

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

The district of Champaran, derives its name from the mythological *Champaranya*, or the forest of *Champak* flowers (*Michielia Champaka*). In fact, it has always been a march land, between Nepal and India, being the extreme north-western district of the Bihar State. Folk-lore, mythology and local tradition give it a more peaceful role militating against the physical and political contexts of the district. Local people claim that it was a dense primeval forest area, in which Vedic ascetics performed their austerities. Geographically, it was a part of ancient Videha and later Tirabhukti or Mithila. The name was derived from a race or tribe of people of the same name as mentioned in the *Brahmana* portion of the *Vedas* as well as in the *Samhitas*, since *Yajurveda Samhita*, mentions the fact that the cows of Videha are famous in ancient India (*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 298; and Keith's *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Vol. I, p. 138). According to Julius Eggeling, the 'Kosala-Videhas' were as powerful as the Kuru-Panchalas; and lived to the east of Madhyadesa. These people claimed Videgha-Mathava as their common ancestor and the two branches are said to have been separated from each other by the river Sadanira. According to Eggeling and Dr. B. C. Law, the Videha country in those days constituted the extreme east of the land of the Aryans (B. C. Law *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 235, foot-note 2). In the later *Mantra* period, Videha seems to have been organised to take a leading part in Vedic culture. From the *Birhad Aranyaka* account it would seem, that at the time of *Satapatha Brahmana*, the Videha Brahmanas were superior to the Kuru-Panchalas.

The *Vishnu Purana* and *Brihad Vishnu Purana* mention a tract named *Champakaranya*. The *Sakti Sangama Tantra* also mentions *Champakaranya* along the *Videha* and *Tirabhukti*. It is also a fact, that different parts of Champaran are traditionally associated with different Vedic sages. The Pauranic geographers also associate Uttanapada, his two queens and Dhruva with this area. Manaramapura, is identified by local people, as the place of battle between Lava and Kusa and their father the great Ramchandra. But, it should be remembered that the *Ramayana* definitely records, that the battle took place on the banks of river *Tamasa* (modern Tons).

The logomachy of Pauranic traditions is not only confusing but misleading. A mass of evidence have been garnered by western scholars like Weber, Eggeling, Caland, Oldenbergh, Jacoboi, Hopkins, Macdonell, Keith Rhys Davids, Fick, Pargeiter and Indian scholars like late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and his distinguished son D. R. Bhandarkar, late H. C. Roy Choudhury and others. It was the last named who made a pioneer attempt to frame an outline of political

history from the accession of Parikshit to Bimbisara, out of the materials supplied by Brahmanic as well as non-Brahmanic literatures.

Champaran, along with Videha and Mithila, comes into prominence after the decline of the Kuru empire. The most notable figure was the philosopher king Janaka. Mithila was then the name of the capital of Videha. The kingdom corresponded, roughly with modern North Bihar, with the exception of certain areas in the Purnea district, which formed a part of a separate country named *Kanjangala-desa*. It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadanira, whose identity is not above dispute. The capital city was named Mithila and it is often mentioned in the Buddhist *Jatakas*. The *Suruchi Jataka* contains some description of the city. The *Mahajana Jataka* too gives a good account of the city (Fausboll—*Jataka*. VI. 30).

The *Ramayana* informs us that, the royal family of Videha, was founded by Simi. The family being known as the high souled Janakas, since, there were several kings of the same name in the dynasty. The members of this dynasty patronised Vedic sacrifices, philosophy and culture. Due probably to the decay of the Parikshitas and consequent anarchy in the Kuru-Panchala country (Rohilkhund to Kurukshetra including modern Delhi and Panipath districts), their court, like that of Jaunpur under Sharquis, became a centre of learned scholars. They probably flourished in c. seventh century B. C. Unfortunately, however, the scraps of information available to us from the *Brahmans*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas* and the *Jatakas*; it is not possible to reconstruct a coherent picture of the dynasty and its history. But it is certain that the city of Mithila was once burnt to ashes, since the information is supplied by a *Jataka* (no. 589) and it is also mentioned in *Mahabharatam* (XII.17.18-19; 219.50).

What is more, the evidence of the *Vishnu Purana* seems to indicate that in the days of the decay, several collateral families reigned contemporaneously. The rising power of the Kashi king, was another cause of their extinction. The *Mahabharatam* and the *Ramayana* refer to a great battle. The monarchy at Videha was succeeded by a oligarchic republic, in fact a confederation of several clans. The Vedic texts are quite unhelpful after the downfall of Videha monarchy probably early in the sixth century B. C. But the Jaina *Bhagabati Supta* and the Buddhist *Anguttra Nikaya* mention India as divided into sixteen *mahajanapadas*. One of these was the Vajji or Vriji. The confederacy consisted of eight clans (*Atthakula*). These were the Lichchavis, the Jnartikas, the Videhas, the Vrijis, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshavakas and the Kauravas. This list, nowever, is not accurate.

The Vrijis are mentioned by Panini (IV.2.131) and Kautilya. The latter considers the confederacy as *rajasabdapojivi*. The territory of the Vrijis extended from Kausiki (modern Kosi) to Gandak river and from Ganga to the Himalayas. While the

Buddhist *Suttas* glorify the Lichchavis, the Jaina canon gives an idealised version of the Jnartikas. The capital of the Vriji republic was Vaisali (modern Basarh) in Muzaffarpur district. This was a natural step because old Mithila, wherever it might have been, was full of monarchical tradition. The classic age of the sixteen *mahajanapadas* possibly ended by the end of the sixth century B. C., but the Lichchavis survived till fourth century A. D. Nothing definite is known about this period of transition, when Kosala first gained ascendancy, to lose to the Magadhas. Bhimbisara married a princess of the Vriji country; and it was their son Ajatsatru who annexed Videha to Magadha. With the emergence of Magadha, as the successful protagonist of imperialism, in the east, a new chapter dawns in the history of Champaran. A task which Ajatsatru had commenced by annexing Tirhut was completed by Chandra Gupta—Maurya and continued by Bindusara and Asoka. No relics of this early period have so far been met with and spade scientifically wielded is still a rare quality in the researches of Tirhut's early history. But the suggestion that Motihari, Kesaria and Lauriya and Lauriya-Nandangarh were generally forts and capitals of the Vrijis is completely unfounded. They were all religious establishments as we shall have occasion to discuss later on.

The records of the Mauryan dynasty are found on monolithic pillars with foliated capitals in three places in the district. Lauriya-Nandangarh, well-known for its Asoka pillar, at the meeting point of two of the principal routes that lead to Nepal was an important centre of activity. One of these roads connects Lauriya with Bhikna Thoree pass and the other passes along the Gandak through Bagaha, reaching finally Tribeni on the Nepal border at the junction of the Gandak and two other rivers. Along the former route in the north, lies Rampurwa where two Asoka pillars with their capitals, were discovered by D. R. Sahni. One of these capitals—the Bull is now in the National Museum at New Delhi and the other—the Lion is at Calcutta. In the south this line of communication is picked up at Lauriya Areraj the site of another inscribed pillar of Asoka. These tall, highly polished, monolithic pillars surmounted by animal capitals are monuments of great beauty. They represent the triumph of Indian plastic activity under exotic influences, for the vigorous presentation, monumental quality, symbolic character, innervation and dynamic energy. The animal art of the capitals in fact represents the last phase of a plastic activity which reigned in Asia for more than two milleniums (Mauryan sculpture in Benares—a study—*Roop Lekha*, New Delhi, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11–21).

All these pillars are found inscribed with edicts of Emperor Asoka, which he himself tells us were issued in his twenty-sixth regnal year, and in pillar edict VII they are possibly referred to by the emperor himself as *sila stambhas*, and the edicts are called *dhamma-lipis*. The term *lipi* implies an edict or a record and has been employed in this sense in the special Kalinga edict at Jaugada. These

decrees or edicts or records were actuated by a desire on the part of the Emperor Asoka to imbibe a spirit of morality, righteousness and respect for elders and other religions among his subjects. How far he had succeeded in achieving his ultimate object will never be known. Nevertheless, they remain unparalleled in the east or west, except in a different way, by Chenghiz Khan—himself a Buddhist. Because, "Shamanism" is nothing but the Siberian variety of *Sramanism*.

After Asoka, all sources of information disappear. For long centuries, we have to grope through the empty corridors of time, to reconstruct the history of Champaran. We do not know, what happened in this border land of India, when the libidinous last Mauryan monarch was murdered in his ancestral palace at Kumrahar by his general, who founded the Sunga dynasty. The last Sunga monarch was killed by his brahmin Prime Minister Kanva, who established a dynasty of his own. They were overthrown by the Andhras from the south and Kharavela from Orissa. The excavations at Nandangarh carried out by the Union Department of Archaeology have furnished evidence of the material culture for the Sunga and Kanva periods. Nandangarh attracted the attention of European explorers early in the nineteenth century; and was investigated by General Cunningham and his Assistants like Garrick and Carlyle. It was, however, a German archæologist, in the employ of the then Government of India, the late Dr. T. Bloch, teacher of R. D. Banerjee—the discoverer of Mohanjodaro, who made the first attempt at systematically studying the remains.* The conclusions of this pioneer worker were no doubt of far reaching character. He was handicapped by lack of knowledge and accurate data from other sides. He regarded the mounds to be royal tombs—corresponding to the burial tumulis, mentioned in the Vedic literature and assigned them to the pre-Mauryan epoch. On the basis of this hypothetical assumption, he identified the naked female divinity, on gold leaf, as that of earth goddess.

The further excavations, carried out by the same department in 1935-36 established that all these were burial memorials with burnt brick basements and were not earthen barrows. It was also pointed out that the gold leaves found by the previous explorers had their exact replica in the stupa at Piprawa (district Basti in U. P.), which was indeed a Buddhist stupa of about 300 B. C. The Lauriya stupas might be of similar date. No evidence was found to connect them with Vedic burial mounds. The layer of yellow clay, which misled the early explorers, according to Sri A. Ghosh, the present Director-General of Archaeology, India, were nothing but ordinary sun-dried bricks; the clay being mixed up with husks and straw to counteract plasticity. This is a feature, which it shares with the burnt brick of Piprawa stupa as studied by the present writer under orders of

* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-05, pp. 11-15.*

Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler. It would be futile therefore, in the present stage of knowledge, to assign any definite dates to any of the mounds at Lauriya, as our conclusions are likely to be subjective. Nevertheless, they are extremely interesting and unique; likely to yield valuable data when thoroughly explored. All of them may not be Buddhistic or Brahminical.

At Lauriya, no trace of an ancient city happens to exist. But according to local tradition, the site at Nandangarh was supposed to be the city. The excavations carried out from 1935 to 1939 has laid bare the true character of the remains, thereby exploding all known theories. The principal mound at Nandangarh, 82 feet in height was thoroughly excavated. Let the explorer, Sri A. Ghosh, be quoted to convey facts. "The mound at Nandangarh, 82 feet in height and about 1,500 feet in circumference, stands about a mile to the south-west of the Asoka pillar at Lauriya at the eastern edge of brick fortification about a mile in perimeter and roughly oval on plan. Excavation of the mound during 1935-1939 revealed a terraced stupa with polygonal basement, each quadrant having 14 re-entrant and 13 outer angles. The walls flanking the first and second terraces followed the polygonal plan of the basement but those pertaining to the upper terraces were circular. An extensive later restoration hid four upper walls and provided new circular walls, but the polygonal plans of the walls of the basement and the first terrace remained unaltered.

"The core of the stupa consisted of a filling of rolie which yielded a large number of terracotta figurines, cast copper coins, a few punch marked coins and clay sealings of the second and first centuries B. C., the structure therefore cannot antedate the first century B. C."

A shaft driven into the centre of the mound yielded remnant of a brick altar at the depth of 14 feet, truncated in ancient times. At a depth of 35 feet, from the top was found the top of an intact miniature stupa complete with its umbrella square in form. The examination in the interior of the stupa yielded nothing, but beside it in the filling was found a small copper vessel with a lid fastened to it by a wire. Inside the vessel was a long strip of thin birch leaf manuscript which was so fragile that it was impossible to spread it thoroughly. The bits showed it was a Buddhist manuscript written in character of early fourth century.

"The fact that it was found not inside but besides the interior stupa indicated that the stupa had been reconsecrated about the beginning of the fourth century by devotees who had cut through the upper altar and disturbed original earth filling to gain access to it." (*Archæology of India*, Delhi, 1950, pp. 50-61.)

A very large amount of miscellaneous antiquities, found in the further excavations at Nandangarh, enable us to reconstruct, the

material culture of Champaran in the first century before the birth of Christ. The people made iron knives, celts, daggers, awls, arrow-heads, etc., as weapons of offence and defence. For currency, they used copper-cast coins, which replaced punch marked coins both of silver and copper. One of each class was actually found during the excavations. The cast coins again were followed by copper issues of Kushana kings. One was of Kanishka, with the king standing on the obverse and the sun God on the reverse. The other was of Huvishka with the figure of King riding on an elephant and four armed Siva on the reverse.* The third was also of Huvishka with the King seated on a couch on obverse and the sun God on the reverse. The find of these coins have far reaching bearing on the history of Champaran; but what is more, they prove beyond doubt, that the stupa at Nandangarh, was undoubtedly in use, till second century A. D. Stone beads, either imported or locally manufactured, of precious stones, such as banded agate, carnelian, crystal and amethyst were also found. In forms; they are hemispherical, cylindrical, ellipsoid, square or rectangular. Sometimes their sides or the surface were fluted.† Casting on metal was practised; and the copper wheel of a toy cart was also found.

But it is the humble potters' art—that furnishes us with the rich imagination and aesthetic sense of the people. The clay figurines may conveniently be divided into three classes—human and animal. The third class consisted of images such as the phallus of Siva. The first class again is an untapped source as far as studies on dress, costumes, head dresses, ornaments and customs of the people of Champaran are concerned. The human figurines again can be easily subdivided into two groups; male and female. It is the last group which is most interesting and worth studying. It is a pity that Professors in our Universities do not encourage the students to take up these investigations which would fill many hiatuses in the cultural history of India. One figure has a bulged gown and disc shaped ornaments for the head. It resembles a figure found at Bulandibagh in Patna district (B. 1916 of Patna Museum).‡

Another woman, standing with her hands on her hips, is an interesting type. A clay mould of this figure was also found, to prove that these were moulded. Another has a female figure with two wings. Subjectively they can be ascribed to c. second or first century B. C.

Most of the women figures found in 1936-37 wear in the ear *patra-kundalas*. The heads are distinguished by variety and expression indicating modelling. There are some crude figures, showing a mother and a baby. It is very difficult to determine their sectarian

* *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1936-37, p. 64.*

† *Ibid* 1935-36, plate XXIII, figs. K to N.

‡ *Ibid*, 1935-36, p. 64, plate XXII. figs. O and M.

identity. They might be Hindu or Jain-Agnila, or Buddhist-Hariti, goddesses of children. Amongst animal figurines the figures of Ram and Elephant deserve mention. An interesting piece, was a silver ring. It is inlaid with two pieces of gold foil, on one of which is seated a female figure in *repousse*.

In the present stage of our knowledge it is difficult to state what was the exact political condition of Champaran during the Sunga and Kanva periods. On the evidence furnished by the Ayodhya inscription of Pushyamitra, where he has been described as the lord of Kosala, we might safely infer that Champaran was included in his kingdom.

In the first century of the Christian era, a new power appears on the political stage of Northern India, known as Kushanas. These were Turks, who migrating from the steppes of Central Asia, had established an empire from the Caspian to the Arabian Sea. The eastern expansion of the Kushana Empire though undoubted still remains a favourite point of controversy with many parochials for whom logic and reason have no value. The evidence is complicated and is based upon find spots of coins and inscriptions in various parts of north-eastern India. In addition to these, there is the evidence of the Roman geographer Ptolemy, who refers to a people called Mandaloy who ruled over Pataliputra and Tamralipta areas. Dr. B. C. Sen wants to equate *Mandaloy* with *Mandaladhipati*. But *Mandaloy* seems to be the same as *Maroundai* mentioned by Ptolemy; and as suggested by Sri S. K. Bose, may have played no insignificant part in the politics of Eastern India, after the disintegration of the Kushana Empire.*

Maroundai was Latin for *Murundas* meaning Saka lords, equivalent to Sanskrit *Svamin*.†

But so far, in all our discussions, the term "Eastern India" has been used in a very vague sense; and no efforts seem to have been made, to find out, whether outlying districts like Champaran, Darbhanga, Saharsa were included in it. Several places in Champaran, have yielded copper coins. Sri Ganesh Chaubey of Bangari, found few copper coins which included those of Vima-Kadphises and those of Huvishka. Coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were found at Nandangarh. At Bediban, a village near Mehsi, on the Motihari-Muzaffarpur road and about half a mile north-east of the Pipra railway station, five copper coins were found and forwarded by the Subdivisional Officer, Sadar, Motihari, to Sri S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S. According to him two of these coins were Kushana issues and one of

* *Indian Culture*, Vol. III. p. 727 ff.

† The whole evidence has been summarised and discussed in the Eastern Expansion of the Kushana Empire—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 294—303, and *Kushanas in Eastern India—Journal of the Numismatic Society of* Vol. XIII, p. 107 ff.

them definitely that of Kanishka.* The recorded find spots of the inscriptions mentioning Kanishka, come up to Saheth-Maheth, in the ancient Kosala country. About this king, it is said that he carried off to Gandhara, the famous 'alms bowl' of Buddha about first century A. D.† It is quite possible, therefore, that Champaran was included in the empire of the Kushanas from Kanishka up to Huvishka after which it came to be ruled by small scythian lords.

On the dissolution of the vast Kushana Empire, a member of the clan of Banphar Rajputs, rose to certain pre-eminence, in the third century of the Christian era. It has been suggested, that these Banphar Rajputs, might have been connected with Vanaspara, mentioned in the Sarnath image inscription of Emperor Kanishka, dated the third regnal year, equivalent to 81 A. D. According to late Sir George Grierson, the home of the Banphar Rajputs seem to have been modern Buxar.‡ A member of this community named Visvasphani was endowed with great prowess; and originally a ruler of Magadha, exercised a sort of imperial authority. His policy was based on the extermination of the old ruling families; and the substitution in their place of a new order.** According to the Pauranic tradition he committed suicide by drowning himself in the Ganges. The third century of the Christian era is indeed a dark age in Indian history and unless systematic excavations in the well-known historical sites have been carried out to garner a mass of evidence, it will always remain so. Two largest empires in the Northern India and Peninsular region, viz., the Kushana and the Andhra empires had gone the way of Nineveh and Tyre with the consequence that the whole country must have been parcelled out amongst small princes. Towards the beginning of the fourth century A. D., Eastern India again takes the lead, towards integrity, unity and prosperity of India. That is the fundamental role of Eastern India, which no imperial historian can deny. Again and again, it has made its debut amidst chaos and shambles of empires, to stand for a united India, peace, law and order and cultural development.

During this period of darkness two other persons, each known from a single record, separated from each other by hundreds of miles appear and far from solving the puzzle creates a tangled skein. The first is the inscription, on the celebrated Iron Pillar, now to be found within the court of the mosque, built by Qutb-ud-din Aibak at Meharauli, a village in the neighbourhood of New Delhi. The sovereign is here called "Chandra" who fought a battle in the Vanga country and also defeated the Vahlikas (some people hailing

* *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XII, p. 166, foot-note 1.

+ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1913, pp. 627—650, 1914. pp. 79—88; 95—102; 369—382; 403—410; 748—751.

‡ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1920, p. 150.

** Dr. B. C. Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions in Bengal*, p. 199.

from Balkh). His fame is reputed to have reached the southern sea. The other inscription is to be found on the Susunia hill, in the Bankura district of Bengal, 17 miles south-west of the Raniganj railway station; and about 12 miles north-west of Bankura town. This record consisting of three lines mentions a Maharaja Chandravarman, whose father was also a Maharaja, who was the lord of Pushkarana (modern Phokhara, in the Bankura district close to Susunia hill). We do not know, however, whether their kingdoms included Champaran or not. About 319-20 A. D., Magadha woke up after three long centuries of slumber, once more to take its place in the vanguard of national armies and its rise again brought independence, self-realisation and glory to the people of Northern India. Once again Magadha became the mistress of an empire which extended from the western to the eastern sea, and from the foot of the Himalayas to the banks of Narmada. The dynasty which brought about this change, are known as the Imperial Guptas of Magadha founded by Chandragupta I, who married a Lichchavi princess and their son Samudragupta was the real founder of the empire. In the Allahabad fort, there is an edict bearing pillar of Emperor Asoka, on which Samudragupta also got inscribed an account of his early career. From this we can infer that no part of southern and western India was included in his dominions; only the north-eastern corner of Malwa was undoubtedly in his occupation. Kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa, Nepala and Kartripura are mentioned as princes on the frontiers. Samatata is South-Eastern Bengal, Kamarupa is lower Assam, Nepal is too well-known to require any clarification while Kartripura belong to the Kangra valley ancient *Kiradesa*. Therefore, the empire of Samudragupta, was bounded on the east by the Gangetic delta and Assam and on the north by the valleys of Nepal and Kangra. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Champaran was included in the Gupta empire. Gupta age has justly been regarded not merely as the golden age of Indian culture, but as a *renaissance*, due to the transformation in the ideals of the people of Northern India in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era. This transformation was based on an assimilation of what was old, an elimination of what was exotic and foreign; and finally a synthetic production of something entirely new, which was essentially Indian. Unfortunately, due to lack of excavations and investigations in the villages where ancient copper plates or inscriptions on stone may still exist, the history of Champaran in this glorious age is imperfectly known.

It was in their time that Fa-hian, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India about 400 A. D. The next mention of this part of the country occurs in the itinerary of Sung-yun who visited India in 518 A. D., found the north-western portion in the possession of race of Huns. The question whether the Huns were ever able to extend their dominions beyond Malwa is a moot point. The references to the inscriptions of Kumargupta I and Skandagupta to the Huns possibly

indicate that the clashes occurred in Madhya Bharat and not in Eastern India.

Champaran along with Tirhut was possibly annexed by Harsha when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India. On the death of Harsha in 648 A.D., his empire disintegrated and Arjuna, one of his ministers usurped the throne. Meanwhile the Chinese Emperor had sent an embassy through Tibet under Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleague. Arjuna with all the qualities of an upstart had the short-sightedness to attack the embassy. The leaders however had the good luck to escape into Nepal by night; and obtain reinforcements from the Tibetan king whom we shall have occasion to discuss later. With the small army placed at his disposal by the Tibetan and the Nepalese governments, Wang-hiuen-tse descended on the plains of Videha and succeeded in storming the capital. Three thousand of the garrisons were beheaded and ten thousand persons were drowned in a nearby river. Arjuna made good his escape, collected a fresh army, offered battle and was again disastrously defeated. The victor beheaded about one thousand prisoners and captured the entire royal family. He took twelve thousand prisoners, obtained thirty thousand heads of cattle and Arjuna was carried off in chains to distant China. Wang-hiuen-tse again visited India in 657 A. D. probably through Nepal and possibly by the old pilgrim route through the Bhikna Thoree pass and then travelled through Vaisali, Bodhgaya, etc.

Nepal which had been integrated with Harsha's Empire regained its independence. But it was soon to lose it to a new power which had arisen in the tablelands of Tibet. Some time between 581 and 600 A. D., a chief Loun-tsanso-loung-tsan united the hilly tribes in the south-eastern frontier of India and founded the kingdom of Tibet. His son Srong-btsan-sgam-po was a great conqueror and extended his dominion in all directions. He married a Chinese princess and came to the aid of Wang-hiuen-tse as already stated. He compelled the King of Nepal to give his daughter in marriage to him and for nearly two hundred years Nepal remained a vassal state of Tibet. He took full advantage of the anarchy following the defeat of Arjuna to extend his dominion in India and not only added Assam to his previous conquest of Nepal but also is said to have been master of nearly half of India. Leaving aside these exaggerations we may take it for granted that modern Champaran, Darbhanga, Purnea and Saharsa were all included in his empire along with Basti, Gorakhpur and Deoria in U. P.*

He died about 650 A. D., and was succeeded by his grandson Ki-li-pa-pon (G. 650 to 679 A.D.), who was able to maintain his

The account that follows is taken from *Sylvain Levi—Le Lepal*, Tomes I and II, pp. 164 ff. and 173 ff. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar holds different views regarding the conquest of Wang Hieun-tse (*The Classical Age*, Vol. III).

hold over the Indian dominions. That Nepal was included in the Tibetan empire is proved by the Lagantol inscription of Sivadeva dated in 119 of some unknown era. But during the troublesome period of minority and natural regency regimes that followed, China conquered the provinces from Tibet; and while the Tibetan king was busy defending his empire in the Central Asian desert, Indian provinces revolted. The revolt in Nepal like that of Ur-Nina of Ur in Mesopotamia against Hammurabi was put down with an iron hand. The evidence is supplied by the name of the Nepalese king Aramudi who according to Kalhana opposed Jayapida, king of Kashmir. Stein rejected the episode as not based upon truth; but Levi has shown that the name of the king is Tibetan. In the first half of ninth century A. D., the Tibetan King Khri-lde-srong-bstan is credited as ruling over an empire extending from Inner Mongolia in the north to the Ganges.

EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD.

The commencement of the mediæval age in India found eastern India in possession of the Palas of Bengal. In the reign of Devapala deva or that of his successor Tirabhukti was still included in this empire because in his seventeenth year Narayanapala granted the village of Kalasapota in Tirabhukti to the *Ro. acharyas*. Towards the end of the tenth century A. D., Gangeyadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty conquered Champaran. This was followed by an invasion of Vikramaditya, the son of the Chalukya Emperor Somesvara I (1040–1069 A. D.). Accompanying him were several military adventurers from the Carnatic. One of these founded the Sena dynasty of Bengal and the other was progenitor of the Carnatic dynasty of Mithila with the capital at Simraon in the Indo-Nepal border. Thus one of the records of Chalukya Emperor Somesvara III—Bhulokamalla dated in 1162 A. D., states that Nepal was included within his empire.* Naturally, therefore, Champaran did not escape his attention. The Kalachuri King Bijjala who defeated and deposed Tailapa III, the son and successor of Somesvara III is credited in an epigraph dated in 1200 A. D., for having disturbed the peace of Nepal. The Managoli inscription states that Yadava Jaitugi (1191–1210 A. D.) defeated the leaders of the armies of Nepal. These repeated invasions seem to have disturbed the political equilibrium in these frontier lands of North-Eastern India and paved the way for the foundation of the Carnatic kingdom in Mithila. According to the Nepalese tradition, Nanyadeva captured the whole of Nepal and established his capital at Bhatgaon. The truth lies probably in the fact that Nanyadeva was able to establish some sort of political influence over Nepal. The successful career of Nanya, however, was eclipsed by Vijayasena of Bengal; but his *faineant* successors continued to hold Champaran for the next two hundred years. Nanya was succeeded by Gangeyadeva not to be confused with the ruler of the

* *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XI, p. 268.

same name of the Kalachuri dynasty. He was followed by Nrisimhadeva, who was succeeded by Ramasimhadeva. Sakti Simha came to the throne after Ramasimha who was followed by Bhupala Simha. The last king was Harisimha when the city of Simraon with its series of defences were given up to loot and plunder. In the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. India faced a foreign invasion, like of which it had not met since the Hun invasion in the fifth century A. D. In the magnitude of devastation, massacre, loot, rapine and arson it still stands unparalleled in the history of the world except the fate suffered by Constantinople at the hands of the Turks. Tirabhukti and Champaran, however, remained unaffected, for the time being.

Achievements of the Carnatic (Karnataka) Dynasty of Simraon.

From Purushapura (mod. Peshawar) to Kamarupa (south-eastern Assam), the major portion of *Aryavartta* had been overrun by the Turks, but the small tract of land bounded by the Ganges, the Kosi and the Gandak had been able to maintain its independence. This was no small achievement of the people of Champaran under leadership of the Carnatic kingss; if we remember the fact that the present West Pakistan, the East Punjab, Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj, Benares, Southern Bihar, Southern Bengal were all conquered by the Turks. That is why, the dynasty founded by Nanyadeva is so important, in the history of India, yet very little information about them are available. The Nepalese inscriptions contradict themselves and even the line of succession given above is by no means final. When Magadha, Gauda and Vanga, had been conquered, crowds of scholarly Brahmins and Buddhist Bhikshus sought shelter in this small area which had remained the only refuge of Hindus and Hinduism. Like the Huguenots in France, their migration to avoid an inevitable doom resulted in a rich and glorious harvest. Darbhanga, Champaran, Purnea, Saharsa, all these districts, which are now regarded as backward, became the most renowned centres of Sanskrit learning like Benares under the Gahadavalas and Jaunpur under the Sharqi kings. The first scholar to attempt a systematic history of the Carnatic dynasty on a scientific basis was the late M. Chakravarty.* Among those who made Mithila great in the hour of India's shame may be mentioned Chandessvara Thakur and his collaterals, Dattopadhyaya, Bhava Sharma, Harinath Upadhyaya, Indrapati and Lakshmipati, etc. They made Mithila the centre of *Nyaya* studies. Padmanabha Datta and his pupils initiated a new system in the study of grammar. Bhanudatta Misra was responsible for compiling many works on sex-psychology and prosody. Jyotirishvara composed a book on the Maithili language called *Varnaratnakara* and Bhava Datta composed a commentary on *Naishadhacharitam*.

* *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (H.), Vol. XI, pp. 407—33.

But the glories of the Carnatic dynasty went out in shame and disaster. Hardy barbarians from Delhi under the leadership of Ghyas-ud-din Tughluq swept over the smiling plains of Champaran. The only account available of the last tragic acts are from *Feristah* :—

“As the king (Ghyas-ud-din) was passing near the hills of Tirhut the Rajah appeared in arms, but was pursued into the 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 zeal 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 invaded the place, filled the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks.”

MUSLIM PERIOD.

The first definite reference to Tirhut in Muslim *Annals*, is found in the reign of Sultan Ghyas-ud-din Iwaz (1213—1227 A. D.). The earliest reference to Tirhut as a feudatory state of the Khalji Malik of Lakhnawati is met with in *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (English tr. page 586). Even at that time it merely paid occasional tribute. In 1321 A. D., there is a reference in a Persian work to Tirhut. It states that Emperor Ghyas-ud-din Tughlaq (1320—1324 A. D.) had marched towards Lakshmanavati and Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal had met him at some undefined place in Tirhut.* By 731 H. (1330 A. D.) Tirabhukti was already annexed to the Tughlaq empire, because, a copper coin was issued from Tughlaqpur in Tirhut. At that time Mohammad Tughlaq was ruling in Delhi.† The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal drew our attention to a Nepalese inscription which refers to a Muslim invasion of Nepal.‡ Sri S. V. Sohoni, however, states “Before this inscription was recorded, i.e., before 1346 A. D., Tughlaq Shah Ghazi conquered Tirhut in 1324 A. D., from Raja Harisinghdeo whose Raj was restored to him in 1325 A. D., when Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq succeeded his father. Harisingh's capital was at Harisinghpur (in what is now P.-S. Bahera, in Darbhanga Sadar subdivision)”.

Tabakat-i-Akbari (p. 244) states that Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah (1339—1358 A. D.) had conquered all the territories up to Banaras. It was probably on this occasion that Nepal and Champaran was invaded; and *Suratrana Samsdina* along with a large Bengal army refers to this king and not to Tughlaq invasion. The Tughlaq occupation of a part of Champaran, however, is also proved by the

* Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 234 and R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 91 ff.

† H. N. Wright's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 60. no. 384.

‡ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXII, p. 81 ff.

Bediban inscription of Mohammad-ibn-Yussuf.* Because in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi* (pp. 586—88) it is stated that Firoz Shah hearing of Shams-ud-din's invasion of Tirhut and Nepal arrived at Gorakhpur from Delhi along the route on the northern bank of the Ganges. Shams-i-Siraj Afif states that he had forded Kosi in Champaran. (*Elliot's History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 293-94.)

With the advent of the Tughlaqs, we find a new dynasty replacing the Simraon rulers. The Tughlaq emperors placed Tirhut under Kamesvara, founder of the Sugaon or the Thakur dynasty. He was a Brahmin and *Rajapandita* as mentioned by Vidyapati in his *Dana-Vakyauali*. The dynasty continued of rule over Tirhut till the sixteenth century A. D. *Kirttilata* mentions that Kamesvara was deposed by Firoz Shah Tughlaq in favour of his son Bhogisvara. The Afghan conquest of Tirhut and Champaran swept over the land like a tropical thunderstorm without being able to sweep away the traditional Hindu organisations. So long as the Hindu rulers acknowledged the Muslim ruler by paying an annual tribute, they practically remained independent. Kirtti Singh, second in descent from Bhogisvara, was also a younger son who obtained the *gadi* from the emperor. The most renowned member of this dynasty was Siva Singha, a patron of Vidyapati, his queen was Lakshmidēvi. He is reported to have built his capital at Sivasinghapura. In 1402 A. D., Siva Singha seems to have refused to pay tribute and succeeded in maintaining his independence. He appears to have struck gold coins in his name.† But his triumph was short lived and within a few years he was defeated and carried off to Delhi; while his wife Lakshma, accompanied by the poet Vidyapati took refuge in Nepal, where she seems to have committed *sati*, when for long twelve years no news was received of her consort. A copper plate grant dated in V. S. 1455 (1398), S. E. 1321 (1398 A. D.) and 292 L. S.** has been found. It records the grant of village of Bisapi to the poet Vidyapati. ‡ Siva Singha was succeeded by his younger brother Padma Singha who was succeeded by Harasinghadeva mentioned by Vidyapati in his *Vibhagasa*.

R. D. Banerji thought it was at this time that another Brahmin dynasty separated Mithila from Tirhut and established a separate kingdom with capital at an unknown place in Champaran. The names of only three princes of this dynasty are known. First was Prithvi Singh in whose reign a copy of *Devimahatmya* was made in 1492 V. S. (1435 A. D.) and the colophon of this manuscript preserved in the Darbar Library, Nepal, mentions the prince and his capital "Champakaranya". Possibly he was succeeded by Sakti Singh, who

* *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLI, p. 164.

† *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, pp. 248 f.

** *Lakshmana Samvat*. The Christian equivalent would be 1398 A.D.

‡ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1895, pt. III, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 190.

in his turn was followed by Madana Singha. This prince is mentioned in the colophon of two manuscripts with his *Viruda*, *Daitya narayana*. These are a copy of *Amarakosha* copied at Champakaranya in 1511 V. S. (1454 A. D.) and the second a *Narasinghapurana* copied in the village of Sipahakataka, in Gorakhpur. Both these manuscripts are now in the Darbur Library, Nepal. Madana Singha issued copper coins which have been found at various places in U. P., Gorakhpur and the Punjab.* They have on the obverse the name of the king while on the reverse "Champakaranya" is mentioned.

We had noted that in Tirhut Padma Singha was succeeded by Hari Singha, who was followed by his son Nara Singha mentioned by Vidyapati, Vachaspati Misra, Misaru Misra and Gadadhara *Tantrapradipa*. He had two wives, Dhiramati and Hiradevi. He was succeeded by one of his sons Dhirasinghadeva. It was during his reign that Vidyapati composed his last work *Durgabhaktitarangini*. His younger brother is supposed to have defeated a King of Gauda. Bhairava Sinha succeeded Dhirasinha. His queen was Jayatma, being the mother of Purushottamadeva. He was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. Bhairaba Sinha was succeeded by Ramabhadra *alias* Rupanarayana. Ramabhadra was succeeded by his son Lakshminathadeva or *alias* Kamsanarayana. During his rule, Tirhut was attacked from the east by Sultan Alla-ud-din Hussain Shah of Bengal and from the west by Sikandar Lodi. In the treaty that was concluded in 1496 between the Sultans of Delhi and Bengal, Tirhut and Magadha fell to the share of Lodi Sultan. Sikandar Lodi then attacked Tirhut and made the prince a tributary chief. But in 1530 A. D., Nasrat Shah, son of Alla-ud-din Hussain Shah attacked Tirhut, annexed the territory and killed the Raja.†

Nasrat Shah in 1519–1532 A. D., appointed his son-in-law Viceroy of Tirhut and thence forward the country continued to be ruled by the Muslims. A spirited account of Sikandar Lodi's Champaran campaign is to be found in a Persian work known as *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* by Sheikh Rizquilla Mushtaki. While the last Hindu kingdom in Bihar was being extirpated by the Afghans, their own dusk had arrived. In 1526 A. D. on the fateful battle field of Panipath, Barlas Turk Babar shattered the glories of the Lodi's and many noble Afghans migrated to Bengal to escape the yoke of the Timurids. After this, Champaran does not come into prominence until the last days of Mughal rule when it is evident that it continued to be ruled by semi-autonomous Hindu princes. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions Champaran as a *Sircar* with three *mahals*, the area in *bighas* being 85,711, yielding revenue of 1,37,835 *siccas*. The assessment was made under the supervision of Raja Todarmal. After Akbar

* V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 295, nos. 1—3 and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Old Series Vol. LXVI, 1897, Pt. I, p. 310.

† Dr. Jadu Nath Sarkar's view will be found in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 145-46.

Champaran as a *Sircar* is mentioned in the reign of Aurangzeb again, as yielding a revenue of 2,10,151 *sicca* rupees. *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, a work written in the seventeenth century, mentions that in the *Sircar* of Champaran they sow the seed of the vetch *mash* without ploughing the soil, and it grows without the labour of cultivation. The long pepper grows abundantly in its jungle.

In 1729 Alivardi Khan who had been appointed his Deputy by Shuja-ud-din arrived in Patna with five thousand men. (J. N. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb*, 1901.)

Before Alivardi the imperial Viceroy of Bihar was Fakhr-ud-daulah; and Alivardi inherited a thorny pro-consul's crown from him. The whole province was in an anarchic state and the zamindars were turbulent and rebellious. What is more, a band of wandering people called the *Banjaras* in the guise of innocent travellers and traders, plundered the imperial domains. Amongst the zamindars, was the Rajah of Bettiah. The Bettiah estate like many of its contemporaries was not a landlordism purchased in a collectorate auction with the protection of British bayonets. It was carved out, towards the end of the sixteenth century, by one Ugrasena Singh, who according to the family records had a son named Gaja Singh. This Gaja Singh received the title of Raja from Emperor Shahjahan (1628–1658 A. D.). The Persian historiographers describe the Raja as extremely spirited, whose territory had never been entered, either by the army of the Nazims or that of the Subahdars. Alivardi Khan reached Champaran; and found the area in complete disorder. The shrewd governor of Bihar, enlisted the Darbhanga Afghans in his army, and first chastised the predatory *Banjaras* obtaining an immense booty from them. Having liquidated the *Banjaras*, Alivardi proceeded against the Rajah of Bettiah. Raiding and pillaging his territory, Alivardi was able to humble the Raja and collected several lakhs in specie and other effects. He settled with the Raja, the amount of annual tribute and the imperial revenues to be paid by the latter.

The second visit of Alivardi to Champaran was due to the Afghan insurrection of 1748. Under the leadership of Mustafa Khan, they murdered Alivardi's son-in-law Zain-ud-din, at Patna who was then the Governor of Bihar under Alivardi and captured Patna. Alivardi recovered Patna, defeated the allied Marhatta and Afghan armies then under Shamsher Khan. The women of Shamsher Khan's family had been kept under the protection of the Raja of Bettiah. This led to Alivardi's second visit to Champaran. The Raja of Bettiah had learnt his lesson and handed over the widow and daughter of Shamsher Khan to Nawab's officer without any resistance. The ladies were however treated with great courtesy by Alivardi. Thus ended Alivardi's reign.

In 1760, Champaran again witnessed the march of contending armies. On this occasion Prince Ali Gauhar, later on known as Emperor Shah Alam, was invading Bihar; and Khadim Hussain, the

then Governor of Purnea, marched out with a large army to join the son of his *de jure* sovereign. By that time Siraj had been defeated and killed; and the traitor Mirzafar was ruling as the stooge of the British. Captain Knox of the East India Company and defeated Khadim Hussain before he could establish contact with the Prince at Hajipur; and the frustrated Governor fled towards Bettiah. Shortly afterwards, the force under Major Caillaud and Miran set out in pursuit. On 25th June, the governor's army was defeated and retreated leaving behind their guns, a quantity of ammunitions and all their heavy luggages. The monsoon had set in, the Gandak was in flood; and Khadim Hussain failed to procure boats to cross it. He, therefore, fell back towards the hills, pursued by Miran and his English Commander. In the primeval jungles of Champaran, the Governor's forces lost their bearing and were dispersed in the dense forest. Before them was a big river, at their back was the relentless enemy. But fortune, however, smiled on them, because, Miran was killed by lightning when sleeping in his tent at a place near Bettiah. Major Caillaud moved the army before the fort of Bettiah, received the submission of the Raja and then returned to Patna. But the Bengal authorities had, however, not seen the last of Bettiah. Mir Kasim, who had been made the Subadar of Bihar and Bengal by Prince Ali Gauhar, who was crowned Emperor of India on some English dining tables in the opium factory of Patna, decided to secure the strong and strategic fortress of Bettiah; and to test the efficiency of the new regiments trained by his Armenion General Gurgin Khan. It was this General, who built the magnificent mansion on the Pirpahar hill, in the suburbs of Monghyr, between Monghyr and Sitakund. His ultimate object, however, was to establish complete control over the frontier districts of Bihar. Bahadur Ali Khan was given the command of the expedition. Bettiah was easily captured in March, 1762. Mir Kasim then availed himself of this opportunity, to remain away from the English in Murshidabad, on the pretext of establishing order in that region and to set out on an ill-conceived expedition against Nepal.

Early in January, 1763, the Nawab invaded Nepal. The grand army was led as usual by Gurgin Khan, though it was ill-equipped, badly planned and badly led. The bankruptcy of statesmanship in Mir Kasim, the most unfortunate Nawab of Bengal, is nowhere more evident than in this Nepal expedition. He had not calculated even the difficulties of terrain; and obstacles that his army would have to face in an unknown mountainous country. The possible factors that led him to approve of this doubtful project was most probably the desire to test his troops trained in European fashion before he fought the English. What is more, the cupidity of the Nawab had been roused by alluring reports that represented Nepal as exceedingly rich country abounding in gold and other valuables. The trade between Bihar and the trans-Himalyan regions that passed through Nepal was not a small inducement.

Gurgin Khan and his army entered the mountains of Nepal by the valley of the Kurra, while the Nawab remained at Bettiah. The unfortunate General reached up to Makhhanpur, which stood on the ridge dominating the valley of the Kurra. Here fate again dealt an unkind blow on the dreams of Mir Kasim and Gurgin Khan. After some early successes the Nawab's army was routed and made an unsuccessful and precipitate retreat to the bottom of the pass. A large number were killed during the retreat and the force lost almost all their guns and ammunitions. This decided the Nawab to withdraw. The Nepal expedition, not only caused a heavy drain on the resources of the Nawab, in respect of money and man power; but demoralised his army. The Nawab's own prestige was sorely affected.

In 1764, after the fateful battle of Buxar, the whole of Champaran passed with the rest of Bengal to the East India Company. But, Champaran, the land of the Janakas and hallowed with the memory of the Aryan sages, did not submit tamely and a campaign was necessary, before the authority of the East India Company could be established over this marchland of North-Eastern India. In the beginning of 1766, Sir Robert Barker started from Bankipur with the major portion of his brigade to Bettiah, to reduce the "Chiefs", called refractory zamindars, who taking advantage of the troubles, had shut themselves up in their forts and refused to pay revenue to the Company. Some little resistance appeared to have been offered, but the futility of such ill-organized attempts being evident, within a few months Barker was able to subjugate Champaran.

The history of this period was not a peaceful one. It was essentially an age of transition; and coupled with the ignorance of the rulers, there were natural calamities like famine, pestilence, etc., to distract a hapless people. The Raja of Bettiah, who for generations was habituated in living in practically complete independence, did not find it easy to submit to the new masters, as well as to pay revenues regularly, which was never the custom with his ancestors. Therefore, he revolted and fought with the forces of the Company; was defeated, and fled to Bundelkhand for safety and his estate was confiscated. But the change was for the worse, as far as people of Champaran was concerned; and in 1771, Mr. Golding, the Supervisor of *Sarkar* Champaran, advised the Government for restoration.

Regarding the natural resources of Champaran Sir Robert Barker, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated from Camp at Rampur, 6th March 1766, gave a very favourable account of the resources of this district, with which even at the present time we are but scantily acquainted. He observes: 'Bettiah will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the jungles); timber as large as any I have seen; musk and elephants'

teeth; besides many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of.' The Select Committee reported this circumstances to the Court of Directors, stating that they looked upon it 'rather as an article of curious intelligence than mere prospects of advantage to the Company'. At the same time, they expressed their determination of pushing the discovery to the utmost advantage, if the advices received met with confirmation.

RELATIONS WITH NEPAL.

In the meantime important changes were taking place in the neighbouring state of Nepal. The age-old Newar dynasty was being swept away by a new race of people called the "Gurkhas", under Prithvinarayana. From immemorial times, this area had always been a border land, between the two countries, divided amongst the petty Rajas with their fortified castles. A chief possessing castles in the fastnesses of the hills, could also enforce contributions, by issuing out of it and carrying off booty from those who did not comply in the plains. Hence every hill Raja had a sweep, of the forest belt and low country attached to his estate, which he continually attempted to extend either by intrigue or by violence. With the advent of the Gurkhas a new situation had developed, as each Raja in the hills successively fell before them, they were exterminated and becoming heir to all their estates, the Gurkhas took up the claims and contests of the old hill Chiefs. The zamindars in the plain were unable to withstand these hill men. With some sort of national Government or even under a well organised central power, the matter could have been amicably settled, as has always been the case, whenever there was a strong authority to look after the interests of Champaran. Opportunities were not lacking for the unscrupulous officers of the East India Company to start a cold war with Nepal which had so far remained independent and what was more quite unamenable to the Company's ambitions.

One of these was the quarrel between the Raja of Bettiah, whom they had dispossessed and the Raja of Makhwanpur, for the possession of different portions of the *terai* and a part of the *Simraon pargana*. In 1763, Prithvinarayana having subdued the Raja of Makhwanpur claimed to have succeeded to his rights. The real motive of the British, however, was to penetrate into Nepal, in the search of trade which had been interrupted for some years in consequence of the subjugation of Makhwanpur. In 1767, the last Newar Raja of Kathmandu being very hard pressed by the Gurkhas, appealed to the British for assistance; and Mr. Golding, the British Agent, fearing that the success of the Gurkhas would ruin the trade with Nepal recommended that the opportunity should be taken to send an expedition to help the Newar Raja. The officers of the East India Company certainly could not miss such a golden opportunity and an expedition under Major Kinloch started to the relief of the king.

The British army advanced into the hills in October, 1767, but found that without a chain of forts to secure their communications with the plains, it was not possible to make any further advance.—What is more, having penetrated as far as Hariharpur, Kinloch was detained there by torrent, which carried away a bridge and raft which Kinloch had constructed. The delay exhausted the British supplies, while enervating climate started sickness amongst the soldiers and Kinloch had to return in December, the very time when he should have set out. The dovescotes of the East India Company in Calcutta fluttered, because, the Directors will not be convinced that the heavy expenses of the expedition was a *bona fide* expenditure. To recoup these losses, in January, 1768, Kinloch was ordered to occupy the whole *terai*.

In the meanwhile, the Gurkhas continued to present yearly to the British Government a large elephant as tribute for the cultivated low lands occupied by them until 1801 when this tribute was relinquished by a treaty at Danapur, by which the Nepalese agreed to the establishment of a Residency at Kathmandu. Champaran was the usual route for all such dealings. The alliance, however, dissolved in 1804 in consequence of alleged breach of faith and the alleged indignities suffered by the Resident similar to Kabul at a later date. He possibly considered himself as a greater authority than the ruling sovereign to whom he had been accredited. Frontier disputes added to the advantage of the British. In 1811, one Lakshmangir, the Gurkha Governor of Rautahat, crossed the frontier, seized the stockaded Kewaya and began plundering and making collections in the neighbourhood. The Raja of Bettiah's people resisted and in the fighting that followed Lakshmangir was killed. The Company's Government ordered an enquiry but before the investigating officer could reach Champaran, further encroachments were alleged to have been made. Commissioners were appointed by both the Governments to investigate all the frontier disputes; and Major Bradshaw was the British Commissioner with the instruction to insist on the restitution of all the villages seized by Lakshmangir. The condition was agreed to; but when he pressed to open the enquiry, the Nepalese Commissioner having been offended by Major Bradshaw refused to enter into any discussion with him, and suddenly returned to Kathmandu. Lord Hastings, thereupon, threatened forcible occupation of the lost territory if they were not evacuated by a fixed date; and the Gurkhas naturally having refused, the British occupied the villages in 1814. War was declared on 1st November 1814.

An arduous campaign ensued, but little fighting took place near this district. The plan of campaign provided for the main attack being delivered through passes between the great Gandak and Baghmati by a force of nearly 8,000 men, with a strong contingent of artillery, under General Marley; while another brigade was to follow this army and secure its depots and rear as it advanced into

the hills. Before these forces took the field, Major Bradshaw, the British Commissioner, who was in military charge of the frontier and the disputed lands of Simraon, advanced against the Nepalese post of Barharwa prior to occupying the whole of the *terai*. The attack was successful, and the *terai* was evacuated by the Gurkhas and occupied by the British troops. The headquarters of the Champaran Light Infantry was fixed at Baragarhi and two other stations were established at Samanpur and Parsa. General Marley arrived at the frontier early in December, but he did little more than hold his position. He was staggered by the activity and enterprises of the Gurkhas, and was apprehensive for his train of heavy artillery which was coming up from Bettiah; and eventually he was superseded for incompetence.

On 28th November 1815, however, a treaty was concluded by General Ochterlony, in whose memory the Monument in the maidan at Calcutta was erected and the Nepalese at Sugauli. The ratification of the treaty, however, was withheld by the Nepalese Government and in 1816, General Ochterlony established his headquarters at Sugauli, with 20,000 men, divided into four brigades, one being directed to march through Ramnagar, while the main force under Ochterlony proceeded towards Makhwanpur. Before the superior fighting materials of the East India Company, the Nepalese had to yield; and in March, 1816, the Nepalese delivered the treaty of Sugauli duly signed and executed. By this treaty, the East India Company gained the *terai* between the Rapti and Gandak, excepting Butwal khas and was able to retain the portion between the Gandak and the Kosi which was already in their possession.

After this, till 1840, there was peace on the Champaran frontier. In this year a party of Gurkha troops under the command of an officer entered the Ramnagar territory, and issued a proclamation resuming the territory seven or eight miles wide and 25 to 26 miles in length which had been given to the Ramnagar Raja. Friendly remonstrances having failed, in October, 1840, the government of East India Company ordered the advance of a brigade under Colonel Oliver to occupy the territory by ejecting the Gurkha troops. The *darbar* reluctantly agreed, the Gurkha troops were recalled and the villages restored. A corps of soldiers was, however, retained on the frontier till 1842.

After 1840 there had been great improvement in the Indo-Nepalese relationship. Barring a few minor boundary disputes no major incidents took place to disturb the friendly relations of the two Governments. The Resident of Nepal also played important part for conferring title of Maharaja Bahadur to Nawal Kishore Singh of Bettiah in 1844. Nepal played an important role during the movement of 1857–1859 for the restoration of British sovereignty in Bihar.

There are a large number of references in the old correspondence volumes showing that boundary disputes were common. This was so as the belt of the country in between Nepal and that portion of India was full of jungles and proper boundary marks had not been fixed and the courses of the rivers which often acted as the boundary changed their course. In April, 1844, it was reported by Mr. Yule, the *thiccadar* of Ramnagar (Champaran) that the Nepalese had taken possession of portions of Ramnagar and even realised rents. Due to change in the river course boundary pillars were upset. Resident Lawrence put great emphasis in relaying of the boundary between the two territories. Boundary disputes further arose in 1855, 1866, 1867 and 1877 especially due to the change of the course of the hill streams. In 1867 there was some complaint that the Nepalese had forcibly prevented the British subjects from cutting wood in a forest at the base of the Sumeshwar hills in Champaran district. The Magistrate of Champaran deployed a detachment of police to arrest the encroachers on the ground that Sumeshwar hills formed the boundary of the Champaran district. The matter was, however, settled up.

It would not be out of place to mention here that in early 1888 there occurred internal troubles in Nepal which led to refugees coming over to the bordering districts of India including Champaran. The *darbar* requested for the surrender of the Nepalese refugees who were connected with the recent disturbances in India. Letter no. 26, dated Simla, the 12th June 1888, from H. M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Resident of Nepal, indicates the line adopted by the British Government in India. The letter mentioned that "His Excellency wishes to maintain as far as possible an attitude of strict neutrality between the refugees and the party in power". As a result the refugees in Champaran and Darbhanga who were alleged to be fomenting disturbance in Nepal by their intrigue from India were pursued.

TRADE WITH NEPAL.

Trade relations with Nepal during the period were very close. One of the important trade routes from India to Nepal passed through the route entering the Nepal territory near Kutkenwa in Champaran. The volume of trade was considerable and carried on by pack-ponies, head-load and light carts. Timber used to be floated down the rivers.

From a letter, Fort William, dated 14th January, 1879, it appears that there was reciprocal understanding between the Government of Nepal and the Government of India for exchange of merchandise goods. The letter further mentions that the Government of India agreed to the incidence of Excise Duty levied in Nepal

and that the incidence of duty on the articles on the Oudh frontier which were similar on the Bihar frontier was as follows :—

					Rs. a. p.		
					Per cent.		
<i>Exports from Nepal—</i>							
<i>Ghee</i>	..	..	..	..	12	8	0
Edible grains	..	..	..	..	9	8	0
Wax	..	..	..	..	9	0	0
Spices	..	..	..	..	6	0	0
<i>Imports into Nepal—</i>							
Edible grains	..	..	..	..	9	8	0
Wheat	..	..	..	..	9	6	0
<i>Ghee</i>	..	..	..	..	12	8	0
Metals	..	..	..	..	7	2	0
Cotton	..	..	..	..	6	4	0
Spices	..	..	..	..	6	0	0

Regarding the incidence of Excise Duty, the Collector of Champaran reported that it was so light that on no account it will affect the trade of the two countries. *Foreign Department Secret E. Proceedings*, October, 1890, nos. 88—99, mentions that the amounts of imports and exports in Nepal were reported to be Rs. 1,15,22,935 and Rs. 1,48,88,873, respectively.

Postal.

The earlier postal link with Kathmandu and Calcutta was maintained through the district of Champaran.* It appears that *dak* line from Sugauli to Kathmandu was established for the purpose of keeping up correspondence with the Resident. For the first twenty-five years the carrying of *banghy* parcels even for the Residency establishment was forbidden. The course then pursued was to forward *banghy* parcels for non-Residency consignees by the runners. They carried the mail bag from Sugauli to Moorla and on their return carried the non-Residency *banghy dak* and this process was repeated till the destination at Kathmandu was reached. The route was through Moorla, Raghonathpore, Chapkalia, Tajpore, Semrabassa, Bhimphedi, Thankot and then to Kathmandu.

By the end of 1881 from Sugauli, India's postal links with Nepal had been extended from Ilam to Doty, to Kathmandu and to Kuty on the Tibetan frontier.

Indian postal system was extended to Kathmandu primarily because of administrative exigency in connection with the British Residency there. Motihari and Sugauli were the main clearing houses for the postal *dak* in Kathmandu where an European Postmaster was assigned. The postal system from the points in Champaran district to

* *Foreign Political*, June, 1880, nos. 27—31.

Kathmandu worked directly under the charge of the Postmaster-General, Fort William. There were occasions of an attempted interference by the Resident of Kathmandu with the *dak* system from Motihari and Sugauli but the Postmaster-General held his own against the opinion of the Resident. The Magistrate at Champaran in 1838 was requested to take upon himself the additional burden of running the post offices. He, however, declined and Mr. Morang was posted to Motihari as the Postmaster.

The postal rate depended on the length of the journey. From a letter in 1841 it appears that from Sugauli to Allahabad a letter meant Rs. 5-4-0, to Benares Rs. 3, to Patna Rs. 1-8-0, to Gaya Rs. 3 and to Nepal Rs. 2-12-0.

The Postmaster of Motihari filled an important role in connection with the *dak* to Nepal. The Resident at Kathmandu occasionally used to address the Postmaster of Motihari. It appears that the Director-General of Post Offices of India asked the Postmaster of Motihari to adhere to his orders and arrangements and not to carry out Resident's orders.

After a long correspondence the Resident was informed that the Governor-General in Council saw no reasons to interfere with the existing arrangements by which the Nepal line was maintained from Champaran as a part of the Imperial post. The Director-General was, however, asked to meet the Resident's views as far as possible.

Nepal-Kosi Embankment.

The good relations with Nepal were also seen in Nepal's quick consent to a Kosi embankment in 1891. From the old correspondence volumes it appears that the necessity of controlling the vagary of the river Kosi was realised by the Government of India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century*. The Government of India made a lengthy correspondence with the Government of Nepal for approval to construct a *bund* in Nepal to keep the Kosi in its bed at the cost of Rs. 15,000†. The Prime Minister of Nepal agreed to the proposal as the *bund* was to protect the territory of Nepal for a length of 18 square miles from the ravages of the river Kosi. Unfortunately, there had been heavy rains in the third week of May, 1891, which made the construction of *bund* impossible.

MOVEMENT OF 1857-1859.

Champaran, during the movement of 1857-1859 like the other districts of the then Patna Division, was in a state of ferment. From a letter of the Maharaja of Bettiah addressed to Mr. Tayler, the Commissioner of the Patna Division it is evident that the people of

* *Foreign Department, Proceedings External*, June, 1891, nos. 34-38.

† An extract from the demi-official letter, dated 19th May 1891, from the Hon'ble Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to Secretary.

Champan were seething with discontent. "I observe", he wrote to Tayler on June 9, 1857 "that some evil minded men have studiously given out unfavourable reports that Government have a design to convert their subjects to christianity, which has produced a panic among the people who have actually begun to revolt. I deny their assertions and most truthfully declare that Government have no such designs. The stories are mere inventions of bad men to serve their ends. Now nearly a hundred years the British are the paramount rulers of India, they have in no instance interfered with religion of our fore-fathers; on the contrary, they have allowed us a free exercise of our religious functions and they have further enacted a law that who even scoffs at one's religion or molests one in religious duties should be severely punished". The Maharaja wrote further: "I have proclaimed to my people through my several *tahsildars* the purport of the first paragraph of this letter and have assured them that they must soften their anxiety and fears, as Government have already taken prompt steps to punish the disturbers of the public peace by strong laws and that the disturbances created by the insurgents will soon be settled". The Maharaja was true to his words as he was a staunch supporter of the British Government during the movement of 1857-1859.

The repercussion of the Wahabi movement with Patna as its centre produced a great ferment throughout Bihar. The move of Tayler, the Commissioner of the Patna Division in detaining some prominent Wahabi leaders, produced a widespread commotion throughout the division including the district of Champan.

There was also a strong under-current of disaffection towards the constituted authority in North Bihar due to a firm idea that the administrators and the European indigo planters were hand-in-glove and the cultivator had to cultivate indigo perforce to enrich the indigo planters. From one end of North Bihar to the other there were indigo concerns (*kothis*) within 10 or 15 miles of each other. The cultivators were put to various types of oppression. They had to part with the indigo at a low price while the planters and the middlemen made themselves rich at their cost. It was more paying for them to cultivate the high-priced food crops. The indigo *raiya*s had to pay a number of illegal taxes (*abwabs*). The indigo planters had their Planters' Association and the Bihar Light Horse, which was a sort of defence force consisting of the European and the Anglo-Indians of the district. The meetings of the indigo planters were frequently attended by the administrators. Sometimes the indigo planters were assisted by the administrators in the realisation of the illegal exactions. Under these circumstances, the cultivators naturally had an impression that they had little to hope for from the administrators where the planters were concerned.

The indigo planters and other Europeans in that part were perturbed in the month of June, 1857, due to apprehension of an

outbreak.* Major E. S. Holmes of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, stationed at Sugauli, at the headquarters subdivision of the Champaran district, resorted to highly repressive measures to suppress the movement. We read in a letter from Tirhut, dated the 26th June 1857: "Martial law has been declared throughout the district; and Holmes, at Sugauli, is hanging right and left mostly sepoys, returned from the scene of action laden with booty. Major Holmes declared martial law on his own authority and wrote to the Magistrate of Saran on the 19th June 1857, in a highly dictatorial tone: "My dear MacDonnel, as a single clear head is better than a dozen of confused ones in these times, and as military law is better than civil law in a turbulent country, I have assumed absolute military control from Gorakhpore to Patna, and placed under absolute military rule all that country including the districts of Saran, Champaran and Tirhoot. The Governor-General having requested me to write to him direct, I do so daily and have informed his lordship on this head. I now look all the Magistrates, of these districts to aid me effectually in preserving order and to carry out with strictness..... instruction.†

The Civil Officers concerned though objected to this assumption of arbitrary power by Major Holmes but in practice his instructions and measures were approved in general by the Government of Bengal. It is mentioned in the last District Gazetteer (1930) that "As soon as danger began to threaten Bihar, he wrote to Canning, expressing with great freedom and plainness, the view that stern and instant repression was the only policy for the times. Canning told him in reply that he was entirely wrong, and that his 'bloody, off-hand measures' were not the cure of the disease".

But Major Holmes was determined to follow his policy. Major Holmes was rather exasperating and this led four soldiers killing him and his wife in the evening of 26th July 1857.‡ The regiment then rose, cut down Dr. Garner, Mrs. Garner and one of their children, and Mr. Bennetts, the Deputy Postmaster, and burnt their bungalow. After plundering the treasury, the 12th Irregular Cavalry went off to the North-West *via* Siwan, where the Deputy Magistrate and the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent had a narrow escape**. Mr. Raiks, the Magistrate, left it, with the other civil officers and their families, and took refuge in a factory some miles away; but he returned almost immediately and did not abandon it, even on receipt of the Commissioner's order.

* *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, By Dr. K. K. Dutta, page 23.

† *Ibid*, pp. 23—24.

‡ *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, By Dr. K. K. Dutta, p. 25. But the last District Gazetteer (1930) mentions the date as 26th July.

** Letter from E. A. Samuells to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 25th September 1858.

On the 30th July martial law was declared not only in the northern districts of Champaran, Saran and Tirhut but also in the districts of Patna, Shahabad and Behar, where the movement had assumed a formidable shape. In Champaran, shortly afterwards Honorary Magistrates were appointed from among the indigo-planters, and authorised to raise small bodies of police for the protection of their immediate neighbourhood.

Many of the zamindars of Bihar, whose interests were at one with those of the Company naturally rendered assistance to the latter in the suppression of the movement. The Raja of Bettiah gave valuable service to the Company Government. The Company Government got great help from Nepal. The Raja of Nepal, Jang Bahadur, rendered invaluable assistance at a critical time and helped to restore order in Champaran. Towards the end of December Jang Bahadur with his Nepalese army arrived at Bettiah and on the 26th a fight took place at Sahibganj, five miles from Pipra, between the two regiments sent by Jang Bahadur and a party of rebels, who were completely defeated. On the same day a successful action was brought by Colonel Rowcroft at Sohanpur on the Gorakhpur frontier, and these successes had the effect of bringing peace in the north of the Ganga.

Some Mutineers were finding retreat in Nepal and it may be that some of the sections on the border were sympathetic to the Indian movement in spite of the Nepal Government being against it. On the 5th February 1858, the Resident of Nepal informed the Joint Magistrate of Champaran, the Magistrate of Tirhoot and the Deputy Magistrate of Siwan, that the Nepal *darbar* had decided to keep the mountain pass closed during the ensuing Shivaratri festival which was to commence on the 12th February. This was an obvious move to check the entry of the rebels into Nepal.

Stern measures were taken with the restoration of order. The planters came to their own once again. The Bettiah zamindar was given the title of Maharaja for his loyalty. The bid for throwing off the yoke was crushed for the time being. The movement in Champaran could not pick up the tempo that we see in some other districts in Bihar. The reasons are that the vested interests like that of Bettiah zamindari, the planters, the smaller zamindars were actively engaged in thwarting the movement. The help of Nepal was very timely and actually turned the tide of fortune for the British. The insurgents from Northern India had approached Rana Jang Bahadur that he should not side with "the beef-eaters" and that should he want he could take away the district of Saran (which included Champaran) and add it to his own kingdom. Samuells, the Commissioner of Patna Division, saw the Rana when he was camping at Bettiah and was shown the letter to the Rana regarding the offer of Saran. Rana Jang Bahadur informed the Commissioner that he had

spurned the offer and would stand by the British. Nepal's help was the main reason for the quick restoration of order in Champaran.

FORMATION OF THE PRESENT DISTRICT.

The movement of 1857—1859 had disclosed that the district of Saran which included Champaran at that time was far too unwieldy and the far flung portion of Champaran could not be properly administered from Chapra, the district headquarters. Although Champaran was a part of Saran district a Magistrate had been stationed at Motihari in 1837 and in 1852 the subdivision of Bettiah was created with Bettiah as the headquarters. The later history of the district is in a way the administrative history. But a separate treatment of the nationalist movement in Champaran is indicated. It may, however, be mentioned here that the same administrative exigency saw to the creation of the Tirhut Division in 1908 which comprised the districts in Bihar to the north of Ganga including Champaran.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN CHAMPARAN.

The roots of the nationalist movement in Champaran could clearly be seen in the economic currents in the district. The fertility of the land coupled with the fact that cheap labour was abundantly available early attracted the Europeans to the district. They took interest in trade and commerce of the district and actively participated in saltpetre, opium and indigo business. Their trade associations made them invest very large sum of money and they soon came to acquire vast landed properties within the district. This made them an important factor in the administrative history of the district. Any consolidation of lands and carrying of trade and commerce with a very great profit could only be done by exploiting the land, labour and the administration. It has been mentioned before that the European planters and business men soon came to acquire an enviable status and the common man could hardly distinguish a planter from an administrator. The main problem was in connection with indigo cultivation and indigo manufacture. It is necessary to give a brief history of indigo cultivation in Champaran.

Indigo was an indigenous product of the district but its cultivation was voluntary and confined to very small patches of land and the consumption was mostly internal before the planters came to the scene.

The British demand for Indian indigo revived after the American source was closed on the outbreak of the War of American Independence (1775—1783) and indigo became henceforth a profitable article of export of the English Company from India. "The article of indigo now bears", wrote Milburn in 1813,* "a distinguished rank in the list of Asiatic produce and may be considered the staple

* *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I.

commodity of the private trade from India." A large number of indigo factories consequently sprang up, particularly in different parts of Bengal and Bihar. According to an official account of 1830 (Statement of Henry Shakespear, Judicial Secretary to the Government of Bengal), there were at that time about 1,000 indigo factories in the Bengal Presidency. In Tirhut no fewer than twenty-five factories had been started by 1803. Such factories were established also in the districts of Shahabad, Purnea, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas.

In Champaran, the Europeans started indigo cultivation and factories in the lands which they obtained on leases, temporary or permanent, from the Bettiah Raj and Ramnagar Estates. Colonel Hicky established an indigo factory at Bara in 1813. Subsequently other factories sprang up at Turkaulia, Peepra, Motihari and Rajpore, and because of the factories Europeans began to settle also in the north-western part of the district. One of the reasons why indigo concerns had multiplied was that the Bettiah Raj became encumbered with a heavy debt, for liquidation of which its manager, Mr. T. Gibbon, raised a sterling loan of about 95 lakhs in England on the sole condition of substantive security. For this the Bettiah Raj had to settle portions of its Estate in perpetuity with some European factory owners in place of the temporary leases. The rent was utilised to liquidate the debt. The Ramnagar Estate in Bettiah subdivision also granted such permanent leases, and later on some of the European indigo planters purchased zamindari rights in certain villages. By the end of the nineteenth century about a lakh of acres of the best land in Champaran were under indigo cultivation and at the mercy of the European planters. By the end of the nineteenth century there were indigo factories at Barrah, Jagoulia, Mohowah, Gowandrah, Russelpore, Rajpore, Byreah, Kooriah, Moorla, Hardia, Loheareah, Bagaha, Motihari, Mullayah, Sirsealy, Peeprah, Pursa, Dokraha, Sathi, Seerla, Poornahee, Nawadah, Murpah, Turcowlia, Telhara, Lalseryiah, Rajghaut, Purrwah, Madhupore, Sugauli, etc.*

On the decline of sugar industry by about 1840 the European factory owners gave up sugarcane cultivation in North Bihar from that time and turned exclusively to the more paying concern of indigo plantation. The latter had already been a source of various abuses, and efforts of the Company's Government to restrain these proved to be ineffective. Lord Macaulay wrote near about 1840: "That great evil exists, that great injustice is frequently committed, that many *raiya*ts have been brought partly by the operation of the law, partly by acts committed in defiance of the law, into a state not far removed from that of partial slavery is, I fear, too certain".†

European indigo planters in North Bihar carried on indigo cultivation under two systems—(a) *zerait* and (b) *assamiwar*. Under

* *History of Bihar* by Mindon Wilson.

† *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I.

the *zerait* system, indigo cultivation was under their direct management. They engaged tenant-labourers who were always ill-paid and were discontented. According to the *assamiwar* system, the factory chiefs had the indigo lands cultivated by tenants. The most prevalent method under this system was known as *tinkathia*. The other methods were *khushki* and *kurtauli*. The *kurtauli* method, though not extensively prevalent in Champaran, was highly prejudicial to the interests of the *raiya*s. The Commissioner of Patna observed in 1885: "The *kurtauli* lease is a new institution dating from a very few years back..... There is growing up in our midst and in spite of our efforts at beneficent legislation, a system under which the *ryot* mortgages his entire holding including even the very site of his house for a period probably extending beyond his own lifetime, redemption being contingent on the repayment of a loan; the *ryot*, to use the common expression, is selling himself body and soul into hopeless servitude"* In the *khushki* method, rather uncommon in Champaran, agreements were executed by *ryots* who were not tenants of the factory.

Under the *tinkathia* method, a tenant has to cultivate indigo on three *kathas* per *biga* of his holding or the factory lands during a long period (20 years or even 30 years) and was formally entitled to get a price for it, according to the *sattas* or written agreements. It was calculated to promote the maximum interests of the planters at the cost of tenants.

Coercion on the cultivators for converting their lands into indigo-producing fields, extortion of forced labour from them under all kinds of threats, extremely meagre payment, inflictions of heavy fines for failure to grow indigo for any reason whatsoever, were some of the features of this oppressive system. Their occasional protests and cries for protection against the harsh treatment of the planters were wasted on the air.

The set-up of the tenancy in Champaran was such that a tenant could not walk with an umbrella unfolded within a mile of the *kothi* of the European planters. But it is this very oppression which brought out several martyrs who moved from village to village in 1907-1908 and a secret organisation was set-up in Champaran district to fight the tyranny of the planters. The meek tenant born and brought up in the environs of *tinkathia* and *sharahbeshi* system, according to which he had to raise indigo in the best portion of his land and pay an enhanced rent and innumerable *abwabs*, revolted against the tyranny of the planters. There was a mass refusal to grow indigo and cases followed. One Seikh Gulab was the prime mover and he raised a common fund for contesting cases and within a short time the movement against the Planter's Raj caught the whole of Bertiah subdivision. The *raiya*s at the instance of Seikh Gulab,

* *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I.

Sital Ray and others refused to grow indigo and they started sowing their own crops in the *tinkathia* portion of the field.*

The sudden revolt of the cultivators in 1907-1908 made the planters bewildered but the iron grip on the tenants tightened quickly and Seikh Gulab and others soon found themselves made into special constables by the administration. On the refusal of Seikh Gulab and others to work as special constables they were convicted under the Police Act but the Calcutta High Court set aside the conviction in March, 1908. Throughout 1908 Champaran was the butt-end of the agitation. Notices under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code used to be served in the morning and arrests were made in the evening on the ground that the tenants had disobeyed the orders of Government. About 200 respectable men of Bettiah were made special constables. The movement was further aggravated by the Muzaffarpur Bomb Case of 1908 and the phases of the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.

The three leaders of this movement, Seikh Gulab, Sital Ray and Radhemal were singled out by the administration. Sital Ray, a respectable resident of Mathia village, had his house surrounded by policemen under Mr. Knight, Reserve Inspector, and the arrested and the hand-cuffed Sital Ray was taken to the house of the Subdivisional Officer, Bettiah, when he was having his tea with Mr. Lewis, Manager, Bettiah Raj. Ram Swarth Lal, a *munist* of Radhemal, was arrested although warrant of arrest was against his master Radhemal. They were all put to prosecution.

The causes of the oppressed *raiyyats* were taken by the journals *Beharee*, Patna, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and they flashed news regarding the mischief that had already been done and wanted that an open enquiry should be instituted as to why the people were revolting against the indigo cultivation.

At the instance of the planters Government deputed a Special Magistrate, Mr. Goode, to try the cases. No local lawyer was available to defend the accused persons while the prosecution was led by Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law and Mr. Binoda Bihari Mazumdar, pleader of Patna. Mr. Govind Chandra Ray and Mr. Kali Das Bose of Muzaffarpur along with Mr. Donough, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta, defended and the accused were all convicted.

That the administrators were somewhat at a league with the planters is substantiated by a historic meeting on 15th October 1908 at the house of the Manager, Bettiah Raj, followed by the district meeting in Motihari later in October, 1908. All the twenty-two indigo concerns of Champaran were represented in the meeting which was also attended by Mr. Garrett, District Magistrate, Mr. Tanner, Subdivisional Officer of Bettiah and Mr. Kelso, Superintendent of Police. The meeting called for fire and blood and suggested that

* *Gandhiji's First Struggle in India* by P. C. Roy Chaudhury (1955).

the situation was so serious because of 'outside influence'. They wanted a formidable punitive police force at the cost of the poor cultivators to be disbursed throughout the district and also that Act VI of 1907 should be made applicable for the entire district of Champaran.

These punitive measures virtually established a reign of terror in the district. About 350 persons were convicted and put into prison. The Calcutta press including the *Statesman* took up the cause of the *raiya*s. The *Statesman* reviewed the situation in an editorial on 2nd December 1908 and exposed the hollowness of the theory that outside influences were at the bottom of all the trouble. In spite of the opposition of the planters and the local administrators, Government appointed Mr. Gourley, ex-Subdivisional Officer of Bettiah and the Collector of Champaran to enquire into the reasons of the outburst. Gourley's report was never published or discussed in the Council although a copy was made available to the Planters' Association.* A memorandum of the Planters' Association published in June, 1910, took account of some of Gourley's suggestions and adopted some amendments of the bye-laws and the rate payable for Java and for Sumatran indigo was raised per acre. The Association also decided that no *farmaish* shall be levied upon any tenant and no land whatsoever shall be taken for *zirat* without a written agreement.

These solemn promises were, however, not fully ratified. In the memorandum of the Planters' Association (1910) it is mentioned that the Lt.-Governor of Bengal bringing the deliberations of the conference of the Planters' Association to a close in Darjeeling in 1910 said that "confidence has been reposed in the planters on the present occasion because they had always respected every confidence reposed in them in the past".

Gourley's report did bring some relief to the indigo cultivators but did not remove the root-causes. The planters continued to force the cultivators to grow indigo although they could get better profit by growing other crops. The cultivators went on paying a number of *abwabs* or illegal exactions by the *amlas* or subordinates of the Indigo Planters. Some of the *abwabs*** were :—

"*Bapahi Putahi*—When the father or relative of a person dies and his land devolves by inheritance on him the factory

* Mr. Gourley had sent along with his report two steel trunks and mentioned that they were his best evidence. The two steel trunks contained clods of earth with both paddy and indigo—indicating that the cultivators had been forced to grow indigo after they had sown paddy. The editor learnt this from Mr. A. G. K. Lal, Retired District Magistrate and Mr. L. B. Seal, Retired Deputy Magistrate who were closely associated as Assistant Settlement Officers with Mr. Sweeney, Settlement Officer, Champaran. Mr. Sweeney had given this out.

** *Gandhiji's First Struggle in India* by P. C. Roy Chaudhury, pp. 54-55.

does not allow him to take possession of it until he pays Rs. 5 per *bigha* to the factory.

Ghorahi Bhainsahi—When a buffalo or horse of the factory becomes old then the manager sells it by lottery and realises Re. 1 from each tenant.

Bungalahi—When the bungalow of the indigo concern has to be repaired, Re. 1 is realised from each tenant.

Hak Talbana—When the peon is posted on any tenant for any purpose, then Re. 1 is realised as *talbana*.

Phaguahi—For enjoying *Phagua* or *Holi* festival the tenant has to pay Re. 1 to the Factory Sahib.

Hakfarkhawan—This is realised at the rate of one anna per rupee on the rental paid.

Motorahi—If the factory owner goes in for a motor car the tenant should feel proud of the fact and they will have to pay Re. 1 per head for the privilege of having a car-owner as the boss."

Although the price of indigo had considerably fallen owing to the availability of synthetic dye the planters continued forcing the cultivators to grow indigo as the margin of profit was still not bad. The planters were spread throughout North Bihar and their Planters' Association was a very powerful organisation. The Bihar Light Horse, a Volunteer Artillery Force had come to be almost the second line of defence for their administration. Public life had not yet graded itself to a pitch that could go against the administrator's will. The zamindars found it more profitable to toe with the administrators. The top lawyers who could have given the lead were more keen to get their briefs looked after and earned money. The tenantry was on the decline morally and economically and there was no Seikh Gulab or Bikhari to organise them. But leadership was thrown up from unexpected quarters.

M. K. Gandhi had come back from South Africa and his achievements were widely publicised. One Raj Kumar Shukla*, an ordinary *raiya* and indigo cultivator of Champaran, made up his mind to meet Gandhiji and unknowingly he was instrumental in bringing about almost a bloodless revolution. Raj Kumar Shukla attended the session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow in December, 1916. He contacted Gandhiji and acquainted him with the details of indigo cultivation in Bihar and particularly in Champaran. He wanted Gandhiji to move a resolution on the subject. The acute mind of Gandhiji at once detected that here was a problem which required a personal probe and he did not want to be a party to move a resolution without a personal acquaintance with the facts. The

* Gandhiji had described Shukla as the ignored, unsophisticated but resolute agriculturist who had captured him (Autobiography).

sturdy Raj Kumar Shukla did not leave Gandhiji till he had extracted a promise from him for a personal visit to Champaran. Gandhiji was a silent spectator when Shri Braj Kishore Prasad of Darbhanga moved a resolution urging the Government the "desirability of appointing a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the agrarian trouble and the strained relations between indigo *raiya*s and European planters and to suggest remedy thereof". The resolution was passed unanimously.

Gandhiji's autobiography and Dr. Rajendra Prasad's books "Satyagraha in Champaran" and "Mahatma Gandhi and Bihar" give the later developments. Gandhiji was met at Calcutta by Sukla and he started for Motihari on 9th April 1917. History was to be made by this visit of Gandhiji and the Champaran district was the venue of his first struggle in India. On his way to Motihari he had halted at Patna and Muzaffarpur.

The Government, however, did not like Gandhiji to probe into the problem under the plea that the Settlement Operations were investigating the matter. As soon as he reached Motihari he was served with a notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. In the court he made a statement on the 18th April 1917 that he was to follow the voice of conscience and hence he would disregard the orders served on him*.

The case against him was withdrawn and Gandhiji was allowed to continue his great work. By this time he had collected round him a batch of men from outside Bihar and some from Bihar including Shri Rajendra Prasad, then a practising lawyer in Patna High Court, Shri Anugraha Narain Sinha, Shri Dharnidhar, Shri Braj Kishore Prasad, Shri Ramnavami Prasad, Shri Mazharul Haq and others. Gandhiji had also a number of associates from outside Bihar like Mahadeb Desai, Acharya Kripalani, C. F. Andrews, H. S. Pollock and others.

Hundreds of cultivators gave their statements. The camps of Gandhiji at Bettiah and Motihari were besieged by the villagers who would not go before the statements were recorded. Hundreds of men from other districts of Bihar and particularly from North Bihar rushed to Gandhiji with their own grievances against the lawfully constituted authorities. Gandhiji could manage to get away once to Gopalganj in Saran district to address a public meeting. He also presided over the Students' Conference at Bhagalpur. Gandhiji's visit and work in the villages of Champaran district sent a wave of enthusiasm and inspiration to the people who were thirsting for a selfless leader.

The Government clearly saw that the movement had to be stopped and the only way to stop it was to remove the evils in connection with indigo plantation. A Committee of Enquiry including

* Quoted in *Gandhiji's First Struggle in India*, P. C. Roy Chaudhury (1955).

Gandhiji as a member was formed to investigate and report on the problem††. Gandhiji agreed to his membership on the condition that he "did not cease to be the ryot's advocate" and that if the result of the enquiry was not satisfactory he "should be free to guide and advise the *raiya*s as to what line of action they should take". The Committee came to certain distinct conclusions conceding the grievances of the *raiya*s. The recommendations were put in the Champaran Agrarian Bill which was put before the Legislative Council and was passed as an Act. The long standing misery of the indigo cultivators was removed. For details B. and O. Act I of 1918 may be studied.

But the effects were far reaching*. It was a moral victory for the *raiya*s and for the first time the *raiya*s were made to feel that they counted in the country and if they could organise for truth the victory was sure. Gandhiji's first struggle in India experimented on the soil of Champaran district was a lesson to India. Champaran was the first laboratory and probably it will not be very incorrect to say that Champaran has been the spring board for India's independence three decades after. The technique followed by Gandhiji in Champaran was what attained later on the name of *Satyagraha*. It is here also that he gave the training to a few young men including Shri Rajendra Prasad who were later to throw their lot completely in his Non-Cooperation Movement and ultimately won freedom for India.**

"Mahatma Gandhi's stay in Champaran inspired his associates with noble ideals in several ways, and helped them to receive under his guidance an excellent training, which proved to be the most valuable asset for some of them in their role of leaders in the country's battle for liberty. He taught them to eschew their old prejudices about caste-rules, by pointing out to them that when they were engaged in public work they "became of one caste, namely, the caste of the co-workers". In narrating the story of this change Dr. Rajendra Prasad writes: "When we first reached Champaran many of us had servants, we had a cook also. Within a short time the number of servants was reduced and shortly afterwards there was one servant left. The result was that those who had not drawn one potful of water of a well or washed a small napkin began under the Mahatma's influence within a short time to help each other in bathing, washing clothes and cleaning utensils. In fact we used to do everything ourselves. To sweep the rooms and floor, clean the kitchen, to wash our

†† Sir Frank Shy was the chairman. For details see *Gandhiji's Autobiography*.

* According to Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his "Mahatma Gandhi and Bihar" Gandhiji's visit to Champaran had a very great effect on every district in Bihar and particularly the districts of North Bihar. The Anti-Purdah Movement in Bihar sponsored by Braj Kishore Prasad was a direct out-come of Gandhiji's influence.

** Regarding his work Gandhiji had mentioned "I was face to face with God. Ahimsa and Truth" and felt it was an able experiment with truth (*Autobiography*).

own utensils, to carry luggage and other bundles from station and market—these and such other things we all used to do and without hesitation. After the removal of the cook Shrimati Gandhi used to cook food for all of us and used to feed us all with motherly affection. It was one of the results of Mahatmaji's visit that we ceased to look upon travelling in a third class compartment as a matter of indignity". The reaction on Gandhiji was also great. On the 6th March 1925 he had written to Shri Janakdhari Prasad: "I treasure the memory of the faithful co-workers of Champaran. I shall never have and never had a more faithful band to work with. If I had such a band throughout India Swaraj will not be long in coming to India."*

The other side of Gandhiji's social work was to improve the condition of the villagers by eliminating their inherent weakness. He realised that the planters could never have gone to that length if the villagers were not so disorganised, ignorant and illiterate. The simplicity of the villagers of Champaran, who shed their fear complex and spoke openly against the planters and administrators, impressed Gandhiji. That was why he wanted his volunteers to take the programme of social education in the interior of Champaran and make the people literate and conscious of their rights and duties. Apart from starting schools he wanted that the villagers should lead a clean life and do work for themselves particularly for repairing village roads, keeping the villages clean, covering up the dirty pools, etc. For all this he wanted that his volunteers should lead them. Regarding this sort of social work Dr. Rajendra Prasad had written to his friend as follows:—

"Their (volunteers') work will be the most important and lasting and therefore it will be the final essential stage of the mission. They (volunteers) have to be grown up, reliable, hardworking men who would not mind taking the spade and repairing and making village roads and cleaning village cess pools and who will in their dealings with their landlords, guide the *raiya*s aright. Six months of such training cannot fail to do incalculable good to the *raiya*s, the workers and the country at large."

A number of schools were started at different places in the Bettiah subdivision. The first school was started at Barharwa, about 20 miles to the east of Motihari which was placed incharge of Baban Gokhale and his wife Avantikabai Gokhale and Gandhiji's son Devadas Gandhi. Another school was started at village Bhitharwa, about 40 miles north-west of Bettiah††. A *sadhu* gave a portion of his land for the school which was placed incharge of Somarji. Another school was started at Madhuban which was placed under Narhari Parikh, his wife Manibahen, Madhav Haribhai Desai and his wife Durgabahen. In these schools the emphasis was laid on both mental and moral

* Quoted in Dr. K. K. Dutta's *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I.

†† This school was incharge of Kastura Bai Gandhi and S. J. T. Soman. The school was set on fire probably by men of the planters.

development of children. But unfortunately this social work of Gandhiji remained unfinished for want of proper response from the people and the volunteers.

The Champaran episode, primarily humanitarian in its object, also fostered the cause of nationalism in Bihar. One of its effects was to infuse into the minds of the much oppressed peasants of Champaran a spirit of awakening which is a necessary pre-requisite for a national movement. Fight for social justice promotes political consciousness. "The Champaran struggle was a proof of the fact", writes Mahatma Gandhi, "that disinterested service of the people in any sphere ultimately helps the country politically." Further, the Champaran struggle set an example of the wonderful efficacy of the means of non-violent *Satyagraha* for victory in a noble cause. Giving an account of the different passive resistance movements in India leading up to the Non-Co-operation Movement, Mahatma Gandhi had observed: "The third in order came the Champaran struggle (undertaken in order to remedy the evils that had grown up connected with the indigo plantations). Here *Satyagraha* had actually to be offered. Mere preparedness for it did not suffice as powerful vested interests were arrayed in opposition. The peace maintained by the people of Champaran deserves to be placed on record. I can bear witness to the perfect non-violence of the leaders in thought, word and deed. Hence it was that this age-long abuse came to an end in six months".

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.

Champaran and the whole of Bihar had already been enchanted by Gandhiji. It is only natural that Bihar would rally round him when he sponsored the *Satyagraha* and non-cooperation movement in the wake of the Montagu Chelmsford Report in 1919. Mahatma Gandhi made a whirlwind tour in Bihar in 1920 on the eve of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Rajendra Prasad was his chief lieutenant for the Province. The *Satyagraha* and Non-Co-operation Movement was successfully launched in Champaran under the able leadership of Shri Gorakh Prasad, Shri Bipin Bihari Verma, Shri Prajapati Mishra and others. Many courted arrest. Since then the men of Champaran fully associated themselves with the different phases of Gandhiji's movement. When the Simon Commission reached Patna on the 12th December 1928 a large number of demonstrators came from Champaran district and offered a full-throated protest and shouted the slogan "Simon, Go back". Dr. Rajendra Pd. had given the lead.

The Indian National Congress in Calcutta in 1928 passed a resolution on constructive programme including prohibition of liquor and other intoxicants, boycott of foreign cloth by advancing and stimulating production of handspun and handwoven *khaddar*, removal of untouchability, etc. At Motihari a *chamar* joined a *katchi* dinner, arranged in the house of a *kalwar* with men of Brahman, Bhumihar

Brahman, Rajputs, Kayastha and some other castes.* The province of Bihar had its own Provincial Board to control and carry on the activities of the *Hindustani Seva Dal*. Shri Bipin Behari Verma of Champaran was one of the members of the Board. Four camps were opened at Bettiah, Myanatanr, Nawalpur and Malahi in the district of Champaran for the training of the volunteers. Champaran took the lead in organising Thana Committees of the Indian National Congress.

On the 4th October 1928, the twenty-first session of the Bihar Students' Conference was held at Motihari. In the unavoidable absence due to illness of Professor Vaswani, the President-elect, Shri Rajendra Prasad read his address.

The revolutionaries of Bengal were also trying to spread their cult in Champaran. There were several dacoities where they were suspected, and the expression "political dacoities" came into vogue in Bihar also. The dacoity at Maulania in Champaran took place on the 7th June 1929. The Maulania incident had been preceded by some other such cases in Champaran district. As regards the Maulania case it was stated in *Police Report of 1925*†: "The political suspects of Bettiah Shri Phanindra Nath Ghose and Shri..... Banerji, who had been absent from their homes on that night and were wanted in connection with the Lahore Conspiracy case, were arrested and one of them confessed having arranged the dacoity in order to obtain funds for revolutionary party. Of the eleven men alleged to have taken part in the outrage one is accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, two were made approvers, five are still absconding and the remaining three were sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment under section 396, I. P. C. An appeal has been referred to the High Court." Shri Jogendra Shukul, one of the most prominent leaders of the revolutionary movement in Bihar, whom the police then considered to "be the principal absconder in the Maulania dacoity in Champaran in 1929", was arrested by the Saran police. Jogendra Shukul was sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.

THE SALT SATYAGRAHA AND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT 1930-1934.†

Champaran fully supported the Civil Disobedience Movement under leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in 1930. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made a whirlwind tour of Saran, Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts from 31st March to the 3rd April.

In the Champaran district, the Salt *Satyagraha* was started on the 6th April 1930 under the leadership of Shri Bipin Bihari Verma,

* Dr. K. K. Dutta's *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II.

† Dr. K. K. Dutta's *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. II has been mostly followed for this section.

President, Champaran District Congress Committee and the Chairman of the Local District Board. There was much enthusiasm in the town when the first batch of volunteers began their march and Shri Rajendra Prasad gave them a hearty send off. Salt law was broken on the 15th April in several thanas of the Champaran district, namely, Jogapatti, Motihari, Dhaka, Sugauli, Govindganj, Raxaul and Bettiah. The leaders working in the different thanas were arrested by the police. Shri Bipin Bihari Verma and Shri Ram Sunder Tewari were sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment and the other 15 leaders to six months' simple imprisonment each. But the arrest of the leaders enhanced popular enthusiasm and on the very first day of *Satyagraha*, salt worth Rs. 80-14-0 was sold. As a mark of protest against the leader's arrest spontaneous *hartals* were observed at Motihari and Bettiah. On the 17th April again several persons courted arrests. Repression failed to check the progress of the *Satyagraha* and salt began to be manufactured on a mass scale in a large number of villages in the district.

The widespread arrests of leaders failed to check the progress of the movement. Apart from salt *Satyagraha* the Indian National Congress decided to boycott British goods and non-payment of *chaukidari-tax*. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee reviewed the progress of the movement for the non-payment of *chaukidari-tax* till the end of July, 1930, and held that Champaran led in the non-payment of *chaukidari-tax*. The five thanas of Sugauli, Govindganj, Dhaka, Jogapatti and Majhauria had taken up this programme. The Mina Bazar at Bettiah was successfully picketed and in Sugauli thana *panchayats* were working exceedingly well as a result of which no case went to law courts for some time.

The Government had taken possession of *Satyagraha Ashram* of Adapur (Champaran) without declaring it to be unlawful organisation. The inmates of Adapur *Ashram* were mercilessly beaten and much of the property of the *Ashram* was destroyed. During the first week of January, 1931, several Congressmen, including active workers, and organisers, were arrested from Bettiah, Chuhari, Chainpatia, Chamainia, Narkatiaganj and Sikta. The failure of Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the Round Table Conference had their repercussion in Champaran also. The situation at Motihari on the 26th January, 1932 calls for a particular mention. The police had taken possession of the Congress Office at Motihari. But on the *Independence Day* in 1932 the people of the Champaran district assembled in thousands in the open space in the compound to take the independence pledge. The police made use of *lathi* and opened fire in consequence of which several people were killed and many were injured.

The other notable event in the history of Champaran was the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Motihari on the 14th March 1934 in connection with the devastating Earthquake of Bihar, 1934. His

visit infused a new hope and inspiration to the people in the midst of a great cataclysm. In Champaran also the Central Relief Fund was formed under the presidentship of Prajapati Mishra to alleviate the suffering of the people.

The years 1935–1939 were marked by a new political development in Champaran. Shri Bipin Bihari Verma was elected to the Central Legislature. In the Provincial Assembly soon the Congress secured majority of seats. The first Congress Ministry was formed in Bihar in 1937. The year 1939 witnessed the fifth session of the All-India *Gandhi Seva Sangh* at Brindaban in the Champaran district from the 3rd to the 8th May, 1939. Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President had addressed the function and exhorted the people the importance of *Ahinsa* (non-violence).

The resignation of the Congress Ministry in Bihar in 1939 did not depress the people of Champaran who were by then overwhelmingly Congress-minded. The people followed the later phases of the political struggle with interest. The 'Quit India' movement of Gandhiji in 1942 followed by the arrest of the All-India leaders on the 9th August 1942 had its effects on Champaran also.

During the "August Revolution" railway lines were breached near Jiudhara and telegraph wires were cut. National flags were hoisted on the Government buildings at Motihari. On the 15th August, a large number of people, while attempting to attack the court buildings at Champaran, were dispersed by a furious *lathi* charge. The National flag was hoisted that day on Adapur and Ghorasahan police-stations. At Bettiah on the same day telegraphic communications were cut, train services were dislocated. The Bar and Mukhtears' Associations decided to boycott courts from the 17th August. A platoon of British infantry reached Champaran from Muzaffarpur in the evening of 16th August. On the 18th August, the Mehshi railway station was attacked and its booking office wrecked by a mob. Several police-stations were raided and occupied by the people. The movement had become a mass movement.

The Government adopted repressive measures to crush the movement. Besides indiscriminate arrest of persons by the police, the British troops moved from one centre to another with their Bren-guns. The Adapur *Ashram* was burnt down by an European factory owner of the area. Shri Shyam Lal Raut was arrested at Panchpokharia near Adapur. The villagers tried to rescue him, whereupon Mr. Meyrich, the factory-owner, opened fire and killed one Shri Yadu Raut and injured Shri Janak Raut and Shri Guguli Chamar. At Chauradano two persons died as a result of firings. The soldiers went to Raxaul and committed ruthless atrocity. On the 23rd August they fired at a mob at Mehshi and killed some men. Fire was opened twice at Bettiah as a result of which several persons were killed. On the 1st October, they opened fire in some villages in the Dhaka police-

station*. Besides infliction of corporal punishment and large scale imprisonment a sum of Rs. 94,500 was imposed as collective fines till 21st November 1942 and that of collection was Rs. 41,069-8-3.

So far as the constructive aspect of the Revolution is concerned, it may be mentioned that Govindganj thana in the Champaran district witnessed people's rule for about a month under what was called the "*Rishi Dal*". Shri Ramashraya Dubey had the leading role in organising it. He was the head of the Defence Organisation. Shri Narsingh Dubey was incharge of postal work, and Shri Parasnath Verma was entrusted with the Publicity Department. Muhammad Tahir led the party meant for causing dislocation.

After the Revolution of 1942-43 the events were moving in a dramatic rapidity. The Interim Government was formed in 1946. On August 15, 1947, India became independent. It was a matter of significance to this far flung district of Bihar which had a particular role in the political bid under Gandhiji.

APPENDIX I.

MONUMENTS OF ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE IN CHAMPARAN.

Champaran, though least explored, has many unique features in its ancient buildings. Their contributions to our knowledge of ancient Indian art and architecture are not insignificant. It is a pity that its priceless cultural heritages are decaying. *Stupas* happen to be one of the principal features of the early Buddhist Church architecture. Originating from simple burial mound or tumuli it was admittedly pre-Buddhistic in character. The evidence furnished by the *Mahāparinirvāna Sutta* unmistakably proves that Lord Buddha was indicating an existing custom universally practised in ancient India. Very soon, however, by force of circumstances, it became divided into two classes—Commemorative and Memorial. The latter class sometimes contained portions of the cremated remains of the *Tathagata*. Later on, the same honour was extended to his disciples, e.g., Sariputta and Mahamoggallāna, as at Sanchi. In course of time, custom and usage evolved a theory that a meritorious act for the devout was to erect a small *stupa* at the holy place he was visiting. These are known as votive *stupas*. In course of time large *stupas* were also erected over small clay *stupas* or clay tablets. In the former the Buddhist-creed was stamped at the bottom while the latter were stamped with the images of Buddha, *Bodhisattvas*, *Manjusris* and *Avalokitesvaras*. Such structures have been found at Nalanda. The main function of the *stupa*, however, was to symbolize the

* According to Government estimate, 12 persons were killed and 44 wounded as a result of military firing in the district of Champaran from 10th to 24th August 1942. Subsequent enquiries have revealed that the numbers were higher. Total number of arrests was 653, jails 418 and the number of sentences of whipping 6. (Dr. K. K. Dutta's *History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II).

passing away of Buddha. It would be wrong, however, to assume that Buddhists alone erected *stupas* in ancient India. They were raised by Jains and Hindus too.

The *stupa* was originally a solid hemisphere, or rather half of the hemisphere which was known as *anda* (अण्ड), usually raised on one terrace and invariably surmounted by railing called *harmika* (हर्मिका). From this issued the shaft of the crowning umbrella, known as *chhatra* (छत्र). All around the *stupa* was a circumambulatory passage (प्रदक्षिण पथ), which was generally surrounded by railing (वेदिका). The earliest *stupas* were hemispherical in form with a low platform around them; while the later *stupas* had increasingly cylindrical forms. The later examples were generally very ornate, while the base-terraces and the umbrellas on the top were multiplied.

The most remarkable *stupa* in whole Champaran district, nay in India, is that at Nandangarh. The local people used to regard it as a fort, till the excavators' spade revealed the long hidden secret in 1936. Actually, however, the fortified city ruins lie all around it; in the eastern corner of which the *stupa* is situated. Erected on polygonal base, with numerous projecting and re-entrant angles, this huge *stupa* was a mid-way between terraced temples and Burmese pagodas. The centre of the *stupa*, called 'core' in archæology, was filled with earth and yielded a large number of burnt clay figurines, generally called 'Terracottas', few Punch Marked coins, cast copper coins of first century B. C., which is possibly the date of the earliest *stupa* erected on the spot. Further evidence pointed out that the present *stupa* was not merely built over this earlier structure which is even now 12 feet in height and was also polygonal in ground plan; but over which was erected an altar possibly in the fourth century of the Christian era.

The neighbouring village of Lauriya has, however, *stupas* of other kinds unique in themselves. These are three rows of 15 *stupas*, each row is more than two thousand feet in length. The first begins near the inscribed pillar of Emperor Asoka and runs east to west, while the two, though parallel to each other, runs at right angle to the first group. In 1904-05, four of these mounds were excavated by late Dr. T. Bloch, a German Scholar, then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, Patna. Bloch was a pioneer in these matters and under a misapprehension labelled the mounds as Pre-Mauryan; and what is more as Vedic burial mounds. But subsequent excavations have disproved his theories. They had burnt brick base, while two had facing of brick in two super-imposed tiers. A. Ghosh, the present Director-General of Archæology, India, is right in thinking that the so-called layers of yellow clay were nothing but sun dried bricks mixed up with husks and straw. In 1945, Sir R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the then Director-General of Archæology, directed

a survey of ancient bricks with particular reference to their sizes, ingradients and age.

Nandangarh is, however, not the only place in Champaran district which has a *stupa*. Chankigarh or Jankigarh, one-fourth mile east of the village of Chanki, might also be a *stupa*, while the elevated mound all around it might be the ruins of the monasteries, which excavation alone can prove.* The mounds known as *Raja Bena-ka-Deora*, two miles to the south-west of the village of Kesariya, has also a *stupa* and monastery. Sagardih, three miles from Pipra Railway Station, is also a similar site. Architecturally, therefore, Champaran is the proud possessor of many alleged *stupas* and monasteries. Kesariya, for example, with its *anda* on a raised platform, is similar to that of Mohenjodaro, below which R. D. Banerji found the remains of the copper age culture of the ancient Sindhu (Sind) and Sauvira (Beluchistan) countries†.

In addition to the *stupas* one of the greatest importance of Champaran is due to the existence of several inscribed or un-inscribed pillars of the Mauryan period. No other district in India has contributed so many. It has been said of Mauryan art, that the columnar architecture, single columns with foliated capitals and their crowning animals sculptures are the only specimens which enable us to form an appreciation. The remains of Mauryan art and architecture, complete or fragmentary, belongs to what is now coming to be recognised as the 'Imperial Pataliputra School' introduced in India by Asoka, if not by any predecessor of his. In fact, it is one of the earliest phases of what late R. D. Banerji called "Pataliputra School". This school has one great quality—uniformity in style, technique and material. Their technique, which is still unparalleled in India, gains in merit by the use of some kind of abrasive, by which they were enabled to impart a lustrous polish on the sandstone of Chunar. Wherever, remains of this school has been found, they have been uniformly of one material, the buff sandstone of Chunar. Here is no art like Kushana or the "Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculptures" confined within strict geographical limits. By no stretch of imagination can we call it provincial. In all its aspects it was imperial.‡

"The Mauryan Empire was an imperishable achievement. Nevertheless, it has left a legacy of problems which are so complex that any of its cultural traits requires considerable study. In fact, how much of it was its own and how much was alien we shall never know. The Mauryans appear on the political stage of India at the fag end,

* This is a hypothetical assumption.

† J. H. Marshall's—*Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. I, fig. 9, p. 116.

‡ A. Banerji's—*Mauryan Sculptures in Benares*. *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIV (1953), pp. 11—21.

when emperors and empires seem to have gone out of fashion. After their downfall, for long and tedious centuries, we have no empires; except kingdoms of some descent extent glorified as empires. If the other empire builders of Asia took the familiar role of political conquest, massacre, subjugation, violation of temples and transport of the gods of the defeated people as trophies of victory to the capitals of the conquering nation, Indian genius gave a new interpretation to imperialism at this age. No marching army clashed in sanguinary battles to drench the mother earth with blood and tears of the martial elements in both the populations. No war widows, no orphans, no maimed legion remained as pitiful testimonies to India's imperialistic ambitions. No fifth column, silently working as an essential element in the gigantic military machine, disrupted the unity amidst nations. For Asia, a new ideal was evolved. Asia was conquered by its message of peace, of fraternity and equality. India's empire was established in the hearts of men and women. Its seers and philosophers went forth to conquer by message of peace and good-will. Bold missionaries crossed snow-capped Himalayas and wide deserts to preach the gospel of salvation, with the result that in the major portion of Asia, India became the land of pilgrimage. Its edicts and dispensations, its teaching and learning, were sought for, not under duress, not due to political subjugation; but due to their admitted spiritual superiority. India ruled not with the rod and the sword, but with the message of resurrection and ultimate salvation. India was held not in awe and fear, but in respect and veneration. Down we go through the ages, that quality of Indian imperialism is never lost sight of. Colonies were established not for the exploitation of raw materials to emasculate the resources of the people, but to nourish, to revitalise the native cultures, to encourage faith and eternal hope. India's should lay refulgent before the rest of Asia*."

This context of the cultural and political conditions in the Near East explains the origins of Mauryan art. James Fergusson was first to moot the Persepolitan origin (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 58-69). The late Sir John Marshall found Hellenic workmanship on the Sarnath capital, a view which has received support from Bachhofer. (*The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, pp. 90 ff). Mr. P. Brown has tried to draw our attention to the lion headed spouts from Balbeck (*History of Indian Architecture*, First Edition, Vol. V, figs. 1 and 2). The comparison, however, requires to be made with the lion's head found in the ruins of Ninevah to realise the common western Asian heritage of Indian and Achamænid arts.

The re-examination of the Persepolitan ruins, and researches of Dr. Earnest Herzfeld, have thrown fresh light on the technique and qualities, as well as origins of ancient Iranian art. It shows, according

* A. Banerji—*Ibid*, p. 14.

to Herzfeld, that the Iranians had entered the stage only a few centuries earlier, but their art was not the commencement of a particular regional style. It was simply the continuation of the art of the older nations.† The ancient Achamænid art descended from Median and that again from Urartean and that again from Anatolian. In fact, Mauryan art seems to have been the last example of the plastic activity of the Near East, transplanted on the Indian soil when Persepolis lay in ashes.‡

The soul of Mauryan art is its symbolism. Unless one appreciates the inner significance, he fails to appreciate the message of the art. The symbolism to this people was not a meaningless device, a mere object of veneration through the idle priesthood. The grammar of this symbolism has, however, been lost, with the result that we miss their significance. Champaran, however, has the unique privilege of possessing four example of free standing pillars of the Mauryan period, three of which are inscribed with the pillar edicts of Emperor Asoka. They consist of a slightly tapering column with a foliated capital on the top, surmounted by a bull and a lion at Rampurwa and single line at Lauriya. The foliated capital consists of a Lotus, about whose identity the dust of controversy has not yet settled. The main dispute between the scholars has been whether it was the bell or the lotus. At that time, it was argued, that no lotus with ovoid petals is known. But there is a variety of white lotus, which is characterised by the ovoid sepals and petals with rounded ends; and it is felt that the morphology of Asokan capitals possibly suggest this variety.

Lauriya Araraj is a large village situated some 16 miles west of Motihari on the road to Govindganj thana. There is a pillar, locally known as Laur or *Bhim Sen-ki-Lathi*. It is 36 feet 6 inches in height, with a diameter of 41.8 inches at the base and 37.6 inches at the top. The portion remaining underground was left roughly dressed. The first six of the pillar edicts of Asoka, in well preserved and neatly engraved characters, were inscribed on it divided into two columns with straight margins between. The portion of the east contains 23 lines and that to the west 18 lines. The column is thickly dotted with numerous irregular scratches and small round holes darkened by weather, looking like shot holes. The next pillar is to be found in the village of Lauriya 15 miles north-west of Bettiah and locally known as *Laur Baba* or *Bhim Sen-ki-lathi*. It is surmounted by lion capital. The shaft of the column is 32 feet 9 inches in height. The diameter at the base is 35.5 inches and at the top is 26.2 inches. Immediately below the capital, there is a circular depression, on the north-east side, which is supposed to have been made by a cannon ball. The capital is 6 feet 10 inches in height. The pillar contains

† E. Herzfeld's *Iran in the ancient East*, 1941, page 274.

‡ A. Banerji's *Origins of the Imperial Pataliputra School—Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII, pp. 58 ff.

numerous names of visitors and a Persian inscription in *Nasta'liq* characters mentioning 1071 A. H. (1661 A. D.); and Aurangzeb-Alamgir. Rampurwa is an obscure village, situated about 2 miles south-west of Gaunaha station on the North Eastern Railway. Two pillars were set up here, one of these had a lion capital and measures 44 feet 10 inches in length, of which 8 feet 10 inches were left roughly dressed, because, it was intended that this portion would remain underground. On the top there is a mortice hole which contained a barrel-shaft bolt of copper. The capital and this bolt are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. About the middle of the column the pillar edits of Asoka are found inscribed. The second pillar broken into two large and several small pieces was originally 43 feet 4 inches in length and had a bull capital, which is now displayed in the portico of the Durbar Hall of the Rastrapati Bhavan, at New Delhi.

Simraon, a village situated on the north-eastern boundary of the district, 6 miles north of Purnahia Factory, is one of the holiest of holies of mediæval Bihar. It was the capital of the Carnatic dynasty of Mithila, whose glories went out in shame and disaster at the hands of Ghyas-ud-din Tughluq*.

But the major portion of the city ruins lie within Nepalese territory. The city was possibly in the form of parallelogram surrounded by an outer and inner wall, 14 and 10 miles in length and breadth, respectively. On the east side, however, traces of walls and seven ditches are traceable. The fort ruins at Sitakund is another unsolved problem of Champaran's archæology. It is 10 miles to the south-east of Motihari, and half a mile to the north of Madhuvan, on the Burhi-Gandak River. The fort is 450 feet in height, with large round bastions at the corner and middle of each face. The technique of building these walls is known to Indian archæologists as "double wall". This has been found also at Biharshariff in Patna district, the site of ancient Uddandapura. In this method the military engineer entrusted with the task, built two separate walls, either of brick or stone, parallel to each other, and at a certain distance. Then he filled up the intervening space with rubble, earth or anything that was available. The thickness was a measure to prevent breaching by engines, ballistæ and elephant heads. In early times Sitakund fort must have been a place of great strength when gunpowder was not used. Similar forts are met with at Unchdih, Vedivan, etc.

The most intriguing and least explored site, however, is the fortified ruins on Sumeswar hill. The Sumeswar hill is indeed a part of a long range of hill system which under different names run the whole length of Nepal. This peak overlooks Mauri valley; and from its top a grand-stand view of the snowy peaks of the Himalayas can be had. Hills after hills, peaks after peaks, wearing the coronet of snow and a tangled mass of rocks, jungles, ravines, glens and gorges

* Cunningham's--*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XVI.

below, rise in all their majesty before human vision. The fort which is now in ruins, stands on the edge of a precipice, with well-defined remains. Reservoirs, cut out in solid rocks, like Chandan Sahid hill at Sasaram are met with. To the east of the fort, a temple bell of extreme sweetness of tone, greatly venerated by the local people, exists. In dating the ruins, one has to be extremely circumspect, because as late as 1814-15, there was a hill fort here, to command the Sumeswar pass.

Mediæval Champaran has left a series of temples, evolution of whose style has never been attempted. The advent of the Turco-Afghans brought about a state of affairs, whose existence is undeniable. Erection of Hindu temples practically ceased to exist. The masons and the architects even if they were permitted to remain Hindus, within few centuries lost their knowledge of erecting temples with high towers. The demand for mosques, *Khanquahs* and *Idgahs* increased. The next great problem was to camouflage the Hindu temples so that they will not be easy prey to Muslim vandalism. The shrine of Jalpeswar, a hamlet, 11 miles distant from Jalpaiguri town, is an example*. It is a temple of Siva and has enjoyed importance for various reasons. It is a shrine which underwent many vicissitudes through the passing years. Local people hold that to avoid the attention of Kalapahar, this temple was designed as a mosque and the deity was preserved in a deep big hole. The dome of the Subhadra Mai's temple and the double domes of one of the Vedivan temples were built possibly for this reason. It is necessary to bear in mind this extremely important structural transformation, that Hindu temples in Bihar and Eastern U. P. underwent, to prevent future misunderstandings, feelings and tensions. There is a deserted structure at Kishanganj on Kathalbari Road, in the district of Purnea, over which a dispute had arisen between the local Hindus and Muslims as to whether it was a mosque or a temple. The ogival back arch which had no structural necessity, and the dome were the points of dispute. There is a small temple, with a domical roof, on the Rajgir-Gaya Road, immediately below the Handia hill at a place called Chormagarh, in Gaya district which is an exact prototype of Kishanganj temple. Bihar has another type of temple towers in Tirhut which is almost like the conical roofs of mud and wattle huts. The history of this type of hut shaped towers, goes back to fifteenth century A. D., at least, as is proved by the roof of 'Raja-Rani temple', near Kharagpur in the Monghyr district.

* The Shrine of Jalpeswar—*Modern Review*, Vol. CIV, no. 2, p. 131 ff.