measurement. They were asked not to oppress the cultivators, who were regarded as the mainstay of the prosperity of the autonomous village communities.

In every Sarkar, he appointed Shiqdari-Shiqdaran and Munsifi-Munsifan. The function of the

chief Shiqdar resembled with the Fauzdars of the Mughal Empire. He introduced the system of transfer of officers. He reorganised the army. He took care that in normal times of peace the military should remain in the background only as the support of the civil authorities. For the convenience of the travellers, he made Sarais at a distance of two Kos on every road and planted fruit-bearing trees. The Sarais were also the station of the Dak Chowkis. He also instituted the Spy System. He stabilised the reformed system of currency, which lasted throughout the Mughal period and was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835 A.D. His unique sense of justice was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration.

(ii Administration of Bihar during the Mughal period:—Here the administrative agency was an exact miniature of the central government. The head of our administration was the governor officially styled as Nazim and popularly known as Subadar. Jahangir began the practice of appointing royal princes to hold charge of the province of Bihar. Prince Parwez was the first Mughal prince to get this office. Others to hold this post were Suleman Shikoh, Azam and Azimushshan. Parwez gave his name to Paleza (Parwezabad) and built the Sangi (Pathar-ka-Masjid) at Patna. Mukhlis Khan was Parwez's agent at Patna. Besides Governor, there were Diwan, Bakshi, Qazi, Sadar, keeper of the government property and Muhtasib. Each Subadar tried to play the role of the Emperor in his own jurisdic-

tion. The Dewan was responsible for the management of the Exchequer and the revenue. Bakshi was the paymaster and kept the official account. The Qazi looked to the maintenance of canon law. The Sadar was in-charge of religious endowments and charity. The Muhtasib was in-charge of the public morals. His duty was to regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Quranic rules and to enforce Prophet's commands by putting down the drinking of distilled spirit, Bhang and other liquid intoxicants, gambling and the practice of immorality as a profession or in public.

There was no check upon the royal will. The office of the Wazir depended entirely on Emperor's caprice. The Fauzdars were appointed at important centres to maintain order, punish rebels and wrong doers and assist in the collection of revenue when opposed. The villages were neglected and were left to live their own lives as self-governing units. Kotwal or Prefect of the Police was appointed in the cities. The Kotwals had to enforce law and order and to discharge many functions of a modern municipality, control markets and maintain the quranic rules of morality. The Subadar used to commit excesses and oppress the people. They used to seize merchants' goods in transit, pay inadequate price or no price at all for them and utilised them for personal purposes. In spite of the repeated efforts of the emperors, such things could not be checked.

The people had no economic liberty, no indefeasible right to justice or personal freedom. Political

rights were unknown in those days. The nobles had no constitutional position. Popular happiness was unstable because it depended upon the sweet-will of the sovereign. During the later period, officials became corrupt and bribery and nepotism became rampant. The people at the bottom were pure and simple.

(iii) **Revenue Administration;**—Land revenue was the basis of the State income and other sources of revenue were customs, mint, inheritance, monopolies and the poll tax. The hopelessly confused finance was reorganised by Akbar with the help of Raja Todarmall. Todarmall established a uniform system of revenue collection, viz, (i) survey and measurement of the land, (ii) classification of land, and (iii) fixation of rents. He classified land into four classes:—(i) Polaj or Annually Cultivable lands, (ii) Parauti or Fallow Lands, (iii) Chachar or land fallow for three or four years and (iv) Banjar or Land uncultivated for five years. The state was entitled to one-third of the gross produce but the cash-rate varied according to crops. Akbar wanted to remove the grievances of the cultivators. In 1592 the whole of Khalsa land was divided into four circles and each was placed in charge of one man. The Punjab, Multan, Kabul, Kashmir formed one circle, Ajmer, Marwar, Gujrat and Malwa formed the second circle, Agra, Allahabad, Bengal and Bihar formed the third circle and Delhi was a circle by itself. The heads of these circles, worked under the direction of Wazir, but it was not satisfactory and

hence in 1595 it was substituted by the principle of one Wazir for one province. This reform was very much conducive to the efficiency of the department. The revenue administration had a sound basis and it was well-planned and organised and manned by efficient officers.

(iv) **Decline:**—The death of Aurangzeb marked the beginning of the rise of independent provincial dynasties. This was rendered easy and natural by some local governors during the declining days of the empire. The founders of such newly established provincial dynasties were men of exceptional ability and they promoted safety and welfare amidst the dissolution of political order around them. They secured their legal sanction to this hereditary succession by means of gift to the impotent Emperors. With the rise of such local independent chiefs, the union with the central government was severed. The province generally came to be tied down to one family and had to suffer as the character of that family declined. The strong and able rule of Allwardi in Bihar was followed by Sirajuddullah, a young man of twenty-three. He had unruly passions, insane pride and total ignorance of men and affairs. Allwardi had rightly remarked, "If God had intended the kingdom to remain in my line, He would not have removed Haibat Jang". The principle of sound administration vanished and the theory of efficient public service was crucified at the altar of hereditary succession.

(e) **Trade, Industries & Commerce:**—Through out the 17th and 18th centuries, trade and industries were kept alive by (a) the Emperor, (b) the nobility and (c) the Export traders, in which the Dutch, the English and other Europeans also participated. The bad state of transport did not permit the export on large scale or inland distribution of long distances. The cheap water transport down the Ganga enabled the cargoes of saltpetre to be sent from Lalganj (North Bihar) to Calcutta and Chandernagar. Patna had the advantage of export by reason of its position on the greatest river highway of India. Bihar was famous for opium and it was carried to various places by sea. Bihar's opium was exported to eastern Asia through Bengal. Fine cotton fabrics were produced for foreign export and home consumption at Patna. Saltpetre was the monopoly of North Bihar and it had an immense sale in Europe. It was used in making gun-powder. Writing paper was made at Rajgir. Mughal Emperors started the shawl manufacture at Patna. Glasswares were made in Bihar.

Since the time of Shershah, Patna was an important commercial centre. Cotton and sugar trades were prominent. It had a flourishing textile trade. Merchants of different nationalities flocked here. It attracted the Europeans. Safi Khan's Sarai was the meeting place of the foreign merchants. In 1620, Robert Hughes and John Parker of the first English commercial mission started for Patna to purchase a variety of clothes. In 1632, Peter Mundy reached Patna, with the intention of carrying on trades, but

his mission of establishing a factory at Patna failed. Cowrie shells were used in currency. It was during the governorship of Shaista Khan that Patna enjoyed considerable economic prosperity. By 17th century it rose to worldwide prominence as a source of production and supply of sugar and saltpetre. In 1651 the English East India Company set up a trading agency at Patna and it was made permanent in 1657. Singhiya contained a factory for refining saltpetre. There was also a Dutch factory. In 1663 Manucci found Patna to be a big town. According to Bernier, Patna had eight sarkars and 245 parganas. There was a mint at Patna:

(d) **Cultural life:**—Feudalism was the basis of social organisation. The nobles and Zamindars rolled in wealth while the common man was poor. The rich could afford to indulge in luxury and the wine and women were the most common among them. The common man was oppressed by tyrannical governors. People were honest and simple. The code of life in the village was based on ancient rites and customs. They were not very much affected by the Muslims. They reposed faith in soothsayers and astrologers. Sati, Dowry, kulinism and early marriage were some of the prominent social features of the time. The position of women was not very high and they were subject to the will of their masters. Both Hindus and Muslims observed Holi festival and as late as

Regarding the sale and purchase of slaves in Bihar, see my article—"*Traces of Slavery in Medieval Mithila*" (Based on original records).

1825 A.D. Durga Puja was celebrated at Delhi Court. Schools and colleges were established for the propagation of education. Hindus were also sent in Madrasas. The Mughal Emperors patronised learning, art and literature. Akbar's interest in Hindi poetry gave impetus to its development. The poetry was marked by Ram and Krishna cults. Bengal and Mithila were remarkable for brilliant outburst of Vaisnava literature. Mithila continued to be a great religious centre. The influence of Vaisnavism bridged the social gulfs and established a democracy of spirit. The folk songs relieved, for the time being, the deadweight of political tyranny. The pilgrim centres served to diffuse culture and broke down the provincial isolation and narrowness of mental horizon. The author *Khulsat-at-Tawarikh* says. "Tirhut was a seat of learning and Hindu culture. Its climate was excellent. The long pepper grew abundantly in jungle".

The Aini Akbari records Tirhut as a seat of Hindu learning.

People used to come here in search of true knowledge. They tried to re-enforce the tottering social edifice. They wrote digests, codified laws and regulations of conduct in various walks of life and succeeded in preserving the essentials. There arose a mediaeval school of Maithil Nibandhakaras. During this period under review, we had yet another brilliant Patna historian, Ghulam Hussain, about whom a brief description will not be out of place. Ghulam Hussain is one of the best authorities of history of his time. He was the eldest son of Hedayat

Ali Khan, a magistrate of South West Bihar under Alliwardi's regime. Hedayat helped Haibat Jang against the Marathas. The distracted political condition forced Hedayat to resign and seek his position elsewhere. He went to Delhi and lived there for eighteen years. Ghulam Hussain received the title of Khan from Muhammad Shah and returned to Patna in 1744. Saulat Jang granted him subsistence allowance. When Saulat Jang got the governorship of Purnea, Ghulam Hussain lived there in his service. After his death, he acted as the guardian of his son, Shaukat Jang. He also came into contact with English chief Mr. Amyatt and this marked the beginning of his fortune. Mir Kasim gave him a Jagir near Monghyr yielding rupees fifteen thousand per year. His most famous work is "*Siyarulmuta-kherin*". His literary powers were excellent and according to Colonel Briggs, Lord Clarendon need not have been ashamed to be the author of such a production.

In the field of art and architecture we find a fine blending Hindu and Muslim tradition. The Mughal rulers were great builders. Shershah's masoleum in Bihar is a living specimen of Indo-Moslem architecture. Its design and dignity represent the ideal combination. The work of art represented the reflex of the builder. Akbar used Hindu style of architecture in many of his buildings. In painting also there was a happy mingling of extra-Indian and our own elements. Painting was noted for its brilliancy and decoration. Rajput painting was a class by itself. Painters were employed by the Emperor and the

noble. Fine pictures were purchased at high prices. All these things declined during the reign of Aurangzeb. Calligraphy was regarded a very important art and people specialised in this branch.

(E) Bihar through the Foreign Eyes: — Ralph Fitch is the first European traveller to mention Patna. He is also the first English traveller in India. He says, "From Banaras I went to Patna down the river Ganges where, in the way, we passed many fair towns, a country very fruitful. Here at Patna they find gold in this manner. They dig deep pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bottles, and therein they find the gold.....Patna is a very long and great town. In times past, it was a kingdom, but now it is under Zelabuddin Echebar, the great Moghal. The men are tall and slender, and have many old folks among them; the houses are simple made of earth and covered with straw; the streets are very fair. In this town, there is a trade of cotton, much sugar, which they carry from hence to Bengal and India, very much opium and other commodities". A Portuguese traveller Barbosa says of Patna, "white sugar of very good quality is made in this city, but they do not know how to join it to make loaves and so they pack it up in powder stuff covered over with raw hide well sewn up. They load many ships with it and export it for sale to all parts."

The Italian traveller Varthema represented Patna as one of the finest cities he had hitherto seen. Here he saw the richest merchants. The principal

exports were cotton and silk-stuffs, woven by men. The country abounded in grain of every kind, sugar, ginger and cotton. It was the best place to live in. Bernier, the French Physician, who spent twelve years in the court, mentions that Patna had eight Sarkars with 245 Parganas. Tavernier mentions Patna as the place where coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell and sea-shell bracelets and other toys were made and sold. The Venetian traveller Manucci refers thrice distinctly to Patna and says that it was famous for fine white cloth, saltpetre, and pottery, which was so fine that it was no thicker than paper. It was a great city with beautiful bazar inhabited by merchants. Bottles were also made and cups of clay, finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented, were made. These things were carried all over the world.

—:0:—

CHAPTER 10

The British Period

(A) **English Settlements in Bihar:**—Since 1541 Patna was the capital of Bihar and it surpassed in importance the other factory towns of the company. The English must have opened trade with Bihar almost immediately after they had obtained a footing at Hugli. By 1652 the English had established a regular business at Patna. The English business at Patna was officially recognised in February 1658. John Kenn, the English Cheif at Kasimbazar (1658-'65) gives the following list of commodities procurable at Patna; (a) Musk and drug of all sorts from Bhutan, (b) Turmeric, (c) Tinkall (Borax), (d) Gumlac or sticklac (e) Tafettas, Amberties, Sashes and Elai-ches. The English dealt with all these commodities but not to the same extent as saltpetre. Formerly raw saltpetre was sent to England. The Dutch had a refinery at Chapra and the English factory started a refinery at Singhiya and Naunagar.¹

1. For a detailed study of North Bihar, i.e., Mithila from 1556 onwards, reference may be made to an illuminating and fascinating study of Dr. Upendra Thakur's (*my Colleague*) monumental work "*History of Mithila*" (1556-1947), awaiting publication. His work is a mine of information on all topics and for the present it should continue to be reckoned as his *Magnum Opus*.

As the English had no house, the chief of the Patna factory did not live there. He used to live in a rented house at Hajipur on Rs. 3/8/- per month. The Dutch had well-built houses. The English preferred Hajipur because they wanted to be near the saltpetre men. The Company's servants carried on trade on their own account under the shelter of company's name. Private trade was connived at and misappropriation was not regarded as a serious offence. The reason was that the salary was very small and it was inadequate for their extravagant expenses.

When the English factory at Patna was officially recognised, the personnel of the staff was as follows (a) Richard Chamberlayne, (b) Roger Seymore, (c) William Vassel and (d) France Farrier.

The official recognition of the Patna factory coincided with the civil war amongst the sons of Shahjahan. Shuja marched to Patna where he was joined by the Bihar Governor, Allawardi Khan. Aurangzeb wrote a conciliatory letter to Shuja and offered him the province of Bihar. The period from 1657 to 1665 was an exciting one in our history. The people were kept in feverish state of alarm and anxiety. The factors were waiting at Rajmahal. Farrier was succeeded by Henry Aldworth; and Samuel Bailey succee-

ded Seymore. There was a-mint at Rajmahal and the company had to send here their bullions to be coined into current coins, of the country, & to look after which they kept one of their servants there. Commercially Rajmahal continued to retain its importance as the saltpetre boats from Patna had to pass on their way to Hugli. Prince Azam, during his governorship of Bihar, was friendly to the English factors. After 1668, the importance of Patna grew apace on account of the abandonment of saltpetre trade on the west coast. The Nawabs extorted much from the foreign factors. They used to seal up the company's warehouse on frivolous pretexts and refused to open till large sums of money were paid. Sometimes the saltpetre boats were detained. In spite of all such vexations, the Patna trade flourished due to the considerable energy and tact of Job Charnock, who guided its affairs.

Job Charnock thought it his duty to have a thorough knowledge of the people of the country in the midst of whom he had to live and with whom he had to transact business. He was well-conversant with the manners and customs of the country and had command over the local language. His clear insight proved a valuable asset to the Company. It is said that he rescued a Sati, but a low caste woman, from funeral pyre at Patna and married her. He was not an honest man and the weavers had certain prejudices against him. He believed in bribery and force. His dealings

with our merchants were not humane. The merchants were forced to pay two per cent commission on the goods they sold to him. He was a faithful servant of the Company. He had seen the essential weakness of the Mughal Empire for all its imposing appearance and pomp and thought that an order from Aurangzeb had not that great force and binding which it had in the days of Shahjahan. His stay at Patna had far-reaching effects upon the English settlements in the Bay of Bengal. The English in Patna were in direct contact with the Muhammadan Governor and they had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with and studying the progress of affairs at the court of Delhi. All Delhi news passed via Patna and Patna chief kept the Hugli agent posted up with the doings at the Mughal court. Job Charnock went to Bengal with a knowledge of the political condition of India and he translated the lesson, learnt at Patna, into action in Bengal. Charnock was succeeded by George Peacock. Shortly after his departure troubles came upon the English both in Bengal and Bihar.

In 1679, Saif Khan became the Subadar of Bihar. He committed an outrage upon Mr. Peacock, who was kept in irons until he paid a forced present of £90. He was dragged barefoot to Hajipur. The Mughal authority was threatened by the rebellion of Gangaram in Bihar and all these disturbances handicapped the Company's business. The fact, that Singhiya factory was left unmolested, led the Nawab

to suspect that the English were in league with the insurgents. Mr. Peacock was thrown into prison. He was discharged and was followed by Mr. Joseph Dods. He squandered the Company's money. He died in 1686 and was followed by Braddyll. The high-handedness of the Provincial governors gave a rude shock to the Company's trade. It was in 1691 that Charnock was invited by Ibrahim Khan to return to Bengal and reopen the factories. *In 1692, the Sultan of Turkey wrote to Aurangzeb that saltpetre in India should be stopped as gunpowder manufactured from it was employed by the Christians against the true believers (i. e. Muslims).* Aurangzeb issued orders on governor of Bengal not to allow the English to manufacture any more saltpetre. The order was seriously enforced and in 1693 saltpetre boats were stopped at Patna. But soon the order became a dead letter.

Towards the close of the year, Prince Azimushan heard the illness of his grandfather. He began collecting men and money in Bihar. He was recalled to court by the Emperor and he made his Dewan Sarbuland Khan, his deputy, in Bihar but the general management of his affairs here was left in the hands of his son, Farrukhsiyar, who was at Rajmahal as his nominal representative in Bengal. Aurangzeb died in 1707 and was succeeded by Bahadur Shah. When the council heard of the Emperor's death,

they wrote to their vakil at Patna, to inform the prince that if they were plundered at Patna, "they would take satisfaction at Hugly or anywhere else they would find it convenient to do so." Azimusshan was confirmed as the Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with Murshid Kuli Khan as his Deputy in Bengal and Orissa. Azimusshan kept Sarbuland Khan as his Deputy in Bihar. The English had to face a great difficulty in their trade transactions, but with all the difficulties and drawbacks they looked upon the Patna factory as too valuable an establishment to abandon without a very hard struggle. When Sarbuland Khan went to officiate in Bengal, Syed Hussain Ali Khan was appointed the Nawab of Patna. Sarbuland Khan seized the saltpetre boats at Rajmahal and English had to pay a heavy sum. The Council directed Mr. Llyod to meet Murshid Kuli at Patna and procure a Sanad. Murshid respected the Sanad granted by Sarbuland Khan. Edward Pattle managed the Patna Factory till 1715. In June 1711, a Pathan Zemindar rebel plundered Chapra. The English saltpetre godowns were burnt. A violent storm swept over Patna and four Company boats sank. Following the death of Bahadur Shah, the political unrest forced the English factors at Patna to withdraw to Singhiya and they resolved to stay there till the troubles were over. After the trouble was over, it was decided to send an embassy to the new Emperor for a Farman. The embassy consisted of John Surman of Patna Council, Khoja Sarhad, the rich Armenian merchant and interpre-

ter, Stephenson, sub-accountant at Calcutta, Hugh Barker of Patna, and Willlam, the Surgeon. The embassy reached Delhi on Sept. 5, 1715 and the negotiations took up nearly two years at the end of which the ambassadors obtained the Farman.

The Nawab of Bihar, Gairat Khan, was succeeded by Mir Jumla in 1715. He was a great favourite of Emperor Farrukhsiyar but had excited the jealousy of Saiyyid brothers who had him banished as the Governor of Patna. He did not like to remain away from the court. Sarbuland Khan was again appointed the Subadar of Patna. He was a strong man and good administrator. He succeeded in restoring order. He was succeeded by Nasrat Yar Khan in 1718. In the meantime the court was distracted and the Government of Azimabad was bestowed upon Murshid Kuli Khan. The prevailing disorders had forced the Company to insist upon the withdrawal of factory at Patna in 1715. Surman on his way back from Delhi was directed to halt at Patna to get in the Company's debts and close the business there. But the Calcutta Council did not take the decision as final. By 1718 some sort of order was established at Patna and in 1719 Muhammad Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. Murshid Kuli Khan realised the importance of external trade and commerce. The Patna factory was thus re-opened and it was subordinated to the factory at Hugli. The Patna trade continued as important as ever but the introduction of the contract system had reduced the importance of the factory.

In 1725 Murshid Kuli was succeeded by Fakh-rudaullah and in 1730 the Government of Bihar was conferred upon Shuja Khan. Though Fakh-rudaullah left English, the local Zemindars caused some trouble. The Chakwar Raja of Samho vexed the English and put the European settlements to an annual expense of a large armament to escort their trade to and from Patna. The relation of the English with Government was good and the Company's servants were advised to keep a good understanding with the Nawab. The English business prospered and the branch factories at Fatwah and Begusarai were reopened and five new subordinate agencies were started in different parts of Bihar. In 1728 a new godown was built at Patna and in 1733 the godowns were considerably enlarged. The strong rule of Allivardi had suppressed the Zemindars and the river became comparatively safe and the boat of English factors plied up and down in greater security than heretofore. By 1722, the French made their way to Patna and established their factories. By 1735, they had already made a good progress in business which caused considerable anxiety to the court of Directors.

Allivardi's policy as regards the English was to let them alone as far as he could. But he was not the man to forego any of his prerogatives. When the war broke out in Europe between England and France, he would not permit the hostilities to be carried on in his own province. He exacted money

from the English factors, but they had no special fact of complaint. The English fared much better. The Maratha and the Afghan rebels treated the English factors with special consideration. Even during the course of Afghan rising, the Dutch were molested and not the English. The main reason of this favourable consideration towards the English was that the rebels and the invaders entertained hopes of their co-operation in overthrowing the Nawab. Allivardi always redressed the grievances of the English factors. He conferred upon the English one important privilege which had far-reaching effect on their position in Bengal. During the Maratha wars, he allowed them to defend their factories. The English took advantage and began fortification. Owing to the unstable situation in Patna, the council closed the Patna factory though they regarded it as one of the important centres of trade.

(B) From the death of Allivardi to the battle of plassey:—The death of Allivardi created confusion and the events, which followed, were pregnant with possibilities of significant consequences. The English began to fortify their possessions and also began to plot a civil war against the Nawab. While on his death bed, Allivardi had asked his successor, Sirajudaullah, to be cautious against the English. Siraj issued orders disallowing foreign fortifications in Bengal and Bihar but the English did not care and went on fortifying their establishments. Siraj took Calcutta from English and confiscated all their settlements in Bengal and Bihar. In the meantime,

the French were busy in enlisting the support of the Nawab. The English were fishing in the troubled water and the political condition was fast deteriorating. Personal rivalries and jealousies were becoming uppermost and the national question was being shelved at the behest of one's own goodwill. The Emperor of Delhi was no longer the master but the silent spectator of the whole show. Unity and cohesion had lost their meaning and the forces of disintegration were afoot. The English hatched a conspiracy with Mirjafar. With the help of Mirjafar, the English defeated Sirajudaullah at the battle of Plassey (1757) and the treacherous conspiracy was brought to a triumphant conclusion. This gave sufficient power to the Company. The Battle of Plassey paved the way for the British conquest of Bengal and Bihar. The English sovereignty over Calcutta was recognised. The supreme control of affairs had passed into the hands of Clive and Nawab was dependent entirely on his support. Clive began to interfere in Nawab's administration. The Nawab chafed but he could hardly dispense with the English. During the time of the Battle of Plassey, Raja Ram Narayan was the Deputy Governor of Bihar. Allivardi had given Purnea as Jagir to his son-in-law Ahmed in 1749. His son Shaukat revolted against Siraj. Siraj deposed him and made Raja Uggul Singh, his own man, the Fauzdar of Purnea. Mirjafar dismissed Uggul Singh and appointed Khadim Hussain as the Fauzdar of Purnea. The Bihar officials and Zemindars did not support the installation of Mirjafar on the Bengal Mas-

nad. Raja Ram Narayan, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, Kamgar Khan, the Zemindar of Narhat Samai (Patna), Sunder Singh of Tekari, Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur, and Bishun Singh of Kutumba (Gaya) opposed Mirjafar and the English. Raja Uggai was also opposed. The French adventurer Jean Law joined hands with these discontented persons. Eyre Coote was deputed by Clive to suppress them. He came to Patna and persuaded Law to Maner and Chapra. Clive and Mirjafar also came to Patna and succeeded in suppressing them. Ram Narayan acknowledged the sway of Mirjafar. Miran was appointed the Governor of Bihar and he kept Ram Narayan under him. In recognition of the valuable English help, the Nawab granted the Company the monopoly of Saltpetre trade in Bihar. This privilege was of considerable importance because it placed at Company's disposal an easy supply of highly needed material for the manufacture of gunpowder.

(C) **Bihar after the battle of Plassey.**—The centre of political gravity shifted from Bengal to Bihar after Plassey. Ram Narayan's political power was curtailed. The Fauzdari of Purnea was made a separate Government, independent of Patna and thus the jurisdiction of the Naib Nazim of Patna was curtailed. Ram Narain was not very much liked because of his attachment to the family of Allivardi. As soon as the English troops left Bihar, trouble broke out in Purnea. Hazari Ali Khan assisted by Achal Singh, the Dewan of late Nawab Shaukat Jang, formed a conspiracy against the Nawab of

Purnea. Hazari declared himself the Nawab of Purnea. Mirjafar proceeded to suppress him. His aim was not only to suppress the rebellion at Purnea but also to deprive Ram Narayan. Hussain Khan was given the charge to suppress the rebellion on condition that he would be made the Fauzdar. Hazari was expelled and Hussain became the Fauzdar of Purnea. Ram Narayan continued to serve under Miran and Mirjafar could not do anything against him as Clive was favourably disposed towards him.

Towards the close of 1758, the Governor of Allahabad and Nawab of Oudh, presuming the weakness of Mirjafar's Government, entertained ambitious designs against Bihar. They were promised help by Raja Balwant Singh of Banaras, Sunder Singh of Tekari, and Pahālwan Singh of Bhojpur. They also invited Ali Gauhar, the heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who was then living in exile in Rohilkhand. The prince agreed and obtained a Sanad from his father, appointing him the Subadar of three provinces. He appeared on the banks of Karamnasa. Ram Narayan consulted the English chief at Patna, but in the meantime, the Imperial army besieged Patna. Muhammad Kuli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad and Shujaudaullah, the Nawab of Oudh, taking advantage of his absence had obtained possession of the fortress of Allahabad. The siege of Patna was raised and the prince was given a sum of money and he retired from Bihar. The departure of Clive gave a signal for fresh troubles.

The insolent behaviour of Miran at Patna offended the Bihar Zemindars and paved the way for bigger political conspiracy. Kamgar Khan and Dilir Khan formed a conspiracy against Mirjafar's Government. They invited the prince to invade Bihar. The Emperor had expired and so the prince had declared himself as Emperor Shah Alam and made Nawab of Oudh, his Wazir. While Ram Narayan was arranging to meet the danger, there was some friction with Purnea Nawab on account of the payment of arrears but that was amicably settled. Prince Ali Gauhar invaded Bihar for the second time in 1759 and Kamgar Khan joined him with five thousand men. Ram Narayan fought him at Masumpore but was defeated. The re-inforcement came under Cailland and the English obtained a victory over the forces. The Emperor, with Kamgar Khan, proceeded towards Bengal but he retreated and came back to Patna. Patna was sieged. Major Knox forced the Emperor to raise siege and move back to Gaya. Hussain of Purnea proceeded towards Hajipur to join the Imperial forces. He was forced to retreat by Major Knox and the baffled Emperor soon left Bihar.—

The treachery and incompetence of Mirjafar soon made him unpopular with the English. Holwell, the acting Governor, was supporting the cause of Mir Kasim and a secret treaty was concluded with him on Sep. 27, 1760. Mir Kasim agreed to pay off the standing dues and the English guaranteed him throne. Mir Kasim got the masnad of Bengal in

1760 without any bloodshed but with the help of the English. This event practically displayed how the English had become the masters of the Subah of Bengal.

The political disturbances, following the revolution in Bengal, led to the re-establishment of English factory at Patna. It transformed the trade settlement into a political residency. The English chief at Patna was no longer a mere trader. He was the

Resident at the court of Patna and his political importance can be judged from the following instances. When Shah Alam invaded Bihar, Raja Ram Narayan consulted Amyatt and certainly followed his advice; when Mir Kasim threatened Raja Ram Narayan, he threw himself on the protection of Carnac. It should be remembered that the English army was not placed under the chief and as such it impaired the position of the chief at Patna as a result of which there were frequent differences between the civil and military authorities. Later on the evil was remedied by placing a small contingent of troops at Patna and that also at the disposal of the Chief. Hence, with Mr. Raye, it can be concluded that after the battle of Plassey, for nine years Bihar was the battle-ground on which ambition and intrigue fought out their fights.

The death of Miran brought the matter to a crisis. The disaffected soldiers demanded their arrear pay and besieged the palace. Mir Kasim advanced three lacs on condition that he should be made Nawab but was not ready to wait till the

death of Mirjafar and therefore Mir Kasim approached Holwell, who had entertained a project of revolution from his first-accession to the Government. With the approval of Mr. Vansittart, the Holwell scheme was put into practice and the second revolution in Bengal was completed in 1760. Mirkasim was convinced that he could stand only with the help of money. He paid off the arrears of English troops at Patna. The refractory Zemindars were controlled and he re-organised the army on European lines.

(i) **Bihar Under Mir Kasim:**—The Emperor, Shah Alam, was hovering on our borders. The Calcutta Council was also eager to conclude peace with the Emperor. Mir Kasim met the Emperor at English factory and, after paying Rupees Fifty Thousands got for himself the legal recognition as the Subedar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. At that time there was a sharp difference of opinion among the English officials as the headship of Vansittart had excited great resentment. Mir Kasim wanted to squeeze out the wealth of Raja Ram Narayan, who was in the good book of the English. The Nawab was sided by the Patna Chief, Macguire and Vansittart while Messrs. Carnac and Hay opposed the Governor and supported Ram Narayan. Ram Narayan was imprisoned and was followed by Rajballabh to be succeeded by Raja Naubat Rai who was ultimately followed by Mehdi Khan. Order was restored here after the submission of refractory Zemindars and its revenue improved. Mr. Chintamani Roy

was appointed Superintendent of Finance in Bhojpur but he was soon removed on suspicion of some alignment with the exiled Zemindars. He, then, chastised the Raja of Bettiah. Mir Kasim had a mind to stand independent of English and he never trusted his English friends. With a view to avoid conflict with the English, he transferred his capital from Mursidabad to Monghyr. He had certain differences with Carnac over the issue of Raja Ram Narayan. Carnac was followed by Mr. Coote. Mir Kasim was destined not to have his own way. On payment of Rupees Forty lacs to the Nawab, Raja Ram Narayan was brought to Patna. When Mr. Ellis came as the Chief at Patna, Raja Ram Narayan began to insult Mir Kasim. In point of insolence Mr. Ellis excelled all other factory chiefs. His insolent behaviour wounded the feelings of the Nawab and Vansittart proposed that a person in whom the Nawab had confidence should be sent to Patna. Warren Hastings was chosen for this purpose but his mission as peace-maker was handicapped when he was asked to demand Rupees twenty lacs from the Nawab. When Warren Hastings met the Nawab, the latter complained that his Government had been sadly obstructed. Hastings demanded twenty lacs but the Nawab refused to pay. Hasting's mission failed and on his way back he wrote a letter to the President from Bhagalpur describing an evil which proved the proverbial last stick that broke the camel's back. It was the abuse of private trade by Company's servants.

Vansittart also arrived at Monghyr and was cordially received by the Nawab. Vansittart got the Nawab's consent to a treaty for the regulation of Company - servant's private trade and after all things were over, an expedition was taken to Bettiah and Nepal to report on the feasibility of a trade in Nepal first. On his return from Bettiah, Mir Kasim learnt that the terms of treaty, regulating private trade, had been disregarded by the English Factories. Serious conflicts had taken place between Company's servants and his own officers. The news of disturbances came from different parts of the country. The Nawab resolved upon remitting the duties of all kinds throughout his dominions. He wanted to place the local traders on a par with the English merchants though it meant a considerable loss to his own exchequer. The council took a serious view of his measure and resolved to send a deputation consisting of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay. In the meantime, the relation between the English at Patna and Nawab's Governor Mehdi Khan had reached the breaking point but in the contest that followed Mir Kasim's men got victory and orders were issued to seize the English. Amyatt was killed in a boat-scuffle. The rupture between Mir Kasim and the English was complete.

He opened negotiations with the Nawab of Oudh and the Emperor. He thoroughly reorganised his army and had manufactured large quantities of arms and guns at Monghyr. The Monghyr guns were finer than the European guns. The chief

strength of his army lay in infantry. Seeing all these, the Council had opened negotiations with Mir Jafar and treaty was signed which rescinded all the orders of Mir Kasim. In order to deprive Mir Kasim of Maratha help the English paid off the Chauth to the Marathas on condition that they would not help the Nawab. The English defeated the Nawab at the battle of Dakranala in Monghyr. With a view to recover complete supremacy over Bengal Subah, Mir Kasim formed a confederacy with Nawab Shujaudaullah of Oudh and Emperor Shah Alam II. Before that the English had captured Rajmahal and had marched towards Monghyr. They recovered Patna and deposed Mir Kasim. Mir Jafar was made Nawab in 1763. The combined army of Mir Kasim, Shujaudaullah and Emperor Shah Alam met the English General Munro in 1764 at Buxar. Once again our fate was decided in the field of Buxar. The allies were defeated. The battle of Buxar excelled Plassey in importance. It established the claims of English as the-conqueror of Bengal Subah and gave the Company the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—a step in the advance of their political authority in our country. It completed the third revolution in Bengal.

The affairs here were still in a state of confusion. There was a revolution in Purnea. Rohinuddin Khan, the son-in-law of Syed Ahmed Khan (Purnea's Governor in Allivardi's time), availed himself of the ruin to make his way into Purnea. Purnea's Governor, Sher Ali Khan, had gone with all

his troops to join Mir Kasim. Rohinuddin Hussain Khan siezed the boats carrying a treasury of two lacs to Monghyr and had himself declared the Nawab. He wrote to Mir Jafar acknowledging him as his master and congratulating him and the English. Mir Jafar sent him the Sanad conferring upon him the Governorship of Purnea. Rohinuddin held the office till he was ousted by Muhammad Reza Khan with a pension of Rs. 50,000/- per annum in 1765. Another refractory Zemindar Shahumall was brought under control. The Nawab of Oudh was intriguing with Rohillas and Colonel Smith was posted at Sasaram to observe and report on the movements of the Marathas and to take steps for the survey of the roads and passes in Bihar. The Afgan trouble had not yet ended. Emperor Shah Alam concluded a separate treaty with the English and Mir Kasim fled and led a wandering life till 1777 A.D. when he died.

Clive came for the second time as the Governor of Bengal. After suppressing the mutinies, he and Carnac proceeded to Chapra where a sort of Congress was held for discussing the proposal of the Emperor and his Wazir, "for an alliance between the Company, the Wazir and the Jat and Rohilla chiefs for their mutual defence and security against all attempts of the Marathas to invade their several dominions." But Clive did not think it beneficial from the English standpoint and as a precautionary measure he posted a brigade at Sasaram to oppose the hostile intentions of the Marathas. He succeeded in making the Nawab a cipher.

(ii) **After the fall of Mir Kasim**—After the fall of Mir Kasim and the grant of Dewani, the Patna Chief became the Resident at the Darbar of Azimabad and to all intents and purposes a real Dewan. The native officers were to assist him and work under him. As Bihar's position was more strategic in the then political set up, the Chief's position was regarded more important. Bihar bordered the territories of Oudh, whose Nawab was holding the Emperor in exile and was plotting with the Rohillas, Jats and Marathas. His position was therefore to be carefully watched. Mir Kasim's agents had also to be guarded. The trade had also undergone change. Private trade by Company's servants was increasing by leaps and bounds. The Company had now begun to think more of the collection of revenue and political affairs of the country than of investment. The English political ascendancy almost killed our own trade. The French trade dwindled here after 1763 and there occurred a famine in 1770.

Certain political changes also took place. Mir Kasim Khan, brother of Mir Jafar, was appointed the Governor of Bihar with Dhiraj Narain, Ram Narain's brother, as his Deputy. As Clive did not like Mr. Kasim Khan, so he was removed with a pension of one lac and the office of Nawab in Bihar was abolished. Raja Shitab Rai was made the Dewan with Dhiraj Narain as the Deputy. William Billers was appointed at the English Chief at Patna. He was succeeded by Mr. Middle-

ton. In 1766 Sir Robert went to Bettiah to suppress the Zemindar and this Bettiah expedition produced an important result. It drew the Company's attention to the possibility of a fir trade and of establishing a permanent trade relation with Nepal. Middleton was succeeded by Rumbold. The Bihar Zemindars still remained obstinate. The Revenue Council at Patna was established and it controlled all business relating to the revenue administration.

After Mirjafar's death, his son Nazmuddaulah was allowed to succeed on condition that the administration should be carried on by a minister nominated by the English. Thus the English got the supreme control over the administration and Nawab remained as a figurehead. The Patna council consisted of Mr. Middleton, Sri Shitab Rai and Dhiraj Narain. In 1767 Dhiraj Narain was removed and Shitab Rai became the Company's Naib Dewan for Bihar. Shitab and Rumbold carried on Bihar administration up to 1769 after which Rumbold was succeeded by Mr. James Alexander.

(iii) **Economic condition**—The status of English in Bengal gained a legal recognition. Clive stopped the system of accepting the presents, checked the private trade and re-organised the salt trade. He cut down the illegal allowances of the military. He left India in February 1767 and was succeeded by Verelst and later by Cartier (1769). Clive had

instituted Dual Government, i. e., the real political power was enjoyed by the Company and its shadow by the Nawab. After him the system became weak and led to oppression, corruption and distress. The economic condition was fast deteriorating. The Company's servants were making illegal and unjust profits by oppressing the poor people. As early as 1762, Mr. Kasim wrote to the Governor of Bengal, "They forcibly take away the goods..... and by way of violence and oppression they oblige the Ryots to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee". According to a modest estimate, the total drain from Bengal Subah between 1757 and 1780 amounted to about thirty-eight millions poundsterling. Those who refused to meet the unjust demand were flogged. It was a subject of serious dispute between Mir Kasim and the English. The condition of the people became worse and it was verging towards ruin. The Dual Government was responsible for the untold miseries for our people. The tax collectors oppressed and exploited the Ryots and the system of revenue collection was abused. It reached its highest point. On 24th May, 1769, a Company's servant, Richard Becher wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before". The appointment of European Supervisors in 1769 made the confusion worse confounded

and corruption more corrupt. The result was the famine of 1770. About a crore of people died. According to a report of Shitab Rai fifty persons were dying daily in the City of Patna. The relief measures were inadequate. The districts of Bhagalpur, Purnea and Tirhut were hard hit and Company's records give us harrowing accounts of the people's misery. The condition continued to be so for long and it took a better turn after the arrival of Warren Hastings.

The administration of Patna was vested in the Patna Council which consisted of James Alexander, Robert Palk and George Vansittart. Alexander was the President of this Council. The Council was entrusted with the supervision of revenue collection. Shitab Rai was in charge of the Nizamat administration. The ryots complained about the heavy exactions of the rent collectors. The Council fixed the maximum rent at 9-16 of the produce. The administrative set up was thoroughly changed by Warren Hastings.

(iv) Warren and Hastings after—Warren Hastings abolished the Dual Government. He made the Company responsible for the entire civil administration of the province. He abolished the posts of Naib-Dewans and removed the treasury to Calcutta. His measures transferred the real powers from the hands of the Nawab to those of the Company. He gave a new moral tone to the Company's servants and laid the foundation of Indo-British administrative system. He evolved a new system of adminis-

tration. Shitab Rai was removed and his son *Kalyan Singh was appointed Rai-ryan of Bihar. The general revenue administration was in the hands of the Council. A Board of Revenue was established in Calcutta. The main sources of revenue were (a) Land revenue, (b) Monopoly of salt and opium trade and (c) Customs and excise etc. He appointed officers to study the situation. The Zemindars collected the revenue and Qanungo kept record. The lands were farmed out and assessment was made for a period of five years. A Collector and Indian Dewan were appointed in each district to supervise the revenue administration. The result was disastrous. Unprincipled speculators made rash bids and they soon found themselves unable to collect the stipulated revenue. They oppressed the ryots and the ryots were very much dissatisfied with this system. The old Zamindars and Jagirdars who were ousted by the unprincipled speculators, revolted against the system. In 1775, Raja Fatch Singh killed his own pro-English brother Balwant Singh and fought a guerilla warfare against the English between Gorakhpur and Champaran area. In alliance with the Nawab of Oudh, Hastings wanted to arrest him but to no purpose. The English succeeded in wresting the zemindari from him and handed over the same to Chatradhari Singh, son of Balwant Singh. The Rajas of modern Hathwa Estate are his descendants. Kisans, being oppressed, began to fly away. They were badly terrorised and suppressed by the English. In 1773 a

* For Kalyan Singh—Consult the learned article of Prof. S. H. Askari in the *JBORS*.

new experiment was tried. A committee of revenue was established in Calcutta. The post of European Collector was abolished and Dewans were placed in charge of districts*.

The period between 1781 and 1785 is one of the most important in our history and also in the history of British administration in India. In 1774 Supreme Council and Supreme Court were established and the administrative conflict between the Governor General and the Council began. As a result of this conflict, the offices of Fauzdari and revenue were amalgamated. In 1781-'82 the English were at war with the French, Dutch, Marathas and Haider Ali and the rebellion of Chait Singh added fuel to the fire. Chait Singh was fully conscious of the political situation and he, therefore, thought that the time was opportune to aim at independence and that is why the landed aristocracy of Bihar espoused the cause of Chait Singh. Bihar continued to be centre of opposition against the English. Chait Singh's revolt produced an alarm in Bihar. There was a conspiracy on behalf of Chait Singh. Narayan Singh and Iqbal Ali supported his cause. They raised troops and began to plunder the country near Patna. Chait Singh's revolt had serious repercussions on our history. He was intimately connected with the house of Tekari in Gaya. The death of Mr. Maxwell, the Revenue Chief at Patna, placed Mr. Ross at the head of the Patna executive administration. His jurisdiction extended over Patna, Gaya, Shahabad and Tirhut. Sarka."

* For details about the Jungleterry area (between Monghyr and Santhal Parganas Cf. my paper "*History of Tappa Chanduary*".

Saran was under an independent Collector Mr. Grome and Bhagalpur and Monghyr were under Mr. Augustus Cleveland. Raja Kalyan Singh of Patna was the Company's Dewan on a salary of Rs. 4,166 per mensem, and his official title was "Rairayan of Subah Bihar". He exercised power over Zamindars and at time he treated the Revenue Chief with contempt and claimed to be directly under the orders of the Governor-General. His deputy or Naib was Raja Kheyali Ram, who was confined in Haveli Begam at Patna for the gross mismanagement of the state. Raja of Bhojpur, Bikramjit Singh, was ousted from his Zemindari. Raja Narain Singh of Siris Kutunba was imprisoned and ousted from his Zemindari. The Tekari Raja, Mitrajit Singh, was placed under arrest by the order of Raja Kalyan Singh. Raja Madhava Singh of Tirhut was also confined under the orders of Raja Kalyan Singh.

From the records, it appears that Chait Singh's revolt was well-organised and planed. Mr. Ross, writing to the Calcutta Council, observed, "Since the revolt of Raja Chait Singh, every communication by Dak has been cut off from hence to Benares and so well has he concerted measures that we can obtain no intelligence whatever from that quarter". "The whole banks of rivers were lined with armed men. The Englishmen were alarmed at the situation. From a letter, addressed to Mr. Ross at Patna, by the Collector

of Saran, Mr. Grome, it appears that the people were very much dissatisfied and disaffected in his subdivision. From his letter, it appears that Reza Kuli Khan and Pitambar Singh, connected with Tekari family, were wholeheartedly helping Chait Singh. The roads, on all quarters, were stopped. Forces from Kanpur came to the rescue of Shahabad militia. Narayan Singh was joined by Chait Singh's Fauzdar, Bechu Singh, with a force of 15000. Chait Singh's revolt raised the people en masse and within a few weeks his emissaries had raised a conflagration from Allahabad to Monghyr. The revolt was suppressed by the English. Iqbal's States were seized and granted to Ali Ibrahim Khan, a friend of the English.

In 1777 the Board of Directors directed the collection of detailed information for the purposes of revenue settlement. Mr. Grand, the founder of Indigo Industry in Tirhut, was appointed its first Collector in 1782 and began collecting detailed information and making settlements till 1787 when he was replaced by Mr. Bathurst. His report throws some light on the contemporary history. His main duties involved the maintenance of justice and the settlement or collection of revenue of Hajipur and Tirhut. These two 'provinces' yielded a revenue of about seven lacs of rupees. According to report, Chait Singh's revolt had baneful influences on these parts and would have spread further had it not been checked timely by Hastings.

Administration:—After November 1781, the revenue administration was thoroughly remodelled.

Provincial councils were abolished and replaced by the Committee of Revenue and the officers were entrusted with the charge and administration of the public revenues. Mr. Maxwell became the revenue Chief at Patna. Mr. Grome was appointed Collector of Saran, Mr. August Cleveland was appointed Collector of Bhagalpur and Mr. Chapman of Ramgarh (Hazaribagh). Mr. Law was appointed the Judge of Patna and Mr. Charpain of Darbhanga. The Bihar affairs were directly under the control of Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell and Edward Wheeler. Mr. Revel was the Collector of customs at Patna. Revelganj in Chapra still bears his name. Tirhut was formed into a separate Collectorship under Mr. Grand. The system, under which Warren Hastings administered the province, was essentially a Muhammadan system and had existed for centuries. The landlords were the custodians of revenue. It was, therefore that, Hastings treated them as rent Collectors. He was careful to provide them with necessary emoluments for the discharge of official duties which devolved on them. Maharaj Kalyan Singh of Patna took the settlement of Subah Bihar from Warren Hastings in 1781 for Rs. 29,21,107 only.

The Revenue department employed agency for controlling the conduct of farmers and protecting the Ryots. The Agency consisted of Kanungos and Patwaris. The Patwaris were village accountants and above the Patwaris were Kanun-

gos, one for each Pargana. They supervised the work of the Patwaris, tested the village-accounts and maintained the record of rights. The revenue free states of Zemindars were very extensive in Bihar. Such lands were included in what were designated as Royal lands. Free and Permanent Tenures were farmed out by the government to renters and sub-renters. The revenue accounts were kept according to the Fasli year. From the data at our disposal we learn that financial depression existed between 1781 and 1785 owing to (a) unsatisfactory condition of the currency (b) scarcity of specie, (c) want of confidence in the money market, (d) stagnation of trade and agriculture and (e) want of a market for export of country produce. There was incessant drain on the exchequer to support a large army in southern and central India. These conditions intensified the financial crisis in Bihar to such an extent that the Revenue Chief found himself unable to meet even the ordinary demands of the state. The Mints at Patna and Murshidabad were closed with the object of introducing uniform currency. In 1783, another famine broke out in Bihar. To prevent it, the government forbade the export of grain to Tirhut and Saran and sanctioned the building of a huge granary at Bankipore. In 1783, Sir John Shore came to Patna and made a settlement of revenue for three years. A great reform about this period was the coinage of the copper price as a medium of legal exchange in addition to cowrie. The establishment of Fauzdari

courts led to the appointment of sepoy for the purpose of arresting criminal, but the chief catchers in the Muffussil were the Zemindars and the renters. The robberies were frequent.

Price-Chart in 1781-82.

Figures are given in seers per rupee.

			Srs.	Ch.	Rs.
1.	Rice	1st quality	34	12	1
	Old	IIInd „	35	12	„
	New	1st „	38	8	„
		2nd „	44	8	„
2.	Wheat	1st „	115	4	„
	Old	2nd „	117	4	„
	New	1st „	60	4	„
		2nd „	64	8	„
3.	Barley	...	125	12	„
4.	Maize-Janera	...	133	4	„
	Bhuttah	...	125	8	„
5.	Peas	1st quality	150	0	„
	Arhar	2nd „	105	8	„
	Arhar	1st „	59	0	„
	Dal	2nd „	62	0	„
	Khesari	1st „	179	4	„
		2nd „	184	8	„
	Kabuli	1st „	119	4	„
	Mattar	2nd „	131	8	„
	Gram	1st „	100	12	„
		2nd „	104	0	„
	Moong	1st „	45	12	„
		2nd „	48	4	„
6.	Oil-seed	—Tissi	100	0	„
		Mustard	62	0	„

Castor	65	0	„
Til	59	12	„
7. Other grains .—Posta-	50	0	„
dana.			
Kurthi	126	4	„
Sowah	159	2	„
Marua	129	8	„

(v) **After 1785.**—All attempts for the removal of abuses failed. In 1786 a national scheme was adopted. Districts were now organised in fiscal units and the Collector in each district was made responsible for the collection and settlement of Revenue. The Committee of Revenue was reconstituted as a Board of Revenue and the Board was to advise and control the collectors and sanction their settlements. A new officer known as Chief Shristedar was appointed to deal with land tenure and revenue. In 1787 Thomas Law was appointed the Collector of the district of Bihar (Patna-Gaya) with headquarters at Gaya. The system of annual settlement continued till the beginning of 1790 A.D. Civil and Criminal courts were established in each district. A Fauzdar was appointed in each district to bring criminals to justice. The criminal administration of Bihar was taken over by the Company in 1790. Henry Douglas succeeded Mr. Grand as the Magistrate of Patna in 1792 and remained in charge for twenty years. In 1798, his jurisdiction was extended to cover an area of about four hundred square miles. Muzaffarpore was made the headquarter of Tirhut. The famous Cornwallis

Code of 1793 ushered in the system which formed the steel frame of British Indian Administration. Collector was made the sole authority in a district and the judicial powers were devolved upon Judges. The judicial powers of the Board of Revenue were abolished. The Judges tried all civil cases. The Darogas were appointed to maintain peace within their jurisdiction. The system failed to improve the situation. Crimes became rampant and it was not possible to dispose them off. Gangrobbery and the Thuggee increased and it is said that the men of higher classes were also associated with the Thugs. Mr. Bury observed, "such is the extent to which the dreadful traffic has been pursued on the old Calcutta road, especially between Monghyr and Fatwah that I can form no estimate of the expenditure of human life to which it has given occasion." The Police system was organised on efficient lines. Cornwallis wanted to keep us away from responsible posts and real authority. As a result of the Permanent Settlement, the Zemindars were deprived of all powers and responsibilities and they had to disband their police forces.

He introduced his famous "Permanent Settlement" in 1793. The Zemindars were made the permanent owners of the land and they paid fixed annual revenue to the Government. The rights of various classes of tenants were clearly defined. The Zemindars were authorised to collect rents from the tenants and in cases of failure the tenants were made

liable to arrest. The number of cases multiplied and the Munsifs were appointed to cope with the situation. In Tirhut, the Raja of Darbhanga, Madhava Singh, had some differences with Lord Cornwallis on the question of Permanent Settlement. Raja Madhava Singh declined to accept the terms proposed by the Darbhanga Collector and the Board on the ground that due allowance was not made for his "malikana" and "dasturant". He claimed "Malikana" all over Sarkar Tirhut and claimed that the Rajaship of the whole of Tirhut was conferred upon his ancestors by the Delhi Emperor. The Collector did not acknowledge but ultimately in 1807 under the orders of the Government of India, the settlement of the present Darbhanga Raj was concluded with Raja Madhava Singh (1807) on an annual rental of Rs. 152,053; excluding Rs. 41,282 on account of his malikana and dasturant. Madhava Singh was succeeded by his son Raja Chatra Singh, who rendered good services to the Government at the time of Nepal war in 1814-15. He got the title of Maharaja from Marquis of Hastings. Birkeswara Singh of Bettiah also played a prominent part in the dispute which led to the Nepalese war. He was succeeded in 1816 by Anand Keshwara Singh on whom Lord Bentick conferred the title of Maharaj Bahadur as a reward for the services rendered.

Nepal War.—An attack by the Gurkhas took place in 1814 and this led to the declaration of war against them by the then Governor-General Lord Hastings. He himself planned the campaign

1. For details, consult my paper—"Bihar and Nepal".
[600 B. C. to 1816 A. D.]

and decided to attack at four different points simultaneously along the entire line of frontier from Satlaj to the Kosi. It was very difficult to conquer the Gurkhas. They had peculiar tactics and brilliant qualities of soldiers. The Britishers had no knowledge of geographical difficulties of the mountains. The result was the failure of British campaign in 1814-15. Major-General Marley and John Sullivan Wood from Patna and Gorakhpur were asked to advance towards Nepal Capital but after some unsuccessful attempts they retreated. The English had severe losses. In April 1815, General Ochterlony compelled the brave Gurkha leader, Amar Singh Thapa, to surrender. The Gurkhas signed a treaty at Sagauli (1815). The treaty was ratified by the Government of Nepal after a great hitch and Nepal agreed to receive a British Resident at Katmandu. The Rajas of Darbhanga and Bettiah sided with the Britishers in their Nepal campaign. Being satisfied with their loyal behaviour, Lord Hastings bestowed Khilats on Maharaj Mitrajeet Singh and the Maharaja of Tirhut. After the episode, entire Bihar came under the political sway of the English and the importance of Patna was lessened. It was appended to the Bengal Administration and since then no important episode took place in our own history except the famous Santhal outbreak. Our history came to be linked up with Subah Bengal. From the reports, lying in the district offices, we have a glimpse of some of our district and the most im-

portant among them are the records of Sherwill and Pemberton which throw sufficient light on the condition of Bhagalpur in the 19th century.

(vi) **Bhagalpur the 19th century.**—During the time of the grant of Dewani, Bhagalpur was situated to the east of Sarkar Monghyr and Subah Bihar. It comprehended a large tract to the south of the Ganges. In the pre-British days it was one of the thirty-one Parganas of Monghyr Sarkar and after that it was attached to Rajmahal. In 1790 four circuit courts were established at Bhagalpur. It was a separate judicial district under Bihar Subah. The Qazi of the district had dual functions viz., (a) to preside over the Criminal Courts and (b) to witness deeds, perform marriages and funerals. Generally, these were done by his assistants. The Qazi had the right to appoint and dismiss the assistants. The Qazi of Bhagalpur had the following four principal assistants.

- (a) Muhammad Ahmad at Bhagalpur.
- (b) Muhammad Azim at Kahalgaon.
- (c) Nasimullah at Bihpur.
- (d) Muhammad Afzal at Gogri.

These principal assistants had their sub-assistants. At the time of Buchanan's survey, Bhagalpur comprised 8255 square miles. Most of the present districts of Santhal Pargana and Monghyr were then included in Bhagalpur. Supaul and northern parts of Madhipura Sub-division were then included in Tirhut and Purnea districts and Parganas Ballia,

Bhusari, Naipur, Imadpur and Mulki of Begusarai subdivision were under Tirhut. Certain parts of Jamui and Pargana Salimabad were included in the district of Bihar and Pargana Deoghar and others of Santhal pargana were included in Birbhum. About 1838, Parganas Naredigar, Mullhni gopal and Narsinghpur Kurah were taken out of Tirhut and included in Bhagalpur district.

There was a great abundance of mango-plantation and palm trees. The climate was suitable to the growth of rice. Irrigation was resorted to. The level land was universally irrigated and produced fine crops of rice, castor oil, mustard, Marua, Khesari, sugarcane, gram etc. The villages were thickly spread over the country. The remarkable objects were towns and stations of Bhagalpur. Champnagar was filled with weavers, traders and dyers and it had numerous markets. Nathnagar was full of grain dealers and traders. It was an important market centre and highly populous. Karnagarh was the site of cantonment of the Bhagalpur Hill-rangers and was a high dry spot commanding a fine view of the river Ganges. Mandar Hill was a religious place. It is full of inscriptions. Village roads were in a wretched state. In some of the villages there were Indigo factories. At Kahalgaoon there were Indigo factory, Post office and police station. Mahua was in abundance in Godda sub-division.

The report is very instructive with regard to the Santhals. They are described as short, well-built and men of active habits, inoffensive and

1. These are now within the jurisdiction of Saharsa district, created as a separate district consisting of Madhipura and Supaul Sub-division on April 1, 1956.

cheerful and obliging and industrious cultivators of the soil. The Santhal villages were buried in thick jungles with small cleared patches. Their food consisted of Janera, mustard oil, Onions, etc. The working dress consisted of a mere strip of cloth that went round the loins and the females were well-clothed. Their religion consisted in prayer, sacrifices and religious dances. Outside every Santhal village, a place was set apart for offering up sacrifices and the offering consisted of a small conical-shaped leaf bowls or cups, filled with either rice or Janera and mixed with milk, Ghee, spirit or water.

Pemberton's report deal with North Bhagalpur area especially with Pargana Naredigar, Mullhanigopal, Chaye and Nishankpur Kurha and it is very instructive, informative and useful. The appearance of the country was very pleasing and the whole area was famous for fruits. Opium, Indigo, timber, onions, tobacco and saltpetre were exported. The assesment was very low and the following figure shows the value of the land per bigha.

Quality.	Rented.	Rs.	a.	p.	per bigha.
1st „	—	2	0	0	„
2nd „	—	1	8	0	„
3rd „	—	1	4	0	„
4th „	—	1	0	0	„
5th „	—	0	12	0	„
6th „	—	0	8	0	„
7th „	—	0	4	0	„

The cause of this low assessment was that two third was full of grass or tree-jungle. The most populous town in Naredigar was Jhanjharpur (now in Darbhanga district). The trade was in a flourishing condition. The pargana was placed under the police jurisdiction of Supaul thana. Pargana Mallh-nigopal was also under Supoul Thana. Pargana Nar-singhpur Kurah was partly under the jurisdiction of Supaul Thana and partly under Kishunganj. Mr. Doveton, the Deputy Magistrate, used to hold his court within the Pargana at Dauram Madhipura. In Chaye Pargana many indigo planters resided. Singheshwar Asthan in Nishankhpur Kurha was celebrated for its temple. This was esteemed as a place of pilgrimage. An annual fair is held at Singheshwara and is well-attended. The country was well-cultivated. Maize, pulse, Mattar, Rahar, Castor oil, linseed, were the important crops besides rice. Mango and plantain were in abundance. Kosi was the most important river. The road from Ganges to Tiljuga was very good. There was a munsif's court at Kishunganj.

(vii) Indigo and sugar Industry in Tirhut—On the basis of similar reports, we have a graphic knowledge of the establishment of Indigo and sugar factories in Tirhut. Indigo was produced in Tirhut area from times immemorial. It was a profitable business. When the Britishers came and established their political supremacy they turned their attention to this profitable business in North Bihar. On his appointment as Collector of Tirhut, Mr. F. Grand

started the Indigo-cultivation. He wrote in 1785, "I introduced the manufactory of Indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of Indigo-works and plantations and erected three at my own expense". In a list of 4th February 1788, the Collector gave a list of twelve Europeans, not in the Honourable Company's services. residing within the jurisdiction of Tirhut Collectorate, ten of whom were said to have been in possession of Indigo works. Six of them were James Gentil, G. W. S. Schuman, James Gellan, manager of Petre de Rozario, John Miller and Francis Rose. The last one forcibly set himself down in the midst of Raja Rajballabh's jagir in Tirhut and started Indigo.

In 1787 Lord Cornwallis sent for Mr. Grand to Calcutta and praised him for his work and ability but to Mr. Grand's utter surprise, he was ordered to go as Judge to Patna. The cause of his transfer was his interest in local industries. Mr. Grand protested in the following word, "On August 26, 1787, I was in full possession of my appointment and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance and luxury of life..... On Aug. 27, 1787, by one stroke of His Lordship's pen was Mr. Robert Bathust nominated Collector of Tirhut and Hajipur, and thus every hope and fair built prospect existing on the preceding day completely blasted. Thus the blow was struck, and from that day fell, perhaps never more to rise. View the potrait and feel". In 1793, the Collector

1. For an account of Indigo plantation in Begusarai sub-division, consult G. D. College Bulletin No. 3.

submitted a list of Indigo-factories in Tirhut and their number increased to nine and Mr. Neave, the Judge of Tirhut, had to look after the maintenance of peace in that area. All British subject had to reside within ten miles of some British settlement unless they had a special license from Governor General. No British subject in those days could acquire land without permission. In 1793 Mr. Neave ordered a French man and one Mr. Thomas Parke, who had settled at Sarai and Singhiya, respectively without such licence, to quit Tirhut. James Arnold of Dholi had beaten a Brahman and so he was warned by Mr. Neave and cautioned him against all ill-usage of the native. In 1803, the Collector reported that there were twenty-five Indigo-concerns including the concerns of Daudpur, Saraya, Dholi, Athar, Shahpur, Kanti, Motipur, Deoria, Bhawrah, Muhammadpur, Belsar, Piparghat, Dalsinghsarai, Jitwarpur, Tiwara, Kamtaul, Chitwara, Pupri and Shahpurundi.

In 1810 the Collector wanted to give credit to the Indigo planters and wrote a letter, which is very important from historical point of view. Therein he urged upon the necessity of encouraging Europeans in every species of commerce and facilitating their means of circulating ready cash among the labouring class. In 1828, the Collector suggested some restriction on the Indigo-Industry. According to an estimate of 1830, 191 Indigo

factories of Bihar, were owned by thirty-two European settlers. There were seventy-five European Indigo factories in Purnea district besides two others belonging to the Hindu Zamindars. In Shahabad there were eighteen Indigo factories and a large number in the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts. By 1837 political difficulties had occurred with America and France and impetus was given to establish Indigo-factories in our region. But the trouble again arose and there was misunderstanding between the planters and the ryots. According to the Revenue Survey of 1850, there were eighty-six factories in the districts of Tirhut. The Indigo concerns were in a flourishing condition. By 1867-68, there was a strong protest against Indigo-trade and there were some instances of violence. The ryots objected to the hard labour and inadequate remuneration. The factory servants were harassed. The proprietors did not pay any attention to the well-being of the subject. Their lands were forcibly taken away. The Indigo cultivation became very unpopular. The Indigo planters ruled the area like a prince and the Nawab.

The planters were very keen on organisation. In 1801 the planters of Tirhut, Champaran and Saran instituted a joint Committee and framed rules of business and in 1837 they framed Code of Rules. In 1877 they formed Bihar Indigo Planters, Association at Muzaffarpur which was officially recognised by the Government. The year 1877 was a critical period in the history of Indigo plantation in

Bihar. A large number of cases had occurred in Saran, Champaran and Tirhut. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal wrote to Sir Ashley Eden, the Commissioner of Patna, to collect the opinion of leading planters and officials as to the unsatisfactory relation existing between the planters and the ryots in respect to Indigo. Eden was anxious to avert the disturbance but not prepared to tolerate a state of things in which cases of illegal dispossession and illegal retention of land were causing breaches of peace. He, therefore, wanted the opinion of officials on the defects of the present system and if the remedies could be applied. The Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote to the Planters' Association, ".....the Lieutenant Governor has no intention of interfering in any way or of doing anything which can hamper the planters in the conduct of their business, all he desires is that the law should be strictly obeyed." The Association showed a sincere desire to maintain cordial relations with the ryots and drew up fundamental rules for the guidance of the members. The cheap Indigo dye, introduced by Germany in 1896, gave a set back to the Indigo Industry in Tirhut. In 1905, the Bihar Planters' Association was reconstituted with branches in four districts and Sub-committees to advise them on Industrial expansion. When the progress of German Synthetic Indigo was checked in 1914, the Indigo cultivation in Tirhut got fresh impetus on an extreme scale.

The Europeans also established sugar factories *Sugar Factories* on a large scale in Bihar. There was a Central sugar factory at Patna and other European

Sugar concerns at Shahabad and Tirhut. The Dutch erected a sugar factory at Motipur in Tirhut. The Danes also established sugar factories in Bihar. The Europeans started sugar plantation in North Bihar after 1816 and such factories were established in Tirhut and Saran. It continued to be a flourishing industry till 1850 and the Revenue Survey of 1847 makes frequent mention of the steam sugar factories scattered through several parganas of the district of Tirhut. The growth of Indigo industries was one of the main reasons for the destruction of sugar factories in Bihar. Indigo was more profitable than sugar. Whenever there was any set back in Indigo trade, then sugar was patronised.

[D] A brief survey of our Economic History during the British period:—Bihar was famous for the manufacture of saltpetre, necessary for gunpowder. Patna, therefore, attracted the Dutch, French, Danish and the English. The English got the monopoly of this trade and they supplied the same to the French and the Dutch out of their own factory. Between 1783 and 1792 the saltpetre trade proved unprofitable. Between 1794 and 1810 more than £ 3,20,000 worth of saltpetre was exported to England. Besides Patna, the Company had saltpetre factories in Tirhut, Fatwa and Gaya. The Paikars and Middlemen played an important part and they exploited the people. Bihar was also noted for opium manufacture. In 1761 the English East India Company got a monopoly over

the opium trade and the revenue arising out of this trade was spent in giving salaries to the Patna officials. In 1797 an Opium Agent was appointed at Patna for the administration of opium trade. In 1808-9 the total production of Bihar opium exceeded 8000 maunds. There were opium factories at Patna, Bihar, Saran, Shahabad, Tirhut, Tehta, Rampur, Khagaul, Sadikpur, Nawada, Bhabua, Bhojpur, Daudnagar, Dighwara, Chapra, Dumri, Bidupur, Lalganj, Darbhanga and other places. Bihar ceased to be a centre of opium trade in the 20th century. Besides saltpetre and opium, Bihar was *Cloth* famous for cloth manufacture. In 1787, the English factory was made a commercial Residency for the supremacy of cloth investment to the Company and for that purpose a Commercial Resident was placed at Patna. He issued advances to the weavers of different varieties of fabrics. Patna was well-known for calicoes and muslins. The cloth factories were situated at Patna, Chapra, Jehanabad, Shahabad, Singhia and other places of Arrah and Gaya districts. The factories were under the supervision of Native Gomastas. The Bihar factories suffered as a result of the cotton export to Europe. Besides that, there were Indigo and sugar *Indigo and* factories owned by the Europeans. The *Sugar* Indigo planters oppressed the ryots and the fracas between the masters and ryots were the daily affairs. We had to submit before the superior force of the Europeans who had by that time assumed political power. This effected our agriculture.

Bhagalpur was an important trade centre. *Trade Centres* There were grain centres at Bhagalpur, *Export and Import* Kahalgaon, and Sultanganj. Castor oil, Tissi, Tobacco and molasses were brought to Barh and were exchanged for wheat, pulse and gram and were taken to Dariapur, Surajgarh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur for sale. Other articles were purchased from Kahalgaon and Rajmahal and taken to Murshidabad where they got rice and tassar in return. From the hills and forests of Ramgarh, Rajmahal and Birbhum, trade was carried on in molasses, iron, abrakh, Sindur, Tejpat, Banslochan, lac and other articles. These things were brought for sale at Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Rajmahal. From the Morang countries the trade articles were timber and wax, which were sent to Murshidabad. Carpets were imported from Rangpur. Musk, elephant-teeth, wax, Cheraita, Tejpat etc., were imported from Nepal. Purnea had direct trade contacts with Rajmahal, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Tirhut. Ramgarh, Muzaffarpur, Tirhut Hajipur, Teghra, Dalsinghsarai, and Begusarai were the important trade centres and they sent their commodities for sale at Maldah, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Morang and Bhagalpur. The merchants included the people of every description and class. The rosewater came from Ghazipur. The internal trade of Bhagalpur was free and unrestricted. The profit, arising out of the monopoly articles, was shared by the government, the zamindar and contractor. There was no unanimity

inweights and measures and it varied from place to place.

Various arts and crafts continued to be practised in Tirhut even after the British occupation. Tirhut folks specialised in several kinds of arts and crafts. The most important were, (a) preparing threads for the sacrificial use, and (b) finest threads or fabrics were prepared for cloth with the help of Takuli. The weavers of Bhaura were noted for cotton industries and from this centre cloth was supplied to a major portion of Mithila. The Kokati was a special cotton fabric woven in Mithila. It was of brown colour but its manufacture has now diminished. The other industries carried on the manufacture of pottery, mats, baskets, blankets and lac bangles. Brass articles were also manufactured. Jhanjharpur is still famous for its good design. Fine clay toys and picturesque images also formed a part of village industry. The weavers were destroyed by the Britishers. The decay of trade and industry set in towards the close of the 18th century and its ruin was well-nigh complete by the middle of the 19th century. The causes of decay were ; (i) the competition of cheap goods produced and (ii) the inability and unwillingness of the British Government in India to encourage our arts and crafts.

Under the orders of the Court of Directors, *Buchanan's Survey report* the Government of Bengal surveyed a portion of British India and the work was entrusted to Francis Buchanan. Their intention was that the survey should be thorough and comprehensive. The scope of the

enquiry included the following points—(i) A topographical account of each district including the extent, soil etc ; (ii) the condition of the inhabitants and (iii) the natural production of the country. Dr. Buchanan's attention was drawn to (a) Fisheries, (b) the forests, (c) the mines and quarries, (d) agriculture under different heads, (e) progress in manufactures and (f) commerce.

The Commission wanted to know the modes of agriculture and cultivation for each kind and also means for introducing the new objects. In addition to this long list of economic enquiries, he had to enquire about the religion, architecture, sculptures and paintings and also to collect Botanical specimens. The investigation was carried on for full seven years and it cost the Government a sum of Rupees Four lacs and fifty thousand. Following is the brief finding of the survey-report. (i) *Agriculture* :—The land near the river yielded two complete crops in course of a year. Rice was the most important crop and besides that there were wheat, barley, marua, maize, Tissi, Rendi etc. There were three main harvests, (a) Bhadai or corn reaped in the rainy season. (b) Kharif reaped in the cold season and (c) Rabbi reaped in the spring. According to Buchanan, the ploughmen received a small share. He had to find out the seed and to give his master one-half of the produce. The village economic life was controlled by the Gomasta, who used to manage from one to five villages. He kept the account and distributed

every man his share of profit, for which he received from Rupees Three to Five a month. He was allowed a clerk or a Patwari at Rupees varying from one and half to three a month. They had additional income arising from the division of crop. Their assistants were called Barāhils, who watched the crops, collected money and distributed water. Under the Gomastas there were Chaukidars who guarded his house in the night and collected money in the day. The villagers gave them presents as they prevented stealing. Zethraiyyat was the chief of the village. He was also known as Mahto. He held his office by hereditary tenure and supported the interests of the raiyats. He was a wealthy man and helped the poor and illiterate in settling their accounts.

(ii) *Industry* :—According to Buchanan the following persons were busy in industry—(1) Weavers (Jolha), (2) Knitters (Patwars), (3) Tailors (Darji), (4) Glass-workers (Churisaj), (5) Retailers of vegetables (Kunjra), (6) Distillers of liquors (Kalal), (7) Toddy sellers (Pasi), (8) Confectioners (Halwai), (9) Butchers, (10) Beef-Butchers, (11) Bird-catchers, (12) Oil-makers, (13) Potters, (14) Bakers, (15) Tinmen (16) Tobacco-pipe-makers, (17) Shoe-makers, (18) Bow-makers, (19) Paper-makers, (20) Cotton-cleaners and dyers, (21) Carpet weavers, (22) Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths; (23) Jewellers and Stone-cutters, (24) Manufacturers of threads, clothes, tape, strings, sugar etc. Besides that, there were

Laheri, Soap-makers, Torch-makers, ink-makers etc., Soap and paper were manufactured in large quantities in Bihar. Patna soap was used all over Bengal. Lime was also prepared. Saline was also manufactured.

In the larger estates a great portion of rent was farmed out and that was absolutely necessary to prevent collusion between the tenants and the agents of the owner. Even in petty estate the same practice was in vogue. These renters were called Thikadars. Besides these Thikadars, there was a class of people called Mostagers who lent money to the Zemindars. The Zemindars had agreed to give these Mostagers the management of the whole estate as security and these, in addition to twelve per cent per annum for the money lent, used to take one-half of all the net proceeds of the estate until he was repaid. All lands were burdened in this manner.

The economic exploitation led to the destruction of handlooms, village industries and affected the economic life of the people. The uncontrolled authority of the Thikadars brought in its train untold suffering upon the common people. Artisans and craftsmen were deprived of their occupation and they fell upon cultivation and ultimately all had to depend on land. Even the pasture lands and small tanks came to be used as agricultural fields. The labour became cheap and it came to be exploited by the Indigo planters. This led to a crisis in our politics and the entire

populace began to seethe with discontent. There were already signs of revolts in various parts of the country. There broke out the famous Santal out-and-break. It originated as a protest against the long-standing fraud and deception.

(E) The Industries of Bihar :

We have already discussed the economic history of Bihar in the British period. In the following pages, I shall try to throw some light on the progress of Industries. Mr. Macdonell's memorandum [1886] on the technical education in Bengal Subah may be taken as the starting point of the Industries in Bengal and Behar. His proposals regarding the Industrial education were, (A) A school for the mining students, (B) The training of Mechanical Engineers, (C) Training in canal workshops, (D) Improved Industrial schools, (E) The appointment of an Inspector to supervise Industrial education and (F) the encouragement to private firms and the Municipalities and District Boards to open Technical schools. Sir Edward Buck (1901) in his report emphasised that the Technical education should be under a separate executive department in each province. Regarding Bihar, the Holland Industrial Commission of 1916-18 recommended the establishment of a Metallurgical Research Institute at Jamshedpur, a Mining Institute at Dhanbad and a Technological Institute at Patna and all were to be placed under the Department of Industries with a director. The Behar Government constituted a Department of Industry in 1920 with Mr. B. A.

Collins as the first director. Since then, the control of all technical and industrial education was transferred to that department. Its main object was to help the development of Industries in the province and to assist the private enterprise.

In the beginning, apprentices were trained in the Jamalpur Workshop. Some technical education was imparted in the Public Works Department workshops at Dehri-on-Sone in Arrah district. Central industrial schools were opened. The following technical institutions were started:—(1) The Bihar school of Engineering—now college teaching upto the B. Sc. engineering standard, in almost all branches (2) The Ranchi Industrial School, * where instructions in carpentry and fitting were given, (3) The Beniadih Industrial School at Giridih, to train persons for Railway workshops, (4) The Chaibasa Industrial School to train in carpentry, (5) The Bettiah Mission School for the same, (6) Mrs. Perin Memorial Technical School at Jamshedpur, for instruction in Mechanical drawing and (7) Mining School at Dhanbad † Recently a Fuel Research Institute has been established at Sindri. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory is first of its kind in Asia and has acquired for itself an international importance. An Engineer-

* There is now a full-fledged Engineering College known as Birla Institute of Engineering at Mesra (Ranchi).

† This is now a full-fledged College for *Mining & applied Geology*, the first its kind in India.

—The Bihar Institute of Technology at Sindri gives instructions in all branches of Engineering up to the Post-Graduate Stage.

Engineering College at Muzaffarpur known as Tirhut School
 of Engineering has been started and an Engineering
 School at Bhagalpur, which is also to be converted
 into a College soon. Industrial Schools and Agri-
 cultural Schools have been started in District head-
 quarters. Bihar is one of the most important
 industrial areas of our land. There are various
 Rice, Sugar and Oil Mills, the Peninsular Tobacco
 Factory at Monghyr, a tannery near Motihari, a
 large cement work near Dehri, Jheenkpani, Ranchi
 and at other places and several sugar Mills. The
 Jharia coal fields provide two-third of coal in
 India. Jamshedpur has got one of the best Iron
 and Steel Factories of the world. The Chotanag-
 pur area has rightly been described as the "Birm-
 ingham of the East". Through the efforts of the
 Government of India, more and more Industries are
 being started in Bihar. The Machine Tool Factory
 is to be started at Ranchi with Russian help, Optical
 Factory at Hazaribagh with Japanese help and one
 more Steel Factory at Bokaro in no distant future.
 The D.V.C. Project has enabled the Government of
 Bihar to derive sufficient amount of power in South
 Bihar for starting a number of Industries. Jute and
 Sugar Factories are to be started in between Saharsa
 and Purnea. The Department of Industries of Bihar
 has chosen sites for starting small scale Industries at
 various places in the State and mobile small Indus-
 tries vans have been put into service. Darbhanga
 and Bihar Shariff have been selected as sites for the

starting of Industrial Estates in Bihar. The completion of the Mokameh Bridge and the Kosi Project will open new avenues for Industrial Development in North Bihar. The establishment of Oil Refinery, Thermal Power and Wagon Factory at Barauni in North Bihar would act as the beacon light for the future industrial development of North Bihar, hitherto a neglected area. The establishment of the Khadi Board is a right step towards the development of the Cottage Industry. The mica and lac industries are also of great importance. Below is given the list of Industries—

(1) **Patna Division:**—Basket-making, Cane and Bamboo Chairs, Blankets, Brass-works, Candles, Comb-making, Cotton, Cultery, Dairy-produce, Dyes, Embroidery, Glass, Hosiery, Sugar and Molasses, Tanning, Tobacco, Toys and Woodworks, Tassar, Ivory, Oil, Rice and Flour mills, Kalin and Galai-chas, Lac, Mica, Tobacco, Pottery, Stone-work, Saltpetre, Salt and Metal works.

(2) **Tirhut Division:**—Basket and Mat-making, Cutleries, Darris, Dairy produce, Dyes and Calico-painting, Fibres, Jute, Oil, Rice and Flour mills, Saltpetre, Sugar and Molasses, Tobacco, Tanning and Brush, Ivory, Brass-work, Cotton, Glaze, Lac, Paper-making, Pottery, Sabai grass, Tape-making and Tanning.

(3) **Bhagalpur Division:**—Tassar, Tobacco, Steel trunk, Gold and Silver, Iron, Steel, Manganese, Glass Jute, Sabai grass.

(4) Chotanagpur Division:—Coal, Cotton, Lac, Stone-work, Iron, Steel, Manganese, Mica, Gold and Silver.

Patna, Gaya, Saran, Jhanjharpur and Monghyr are specially important for brass industry. Coal is found in abundance in Ranchi, Palamu, Hazaribagh and Manbhum. The manufacture of Coke and Coal-tar is a very important industry of Chotanagpur. Singhbhum produces some coarse Cotton. In Monghyr, Purnea and Santhal Parganas, handlooms are used. It is very famous in Tirhut. Madhubani is famous for Spinning Association. The development of the Dairy industry is of greatest importance because only by this means can the cattle-breeding problem be solved on a sound economic basis. It is thought to shift the Bihar Veterinary College to the site of the Agricultural College in Sabour. There is a match factory at Katihar and a Paper mill is to be started at Sahibganj. The British regime did not encourage the local industries. The Cottage industries and village arts and crafts were practically on the decline and unless the Government come to the rescue, it will be difficult for them to pull on.

(F)—(i) Santhal Outbreak:—

In our history it is an important episode as it was an organised insurrection against the foreign Govt. The complicated legal system, the behaviour of the moneylenders and the native revenue collectors led the Santhals to believe that there was no redress of their grievances. They were subjected to frauds

and deceptions at the hands of the non-Santhal businessmen and justice was denied to them. Sometimes before the outbreak of the insurrection, a petition was presented to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, on behalf of the Santhal tribe, placing their grievances. But no immediate action was taken. The rebellion was led by a person who called himself Thakur. Bands of Santhals marched behind their chosen leader in several directions and plundered the oppressive moneylenders and Europeans. They stopped all Daks. The rebellion assumed a serious aspect. They infested the highroads between Shahabad and Sakrigali. They joined with their co-brethren of Hazaribagh, Birbhum, and Chotanagpur. The jungle tracts of Chotanagpur, Santhal Pargana and Bhagalpur remained in a state of perpetual alarm. The rising became general in the district. They were in a great force towards Mandar. They were joined by the Guwalas and Telis who helped them in their movements. They beat their drums and directed their proceedings and gave them information about the enemies. The black-smith supplied them with arrows and axes. The outbreak assumed the character of a people's movement. One of the chief leaders and guides of the movement was Ganapat Guwala. He guided the outbreak in Santhal villages. The Government of Bengal sent detachment of troops from Calcutta and Dinapur to deal with the situation. After the suppression of the insurrection, a new district of Santhal Pargana, with new laws and regulations, was created. Mr. Ashley Eden was the first Deputy Commissioner

of the district. Though this outbreak was suppressed with severity, it did not mean the end of all trouble. Within a very short time, a bigger movement for national liberation better known as the Sepoy Mutiny, to be rightly called the first War of National Independence, followed and Bihar was one of its main centres. *

(ii) Sepoy Mutiny or The First War of National Independence :—The Mutiny broke out in 1857. In July, 1857 some Muhammedans of Patna rose in revolt. This was followed by a mutiny of the sepoys in Dinapur. The European troops arrived and the main body of the mutineers crossed the Son river and joined Kunwar Singh of Arrah. * He was a Rajput Zemindar and was discontented on account of the revenue system. Throughout Bihar, the revolt against the British was gaining ground but it took alarming and formidable shape in Arrah under the leadership of Kunwar Singh. While the British force was attacking Oudh, Kunwar Singh, having taken Azamgarh, proceeded towards Benares. The English troops were defeated. Kunwar Singh returned to Jagdishpur and was followed by the English. He outwitted the English soldiers. While crossing the

* For Santhal outbreak—two Studies are worth Studying.

(a) *The Santhal Insurrection* by Dr. K. K. Datta.

(b) *The Santhal outbreak* by Dr. K. K. Basu.

* For details—See Dr. K. K. Datta's—“*Life of Kunwar Singh*” and my article—“*Kunwar Singh in Bhojpur folk Songs*” in the *SPARK* (February-1957)

See also an article in the Russian Journal “*Bojproci Istori*” (1957).

Ganges, he was shot but fortunately saved. He died and the banner of revolt was carried on by his brother Amar Singh. He carried on the struggle for three months. Two hundred British soldiers were sent by Mr. Tylor, the Commissioner of Patna, to Arrah to overawe the mutineers. In order to overawe the Patna people, the English paraded some Sikh soldiers but the general public showed disrespect and boycotted them. It is said that when the Sikh soldiers went to Gurugovinda Singh's birth place for a Darshan, they were not allowed to enter the Gurudwara because they were treated as traitors. From Patna and Arrah, the mutiny spread to Gaya and Tirhut. The Collector of Gaya, Mr. Money, was outwitted by our station-guards who released the prisoners at the Jail. The people at Muzzaffarpore attempted at public treasury. With the help of the wealthy bankers and merchants, the British force succeeded in repelling the attack. A Zemindar of Tirhut, named Waris Ali, was hanged by the British. Another rebel named Ali Karim was under warrant of arrest but he fled away. The people hoodwinked the soldiers who followed them.

The mutiny of 1857 was the swan song of India that was. Even Outram admitted that *it was a first step to popular insurrection*, though Victoria called it a bloody Civil War. In Bihar, it was decidedly a popular movement, the seeds of which were sown with the birth of British rule in India. The struggle against the British started in the days of Clive, when

people started agitation for the assertion of their rights. In 1857, Bihar was again on the forefront of the first national movement, the kind of which was seen in 1942. The very name of Kunwar Singh, a traitor in the eyes of our British masters, but a patriot of the first water, inspired the nationalists. The Bhojpuri folk songs preserve a good deal of account of this movement and some of these songs were so charming that Sir Edwin Arnold and Sir George A. Grierson translated them into English.

The trouble had started on March 29, 1857 at Barrackpur, when Mangal Pandey shot his Adjutant Englishman. The consequent execution of Mangal Pandey lit the first fire in the volcano of unrest. All the districts from Himalayas to Bihar and Vin-dhya mountains to Delhi and from Delhi to Dinapore were swarming with active insurgent bands, Jagdispur Jungles offered a centre to the rebels and Marx wrote on 21st July 1858 that General Luggard was occupied with a chase in the districts between Dinapur, Jagdishpur and Buxar. The natives kept him constantly on the move. The mutiny originally broke out in Bihar on June 12, 1857 in a village named Rohini (district Santhal Pargana) by murdering Sir Norman Leslie. Three accused persons were hanged. The same unit moved to Bhagalpur and revolted in August 1857. Various ruling Zemindars, besides Kunwar Singh, acted as leaders. The zemindars of Dholi (Muzzaffarpur), Chotanagpur, (Raja Nilmani Singh of Panchakot), Arjun Singh, of Porahat (Singhbhum), Nilambar Shahi and Pitam-

bar Shahi of Palamu, Jagarnath Shahi of Ranchi, Pir Ali of Patna and others led the movement. The Zemindar of Dholi was beheaded.

From the available records, it appears that the movement took a serious turn in Bihar. The Tirhut Collector reported about the seditious character of Ali-Karim. Daroga Zahoor Ali was taken under custody on July 31, 1857. Attempts were made to keep safe the roads between Poosa and Darbhanga and Poosa and Hajipur. With the beginning of severe repressive measures, the rebels, on the occasion of the Sivaratri Festival, attempted to go to Nepal in the guise of Pilgrims. The Magistrates were instructed to proceed to Sitamarhi to keep a watch on their movement. The local authorities were instructed not to admit Brahmin, Rajput, Zemindar Babhan, Kayasthas and other higher castes in services of importance. Till 28th August, 1858, there was no sign of any decay in the movement. Thanas were still burnt and special instructions, with regard to their proper maintenance, were issued by the Government to the Darogas of Thanas Massori (Champaran), Birauli (Saran) Bhawrra, Khajauli, Laukaha (Darbhanga) and Dagmara (Saharsa).

The Englishmen in Bihar were alarmed at the situation and one can have a graphic picture of the whole thing from the "*Reminiscences of Bihar*" by Mr. Minden Wilson. A small Zamindar of Daulatpur factory took advantage of the absence of the manager and proclaimed himself the king of those

parts. Later on, he was arrested and imprisoned for ten years. Mutiny took a formidable shape. Once some planters went to the Police Station and there they found the Daroga writing a letter to the rebels. It was severe at Sugauli. Major Holmes and his wife and the doctor were murdered. The following story is still current among the inhabitants of that area. Holmes and his wife were out for their usual evening drive when Holmes saw a section of his men driving and riding upto them. He suspected and called out to them, "I know what you want, it is my life that you can have but spare the lady". The reply was a volley which killed both the husband and the wife. Holmes was buried at Motihari. The only European saved from Sugauli was a little child of the doctor who was out with her nurse for a walk. The rebellion was suppressed with brutality and Major Eyre is credited with having reconquered Bihar. By 1859 all attempts at revolt in Jharkhand and Santhal Pargana were suppressed and stern measures were taken against the people. The cost of agriculture had increased by leaps and bounds and the Kisans revolted against the Indigo-planters in 1859-60, as a result of which a commission was appointed to investigate into their grievances. The Bengal Rent Act of 1859 was practically of no help to the Kisans. Bihar was subject to the ravages of three famines in 1866, 1874 and 1879. Due to transport facilities, Patna escaped the severities but other parts of the province were hard hit. The most severe of them was that of 1879. It was caused by deficient rainfall. Hundreds of thousands died of starvation.

and people wandered from one place to other begging for relief. Provisions for kitchen and poor houses were made.

Certain administrative changes followed the suppression of mutiny. The debacle of 1857 led to the supercession of the East India Company by the Crown. India was divided into provinces for the sake of administrative efficiency. From the administrative point of view, Bihar continued to be a part of Bengal. In 1825 Patna district was created. Gaya was made a district in 1865. In 1866 the district of Saran was divided into Saran and Champaran. In 1845 Darbhanga was made a Subdivision. In 1875 Tirhut was divided into Muzaffarpore and Darbhanga districts. Similarly Bhagalpore and Monghyr were made district headquarters and all these including other parts of Bihar continued to be the part of Bengal Presidency till 1911.*

* As a result of the Linguistic Reorganisation of Indian States on November 1, 1956, some parts Purnea district and Purulia district were transferred to west Bengal. Instead of Purulia, we have now a Dhanabad district with headquarters at Dhanabad. Bhagalpur has been bifurcated and a new district of Saharsa came in to existence on April 1, 1956 with headquarters at Saharsa.

CHAPTER 11

Our own Times

(A) **The Bengal Renaissance** :— The evils and abuses in the society had come to stay and there was stagnation all round. A strong wave of reform activities marked the beginning of the nineteenth century and the main pillar behind the whole movement was Raja Ram Mohan Roy whose association with Bihar was too close. The reformists, as a whole, were greatly influenced by the western ideas and political thoughts. In 1828, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had founded the theistic organisation, which came to be known as the Brahma Sabha. It was intended to be an assembly of all who believed in the unity of God and discarded the worship of images. It was the basis of the Brahma Samaj. After his death, Sir Devendra Nath Thakur (Tagore) infused new life in the movement. He converted the whole organisation into a special fraternity by introducing a formal ceremony of initiation. The infallibility of the Veda was accepted but this attitude was criticised by the younger section led by Sri Akshay Kumar Datta. Through this organisation an era of social reform was inaugurated. The passionate enthusiasm and superb eloquence of Sri Keshava Chandra Sen gave a new lease of life to the movement. He introduced strong emotion and devotional fervour which led to the growth of a new missionary zeal. Various branches of the Samaj were established in different parts of the country. By 1865 Brahma Samaj was divided into two camps, i. e., the conservatives and the progressives. The conservatives believed in one

God and discarded the worship of the images while the progressives regarded the popular Hinduism as too narrow. A new Brahma Samaj was organised by Sri Keshava Chandra Sen. The women were also taken as members and it marked a great step in the social reform. The spirit of Jesus and Chaitanya combined in Keshava who produced striking results. Again there came a rift and those who seceded from Keshava, formed Sadharan Brahma Samaj. It followed the path of constitutional progress and social reform and agitated, with some success, on the following points, (a) removal of the Purdah system, (b) introduction of widow remarriage, (c) abolition of polygamy and early marriage, (d) removal of caste-rigidity and (e) provision of higher education. This movement influenced not only Bengal but whole of country and we find its reflections on the society of Maharashtra in that century.

Dayanand Saraswati laid the foundation of Arya Samaj (1824-1883). He did not confine his teaching to the intellectual elite but preached directly to the masses. He brought about a dynamic force in our society. The synthesis of the two great forces, referred to above, reached the culminating point in the noble mission of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. He believed in the inherent truth of all religions. His disciple, Swami Vivekanand, carried his message all over India and the world. The Ramkrishna Mission stands predominantly for the social reform and also for the preservation of our ancient heritage. According to him, all different religious views lead us to the one and the same goal. A large number of schools and

dispensaries are being conducted ungrudgingly under its auspices. In the words of Sir Valentile Chirol, Svami Vivekanand was the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilisation and for her new-born claim to nationhood. He, for the first time, used the term 'Socialism' in India. The starting of Theosophical Society helped a lot in our national awakening as from the very start it allied itself with our revival movement. It has its branches all over India. A lesson of a pride in the past led to the beginning of the rebuilding of our nation. Like others, Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar touched the miseries of our common people and stood undaunted for the removal of all social evils. In our own times, the greatest poet of the age, Rabindra Nath Tagore, did not confine himself in a cottage but came out vigorously for all that is good in the humanity. All these forces, combined together, marked the beginning of a new era of national consciousness and formed the bed-rock of our future national struggle. Hegel has aptly observed that no revolution is possible without a renaissance.

(B) Our Struggle for independence

(i) **National Movement:**—The formation of our National Congress marks an epoch in our history. For the first time, under the British regime, our country was brought upon one platform for a common and united effort. We combined, despite all differences, for the attainment of our common political ends. In the beginning, the agitation centred round the civil service and other minor rights,

such as, the development of self-government, abolition of the India Council, spread of education, reduction of military expenditure, separation of Executive and Judicial functions and more employment etc. With the introduction of English education there was a remarkable outburst in our intellectual activity and a revolutionary change in our social and religious outlook. The introduction of telegraph, Railways, and other means of communication broke the mediaeval isolation and marked the beginning of a new age. Raja Rammohan's attempt struck the keynote of social reform and paved the way for constitutional agitation in politics. The tempo of our national struggle for independence gained ground slowly and it got a new lease of life from the late Surendra Nath Banerjee. The establishment of a Steel factory at Jamshedpur gave momentum to our Swadeshi movement. The Bengal Swadeshi movement inspired our people and it led to the establishment of various national institutions, the most important being Jadavpur Engineering College. The Morley-Minto reform did not solve our difficulties rather it brought in its train certain new problems which proved dangerous in the long run. Mahatma Gandhi was, then, leading the struggle against the oppression of our brethren in South Africa. His work attracted the attention of our people and a large number of people wholeheartedly supported his cause. By that time, Bihar had already become the centre of our national movement.

The return of Mahatma Gandhi to India in 1915 brought a new life to our national movement.

After the Lucknow Congress, he was brought to Bihar to investigate into the tyrannies and oppression of the Indigo planters. He came to Champaran, which was destined to mark the beginning of our The Champa- struggle. Champaran's contribution to ran struggle the development of our national movement is certainly epoch-making in history. It was the first field of fight against the organised force of British Imperialism. Indigo planters had a say in the Government, controlled by the Europeans. The poor tenants were forced to part with their lands. The Bihar's Planters Association, the Bihar Light Horse, and a voluntary Defence Corps practically guided the administration. The administrative set up was such as a tenant could not walk with an umbrella opened within a mile of the *Kothi* of any European planter. To combat this tyranny, a secret organisation was set up in 1907-'8 and the weak tenants of Champaran revolted. The movement was led by Sheikh Ghulab. He organised the peasantry and raised a common fund for contesting the cases. The organisation came as a hope to the Ryots and at the instance of Ghulab, Shital and others the tenants refused to grow indigo. *

Sheikh Ghulab and others refused to work as special constables as a result of which they were convicted in 1908. Since then, Champaran be-

For details, see Dr. K. K. Datta—*"History of Freedom Movement in Bihar,"* Vols 1 and 2, published by the Government of Bihar. Also consult—*"Champaran me Mahatma Gandhi"* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India.

came the seat of struggle against the planters. Radhemal, Ghulab and Shital were the most prominent leaders. The newspapers of Calcutta and Patna published a series of articles advocating the cause of the oppressed Ryots and they wanted an open enquiry. In 1908 the Planters' Association met in Bettiah and Motihari and Mr. Barcklay, the district Secretary, in a circular, emphasised on the concerted action and it was suggested that a punitive police force be placed throughout the district. This led to the establishment of reign of terror and a punitive police force was distributed throughout the district. In spite of the general opposition, the S. D. O. of Bettiah, Mr. Gourley was asked to enquire into the matter. In the National Congress session of 1916, Gandhiji did not allow to move a resolution regarding the Indigo-plantation in Bihar, but he promised to visit Champaran to have a first hand knowledge of the whole thing. Raj Kumar Shukla of Bettiah and others brought Gandhiji in 1917. He intimated the Commissioner of his desire to visit Motihari and the Commissioner did not permit him to go there. Gandhiji collected a band of volunteers and went to Motihari. He had a mission and he did not intend to leave Motihari without fulfilling that. A large number of people rallied round him. In 1917 he succeeded in getting appointed the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee. He was the fifth and the last member of the Committee. The Government finally accepted committee's recommendations about the abolition of the *Tinkathia* system. Thus he came

out successful in his first mission and the way was paved for our national emancipation at Champaran. He also experimented his social reforms at Champaran. This technique of work in all spheres was tested and made perfect in Champaran.

Sri (now Dr.) Rajendra Prasad, Sri Brajkishore Prasad and others joined Gandhiji in his campaign. This struggle turned a new leaf in our national movement. Mahatma became the champion of liberty against oppression and *Bihar was the first place in India where he carried out successfully his experiment of Satyagrah*. Since then Bihar became the base of Gandhian philosophy. A large number of people joined the national movement. It would not be wrong to state that *from Champaran began the real political life and awakening of Bihar*. The formidable dimensions of our national movement came to be realised by our foreign masters and they began to think of constitutional reform.

Mahatma Gandhi met the Secretary of the Planters' Association, Mr. J. M. Wilson. Mahatmaji, then, wrote to Hon'ble Mr. L. F. Morshead, Commissioner, Tirhut Division, seeking for an interview. He met the Commissioner on the 13th April, 1917. Prominent among those who participated in this struggle were Messrs. Braj Kishore Prasad, Ramnavami Prasad, Ram Dayalu Singh, Mr. Polak, Gaya Prasad Singh, Gorakh Prasad, Dharnidhar Prasad, C. F. Andrews, Anugrah Narayan Singh and a host of others. On the 16th of April 1917, a notice was

served on Mahatma Gandhi stating—".....Your presence in any part of the district will endanger the public peace and lead to serious disturbances..... I do hereby order you to abstain from remaining in the district.....(W. B. Heycock, District Magistrate, Champaran). Mahatmaji wrote in reply—"..... Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district but if it so pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience". (M. K. Gandhi).

It was on the 18th of April, 1917 the first biggest experiment in Satyagraha was launched by Mahatma Gandhi at Champaran. This is certainly a *Red-Letter* Day in our National history. It was here in this area of Tirhut, where, *in the days of yore Janak ruled, Yajnavalkya legislated, Gautama meditated,* that Mahatma Gandhi launced his experiment in truth and like the Buddha of the past, he turned the wheel of Satyagraha in this land of ours. Champaran attracted the notice of the entire world on 18-4-1917 when Mahatmaji made the following observation before Sub-divisional Magistrate of Motihari—"..... I would like to make a brief statement showing why I have taken a very serious step of seemingly disobeying the order made under section 144...In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service.....I have no other motive and can not believe that my coming can in any way disturb public peace.....As a law abiding citizen

my first instinct would be, as it was, to obey the order served upon me. But I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I come.....that I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law, of our being—the voice of conscience.”

The next phase in our national movement began in 1919 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He changed the outlook of the Congress. Lawyers, Doctors, Professor, students, businessmen and the common man joined, in largenumbers, the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1921. Bihar also contributed its due-share. †Our people responded to the clarion call of the country. In 1922, the session of the All India Congress took place at Gaya when the famous split took place. As a result of the growing national movement, All India Spinning Association was started at Madhubani. It is today the centre of Khadi production not only in Bihar but also in India. In

† Prominent among those who participated in this Non-Cooperation movement of 1921 were Drs. Rajendra Prasad, Shree Krishna Sinha, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ram Charitar Singh, Prof. P. Bose of Bhagalpur College and his student Shashinath Kanth, Shri Ramdayalu Singh, Satyanarayan Singh, Dharnidhar Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad, Shambhu Narayan, Kirti Narayan Singh and a host of others including Karyanand Sharma Kishori Prasanna Singh and Dipnarayan Singh throughout the length and breadth of this State. A good number of people left their professions and sacrificed their lives at the clarion call of the Mahatma. Teachers, students and men of other callings responded to the call and the movement was a grand success in Bihar. Comparatively speaking, Bihar was at the forefront of this movement.

the wake of the national movement, certain social reforms also were inaugurated. In 1928 our female folks, though most conservative, started an agitation for the abolition of Parda system. A movement for the propagation and production of Khadi was also started. An attempt was made to remove the untouchability. In 1927-28 youth movements were organised. The first organised national movement was started in 1930 and it continued up to 1934. Our people took active part in this movement and every village raised a banner of revolt against the British masters. The Congress organisation spread in every nook and corner of our province. In 1934, Bihar was visited by the terrible earthquake. The Congress workers under the able guidance of Drs. Rajendra Prasad, at present the President of Indian union, Shree Krishna Singh and Anugrah Narain Singh helped the afflicted people to the best of their capacity and showed their efficiency in the field of social service. It was through the service to the people that the Congress could command respect. Bihar became the strongest Congress base in India.

(ii) **The makers of Modern Bihar:**—A biographical study of the makers of modern Bihar will help us in understanding our contemporary history. They brought about a renaissance and helped the growth of our cultural outlook. They played a leading part in the formation of our modern history.

Khuda Baksh (1842-1908) was born in Chapra. He began to practise as a lawyer at Patna in 1868, went to Hyderabad in 1898 as the Chief Justice and

returned to Patna after retirement. He was the first Vice-Chairman of the Patna Municipality and of Patna District Board. He founded the world famous Khudabaksh Library and spent Rupees Eighty thousand on the library building. Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "The library was the subject of his thoughts in waking and sleep alike. His very dreams centred round it." It was opened in 1891. Not only Bihar but whole of India may be proud of such a great man. He was a great scholar and lived the simplest life. He spent his earning on the advancement of learning and thereby served the then cultural needs. He was one of the cultural leaders of Bihar.

Bisheshwar Singh and Shaligram Singh (1849-99 and 1852-1907) deserve mention for their philanthropic actions. Their father had helped the British Government in the mutiny of 1857 and he was rewarded with a Zemindari and a certificate of loyalty signed by Queen Victoria. Shaligram Singh was a good lawyer and was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. According to Chief Justice Jenkins, he was an ardent patriot and a fine type of Bihar manhood. These two brothers founded the Bihar National College and thus furthered the cause of learning. Shaligram Singh was a great educationist and an active member of the Calcutta University Senate. Bisheshwar Singh was an acknowledged leader of Biharis and a spirited public man.

Maharaj Lakshmeshwar Singh of Darbhanga was a man of liberal ideas. He had strength of character.

In the passage of the famous Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, he took an active part. He was a leading public man of his time and was an ardent supporter of constitutional reform. He sympathised with the congress in 1885 and gave it financial help. In 1888 he placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee his Darbhanga castle at Allahabad to hold its session. His brilliant speech on Sedition Bill (the present section 124A of Indian Penal Code) is remarkable. His premature death was a loss to us. His brother, who succeeded him, Maharaj Rameshwar Singh was also a man of liberal politics. He was appointed a member of the Police Reform Commission and was its only non-official member. The commission was appointed by Lord Curzon and presided over by Mr. Andrew Frazer. As a non-official member, he wrote a note of dissent where he advocated the complete separation of judiciary from the executive functions. He was the President of the British India Association and the Bengal Landholders' Association. He was nominated as an Executive Counsellor, when Bihar was made a separate province and was elected a member of the Concil of State in 1920. He was a member of the statutory civil service and was for sometime Assistant Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga and Saran and Joint Magistrate at Bhagalpur. He distinguished himself by his zeal for the Hindu University by his extensive tours to collect donations. The Darbhanga Building of the Calcutta University is an epitome of his generosity.

Mazharul Haque (1866-1940) was an inhabitant of Patna district. After finishing his educational career in India and England, he was appointed a Munsif of Oudh. That did not suit his temperament. He resigned and joined the bar at Chapra where he soon made his mark. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and there he earned his name as a public man. He was a first rate patriot and was opposed to separate electorate. He was the greatest apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity. In 1912, he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Patna session of the Indian National Congress. Dr. Sachchida Nand Sinha was the Secretary of that Committee. In 1916, the Congress sent a deputation to London and he was elected to serve on it. In 1917 he supported Gandhiji in his Champaran campaign and in 1921 he joined the Congress movement. He started a weekly called the "Motherland". He acted as the Chairman of Saran District Board for three years. He is the founder of the Sadakat Ashram ("The abode of the truth"), which is today the Centre of Bihar Congress and at the same time its spiritual capital. He was one of the founders of the Bihar Congress. In him we lost a towering personality and a man of a type above average which is found today in our country.

Sir Ganesh Datta Singh (1868--1943) passed his law examination in 1897. He was a man of simple habits and stood for every thing Indian. He was very studious. He was one of the greatest philanthropists of his time and did much to further the

cause of education. He was one of the builders of Modern Bihar. During his ministry, several hospitals and institutions, both technical and non-technical, were established. Lunatic Assylum was established in 1925 and in the same year Darbhanga Medical School (now College) was started. In 1926 a sanatorium at Itki was started. He created a record in munificence by giving greater part of his income to the cause of education and his total gift to the Patna University amounted to Rupees Four Lacs. As Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha observed, "Posterity will justly regard him as a great philanthropist and give him a place of honour amongst those who willingly suffered hardships, so that the poor might benefit by their savings". He was elected to the Council in 1920. As an administrator he was not above criticism. Some of his legislations evoked bitter criticism. Madhusudan Das, the Oriya Minister incharge of Local Self-Government in 1923, resigned. Sir Ganesh succeeded him and remained for fourteen long years, the longest period held by anyone. His life was an important lesson for all and set a fine example. As a minister, he had to work against various odds. His political opponents accepted his sincerity. In order to perpetuate his memory, the people of Begusarai have started a College after his name .*

* The Ganesh Datta College, one of the few biggest Colleges of this State, owes its inception to the liberal munificence of Sri Satyanarayan Singh of Manjhaul, Sri Bishwanath Singh Sharma of Begusarai and Sri Ram Charitra Singh, ex-Erigation Minister Government of Bihar.

Dr. K. P. Jayswal (1871--1937) began his practice at the Calcutta High Court and after that he came and settled at Patna. By his vast learning and scholarship, he made Bihar the Centre of Oriental Research and Indological studies. *Bihar Research Society Journal* acquired its international fame since its inception and he was its founder editor. He had the true spirit of a scholar. Sir Terrel, the Chief Justice of Patna High Court, rightly observed on his death, "The world has lost a great scholar". "He was among the noble pioneers who helped the advocates of modern Indian democracy to unfold itself in the mirror of the past.....and to make them realise that it was a child of the soil of India." His "Hindu Polity" created a great stir in the scholarly world and it inspired many of our patriots. The Government of Bihar deserves congratulations for establishing the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna (in 1952) to commemorate the name of that giant among Indologists. An eminent scholar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, has been appointed as Director of the Institute. *

Another great scholar and fighter for the cause of higher education was Dr. Ganganath Jha (1871-1941.) He joined Muir Central College at Allahabad in 1902. He was a popular professor of Sanskrit. He edited "*Indian Thought*" along with Dr. Thibaut. In 1909, he became the Doctor of Letters and in 1910, the

* In 1947, Jayaswal Archaeological-Historical Society and Museum was started at G. D. College, Begusarai.

Government awarded him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya. In 1921 he was promoted to the Indian Educational service and in 1925 he was nominated by the Governor-General as a member of the Council of State. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University from 1923 to 1932. In 1941 he enjoyed the rare distinction of being elected a corresponding member of the British Academy. He often criticised the Government for its niggardliness towards the system of higher education. He was a versatile genius. Dr. Otto Strauss of Germany wrote to him, "You appear to me as the happy blend of ancient Pandit and of modern scholar."

Dr. Sachidanand Sinha (November 10, 1871 to March 6, 1950) was one of the leading personalities of India. It was due to his energetic struggle that Bihar could be separated from Bengal. He was aptly called the maker of Modern Bihar. Though he began his career as a lawyer, his interest was all round. He entered the Supreme Legislative Council and as a legislator he won a great respect. He was appointed the first President of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. He was the first Indian Finance Member and was incharge of Jails. He was a famous Journalist and was the founder-editor of "*Hindustan Review*". During his Vice-Chancellorship, there was all round progress of the Patna University. He was a great lover of books and the "Sinha Library" is an epitome of his passion for books. He was called the grand old man of Bihar. He was the first President of the Indian Constituent

Assembly. He died on 6th March, 1950 and Bihar lost a towering personality.

The *Indian Review* paid the following tributes to Dr. Sinha on his death—".....Scholar, lawyer, journalist, legislator and politician, he played the role of an elder statesman with charm and distinction. He died full of years and honours.....He distinguished himself in everything he undertook,.....he was always the perfect gentleman for whom no good cause was not worth fighting for.....Dr. Sinha lived as a man whose every activity was marked by a liberal outlook and generous appreciation of men and things....."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, after finishing his educational career, began to practise in the Calcutta High Court in 1911 and came to Patna in 1916. He was imbued with the spirit of service to the people. In 1902, he started the Bihari Club and later on organised the Bihar students' movement. Its first session was held in the Patna College in 1906. This Bihar Students' Association was a powerful movement for about twenty years. He is interested with the growth of education. He is one of the founders of the Patna University. He was a member of the Senate and Syndicate till 1920. When Gandhiji started his movement in Champaran, he joined him. With Gandhiji he found the most suitable place for himself and since then he has devoted his life to the cause of the country. When the National University, known as Bihar Vidyapith, was estab-

lished at Patna he was appointed its Vice-Chancellor. He has always responded to the call of the people. In the great earthquake of 1934, he, at once, set to work day and night and started the Bihar Central Relief Committee. He is an ardent disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. He has been elected the first President of Indian Republic on January 26, 1950. He presided over the Constituent Assembly. The coming of Deshratna Dr. Rajendra Prasad to fill the highest position in the state is no matter to surprise anyone, for all the onerous and high offices he had filled so far he had filled with rare worth and dignity. It is good for the country that it has chosen one, even for the second time in 1957, who was one of the close associates and followers of Gandhiji, one who had always faithfully followed in "the footsteps of the master." He has the moral stature that will be surely needed in an India beset by many dangers, not the least of which is the loss of Gandhiji's conscience. In 1937, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University said the following words about Dr. Rajendra Prasad—".....whose life is a resplendant example of sincere, selfless and silent service.....His transparent honesty of purpose, his deep devotion to duty, his vast scholarship which he carries so gracefully, his many acts of self sacrifice, have made him one of the most respected of public leaders."

Besides, there are others who have done their best for the uplift of our people. Late Babu

Dip Narain Singh of Bhagalpur was one of the towering personalities who contributed much towards our national movement and dedicated himself to the cause of social and political regeneration of our people. He was a fine gentleman, superb orator and a great educationist. Babu Deep Narain Singh, Raja Krityanand Singh of Banaili, and Babu Langat Singh of Muzaffarpur, have immortalised their name in the history by their generous gift towards the cause of higher education. It is to their credit that our cultural regeneration could be possible and that paved the way for our political regeneration. The name of the "Lalls" of Gaya the two "Imams" of Patna, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Jayaprakashnarayan, Ramcharitra Singh, Dharnidha Prasad, the famous geologist Pramath Nath Basu are worth mentioning. In the thirties and onward in our century, Drs. Shreckrishna Sinha and Anugrah Narain Sinha have distinguished themselves by their selfless service to the cause of our people and as efficient administrators. From the beginning of their lives, they took active part in all such movements which aimed at the political regeneration and the cultural renaissance of our people. Since the inauguration of the Congress regime in this state in 1937, they have successfully held the reins of the Government. Anugraha Babu died on July 5, 1957.

(iii) Agitation for the Separation of Bihar :—

Till 1912, Bihar formed a part of Bengal Presidency. The mutiny had brought in its train cer-

tain stringent administrative measures and the powers of the provincial governors were all pervading. Like other parts of India, the liberals and the loyalists of the latter half of the 19th Century Bihar fought their ends through constitutional means. The first paper that came out in Bihar proper was the "*Bihar Herald*" in 1874. This paper came under the control of one of the leading lawyers, Sri Guru Prasad Sena. At that time there was no public spirit in Bihar. Politically it was an appendage of Bengal and the public life was at its lowest level. For the first time in 1882, Sri Harvansa Sahay of Arrah was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council. He was succeeded by Rai Bahadur Jayprakash Lall C. I. E., the Dewan of Dumraon. Patna was the only place where people could sit and discuss. Late Sir Bisheshwar Singh was another great leader of the time. They all met and discussed the current politics and felt the urgency of an organ to voice their demands. The other leading personalities of the time were Rai Bahadur Gajadhar Prasad, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. Mahesh Narain, Mr. Sharfuddin, Khan Bahadur Syed Fazal Imam, Sri Tej Narain Singh, Maharaj Lakshmeswara Singh, Rai Bahadur Farneshwar Narain Malita and Sri (later on Dr.) Sachidanand Sinha. The Biharis of Calcutta were led by Sri Shaligram Singh. In 1894, "*The Bihar Times*" was started. It is said that with the birth of this paper began the renaissance in Bihar. In 1907, the paper

was renamed " Behari " and it became a daily after 1912. It was the greatest exponent of public opinion. It was edited by Mr. Mahesh Narain.

By the year 1894, the Government of India had begun to think for the transfer of Chittagong Commissionership to Assam administration. This move of the Central Government helped much our agitation for the separation from Bengal. The *Bihar Times* took up the issue and while showing the futility of above proposal, it espoused the cause of a separate Bihar province. All its campaign fell on hard years. It aroused enthusiasm among the Biharis and public meetings began to be organised and the demand of separation gained ground. This alarmed the Bengal administration. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad also supported the creation of a separate Bihar Province. These agitations brought the question in the forefront of the then politics. Thus the movement took a new shape. The leaders began to educate public opinion. The main actor behind the scene was Dr. Sachidanand Sinha. In 1903 the famous letter of Lord Curzon asking the public opinion about the amalgamation of Dacca and Chittagong division was published. This letter was encouraging to us because our leader took up the cause of separation and demonstrations came to be organised. In 1906 Sri Mahesh Narayan and Dr. Sachidanand Sinha brought out a booklet entitled, "*The partition of Bengal or Separation of Bihar*" which was largely circulated in England and India.

It influenced and educated the public opinion in India and specially in Bengal and Bihar. The draft of this booklet was prepared by Dr. Sinha himself. In 1905, the Secretary of State sanctioned the partition of Bengal. The aim of the British Government was to crush the rising revolutionary movement in Bengal. According to this plan, west Bengal and Bihar formed one province and East Bengal and Assam formed another. Partition of Bengal became an accomplished fact and after that Lord Curzon left India.

In 1906, Sir Andrew Frazer, the Lieutenant Governor of New Bengal, acquired Chajju-bagh house for his new residence. When Lord Minto came to Patna in 1906 he held a Darbar there. Andrew Frazer was very much popular with the Bihari liberal leaders. In 1907, the Bihar Landholders' Association addressed Frazer as the "Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and West Bengal". A Bihari, Mr. Sharfuddin, was appointed a judge of Calcutta High Court. In 1908, the first Bihar Provincial Conference was held at Patna under the presidency of Ali Imam. In that conference, Sir Muhammad Fakhruddin moved a resolution on the separation of Bihar and its constitution as a province. Sir Ali Imam became the Standing Counsel to the Government of India in Calcutta High Court. At the first election held after Morley-Minto reform (1910), Dr. Sachidanand Sinha was elected to represent the Bengal Council in the Imperial Legislative Council. Mazharul Haque was elected as

the representative of the Muslims. Thus, out of four seats, two were captured by the Biharis. The appointment of Ali Imam as a law member was rejoiced. The Government of India's famous, Despatch of August, 1911, ran as follows, "The Biharis are a sturdy loyal people and it is a matter of common knowledge that although they have long desired separation from Bengal, they refrained at the time of partition from asking for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to the Government. There has moreover been a marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among the Biharis that Bihar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will give rise to agitation and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out a thoroughly sound and a much desired change." On December 12, 1911, the King Emperor at Delhi announced the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province with Patna as the capital. Bihar thus obtained a distinct individuality in 1912. In 1916 the new High Court of Patna was opened by Lord Hardinge and in the following year Patna University was established. Thus the separation of Bihar became an accomplished fact. In 1935-36 Orissa was made a separate province with Cuttack as its Capital.

(C) Growth of Education :—

The sources of information-for-the growth of education in our province are the reports of Buchanan and Adam. Adam was appointed by Lord William

Bentick to survey the native education in Bengal and Bihar and he submitted three reports in 1835, '36 and '38. The report of Buchanan also contained copious valuable information. Every village had a school in which the students received elementary education in Arithmetic and in some of the rudiments of natural and physical sciences. According to Adam, Bengal and Bihar with a population of four crores had one lac such schools. "The system of village School is extremely prevalent, the desire to give education to their male children must be deeply seated in the minds of the parents even of the humblest classes; and that these are the institutions, closely interwoven as they are with the habits of the people and the customs of the Country, through which primarily, although not exclusively, we may hope to improve the morals and intellect of the native population". (First Report of Mr. Adam). John Sullivan in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1882 said, "There is a School master and village School in almost every village in India".

Teachers were recruited from all classes and according to Adam parents of good caste had no objection to send their children to schools run by the teachers of an inferior caste and even of a different religion. The Mussalman teacher had Hindus of good castes among his scholars and this was equally true of the Chandals and other lower castes. The higher classes had the predominance, elementary education was not their sole monopoly and from

Adam's report it is quite clear that elementary education was wide-spread. Such associations of Hindus of all status and Muslims led to the fusion of thoughts and culture. The social relationship was marked with toleration and harmony. This was an important element in society. According to Adam's report there were in the nine thanas of the districts of South Bihar two hundred and eighty five Hindi Schools, of which two villages contained seven each, two contained four each, two contained three each and two hundred and thirty-three contained one each and the teachers belonged to the Kayastha, Magadh, Gandhabanik, Sonar, Koiri, Teli and other castes. In the sixteen thanas of the districts of Tirhut there were eighty Hindi schools. Besides elementary education, there existed domestic education which was a sort of "traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from generation to generation." Besides these two, there were missionary institutions and others established by the Indigo planters. They adopted the improved method of Indian teaching with a blending of European methods.

Female education was not so popular. Only a section of the female population was educated upto the modest requirements of family and society. The women kept the daily accounts of their households and they had the rudimentary knowledge of writing. In the aristocratic families the girls were educated with a view to providing them with such a know

ledge as would enable them to look after the state affairs. The British policy with regard to female education was one of Laissez-Faire and they apprehended that their interference would evoke discontent to the prejudice of their political interest. Raja Ram Mohan Roy first took the lead in this matter. Mr. May and Miss Code worked hard for the advancement of female education. Rev. K. M. Banerjee also did creditable service towards this direction.

The year 1835 marked a turning point in the history of Indian education. In a Minute issued on February 22, 1835, Lord Macaulay denounced the Oriental literature and education and advocated the introduction of western system of education. This influenced the Government of Lord Bentick and he passed the famous Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, declaring that *"the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India"*, that *"all funds appropriated for the purposes of education, would be best employed on English education alone"*, and that, *"for the future all funds set apart for education should be devoted to that purpose, and no portion of them be expended on the printing of oriental works."* It is interesting to note that the English as the medium of instruction was not accepted by the people in the beginning. Adam recorded in his report, *"It is impossible for me to express the firm*

conviction I have acquired of the utter impracticability of the views of those.....who think that the English language should be the sole or chief medium of conveying knowledge to the natives". Adam was thus opposed to Macaulay's policy, but by that time the policy was carried out. The year 1849 marked a turning point in the history of female education. In that year Mr. Drinkwater Bethuene, the then Law member and the President of the Council of Education, in collaboration with Pandit Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar, started in Calcutta the Hindu Valika Vidyalaya. The educational reorganisation began in 1835 on the lines of the Resolution, referred to above. It was a radically different line altogether, This change-over influenced the life and thought of our people.

Bentick's resolution was modified by Lord Auckland who granted Rupees Five hundred a month to the Royal Asiatic Society for the publication of Oriental books and series, thus published, came to known as Bibliotheca India. The wood's Daspatch of 1854 supplied the basis of the present system of education. It prescribed the following methods:— the Constitution of a separate department of education, (b) Institution of Universities in Presidency towns, (c) Institution for the training of teachers, (d) Maintenance of Government Colleges and Schools, (e) increased attention to Vernacular Schools and (f) establishment of new Middle Schools etc. A Director of Public Instruction was appoint-

ed for each province. Universities were started in the Presidencies. In 1866 Patna College was started. In 1882 Lord Ripon appointed Hunters' Commission to suggest improvement in the system. After 1882 the Municipalities and other local bodies were entrusted with the task of educating the people. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Colleges were started in Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Muzzaffarpore and Hazaribagh. In 1902 Lord Curzon appointed Universities' Commission to suggest improvements and to recommend such measures as to elevate the standard of the University. The Universities' Act of 1904 tightened the Government's hold on the Universities. In 1910, the Department of Education was created. In 1917 the Patna University was started. The Saddler Commission Report of 1919 recommended that the defects of the present system might be mitigated by the establishment of a strong Central teaching body and by a modification of the University administrative machinery. In 1924, the Inter-University Board was established.

For the reform of University education, in Bihar Shaha Committee was appointed. During the thirties and the forties of our century there has been a marked development in the growth of education in our province. During the regime of Dr. Sachhidanand Sinha, as the Vice-chancellor of the Patna University various colleges were started in different parts of the province, such as, Darbhanga, Chapra, Arrah, Aurangabad, Gaya, Siwan,

and Madhubani. The Silver Jubilee of the Patna University was celebrated in 1944. During the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir C. P. N. Sinha, Patna University made all round progress and various Colleges were started in Arrah, Gaya, Aurangabad, Motihari, Begusarai, Muzzaffarpur, Sitamarhi, Siwan, Khagaria, Purulia, Katrasgarh, Ranchi, Samastipur and Purnea. He brought a new life in the University education by starting certain teaching departments directly under the University. Psychological Research Institute, Department of Labour and Social Welfare, Music, Geology, Politics Diploma in International Affairs, Diploma in Public administration and the Department of Ancient India History and Culture are the important teaching departments of the Patna University. He believed in the autonomous University and consistently fought for it. Since the coming of our popular Ministers into power, attempts have been made to reorganise the system of University education. The Patna University bill was proposed in 1946 but was dropped. A new bill was moved in 1950 session of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. It aimed at the establishment of a residential and an affiliating University. The movement for the establishment of a Rural University at Nalanda is on.*

* Teaching Cum residential University of Patna came to be established in 1952 (on Jan 1). Dr. K. N. Bahl was its first vice-chancellor. He was succeeded by Prof. V. K. Menon and the latter by Dr. V. Narayan. Dr. Balbhadra Prasad is the present Vice Chancellor.

On the same date, the Bihar University came into existence. Sir Shyamnandan Sahay was its vice-chancellor till his death in March 1957. From March to June, Sri Rameshwar Singh was the acting Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Eukhan Ram is the present vice-chancellor.

Besides that Bihar, made rapid progress in the field of technical education. There are already two Medical Colleges at Patna and Darbhanga respectively. There is an Electrical and Civil and Mechanical Engineering College at Patna. A new College of Engineering has been started recently at Muzzaffarpore. The fuel Research Institute and Fertiliser Project and the Bihar Institute of Technology have been established at Sindri and the Dhanabad Mining School has been raised to the standard of a College. There are more than 75 Colleges under the Bihar University. The Agricultural College at Sabour and the Veterinary College at Patna have acquired all India reputation. The Tata workshop and the Jamalpur Railway Workshop give practical training to our technical students. In order to give encouragement in disgenous system of medicine, various Ayurvedic Colleges have been started, the most prominent being that of Patna, Bhagalpur and Begusarai. With the coming of the Congress into power, Bihar has become the centre of Basic education, which is based upon the "*Nai Talim*" system of Gandhiji. Various Basic Institutions have been started in different parts of the province. In the field of female education a new leaf has been turned. There are two women's Colleges at Patna, one at Bhagalpur, one at Ranchi and one at Muzaffarpur and a new one has been started at Chapra. As compared with the previous century, there has been marked develop-

ment in the field of female education in our century. In order to encourage it, the Government has decided to provincialise all Girl Schools in the Sub-divisional headquartes. Encouragement has been given to the growth of Sanskrit, Pali Prakrit Studies. Sanskrit Colleges have been started. The Nalanda Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Pali and Buddhism has restored Nalanda to its pristine glory, it has succeeded in attracting students from all over the world. The Mithila Institute of Post-graduate studies and Research at Darbhanga, started through the generous gift of the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, has also attracted students from every nook and corner of India. A similar institute for Prakrit research has been started at Vaishali. The Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna has been established to make studies and research in the history and culture of Bihar. A similar institute for research in Urdu, Persian and Arabic has been started at Patna.

(D) Constitutional History since 1815:—

(i) *Legal System* :—In 1818 the Governor-General was also the ex-officio Governor of Bengal and his title was the Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William. In 1833, he became the Governor-General of India. In 1854 Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam were styled as the Lower Provinces of Bengal and were placed under the charge of a Lieutenant Governor without a council. The Governor-

Generals were generally overburdened with the tasks of administration and expansion. Already in 1826 Malcolm had urged upon the separation of the duties of the Governor-General from that of the Local Government of Bengal. By the Act of 1833, the Governor-general was empowered to appoint a member of his council to be deputy Governor in his absence.

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were governed on a system established by Warren Hastings and Cornwallis but with the growth of the empire it was thought necessary to introduce such administrative system as would bring the officials into close touch with the people. In the time of Cornwallis Bengal Subah was divided into sixteen large districts which were later on brought under systematic management. The Magisterial and Police control of a district was vested in Judge-magistrate in 1818. The Police administration was supervised by four Superintendents posted at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. In 1829, Lord Bentick appointed Commissioners of Revenue and each Commissioner was placed in charge of a division embracing several districts. He also held circuit Courts and supervised the district administration. In 1831, the sessions work was transferred to the District Judges and Magisterial power was transferred to the Collector. The post of a deputy Collector was legally established in 1833 and that of deputy-magistrate in 1845. Lord Bentick also created the post of a joint magistrate.

other heads of the departments. That led to the neglect of real work of administration and Mr. George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor, (1871-74), laid down that the heads of departments were on no account to dictate to district officers. In some districts Honorary Magistrates were appointed in 1857. Indigo planters in Bihar were authorised to raise small body of police force for their protection. The Civil and Criminal courts were subjected to the Calcutta High Court of Judicature (1862). The Tenancy Act of 1859 conferred a right of occupancy on tenants who had held the same land for at least twelve years. This Act was superseded by a new Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885.

(ii) **Provincial Administration** :—The Charter Act of 1853 authorised the Directors to constitute a new Province or to appoint Lieutenant-Governor. Bengal was placed under a Lieutenant Governor in 1854 and this arrangement lasted till 1912 when it was again raised to the status of a full-fledged Governorship. Bihar was placed under a Lieutenant Governor in 1912 and subsequently under a Governor. Under the British regime, the Provincial Governor had plenitude of powers and he was the chief authority. He was the President of the Executive Council. He had the power to summon, prorogue or dissolve the Legislative Council and to order fresh elections. His permission was necessary for the introduction of private members' resolution for discussion in the Council. He possessed the powers of certification against

Legislature with regard to all bills including money-grants and veto. The Act of 1919 introduced the system of Dyarchy or Dual Government in the Provinces. There was an Executive Council in each of the Governor's Province after 1919. The Ministers were normally selected by the Governor and they held office "during his pleasure". The Secretaries had direct access to the Governor and they were independent of Ministerial Control. The system came to be demoralised into subservience to an irremovable executive. The successful working of the dyarchy became impossible from the very beginning. The absence of well organised political parties in the Legislative Council, the existence of commercial differences, the financial difficulties and the consequent inability of Ministers and last, but not the least, the inherent defects of the novel machinery of joint Government, combined to render the dyarchy a failure (*Kale-Indian Administration—P. 154*). Finance, Legislation and Administration connected the Provincial Governments with the Government of India.

We have seen that the introduction of Dyarchy created certain problems which made the ministers constitutional invalids. An irresponsible executive was placed at the mercy of provincial legislature. The Dyarchy continued from 1921 to 1937. Sir Syed Muhamad Fakhruddin after three years' experience as minister in Dyarchy observed, "The purse is not under our control.....The Finance Department may or may not accept the scheme approved by

me". Regarding the constitutional position of the ministers, he remarked, "It is very clear.....that the blame for inadequate or insufficient provision in the budget against the various items does not lie upon the ministers. I am entirely in the hands of the Finance department". Muddiman Committee was appointed by the Government of India to investigate into the working of the Dyarchy. The report was published in 1925. Therein it was pointed out, "The Finance member must be a member of the Executive Council. There is no force in the argument put forward in defence of this rule that trained men are required to fill the office, for not all of the officers who have held, or now hold it, in the provinces, had previous experience of the working of the Finance Department, while the Indian member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa, who is incharge of Finance (Dr. Sachidanand Sinha) has not proved to be less competent than the Service members in other provinces." Bihar and Orissa was the only Province where there was an Indian Finance member and it was only here that expenditure on Transferred Department was not less than seventy per cent. This was no mean achievement for Bihar in the face of such stiff opposition from the Government side. On the basis of Bihar, Dr. Annie Beasant proposed that the division between the Transferred and Reserved subject be reduced, and in her opinion the work of Dr. Sinha proved that the constitutional difficulties with regard to finance could be reduced to a vanishing point if

the department was placed under an able Indian. Viewed in the light of constitutional difficulties of the ministers under Dyarchy, the credit of establishing utilitarian institutions goes to Sir Ganesh Datta Singh, whose ministry was the longest and at the same time most remarkable. As a minister he was credited with having placed on the Statute-Book a liberally-conceived Local-Self Government Act, which is one of the best enacted under Dyarchic regime as it enfranchised the District and Municipal Boards by vesting in them the right to elect their own Chairman and also larger powers of administration and control.

(iii) National Movement and Constitutional Progress :—

Our national movement in the Thirties of our century had its repercussions here and Bihar became one of the great centres of national upheaval. The Congress was organised in each village. The movement assumed such formidable dimensions that the existence of the British Government seemed to be at stake. The Socialist party was organised in 1934. The gravity of the political situation forced the British Government to come to terms with our national Congress and a New Act of 1935 was passed by which the Provincial Autonomy was granted. The visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Bihar in 1934 left a permanent impress on people's mind. The first election under the New Constitution took place in 1937 and we had absolute Congress majority in the Legislature. The Congress Ministry was formed. The

political prisoners were released and repatriated. Jail administration was reformed. Under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, Mass Literacy campaign was organised. It gave an impetus to the growth of nationalism and a sense of self-reliance. Various Workers and Peasants' organisations were started. In 1939, the Bihar branch of the Communist Party of India was organised at Monghyr. In the same year Forward Bloc was organised in Bihar. With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, under the instructions of the Congress High Command, the Congress Ministry had to resign.

But the political activity did not cease and in 1940 the Congress, for the third time in Bihar, held its session at Ramgarh, under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who held the post, for about seven years. The leftists, under Sri Subhas Chandra Bose held anti-compromise conference there. Ramgarh was followed by individual Satyagrahi which Bihar also made a name. To crown all came the Ninth August Resolution of 1942 which spread fire and the entire governmental machinery were paralysed. It took such a formidable shape in Bihar that Mr. Churchill the then British Premier, thundered in the House of Commons on Bihar happenings. The famous firing at the Secretariat, the heroic struggle of the people in the villages and the part played by every individual in those critical days will go down in history as a brilliant piece of bravery and heroism. * The Bengal Famine came in the wake of tyranny and exploitation and Bihar rose

* A memorial of the Secretariat martyrs has been set up at Patna. It was opened to public in 1957.

equal to the occasion, though the leaders were behind the prison bars. A non-official committee for Bengal Relief was organised with Sir P. R. Das, Bar-at-Law, as the President and the present writer as the Secretary. It consisted of Lawyers, Doctors, Professors, citizens and students of Bihar and this organisation contributed its mite towards the solution of that horrible but pathetic situation. The Bengal Famine will remain a permanent blot on the administration. The cessation of the Second World War in 1945 saw the political convulsions and in 1946 another election took place and by April the Congress Ministry was formed. The Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947 brought the partition of India and on August 15, 1947 the political power was transferred to our national Congress. A Constituent Assembly was convoked to frame a new constitution and it took about twenty months to frame that.* Dr. Rajendra Prasad guided the proceedings of the Assembly as its President. The new Constitution was inaugurated on January 26, 1950 and the term "State" replaced "Province". In the new the Constitution, the Governor is the constitutional head of the State Administration and the Chief Minister is the real ruler. The real executive authority is vested in the State Cabinet.

(iv) The Local Self Government :—

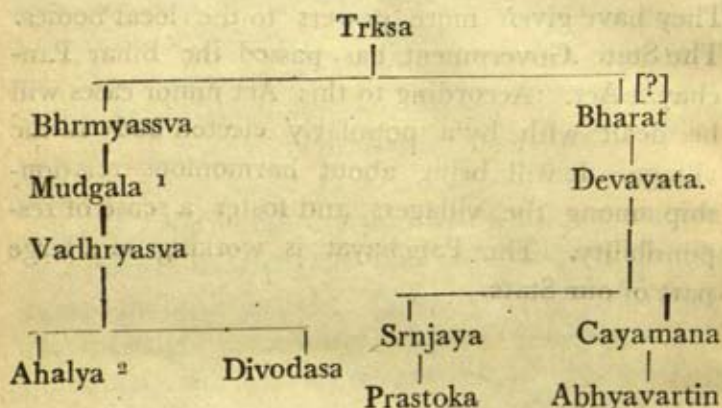
The village has been the lowest unit of administration in our history. The British administrators had to deal with the remnants of the former system,

* Late Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha was the first President of the newly elected Constituent Assembly.

which was utilised as the foundation of the new system. Continuous efforts were made since 1870 to create a village council, to collect the pay of the village watchman and to control him as village servant. Old village machinery was utilised for the extension of Primary education. Lord Ripon is regarded as the founder of the present system of Local administration. Already in 1813 and 1819 money was raised in Bengal by Regulations which decreed that Public Ferries should be controlled and managed by the Government for the safety and convenience of travellers and that surplus proceeds should be used for the repair and construction of roads, bridges and drains. Local committees were appointed, with District Magistrate as Secretary, to advise the Government of the need of such district and to see that the money allotted was properly spent. These committees had no legal power to raise funds and their work was in strict subordination to the Local Government. These committees were of considerable use not only in helping the local official to realise what roads were of prime importance but also in persuading the local agents and gentry to subscribe for particular prices of work. It was in 1882 that a step was taken towards the application of these principles of Local Government and the Sub-division was chosen to be the smallest administrative unit to be placed under the Local Board. The District was placed under a District Board. Besides that Municipalities and Union Boards were established. The main works

entrusted to the Local Bodies were :—(a) Education, (b) Sanitation, (c) Communications, and (d) arrangements of lights on the streets etc. The coming of our national leaders into power brought revolutionary changes in our local administration. They have given more powers to the local bodies. The State Government has passed the Bihar Panchayat Act. According to this Act minor cases will be dealt with by a popularly elected body in the village. It will bring about harmonious relationship among the villagers and foster a sense of responsibility. The Panchayat is working in a large part of our State.

APPENDIX A.

List and Chronology of Kings, Dynasties and Governors who ruled Bihar with notes *¹ —King Divodasa's Geneology—

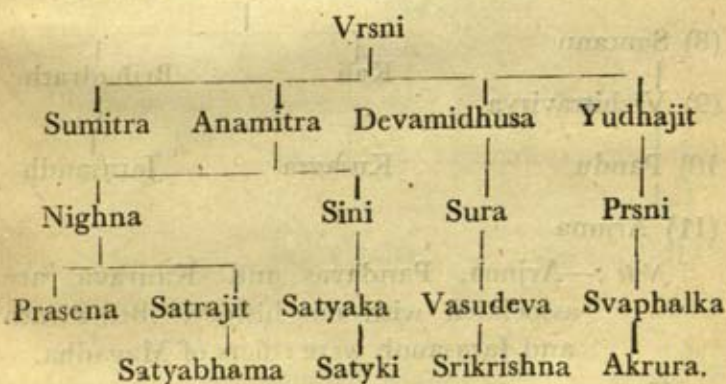
Note :—Mudgala was married to Indrasena, daughter of King Nala. She drove the chariot of her husband in a fight with the Dasyus and made huge captures of cows from them. She was very obedient to her husband. She was also known as Nalayani, i. e. Nala's daughter. Rigveda calls her Mudgalani. Her name also occurs in the Purana. Ahalya was a sister

1. The foundation of Monghyr is attributed to Mudgal Rsi.
2. Ahalya wife of famous Gautam Rsi of Mithila.

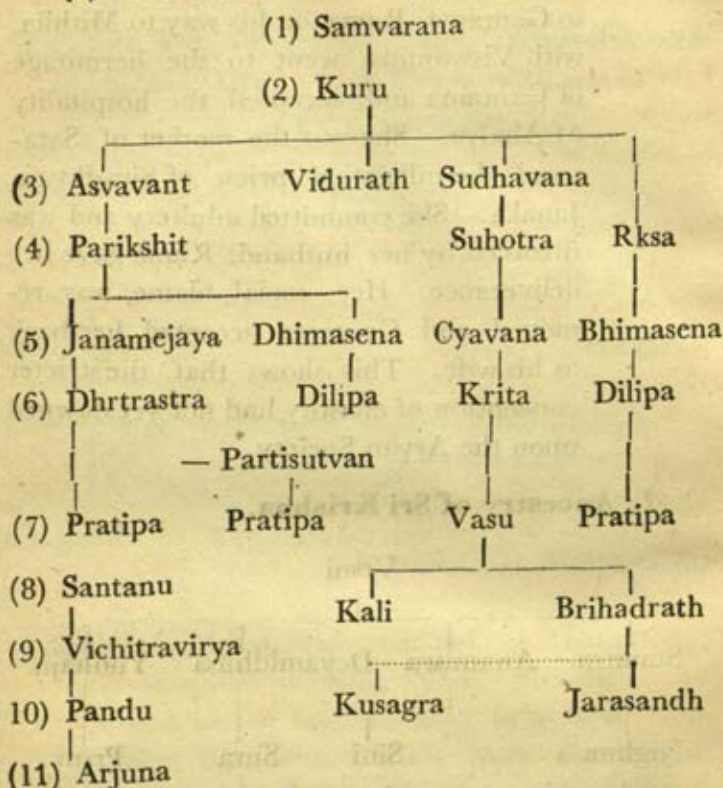
* The Geneology and chronological lists, regarding Ancient Indian Dynasties with special reference to Bihar, given herein, are based upon Dr. Pradhan's "*Chronology of Ancient India*" unless otherwise stated.

of Divodasa and was given in marriage to Gautama. Rama, on his way to Mithila, with Viswamitra went to the hermitage of Gautama and accepted the hospitality of Ahalya. She was the mother of Sata-nand, the officiating priest of Siradhvaja Janaka. She committed adultery and was divorced by her husband. Rama gave her deliverance. Her social blame was removed and Gautama accepted her back as his wife. This shows that the stricter conception of chastity had not yet dawned upon the Aryan Society.

(2) Ancestry of Sri Krishna.



Note:—Sri Krishna had close relations with Bihar, both north and south.

(3) The Kuru Genealogy.

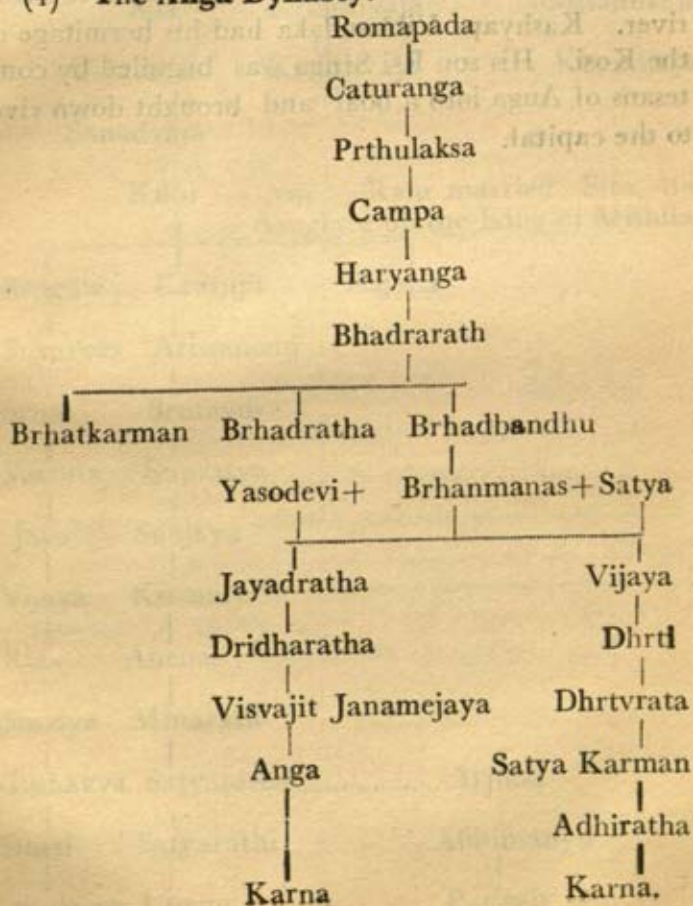
*Note :—*Arjuna, Pandavas and Kauravas are associated with our history. Brihadrath and Jarasandh were rulers of Magadha.

Human sacrifice was in vogue in the *Mahabharat*. It is said that the son of Mahabhauma performed no less than ten thousand human sacrifices and he was therefore called Ayutanayin. Dr. R. L. Mitra cites

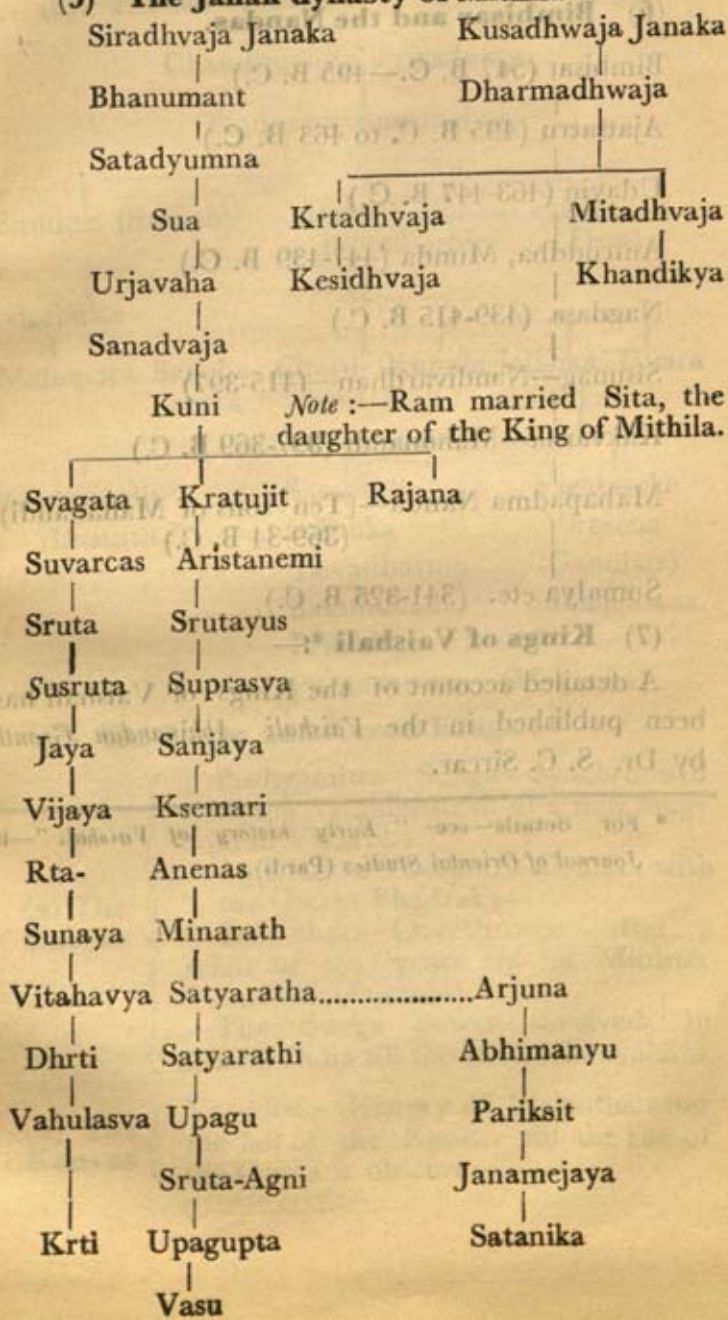
1. *Mahabharat*, I, 63, 20 (Kumbakonam Edition by Krishnacharya and Vyasacharya).

the glaring instance of Sunahsepa at the Rajasuya Varuna sacrifice of Harishchandra Traisankava. We find its reference in the *Aiteraya Brahmana*. Parikshit Janamejaya performed human sacrifice and attempted to exterminate the non-Aryan rule of Nagas by burning them in sacrifice.

(4) **The Anga Dynasty.**



Note:—Karna was associated with Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Anga was a settlement of the Aryans during the Rigvedic period. It was established towards the medieval Rigvedic period. Its king Romapada was a descendant of Anga Valeya. It comprised modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards upto the Kosi river. Kashyapa Vibhandaka had his hermitage on the Kosi. His son Rsi Srnga was beguiled by courtesans of Anga into a boat and brought down river to the capital.

(5) **The Janak dynasty of Mithila :—**

(6) **Bimbisar and the Nandas.**

Bimbisar (547 B. C.—495 B. C.)

Ajatsatru (495 B. C. to 463 B. C.)

Udayin (463-447 B. C.)

Aniruddha, Munda (447-439 B. C.)

Nagdasa (439-415 B. C.)

Sisunag—Nandivardhan—(415-397)

Kakvarna—Mahanandi (397-369 B. C.)

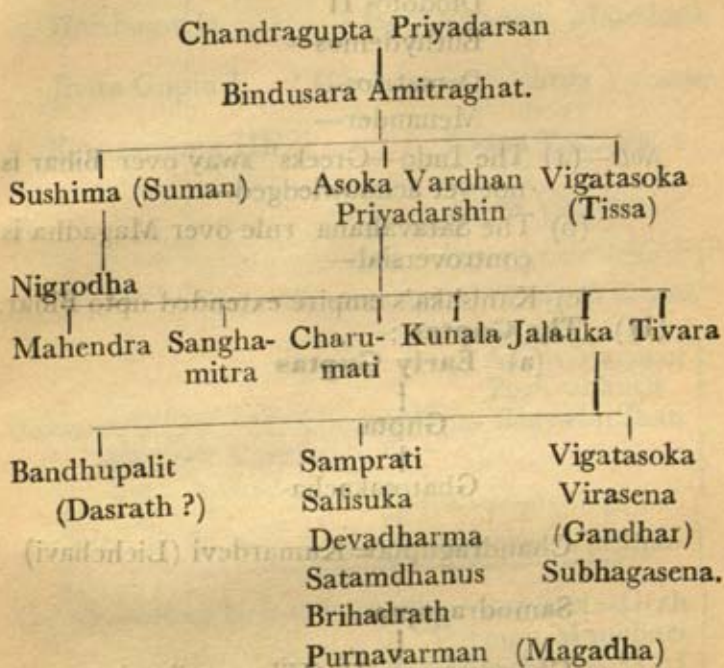
Mahapadma Nanda—(Ten sons of Mahanandi)
(369-344 B. C.)

Sumalya etc. (341-325 B. C.)

(7) **Kings of Vaishali *:**—

A detailed account of the Kings of Vaishali has been published in the *Vaishali Abhinandan Granth* by Dr. S. C. Sircar.

* For details—see—“ *Early history of Vaishali* ”—in *Journal of Oriental Studies* (Pardi).

(8) The Mauryas**(9) The Sunga and Kanva Kings :—**

- (a) **The Sungas** { Pushyamitra Sunga—Synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in Vidarbha.
Agni Mitra Vasumitra—Conflict with the Greeks Bhadraka—
Debabhuti—Overthrown after a reign of ten years by his Minister Vasudeva (Puranas).
—The Sunga power survived in Central India till the rise of Satavahans.
- (b) **The Kanvas** { Vasudeva—History of Magadha after the fall of the Kanvas till the rise of the Gupta is obscure.

(10) The Indo Greeks—Important Kings :—

Diodotos II

Euthydemos—

Demetrios—

Menander—

Note—(a) The Indo—Greeks' sway over Bihar is not yet acknowledged—

(b) The Satavahana rule over Magadha is controversial—

(c) Kanishka's empire extended upto Bihar.

(11) The Guptas :—**(a) Early Guptas**

Gupta

Ghatotakacha—

Chandragupta = Kumaradevi (Lichchavi)

Samudragupta—

Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya)

Govindagupta
(Tirhut)Kumargupta I
Mahendraditya (Vakataka Queen)

Prabhavati

Skandagupta
(Vikramaditya)

Puragupta

Ghatotkachgupta (?)

Narasিংhgupta
(Baladitya)

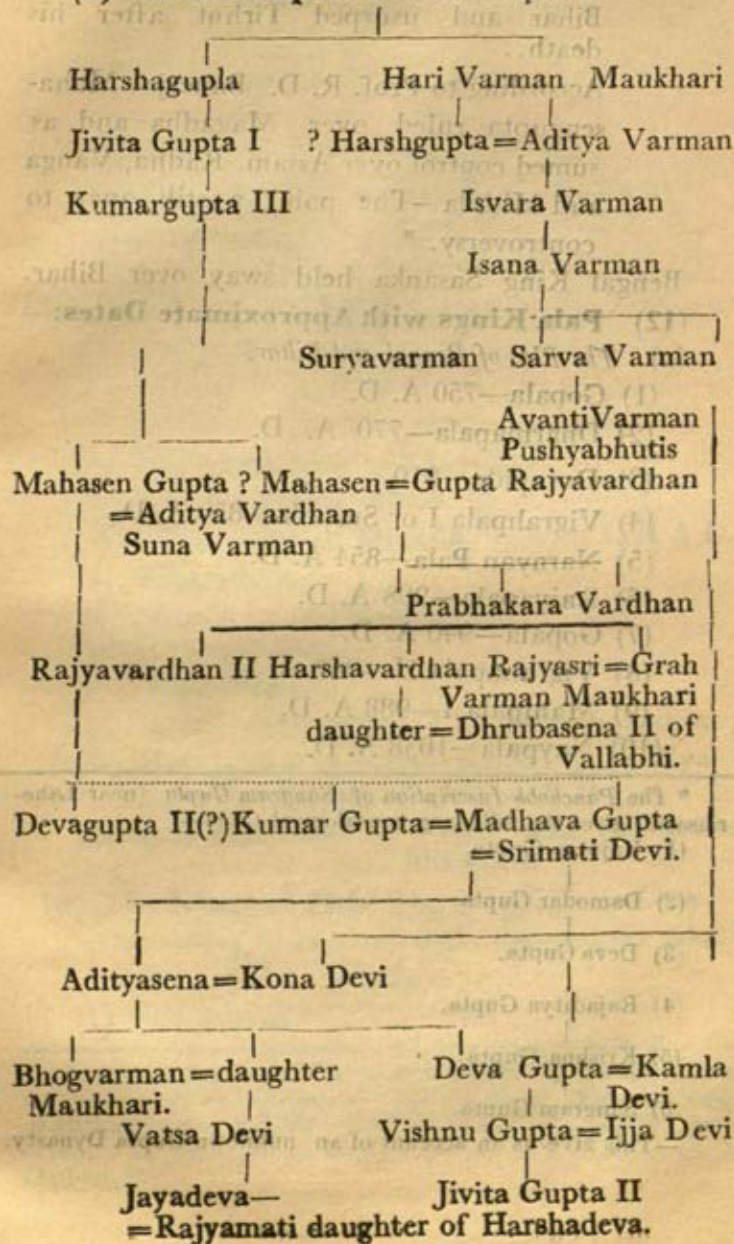
Tathagatagupta

Bhanugupta
(Baladitya II)Kumargupta II
(Kramaditya)

Prakataditya

Vajra

(b) Latest Gupta. Krishna Gupta.



Note :—Harsha's Governor Anjuna ruled over Bihar and usurped Tirhut after his death.

According to Prof. R. D. Banerjee Mahasengupta ruled over Magadha and assumed control over Assam, Radha, Vanga and Mithila—The point is still open to controversy. *

Bengal King Sasanka held sway over Bihar.

(12) Pala Kings with Approximate Dates:—

(a) *The Plas of Bengal and Bihar.*

- (1) Gopala—750 A. D.
- (2) Dharmapala—770 A. D.
- (3) Devapala—810 „
- (4) Vigrahpala I or Surpala—850 A. D.
- (5) Narayan Pala—854 A. D.
- (6) Rajyapala—908 A. D.
- (7) Gopala—940 A. D.
- (8) Vigrahpala II—960 A. D.
- (9) Mahipala I—988 A. D.
- (10) Naypala—1038 A. D.

* The *Panchobh Inscription of Sangram Gupta* (near Laheriasarai) gives the following genealogical table—

(1) Yajnesa Gupta.

(2) Damodar Gupta.

(3) Deva Gupta.

(4) Rajaditya Gupta.

(5) Krishna Gupta.

(6) Sangram Gupta.

—This gives us an account of an unknown Gupta Dynasty.

(11) Vigrahapala III—1055 A. D.

(12) Mahipala II—1070 A. D.

(13) Surpala II—1075 A. D.

(14) Rampala—1077 A. D.

(15) Kumarpala—1120 A. D.

(16) Gopala III—1125 A. D.

(17) Madanapala—1140 A. D.

(18) Govindapala—1155 A. D.

(b) The Senas of Bengal :—

(1) Vijaya Sena—1095 A. D.

(2) Vallala Sena—1158 A. D.

(3) Lakshaman Sena—1179 A. D.

(4) Visvarupa Sena—1206 A. D.

(5) Keshava Sena—1225 A. D.

(c) The Karnatas of Mithila:—(1097 to 1324 A.D.*)

(i) Nanyadeva—

(ii) Malladeva and Gangadeva.

(iii) Narasimhadeva—

(iv) Ramsimhadeva—

(v) Sakti Simhadeva—(or Sakrasimnadeva)

(vi) Harisimhadeva—(Overthrown by Ghiya—
—suddin Tugluq—in 1323-4 A. D.)

Harisimhadeva—fled to Nepal and established
near Bhatgaon.

**(d) The Kings of Pithi (Gaya)—(Known Kings,—
—According to Jayswal, Pithi denoted the whole
of Bihar minus Mithila—**

(1) Buddhasena—

* Regarding Malladeva—a new King, discovered by me on the basis of an inscription—, see my paper 'The Karnatas of Mithila in the *ABORI*—XXXV (1954), The view has been accepted by Dr. Upendra Thakur in *History of Mithila*, Vol I. Chapter V.

(2) Jayasena—

(3) Devarakshit—Connected with Gahadavala of Kanauj.

Note:—Pala Inscriptions and Images of Bihar

(i) Dharmapala—Bodhgaya Inscription—

—Nalanda Copper plate—

(ii) Devapala—Kurkihar Image Inscription.

—Hilsa Image Inscription.

—Monghyr and Nalanda Copper plates—

(iii) (iv) (v) Vighrahpalas I, II & III—Bihar Buddha Image Inscription—

—Kurkihar Image Inscriptions

—Gaya Akshayvat Temple Inscription

—Bihar Buddha Image Inscription

—Naulagarh Inscriptions *

—Bangaon Copperplate.

(vi) Narayanapala—Gaya Temple Inscription—

—Bihar Image Inscription—

—Bhagalpur Copper Plate—

(vii) Rajyapala—Nalanda Pillar Inscription

—Kurkihar Image Inscriptions—

* Discovered and Edited by me and Published by the Jayaswal Archaeological Society, G. D. College, Begusarai—
—For details—see my book—“ *Select Inscriptions of Bihar* ”

- (vii) Gopala II—Nalanda Image Inscription—
—Bodh—Gaya Image Inscription.
- (viii) Mahipala—Nalanda Stone Inscriptton—
—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription—
—Imadpur Image Inscription—
- (ix) Nayapala—Gaya Image and Temple Inscriptions—
- (x) Madanapala—Bihar Hill Image Inscription—
—Jaynagar Image Inscription—
- (xi) For other Pala inscriptions in Bihar—See
Patna University Journal, July 1944, and
G. D. College Bulletins, Nos. 1 and 2.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions :—

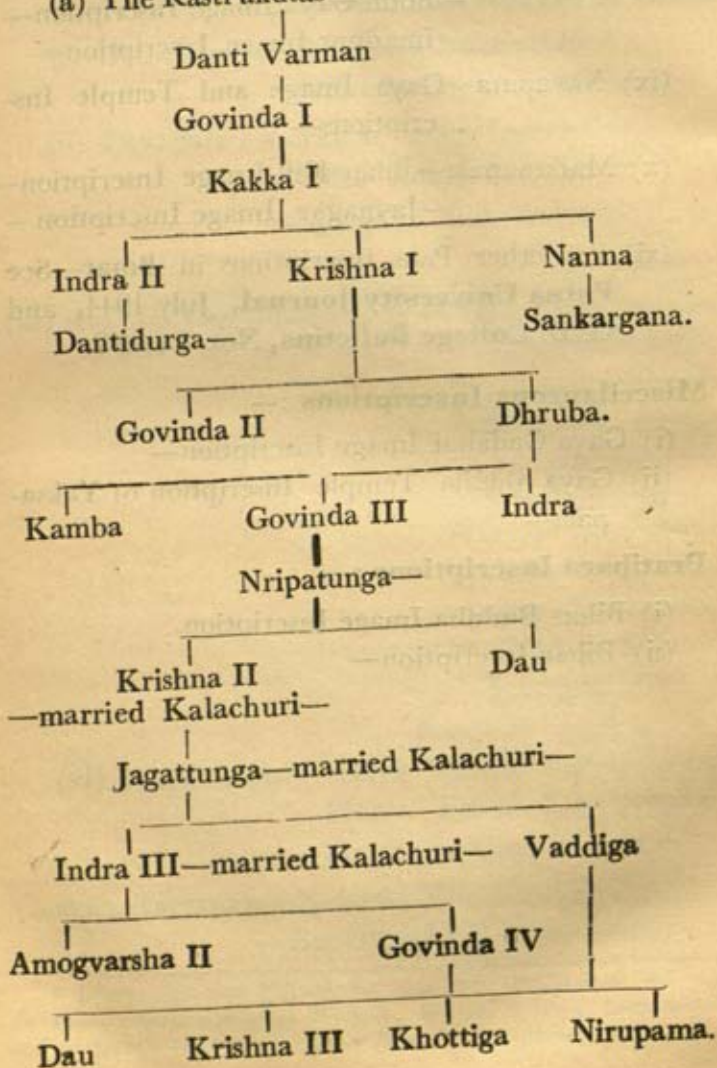
- (i) Gaya Gadahar Image Inscription—
- (ii) Gaya Shitala Temple Inscription of Yakshapala—

Pratihara Inscriptions :—

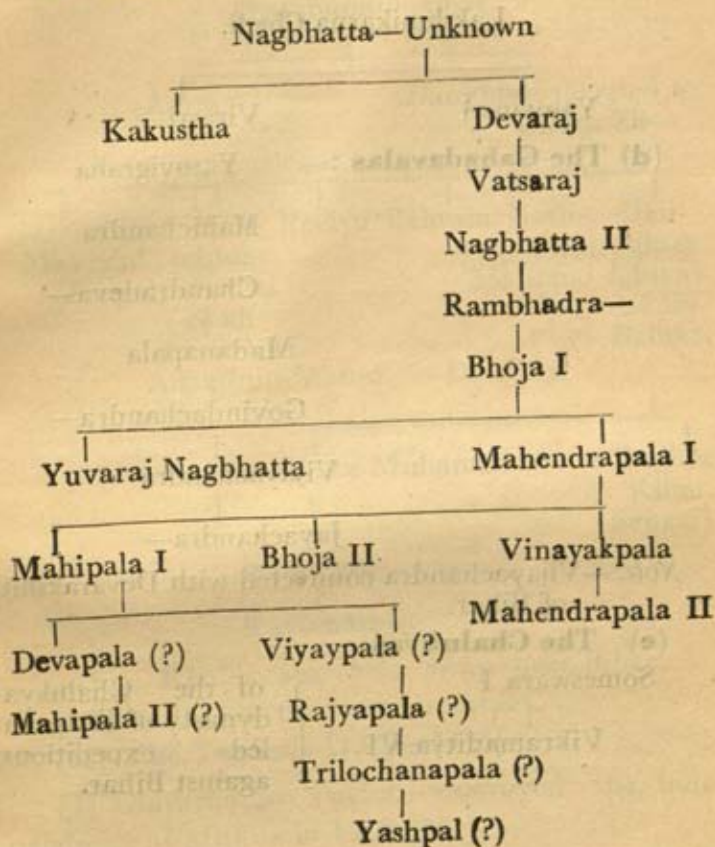
- (i) Bihar Buddha Image Inscription.
- (ii) Bihar Inscription—

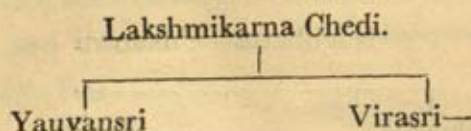
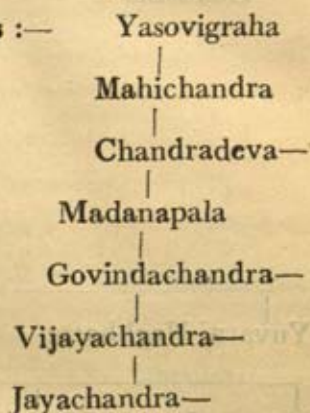
(13) **The Rastrakutas, Pratiharas, Kalachuris and Gahadavals and Chalukyas.**

(a) The Rastrakutas—

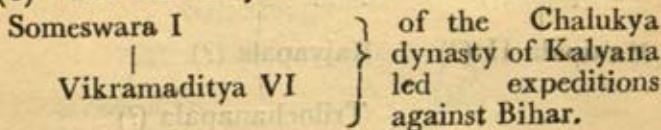


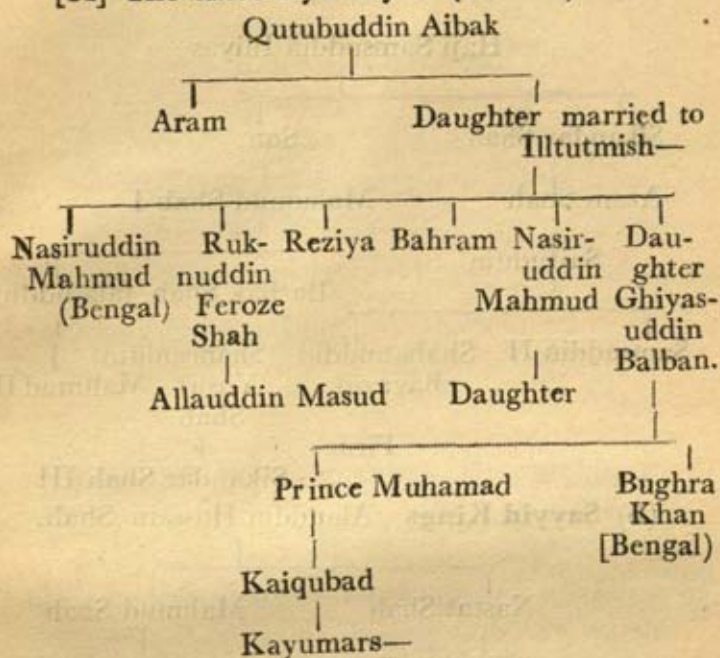
(b) The Pratiharas :—



(c) The Kalachuris—**(d) The Gahadavalas :—**

Note:— Vijayachandra connected with Devarakshit of Bihar.

(e) The Chalukyas

[14] The Slave Dynasty :—(1206-90)

—The Khaljis also held sway over Bihar.

Alauddin was the most important.

[15] The Tugluqs [1320—1413]

[1] Ghiyasuddin Tugluq—destroyed the independence of Mithila in 1323-24.

[2] Muhammad Tugluqs. Issued coins from Tirhut.

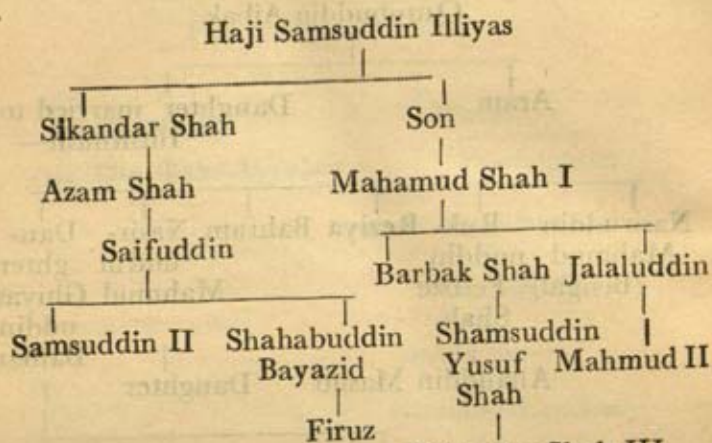
[3] Firuze Tugluq—also held sway over Bihar.

[16] Bengal Kings who held sway over Bihar:—

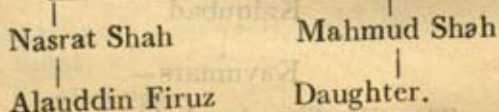
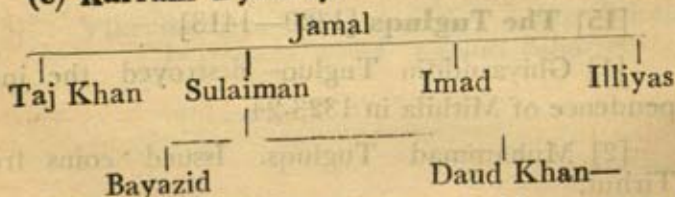
(i) Alauddin Husain Shah [1493]

(ii) Nasrat Shah—[1518]

(iii) Firuz Shah [1533]

[17] (a) Illiyas Shahi Dynasty.**(b) Sayyid Kings**

Alauddin Hussain Shah.

**(c) Karrani Dynasty.**

—The Sharquis of Jaunpore held sway over Bihar.

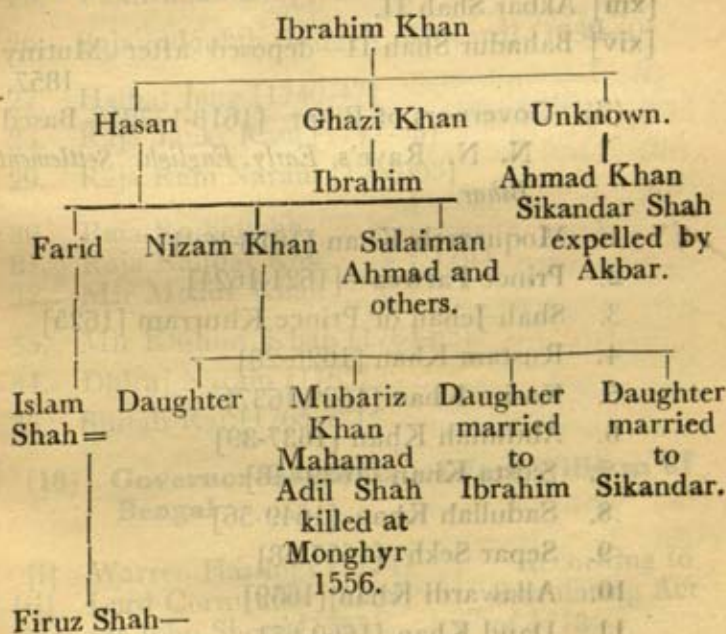
(d) Kings of Kameshwar or Oinwara Dynasty of Tirhut.

(i) Kameshwara.

(ii) Bhogiswara—

- (iii) Bhava Singha—
- (iv) Deva Singh—
- (v) Shiva Singh—issued coins
- (vi) Nara Singh—
- (vii) Dhira Singh—
- (viii) Bhairava Singh—
- (ix) Rambhadra—
- (x) Lakshminath.

(e) The Sur Dynasty.



(f) The Mughal Rulers :—(Important rulers)
(1526—1857)

- [i] Babar.
- [ii] Humayun.

- [iii] Akbar.
- [iv] Jahangir.
- [v] Shah Jahan.
- [vi] Aurangzeb.
- [vii] Bahadur Shah.
- [viii] Jahandar Shah.
- [ix] Farrukshiyar.
- [x] Muhamad Shah.
- [xi] Ahmad Shah.
- [xii] Shah Alam II.
- [xiii] Akbar Shah II.
- [xiv] Bahadur Shah II—deposed after Mutiny in 1857.

(ii) Governors of Bihar [1618-1772]—Based on
N. N. Raye's *Early English Settlement in Bihar*.

1. Moquarreb Khan [1618-1621]
2. Prince Parwez—[1621-1624]
3. Shah Jehan or Prince Khurram [1625]
4. Rustam Khan [1626-28]
5. Kasim Khan [1629-1637]
6. Abdullah Khan [1637-39]
7. Saista Khan [1639-'48]
8. Sadullah Khan [1649-56]
9. Separ Sekh [1657-58]
10. Allawardi Khan [1659]
11. Daud Khan [1660-65]
12. Laskar Khan [1666-70]
13. Ibrahim Khan [1671-77]
14. Prince Azam [1678]
15. Saif Khan [1679-84]

16. Buzurg Ummeed Khan [1685-93]
17. Fedai Khan [1693-97]
18. Azimussan [1697-1706]
19. Sarbuland Khan [1706-9]
20. Hussain Ali Khan [1709-12]
21. Ghairat Khan [1712-20]
22. Mir Jumla [1715-16]
23. Nasrat Khan [1717-20]
24. Mushidkuli Khan [1721-25]
25. Fakhrudaullah [1725-29]
26. Sujauddoula through Allivardi [1730-40]
27. Haibat Jang [1740-47]
28. Raja Janki Ram [1747-53]
29. Raja Ram Narain [1753-63]
30. Raia Rajballabh — } 1763
31. Raja Naubat Roy — }
32. Mir Mehdi Khan — }
33. Mir Kashim Khan [1764-65]
34. Dhiraj Narain [1765]
35. Shitab Rai [1765-72]

(18) **Governor-Generals of Fort William of Bengal :—**

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|---|
| [i] | Warren Hastings [1774] | } According to
Regulating Act
of 1773 |
| [ii] | Lord Cornwallis [1786] | |
| [iii] | Sir John Shore [1793] | |
| [iv] | Wellesly [1798] | |
| [v] | Minto [1807] | |
| [vi] | Lord Hastings [1813] | |
| [vii] | Lord Amherst [1823] | } |
| [viii] | Lord Bentick [1828] | |

CHARTER ACT OF 1833.**—Governor-General of India**

- [i] Lord Bentick—
- [ii] Lord Auckland.
- [iii] Lord Ellenborough—
- [iv] Lord Hardinge—
- [v] Lord Dalhousie
- [vi] Lord Canning—

AFTER 1857**Governor-Generals and Viceroy.**

- (i) Lord Canning.
- (ii) Lord Elgin.
- (iii) Lord Lawrence—
- (iv) Lord Mayo.
- (v) Lord Northbrook—
- (vi) Lord Lytton—
- (vii) Lord Ripon....
- (viii) Lord Dufferin
- (ix) Lord Lansdowne—
- (x) Lord Elgin.
- (xi) Lord Curzon.
- (xii) Lord Minto II.
- (xiii) Lord Hardinge—
- (xiv) Lord Chelmsford.
- (xv) Lord Reading.
- (xvi) Lord Lytton II.
- (xvii) Lord Irvine.
- (xviii) Lord Wellington.
- (xix) Lord Linlithgow—

ACT OF 1935.**Governor-Generals and Crown Representatives**

- (i) Lord Linlithgow—
- (ii) Lord Wavell.
- (iii) Lord Mountbatten—

ACT OF 1947.**Governor-Generals of India—**

- (i) Lord Mountbatten—
- (ii) Chakravarti Rajagopalchariar—

New Constitution of India (1950)

I President—Dr. Rajendra Prasad—

(19) Governors and Ministers of Bihar.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (i) Lord Sinha of Raipur
(1920) | } Note :—Upto 1920,
Bihar was ruled
by Lieutenant
Governor. In 1920,
it was made a
Governor's Pro-
vince. |
| (ii) Lord Wheeler (1921) | |
| (iii) Lord Stephenson (1927) | |
| (iv) Lord Sifton (1932) | |
| (v) Lord Hallet (1937) | |
| (vi) Lord Stewart (1939) | |
| (vii) Lord Rutherford—
(1943-44) | |

ACT OF 1935—Provincial Autonomy.

Ministers :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Dr. Shree Krishna Sinha—Premier— | } 1937
to
1939. |
| 2. Dr. Anugrah Narain Sinha | |
| 3. Sri Krishna Ballabh Sahay | |
| 4. Dr. Syed Mahmud— | |

ACT OF 1947.

Governors—(i) Sri Jairamdas Daulat Ram.

(ii) Sri Madhava Sri Hari Aney.

Ministers :—(i) Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha—Premier.

(ii) Dr. Anugrah Narain Sinha.

(iii) Dr. Syed Mahmud.

(iv) Sri Krishnaballabh Sahay.

(v) Sri Ram Charitra Singh.

(vi) Sri Binoda Nand Jha.

(vii) Sri Badri Nath Varma.

(viii) Sri Jaglal Choudhary.

(ix) Abdul Qayum Ansari.

New Constitution of 1950

Governor:—Sri—Madhava Sri Hari Aney.

Ministers—same as given above with the only change that Premier is now called the “Chief Minister” —the Province is called “State”.

1952—*Governor*:—Sri R.R. Diwakar; From July 5, 1957, Dr. Zakir Hussain.

Ministers:—

[1] Dr. S. K. Sinha.—also in 1957.

[2] Dr. A. N. Sinha.— Do. Died 5th July 1957.

[3] Sri K. B. Sahay. not in the present Cabinet.

[4] Sri M. P. Sinha. Do.

[5] Sri R. C. Sinha. Do.

[6] Sri Md. Shafi. Died.

[7] Sri H. N. Misra. not in the present Cabinet.

[8] B. N. Varma. Do.

[9] Sri Bhola Pashwan.

[10] Sri Deosharan Singh (defeated in election),
—not in the present Cabinet.

[11] Shivanandan Mandal. Do.

[12] Dipnarayan Singh.

[13] Aboul Qayum Ansari. Do.

The following new members are now in the Cabinet—Sri Birchand Patel, B. N. Jha, Sri Kumar G. N. Singh, Sri Maqbool Ahmad, Sri Shah Ozair Munemi, and Sri J. N. Lal.

APPENDIX B.

Chronology of Important Event with approximate dates.

B. C. Event.

565—Birth of Buddha.

560—Birth of Bimbisara.

544—Accession of Bimbisara.

536—Buddha's great renunciation.

527—Mahavira's Nirvana.

493—Accession of Ajatsatru.

486—Parinirvan of Buddha—Rajgriha Council.

457—Foundation of Pataliputra (Kusumpura).

413—Sisunaga.

386—Council at Vaisali.

345—End of the Saisunaga dynasty.

324—Rise of the Maurya Dynasty.

187—Rise of the Sunga Dynasty.

58—Epoch of the Krita-Malava Vikram Era.

A. D.

- 78—Consolidation of the Kushan power.
 320—(February 26)—Beginning of the Gupta Era.
 405—11—Fahien's Visit.
 476—Birth of Astronomer Aryabhata.
 622—Hijra Era.
 641—Harsha's Embassy to China.
 643—Hiuentsang.
 649—50—Tibetan influence over Bihar.
 675—85—Hiuenssang Nalanda.
 711—Muhamed Kasim's invasion of Sindh.
 743—789—Shantirakshit and Padmasambhava.
 1097—Karnata Dynasty of Mirhila.
 1119—Epoch of the Lakshman Sena Era.
 1193—Muslim Invasion of Bihar.
 1324—Fall of Karnata Dynasty in Mithila.
 —Ghiyasuddin Tuglak's invasion.
 1338—39—Independent Sultanate in Bengal.
 1343—Accession of Shamsuddin Ilyas in Bengal.
 1393—Independent Sultanate of Jaunpore.
 1472—Birth of Sher Khan.
 1526—First battle of Panipat and beginning of
 Mughal rule.
 1529—Battle of Gogra.
 1539—Sherkhan assumes Sovereignty.
 1542—Birth of Akbar.
 1545—Death of Shersshah.
 1558—End of the Sur Dynasty.
 1576—Subjugation of Bengal.

- 1580—Rebellion in Bihar and Bengal.
- 1613—Jahangir's Firman to English Company.
- 1634—Firman permitting English trade in Bengal.
- 1651—English factory at Hugli-Firman granted by Shuja.
- 1657—Civil War.
- 1680—Aurangzeb's—Firman to the English.
- 1690—Calcutta founded.
- 1708—Death of Guru Govinda Singh.
- 1717—Farrukhshiyar's Firman to the Company.
- 1742—Maratha invasion of Bihar.
- 1757—Battle of Plassey—Mirjafar made Nawab.
- 1759—Ali Gauhar invades Bihar.
- 1760—Mirkasim Nawab of Bengal, transfer of Capital to Monghyr.
- 1761—Third battle of Panipat.
- 1764—Battle of Buxar.
- 1765—Grant of Dewani.
- 1793—Permanent Settlement of Bengal.
- 1799—William Carey's Baptist Mission at Serampur.
- 1814-16—Anglo-Gorkha war.
- 1854—Woode's Despatch.
- 1855—Santal Outbreak.
- 1857-58—Sepoy Mutiny.
- 1874—The Bihar Famine.
- 1883—The Ilbert Bill.
- 1885—National Congress.
- Local Self Government Act.

- 1906—Foundation of Muslim League.
1911-12—Separation of Bihar from Bengal.
1917—The Champaran Satyagrah.
1921—Non-Cooperation.
1922—Gaya Congress.
1925—Formation of Inter-University Board.
1930—Civil Disobedience Movement.
1931—Gandhi-Irvine Pact.
1932—The Communal Award.
1934—Civil Disobedience Movement called off
—The Bihar Earthquake.
1937—Inauguration of Provincial Autonomy.
1942—Quit India
1946—Second Congress Ministry.
1950—Inauguration of New Constitution.
—Death of Dr. Sachida Nand Sinha.
—Dr. Rajendra Prasad becomes the first
President of the Indian Republic.
1951—Inauguration of Research Institutes of
Nalanda and Darbhanga. Similar Insti-
tutes at Patna and Muzzaffarpur have
been started for Arabic and Prakrit
research.
1952—Establishment of a Residential Cum
Teaching University at Patna on Jan. 2,
1952. Dr. K. N. Bahl was the First
Vice-Chancellor. Hon'ble Sri R. C. Singh,
Irrigation and Electrification Minister,
Bihar, was the acting Vice-Chancellor from
Dec. 1952 to March 1953, Prof. V. K.
Menon, was appointed in March.

Dr. B. Narayan succeeded him as the Vice-Chancellor.

—Establishment of Bihar University with Sri Shyam Nandan Sahay as the first Vice-Chancellor. He died on March 13, 1957.

1952—Formation of new Government in Bihar.

1955—14th January—Inauguration of the Kosi Project. 9th—10th August 1955. Police Firing on Patna Students.

—May 1956—Election of the first Communist member of the Legislative Assembly of Bihar from Begusarai.

—May 1956—2500th anniversary of Lord Buddha—

Nov. 1—1956—portions of Bihar (Purnea and Dhanbad) transfer to west Bengal.

May 1957—Fourth Congress Ministry of Bihar.—

Dr. B. Narayan succeeded him as the
Vice-Chancellor

Establishment of Bihar University with
Sri Shyam Narayan Sahay as the first
Vice-Chancellor. He died on March 13,
1957.

1952—Formation of new Government in Bihar.

1952—14th January—Inauguration of the Kosi
Project. 25th—10th August 1952. Police

Firing on Patna Students.

May 1956—Election of the first Communist
member of the Legislative Assembly of Bihar
from Begusarai.

May 1956—250th Anniversary of Lord
Buddha—

Nov. 1—1956—portions of Bihar (Patna and
Dharrabad) transfer to West Bengal.

May 1957—Fourth Congress Ministry of Bihar—

(327-870)

APPENDIX C

Classic Table (after Sir George A. D.) (Based on Dr. R. R. R.)

South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar

75557



South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar
South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar	South Bihar

APPENDIX C.

APPENDIX C.

APPENDIX C.

Synchronistic Table (upto 8th Century A. D.) (Based on Dr. Raichoudhary's Political History of Ancient India—1950)

	North	Bengal	South	Kanish
gosa				

1777

(372)

Select List of Articles

APPENDIX D.

Select List of Articles

ON

The History & Culture of Bihar.

(*Bihar Bibliography*)

By

Prof. R. K. Choudhary.

CONTENTS—(A) LIST OF ARTICLES.

- (i) Introduction—
- (ii) Abbreviations used—
- (iii) Ancient period—
- (iv) Medieval period—
- (v) Modern period—
- (vi) Miscellaneous articles—
(Archaeology, Ethnology, anthropology.
Sociology, Linguistic, Pre-history and
general Articles—including a list of
Supplementary articles).

(B) *Bibliography*—

(C) *Journals and Gazetteers.*

(D) *Proceedings and Commemoration volumes,*

Select List of Articles
ON
the History & Culture of
Bihar.

(i) Introduction.

The researchers on the History of Bihar are generally confronted with various arduous problems. My own experience in this respect is that without a comprehensive Bibliography on this subject, it is difficult for anybody to take up any subject for research. Till now there has been no organised and consistent effort either on the part of the Government or on the part of the individual scholars to present a complete history of the State, though many independent brochures on different periods of our history have been published. Recently several provincial histories have come out, but there has been not a single book on Bihar. In course of my writing the history of Bihar, I felt the necessity of an exhaustive Bibliography on the subject. The compilation of an exhaustive Bibliography is not an easy task. I took upon myself this task of compilation with the hope that other competent and veteran scholars will come forward with more planned scheme on the subject. I have tried to cover all possible sources as far as possible. On account of the paucity of time and space, it has not been possible for me to plan it as scientifically as it could have been. I have divided all historical articles into four parts—viz.—(I) Ancient, (II) Medieval, (III) Modern and (IV) Articles relating to

Archaeology. Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Linguistic, Pre-history and culture. The plan has been to cover all aspects of Bihar History and Culture. I shall be obliged to all who furnish me with more information on the subject.

(ii) *Abbreviations used :*

1. AI—Ancient India Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India).
2. AP—Aryan Path—Bombay.
3. ABORI—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
4. AIOC—All India Oriental Congress—
—PTAIOC—Proceedings and Transactions of AIOC.
5. BCLV—B.C. Law Commemoration Volume.
6. BV—Bhartiya Vidya—Bombay.
7. BSOAS—Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies—London.
8. C. R.—Calcutta Review, Calcutta.
9. CHI—Cultural heritage of India—3 vols—
Calcutta.
10. E. I.—Epigraphia Indica.—
11. I. A.—Indian Antiquary
—NIA—New I. A.
12. IC—Indian Culture, Calcutta.
13. IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
14. IHRC—Indian Historical Records Commission.

15. JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Patna.

—JBRs—Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

16. JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

17. JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society—Bombay.

18. JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

—a continuation of the following six types of periodicals published by the Society.

(a) As. Res—Asiatick Researches—I—XX—(1788-1839).

(b) JL—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1—LXXIII (1832—1904).

(c) Proc—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1—XL—(1865—1904).

(d) JPASB—Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—New Series—1—XXX (1905—1934).

(e) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Science, Letters and year books) 1—XVI.

(f) Journal of the Asiatic Society (Science, Letters and year books—) Vol XVII.

19. JAHRS—Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society—Rajmundry.

20. JUG—Journal of the Gauhati University.
21. JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
22. JBU—Journal of the Bombay University.
23. JDL—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
24. JGJRI—Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
25. JUPHS—Journal of the U. P. Historical Research Society, Lucknow.
26. JIH—Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
27. JOR—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
28. JOS—Journal of Oriental Studies, Pardi.
29. KCV—Kane Commemoration Volume.
30. M. I.—Man in India—Ranchi.
31. M. R.—Modern Review—Calcutta.
32. H. R.—Hindustan Review—Patna.
33. PUJ—Patna University Journal, Patna.
34. P I H C—Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
35. VQ—Viswabharti quarterly—Santiniketan.
36. JSB-JA—Jain Siddhanta Bhaskar-Jain Anti-quary—Arrah.

Contents—

- (i) List of Select Articles.
- (ii) Select Bibliography.—

A LIST OF ARTICLES

Ancient Period.

S. N.	Name of the Article—	Name of the Author—	Name, Number, and volume or year of the Journal—
1	Asokan Chronology—	R. K. Mookherjee—	PTAIOC—VI—1930— Patna.
2	The Jain tradition of the Origin of Pataliputra—	P. C. Nahar—	Ibid.
3	Viswamitra in Bihar—	A Banerjee Shastri—	Ibid
4	New light on the Gupta administrative System—	U. N. Ghosal—	Ibid
5	Contribution of Bihar to Vedic Culture—	H. C. Chakaldar—	Ibid.
6	The Digambar and Svetambar Sects of Jainism:	K. P. Jain—	KCV.
7	The Linga Cult in Ancient India—	A. P. Karmarkar—	BLCV.1.
8	Early life of Chandragupta Maurya—	C. D. Chatterjee—	Ibid.
9	Rajgir	A. Ghosh—	A. I.-Delhi-No. 7-1951.
10	The eastward expansion of Aryan Culture.	B. C. Chabra—	A. P. XXIV.No. 2-1953 Bombay.
11	Decline of Buddhism in Bengal—	D. C. Sarkar—	BV-XIII-1952—Bombay.
12	The later Imperial Guptas—	S. Chattopadhyaya—	IHQ-XXIX—No. 2— 1953—(Calcutta)
13	The Origin of the Imperial Guptas—	B. G. Gokhale—	JBBRAS—XXVIII— 1952—Supplement.

- 14 Original home of the Imperial Guptas—
 15 Rishabhdeva, the first Jain Tithankara—
 16 Vratya and Vrata—
 17 An account of the Six hair relics of the Buddha,
 18 Eastern expansion of the Kushan Empire.
 19 The Stone temple at Nalanda—
 20 Some Inscriptions from Bihar—
 21 Original home of the Imperial Guptas—
 22 Rajyavardhan and Sasanka—
 23 Glimpses of the Republic of Vaishali—
 24 Arya Manjusri Mulkalpa on Chandra Gupta I—
 25 Last days of the Gupta Empire—
 26 Are Skandagupta and Purugupta identical?
 27 The Maukharis and the later Guptas—
 28 Chandragupta Maurya and Greek evidence.
 29 Sariputta and Moggallana—
 30 Bearings of Numismatics on the history of the later Guptas.
- D. C. Ganghli—
 B. C. Law—
 S. K. Das—
 B. C. Law—
 A. Banarjee—
 V. S. Agrawal and Krishnadeva—
 D. C. Sarkar—
 B. P. Sinha—
 D. C. Ganguly—
 K. C. Ojha—
 Do.
 Buddha Prakash—
 Jagannath—
 D. C. Sarkar—
 D. R. Mankad—
 N. Dutta...
 B. P. Sinha—
- IHQ—XXVIII—No. 4—1952.
 JIH—XXX—1952.
 M. I.—XXXI—1951.
 JIH—XXX—1952.
 IHQ—XXVII—No. 4.
 JUPHS—XXIII—No. 1—1952—Lucknow.
 JBRS—XXXVII—1951.
 Ibid—
 IHQ—XXIII—No. 1—1947.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—June, 1951.
 ABORI—XXVII—
 BV—VIII—1947.
 JASB (L)—XI—No. 2.
 BV—VIII—1947.
 C. R. February, 1949.
 JBRS—XXXIV—1948.

- 31 The later Imperial Guptas—
 32 Kumargupta III—
 33 Sasanka, King of Bengal—
 34 The Constitution of the Lichchavis and the Sakyas—
 35 The Sunga dynasty—
 36 Sasanka—
 37 The later Mauryas and the fall of the Empire.
 38 Original home of the Imperial Guptas—
 39 Original home of the Imperial Guptas—
 40 A Terracotta plaque from Nalanda—
 41 Aneient Kosala and Magadha—
 42 Madanpala and Govindpala—
 43 Nalanda Stone inscriptions of Yasovarmadeva—
 44 The doctrine of the Buddha—
 45 Sanskrit inscriptions from Bihar—
 46 Remarks on Inscriptions of the time of Skandagupta—
 47 Note on Buddhagupta—
 48 Account of a visit to the ruins of Simaraon, once the Capital of the Mithila province—
 49 Notes on Gupta inscription from Apshead and Bihar—
 50 On a Copperplate inscription of the time of Skandagupta—
- P. L. Gupta—
 B. P. Sinha—
 S. K. Banerjee—
 R. C. Mazumdar—
 T. P. Bhattacharya—
 B. P. Sinha—
 Buddhaprakash—
 Dasrath Sharma—
 R. C. Mazumdar and B. P. Sinha.
 A. K. Bhattacharya—
 D. D. Kosambi—
 R. C. Mazumdar—
 Do.
 A. B. Keith—
 J. R. Ballantyre—
 E. C. Bayley—
 F. E. Hall—
 B. H. Hodgson
 R. L. Mitra—
 Do.
- IHQ—XXVI (1950)—
 JBRS—XXXVI.
 IHQ—XXVII—1951.
 Ibid—
 JBRS XXXV.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—XX XII.
 Ibid—XXXIX
 Ibid—XXXVIII.
 Ibid XXXVII.
 JBRS XXXVII.
 JASB (L) XVIII.
 IHQ—VII.
 BSOAS—VI.
 JRASB—XVII and XVIII.
 Ibid—Proceedings 1875
 Ibid—JL—XXX—139.
 Ibid—JL—IV—121.
 Ibid—JL—XXXV—PL-1
 268.
 Ibid—JL—XLIII—
 Part I—363 and
 Proc. 1875—45.

- 51 Remarks on early life of Asoka—
 52 Coins of the Sunga dynasty—
 53 On the epochs of the Gupta dynasty
 54 On the Coins of the Gupta dynasty—
 55 Aryanisation of Eastern India—
 56 Vaidik Vratya Aur Bhagwan Mahabir
 57 Aryan immigration into Eastern India
 58 Brahmanical Counter—revolution—
 59 The Vratyas in Ancient India—
 60 Antiquity of Gaya—
 61 Origin of Magadha—
 62 Place of Videha in ancient and
 Medieval India.
 63 The Angas in Ancient India—
 64 Some observations on the so-called
 theory of the Brahminical revolution.
 65 Wang—Hsuan—Tso's Indian Campaign
 66 Two medieval inscriptions—
 67 Six unique Coins of the Sungas—
 68 Dating in Lakshmanasena Era—
 69 Mandan, Sureswara and Bhavabhuti—
 70 An important date in the Chronology
 of the Palas—
 71 Capital of Dharmapal—
 72 The gospel of Buddha—
 73 The Dravidian tribes of Northern India
 74 Who were the Vratyas—
 75 Mohenjodaro antiquities and Jainism
- Do.
 H. C. Rivoth—
 E. Thomas—
 Do.
 V. R. Dikshitar—
 Karmanandiyi—
 D. R. Bhandarkan—
 B. N. Datta—
 A. P. Karmakar—
 J. N. Ghosh—
 L. B. Keny—
 G. N. Sinha—
 B. C. Law—
 P. Banerjee—
 R. C. Mazumdar—
 P. Banerjee—
 K. P. Jayaswai—
 Do.—
 D. C. Bhattacharya—
 D. C. Sarkar—
 B. P. Sinha—
 V. P. Varma—
 H. Heras—
 L. B. Keny—
 K. P. Jain—
 Ibid—Proc. 1878—8.
 Ibid—JL—XLIX—87.
 Ibid—XXIV—371.
 Ibid—483.
 AIOC—XII—
 Anekan—VI.
 ABORI—XII.
 JBORS—XXVII.
 JBU—1942.
 JBORS—XIV.
 PIHC—V—1943.
 JDL—XV.
 JBBRAS—XX—1944.
 JASB (L) XIX.
 Ibid—No. 1,
 Ibid—
 JBORS—XX—Pt-1
 Ibid—
 IHQ—VII—No. 2.
 JASB (L) XVII—No. 1.
 Puj—V—No. 1.
 Jbid—III—Nos. 1 & 2.
 PIHC—Bombay—1947.
 Ibid.
 Ibid.

- 76 Two unpublished dated Pala bronze
images in the British Museum—
77 The Seal of Vaniyagupta—
78 Notes and Queries—
79 Principles of Jainism—
80 The ancient city and district of
Krimila—
81 Pre-Buddhist Rajgir
82 King Nanyadeva of Mithila
83 Two Brahmi seals from Buxar
84 A note on the worship of images in
Jainism.
85 Rise and fall of Buddhism
86 On the extent of Harsha's Empire
87 The Brihadrath Chronology
88 Inscriptions from Barabar
89 Hathigumpha inscriptions—
90 Sunga inscriptions of Ayudhya—
91 Janibigha inscription—
92 Do.
93 Inscriptions on the alleged Saisunaga
Sta'ues.
94 Hathigumpha inscription—
- C. O. Dasgupta— Ibid.
R. C. Mazumdar— IHQ—XXIV—No. 1.
D. C. Sarkar— Ibid—
B. C. Law— JASB (L)—XIII—No. 1.
D. C. Sarkar— IHQ—XXVI—No. 2.
A. Banerjee Ibid.
R. C. Mazumdar Ibid—VII.
A. Banerjee Sastri JBORS—XVII Pt. IV.
P. Banerjee Ibid—XXXVI Pts. 1 + 2.
K. P. Mitra T. N. J. College Magazine of
1923.
R. S. Tripathi JBORS—XVIII Pts. 3 & 4.
K. P. Jayaswal Ibid—IV Pt. I.
V. H. Jackson Ibid—I Pt. II.
K. P. Jayaswal Ibid—XIII Pts 3 and 4.
Do. Ibid—
Do. Ibid—IV Pt. III.
H. Panday— Do.
R. C. Mazumdar— Ibid—VI Pt. IV.
K. P. Jayaswal— Ibid—IV—Pt. IV.

- 95 Saisunaka Statues—
96 Do.
- 97 The Panchobh Copperplate of Sang-
ramgupta,
Jainism—
98 Do.
99 Early Buddhism—
100 Do.
101
- 102 Rajgir Maniyarmath Inscription—
103 Hiuentseang's route in S. Bihar—
104 On the rule of Pushyamitra Sunga—
105 Pala Chronology—
106 A note on the later Guptas—
107 Two eternal Cities—
108 The Nalanda Seal of Bhaskarvaman—
109 Statue of Ajatsatru—
110 The Vajji Country—
111 The Kurkhar Bronze images—
112 Saisunaka and Mauryan Chronology
and date of Buddha's Nirvana,
113 Maner Copperplate of Govinda
Chandra.
- 114 Textile industry in Ancient India—
115 Hathigumpha Inscriptions—
- B. C. Bhattacharya—
V. A. Smith, L. D.
Barnett, K. P. Jayas-
wal and Arunsena
H. P. Sastri.
J. N. Srikidar and
A. Thakur.
A. Chakravarti—
H. L. Jain—
B. M. Barua—
Vidusekhar Bhatta-
charya.
K. P. Jayaswal—
V. H. Jackson—
K. P. Jayaswal—
R. C. Muzumdar—
H. C. Roy Choudhary—
H. P. Sastri—
K. N. Likshit—
K. P. Jayaswal—
H. Panday—
A. Banerjee Sastri—
Jayaswal—
R. Sarma—
J. C. Roy—
Jayaswal and R. D.
Banerjee.
- Ibid—V—Pt. III.
Ibid—Pt. IV.
Ibid.
C. H. I. Vol I.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
JBORS XXII Pt. 2.
Ibid—III Pt. 3.
Ibid—XV Pt. 3 & 4.
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—VI Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
Ibid—
Ibid—XXVI Pt. 3.
Ibid—I Pt. 1.
Ibid—II Pt. 4.
Ibid—III Pt. 2.
Ibid—Pt. 4.

- 116 Nepal, Tirhut and Tibet—
 117 Early signed Coins of India—
 118 Was Anantadevi, mother of Skandagupta.
 119 The Pala Kings of Bengal—
 120 Nalanda Seals of Buddhagupta and Vishnugupta.
 121 Seals of an unknown Dynasty of Nalanda.
 122 National Shrine of the Vrijjis—
 123 The predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha.
 124 Magadha and Rajgriha in Pali literature.
 125 Magadham Puran—
 126 Pataliputra—
 127 Lichchavis of Vaishali—
 128 Rajgriha antiquities—
 129 The Ajivikas and their place in Ancient India.
 130 Acharya Samantabhadra and Pataliputra.
 131 Govindagupta—
 132 The Vratyas—
 133 Eastern expansion of Gurjara dominion—
 134 Asoka's foreign policy—
 135 Predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha—
 136 Nagbhata's operation against
- V. A. Smith—
 K. P. Jayaswal—
 T. P. Bhattacharya—
 F. W. Westmacott—
 A. Ghosh—
 Do.
 B. M. Barua—
 P. C. Gupta—
 B. C. Law—
 D. N. Kosambi and R. C. Parikh.
 H. C. Chakaldar—
 H. C. Roy Choudhary—
 H. P. Mazumdar—
 Satya Prakash—
 D. C. Mahajan—
 Jagannath—
 L. B. Keny—
 A. Banerjee—
 B. C. Sen—
 Jagannath—
 B. C. Sen—
- Ibid—
 Ibid—XI Pt. 3.
 Ibid—XXII Pt. 2.
 C. R. L. IX No. 117.
 IHQ—1943—
 Ibid—
 IC—I
 Ibid—XI.
 ABORI—VIII.
 MR—XXXVI (1923)
 MR—XXII (1918)
 Ibid—(1919)
 Ibid II.
 PIHC—1946.
 Ibid—
 Ibid
 Ibid—
 Ibid—
 Ibid—1948.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—

- 159 Some important literary Colophons and their bearing on the history and Chronology of Mithila (1097-1324).
Do. JIH, (1957)
- 160 The Ghugrati Copperplate Inscription of Samachardeva.
N. K. Bhattasali—EI XVIII Pt. 2.
- 161 Revised notes on Brahmi Empire—
K. P. Jayaswal—JBRORS—IV—Pt. 3.
- 162 A note on the Saisanaka Emperors—
R. D. Banerjee—Ibid V—Pt. 2.
- 163 Raja Indradyumn—
J. N. Samaddar—Ibid.
- 164 Brahmi Seals at Patna—
Jayaswal—Ibid—X Pt. 3.
- 165 Studies in Asoka—
A. Banerji Sastri—Ibid VIII Pt. 2.
- 166 Were the Pradyotas rulers of Magadha—
S. N. Mazumdar—Ibid—VIII Pts. 2 & 3.
- 167 Contribution to the history of Mithila—
K. P. Jayaswal—Ibid—IX & X.
- 168 Terracotta plaque of Vighraha—
A. Banerjee Sastri—Ibid—XXVI Pt. 1.
- 169 Pala Chronology—
R. D. Banerjee—Ibid—XIV Pt. 4.
- 170 A new Gupta King*—
A. S. Altekar—Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 171 Later Guptas of Magadha—
R. D. Banerjee—Ibid—
- 172 Samudragupta's Asvamedha Sacrifice—
D. C. Sarkar—JIH—XIII.
- King Asoka and the solution of Commercial problem in Maurya India.
Do. The Scholar Annual—1940.
- 173 Kakarna, King of Magadha—
Do. IC—VII.
- 174 Nalanda plate of Samudragupta—
Do. EI—XXVI.
- 175 Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II
Asoka's pacifism and the Yugapurana
section of the Gargi Samita.
Do. IHQ—XVIII.
- 177 Notes on Ghatokachaka gupta and Govindagupta.
Do. C. R. 1943.
- IHQ XXIV.

* For latest research—see Dr. Upendra Thakur's—"Historicity of Ramagupta" in G. D. College Bulletin No. 4.

- 178 Three inscriptions from Valgudar —
 179 Four Bhaikahuki inscriptions —
 180 New facts of the reign of Vighrahpa III —
 181 Bargaon Copperplate of Vighrahpa III —
 182 Madanpala and his successors —
 183 Jaynagar inscription of Palpala —
 184 New facts about the Senas —
 185 Three inscriptions from Bihar —
 186 Magadha Samrat Srenika —
 187 Who was the founder of Jainism —
 188 The Jain Chronology —
 189 The predecessors of Tirthamkar Mahavir
 190 The Origin of the Svetambar Sect —
 191 Central Asiatic provinces of the
 Mauryan Empire.
 192 Chandragupta and Mayurbhanj rulers —
 193 Samrat Kharvelaka Hathlumpaha
 Silalekha.
 194 Asoka and Jainism —
 195 A critical examination of Svetambar
 and Digambar Chronological tradi-
 tions.
 196 The ancestry of Kharvela —
- Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 N. C. Sastri —
 K. P. Jain —
 Do.
 Do.
 R. C. Jain —
 H. C. Seth —
 B. Misra —
 B. M. Barua —
 K. P. Jain —
 H. C. Seth —
 K. P. Jain —
- { E. I. XXVIII.
 JUG—IV.
 E. I. XXIX.
 JASB (L) XIX.
 Ibid—XX.
 IHQ—XXX No. 3.
 E. I. XXX.
 Chandabai Abhinandan Granth
 Arrah.
 JSB—JA-II Pt. 2.
 Ibid—III-4; IV 1; IV 2; IV 3;
 -2 V& 3; VI-1; VI-2; VIII-2;
 IX-1; XI-1; XII-2; XIII-1;
 and 2; XIV.1 and 2; XVI-1;
 XVII-1; XIX-1.
 IC—1936.
 JSB—JA.
 IHQ—XIII 3.
 Ibid.
 JSB-JA-VI—1.
 Ibid—VI-2-3; VII-1, 2;
 VIII-1.
 Ibid—XI-2; XII 1.
 Ibid—XIII-1.

- 197 Kalingadhipati Kharvela—
 198 The original home of Jainism—
 199 Chandragupta and Chanakya—
 200 Gossala and Mahavir—
 201 The Kings of Magadha from the
 202 Brihadrathas till the Mauryas.
 203 Studies in the inscription of Asoka—
 204 Pushyamitraunga and the Buddhists—
 205 Conflict between the Brahmanas and
 the Buddhists.
 206 Kanauj after Harsa's death—
 207 The Dharana Gotra of the Guptas—
 208 The cult of Tara—
 209 A Tibetan account of Bengal—
 210 Sources of Indian history—
 211 Ancient Geography from Tibetan
 Sources.
 212 Buddha's Rajgir—
 213 Fortifications of Cities in Ancient
 India.
 214 The Chinese Temple of Sri Gupta—
 215 The problem of the Baladityas in the
 Gupta period.
 216 Military defence under the Pala
 empire.
 217 The Sunga Coins—
- G. K. Jain—
 S. K. Sastri—
 J. P. Jain—
 R. S. Deva—
 K. Chattopadhyaya—
 C. D. Chatterjee—
 Y. Misra—
 H. K. Prasad—
 Y. Krishna—
 S. Chattopadhyaya...
 D. Sarma—
 P. C. Choudhary—
 S. C. Sarkar—
 A. Banerjee Sastri—
 S. C. Sarkar—
 Adris Banerjee...
 U. N. Roy—
 R. C. Mazumdar—
 G. V. Rao—
 B. K. Majumdar—
 H. K. Prasad—
- Ibid—A V.2, XVI and 2.
 Ibid—
 Ibid XVII-1.
 Ibid XVIII-2.
 PIH IV.
 ABORI-XXXIV (1953)
 JBRS—XL-1-1954.
 Ibid—
 IHQ...XX No.2 June 1954.
 Ibid—
 JBORS—XX-II.
 Ibid—XXII-IV.
 Ibid—XXV:I-II.
 Ibid—
 IC—VII—2.
 JOR—XXII.
 IHQ—XXX-No. 3.
 PIHC—1952.
 Do.
 Do.
 JNSI—1955.

218	A comparative Study of Jain and Buddha Philosophy.	R. K. Choudhary	Prabuddha Bharat (1957)
219	Bihar and Nepal	Do.	{ JBRS—Buddha Jayanti. Number, Vol. 1 and II. JNSI (1958)
220	Buddhism as gleaned through art	Do.	
221	Buddhism as gleaned through Asokan Inscription.	Do.	
222	Punchmarked coins of Jaimanglagarh	Do.	

(2) Medieval Period.

S. N.	Name of the article—	Name of the Author—	Name, number and volume or year of the Journal...
1	Maner and its historical remains—	Hafiz Shamsuddin—	PTAIQC—VI-1930-Patna.
2	Inscriptions of Alauddin Hussain Shah at Nawada near Barh.	Syed Mohammed—	Ibid.
3	Old Muslim inscriptions at Patna—	Do.	JBORS—Patna-1930.
4	Cheran Inscription	×	PASB-1870 Calcutta-P 112.
5	Ismailpur Inscription	×	JASB-1874-Calcutta P. 304.
6	Monghyr Inscription	×	Ibid—1872-P. 335.
7	Bonhara Mosque	×	Ibid (Proc.) 1870-P. 297.

Note—There is no such place in Patna district. There is a place of this name in Bhagalpur district visited by Buchanan.
—Vide—JBORS-XV-Pts. III-IV. P. 319).

8	Military Organisation of the Surs	S. C. Misra—	IHQ-XIX-No. 1-1953.
---	-----------------------------------	--------------	---------------------

- 9 A 15th Century Sufi Saint of North Bihar.
- 10 Gadhesa Nrpa Varnana
- 11 Patna and its environs
- 12 The Malfuzat and Maktubat of a 14th Century Saint in Bihar.
- 13 Bihar in the time of Aurangzeb
- 14 Custom houses in Bengal and Bihar
- 15 Was Jalaluddin patron of Raymukha
- 16 Notes from Muhammadan Historian on Chutia Nagpur, Pachet, Palamu.
- 17 Arabic Inscriptions from Dehli, Rohtas and Sasaram.
- 18 Extracts—regarding the Bouhara temple near Omerpur (Bihar)
- 19 Letter on large picture representing the Conquest of Palamu in 1660 by Daud Khan, Aurangzeb's general.
- 20 Kandaha Inscription of King Narasinghadeva of Mithila.
- 21 Date and place of Shershah's birth
- 22 Daud Afgan
- 23 The house of Tugluq
- 24 The social life and institutions with special reference to the Hindus in the days of Muhammad Tugluq
- 25 Original sources of later Bengal History.
- S. H. Askari
- G. V. Bhawe
- J. N. Sarkar
- S. H. Askari
- Do.
- J. N. Sarkar
- D. Bhattacharya
- Henry Blochman
- Do.
- Rashbehari Bose
- T. Dalton
- K. P. Jayaswal
- P. Saran
- N. B. Roy
- K. K. Basu
- Mabdi Hussain
- J. N. Sarkar
- JBRs-XXXVII-1951.
- ABORI-XXVIII-P. 247-80-1957 Poona.
- JBRs-XXXIV.
- Ibid-XXXI.
- Ibid-XXXII.
- Ibid-XXXVII.
- IHQ-XXIX.
- JRAS (B) XL.
- Ibid—Proceedings 1876.
- Ibid—JL—XXIX.
- Ibid—XLI—Pt. I—240
- JBORS—XX—Pt. I.
- Ibid.
- VQ—XIV—No. 53 + 4.
- JPASB (NS) XXVI No 1,
- PIHC—Bombay 1947.
- JASB (L) XIII No. 1.

- 26 Varnana Katnakar
- 27 Fifteenth Century Sufi saint of North Bihar.
- 28 Rajgir Jain Inscriptions
- 29 Travels in Bihar 1808 A. D.
- 30 An unrewarded Muhammadan invasion of Nepal.
- 31 The Muhammadan Saints of Bihar
- 32 The deed of Umapati
- 33 Kings of Jaunpur Dynasty and their Coinage.
- 34 Silk trade of Patna in the early 17th Century.
- 35 Hindu Concept of Dharma in the 14th Century.
- 36 Babar's postwar settlement in Doab, Malwa and Bihar.
- 37 The Oinwaras of Mithila
- 38 Trade and Commerce of Bihar during the Mughal period.
- 39 The Cheros of Chotanagpur
- 40 Contributions to the history of Smritis in Bengal and Mithila
- 41 Mithila in pre-Mughal period
- 42 Inscriptions of Shershah and Islam Shah.
- 43 Daud Khan Quraishi
- L. Jha
- S. H. Askari
- P. C. Mahar
- J. N. Sarkar
- K. P. Jayaswal
- S. N. U. S. Imam
- G. A. Grierson
- S. A. Shere
- J. N. Sarkar
- B. Bhattacharya
- S. K. Banerjee
- R. K. Choudhary
- Do.
- Do.
- M. Chakravarti
- Do.
- Epigraphia
- S. Z. Ahmad
- JBORS—XXXVI Pts. 3 + 4 and XXXVII Pts. 1 and 2. Ibid.
- Ibid—V-Pt. III.
- Ibid—Pt. IV.
- JBORS—XXII Pt. 2.
- Ibid—III Pt. 3.
- Ibid—Pt. 4.
- Ibid—XXVIII Pt. 3.
- IHQ—1039.
- IC—VI.
- Ibid—1946.
- JBRS—XL—II June 1954.
- G. D. College Commerce Bulletin
- SPARK (Patna) 6th April, 1952).
- { JASB—XI (N. S.) 1915.
- Indo—Mosiemica (1923—24)
- JBORS—IV Pt. 3.

44	Life of Sher Shah	S. H. Khan	Ibid—VII Pt. 1.
45	A stone inscription from Bihar Shariff.	D. C. Sarkar	E. I. XXX.
46	Historical significance of Islamic mysticism in medieval Bihar.	S. H. Askari	Historical Miscellany, Patna.
47	Bihar's old Industries	J. N. Sarkar	Ibid.
48	Date of Bakhtiyar's raid on Nadia	A. H. Dani	I. H. Q. XXX No.2 1954.
49	Bihar during the Turko Afghan period	S. H. Askari	Current Studies, Patna, 1954.
50	Jalaluddin, the patron of Kaymukha	A. H. Danl	IHQ—XXX—No. 3.
51	The Bhagirathpur inscription of Kansanarayan dated 403 (or 394 L. S.)	R. K. Chaudhary	Journal of Oriental thought-Nasik.
52	Revenue system of Shershah	S. C. Misra	PIHC—1852.
53	Hazrat Ahmad Chiramposh	S. H. Askari	PUJ—VIII—1954.
54	Traces of slavery in Medieval Mithila	R. K. Choudhary	SPARK—1955.

(3) Modern Period.

S. N.	Name of the article	Name of the Author	Name, Number and volume or year of the Journal.
1	Effects of Maratha invasion	K. K. Datta	PTAIOC—VI 1930—Patna.
2	Bihar and the Indian Movement of 1857-59.	Do.	JBSR (Patna) XXXIX—1953.
3	Unpublished documents relating to the French in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	H. R. Ghosal	IHQ—XXVIII—No. 4 1952.
4	A few leaves from the history of Singhbhum.	P. R. Sen	Ibid—XXVII No. 1 Mareh 1951.

- 5 A Contemporary account of Indian movement of 1857—59.
- 6 The Company's salt trade in Bihar
- 7 The appointment of the first Indian Deputy Collector in Tirhut.
- 8 Labour in the early 19th Century Bihar.
- 9 Genesis of Diwani Grant
- 10 Salt-petre Industry in Zilla Tirhut
- 11 Prices of foodstuffs in Tirhut in the 18th Century.
- 12 Account of trade of Bhagalpur in the 19th Century.
- 13 Currency and Coinage in Bihar under the Hon'ble Company.
- 14 Mir Qasim at Patna
- 15 Major Randfurle Knox
- 16 First English factory in Patna
- 17 Journal of Francis Buchanan
- 18 Administration of justice in Bhagalpur in pre-British days.
- 19 Dastur-ul Ulama
- 19(a) Home rule movement in Bihar
- 20 Some old accounts of Bhagalpur
- 21 Public granary in Tirhut
- 22 Santhal rebellion
- 23 Indigo and Indigo-planting
- 24 The insurrection of the Kols of 1832
- K. K. Datta
- H. R. Ghosal
- S. D. Narain
- H. R. Ghosal
- K. K. Datta
- S. B. Singh
- S. D. Narayan
- K. K. Basu
- Do.
- N. L. Chatterjee
- S. C. Hill
- E. A. Horne
- C. E. A. Oldham
- K. K. Basu
- S. H. Askari
- K. K. Datta
- K. K. Basu
- S. D. Narayan
- E. A. Rushell
- W. U. Eddis
- ×
- JBRs—XXXVI.
- Ibid—XXXIV.
- Ibid—XXXV.
- Ibid—XXXII.
- Ibid—XXXVIII.
- Ibid—XXXVII.
- Ibid—
- JBORS—XXIX. Parts 1 + 2.
- Ibid—XXX Pts 3 & 4.
- Ibid—XVIII Pt. 3.
- Ibid—III Pt. I.
- Ibid—Pt. III.
- Ibid—XV Pts. 3 & 4.
- Ibid—XX Pts. 3 & 4.
- Ibid—XXIV Pt. 4.
- Current studies. Patna 1954.
- Ibid—XI Pt. 3.
- Ibid—XXXV Pts. 3 & 4.
- C. R—XXXVI N. 51.
- Ibid—XXX N. 59.
- Ibid—XLIX N. 98.

- 25 About Indigo planting and planters
 26 The Patna massacre
 27 Sahibganj end Rajmahal
 28 The Hutwa Raj
 29 Rural Bihar
 30 The Kol rebellions of 1832-33
 31 The State of indigenous education in Bengal and Bihar.
 32 Administrative history and Land tenures of the Ranchi district.
 33 Defence of Patna against the apprehended Pindari invasion of 1812.
 34 Resumption of rent free tenures for assessment by the Company's Govt. Tirthat in 1790—1820
 35 The Chakwars of Begusarai
 36 Constitutional and administrative history of Bihar (1818—1935).
 37 Indigo plantation in Monghyr district Maharaja Kalyan Singh
 38 Administration of justice in Bengal and Bihar.
 39 The Santhal outbreak
 40 XVIII Century sale of serfs in Mithila
 41 Nawab Munirud-daulah
 42 Indigo in North Bihar and Mahatma Gandhi.
- Ibid—LXXVII No. 153.
 Ibid—LXXIX No. 158.
 Ibid—XCVI No. 191.
 Ibid—CV No. 209.
 Ibid—CX No. 221.
 Ibid—CXXXIV No. 267.
 Ibid—II No. 4.
 Ibid—CXXXIII No. 266.
 IHQ—XVII.
 PIHC—1950.
 JBR—XXXIX Pt. 4.
 G. D. College Bulletin No. 3.
 SPARK (27th April, 1952)
 G. D. College Bulletin No. 3.
 JBORS—XXVI Pt. 1.
 Ibid —
 Ibid—XX-II.
 Ibid—XXVII-II.
 Ibid—
 PIHC—1952.
- X
 H. Beveridge
 Do.
 S. C. M.
 A. C. Ghose
 Abdul Ali
 A. Duff
 S. C. Roy
 X
 H. R. Ghosal
 Do.
 R. K. Choudhary
 Do.
 Do.
 S. H. Askari
 N. L. Chatterjee
 K. K. Basu
 A. Banerjee Sastri
 S. H. Askari
 H. R. Ghosal

(4) Articles relating to

Archaeology, Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Linguistic, Pre-history and Culture.

S. N.	Name of the article	Name of the Author	Name, Number and volume or year of the Journal.
1	Prachin Nyaya and Navya-nyaya	Ramswarup Sastri	PTAIOC—VI 1930 Patna.
2	Munda affinities of Bengali	Dr. Sahidullah	Ibid—
3	The Kingdom of Magan	H. Heras	BCLCV—I.
4	Evolution of Vaisnavism	K. N. Mitra	Ibid—
5	Gauda	D. C. Sarkar	IHQ—XXVIII No. 2 1952.
6	Smriti Nibandh Literature and Bengal's contribution.	S. C. Banerjee	Ibid—XXV No. 1.
7	The place of Agastya Samhita in the Dharmasastra literature.	Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.	JBORS—XXII P. 111-15.
8	The Sudhiratnakar, an unpublished manuscript of Mithila.	Do.	Ibid—XXIII P. 138-42.
9	Raghunandan's indebtedness to Chandeswara.	Do.	NIA—I P. 534, Poona.
10	Hindu pilgrimages of the 15th Century	Do.	PAIOC—IX P. 415 Trivandrum.
11	Vidyapati, a Maithili writer on Dharmasastra.	Do.	Ibid—XII P. 288-Benares.
12	The devotional element in Raghunandan's work.	Do.	Siddha-Bharati Pt. I P. 225 Eoshiarpur (Punjab)
13	Raghunandan's indebtedness to his predecessors.	Do.	JASB—(Letters) XIX No. 2 1953.

- 14 The theory and practice of Sanskara in Bengal. × IHQ—September 1950.
- 15 Dansagar and Danratnakar and Srinath Curamani. × Ibid—December, 1950.
- 16 Sraddhasagar of Kulluka Bhatta Antiquities of Bihar Shariff D. C. Bhattacharya Ibid—June 1951.
- 17 Kaliyuga and Bhavisyottapurana D. R. Mankad JBRs—XXXII.
- 18 Prasasti Section of Chandravati grants. R. Niyogi IHQ—XXV 1949.
- 20 On the site of the Royal University of Vikramasila. Pranavanand JBRs—XXXIV 1948.
- 21 Jain Antiquities in Rajgir A. Banerjee IHQ—XXV No. 3, September, 1949.
- 22 A stone inscription in Patna Museum D. C. Sarkar JASB—(L) XIV No. 2 1948.
- 23 Gauda-Kamrupa Struggle in the 6th-7th Centuries. Do. IHQ—XXVI (1950)
- 24 Udayanacharya's Criticism of Sankhya H. C. Joshi JOR—XVIII Part I.
- 25 Gangesa's definition of valid knowledge Do. JGJR—VII Allahabad.
- 26 Some aspects of Maithil Culture J. K. Misra JBRs—XXXIII.
- 27 An abbot of Nalanda A. Banerjee Ibid—XXXIV.
- 28 Barari Caves Pranavanand Ibid—
- 29 The Gandharva of Ancient India A. N. Sanyal VQ—XVI 1950.
- 30 Stone inscriptions from Bihar D. C. Sarkar JBRs—XXXVII.
- 31 Jyotirishwar-his identity and age R. N. Jha Ibid.
- 32 Stone Discs at Murtazaganj S. A. Shere Ibid—
- 33 Historical Data from the Krn-charita ascribed to Samudragupta. × JBU—XXII.
- 34 An inscription from the Patna district D. C. Sarkar IHQ—XXIX.

- 35 Asoka et la Magadhi
 36 The future Stem in Asoka
 37 On the etymology and interpretation
 of certain words and phrases in the
 Asoka's edicts.
 38 Notes on the Oraon Language
 39 Remarks on rude stone monuments
 in Chutia Nagpur.
 40 Visit to Kharakpur
 41 Legends and Ballads in Bhagalpur
 42 The Buddhist remains of Bihar
 43 An inscription in Pali Character and
 Burmese Language
 44 An inscription in Burmese language
 discovered at Buddha Gaya in 1833.
 45 Memorandum Concerning an old
 building in the Hajipur district
 near the Gunduck river.
 45(a) On the preparation of Opium for
 China market and then communi-
 cated to the Benares and Bihar
 agencies.
 46 Notes of a tour (in 1863-64) in the
 tributary Mahals under the Com-
 missioner of Chotanagpur.
 47 Notes on a tour in Manbhoom
 48 The Kols of Chotanagpur
- Jules Block
 R. L. Tourner
 { M. Z.
 Wickremasinghe
 F. Batsch
 F. H. Blanford
 Rasbehari Bose
 Do.
 A. M. Broadley
 F. Buchanan
 H. Burney
 R. Burrow
 D. Butler
 T. Dalton
 Do.
 Do.
- BSOAS—VI.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—
 JRAS—(B) XXXV—Extra
 No. 251.
 Ibid—Proceedings 1873.
 Ibid—(JL) XL
 Do.
 Ibid—XLI Pt. I 209.
 Ibid—III 214.
 As. Res XX Part 1-161.
 Ibid—II-477.
 JL—V 165.
 Ibid—XXIV. Part II-1.
 Ibid—XXV Pt. 1-186.
 Ibid—Part II extra No. 153.

- 49 Vocabulary of Munda and Cognate language. Do.
- 50 Rude Stone monuments in Chutia Nagpur. Do.
- 51 Abstract of a meteorological register kept at Muzaffarpur in Tirhut. T. Dashwood
- 52 An introduction to the Maithili Language of North Bihar (Chrestomathy) G. A. Grierson
- 53 Manbodh's Harivansa Do.
- 54 An introduction to Maithili Language Do.
- 55 Essays on Bihari's Declension and Conjugation. Do.
- 56 On temples near Barakar river R. D. Haldar
- 57 An introduction to Mundari Language. Do.
- 58 Notes on copperplate inscription in the possession of certain Kols. Do.
- 59 Notes on three inscriptions on the stone found in Chutia Nagpur. I o.
- 60 Memorandum relative to the seven Cosis of Nepal. B. H. Hodgson
- 61 On the aborigines of N. E. India Do.
- 62 On the temple of Bodh-Gaya Charles Hoernle
- 63 Notes on Bodh-Gaya Do.
- 64 Notes on the Carving on the Buddhist railposts at Buddh Gaya. Do.
- 65 Note on an image of Buddha found at Sherghati. M. Kittoe
- Ibid—Pt. 2—extra No. 266.
- Ibid—XLII Part 1-112.
- Ibid—III. 79.
- Ibid—XLIX Part I Extra No. 1.
- Ibid—LI Pt. 1-29.
- Ibid—LI Pt. I Extra No. 2.
- Ibid—LII-Pt. 1-119.
- Ibid—Proc. 1866-73.
- Ibid—JL. Pt. I. 46.
- Ibid—Proc. 1869—203.
- Ibid—JL Pt I-108.
- Ibid—JL XVII Pt. II-646.
- Ibid—XVIII-451.
- Ibid—Proc. 1865—162, 150
- Ibid—JL XXXIV Pt. 1-278.
- Ibid—JL XXXVI Pt. 1-157.
- Ibid—XVI. 78.

- 66 Notes on the Viharas and Chaityas of Bihar. Do. Ibid—272.
- 67 Notes on the Sculptures of Bodh Gaya Do. Ibid—334.
- 68 Notes on the Caves of Barabar Do. Ibid—401.
- 69 Note on a Sanskrit inscription from Bihar. J. W. Laidlay Ibid—XVII Pt. 1-498; XVIII-498.
- 70 Notice of a ruin in Singhbhum J. Long Ibid—XX. 283.
- 71 Note on an inscription on the Mandar Hill. E. H. Mann Ibid—IV 166.
- 72 On the archaeological remains of Barantpur in Zilla Bhagalpur. J. W. B. Martin Ibid—Proc. 1872-175.
- 73 Letter forwarding an inscription found at Shreenagar near Madhipura. W. B. Martin Ibid—Proc. 1875-107.
- 74 Letter regarding Buddhist remains in North Bhagalpur. Do. Ibid—128.
- 75 On Hindi inscriptions from near Monghyr. Do. Ibid—1881-42.
- 76(a) On the ruins of Buddh-Gaya R. L. Mitra Ibid—JL XXXIII-173.
- 77 On the Buddhist remains of Sultan-ganj. Do. Ibid—360.
- 78 Notes on two Banka inscriptions. Do. Ibid—Proc. 1872-140.
- Translations of inscriptions from Rohtas. Do. Ibid—Proc. 1876-100.
- 79 Remarks from Copperplate inscriptions received from W. R. Davies Do. Ibid—Proc. 1877-257.
- 80 Researches at Buddhgaya Do. Ibid—258.
- 81 Note on an inscription from the gate of Krishna Dwarika temple at Gaya. Do. Ibid—1879-218.

82	Translations of two Buddh-Gaya inscriptions.	Do.	Ibid—1880-76.
83	Facsimile of Chinese inscription from Buddh-Gaya.	Do.	Ibid—138.
84	On Buddh-Gaya inscriptions	Do.	Ibid—172.
85	On Hindi inscriptions from near Monghyr.	Do.	Ibid—1880-42.
86	Note on a Kutila inscription from Monghyr.	Do.	Ibid—1883-46.
87	Translation of Sanskrit inscription from Deoghar.	Do.	Ibid—59.
88	On the temples of Deoghar	Do.	Ibid—JL-LII Pt. 1-164.
89	Sanskrit inscription on the slab removed from the Kathoutiya gate of the fort Rohtas.	{ J. J. C. Sutherland & O'shanghzeasy	{ Ibid—JL VIII-693.
90	On the antiquities of Gaya	J. F. Pepe	Ibid—Proc. 1865-80, 150, 152.
91	On the antiquities of Bihar	Do.	Ibid—1871-251.
92	Antiquities in Gaya district	W. Pepe	Ibid—JL-XXV Pt. 1-49
93	Unknown Forest races inhabiting the jungles south of Palamu and in Manbhum.	H. Fiddington	Ibid—XXIV 207.
94	Further particulars of Saran and Tirhut.	James Prinsep	Ibid—IV. 124.
95	Notice of inscriptions in Bihar	E. C. Ravenshaw	Ibid—VIII-347.
96	Notice of an inscription in Bihar	Do.	Ibid—IX-65.
97	Ancient bed of the river Sone and the site of Palibothra.	Do.	Ibid—XIV-137.
98	Rude stone monuments in Chutia Nagpur.	H. C. Rivett	Ibid—Proc. 1873-131.

- 99 Clay discs and Votive Seals
 100 Notices of old temples near Harchoka
 101 Rock and temples at Harchoka, Chutia Nagpur.
 102 Rock-cut excavations at Harchoka
 103 On the inhabitants of the hills near Rajmahal.
 104 Ancient Colossal figure on the Manjar Hill.
 105 On the Sulphate Soda as found in Tirhut and Saran.
 106 Manufacture of saltpetre in Tirhut
 107 Two perforated stone implements at Kharagpur in Monghyr district.
 108 Memoirs on Kolehan
 109 Grammatical Construction of the Ho language.
 110 The Vocabulary of the Ho language
 111 Supplementary note on Kolehan
 112 Grammar of the Ho language
 113 A Kutila inscription from Monghyr
 114 A royal grant of land on a Copper-plate discovered among the ruins of Monghyr.
 115 Sanskrit inscription at Bodhgaya
 116 Some unpublished seals
 117 Kaviraj Bhanudatta
 118 Tivantopadhyaya
- Do.
 J. H. Samuella
 W. L. Samuella
 Do.
 Thomas Shaw
 W. S. Sherwill
 J. Stephenson
 J. Stevenson
 W. Theobald
 S. R. Tickell
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 Do.
 E. V. Westmacott
 Charles Wilkins
 Do.
 K. P. Jayaswal
 R. N. Jha
 D. C. Bhattacharya
- Ibid—JL-XLIX-127.
 Proc. 1871-231.
 Ibid—236.
 JL-XL-177.
 As. Res IV-45.
 JL—XX-272.
 Ibid—III-188.
 Ibid—II-23.
 Proc. 1872-102.
 JL—IX-694, 783.
 Ibid—997.
 Ibid—1063.
 Ibid—X-30.
 Ibid—XXX V-Part II Extra.
 No. 268
 Proc. 1883—45.
 As. Res I-123.
 Ibid—284.
 JBORS—XX Part 1.
 PUJ—III Nos. 1 & 2.
 JGJRI—V. No. 1.

- 119 The Saktapithas
 120 Text of Puranic list of peoples, and
 Puranic list of river.
 121 On some Caste and Caste Origins
 in Sylet.
 122 Identification of Brahmottara
 123 The Gayadanr Festival
 124 The effects on the aborigines of
 Chotanagpur of their contact with
 western Civilisation.
 125 Regional division of Ancient India
 126 Vrtra
 127 Geographical data in Indian Inscript-
 tions.
 128 Prayaschita
 129 Cup-marked stones near Rajgir
 130 Historical data in Gargi Samhita
 131 Dogbride in Santhali
 132 Caterpillar body in Santhali
 133 Dog worship in Hazaribagh district
 134 Gazetteer literature in Sanskrit
 135 A note on Nayek caste
 136 The Bodhgaya inscription of Prakhyaat
 Kirti.
 137 The Paharias of Chotanagpur
 138 Dog-possession in Hazaribagh
 139 Worship of Pipal tree in S. Bihar
 140 Weaver castes in Ranchi
- D. C. Sarkar
 Do.
 K. M. Gupta
 Do.
 K. P. Mitra
 S. C. Roy
 S. B. Choudhary
 Buddha Brakash
 B. C. Law
 S. C. Banerjee
 A Banerjee Sastri
 K. P. Jayaswal
 S. C. Mitra
 H. P. Sastri
 T. S. Macpherson
 X
 S. C. Roy
 H. D. Christian
 S. C. Mitra
 C. L. Roy
- JASB (L)—XIV No. 1.
 IHQ—XXI & XXVII.
 Ibid—VII.
 Ibid—
 I. A. 1931.
 JBORS—XVII Pt. 4.
 ABORI—XXIX.
 Ibid—
 JGJRI—VII Pts 2 & 4..
 Ibid—
 JBORS—XIV Pt. 3.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—
 (and XV Pts. III-IV.)
 Ibid—Vol IV Pt. 1.
 Ibid—III Pt. 1.
 Ibid—IV Pt. III.
 Ibid—VI Pt. IV.
 Ibid—
 Ibid—
 Ibid—V. Pt. III.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 141 | The Social Organisation of the Pabri Bhuiyas. | S. C. Roy | Ibid— |
| 142 | Fifty-eight Silver Punchmarked coins found at Gorho Ghat. | E. H. C. Walsh | Ibid—Pt. IV. |
| 143 | Customs of the Pabri Bhuiyas | S. C. Roy | Ibid— |
| 144 | The Smritis — their outlook and ideals. | T. R. Venketraman
Sastri. | CHI—Vol I. |
| 145 | Mahabharat and some aspects of its culture. | H. C. Roy Chaudhuri | Ibid— |
| 146 | Nyaya Vaisesika System | Satkari Mookherjee | Ibid— |
| 147 | A historical Sketch of Saivism | K. A. Nilkantha
Sastri. | Ibid—Vol 2. |
| 148 | The Bhagwata religion | J. N. Siuha | Ibid— |
| 149 | The Contributions of Bengal Vaisnavism. | G. N. Mallick | Ibid— |
| 150 | The Mystics of Northern India | K. M. Seva | Ibid— |
| 151 | Sakti worship | C. H. Chakravarti | Ibid— |
| 152 | Evolution of Religio-philosophic culture in India. | R. C. Mazumdar | Ibid—Vol 3. |
| 153 | Nyaya works of Vachaspati Misra II. | D. C. Bhattacharya | JGJRI—IV Pts. 3 & 4. |
| 154 | Health problem of Mithila | Lakshmikan | Ibid—VI. Pt. 2. |
| 155 | A Tantric work of Vidyapati | D. C. Bhattacharya | Ibid—VI. Pt. 3. |
| 156 | Use of "B" and "V" and Vice-versa in early inscriptions. | G. S. Gai | Ibid—Pt. 4. |
| 157 | A verse from Skandagupta's Junagadh inscription. | Dasrath Sharma | Ibid— |
| 158 | On some Hindu Coins | K. P. Jaysawal | JBORS—XXII—Pt. 2. |

- 159 Prehistoric Stone implements in the
Singhbhum district.
(Cf. Proceedings—A. S. B.—1868. 177; 1870—268)
C. W. Anderson
Ibid—III Pt. 3.
- 160 Social organisation of the Birhors
S. C. Roy
Ibid—
Ibid—
- 161 Notes on some unpublished Sanskrit
Manuscripts.
A. Jha
Ibid—XV.
Ibid—VI. Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 162 Deities of Jalkara
K. P. Mitra
Ibid—XV.
Ibid—VI. Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 163 Inscriptions on the Patna statues
R. D. Banerjee
Ibid—XV.
Ibid—VI. Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 164 Pabri Bhuiyas
S. C. Roy
Ibid—XV.
Ibid—VI. Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 165 A Judgement of a Hindu Court in
Sanskrit.
K. P. Jayaswal
Ibid—XV.
Ibid—VI. Pt. 1.
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
- 166 Two Bhanja grants from Dasapalla
(Chakradharpur in Singhbhum Dis-
trict.)
{ B. Bhattacharya
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—
- 167 Religion of the Pabri Bhuiyas
S. C. Roy
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—
- 168 Statues in Village Baraipur (Begu-
sarai),
E. H. Johnston
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—
- 169 Asura site in Chotanagpur
S. C. Roy
Ibid—Pt. 3.
Ibid—
Ibid—
- 170 Bihari charn for rain coming
S. C. Mitra
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 171 Early signed Coins of India
Jayaswal
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 172 Punch-marked Copperbond from Patna
Banerjee Sastri
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 173 Note on Pakshdhar Misra
A. Banerjee Sastri
and Subhadra Jha
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 174 Palm-leaf Manuscript of Visnupurana
A Banerjee Sastri
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 175 Dariya Sahib and his works
D. B Sastri
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 176 Notes on Punchmarked Copperbond
at Patna.
E. H. C. Walsh
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—
- 177 Asurgarh (Darbhanga)—an unex-
plored ruin.
H. R. Krishnan
Ibid—XX. Pts 3 & 4.
Ibid—XXIV Pt. 3.
Ibid—Pt. 4.
Ibid—

178	Worship of Godling Basawan	S. C. Mitra	Ibid—
179	The name 'Chotanagpur'	M. G. Banerjee	Ibid—XXVI-Pt. 3.
180	The Bodh-Gaya Plaque	D. B. Spooner	Ibid—I. Pt. 1.
181	Succession among the Mundas	J. Hoffman	Ibid—
182	Succession among the Santhals	A. Campbell	Ibid—
183	Birth Ceremonies amongst the Oraons	{ S. C. Roy	Ibid—
184	The Corn Spirit and tree Spirit in Chotanagpur.		Ibid—
185	Totem worship among the Oraons	{ C. L. Roy	Ibid—
186	Ruins at Majhgaon		Ibid—
187	Copper Celt in Palamu	J. C. Brown	Ibid—
188	Ancient pottery in Munda Country	{ V. H. Jackson	Ibid—Pt. 2.
189	Cinerary Urns in Munda Country		Ibid—
190	Two new inscriptions	A. Campbell	Ibid—
191	Santhal Superstitions	S. C. Roy	Ibid—
192	Ancient Asura remains in Ranchi District.	S. Haldar	Ibid—
193	Ho Folklore	S. C. Roy	Ibid—
194	Gravestones in Chotanagpur	P. C. Boddling	Ibid—II Pt. 3.
195	Position of women among the Santhals	S. C. Roy	Ibid—
196	Totemism among the Birhors	H. N. Ghosh	Ibid—
197	The Bhumij of Chotanagpur	S. Haldar	Ibid—
198	Ho Folklore II	A. Campbell	Ibid—
199	Santhal marriage Customs	G. N. Sarkar	Ibid—
200	Ho Riddles	V. A. Smith and	Ibid—
201	Bodh Gaya Plaque	D. B. Spooner.	Ibid—

202	Death and Cremation among the Santhals.	A. Campbell	Ibid—II Pt. 4.
203	A general account of the Birhors	{	Ibid—
204	Relics of Copper age in Chotanagpur		
205	Bronze articles in Ranchi District		
206	Ho Riddles		
207	Ho Auguries		
208	An account of Maithil marriage	S. C. Roy	Ibid—III No. 2
209	Kinship Organisation of the Bihar	Do.	Ibid—
210	Totemism among the Asura	R. Singh	Ibid—Pt. 4.
211	Munda tongues	S. C. Roy	Ibid—
212	Rambhadrapur Manuscript	S. C. Roy	Ibid—
213	New archaeological funds in the Barari Caves.	W. F. de Hevesy	Ibid—XI Pt. 3.
214	The deities of Jalkar in the district of Monghyr.	B. B. Mazumdar	Ibid—XXIV Pta. 1 + 2.
215	Chronological totals in the Puranic Chronicles.	S. Pravanand	Ibid—
216	Santhal folk songs	K. P. Mitra	Ibid—XI Pt. 2.
217	Annals of the Bengal Presidency	Jayaswal	Ibid—III Pt. 2.
218	Broome's History of the Bengal army	S. K. Sinha	Ibid—XXXII Pt. 2.
219	Annals of Bengal Presidency	J. C. Marshman	C. R.—XIII-No. 25, and XV—No. 29.
220	The Grand Trunk Road	Captain staples	Ibid—XIV No. 28.
221	The Santhal Perganna	M. Townshend	Ibid—XIX No. 37.
221 (a)	Rajmahal, its Railways	J. Long	Ibid—XXI No. 41.
222	The primitive races of the Shahabad Plateau.	J Long	Ibid—XXXV No. 70.
223	The Arcistoeraey of Bihar	C. S. B.	Ibid—XXVI No. 71.
			Ibid—LXIX No. 141.
			Ibid—LXXVI No. 151.

224	The Buchanan Records	H. Beveridge	XCIX—No. 197.
225	The Bhuiyas	D. A. Mcmillan	Ibid—CIII No. 205.
226	The Case of the Mundas	×	Ibid—CX—No. 220.
227	On the Bihari Custom of placing expedition on the crossways.	S. C. Mitra	Ibid—CXVII No. 233.
228	Sun Worship in Bihar	Do.	Ibid—CXIX No. 238.
229	On some Bihari mode of trial by ordeal.	Do.	Ibid—CXXXI No. 231.
230	Hindi and Bihari dialects	G. A. Grierson	Ibid—LXXIII No. 146.
231	Proposed new Rent law for Bengal and Bihar.	A. T. Mukherjee	Ibid—LXXVI No. 152.
232	Is Behar rack-rented ?	×	Ibid—LXXVIII No. 155.
233	The Behar Ryot lat home	F. C. Harrison	Ibid—XCI No. 162.
234	Cadastral Survey of Bihar	G. P. Sen	Ibid—XCIV No. 187.
235	On a Bihari Cremonial worship of Totemistic origins.	S. C. Mitra	JDL—IV.
236	Karma Dharma festival of N. Bihar and its Munda analogues	Do.	Ibid—
237	On a legend from South Bihar	Do.	Ibid—XI.
238	Primitive religion, social organisation, Law and government among the Santhals.	P. C. Biswas	Ibid—XXVI.
239	Bihar & Orissa	×	C. R. 1913.
240	What Bihar & Orissa has done	×	M. R. 1923.
241	The Bihar University	S. Khudabux	Ibid—1913.
242	New Bihar	C. F. Andrewes	Ibid—1914.
243	Sex in Medieval Art	L. Jha	PHC—1946.
244	Chandeswara's indebtedness to Ballalsena.	Bhabtosh Bhattacharya.	IC—XI.

245	Dansagar and Danratnakar	Do.	PTAIOC—1949.
246	Cultural heritage of Bihar	R. K. Choudhary	SPARK—(15th Aug. 1952)
247	Two forgotten Pala Sites	Do.	Ibid—
248	Important archaeological sites in North Bihar.	Do.	(Dewali Issue 1953)
249	Archaeological sites in Monghyr district.	Do.	Ibid—
250	Further report on Naulagarh	Do.	(23rd March-1952)
251	A report on the exploration of Jay-manglagarh.	Do.	Ibid—
253	A report on the exploration of Rani Godhna.	Do.	(May June-1954)
254	History of Begusarai	Do.	G. D. College Bulletin No. 2.
255	Mithila Ka Sankshit Rajnitik Itihas	Do.	Ibid—
256	A brief survey of Bihar's economic history.	Do.	Ibid—No. 3.
			Ramcharitra Abhinandan
			Granth-Begusarai.
			Ibid—
			SPARK—
			(Dec. 23-1951.)
(SPARK—of 5th July 1950—also contains an article on a particular aspect of Bihar history, the name of which the writer does not exactly remember).			
257	Death and funeral Customs of Ho-	S. C. Roy	JBORS—IV Pt. 3.
258	Ho folklore	S. Halder	Ibid—
259	Inscriptions of Udayari	N. G. Mazumdar	Ibid—V Pt. 1.

- 260 Copper Smelting apparatus at Rakha
260(a) Birth and funeral Ceremonies among
the Hos.
261 Ho Middle
262 Ruins at Gholmara (Manbhum)
263 Stories about Lugu Butu in Hazaribagh
District.
264 A note on Sanskrit Judgement
265 A Sanskrit Mathili document of
the time of Muhamad Shah.
266 Ethnographical investigation in official
records.
267 Puranic division of ancient India
268 Ho folklore
569 The Cult of Birche Deo (Motihari)
270 Exorcism in Chotanagpur
271 Magical rites among the Birhors
272 Ethnic basis for the Sanskrit element
in the Munda language.
273 Note on Birhor legend
274 South Bihar godlings of Fishery
275 Maithili words of the 15th Century
276 Notes on tree cult in Patna district
277 A short note on Dharnidas
278 Date of Vardhmana (of Mithila)
279 Identification of Nalanda stone
image.
- X
- G. N. Sarkar (Singhbhum)
Ibid—
Ibid—Pt. 2.
Ibid—
Ibid—VIII Pt. 1.
Ibid—Pts. 2-3.
IHRC—XVIII.
JBORS—VII Pt. 4.
Ibid—VIII Pt. 1.
Ibid—Pt. 2.
Ibid—
Ibid—IX-Pt. 1.
Ibid—X-Pt. 3.
Ibid—IX- Pts 3 + 4.
Ibid—XIV-Pt. 4.
Ibid—
Ibid Pt. 2.
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—
Ibid—IX Pts. 3 & 4.
- X
- Do.
A. Banerjee Sastri
H. D. Christian
G. N. Jha
D. C. Sarkar
S. C. Roy
S. Haldar
S. C. Mitra
S. C. Roy
Do.
Do.
S. C. Mitra
Do.
U. Misra
S. C. Mitra
A. M. Basu
Jayaswal
B. Bhattacharya

280	Unhistoricity of Kaumudi Mahotsava			
281	Comarswamy and the Maurya palace			
282	Digvijaya of King Chandra of the Mehraull pillar inscription.	D. C. Sarkar Do. Do.	JAHRS—XI. IC—V. JASB (L) V.	
283	Baimbikanam Kula-Vratam	Do.	PIHC—1939.	
284	The Sea faring people of Gauda	Do.	HR—1941.	
285	Evidence of Nalanda seals	Do.	IHQ—XIX.	
286	Bhavishtyottarpurana and early Gupta history.	Do.	JNSI—VI.	
287	Rudradeva and Nagdatta	Do.	PIHC—1944.	
288	Stone inscription from Patna district	Do.	JASB—(L) XIV.	
289	Nalanda stone pillar inscription of Rajyapala.	Do.	Ibid—XV.	
290	Nalanda inscriptions of Surpala	Do.	IHQ—XXIX.	
291	An inscription in the Patna Museum	Do.	Ibid—XXIX.	
292	Bihar Ki Prakritik Susama	Sri Ranjan Surideva	Chandabai Abhinandan Granth—Arrah-1954.	
293	Vaidik Kalin Bihar	Mm. Sakal Narain Sharma.	Ibid—	
295	Jain Darasana Ko Bihar Ki Den	Narottama Sastri	Ibid—	
296	Bihar me Jain Tirth	Nemichandra Sastri	Ibid—	
297	Rajgiri	Narottama Sastri	Ibid—	
298	Mithlla	Jyotishchandra Sastri.	Ibid—	
299	Pataliputra	Rathnemi	Ibin—	
300	Champapur	Nabinchandra Sastri	Ibid—	
301	Mahabir Ka Bodhasthan	Do.	Ibid—	
302	Magadha Aur Jain Sanekriti	G. C. Choudhory	Ibid—	

- 303 Mahabr Ki Aryasanskriti Ko Den
304 Rules for Ascetics in Jainism, Bud-
dhism and Hinduism.
305 Bhagwan Mahavir Ki Nirvana Tithi
306 Vaishali
307 Rajgriha
308 Studies in Vivida Tirthakalpa
309 Note on Devanupiya
310 Vaishali. Mahavir's birthplace
311 The Jain Canons and their place in
the study of Ancient Indian culture.
312 Bhagwan Mahavir Ka Bihar Pradesh
313 Some common Elements in Jain and
Hindu Pantheons.
314 Jain Culture in Shahabad
315 Acharya Singhanandin, King maker
and Pontiff.
316 The Visundharmottar Purana
317 Vidyapati's Purusapariksa an important
source of history.
318 A magico religious ceremony of a Ho
boy.
319 Economic Cooperation in tribal Bihar
320 Religious beliefs of the Hos—
Ibid—
JSB—JA II-Pt. 4.
Ibid—III—4.
Ibid—II—2.
Ibid—IV—2.
Ibid—V—4.
Ibid—V—3.
Ibid—XI—1.
Ibid—XII—2; XIII 2.
Ibid—XII—1.
Ibid—XIX—2.
Ibid—XIX—1.
IHQ—XXX—2.
BBRAS—XXVIII—Pt. I-1953.
Journal of Oriental Thought,
Nasik.
MI—XXXV—No. 3.
Ibid—
Ibid—No. 4.
J. N. Roy Sharma
S. C. Ghosal
K. B. Sastri
K. P. Jain
Do.
B. C. Law
K. P. Mitra
B. C. Law
J. C. Jain
K. P. Jain
S. K. Jain
N. C. Sastri
A. R. Bazi
B. Bhattacharya
R. K. Choudhary
G. S. Roy and
others.
Sachidanand
G. S. Roy and
others.

- 14 ASB(II.)—
 15 JRAS—
 16 Do.—
 17 Do.—
 18 Do.—
 19 Do.—
 20 I. A. 1902—(V. A. Smith-Revised Chronology of the early or Imperial Gupta dynasty)
 21 I. A. 1913 & JRAS 1897—(V. A. Smith—Conquest of Samudragupta)
 22 E. H. Parker's article in the "Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society—1911—
 23 I. A.—1911—(regarding Wang Hsien Tse's visit to Tirhut)
 24 E. I. I—(regarding Gopal's influence over Tirhut
 25 JRAS—1905—and Silver
 26 Jubilee volumes of the ABORI
 27 JASB—LXXII—Pt. I—1903—; 1883-1899
 28 JASB (NS)—XI
 29 I. A.—IX and XIII, 1880, XIV, XXVIII.
 30 JBOR IX, X, XIII, XIV
 31 Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgen
 32 landischen Gesellschaft-Vol II—
 33 JRAS—IV—
 34 Saraswati—January—1918
 35 500 papers, published by Prof. P. K. Gode of Poona, on different branches of Indology,
 36 are indispensable for every Research-worker.
 Yazdani—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica—1917—18.
 J. A. S. B.—1870—75 contains some valuable articles on the medieval history of Bihar.

XXIII—

July 1913

January 1914

April 1914

July 1914

January 1915

(B) Select Bibliography.

- 1 Indus Valley Civilisation S. R. Kohli.
- 2 Indus Civilisation-Mackay—
- 3 Studies in Indian Antiquities— H. C. Rai Choudhary.
- 4 Political History of Ancient India—5th Edition— „
- 5 Early history of the Vaisnava Sect— „
- 6 Ancient Geography of India—Cunningham—
- 7 Fundamental Unity of India—Mookerjee (R. K.)
- 8 Local Government in Ancient India— „
- 9 Chandragupta and his times— „
- 10 Asoka „
- 11 Men and Thought in Ancient India— „
- 12 Aiterya Brahmana—
- 13 Satpatha Brahmana—
- 14 Atharva-Veda—
- 15 Brhadaranyaka Upnishad—
- 16 Panchavimsa Brahmana—
- 17 Cambridge History of India—5 vols.—
- 18 Chandogya Upnishad—
- 19 The Puranas-(Vishnu Purana-especially)
- 20 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
- 21 Select Inscriptions by Dinesh Sarkar.
- 22 Anguttara Nikaya.
- 23 Diggha Nikaya—
- 24 Dipvamsa—
- 25 Mahavamsa—
- 26 Dialogues of Buddha—
- 27 Early history of Deccan-Bhandarkar—
- 28 Collected works—4 Vols— „
- 29 Charmiachaol Lectures— „
- 30 Ancient Indian Historical Tradition—Pargiter.
- 31 Dynasties of the Kali Age—
- 31(a) Chronology of Ancient India of S. N. Pradhan.
- 32 Advanced History of India—Mazumdar Raichoudhary,
and Datta.

- 33 History of Tirhut—S. N. Singh.
- 39 Cambridge Short History of India—
- 40 Early History of India-Smith.
- 41 Asoka.
- 42 Asoka and his Inscription—Barna—
- 43 Asoka—Bhandarkar.
- 44 History of Ancient India—Tripathi (R. S.)
- 45 History of Kanauj—
- 46 A New History of India—Altekar and Mazumdar.
- 47 History of North Eastern India—R. G. Basak.
- 48 A history of Ancient Indian Civilisation—R. C.
Mazumdar.
- 49 History of Indian Literature 2 vol-Winternitz—
- 50 History of Classical Sanskrit Literature (Keith)
- 51 Bhartiya Itihas Ki Ruprekha-2 vol. J. Vidyalankar.
- 52 Ramayan—
- 53 Mahabharat—
- 54 Kausitaki Upanishad—
- 55 Arthasastra of Kautilya—
- 56 Majjhima Nikaya—
- 57 The Palas of Bengal—R. D. Banerjee—
- 58 Banglar Itihas-2 vols—
- 59 Life of Hiensang—
- 60 Aryan rule in India-Havell.
- 61 The Greeks in India and Bactria—Tarn—
- 62 History of India (150-350 A. D.) Jayaswal—
- 63 Svapnavasavadattam—
- 64 Mudraikssas—
- 65 Vedic Index.
- 66 Sacred Books of the East (Selected volumes)
- 67 History of Bengal vol I R. C. Mazumdar—
- 68 Do. vol II J. N. Sarkar—
- 69 Do. Stewart—
- 70 Ancient Indian Numismatics—S. K. Chakravarti.
- 71 Lectures of Numismatics—Bhandarkar.
- 72 Buddhist India—Rhys Davis—

- 73 Merindles' Ancient India—
- 74 Jataka—Fausboll—
- 75 Aryamanjusri Mulkalpa—
- 76 Indian Histiriography—U. N. Ghosal—
- 77 Buddhisitic Studies—B. C. Law.
- 78 Great Epic of India—Hopkins.
- 79 Manual of Indian Buddhism—Kerw—
- 80 Some Topics from Ancient Indian History R. K Chau-
dhary.
- 81 Studies in Ancient Indian Law justice— R. K.
Chaudhary.
- 82 Catalogue of Indian Coins—Allan.
- 83 " " "—Rapson,
- 84 Early History of Bengal—Monahan—
- 85 Age of the Imperial Gupta—R. D. Banerjee—
- 86 History of Orissa—
- 87 History of Assam—Sir Edward Gait—
- 88 Early History Kausambi—N. N. Ghosh.
- 89 Early Hisiory of Bengal—Girinda Mohan Sarkar—
- 90 Dynastic History of Northern India—2-vols-Ray (H. C.)
- 91 Rastrakutas and theirs Times—Altekar—
- 92 The Parmaras of Malwa—D. C. Ganguly—
- 93 Nepal Levy—
- 94 Theism in Mediaeval India—Carpenter.
- 95 Medieval India—Ishwari Prasad—
- 96 " Lane pool—
- 97 At Beruni's India—Sachau—
- 98 Tarikhi Mubarak Shahi—Dr. D. K. Basu—
- 99 Aspects of Muslim Administration—R. P. Tripathi—
- 100 Life and Condition of the people of Hindustan
K. M. Ashraf. (1200—1550)
- 101 History of Bengali Language and Literature—
- 102 Text Book of D. C. Sen.
- Modern Indian History—Sarkar and Datta—
- 103 Empire—builders of the 16th Century—(Rushbrook
Williams.
- 104 Akbarnama—Abdul Fazal (Beveridge)
- 105 Khulaat-ut Tawarikh—
- 106 Akbar the Great Mogul—Smith—

- 107 Shershah—Kanungo (K.R.)
- 108 Dara Shekoh—,,
- 109 History of Aurangzeb—5 vols—Sir J. N. Sarkar—
- 110 Fall of the Mughal Empire—4 vols—,,
- 111 Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of Moghal Empire—,,
- 112 Mughal Administration
- 113 Mughal Rule in India—Edward and Garret.
- 114 India at the death of Akbar—Moreland—
- 115 Studies in Mughal India Sir J. N. Sarkar.
- 116 Aini Akbari—Abul Fazal (Blochman)
- 117 Padshah Nama—Abdul Hamid Lahori—
- 118 Travels in India Travenier—
- 119 Travels in Mogul Empire—Bernier—
- 120 Narrative of Fitch.
- 121 Later Moghuls—2 vols Irvine—
- 122 Khulsat-at-Tawarikh—Kalyan Singh.
- 123 Siyarul mutakherin—Ghulam Hussain—
- 124 Bengal Subah— K. K. Datta—
- 125 Allivardi and his times—,,
- 126 The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar—,,
- 127 Social Amelioration of Women in—,,
Pre-Mutiny India—,,
- 128 The Santal Insurrection—,,
- 129 Do. —K. K. Basu.
- 130 History of British India—P. E. Roberts.
- 131 Last days of the Company—Anderson and Subedar—
- 132 Early English Settlements in Bengal—Wilson—3 vols.
- 133 English Settlements in Bihar—N. N. Raye,
- 134 Making of the British India—Ramsay Muir—
- 135 The First British Empire—A. B. Keith.—
- 136 Constitutional History of India—,,
- 137 E. I. Trade in the 17th Century—Shafat Ahmed Khan.
- 138 English Factories in India—13 vols—W. Foster.
- 139 History of British India—Hunter.
- 140 Dupleix and Clive—Dodwell.
- 141 History of Bihar Minden Witson.

- 142 History of British Empire in India—Thornton.
- 143 Hastings in Bengal—Moncton Jones—
- 144 Indian Constitutional Documents-2 vols. Banerjee (A.C.)
- 146 District Gazetteers
- 147 Economic Development of India—Vera Anstey—
- 148 Heart of Aryavarta—Lord Ronaldshay—
- 149 How India wrought for freedom—Annie Beasant,
- 150 India—Valentine Chirot—
- 151 India, Old and New ..
- 152 Indian Unrest— ..
- 153 Renascent India—Zacharias—
- 154 Nation in the Making—Surendra Nath Banerjee—
- 155 Indian National Evolution—A. C. Mazumdar.
- 156 Political Thought from Ram Mohan to Dayanand—
B. B. Mazumdar—
- 157 A Note on Bengal Renaissance—Amit Sena.
- 158 Bihar Ka Aitahasik Digidarshan—Prithvi Singh—
- 159 Introduction to Bihar—K. K. Datta.
- 160 Indian Renaissance—C. F. Andrews—
- 161 Indian Administration—Kale—
- 162 Modern India—Campbell—
- 166 Speeches and writings of Dr. Sachidanand Sinha—
- 167 Eminent Contemporaries—Dr. Sachidanand Sinha...
- 168 Modern India and Indians—Monier-Williams—
- 169 Footfalls in Indian History—Sister Nivedita.
- 170 Ram Mohan Roy and Modern India—Ramanand
Chatterjee—
- 171 Bihar, the Heart of India by Houlton.
- 172 Dawn of Renascent India by Dr. K. K. Dutta.
- 173 Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas—N. A. Sastri.
- 174 Siddharth (Hindi)—R. K. Choudhary
- 175 The Vedic Age—Ed. by Mazumdar and Pusalkar.
- 176 Age of Imperial Unity— Do.
- 177 The Classical Age— Do.
- 178 Age of the Imperial Kanauj—Do.
- 179 Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha—Dr. B. P. Sinha.
- 180 Select Inscriptions of Bihar—R. K. Choudhary.

- 181 History of Mithila—Dr. Upendra Thakur.
182 Bihar, the homeland of Buddhism—R. K. Choudhary.

(c) Journals and Gazetteers.

- (i) Imperial Gazetteers of India—
(ii) District Gazetteer—
(iii) Archaeological Survey Reports Covering Bihar)
(iv) Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
(v) Journal of the annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research
Institute—
(vi) Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
(vii) Journal Bihar Research Society.
(viii) „ Ganganath Jha Research Institute—
(ix) „ Indian History.
(X) Indian Historical Quarterly.
(Xi) Journal of the Department of Letters.
(Xii) Journal of Oriental Studies—
(Xiii) Bombay University Journal—
(Xiv) Hindi University Journal—
(XV) Allahabad University Journal.
(Xvi) Calcutta Review.
(Xvii) Hindustan Review
(Xviii) Indian Review.
(XiX) Modern Review.
(XX) Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and
Bombay.

(D) Proceedings and Commemoration Volumes

- (i) Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
(ii) Proceedings of Oriental Congress.
(iii) Ojha Commemoration volumes.
(iv) Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume.
(v) Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.
(vi) B. C. Law Commemoration Volume.
(vii) Fetschirft—Volume presented to Prof. P.V. Kane—
(viii) (Woolever Commemoration Volume.)
(ix) Orientalia—Ashutosh Commemoration Volume.
(X) R. K. Mookerjee Commemoration Volume—Bharat
Kamudi—

75557



- 187 History of Mathura—By G. Ghoshal, Delhi—187
 188 Bihar the home of Buddhism—R. K. Ghoshal
 (c) Journals and Gazetteers
 (i) Imperial Gazetteers of India—
 (ii) District Gazetteers—
 (iii) Archaeological Survey Report (Governing Bihar)
 (iv) Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
 (v) Journal of the Annals of Bihar and Oriental Research
 Institute—
 (vi) Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society
 (vii) Journal Bihar Research Society
 (viii) Ganga and the Research Institute—
 (ix) Indian History—
 (x) Indian Historical Quarterly—
 (xi) Journal of the Department of Letters—
 (xii) Journal of Oriental Studies—
 (xiii) Bombay University Journal—
 (xiv) Hindu University Journal—
 (xv) Allahabad University Journal—
 (xvi) Calcutta Review—
 (xvii) Hindustan Review—
 (xviii) Indian Review—
 (xix) Madras Review—
 (xx) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and
 Bombay
 (D) Proceedings and Commemorative Volumes
 (i) Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
 (ii) Proceedings of Oriental Congress
 (iii) Other Commemorative volumes
 (iv) Ganga and the Commemorative Volume
 (v) Bihar and Commemorative Volume
 (vi) H. G. Law Commemorative Volume
 (vii) Petachit—Volume presented to Prof. H. G. Law
 (viii) Woolley Commemorative Volume
 (ix) Orientalia—Asiatic Commemorative Volume
 (x) R. E. Mookerjee Commemorative Volume—Khandi
 Kandi—





Plate NO. 1 JARASANDHA'S BAITHAKA.

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India)

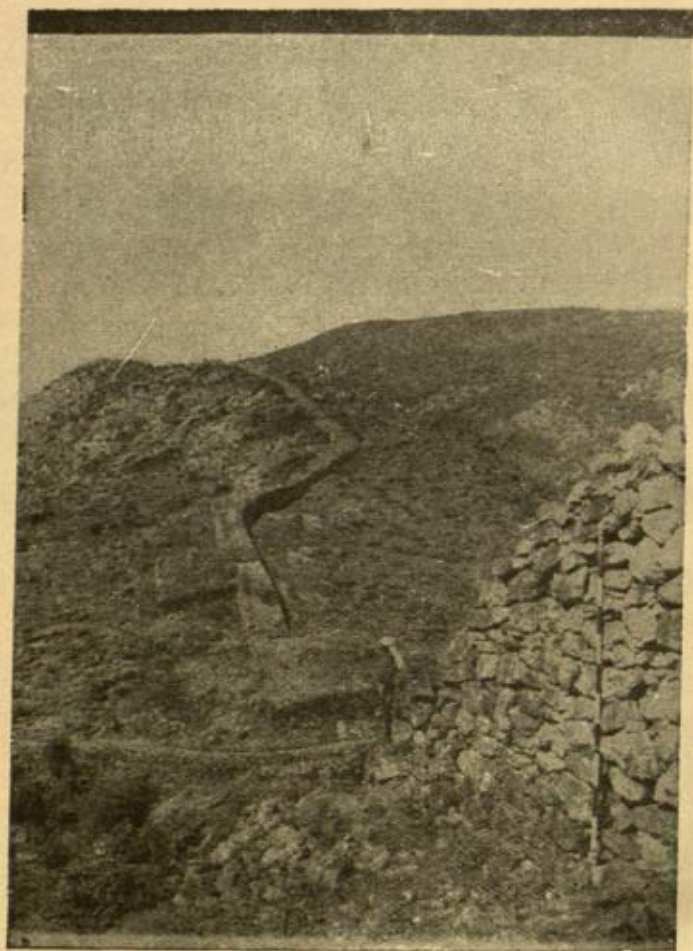


Plate NO. 2 ANCIENT FORTIFICATION AT RAJGRIHA BANGANGA
(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India)



Plate No. 3 RUINS AT BULANDI BAGH BELONGING TO THE
MAURYAN AGE.

(Copyright Reserved Arch. Surv. India.)



Plate No. 4 BULANDIBAG RUINS.

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)



Plate No. 5 LAURIYA NANDANGARH PILLAR OF ASOKA.

(Copyright Reserved, Arch. Surv. India)



Plate No. 6 RAMPURVA RUINS OF THE TIME OF ASOKA.

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India.)

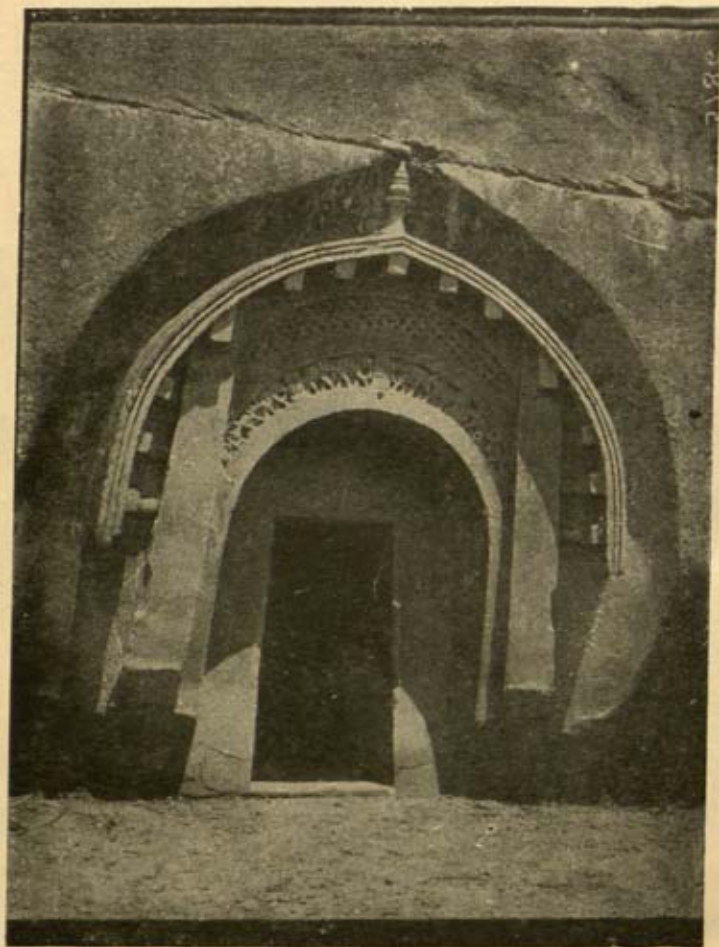


Plate No. 7 LOMAS CAVE OF THE TIME OF ASOKA

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India)

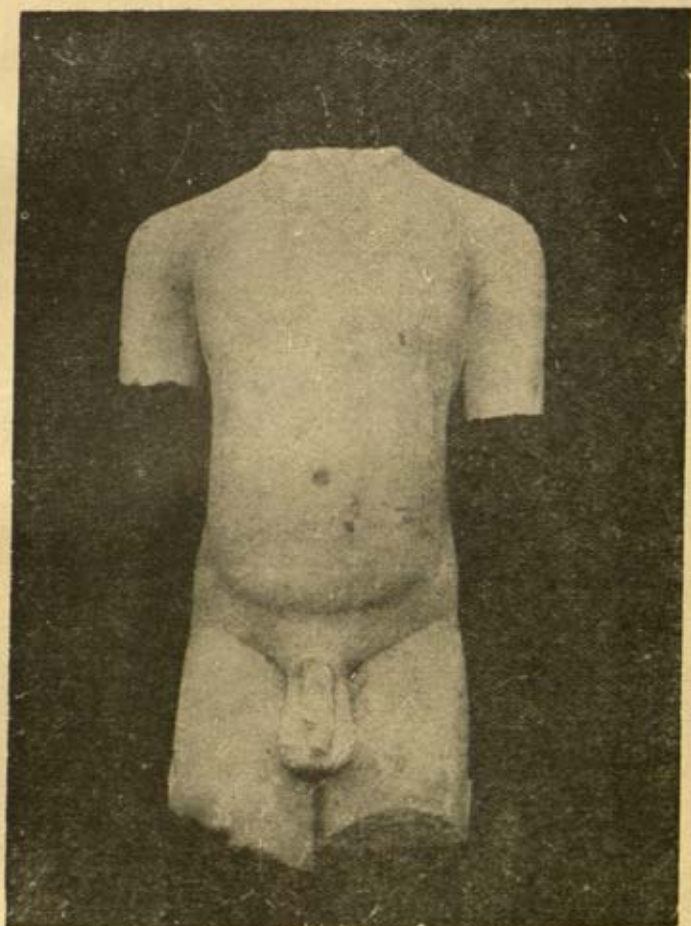


Plate NO. 8 JAIN TIRTHANKAR (MAURYAN AGE)

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)

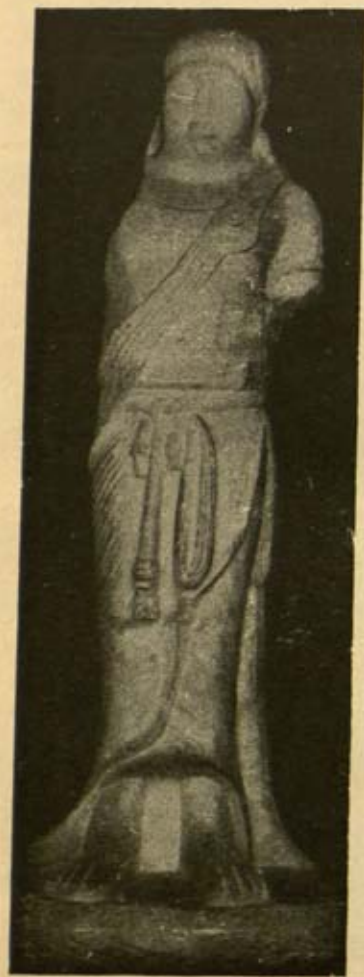


Plate NO. 9 YAKSHA.



NO. 10 DIDARGANJ IMAGE.

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum,)



Plate No, 11 BUXAR TERRACOTTA.

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India)



Plate No 12 CUPID (PATNA CITY)

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)



Plate No. 13 CHANDI (GUPTA PERIOD SHAHABAD).
(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)

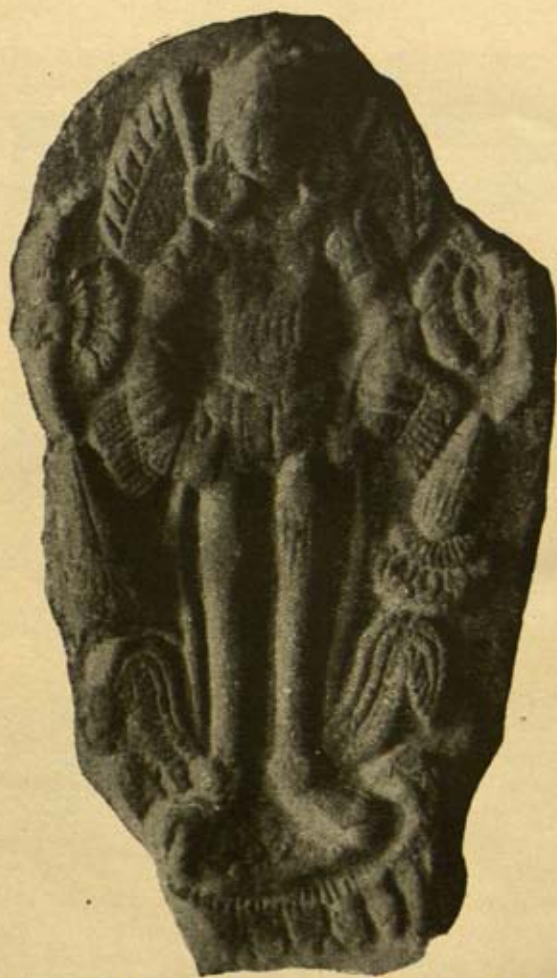


Plate No. 14 GUPTA TERRACOTTA (VAISHLI)

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India).



Plate No. 15 GUPTA IMAGES AT MARIYAR MATH (RAJGRIH)
(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India).

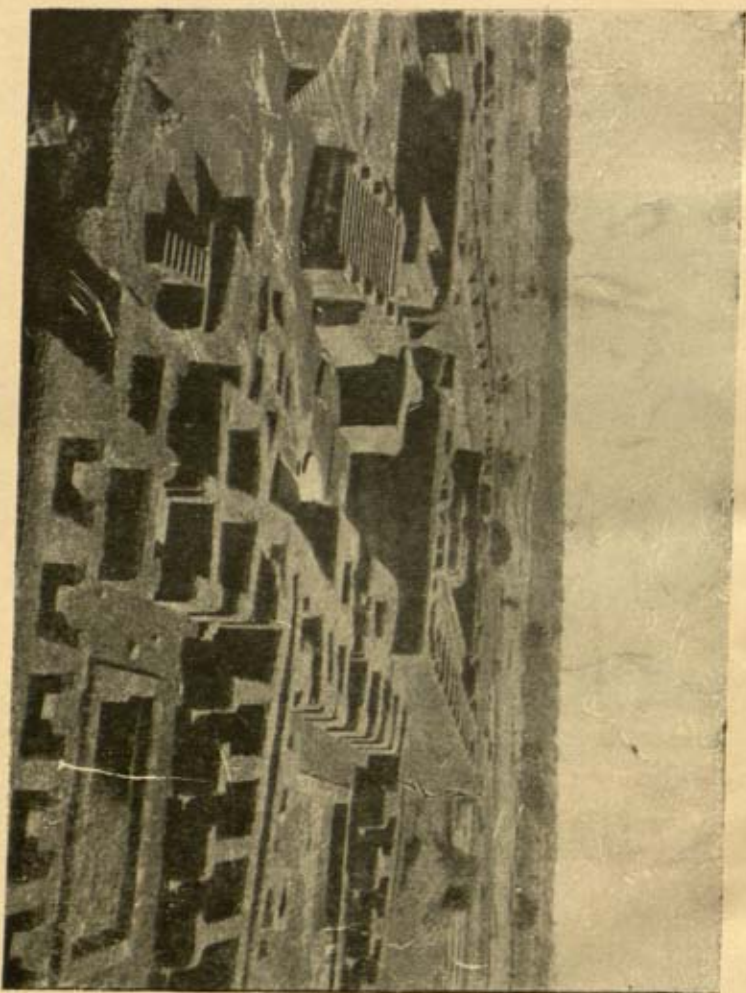


Plate No. 16 RUINS OF NALANDA.

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India)

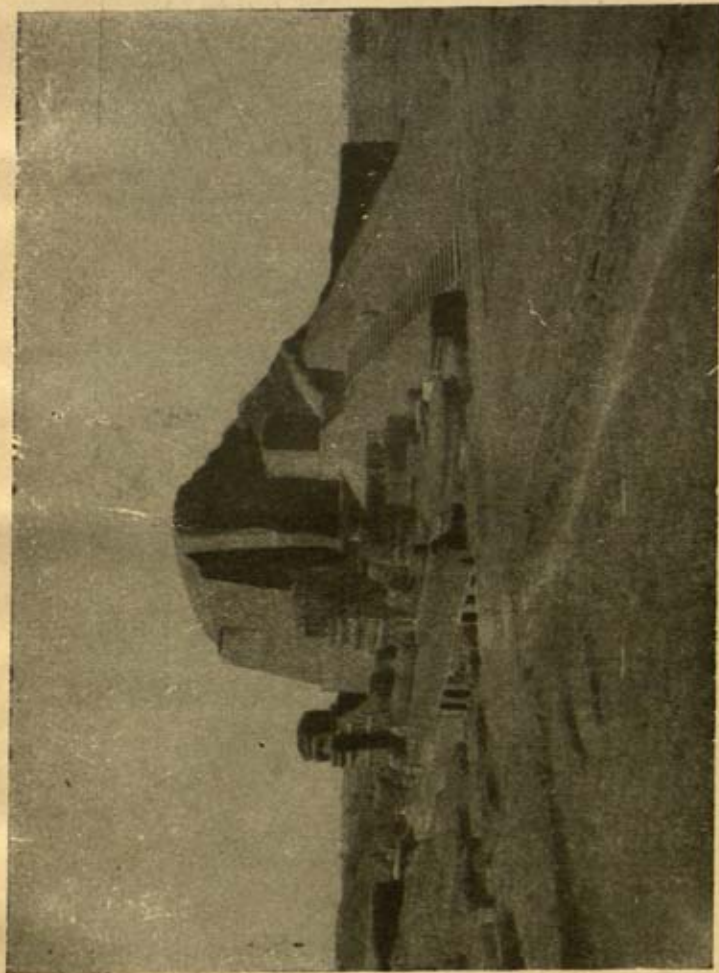


Plate No. 17 NALANDA STUP.

(Copyright Reserved. Arch. Surv. India).



Plate No. 18 AVALOKITESWARA.

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)

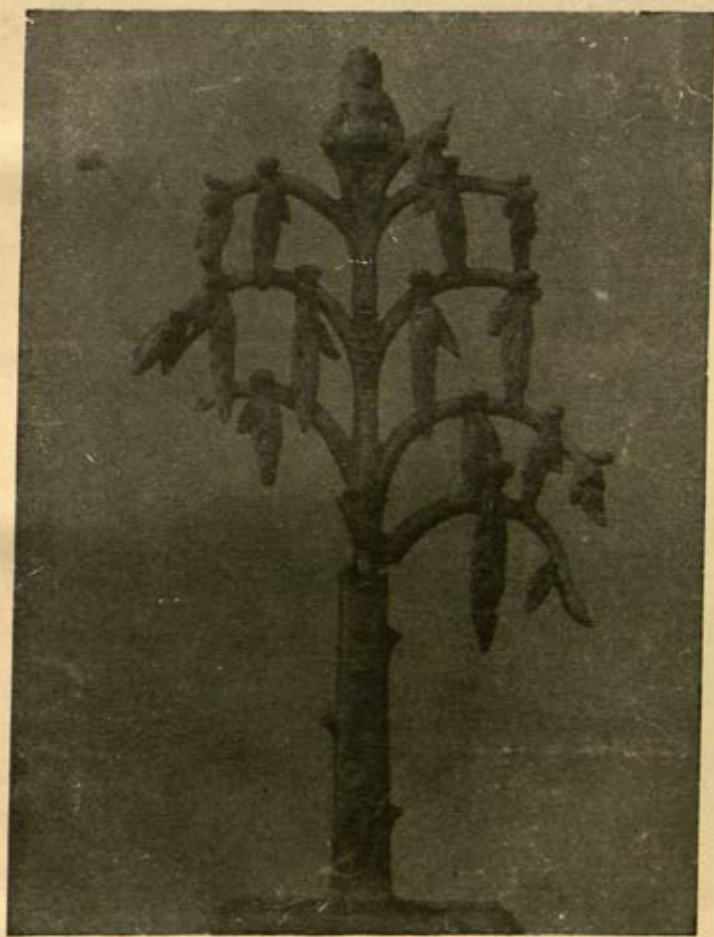


Plate No. 19 KALPA BRIKSHA.

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum)



Plate No. 20 AVALOKITESWARA. (KURKIHAR)

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum.)



Plate No. 21 BUDDHA. (KURKIHAR)

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum.)



Plate NO. 22 SADAKSHARI LOKESWARA (KAHALGAON)



Plate No. 23 BUDHA (NALANDA)

(By Courtesy of Patna Museum.)



Plate No. 24 BODH GAYA TEMPLE.

(Copyright Reserved, Arch. Surv. India).

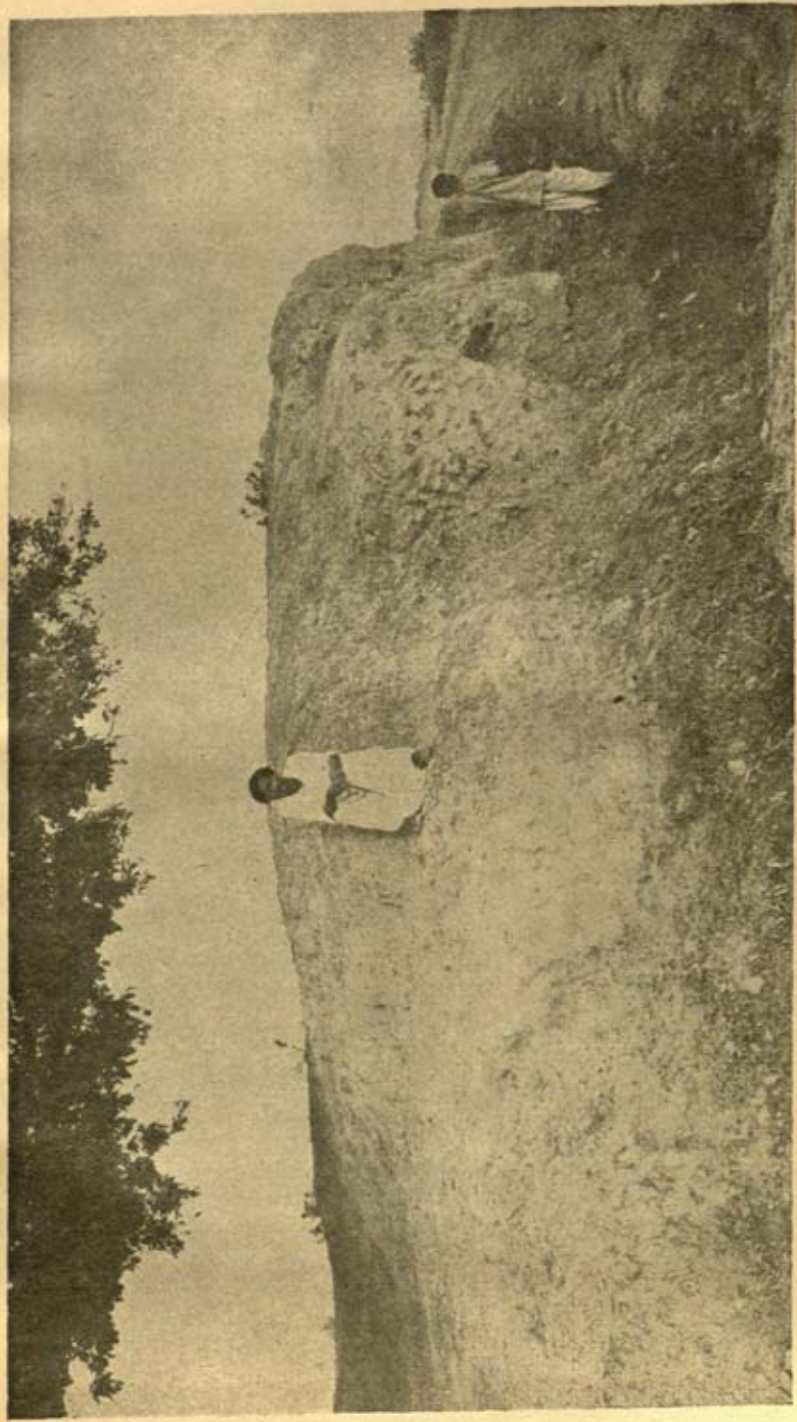


Plate No. 25 NAULAGARH RAMPART. (AUTHOR SITTING ON THE MOUND)

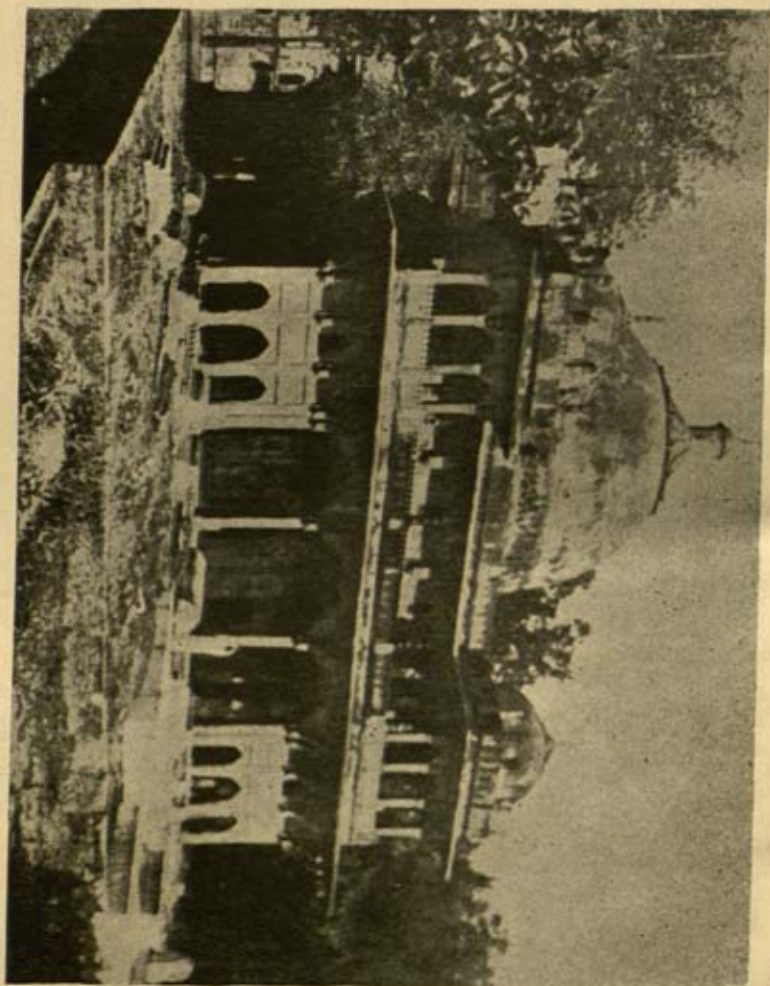


Plate No. 26 THE TOMB OF NAKHDUM SHAH DAULAT AT MANER

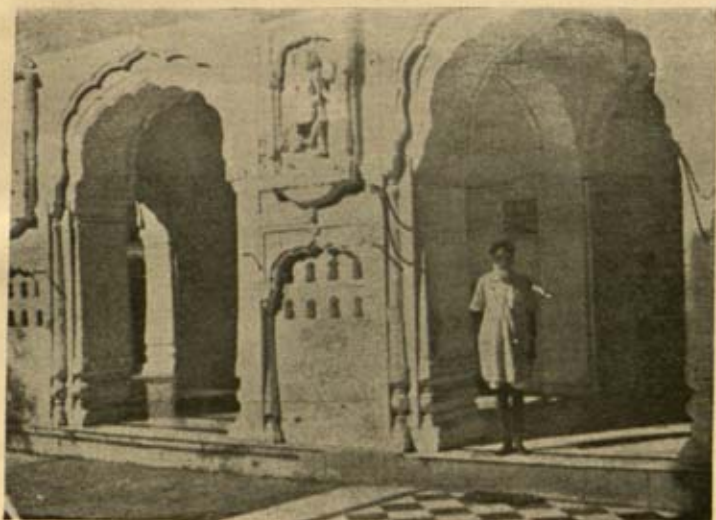


Plate No. 27 BIRTH PLACE OF GURU GOBIND SINGH. (PATNA CITY)



Plate No. 28 THE 14TH CENTURY TOMB OF THE GREAT MUHAMMAD SAINT, MALIK IBRAHIM BAYA.

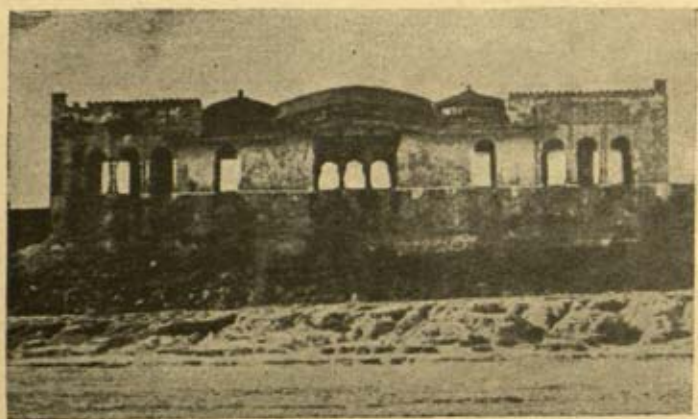


Plate No. 29 A HALL OF OLD RAJMAHAL.



Plate No. 30 PARASNATH MOUNTAIN. (HAZARIBAGH)

INDEX

A

Adityasena	65, 78
Afghan Rising.	209-11
Agnimitra,	55
Agni Vaiswavara	3
Ajatasatru	8, 9, 11, 17, 28
Akbar	186-91
Alam Sah	147 ff
Alexander	31-32
Ali Mardan	164
Allauddin	132 ff
Alliwardi	202-05, 209-11, 224 ff
Amoghavarasa	88
Anga	1, 2, 10, 13-14, 28 ff.
Arjuna	77
Arslan	142 ff
Arthasastra	8
Asoka	9, 23, 34 ff
Aswaghosh	17
Auranzeb	195-201, 224 ff
Avanti	29-30, 33
Ayodhya	5
Azimushan	227

B

Babar	173, 183 ff.
Bahlol Lodi	135
Balban	132, 166
Bangaon	93 ff.
Basham A. L.	27
Bathurst	249
Battle of Plassey	231-33
Begusarai	93 ff. 203 ff. 230
Bengal	38, 61, 64, 75.
Bengal Renaissance	284-86
Bhagalpur	13, 14, 76, 89 ff. 257-60, 275
Bhaktiyar	163
Bharat	9

Bharatpur	16
Bhaskarvarman	75-41
Bhagishwar	140-77.
Bihar	20, 59, 64, 75, 213 ff.
Bimbisara	11, 14, 17, 27, 58
Bindusara	34
Bisheswar Singh	294
Bodhgaya	21 ff.
Brahmadatt	7
Buddha	7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 20, 25 ff
Buddhagupta	63

C

Ceylon	60
Chait Singh	247-48
Chakrayudha	86
Chakwas	203 ff.
Champa	9, 14, 15, 84 ff.
Champaran	246 ff
Champaran Movement	287 ff.
Chanakya	32-33
Chandragupta I	58-59
Chandragupta II	61, 65
Chandragupta Maurya	32, 33 ff. 41
Chandra Pradyota	27
Chhatra Singh	255
Chhotanagpur	276
Chi-Hing	82
China	77
Churchill	322
Curzon	295

D

Darbhanga	210 ff.
Darya Khan Lohani	135 ff.
Dasarath	5-54
Devagupta	78
Devapala	79, 86 ff.
Dharmapala	80, 86 ff.

Dhruvasvamini	68
Dirghatamas	2
Divodasa	4
Duryodhana	7

F

Fahien	69, 70 ff
Firuj-Tugluq	133 ff, 168 ff.

G

Gandhar	28
Gandhi Mahatma	287 ff.
Ganesh datta Singh.	296 ff.
Ganeshwar	141-46
Gangadeva	106-08
Ganganath Jha	298 ff.
Gangeyadeva	90 ff.
Gauda	78 ff.
Gautama Rahugana	3-4
Ghiyasdeva	146
Ghiyasuddin	130 ff.
Ghiyasuddin Tugluq	132, 35 167
Ghosa	2
Ghiyasuddin Iwaz	165 ff.
Gopala	79, 89 ff.
Gorakhpur	246
Gotamiputra Satakarni	55
Govidacandra	95 ff
Govind gupta	68
Grand, Francis	249

H

Hajipur	174 ff. 224 ff.
Harasinghdeva	110-13, 133 ff.
Hariharaksetra	9
Harsavardhana	77-79
Hathigumpha	30 ff. 53
Hieun-Chi	82
Hieuntsang	88-1
Hindal	174 ff.
Hisamuddin Iwaz	129
Hui-Lwn	129
Humayun	174 ff, 184 ff.
Hun-Lun	78
Hussain Shah	135
Hussamuddin Iwaz	163 ff.

I

Ibrahim Lodi	136 ff.
Ibrahim Shah	151 ff. 170 ff.
Ibrahim Sharqui	135
Ikshvaku	3.11
Illtutmish	130 ff. 165
Izzuddin	164

J

Jahangir	191-92.
Jalaluddin Masud Jani	131 ff.
Janaka, Videha	2, 4-6. 8 ff
Janakpura	1
Jarasandha	2, 16-17
Jayaswal, K. P.	298
Job Charnock	225
John Shore	251 ff.
Jyotirishwar	126 ff.

K

Kaksivan	2
Kalidasa	54, 55
Kalinga	16, 28. 53
Kanauj	78, 86 ff.
Kanishka	26, 56
Kans	16
Kapilvastu	20, 70
Karala Janaka	8
Karna	6.7, 13, 95 ff.
Karnatas (of Mithila)	101-02
Kashmir	26
Kasi	8, 10, 75
Kautilya	9, 31, 41, 43
Kharvela	42
Khuda Baksh	293 ff.
Kirtti Singh	146 ff.
Kosala	5, 11, 28 ff.
Krishna	6, 16.
Krishna II	89
Kumradevi	58
Kumargupta I	62
Kumaragupta II	63
Kumargupta III	63
Kunala	54
Kundagrama	11
Kusumpur	17-18

Kuru-Panchala 5,31

L

Lakshmishwar Singh 294

Later Ruler (Oinawaras) 161.

62

Lichhavis 9,13,58

Lodi Conquest (of Mithila), 171.

73

Lohanis 371

Lumbinigrāma 20

M

Madhavagupta 78

Madhava Singh 255

Magadha 1,2,9,13-17, 27,28 ff.

75 ff, 84 ff, 89 ff.

Mahabharata War 6.

Mahamalla ummagga Jataka 7

Mahapadma 30 ff.

Mahaummagga Jataka, 8

Mahavira 8-9,17,19

Mahipala 90 ff.

Maitreyi 6

Makhdum Alam 174 ff.

Makhdum Lodi 138

Malawa 9,10 33,64

Malik Baya 134 ff.

Mallik Jani 165

Manu 1,15

Maratha Invasion 205 09

Mathava Videgha 1,3

Mathura 16

Mazbarul Haque 296

Magasthenes 18,41,43

Mihirakula 63

Mir Kasim 219 ff, 236-42

Mir Zafar. 234 ff, 242-43

Mitbi 4

Mithila 1-9,11,31,68, 70,76, 77

82, 86 ff, 163 ff.

Mogalliputta Tissa 25

Mankkali Gosall 25

Monghyr 13, 76 ff, 88 ff

Mountbatten Plan 323.

Mudgagiri 13 ff.

Muhammad Bakhtiyar 128 ff.

Muhammad Tuglug. 133 ff

Mustafa Khan 209 ff.

Mysore 20,34.

N

Nabhanedistha I.

Nagabhatta 87 ff.

Nalanda 27,75, 78 ff.

Nanyadeva 94,102-06

Narasinhdeva 108-09

Nargasinhagupta Baladitya 63

Narayanapala 88 ff

Nasir Sah 149 ff.

Nasiruddin 165

Nassiruddin Bughra 132 ff

Nasrat Sah 137 ff, 148 ff, 173

Naulagarh 90

Nepal 77

Nepal War 255-57

Nimi 3-4

O

Oinawaras (of Mithila) 139-40

Oriasa 64 ff

P

Padma Singh 160-61

Panini 4

Parikshit 8

Pataligrama 28,61

Pataliputra 15,17 18,28,34,42,

54,58,81

Patna 209, ff, 275 ff

Paya 20

Pradhan, S. N. 6

Prakataditya 64

Prasenjit 11

Prayag 58

Pundra 16

Puraditya 157-60

Purnea 14, 77 ff.

Pushyamitra sunga 53-54

Q

Qutubuddin Aibak 129 ff

R

Rajagriha 2,9,14,16,17,27,29,53



Rajendra Prasad	300 ff.	Tughril Khan	268, 275 ff.
Rajyapala	89	Turghril Tughan Khan	132 ff.
Rajyavardhana	75		165ff.
Ram	10	U	
Ramagupta	61	Ujjain	54
Rameshwar Singh	295	V	
Ramsinghdeva	109-10	Vainyagupta	63
S		Vaishali 1,9,10-13, 25, 28 ff.	
Sachchidanand Singh	296 ff.		68,70, 72,77, 83ff.
Saharsa	93	Vaishali (kings of)	10 ff
Saketa	89	Vajji	8, 9, 24, 28 ff.
Samudragupta	59 ff	Vanga	10,13, 15, 16
Samsuddin Siraj	132 ff	Vaniyagrama	11
Santhal outbreak	276 ff	Vansittart	245 ff
Sardar Khan	209 ff.	Vasistha	3,4
Sasanka	75	Vasisthaputra Pulumayi	55
Seleukos	33	Vatsa	18,31
Senas	96-101	Vidarbha	10
Sepoy Mutiny	278-83	Videha	2,5,6,7,8
Shah Jahan	192-95	Vidisa	55
Saligram Singh	294	Vidyapati 123 ff, 132ff, 181-82	
Shamsar Khan	209 ff.	Vigrahapala I	88
Shamsuddin Haji Illiyas	167ff	Vigrahapala II	90ff.
Sher khan (Shah)	173ff, 184 ff,	Vijayachandra	95 ff
	213 ff.	Vijayaditya	78
Shiva Singh	152-57	Vijayasena	95 ff.
Simraon	134 ff.	Vikramsila	117-18
Sin-chin	82	Vinayaditya	78
Singhiya	223	Vira Singh	146 ff.
Siradhvaja	4	Vishal	1,11,
Sirajuddaula	231 ff.	Vishnugupata	63
Sisunaga	27,30	Vishwamitra	2
Skandagupta	62,63,72	W	
Sravasti	7,9,70	Wanghiuentse.	77
Sudhodana	20	Warren Hastings	245. ff.
Sultan Sikandar	134 ff.	Y	
T		Yajnavalkya	2, 6, 68, 70
Tamralipti	13	Yasodhara	21
Tang	82	Yasodharman	68,64
Taon-Hj	82	Yasovarman	78
Tibet	9	Yuan Chwang	76
Tirabukti	68,75	Yudhisthira	6
Tirhut 9,77,89ff. 130 ff. 165 ff,		Z	
201-02. 247, 260-65,		Zainuddin	210-11



Government of India,
Ministry of S. R. & J. A.
Gazetteers Unit

History - Bihar
Bihar - History

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.
