

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

GAYA AND ITS ANTIQUITY.

The history of Gaya has a unique place in the evolution and development of Hindu civilisation. Gaya presents, as the evidence now available goes to prove, the history of the pre-Aryan India as well. In this tract, many civilisations arose and disappeared leaving behind distinctive marks on the land and its habitation. The pre-historic India has been resuscitated and it has been shown that India wrote her history in river valleys as the Indus valley civilisation and various discoveries in the Narmada and Tapti rivers prove it. Scholars are of opinion that even the Gangetic valley must have had numerous centres of urban civilisation the like of which we find in the Indus valley. Gaya with its environs has various marks and imprints of river valley civilisation. The Itavan village in the subdivision of Nawada presents a unique feature of the kind, for there, on the river Joba, we find remains of the river valley civilisation. If a careful excavation is made probably something may be found to corroborate this statement.⁽¹⁾

Besides the imprints of the river valley civilisation, we find in the hilly tracts of the district of Gaya various signs of the habitat of the indigenous people. Even today, the people inhabiting those localities talk of the Kola people who formerly lived there before the advent of the Aryans.⁽²⁾ Some terracotta figures, discovered at various places in the district of Gaya and other districts of Bihar, indicate the existence of a pre-Aryan civilisation. "Gaya was occupied in pre-historic times by aboriginal races, whose power is still attested by the remains attributed to them, the traditions of their rules and the names they gave to places while their descendants are still found in considerable numbers in the hilly tracts to the south of the district."⁽³⁾ Down to the time of Manu, Magadha has not been included in the list of the Brahmanistic land. Gaya was a part of Magadha. Magadha remained, it is interesting to note, outside the pale of Aryadom for a long time. Rig Veda does not mention the word 'Magadha'. Instead the word 'Kikata' has occurred once, which has been in the later works used as a synonym of Magadha. It appears, therefore, that the Kikatas were the people inhabiting Magadha when the Aryans were trying to spread themselves eastwards. In Atharva Veda, Magadha and Vratya are closely associated and the scholars have suggested that Magadha

(1) The village Itavan lies in between the branches of the river Joba near Akbarpore in the Nawada subdivision.

(2) A place about a mile south of the Brahmayoni Hill is especially noted for Kola region, where signs of Kola civilisation are still apparent.

(3) L. S. S. O.' Malley, Gazetteer of the Gaya District, p. 21. See also Dravidians and Kolarian Places—names in Mirzapore, Shahabad and Gaya by the Rev. Hahn, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXII, Part III, no. 2, 1903.

was a centre of the Vratya or Kikata civilisation. We also come across the same reference in the Nirukta⁽⁴⁾. Even Baudhayana, a writer of the sixth century B. C., calls the people of Magadha as non-Aryans. It has been proved beyond doubt that Magadha became aryanised later than its western neighbours, the Kasi and the Kosala.

The word ' Vratya ' or ' Kikata ' is a general epithet given to the non-Aryan people of Magadha, but as has been suggested above, there were many races inhabiting this area, for the indigenous people or the aboriginals are of different types and character differing in physical appearances and social habits. It is not the proper place to present a detailed account of these people. Suffice it to say, the district of modern Gaya, even today, has various races apart from the Aryans, which have influenced each other considerably. Anthropologically and sociologically, we can prove that there was a general policy of give-and-take among the Aryans and the non-Aryans during the course of many past centuries, with the consequence that now we talk of Hindu civilisation as a whole permeating the entire tract of the Gaya district, though even today there do exist many races inhabiting the hilly areas.

THE WORD ' GAYA ' AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

The antiquity of Gaya and its name is a matter of conjecture. The Vedas, the earliest record of India, do not mention this name. As said above, the earliest reference to Gaya is found in the Nirukta. But the much later works like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata do mention it copiously. The Codes (*Samhitas*) of Yajnavalka, Vasistha and Atri do recognise Gaya as a place where the offering of *pindas* is gratifying to the manes. From ancient times, the Hindus have been worshipping spirits, etc., the practice which was and is still prevalent among the indigenous people of India. When the aryanisation took place, the Aryans, too, took many a custom prevailing among the non-Aryans. The worship at the Pretasila and other offerings to the ancestors by the Hindus speak much of this and prove the statement regarding the policy of the give-and-take of the Aryans made above.

In the religious history of India Gaya occupies a unique place; it is one of the great places of pilgrimage. According to the religion of the Puranas, which is the modern religion of the Hindus of India, it is incumbent on every Hindu to visit Gaya and make offerings for the souls of his ancestors. This type of sanctity of Gaya is recorded in the Gaya Mahatmya, which forms part of the Vayu Purana and is given in the abridged forms in the Agni and Garuda Puranas⁽⁵⁾. The

(4) समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गया, कोऽसि ।

(5) Hara Prasad Shastri: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928, p. 330.

कुरुक्षेत्र-गया-गंगा-प्रभास पुस्करणि च । तीर्थे येतानी पञ्चानि श्राद्धकाले भवन्तीह ।

It was probably at the end of the ninth century when there was a revival of Hinduism due to the efforts of Sankracharya that Gaya was given a place among the five spots of Northern India sacred to manes as mentioned in the above *sloka*.

Gaya Mahatmya mentions that " a great demon, named Gaya Asura, performed a rigid penance for a thousand years. The gods, anxiously, fearing that they could give no sufficient recompense for his piety, came to him and asked what reward he wanted; his request that he might be the holiest of all things was granted, with the consequence that all he saw or was touched by him went to heaven. Yama, the god of hell, finding that he was monarch of an empty realm, appealed to the gods. They persuaded Gaya Asura to allow a sacrifice to be performed on his body. The sacrifice (*yajna*) was accordingly performed, but the demon was not yet laid. Yama then brought a sacred rock from his home, which he placed on the demon's head, and all the gods sat on his body; still the demon moved. At last Vishnu was called in. He struck Gaya with his club and removed with his blow all his fatigue and pain. Gaya Asura begged as a last boon that the gods should abide for all time on his body, and that this should be the holiest of spots within the limits of which all men might obtain salvation by offering *shradha*. His prayer was granted, and his body became the holy ground of Gaya. "

The above summary of the legend recounts the religious significance of the place and tells us that it obtained the name " Gaya " from the *asura*, Gaya. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra⁽⁶⁾ interpreted the legend as an allegory of the triumph of Hinduism over Buddhism, and the Vishnupada as an object of worship of the Buddhists appropriated by the Hindus. Dr. Mitra points to the similarity between the character of Gaya Asura and the practice of Buddhism as it appeared to the Hindus. He argues " that the benevolent demon, like the Buddhists, made salvation too easy a matter, and was, therefore, an enemy to Brahmanism, while the followers of Buddha were as pious and self-mortifying as the Asura, and like him did away with Brahmanism and all sacrifice. "

Here, too, it has been held that the story of the struggle points to a religious strife between the Brahmanism and Buddhism, which ended in a compromise, the latter religion not being rooted out, but incorporated in Brahmanism.

Gaya, One of the Oldest Existing Cities of the World.

Gaya presents a nucleus of several religions and their effects. We have noted that formerly in pre-historic days, the place was a seat of the Vratya civilisation. The city of Gaya is one of the oldest existing cities of the world. The first structure of the buildings, the foundation-bricks of which can easily be seen if we go along the Phalgu river and mark the mounds of the old Gaya, probably belongs to the Vratyas (Kikatas), the original inhabitants of the place, marking a definite phase of the river valley civilisation and an urban culture. Secondly, the place was later on, due to the give-and-take policy of the Aryans completely aryanised and a fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan faiths took

⁽⁶⁾ Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E., *Buddha Gaya*: Ch. II.

place. Spirit worship became prevalent which was destined to go down centuries before Buddha's religion found a specific recognition among the inhabitants. The succeeding ages were swept by the teachings of Buddha. Side by side Jainism also flourished and left its distinctive marks on the land. Thirdly, during the wake of the Puranika Hinduism or neo-Brahmanism after the patronage of the kings of the Gupta dynasty and when Buddhism, due to its followers' conflicting notions, degenerated, the land saw another phase when Buddhism was supplanted by thinkers like Sankaracharya and his followers. Hinduism got the upper hand and since then the place had the association of the old Hindu religion (i.e., Brahmanism) and its various ideologies expressed in the Puranas and the Smritis. Thus the city recorded in its environs the imprints of the Vratya, Aryan, Buddhist, Jaina and neo-Hindu civilisations. Today, Gaya records a fusion of faiths. The political history of Gaya was writ large in its religious moorings and settings.

So far we have seen that from remote antiquity, Gaya has been enjoying a unique place in the cultural history of India. Its important role lay in the religious and cultural spheres not in the political or administrative ones.

THE DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN PORTIONS OF GAYA.

The district of Gaya was created in 1865 out of the portions of the old districts of Ramgarh and Bahar. The district has two distinct portions. Dr. Grierson⁽⁷⁾ writes: "To the present day, the Gaya district is composed of two tracts—northern and southern, with very distinct characteristics. The northern half of the district together with the Patna district is known as Magaha, a corruption of Magadha, and is well irrigated and fertile. The southern half which still locally bears the name of Ramgarh, commences about ten miles south of Gaya town, and is still imperfectly irrigated and covered with forests. Magaha represents the ancient Magadha which received Aryan civilisation from the north and west, and was the area from which Buddhism spread over India. Ramgarh has received such civilisation as it has got in latter years, from the south and south-west. Magaha to the present day is a Buddhist country. It is covered with ruins of temples and in frequent fields Buddhist images are turned up by the plough. Buddhism never seems to have penetrated Ramgarh.* Indeed, during the time of Magadha supremacy that country must have been a dense forest inhabited only by wild tribes and by a few solitary hermits. The country is dotted here and there with rude forts which local tradition attributes, and no doubt rightly attributes, to the Kols or wild aboriginal tribes in Central India. In later years, clearances were effected in it

(7) Dr. Grierson: Notes on the District of Gaya, pp. 3-4.

*This observation of Grierson was obviously made before the Buddhist relics at Itkhori in Hazaribagh district were found (P. C. R. C.)

by enterprising immigrants from Rajputana, who were the ancestors of such Rajputa families as those of Deva and Chandragarh. By them the south of the district has been brought into civilisation, but this " Zila Ramgarh " saw no Buddhist civilisation and has no Buddhist remains. Magaha is Buddhist, ancient, half cultivated and sparsely populated. "

The above description of Dr. Grierson indicates the difficulty of giving a connected history of the district as a whole. Doubtless, there are ample materials and direct and indirect evidence recorded so far for the history of Magadha, but the southern portion of the district of Gaya has no records to its credit until comparatively recent times. The Muslim historians have not taken any notice of Ramgarh; only it has been named as Jharkhanda, i.e., the jungle tract—a vague term given to the territory extending from Birbhum and Panchet to Ratanpura in Central India and from Rohatasagarh in Shahabad to the frontier of Orissa. Thus we see that the northern part of the district of Gaya has a long record of hoary antiquity whereas the southern part has no records to give any definite account. In spite of this circumstance, an attempt can be made to reconstruct the history of the Gaya district.

POLITICAL HISTORY : THE ANCIENT PERIOD.

We have seen that Gaya was occupied in pre-historic times by aboriginal tribes and races, which gave place to Aryan immigrants at a later period than in the adjoining tracts to the north-west, and Magadha, a country roughly corresponding to the modern districts of Gaya and Patna, continued to be inhabited by non-Aryan tribes at a time when Tirhut (Tirabhukti of the Gupta times) was under Aryan sway.

Magadha and its Antiquity.

Magadha came under the pale of Aryan civilisation long after it had enjoyed the gifts of Vratya civilisation and much later than the other portions of Northern India. The authentic history of Magadha begins with the sixth century B. C. but legends refer to dynasties ruling here much earlier. As the probable home of the non-Aryan Kikatas, who were noted for their wealth of kine, it was a coveted prize of the Aryan invader who, however, could not Brahmanise it thoroughly even in the period of the Kalpa Sutras. It came to possess a mixed population. The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas coming to the land were spoken of in a derisive tone as *Brahma-bandhu* and *Khatra-bandhu*, that is, so called Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. It has special relations with the Aryans outside the pale to whom the name Vratya was given in the Vedic canon⁽⁸⁾.

Magadha had an unprecedented history, culture and civilisation in its palmy days. Gaya was a special part of it, and, therefore, naturally

(8) Drs. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Roy Choudhury and K. K. Dutta: *An Advanced History of India*, pp. 77-78.

Gaya can doubtless boast of its past. As has been said before Magadha came into prominence from the sixth century B. C. The last Tirthankara of Jainism and the founder of Buddhism, Mahavira and Buddha respectively, had their prominent religious and philosophical excursions in this great land of Magadha. The former spent the greater part of his life here and breathed his last at Pava (Pavapuri) near the modern town of Biharshariff in the Patna district. The latter in search of supreme knowledge (*sambodhi*) sat at the feet of great scholars of Rajagriha and finally attained the supreme knowledge at Bodh Gaya which acquired since then a unique significance in the religious history of the world and, therefore, Gaya attached another importance to it and became a famous city in the whole Buddhistic world. The Buddhist book *Mahavagga* refers to the famous three Kasyapa brothers, viz., Uruvela Kassapa, Nadi Kassapa and Gaya Kassapa. These Kassapa (Kasyapa) brothers were known as Jatilas and had 1,000 followers. The Buddhist sources tell us that the festivals associated with them used to attract millions of pilgrims every year. In Magadha the first two Buddhist councils (*sangiti*) were held, one at Rajagriha and the other at Pataliputra, a later capital of the Magadh empire. Magadha was the centre of Jainism and Buddhism for ages and Nalanda and Odantapuri became later on famous seats of learning. Thus we find that the Gaya district as a famous part of the Magadha dominion enjoyed a unique privilege of being a centre of religious, intellectual and cultural associations. Later on for centuries together with the ascendancy of Magadha, Gaya must have played a significant role, especially during the time of the Guptas and the very many dynasties that established their rule over there. In the following sections we give a brief account of the same.

The Saisunaga Dynasty.*

As the religious exploits of Lord Buddha, who finally attained the supreme knowledge at Bodh Gaya (Buddha Gaya), were in his earlier days of penance and also later on associated with the Magadha land, it is not out of place here to deal with the history of Magadha very briefly. In the Puranika lists the earliest dynasty which can claim historical reality is that known as the Saisunaga, from the name of its founder Sisunaga who was apparently the king of a petty state, corresponding roughly with the present Patna and Gaya districts; his capital being Rajagriha (Rajgira), among the hills not very far from the modern district of Gaya. Nothing is known about his reign; and the second, third, and fourth kings are likewise mere names. The environs of Gaya practically emerges into the light of history in the time of Bimbisara (C 545 B. C.), the fifth of his line. Bimbisara was an able king. He annexed Anga by defeating Brahamadutta and "launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Asoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of

*According to the recent researches Bimbisara and Ajatasatru were of Haryanka line, not of Saisunaga dynasty and Saisunaga dynasty begins from Udayi. (P. C. R. C.).

Kalinga (9) ". He may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadha imperial power. He was the first to extend the frontiers of Magadha which hitherto was a petty state corresponding roughly with the present Gaya and Patna districts, " but the real interest of his reign is that it synchronised with the preaching both of Vardhamana Mahavira and of Buddha ". Bimbisara maintained friendly relations and strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful of the neighbouring states, taking one consort from the royal family of Kosala and another from the influential Lichchavi class at Vaisali. He sent his doctor Jivaka to Chanda Pradyota of Avanti when the latter was suffering from jaundice, and received an embassy from King Pukkusati of Gandhara.

Gautama Buddha.

During his reign, according to the Lalita Vistara Gautama Buddha came from Rajagriha to Gaya at the invitation of its inhabitants, who were good Brahmanas and spent some time in contemplation on the rocky crest of Gayasirsa (the Brahmayoni Hill), before he passed on to Bodh Gaya. Here he underwent the memorable spiritual experiences at the end of which he attained enlightenment. Much of his life was spent in this district after he began his mission, and it contains many of the scenes of his earliest preaching. His great contemporary, Mahavira, who was nearly related to the royal family of Magadha, also spent many years of his ministry within the limits of the Magadha kingdom, and then he succeeded in gathering large followers of monks who were afterwards known as Jains.

Ajatasatru.

Bimbisara is said to have been killed by his son Ajatasatru, who seized the throne. The crime involved him in war with the King of Kosala, whose sister was the wife of Bimbisara. The war apparently ended in favour of Ajatasatru and he retained the disputed territory of Vasi. He then passed on to the conquest of Vaisali (Basarh), the capital of the Lichchavis in Tirhut. The Jain Saint, who was a near relative of Ajatasatru passed away very soon after the close of Bimbisara's reign, and early in that of Ajatasatru; while the death of Gautama Buddha occurred not much later. From the time of Ajatasatru the whole country from the Ganga to the Himalayas appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Magadha.

Udayi.

There is a controversy with regard to the immediate successors of Ajatasatru. According to the Puranas, Darsaka was his immediate successor, but the Buddhist and the Jain writers assert that Udayi was his son and successor. It was Udaibhadra, who being afraid of Avanti's aggression transferred the Magadha capital to Pataliputra on the

(9) Dr. K. K. Dutta: Introduction to Bihar, p. 6.

confluence of the Ganga and the Son (the river Hiranyabahu or Erannabose of the Greek writers) where Ajatasatru had constructed a fort as a base of operations against the Lichchavis. The history of Magadha is obscure after Udayi. His successors were Aniruddha, Mudna and Nagadasaka—all incapable and parricides. The citizens being indignant banished the last ruler and raised a minister (*amatya*), Sisunaga by name, to the throne who was succeeded by Kalasoka or Kakavarna, whose reign is memorable for the second Buddhist council held at Vaisali. It was he who finally transferred the capital from Girivraja to Pataliputra. Kalasoka was succeeded by Bhadrasena who signalised his reign by building many *stupas*. The last ruler of this dynasty was overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda who became the founder of a new dynasty known as the Nanda dynasty.

The Nanda Dynasty.

Mahapadma Nanda was a great conqueror. There is an echo probably of his conquest in the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela of Kalinga, where we read how Kharavela took back an image removed to Magadha by king Nandaraja. Tradition recorded in late Mysore inscriptions affirms that his rule extended up to Kuntala in the southern part of the Bombay Province and the north of Mysore, and it is perhaps confirmed by the existence of a place called Nau Nanda Dehra (Nandar) on the Godavari in the Deccan. It is difficult to state whether the late tradition is historically true. Historians regard Mahapadma Nanda as the first historical paramount ruler of India. He was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled one after another, the last being Dhananda, who was ruling at the time of Alexander's invasion. The Greek historians speak of the might and wealth of this Nanda King whose fame made the armies of Alexander retreat from India. The dynasty of Mahapadma Nanda was, however, soon overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya, who began the rule of the illustrious dynasty known in history as the Maurya dynasty.

The Maurya Dynasty.

Traditions affirm that Chandragupta Maurya was a scion of the Maurya (Moriya) clan at Pippalivana and he was helped to execute his projects by Chanakya, the famous politician and the writer of the celebrated book on Politics "*Arthashastra*". He started a line of kings, who are famous as the Mauryas in the Indian history. Asoka the Great, whose emblem makes the insignia of Indian Republic today, was the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya.

Chandragupta.

Chandragupta Maurya foiled the attempt of the Greek King Seleucus and liberated the north-western part of the country from Macedonian (Greek) yoke. His reign was marked by splendid conquests and his empire extended beyond the Magadha limits and the whole of northern India and large parts of the peninsular India were

brought under his sceptre. Chandragupta carried his victorious arms up to Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district. His rule extended, thus, up to North Mysore in the Deccan, Saurashtra in the west, Hindukush and some portions of Afghanistan in the north-west and the Magadha dominions in the east. He ruled for about 24 years. He established an efficient system of administration with the assistance of his Guru Kautilya (Chanakya). The detailed account of his administration can be inferred from the Arthashastra and Megasthenes' 'Indika' found now only in the forms of quotations in the writings of the Greek historians.

Asoka.

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded by his son Bindusara (Circa 302 B. C.) about whose reign nothing significant is known. He was succeeded by his son Asoka the Great (Circa 273 B. C.) whose reign is considered to be "one of the most glorious epochs in the history of humanity". Asoka's first thirteen years were spent in expanding and consolidating the empire. His last war was with the Kalinga which proved to be a "turning point" in his career as a king. Thereupon the Maurya policy underwent a momentous transformation, *digvijaya* giving place to *dharma-vijaya*, for the loss of lives in the Kalinga battle greatly shocked Asoka and he felt remorse and embraced Buddhism. Henceforth royal activities were directed to develop cordial and social relations and religious toleration among various groups. The entire administrative machinery of the Maurya State began to be mobilised in propagating true spirit of *dharma*, religious toleration and welfare of the people, not only in the Maurya empire but also outside its boundaries, even to the distant Hellenistic Kingdom of Syria, Albania, Cyrena, Egypt and Macedonia. Ceylon and Burma received the cultural and religious missionaries of Asoka. The emperor established philanthropic institutions in those foreign countries. Traditions assert that Mahendra, son of Asoka, went to Ceylon. From his seat at Pataliputra, the greatest of the Kings, Asoka, sent out the first royal missionary of international peace and co-operation to different parts of the world, an act which the present world is still dreaming of. With the reign of the Great Asoka Gaya again comes to prominence. Overcome with remorse at the horrors of the conquest of Kalinga, as has been said before, Asoka became a Buddhist and signalled his adherence to that religion by constructing a temple and monastery at Bodhi Gaya, and by the deepest veneration for the sacred tree under which Buddha had obtained enlightenment. Under his patronage Buddhism spread far and wide, and one of the most notable events of his reign was, so far Gaya is concerned, transplanting a branch of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon.

After Asoka, there is nothing significant to note regarding the rule of his successors who were quite incapable to carry the behests of their predecessors. The last king of the Maurya dynasty, a weak prince named Brihadratha, was treacherously assassinated by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Sunga.

Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills.

The history of the Mauryas would not be complete without a reference to the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills where we find imprints of their benevolent activities. Details of these two hills and the caves therein will be found in the chapter on Directory.

Pushyamitra Kharavela, Mitra Kings and Huvishka.

After the *coup d'état* in about 185 B. C. Pushyamitra Sunga founded the Sunga dynasty which ruled Magadha and India for some time, but " failed to arrest the centrifugal forces which had full play " till the advent of the Guptas on the scene. Eminent historians like Drs. Smith, Jayaswal and Professor Dubreuil are of opinion that Kharavela of Kalinga was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga and had invaded " Magadha twice and defeated its king in the battle of Gorathagiri (the Barabara Hills), harassed Rajagriha and approached Pataliputra ". But this view is challenged by Drs. Majumdar and Roy Choudhury. After this we have very little knowledge of the history of Magadha down to the time of Huvishka, who is believed by the great Indologist General Cunningham to have furnished funds for the building of the great temple of Bodh Gaya (10). A gold coin of this king was found among the relics deposited in front of the Diamond throne. Whether the temple was built during the reign or not, it appears certain that Gaya was a part of the Kushana dominions which extended as far north as Kashmir and the Punjab. After the Sungas we pass on to the reign of the Sungabhritya Kanvas, which has nothing as yet to say regarding the Gaya region. Contemporaneously probably to the Kanvas or a bit later we come across the reign of the Mitra rulers, about whom we do not have any definite information except the fact that they were connected with the Gaya region, and their names have been inscribed on the old stone railings at Bodh Gaya. We have to take note of two kings, Kausikiputra Indraghimitra and Brahmanimitra, whose names loom large in some of the short inscriptions on the old stone railings at Bodh Gaya recording it to be a memorable erection of female piety. As their surnames indicate, they must have belonged to a Mitra dynasty, which probably rose into power in Magadha after the disruption of the Kanvas. It is not till the rise of the Gupta Empire that we find the next mention of Gaya in connection with the foundation of a splendid monastery at Bodh Gaya about the year 330 A. D. as we shall see just now.

Gupta Dynasty.

Gaya enjoyed the same religious peace and serenity in cultural advancement during the Gupta rule, for the Guptas were the most tolerant rulers and allowed the adherents of other religions to go their own way, though they were themselves the staunch supporters of Bhagavatism, i.e., Brahmanism. Here we shall not go into details

(10) General Cunningham: *Mahabodhi*, p. 31.

about the achievements of the Gupta emperors. We shall do well to confine our attention to only things appertaining to Gaya and its environs.

The second great ruler of the Gupta dynasty, Samudragupta is especially famous in the history of Gaya for the communication that went between him and the King of Ceylon in about 330 A. D. Meghavarna, the King of Ceylon, one of whom is said to have been his brother, had sent two monks to do homage to Diamond throne and visit the monastery built by Asoka to the east of the sacred tree at Bodh Gaya. The strangers, perhaps by reason of sectarian rancour, met with scant hospitality and on their return to the island complained to the King that they could not find any place in India where they could stay in comfort. King Meghavarna recognised the justice of the complaint, and resolved to remedy the grievance by founding a monastery where his subjects, when on pilgrimage to the holy place, should find adequate and suitable accommodation. He accordingly despatched a mission to Samudragupta laden with the gems, for which Ceylon had always been renowned, and other valuable gifts, and requested permission to found a monastery on Indian soil. Samudragupta flattered at receiving such attentions from the distant power, was pleased to consider the gifts as tribute, and gave the required permission. The envoy returned home, and, after due deliberation, King Meghavarna decided to build a monastery near the holy tree. His purpose was solemnly recorded on a copperplate and carried out by the erection of a splendid convent to the north of the tree. The building, which was three storeyed in height, included six halls, was adorned with three towers, and surrounded by a strong wall thirty or forty feet high. The decorations were executed in the richest colours with the highest artistic skill, and the statue of Buddha cast in gold and silver, was studded with gems. The subsidiary *stupas* enshrining relics of Buddha himself were worthy of the principal edifice. In the seventh century when Hiuen Tsiang visited it, this magnificent establishment was occupied by a thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahayana and afforded ample hospitality to pilgrims from Ceylon. The site is now marked by an extensive mound⁽¹¹⁾.

The Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian.

The Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian who⁽¹²⁾ visited India (405—411 A. D.) in the time of the most benevolent imperial Gupta, Chandragupta Vikramaditya, has left a glowing tribute to the prosperity of Magadha under the Gupta dynasty. The towns were the largest in the Gangetic plain, the people were rich and prosperous,

⁽¹¹⁾ Dr. Vincent Smith: *The Early History of India* (Second Edition, 1908), p. 372. The synchronism of Meghavarna with Samudragupta, discovered by M. Sylvain Levi from a Chinese work, has been discussed by Dr. Smith in the paper on Gupta Chronology. The inscriptions of Mahanaman at Bodh Gaya (*Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 192).

⁽¹²⁾ Beal's *Buddhist Record of the Western World*.

emulating each other, in the practice of virtue, charitable institutions were numerous, rest-houses were provided for travellers on the high-ways, and the Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed. The city of Gaya, we are informed by the pilgrim, " was empty and desolate, the holy places of Bodh Gaya, six miles to the south, were surrounded by jungle ". But at Bodh Gaya there were three monasteries, the priests of which were supplied by the people with all that they could desire.

The Maukharies.

The Maukhari rulers were also connected with the Gaya region. The Maukhari chieftain Anantavarman installed a beautiful image of the god Krishna in one of the Barabar Hill caves, the Lomasa Rishi cave, which was originally a cave—dedication of Asoka the Great, for the accommodation of the Ajivika ascetics⁽¹³⁾. He also installed Hindu images in the Nagarjuni Hill caves which were dedicated to the Ajivikas by the King Dasaratha. These installations prove the fact that Maukharies were ruling over the Gaya region also⁽¹⁴⁾. The Meharauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra records the pious act of a powerful King named Chandra consisting in the setting up of a lofty standard of the divine Vishnu on the Vishnupada Hill. Unfortunately the inscription is undated, but some scholars are of opinion that it belongs to the Gupta period and probably the King Chandra is Chandragupta Vikramaditya of the Gupta dynasty. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it at once presupposes the existence of a Vishnupada giri or hill bearing the foot-print of Vishnu⁽¹⁵⁾.

Hiuen Tsiang's Accounts of Gaya Mahabodhi and its Environs.

During the reign of Pushpabhuti Harshavardhana (606—648 A. D.) another Chinese pilgrim visited India and his accounts are more detailed. This celebrated pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang remained in India between 630 and 645 A. D. and recorded observations more or less minute about every place he visited. According to him, the people of Magadha highly esteemed the pursuit of learning and respected the religion of Buddha profoundly. Magadha contained 50 monasteries with 10,000 priests most of whom followed the Mahayana but there were also 10 *deva* temples belonging to numerous sectaries of different persuasion. From this it appears that the land had recovered from the onslaughts and the savage persecution of Sasanka, King of Bengal, who was a bitter opponent of Buddhism and had dug up and burnt the Bodhi Tree, destroyed the convents and scattered the monks, carrying his ravages up to the foot of the Nepalese hills. The change of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks, appears to have been due to the benevolent power of Harshavardhana, who was a devoted adherent of Buddhism and a

⁽¹³⁾ Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions of Anantavarman, of Fleet Corpus Inscriptionum, Vol. III, pp. 221—223.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 141.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Barua: *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, Bk. I, p. 158.

liberal patron of its institutions. From the account of the Chinese pilgrim it appears that Buddhism flourished in the country of Magadha and that Gaya was crowded with splendid Buddhist shrines and peaceful monasteries. At Gunamati, one of the first places in Gaya visited by Hiuen Tsiang, which has been identified with a spot in the south of Dharavata, there was a magnificent monastery containing 50 Buddhist priests; and south-west of this was the richly endowed convent of Silabhadra, standing by the side of a single sharp crag like a *stupa*, a description which clearly points to the peak of Kauwadol. Thence the pilgrim went to Gaya which he describes as well defended, difficult of access and thinly populated, but containing 1,000 Brahmanas, highly respected by the people everywhere, who were exempted by the King from services as vassals. On his way to Bodh Gaya he made a detour to Pragbodhi, where he saw the *stupas* erected by Asoka to commemorate all the spots trodden by Buddha, and then at Bodh Gaya itself he offered worship at the Bodhi Tree. The temple was surrounded by a vast number of *stupas* and minor shrines. The great monastery was occupied by more than a thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahayana, who afforded ample hospitality to the monks of Ceylon; and the tree itself was visited on each anniversary of the *nirvana* day by the princes of different countries and by a pious multitude numbering tens of thousands, who bathed its roots with scented water and perfumed milk. Hiuen Tsiang then crossed the river (Niranjana) and went to Bakraur, where there was a *stupa* set up in honour of the scented elephant Gandhabasti, of which the remains still exist; and after leaving the place he marched north-west in the direction of Rajagriha, passing on the way Kukkutapadagiri (modern Kurkihara), Yashtivana (Jethian) and the warm springs of Tapobana.

The accounts of Hiuen Tsiang are complete and very minute. In giving details of the Mahabodhi temple and its courtyard he has been very particular. He measured the distances or *stupas* and located each and everything worth mentioning with measured lengths and today we are in a position to know the positions and the sizes of famous monasteries and *stupas* that existed in the courtyard of the Great Temple. General Cunningham has very minutely studied the details of the pilgrim's accounts and has presented a scientific history of the Mahabodhi temple and its environs.

Pala Period.

The Palas of Bengal were devout Buddhists and a number of inscriptions at Bodh Gaya from the times of Gopala and up to Mahipala (Circa 988—1038) record the dedication of various statues of Buddha. Northern India had relapsed into anarchy after the death of Harshavardhana (648 A. D.), Pataliputra fell into ruins and each small potentate carved out a kingdom for himself. During these anarchic days Kings from far and wide tried to engulf Magadha. The Rashtrakutas from the Deccan were excited and their western rivals, the Pratiharas brought under control the whole of North India from

the Punjab to Gujrat and the Palas' dominions in the east. Inscriptional evidence proves the fact that a large portion of Bihar, including at least Gaya and Hazaribagh districts, the whole of Tirhut and North Bengal as far as Paharapur came to be occupied by the Pratiharas. But after a lull for some years the Palas recovered their power and regained the Gaya district (*Circa* 935—992). Under the Pala King Mahipala Gaya district formed a part of his dominion. Gopala, the first important ruler and founder of the Pala dynasty erected a great monastery at Bihar which took the place of Pataliputra as capital. Under Gopala's successor Magadha became a great centre of missionary enterprise, sending out emissaries to spread the faith over Central and Eastern India and even outside its borders. Not the least notable result of his activity was the revival of Buddhism in Tibet where Atisha, who had studied under the Abbot of the Bodh Gaya monastery, succeeded in reforming Lamaism on a Buddhist model which afterwards became the yellow-cap sect, and now the State Church holds the entire secular government of the country. Atisha died in 1052 near Lhasa and "the rock sculptures near his tomb show that he and his followers strove to reproduce in this northern climate the surroundings of their monasteries in Gaya". Lt.-Col. Waddell writes, "The rock sculptures bore abundant evidence that Atisha and Indian monks of his class had been in this locality. For the carvings covering the rounded shoulders and cliffs, along the roadside were more in the Indian style, whilst the contour and general appearance of those dark belchered rounded granite hills reminded one forcibly of similar hills in the Buddhist holy land round Buddha Gaya whence Atisha came." (16).

Due to the missionary activities of Asoka, Kaniska and other rulers in the beginning, the fame created by the pilgrimage of Chinese travellers Fa Hian, Hsuen Tsiang and others, the new interest in Buddhism taken by the Pala Kings, the glory of the sacred Buddhist sites in Gaya spread far and wide and pilgrims not only from all parts of India but even from far off countries of China and Burma began to repair to Gaya. The Palas were tolerant. During their rule Brahmanism also flourished and Gaya, the old place of pilgrimage, attracted Hindus as well as Buddhists. Later on the Gaya town and its environs were adorned with a number of temples erected to the Sun God, Gadadhara, Siva-Parvati and other Brahmanistic gods and goddesses.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

The conquest of Subah Bihar by Muhammad-bin-Bukhtiyar Khilji (1197 A.D.) is an epoch-making event in the history of Bihar. The monasteries and universities of Uddandapur, Nalanda and Vikramsila were ruthlessly sacked and monks slain. According to the fifteenth century Tibetan chronicler Taranath, Bukhtiyar on this occasion also erected a fortress on the site of Uddandapur as a mark of his victory. The combined intolerance and rapacity of the Muslims sounded the

(16) Lt.-Col. Waddell's Lhasa and its mysteries.

death knell of Buddhism, the popular religion of Bihar. Occupation of this important strategic region led to the conquest of Lakhnauti (Bengal) and Bihar and Bengal were temporarily united by Bukhtiyar Khilji. The successors of Bukhtiyar Khilji practically negated the authority of Delhi due to pre-occupation of Iltutmish. Iltutmish twice invaded Bengal and made Bihar a separate province under a Governor as a drastic measure to curtail the power of the Governor. But the arrangement lasted till his death. An inscription found at Baridargah, Biharshariff, dated 640/1212, ascribes the regal title of Tughan Khan, the then Governor of Bengal and makes no reference to the reigning king of Delhi*.

The old District Gazetteer of Gaya has mentioned that after the conquest of Bihar by Bukhtiyar Khilji Gaya passed under Muslim rule and its history is merged in that of the Subah Bihar, of which it formed an important part.⁽¹⁷⁾ But recent researches have thrown some light about the early Muslim occupation of South Bihar. It is true that the ravages of the Muslims wrought against Buddhist monasteries of Uddandapur (Vihar), Nalanda and Vikramsila almost forced Buddhism to disappear from its birth-place, but Muslim hold on Magadha (South Bihar) was never extensive. The conquest of Bukhtiyar only temporarily eclipsed the Hindu rulers of South Bihar. The dominant feature in the period following Iltutmish's death was the recovery of Hindu military energy. His work was virtually nullified in South Bihar. There is evidence to prove that to the south independent princes surviving the Sena-Gahdvala dominion held sway. Tibetan chronicler of the fifteenth century assigned them insignia of *pithipatis*, which is also supported by an inscription discovered round Bodh Gaya, far into the thirteenth century and describes them as vassals of the Turks.†

In Bodh Gaya itself are records inscribed by the ruling chiefs of Kama (Kumaon) and Sapadlaksha, whose dates suggest a continuous occupation of the district by the Hindus up to, at least, the reign of Balban. Asokacalla, the king of Kama, his brother and his priests figure in these inscriptions in the years La-sam 51/1170-71, 74/1193-94 and the year 1813 of the *nirvana* era, which according to Fleet, should correspond to 1270 A.D.⁽¹⁸⁾ The old District Gazetteer, Gaya (1906) ostensibly corroborates on the basis of the accomplished work of these Hindu rulers. Not only that early in the reign of Mahmud in the very citadel of Muslim power, the Governor of Bihar Kuret Khan lost his life in repelling what was evidently a siege.⁽¹⁹⁾ But recognition of Balban's suzerainty is implied by the inclusion of his name (written Birubana) in a Sanskrit inscription of a resident of

*Cunningham Reports, XV, p. 45.

† Ray: Dynastic History, Chap. I, p. 939.

(17) District Gazetteer, Gaya, 1906, p. 22.

(18) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 658.

(19) Minhaj, p. 259.

Gaya, named Banraj, dated in V.S. 1325/1268 A. D. which runs thus :—" *Tatparena Turushka rajena Birabunena* ".⁽²⁰⁾

If credence is to be placed into the bardic annals recounting Rajput attempts in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. to free Gaya and other holy places from the Turks, direct annexation of the district by the Mewar Rajput must be presumed, which seems highly improbable.⁽²¹⁾ Balban's declared policy of defensive consolidation would accord, at least, only with an acknowledgement of his paramountcy, most probably, as the Tibetan account asserts, from the *pithipatis*. Thus it might be applied with great logic that Bukhtiyar's victory only conferred the early Muslims the ' *de jure* ' sovereignty, but not ' *de facto* ' mastery over South Bihar, at least up to the reign of Balban.

Muslim Saints.

The comparative peace and prosperity owing to the defensive consolidatory policy of Balban ushered in a new era in the history of Bihar. It was during this time that the saints of Islam who excelled the Hindu priesthood and monks in active piety, energy and foresight began proselytising on a wide scale not so much by force as by the fervour of their faith and exemplary character. They lived and preached among the low class Hindus in the grip of superstition and social repression. These new converts in rural areas became a source of additional strength to the Muslim Government. By destroying temples and monasteries the Muslim warriors of earlier times had only appropriated their gold and silver; but the sword could not silence history, nor carry off their immortal spiritual treasure, wherein lay rooted Hindu idolatry and Hindu nationalism. The saints of Islam completed the process of conquest, moral and spiritual by establishing *dargahs* and *khanqahs* deliberately on the sites of these ruined places of Hindu and Buddhist worship. Hindus who had been accustomed for centuries to venerate these places easily transferred their allegiance to the *pirs* and *ghazis*. The result of this rapprochement in the domain of faith ultimately created a more tolerant atmosphere which kept the Hindus indifferent to their political destiny. Perhaps the most notable example of the invasion of the sites of Hindu worship by Muslim saints is the transformation of the Sringi Rishi Kund into the Makhdum Kund at Rajgir, and the translation of the miracle-working Buddha of the Devadatta legend into a venerable Muslim saint, Makhdum Sahib. Among the fourteenth century Muslim mystic Sufi saints Ahiya Maneri and Shaikhuddin Bihari made a great headway in mediæval Bihar for the cause of Islam. Bihar became the preaching ground of the prominent Chisti and Qadri orders of Sufism.

⁽²⁰⁾ Cunningham: Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. III, p. 127.

⁽²¹⁾ District Gazetteer, Gaya, 1906, p. 23.

So far the Gaya district is concerned no systematic spade-work has been done to trace the history of the early Muslim Sufi saints. Here it is not out of place to mention that as a result of long association and the increase of the converted Indo-Muslim community as well as of the liberalising reform movements spread out over several centuries, the Hindus and Mohammadans had come to be considerably influenced by one another's thought and customs, and mutual toleration was taking the place of mediæval uncompromising fanaticism. The best specimen of this Hindu-Muslim rapprochement is found in the *dargah* of Chand Haji or Chand Saudagar at Dariyapur Parvati which got mention in the reports of General Cunningham and Dr. Grierson. It is said that the burial ceremony of Chand Haji was performed by a Hindu *fakir*.⁽²²⁾ Recently some material documents, including *farmans* and *sanads*, *parwanas*, official letters and *mahzarnamas* have been found in a village Amthua or Umata, about seven miles east of Jahanabad, which mainly deal with the Mughal period. The manuscripts of the materials are preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. Within a walled enclosure on an elevated ground to the north of the village there are five old tombs which are situated in a row and were apparently built at one and the same time. These are reputed to be of "Haji martyrs". To the south of this, at a place where a *Karbala* was built later, there stood a Shershahi mosque erected at time when the great Sur had not assumed the sovereignty of India, though he had become the *de facto* ruler of Bihar. This is evident from a dated epigraph incised on a stone slab measuring 8" x 35" having unmistakably Hindu decorative motifs on its back. Another walled enclosure contains numerous old brick-built tombs, including those of certain persons mentioned in the documents examined, namely, Shaikh Muhammad Chisti, etc. An interesting *sanad* bearing the seal of "Jafar Khan Banda-i-Badshah Alamgir 1079 A.H." mentioning Khidmat Guzur Khan, a Minister and Lashkar Khan, a Governor of Bihar, and conferring properties in *pargana* Bhilawar for repairing mosques and expenses of the *Khanqah* and maintenance of Bibi Rabia, Zainab Khadija and Daulat shows that they were descendants of Zubdat-ul-Wasilen Shaikh Muhammad Chisti. Fazil Qadri, a descendant of the founder of Qadri order, Badr Alam Qadri, a descendant of Abdul Qadir Gilani and Sayed Abdul Haq are mentioned in the tombs. What is more gratifying is that two scholars of Amthua were invited to Delhi by Emperor Aurangzeb and appointed members of a syndicate of celebrated theologians for compiling an authoritative work on Muslim Jurisprudence called *Fatwa-i-Hindia* or *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*. Mulla Muhammad Shafi was descendant of Abdul Qadir Gilani, the founder of the Qadri order of Sufism. He came to Ghazni *via* Sirhind and Delhi to Bihar in the fourteenth century during the life of the celebrated saint scholar of Bihar Shariff, Mukhdum Sharfuddin Yahiya Maneri. Mulla Shafi was a great scholar and pious saint.

(22) Grierson : Notes on Gaya.

Mulla Muhammad Faiq was descended from Qudwatus-Salikin Makhdum Budd Sufi who has been mentioned, among others, in a *farman* of Jahangir, dated *Zulqada* 1033 A.H./1623. Budd Sufi was also a resident of Amthua and a book written by him about the devotional practices of the Qadri order is available. All the *farmans* from Shahjahan to Muhammad Shah were issued for granting *madad-i-massh* to the saints and scholars of Amthua.

There is an interesting account of Sheikh Muhammad Ali during the time of Dariya Khan Lohani, the powerful Governor of Bihar under the Lodis, who at first paid no heed to the frantic appeals of the Sheikh for the help as his whole family had been done to death by the order of Jiwan, the Kol chief of the wild tracts of modern Aurangabad subdivision for preaching Islam among his tribes. Sayed Muhammad Qadri had come all the way from Baghdad in 846-47 A.H. with a few followers to preach Islam, and if possible to secure the redress of the grievances of Sheikh Muhammad Ali, then a pilgrim at Mecca. Dariya Khan ordered a *Khushk* or villa to be built for the Qadri saint at a place which was once known as "Narahna".

After the demise of Balban, Sultan Nasiruddin retained the province of Bihar and appointed Firuz Aitgin, the Royal (Balbani) Mamluk as its Governor. But it is a reasonable guess that Firuz Aitgin of Bihar had already become semi-independent and he seized the Government of Bengal after the death of Kaikus. Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah entrusted the Government of Bihar to one of his sons Tajuddin Hatim Khan. There are two inscriptions of the time of Firuz from Bihar, dated respectively 709 and 715 A.H. bearing the name of Firuz Shah as sovereign and that of Hatim Khan as Governor.

Though we get no inscription of the founder of the Tugluq dynasty, we have two important ones of his son and successor, Muhammad Bin Tugluq, namely, the beautiful Sukunat inscriptions of Bihar Shariff. These inscriptions show that the province of Bihar was again detached from Bengal about the thirties of the fourteenth century. The *mal'uzat* of the renowned saint of Bihar mentions one Zainuddin Majdul Mulk as the *mufti* or Governor of Bihar, and tells us that emperor Muhammad Bin Tugluq sent through Majdul Mulk a "Bulgarian Carpet" for Sarfuddin Ahiya Maneri, and also ordered the former to set aside a *Jagir* from Rajgir for the upkeep of *Khanqah* which he had to build for the convenience of the saint's devotion.

There is an inscription on black basalt in the shrine of Bibi Kamalo at Kako (Gaya) which tells us the names of Firuz Shah's successors, Muhammad Shah, his son, and Mahmud Shah, his grandson. Now we reach to the next phase, the Muslim period in Bihar when it was under the Sarqi kings of Jaunpur. Their inscriptions range between the years 805 to 892 A.H. It appears that the Jaunpur kings had given *Jagirs* to Pathan chiefs and Rajput and Bhumihar Brahmans also got considerable influence.

But Bihar under the Afgans, Nuhanis (Luhani), Formulis, the Surs and Kararanis asserted itself against both Delhi and Bengal, and under the Surs it was soon destined to dominate the whole of India. Sher Shah's mosque inscription of Amthua (Gaya) which no longer exists is important for its two dates 935/1528-29 and Sunday, 22 Shaban, 942 (1535), as the accession of Sher Shah to the throne of Delhi occurred in 947 or 1540. "*Dar Ahd-i-Bandagi* Hazarat Ali Sher Khan Wald Hasan Sur" is written on the inscription. Though virtually master of Bihar, he had not yet assumed the sovereignty of India.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign until 1563, North Bihar, with its capital at Hajipur, was directly governed by the Sur of Bengal, while South Bihar, with its main seat in the town of Bihar Shariff, was in the hand of a Kararani Afgan, named Mian Sulaiman.⁽²³⁾ On the assassination of Jalal Shah Sur, the Kararanis became supreme over the whole of Bihar and Bengal. Sulaiman with the help of his brother, who had conquered Bengal, not only united the two provinces under one rule but also conquered Orissa. The recalcitrant attitude of Daud, the successor of Sulaiman compelled Akbar to take stern attitude against the former and Akbar personally conquered Bihar in August, 1574.

The Afgans were only scotched but not killed. A mighty upsurge ensued in the district of Gaya by the forcible expulsion of Arab Bahadur, the Agent of Munim Khan⁽²⁴⁾ from the fort of Maher⁽²⁵⁾ (Gaya) by the two Afgan nobles Haji and Ghazi. The stern attitude of Muzaffar Khan Turbati succeeded to quell the disturbance temporarily only to rise again.

After the transfer of Muzaffar Khan Turbati in Bengal in 1577 a fresh and formidable insurgence began in Bihar due to the disaffection of the military commanders. On the receipt of the news Akbar sent Raja Todar Mal for suppressing the rebels. Dalpat Shahi, the Raja of Bhojpur, supported the Muslim rebels. There is mention in the Akbar Nama (page 472) that Todar Mal reached the town of Gaya on the 15th Mihr or 27th of September, 1580. The rebels being unable to maintain their ground, moved on and halted at the town of Bahira or Sherghati. It was in the vicinity of Sherghati that Masum, the leader of the rebels, despite the paucity of his troops, took advantage of the careless and over confident attitude of the imperialists, turned back, and suddenly attacked them at night.⁽²⁶⁾ Ultimately the rebels, despite their initial advantages, were worsted and Shahr-i-Bahira or Sherghati was occupied. Soon the Garhi-pass was occupied and Raja Todar Mal

⁽²³⁾ Bihar in Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875.

⁽²⁴⁾ Ain-i-Akbari 318. Abul Fazal says that Munim Khan was given jagir in Bihar.

⁽²⁵⁾ Maher is about ten miles to the south-east of Gaya, in the modern survey map.

See also Beames's map, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1885.

⁽²⁶⁾ Tawarikh-i-Akbari, 353.

was in a position to send a report that the whole of South Bihar as far as Garhi⁽²⁷⁾ had been re-annexed to the empire.

By the time Khan-e-Ajam had joined Raja Todar Mal at the end of September, 1580, the rebels had left Bihar and fled to Bengal. But instead of leading an expedition to that province in pursuit of the fugitives the imperialists decided to restore peace and order and consolidate their position in Bihar. On the 8th Abar or 20th October, 1580, the whole country⁽²⁸⁾ from Shahr Bahira or Sherghati to Rohtas was made over to Mohib Ali Khan and Syed Muzaffar and the historian, Mir Masum Bhakkari, were sent along with him. On that day the armies halted at Gaya in the neighbourhood of Raj Garha where Mohammad⁽²⁹⁾ Baha Dost came and joined Khana-e-Azam with two hundred of his followers who had broken with the rebels. The concerted action of Raja and Khan made Bihar clear of the rebels by the end of 1580.

Raja Todar Mal left Bihar and went back to Delhi near about the 5th September, 1581. Khana-e-Ajam continued to govern Bihar and was assisted by Hakim Human and Hakim Ali who were sent in October, 1581 to serve as *Sadars* in the north and south of the province. Kuar Man Singh was sent to assume the Governorship of Bihar where he and his uncle Raja Bhagwan Das had been granted fiefs in December, 1587. The Kuar got the title of Raja on the death of his uncle. Abul Fazal⁽³⁰⁾ says that "Raja Man Singh administered the province of Bihar well and the refractory became obedient." Prince Daniyal, and Prince Salim, the heir apparent, figure prominently in the history of Bihar at the end of the sixteenth century.

During the reign of Aurangzeb Bihar was under Subahdar Daud Khan who subdued the Raja of Palamau in 1663 A.D. and founded the city of Daudnagar as a mark of his victory. After the death of Daud Khan Shamsher Khan was appointed the Governor of Bihar who died in 1712 A.D. His tomb at Shamshernagar (Gaya), which was erected during his life time, is one of the principal monuments of the mediæval Bihar.

The Mughal Subahdars.

The later Mughal emperors transferred Bihar again to the province of Bengal which was ruled semi-independently by Nawab Nazims through Deputy Subahdars. These Subahdars played significant roles as local chieftains when the central control slackened. Alivardi Khan, the Deputy Subahdar of Bihar under Shuja-ud-daula, tried to subdue the local potentates whose independence had become a menace to the

(27) *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 352 *Tawarikh-i-Akbari*, simply says that the *Garhi* was captured, 853.

(28) *Akbarnama*, 475.

(29) *Akbarnama*, 476.

(30) *Akbarnama*, 873.

ruling power. Riyazu-s-Salatin mentions in this connection "Invading the tracts of Sundar Singh, Zamindar of Tekari and Namdar Khan Muin, who, sheltered by dense forests and rocks, had not cared for former Nazims, had neglected to discharge the duties of loyalty, and had never paid the Imperial revenue without coercion. Ali Vardi Khan set about chastising them, subdued their tracts completely, levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection. And similarly punishing other insolent rebels, Ali Vardi Khan placed the ring of submission on their ears". This testimony proves the fact that Gaya was frequently overrun by contending armies during the troublous times which fully engulfed the Mughal Empire and paved the way for the establishment of the British power.

Powerful Zamindars.

During these uncertain times the district of Gaya underwent many governmental and fiscal vicissitudes and was parcelled out into many zamindaries and a number of powerful zamindars grew up, keeping the small standing armies as was done by the barons of the feudal age in Europe. The Raja of Tekari was paramount in the centre of the district, Kamgar Khan and his brother Namdar Khan in Narhat and Samai in the east, Vishnu Singh, the zamindar of Siris and Kutumba in the west and the Raja of Ramgarh in the south. The Ramgarh Raja became so powerful that the Viceroy of the province had scarcely any control over him. To curb his power an expedition was sent against him in 1740 headed by the father of the author of the *Sairul-Mutakharin* and assisted by the zamindars of Siris, Kutumba and Sherghati as well as the Raja of Tekari. The Ramgarh fort was subdued and the allied forces advanced far into the hills, but this expedition was abandoned in consequence of the bewildering news that the turbulent Maharattas were marching through the hills in order to swoop down upon Bengal. During these days of bickerings amongst the zamindars on the one hand and the ruling power on the other, Gaya suffered a lot. Balaji Rao in 1743 marched through it on his way to Bengal at the head of 50,000 horses. It is said, he levied contributions forcibly. Ahmad Khan, the grandson of Daud Khan (the founder of Daudnagar) holding the *parganas* of Anccha and Goh ventured to withstand Balaji Rao. He shut himself up with his family, his troops and all the merchants and moneyed-men of the place in the fort of Ghausgarh which he had built and fortified close to Daudnagar. The Maharattas sacked and burnt the town. Ahmad Khan had to pay a fine of Rs. 50,000. Thence forward the Maharattas passed through Tekari, Gaya and Manpur without any opposition.

Raghoji Bhonsle's Invasion.

The second sally of the Maharattas under Raghoji Bhonsle took place in 1745. This was because Raghoji wanted to rescue some Afghan followers of Mustafa Khan, the rebellious general of Alivardi Khan who

had taken refuge in the hill near Sasaram after their defeat near Jagdishpur. It is said that the Maharattas on their march sacked and plundered the town of Tekari and all the adjoining territory, after which they crossed the Son and did not visit Gaya again till after they had effected a junction with the Afghans.

Shahzada Shah Alam's Invasions.

After these Maharatta skirmishes the district of Gaya enjoyed peace for some years. Only one notable incident took place. Rama Narayana, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, led an expedition against Vishnu Singh of Siris and Kutumba on his refusal to pay any revenue after Siraj-ud-daula's death and annexed a considerable strip of territory. But Gaya was again involved into serious fighting. The Shahzada, the imperial prince, who afterwards became the Mughal emperor Shah Alam, invaded Bihar in order to establish his claims to the province which had fallen to the lot of the Bengal Governor during the decline of the central power. Kamgar Khan of the Gaya district joined him and became quite important in the Bihar politics of the day. Shah Alam was repulsed by the English, the *de facto* rulers of Bengal, near Barh. When he became shortly afterwards the Mughal emperor after his father's assassination, he fell back on the Gaya district, where he and his army reigned without opposition from Daudnagar to the environs of Bihar. The author of *Sair-ul-Mutakhharin* writes: "Having nothing to subsist upon but what he found in the fields and among the farmers of the flat country, both himself and his cavalry and cattle would have been exceedingly distressed had he sojourned for any length of time in one place; in such a case he would have suffered for want of grain and for everything requisite for an army. His authority was not acknowledged, and he was obliged to live by rapine and plunder, just as if he had been in the country of some stranger". The Raja of Tekari suffered a lot on account of the long stay of Shah Alam and the assistance he got from Kamgar Khan. Afterwards he had to come out of his fortress and was captured by 1,000 Mughal horses sent by Kamgar Khan.

The Battle of Manpur (January 15, 1761).

At length Shah Alam had to give battle to the English troops under Major Carnac with the allied troops under Miran, the son of the Nawab Mir Jafar Khan and the Governor Rama Narayana. The battle was fought at Manpur in Gaya on the right side of the river Phalgu. On the side of the Mughal emperor there were also some soldiers headed by a French adventurer Monsieur Law who had taken service with the Indian powers after the capture of Chandarnagar and had joined the emperor with a small train of artillery. The battle was decisive and Shah Alam along with Kamgar Khan broke and fled away. Monsieur Law remained to the last and afterwards surrendered to Major Carnac. Shah Alam came to terms and was escorted to Patna where he

conferred formally the viceroyalty of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa on Mir Kasim Ali. In the year 1764 Mir Kasim Ali was defeated at Buxar for he had revolted against the English supremacy over him and had taken definite stand. After his defeat the English became the master of the lower provinces of Bengal.

The administrative history of early British rule in Gaya district from after the grant of *diwani* in 1765 up to the great Movement of 1857 followed more or less the same pattern as in the other districts of Bihar. The dual Government of Clive led to a lot of oppression, corruption and distress. The position was further aggravated by a terrible famine in 1770 which had affected the district of Gaya as well. In 1770 a change was made in the system of administration by the establishment of a Revenue Council in Patna. Most of the present district of Gaya continued to be in Sarkar Bahar with its headquarters at Gaya. The administrative set up at Gaya, however, was linked up with the Revenue Council that was set up in Patna since 1770. The administration of revenue collection under the Council was unsatisfactory and in 1781 a change was made in the system. The Council was abolished and the farm of whole of Bihar province was taken by Rai Raiyan Kallian Singh, son of Shitab Rai. The subordinates who were employed for collection of revenues were extremely unsympathetic to the cultivators. The rulers were more inclined to get as much revenue as possible from the *raiyats*.

There was a set of powerful zamindars all over the district who were more or less exercising the authority of petty rulers. They were also in their turn quite oppressive on the tenants. They maintained their own band of soldiers or *lathials*. It is significant that in Rennel's map of South Bihar the zamindars of Narhat-Samai and Siris-Kutumba are specially shown as if they were semi-independent estates. These zamindars were potential source of disturbance, occasionally helping the British rulers and occasionally trying to undermine them. Kamgar Khan of Hasua died in 1764 but Waris Ali Khan, the last survivor of the brothers of Hasua, who had been expelled from Kharakdiha on the British occupation of Chotanagpur remained in possession of the family estates in Bihar proper to which Iqbal Ali Khan, son of Kamgar Khan succeeded in 1778. In Siris-Kutumba Narain Singh, nephew of Bishun Singh, had succeeded to the zamindari. He was, however, ousted from the direct management of the estate in 1778 owing to default in payment of revenue. During the revolt of Chait Singh in 1781 Iqbal Ali Khan of Hasua and Narain Singh of Siris-Kutumba showed active sympathy for him. But they were routed. Iqbal Khan's estates in Rajgir and Amarthi were granted to Ali Ibrahim Khan for his help to prevent Patna massacre in 1763. Iqbal Ali Khan died in 1800 leaving no legitimate descendant.

In July, 1787 the office of the Revenue Chief was abolished and Thomas Law became Collector of the district of Bahar. This district

with headquarters at Gaya, as mentioned before, included the area now covered by the districts of Patna and Gaya with Japla and Belonja and included the *parganas* up to the river Kiul. One of the administrative problems of Thomas Law was to keep in check the powerful zamindars of the district. Thomas Law conceived the scheme of making permanent settlement with the village *maliks*.

There were obvious advantages to be gained by making them zamindars; their *malikana* would be added to their zamindari allowance as security for their taking pains to avoid default. Moreover, since these *maliks* possessed a prescriptive title anterior to that of the Mayi family, a permanent settlement with them would effectively keep out Iqbal Ali Khan. The aggressions of the Mayi family were comparatively recent; the memory of Kamgar Khan was still vivid, and Iqbal Ali Khan's rebellion had occurred only six years before. The local officers might well view with some concern the possibility of this family's return to power. Apart from these considerations, Thomas Law pointed out the advantages to be expected from a permanent settlement; as that the temporary farmer neglected irrigation works, whereas a permanent proprietor might be expected to take an intelligent interest in his estate. From the beginning of 1788, Law was indefatigable in urging the adoption of a permanent settlement, and although the Board of Revenue disapproved of his scheme, the Court of Directors in 1792 made his settlement permanent, complimenting him on his activity, knowledge and humanity—in thus bringing into view the advantages of a permanent settlement. Law's settlement was undoubtedly of great importance in the development of the scheme for the permanent settlement of these provinces because while others were hesitating, doubting, and finding difficulties in every plan proposed, Law not only boldly prepared a plan but promptly carried it into effect.

The permanent settlement was made in 1793 and along with other districts it had brought in its train both its good and evil in Gaya district as well.

The uncertainty of the times and the sense of insecurity which prevailed often tempted the outsiders as well as the powerful rivals within the district to cross sword with the zamindars and the Company's servants in Gaya district. The Mayis tried to dispossess Choudhury Bhelun Singh, ancestor of the Raja of Amawa. Bhelun Singh was able to successfully resist the Mayis when they tried to dispossess him of his *milkiats* which he had purchased in Malda *pargana*. The incursions of the Maharattas were a constant nightmare. It is said that several times the scare of the Maharattas made the Gayawals of Gaya town raise high walls and devise protective measures for the town. But there is no record to show that the Maharattas had actually invaded Gaya. Highway robbery and dacoity were rampant during this period. It was not possible to check the incidence of crime in the

unwieldy Sarkar Bahar from the headquarters at Gaya. In 1825 this led to the creation of a new district in Patna. The name of the district of Bahar was changed to that of Gaya in 1865.

Unfortunately there has not been much study of the social and economic history of this interesting period when the British administration was being consolidated. Communications were extremely difficult as mentioned before. Crime was very common. There were scattered European planters who were interested in the cultivation of opium and indigo. There was a large scale export of these articles to the factories in Patna. The journals of Buchanan's tours (1811-12) in South Bihar also contain his memoirs regarding the district of Gaya and give us descriptions of the various places that he visited.* Unfortunately Buchanan Hamilton does not appear to have had much interest in the administrative history of the district.

Some descriptions of the district from Buchanan Hamilton's report will be of interest. Buchanan's opinion of the roads in the district was by no means high. He described Jahanabad as a large country town. He had visited Kurta (Kurtha), Kauwadol and Barabar. He had given lengthy descriptions of the relics he found at Barabar and Nagarjun. He had mentioned about the narrow, dirty and crooked streets of Gaya town. He had given a vivid description of Vishnupada temple. His description of Gaya is quite interesting. He noticed two gateways with a street between and attributed them to Mrs. Seton, one with Register and the other with Judge. He found the town of Gaya more than half of a mile from north to south and somewhat less from east to west.

He mentions that *tasar*, indigo, catechu and cotton used to be grown. He mentions one Mr. Christian having encouraged the sowing of indigo.

Buchanan found some Buddhist monasteries in different places of the district. He had observed that the *purdah* system was not as strict in Gaya as he found in Bhagalpur.

The main administrative problem during this period was to consolidate the administration and the activities of the early administrators in various departments. Before this consolidation could take place came the Great Movement of 1857, commonly described as the Sepoy Mutiny.

THE BRITISH PERIOD.

The Movement of 1857.

In the previous paragraphs we have seen that during the last days of the Mughals and the Nawabs of Bengal the English had sufficient opportunity to occupy Bengal dominions including Bihar. After the

*Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol. VIII, Pts. III & IV, 1922.

English had established their rule in India nothing significant happened in respect to Gaya till the Movement of 1857 described by the British historians as the mutiny. During this Movement Gaya played an important role. Even since the commencement of the convulsions in Upper India, there had been indications of an unquiet spirit pervading all classes of the people. In the city itself the fiction that the bones or blood of swine and oxen had been mixed with flour of the bazar was industriously disseminated, and attempts were made to corrupt the Sikh soldiers who were posted there, and to win them over to the rebel cause. There was, however, no overt act of hostility, and the disturbances only began with the abandonment of the station. The Collector of Gaya, Mr. Alonzo Money reported on the 28th of July, 1857 that the mutiny of Dinapur had thrown Gaya into a ferment, but there was nothing to be afraid of the towns-people, as they were surrounded by a new and strong police, and had a wholesome dread of the 45 English and 100 Sikhs. This Collector was confident enough of his power and strategy and was prepared to meet anybody of the rebels under 300 or 350 about two miles from the town, and had no doubt of giving them a good thrashing. He received a message on July 31, from the Commissioner of Patna informing him of the defeat of Dunbar's party near Arrah and saying that everything must now be sacrificed to holding the country and the occupation of a central position. He was ordered to proceed forthwith with the treasure to Patna. He called the residents under his charge and informed them of the order and at six that evening he started with his troops leaving Gaya under the charge of the Daroga and the Subahdar of the *najib* guard. He had no carts to take away the treasury containing seven lakhs of rupees. When they had gone three miles off from the town Mr. Money and Mr. Hollings, officers of the Opium Department decided to come back to save the Government property. But Mr. Money came back alone sending the party away to Patna. He found the city quiet and no harm whatsoever was done to the Government property. The towns-people and the Gayawals expressed their joy on his return and promised every help. But not much help was received from the Gayawals. Money decided once more to go away with treasury with the help of the detachment of the 64th stationed at Sherghati. On the 1st of August it transpired that the soldiery at Dinapur had mutinied and had attacked and looted Arrah. The Gayawals did not co-operate, the zamindars were indifferent and disaffected. Of the promised levies less than 100 men and those, the refuse of the villages, old, weak and useless, came to the rescue of the Collector. He got an urgent message from Dinapur on the 3rd of August: "For God's sake, look out. The 8th Native Infantry have marched upon Gaya, they say, with one gun." Mr. Money decided to fall back on the Grand Trunk Road with the treasure on the pack-bullocks and carts which had brought the English soldiers. While the convoy was off, he came back to his bungalow to save a few things of value and heard

that the jail was let loose and the prisoners were set free. He at once got off on a horse to catch the convoy. Soon the disaffected persons, prisoners and the *najibs* and all who could assemble pursued and attacked the troops whom they overtook in the rocky pass on the Dobhi road near the present jail. But they were repulsed. The party went away unmolested and reached the Raniganj railway station and thence proceeded to Calcutta and made over the treasure which he was able to save.

Gaya was re-occupied on the 16th of August by a force of 220 of Captain Rattray's Sikhs and 35 men of H. M.s 85th. Steps were at once taken to restore the authority of Government. Outstations of Sherghati and Nawada which had been abandoned were re-occupied on the 8th of September. On the 8th September the 5th Irregular Cavalry which had revolted at Bhagalpur, invaded the Gaya district plundering as they went. At length, after having destroyed the public buildings at Nawada, they approached Gaya and Captain Rattray proceeded to encounter them at a few miles' distance from the station; but after a severe skirmish, in which they inflicted considerable loss on the Police Battalion, they evaded him and got to Gaya before he could reach. Here they made an unsuccessful attack on a house which had been fortified for the protection of the residents, but succeeded in breaking open the jail and liberating the prisoners. They failed in an attempt to plunder the town and after murdering the Munsif of Bihar they rode off for Tekari and the Son. Towards the end of October, fresh alarm was caused by the advance of two companies of the 32nd Native Infantry which had mutinied at Bhagalpur; but the mutineers continued their march through Jahanabad to the Son without visiting Gaya, and on the 22nd October Major English marched to its rescue with a detachment of the 53rd Regiment.

Jodhara Singh.

So far we have been considering the rebellious attacks of the soldiery, now let us recount the warlike activities of a remarkable man named Jodhara Singh, who with a band of Bhojpur men, had created havoc in the north and west of the district making grants of lands to his followers and declaring that the British *rajya* was over. The Arwal area was plundered by him. A party of *najibs*, sent to check him, failed in its object. Jodhara Singh retreated to his house at Khamini which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by 70 or 80 men armed with guns and matchlocks. It was with great difficulty that he was humbled later on.

The Government officers took stringent steps to restore order. A body of European mounted police was raised to crush the insurgents, an extra police force was sent to Nawada, and in January, 1858, Gaya itself was reinforced by 100 soldiers and officers of the Indian Navy. In June, 1858 it was heard that a batch of Shahabad insurgents had crossed the Son river with the intention of attacking Tekari. But they contented themselves with plundering villages near Arwal and

destroying two factories belonging to the Solano family. It was fully expected that Gaya and its jail would be attacked, and as the jail was considered untenable 156 of the worst prisoners were sent to Sherghati. The guards broke into rebellion within six miles of that place, shot their officer and released their prisoners. On the 22nd of June, the remainder of the najib guard reported that 200 rebels had come quietly to the jail in the night and released the prisoners. After two days, the Jahanabad thana was surprised, the Government buildings burnt, the daroga cut into pieces and his mangled body hung up by the heels on the tree opposite to the thana. Jodhara Singh openly boasted that he would destroy every public building between the Son and Monghyr. Captain Rattray with a big force was sent to crush him. At the battle of Kasma he was routed finally and this enabled the English to re-establish their authorities finally in the district.

The Movement of 1857 was an eye-opener to the British administration and immediate steps were taken in all the affected districts to stop the recrudescence of such movements. Similar measures were taken for the district of Gaya also. The character of the Police State that is usually associated with the later phase of British administration in India, received a new momentum because of the Movement of 1857. It was found necessary to strengthen the policy of divide and rule and for this a privileged class who could be trusted as a buffer was deliberately encouraged. The landed aristocracy and a section of the intellectuals and particular communities were roped in to create this privileged section.

The old Correspondence Volumes preserved in the archives of the Collector's Record Room at Gaya and in the Record Room of the Divisional Commissioner in Patna are excellent source materials to trace the history of the subsequent decades following 1857.* There are a large number of letters indicating that there was ruthless confiscation of the properties of the "rebels" and award of portions of them to the loyalists. A number of other landed aristocracy were given extensive blocks of land for their loyal services. Raja Jaiprakash Narain of Deo in Aurangabad subdivision was given the title of Maharaja Bahadur and a Knighthood of the Star of India for his services in helping the British, particularly in Chotanagpur. The manufacture and sale of arms which used to be carried on at Tekari, Burrea in Nawada subdivision and Deo in Sherghati subdivision was restricted with a view to disarm the general public. There were extensive searches in the villages and a large quantity of arms and ammunitions were traced and confiscated. It is mentioned in one of the letters that the elder Rani of Tekari was found in possession of a cannon which had escaped the search made after the Movement. There are a large number of letters which show that the family of Tekari was deeply suspected as having secret sympathy with the Movement. This cannon was seized.

*Please see Gaya old Records edited by P. C. Roy Chaudhury.

The district administration was sought to be strengthened. It was felt that while the District Officer should remain and his hands should be strengthened there should be his local accredited subordinates at different regions with full powers to see to the maintenance of peace and order. It is this idea which led to the creation of the subdivisions. Gaya was previously a part of the old district of Bahar (Bihar) but this was found rather unwieldy and a separate district of Gaya was created in 1865 out of some portions of the old districts of Bahar and Ramgarh. In 1865 *parganas* of Japla and Belonja were transferred to Lohardagga district and an area of six square miles was made over to Hazaribagh district. Since 1875 the area of the district of Gaya has remained intact. The subdivisions of Aurangabad and Jahanabad were established in 1865 and 1872 respectively. The old Sherghati subdivision was abolished in 1872. More police thanas were created out of the jurisdictions of the old police thanas. Another result of the Movement was that the zamindars who were associated with police work in their respective areas were gradually divested of their police powers. The police became the exclusive charge of the District Officer. Practically every administrative department up to the district level came to be put under the District Magistrate. To co-ordinate the work of the District Magistrates and to supervise them and particularly to give advice on revenue matters the posts of Divisional Commissioners over a number of districts were created. Gaya had been put under the Divisional Commissioner of Patna from the beginning.

It was also realised that there should be no slackening of the efforts to spread education among the people. In 1872 Sir George Campbell's scheme of educational reform was introduced in the district. It may be mentioned here that in one of the famous letters of Mr. William Taylor who was Commissioner of Revenue at Patna, to the Secretary to the Government, dated 27th June 1855 he had mentioned that the appointment of Mr. Chapman as the Educational Inspector for the province of Bihar had created a considerable excitement and the people were so much agitated that they thought the new Inspector of Education will be the fore-runner of some violent changes. Rightly it was appreciated that the progress of education must be pushed through in spite of initial opposition.

A start was given to implement Macaulay's scheme of giving the benefits of education through the medium of English at the cost of education through the vernaculars, Persian and Sanskrit. Along with the spread of education steps were taken to improve the condition of agriculture and also to open more dispensaries and hospitals in the district.

Among other important later measures mention may be made of the establishment of the District Board in 1887. Certain measures to ameliorate the social conditions were taken although they created a

certain amount of excitement at that time. They were legal prohibition of "hook swinging" at *charak* festival and other self torture practices like *banphora*, prevalent among the low caste Hindus. Female infanticide was also made a crime. Gambling which was widespread in Gaya, Tekari and Daudnagar and other places was restricted by the extension of the Gambling Act II of 1867 to the district of Gaya. The Rajwar tribe of Nawada subdivision had become notorious for dacoities and their activities had taken a particularly bad turn during the famine of 1866-67. One of the reasons was that the Rajwars were forced to remain under perpetual want of subsistence by their master zamindars and "forced labour" during the agricultural season was exacted on them. In a way some of the zamindars encouraged the Rajwars to commit thefts and dacoities and the zamindars often acted as the custodian of the looted property the bulk of which went to them. Attempt was made to strike at the very root of the evil and forced labour was made an offence. A zamindar compelling a Rajwar to give forced labour was made punishable under the Indian Penal Code. A scheme was devised in 1867 on the Punjab plan to give employment to the Rajwar labourers during the non-agricultural season. Strict surveillance was also kept on the Rajwars. It may be mentioned that the police department followed the maxim of catching a thief by employing a thief and employed a large number of Rajwars among the rural police as *chaukidar*. Road dacoities and *thuggee* were brought down by constant vigilance.*

The other memorable events in the administrative history of Gaya were an acute famine in 1866-67, recurrences of other famines in 1873-74 and 1896-97. A Famine Enquiry Commission was appointed by the Government to go into the question of famines. There were also several epidemics in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. The wide public health measures that had to be taken to alleviate the sufferings of the people led ultimately to the establishment of more and more charitable dispensaries in the different subdivisions.

The economic condition of the *raiya*s had also attracted the attention of the British administrators. The irrigation system of Gaya was peculiar to the district and ancillary to the *bhaoli* rent which was prevalent. A series of measures changing the laws regarding lands were passed to ameliorate the economic condition of the *raiya*s. The oppressions of the landlords were sought to be restricted by many of these measures. But the changes in law did not always predict the sustained welfare of the *raiya*s as will be borne out by the following extract of a letter which is preserved in the Record Room of Gaya :—

"Under the present reign of law where a zamindar crushes his tenantry by Mukhtears instead of *lathials* his power is then unlimited."

*A stone tablet of this decade warning travellers against *Thugees* was recently found buried in sands by the Grand Trunk Road. (P. C. R. C.).

The control and management of the zamindari *daks* were transferred to the Postal Department. There was a great expansion of roads which led to a better turnover of the articles grown within the district. The expansion of the railways was also another help in this direction.

Along with the spread of education there was an agitation for more self-government and the electorate franchise was widened from time to time. The zamindars and the Mohammadans were treated separately and they were given exclusive franchise to elect their own representatives in the Legislative Councils. The district of Gaya was a part of the old province of Bengal till 1912 when a separate province of Bihar and Orissa was created. Orissa was separated in 1936. The district of Gaya has all along continued under the administrative division of Patna.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century there was a widespread agitation for more and more power in the actual administration. The educated community was dissatisfied because of the gap between the ruler and the ruled. This widespread agitation which was intensified to certain areas of different provinces had their natural effect on the district of Gaya as well. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 intensified the nationalist movement. The electorate franchise that was given to a few zamindars of the district on property qualifications made the agitation more acute. There was also great dissatisfaction against the introduction of communal representation. After the separation of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 from Bengal an Executive Council was established in Patna. But all this could not satisfy the growing aspirations of the educated public.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT.

The new phase of the Freedom Movement in Gaya could be said to have started in 1917 with the agitation for Home Rule in India. This was a move throughout Bihar and Gaya also had her share. In Gaya it started with a public meeting addressed by the late Mr. Hasan Imam, late Dr. Sachidananda Sinha and Pt. Bajrang Dutta Sharma in front of the Theosophical Hall.

The advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the political field of India had its effects on the district of Gaya as well. The 6th of April, 1919 was observed by a districtwide *hartal* at the call of Mahatma Gandhi. The Jalianwalabagh incident was followed by mass meetings in the town of Gaya as well as in some of the subdivisional towns.

The momentous resolution of the Indian National Congress in Nagpur was followed keenly by the people of Gaya. This was followed by mass meetings and big demonstrations addressed by the two brothers, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. Both offices of the Indian National Congress and the Khilafat Movement were opened in Gaya town and the two organisations for some time worked completely hand in hand. Soon after Mahatma Gandhi visited Gaya and the meeting at the Ramna Maidan addressed by Gandhiji was attended by a huge mass of

people. At the instance of Gandhiji boycott movement was taken up as a political programme by a number of local leaders like Sri Krishna Prakasha Sen Singh and others.

When the All-India Congress Committee in the first week of November, 1921, authorised every province to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes in the manner that may be considered most suitable, the Congress Committee, Gaya launched a four-fold movement consisting of (i) renunciation of Government titles, (ii) boycott of schools and colleges, (iii) boycott of Government courts and (iv) boycott of Councils. Along with this there was a strong movement for the boycott of liquor shops. Arrests followed quickly and several batches of non-co-operators including the local leaders were arrested. The boycott of schools and colleges was partially successful at the beginning but slowly fizzled out. Similarly the picketting of the liquor shops mostly conducted by young boys was successful at the beginning. The boycott of Government institutions and renunciation of Government titles did not have much spectacular results.

The general spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction with the existing circumstances found an outlet in a spontaneous general strike among the police and some disciplinary measures were taken against the ring-leaders when they submitted an ultimatum to higher authorities for higher emoluments and privileges. The general strike of the police gave rise to a critical situation in the district and the higher authorities succeeded in persuading the strikers to go back to their posts with an assurance of fulfilment of their demands.

A national school was opened in the building of Sri Krishna Prakasha Sen Singh and although it had a good start the institution did not survive long.

Simultaneously the collection for the famous Tilak Swaraj Fund sponsored by Gandhiji was going on both in the rural and in the urban areas of the district. The late Sri Anugraha Narain Sinha, Ex-Finance Minister and Sri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, lately Revenue Minister of Bihar State toured throughout the district for this purpose. The subdivision of Aurangabad gave a big response to the collection of money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

After the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his subsequent conviction it was decided to hold the All-India Congress Session at Gaya. It was also arranged that the Khilafat and the Jamaitul-ulama Conference would also be held at the same time. Sri Brajkishore Narain was elected the Chairman of the reception committee and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, now first President of the Indian Republic, was elected the General Secretary of the reception committee.

The session of the Congress was presided over by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. A large number of leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, etc., had attended the session of this Congress in

Gaya. The Gaya session was important as the problem of Council entry was discussed and lost by a majority, although the move was sponsored by persons like Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Gaya Congress paved the way for the birth of the Swaraj party with men like Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Vithal Bhai Patel.

The Gaya Congress Committee received a great momentum by the holding of the session of the Congress in Gaya in 1921. In 1924 the Gaya Congress Committee set up candidates for the election of the Gaya District Board and captured the majority of seats. Sri Anugraha Narain Sinha was elected the Chairman of the District Board. He was again elected as the Chairman for the second term when the Congress candidates were again returned with majority in the Board.

Sometime after when the session of the Congress at Kokanada gave the favourable verdict for the question of Council entry, a number of persons from Gaya, like Sri Anugraha Narain Sinha, were elected to the Council of State and to the Central Assembly.

A parallel organisation which counted a large number of young men in its fold was started by the Youth League in 1929.

The year 1930 saw a good deal of ferment which was a part of the agitation that was going all over India on the question of the hoisting of flag and the Salt Satyagraha. The Salt Satyagraha quickly caught the imagination of the people after the first breach of the Salt Act was committed at village Karma Bhagwan in the subdivision of Aurangabad. A number of persons were arrested and convicted but the movement did not abate quickly. A large number of the political prisoners had to be sent to the Camp Jail at Patna as Gaya Jail could not possibly accommodate them all.

Apart from disobeying the Salt Act, there was a movement towards boycott of foreign clothes and liquor. For sometime this phase attained a fair degree of success.

When the Congress was declared an illegal body in 1932 the Gaya District Congress office was also sealed and there was another spate of arrests. The jails in the district of Gaya were full of the volunteers who courted arrest and convictions and contingents of them had to be sent to Patna Camp Jail and Hazaribagh Central Jail. The Provincial Congress Conference in Bihar was decided to be held at Gaya in September, 1932 and in spite of a ban the meeting was held in the town of Gaya on the date fixed which was followed by the arrests of about 400 persons in the conference. The Civil Disobedience Movement was, however, called off in May, 1934, and after that the Congressmen were asked by the leaders to devote themselves to constructive work and for the removal of untouchability.

The Gaya Conspiracy Case of 1933 has to be mentioned at some detail. There were two important political cases in Bihar, namely, the

Maulonia Dacoity and the Motihari Conspiracy Case which had preceded the Gaya Conspiracy Case. An absconder of the Inter-Provincial Case of Bengal was followed at Gaya and while he was escaping to Calcutta he was apprehended at the Howrah Railway Station. Some papers were found with him and the police followed up the clue from those papers. In the course of search the police found a revolver hidden in the roof of a house of a well-known zamindar of Gaya and a number of men who were active members of the Youth League were rounded up for underground activities. In the meantime, another incident happened. A mail bag was looted in Gaya mofassil and some men were arrested. A conspiracy case namely, King Emperor *versus* Shyama Charan Bharthuar and others was started and the prosecution succeeded in securing convictions of 16 young men under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. They were awarded sentences ranging from one year to seven years. Sri Keshav Prasad Singh* along with Sri Shyama Charan Bharthuar and Sri Biswanath Mathur were sent to the Cellular Jail at Port Blair in Andaman islands.

The India Act of 1935 and the general election of 1936 geared up the Congress workers. In the general elections all the candidates set up by the Congress were elected for the Provincial Assembly, barring the land-holders' seat. The Congress Ministry was formed in the Province and Sri Anugraha Narain Sinha, a man of Gaya became one of the Ministers. The political prisoners convicted for violent activities were released by the Congress Ministry.

One great feature of the Congress movement in Gaya district was the growing strength of the Congress Socialist Party and the Kisan Sabha inside the Congress. The District Congress Committee for quite a considerable period was under the influence of Socialist and Kisan Sabha workers. The advent of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati as a Kisan Sabha leader and his close association with the Congress Socialist Party gave a great momentum to the Kisan Movement in the district of Gaya. The Congress Committees in the district of Gaya for sometime were practically swamped by the Kisan Sabha and the Socialist workers. There was no clash between the two sections for sometime. But very soon various Kisan activities occurred in the district and the Congress men who were actively associated with the Kisan Sabha were arrested and sent to jail. The main Kisan Movement was confined in Nawada and Jahanabad subdivisions of the district. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and Pandit Jadunandan Sharma for sometime wielded extraordinary influence in the district. The All-India Kisan Sabha held its session at Gaya in 1939 under the presidentship of Acharya Narendra Deva. The session was very largely attended by the peasants. Sri Jai Prakasha Narain, leader of the Congress Socialist Party, was elected the President of the District Congress Committee.

*One of the collaborators for Gaya Gazetteer. He was later sentenced to jail in connection with Civil Disobedience Movement by the Editor.

The Congress Committee took advantage of the District Board elections held in 1939 and practically swamped the District Board. For sometime the District Board consisting almost entirely of Congressmen came into existence. The majority of the seats in the Gaya Municipality were also captured by the Congress. The executives, both in the District Board and the Gaya Municipality, were Congressmen.

The Congress Ministry was dissolved after the outbreak of the World War in 1939. The district of Gaya was also widely affected when Gandhiji was negotiating with the Viceroy regarding the object behind the war efforts. Ultimately the individual Satyagraha was started throughout the country and for the district of Gaya Gandhiji had approved a list of 109 Satyagrahies. In all 91 Satyagrahies courted arrest in the Satyagraha and the President of the District Congress Committee was awarded the longest sentence during the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement in the district. Just after the Ramgarh Congress and when individual Satyagraha was going on, the Defence of India Act was promulgated as an ordinance. A considerable number of Socialist and other Congressmen of the district were arrested and detained in prison under the Defence of India Rules.

The next phase was seen in 1942. At Bombay the Working Committee members of the Congress were rounded up in the night of the 8th August along with Gandhiji and this was followed by huge demonstrations throughout the rural and urban areas of the district of Gaya. The leaders of the Congress in the district were arrested and the Congress offices throughout the district were sealed. The movement quickly went underground. A procession of the students and labourers had come out from the Gaya Cotton Mills on the 13th August, 1942, and firing was resorted to in order to break up the procession. The news of the firing spread and there was a simultaneous outbreak of activities like looting and burning of post offices, police-stations, railway stations, uprooting telegraph, telephone and railway tracks, etc. The police-stations of Arwal and Kurtha were looted on the 16th August, 1942 in Aurangabad subdivision. The police-station and post office at Nabinagar were looted and burnt. For sometime practically there was very little of law and order throughout the district. Many of the police-stations were evacuated and normal running of trains was interfered with. The Congress workers who had escaped arrest and had gone underground were openly at the back of the upheaval. The underground movement in the Gaya district established a secret press and published almost regularly a weekly paper 'Bagi'.

The recent events culminating in the peaceful transference of power to the Indian people in the year 1947 need not be described here. It can be said that with the celebration of the Independence Day in 1947 a chapter of the history of struggle in which the district of Gaya had also participated actively came to a close.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS.

Tradition and legends, Hindu as well as Buddhist, take down the history of Gaya to a period of hoary antiquity. But material remains of human culture, so far discovered from the district cannot be dated to a period earlier than the third century B.C.

The earliest of the archæological remains in the district are to be found in the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills. The Barabar Hills stand 15 miles in direct line and 19 miles by road to the north of Gaya. There are four caves, in this group of hills, known as Sudama, Visva Jhopri, Karan Chaupar and Lomas Rishi. They are excavated in the hardest granite with infinite care and the interior surface of all of them contain high polish, and are burnished like glass.

The Sudama (Nayagrodha) cave, which seems to be the earliest of the series, contains an inscription of Asoka (C. 269—236 B.C.) when he had been consecrated for 12 years and is dedicated to the Ajivikas. It has two chambers, of which the outer one is rectangular and measures $32\frac{3}{4}' \times 19\frac{1}{2}' \times 12\frac{1}{4}'$. Beyond this at the back and separated from it by a solid wall with a narrow passage connecting the two, there is a circular chamber (diameter $19' \times$ height $12\frac{1}{4}'$). The ante chamber has a vaulted roof and the cell, a hemispherical dome. The doorway near one end of the boulder side with sloping jambs, is a clear prototype of wooden construction, where it was meant to counterpoise the outward thrust of the roof.

The Karan Chaupar, also called Supiya-guha, consists of a single chamber, rectangular in plan, with vaulted roof. It measures $33\frac{1}{2}' \times 14' \times 10\frac{3}{4}'$. At the western end there is a raised platform 7 feet, 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches high. Perhaps this was the pedestal for a statue. The entrance doorway has sloping jambs, reminiscent of wooden constructions. On the outside, and at the western corner of the entrance, a small space has been chiselled smoothly and engraved with an ancient Brahmi inscription of 5 lines. The inscription is of the nineteenth year of Asoka's coronation, but it is too damaged to tell anything more than that.

The Visva Jhopri consists of two rooms, an outer apartment or ante chamber measuring 14 feet long and 8 feet 4 inches broad and a circular inner apartment of 11 feet in diameter. The former one contains an inscription of the twelfth year of Asoka's reign recording the dedication of the cave to the Ajivikas.

The Lomas Rishi cave is similar to the Sudama cave, both as to the size and arrangement of its two chambers. The doorway too is of exactly the same size and form but the entrance porch is larger and ornamented, carved to represent the gabled entrance of a wooden building with sloping uprights, jointed beams and rafters, an ogee-arch of laminated planks crowned by a finial and perarated lattice work. A carved frieze, depicting elephants worshipping *stupas* occurs below the

lattice work. This cave has not got any inscription of Asoka; on the other hand it contains inscriptions of the Gupta period. Stylistic considerations, however, indicate a Mauryan date for the cave.

In the Nagarjuni range, about half a mile to the north-east of the Barabar range, there are three excavated caves, containing the inscriptions of Asoka's grandson Dasaratha (C. 214 B. C.). The first one, Gopi cave, is excavated in the southern face of the rock at a height of about 60 feet above the ground. It measures 4 feet 7 inches long from east to west and is 19 feet 1 inch wide, both ends being semi-circular. It has vaulted roof and the doorway has the usual sloping jambs. The whole of the interior is highly polished. Besides the inscription of Dasaratha which records that the cave was dedicated to the Ajivikas there are other inscriptions in the cave of later dates.

The Vahiyaka cave, also bestowed on the Ajivika sect, consists of a single chamber with a small porch in front, both thoroughly polished. The height of the walls is only 4 feet 9 inches, the end of the arched roof rising up to 2 feet 8 inches, the total height being 7 feet 5 inches in the centre. In addition to the inscription of Dasaratha, the cave contains several short inscriptions of later dates, including one which refers to the name of one 'Acarya Yogananda' in characters of the seventh and eighth century A.D.

The Vedathika cave, immediately to the west of the Vahiyaka, was dedicated to the Bhadantas or Buddhist monks. The entrance which faces the east lies in a gap or natural left of the rock. It is just a passage 2 feet 10 inches in width and 6 feet 1½ inches in height, with a length of 7 feet 2 inches on the northern side and 5 feet 9 inches on the southern side. At the inner face of the doorway, there are socket holes, both above and below, for the reception of wooden door. The cave itself measures 16 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 3 inches. A peculiar feature of this cave is that its walls are curved and not straight, as is to be found in other caves.

The cave dwellings of Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills offer the earliest examples of cave architecture of Bihar, which were indeed the lithic translation of existing wood and thatch structures.

While the Barabar and Nagarjuni caves, on the basis of Mauryan inscriptions can be assigned to a definite chronological setting, the absence of any datable evidence makes the chronological assignment of another nearby cave somewhat difficult. This is the Sitamarhi cave, situated some 25 miles east of Gaya, and 1½ miles south of Gaya-Nawada road, in the Nawada subdivision. Excavated in a solitary boulder, the cave of Sitamarhi consists of a small chamber, 16 feet long by 11 feet wide. The interior has been chiselled to a smooth polish, which is similar to that of the Barabar caves from which group this cave may not be far removed in time. The Sitamarhi contains

several sculptures, much later in date than the cave itself. Many legends cluster round Rajauli with its picturesque hills and pretty valleys. There are some caves in the neighbourhood which have no archaeological data. Legend, however, ascribes that Durvasa, Lomasa, Gautama, Shringi and other *Rishis* lived in these caves.

Of the remains of the post-Mauryan period, those found at Bodh Gaya have already been discussed elsewhere and need not be dealt with here. The Sunga sculptures of Bodh Gaya railing have a place of lasting interest in the history of Indian Art. Two figures of Buddha, one standing and the other seated, also hailing from Bodh Gaya are more than of usual interest in so far as they are the earliest dated sculptures of the Gupta period, corresponding to A.D. 383. Stylistically, they belong clearly to the Mathura tradition of the first and second century A.D., but the massiveness and ponderosity of an earlier age have been marshalled under a stern modelling, and a firm outline confines a stupendous body within a heavy and ruthless concentration.

Nearly two centuries passed from the fall of the Guptas to the rise of the Palas. Of the remains of this period, mention may be made of a number of inscriptions. Firstly there are three inscriptions of the Maukhari King Avantivarman, in the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills, in the Lomas Rishi and Gopi caves, already referred to. These inscriptions supply the names of three kings, Yajnavarman, his son Sardulavarman and the latter's son Anantavarman, who were ruling in the Gaya region, presumably after the fall of the Guptas. One of the inscriptions refers to a temple of Siddhesvara, which is still *in situ* on the highest of the Barabar peak, opposite to Karan Chaupar. The inscriptions may be dated to the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Another stone inscription of a king named Adityasena, belonging to the later Gupta dynasty has been recovered from the village of Apshad, in the Nawada subdivision. It records the genealogy of the kings of this dynasty up to the eighth generation, Adityasena (A.D. 672). This dynasty, which had its seat of power originally at Malwa, appeared by this time to have migrated to Gaya and been ruling there.

The village of Apshad has also yielded a large statue of Varaha Avatara, Visnu in his boar incarnation, lifting the earth represented as a female, which may be assigned, from stylistic consideration, to the end of the Gupta period. Whether the high brick mound of Apshad contains the temple of Visnu, referred to in Adityasena's inscription, is a debatable point.

From about the middle of the eighth century A.D. to the end of the twelfth, Gaya district was under the rule of the Palas, who were Buddhists of the Mahayana faith. Buddhism now flourished under the royal patronage and many Buddhist centres seem to have sprung up. Archaeological remains of this period are, therefore, mainly Buddhist and are scattered all over the district.

So far as Bodh Gaya is concerned it has already been dealt in a separate chapter. Of the other places of Gaya which have yielded artistic remains of the Pala period, Kurkihar occupies a notable position. Situated in the headquarters subdivision, about three miles north-east of Wazirganj, the ruins of the Kurkihar mound have yielded from time to time carved bricks, votive *stupas*, stone sculptures, etc. all datable to the Pala period. But the most remarkable discovery occurred in the year 1930, when a cache of bronze images was found in a cell among the ruins. The total number of images exceed two hundred. Sometimes gilt or inlaid with precious stones, they are equally remarkable for artistic excellence, high class workmanship and wealth of iconographic details. A large variety of Buddhist gods and goddesses of the developed Mahayana pantheism of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. have been represented in these bronzes. The bronzes of Kurkihar form a class in itself in the whole range of the ancient and mediæval bronze industry of India. Not far from Kurkihar are Amaithi and Urel where some relics are found. They appear Buddhistic and Hindu in origin but have not been appraised archæologically.

A number of sculptures of Buddha and Bodhisatva assignable to eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. come from Ghenjam, a village situated about six miles west of Makhdumpur railway station in the Jahanabad subdivision. Guneri, another village, about seven miles from Sherghati, is a fine spot of Buddhist as well as Brahmanical sculptures assignable to the early Pala period, ninth and tenth century A.D. One of the sculptures of Buddha found here has in it an inscription of the time of the Gurjara Pratihara king Mahendrapala. Another village, Hasra Kol, about four miles south-west of Wazirganj, contains ruins of *stupas* and possibly also monasteries which may be ascribed to the period of the Palas. The *stupa* mound has yielded several Buddhist images of typical Pala style. Pala sculptures have also been recovered from Gurpa Hill, situated on the south-east of Gaya and the place has been further identified with Kukkutapadagiri referred to in Hiuen Tsiang's account. Interesting remains also exist at Bela, thirteen miles north of Gaya, Paibigha, six miles north-east of Bela, Pali, three miles south and Kespa, six miles north of Tekari. They have yet to be properly identified. Kauwadol Hill, about six miles east of Bela railway station, has yielded a number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images assignable to the period of the Palas. Brahmanical sculptures of a somewhat later period, but revealing in them reminiscence of the Pala art style have come down from Konch, a village about four miles west of Tekari, in the headquarters subdivision. The site also contains a mediæval brick temple. Seven miles south-east of Gaya is the Dhongra Hill which is identified with the Pragbodhi mountain of Hiuen Tsiang. There is, however, no archæological data found.

The district of Gaya abounds in ancient and mediæval mounds, some of which no doubt contain archæological remains of considerable value.

Attempts have been made to identify them with localities mentioned in early literatures. Thus a ruined brick *stupa* and the stump of a sand stone pillar near Bakraur, a village in the headquarters subdivision, about half a mile from Bodh Gaya, on the basis of Hiuen Tsiang's account have been associated with the events of the precious life of Buddha. Many Buddhistic images are found in the neighbourhood and also at Punawan, fourteen miles and Dakhingawan, sixteen miles east of Gaya. Dariyapur Parvati, a village in the Nawada subdivision, situated about six miles north of Warsaliganj, has been identified as the site of the Buddhist monastery called Kapotika, associated with some incidents of Buddha's life. Dharawat, a village in the southern part of the Jahanabad subdivision, is considered to be the site of the Buddhist monastery Gunamati, where there is a fine twelve-armed statue of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisatva by the side of a large tank and is said to have been visited by Hiuen Tsiang. At Dapthu, three miles north of Hulasganj, are some finely carved images and ruins of temples. Not far to the south, near the village Lath, is a large carved monolith of granite, 53½ feet long with an average width of 3 feet, lying half buried in an open field. Jethian, a village situated some ten miles north-west of Tetwa Khas, and to the south-west of Rajgir and its surroundings have been identified with Yashtivana where Buddha preached his Law.

At Shamsdernagar in Aurangabad subdivision are ruins of a fort and a mosque repaired by the Archæological Department. A fine stone temple stands at Deo and a similar one at Umga near Madanpur both of which have traces of Buddhistic influence in their architecture. Large Buddhistic images and other remains are found near the Manda Hills. At Burha are some finely carved and polished *chaityas* and images and some remains suggesting the site of a monastery. Deokuli and the Pachar Hills contain remains of Buddhistic and Jain interests.

The Jain relics in Gaya district are scattered and their proper age has not been ascertained. The Brahmayoni Hill in south of Gaya town has a small figure with a horse on the pedestal which is probably a statue of Sambhavanath, the third Tirthankara. At Pachar Pahar in Aurangabad subdivision there is a large statue of Parswanath and other similar images, all Jain. At Srawaka Hill, near Rafiganj is a cave with a beautiful figure of Parswanath. On the slab there are six carved images. There are traces of some inscription beneath that which cannot be deciphered now.

But most of these sites require to be scientifically excavated or at least to be intensively explored, in the absence of which it is not possible to determine their age and the character of their contents. Any attempt of identifying them with assumed historical sites on the basis of some general descriptions contained in the accounts of foreign travellers will be hazardous and risky.