

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

In pre-historic times the area now contained in the Patna district formed part of Magadha. General Cunningham holds that Magadha extended up to Karamanasa on the west and the sources of the Damodar river on the south.* According to B. C. Law Magadha roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts†. H. C. Ray Chaudhury also holds the same view‡. Eulogising the characteristic features of Magadha he has aptly remarked that "it not only produced relentless fighters and exterminators of kings.....hearkened at the same time to the devout teachings of Varddhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha and played a conspicuous part in the propagation of a world religion as it did in the establishment of an empire embracing nearly the whole of India. The birth of Ajatsatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age and they met in Rajagriha."

Physical geography, geology, political and economic conditions had invested the area with great strategic importance and destiny had decreed that it would be inhabited by a virile people, who would not merely create history, but take advantage of their material resources, to enrich the Indian civilization. It has a singular credit to its record that its armies, the earliest known to history, had humbled a first class European military power—the Greeks under Seleucus the Niketor. Asoka *Dhamm-Veru* or the peace-drum was heard with respect throughout the length and breadth of South-East Asia. According to H. G. Wells "Asoka among all the thousands of kings, emperors and majesties, great and little, is shining almost alone as a star**.

Magadha came under the pale of Aryan civilisation long after it had been ruled over by the *Vratyas* and much later than the other portions of North 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 non-Aryan Kikats, who were noted for their wealth of kine, it was a coveted prize of the Aryan invader,

*Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Majumdar (1924), p. 221.

†B. C. Law : *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 44.

‡*Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Ray Chaudhury (5th Ed.), Cal. 1953, p. 110.

***The Strand Magazine*, 1922 mentioned in *The Glories of Magadha* by Samaddar, J.N., p. 71.

who, however, could not Brahmanise it thoroughly even in the period of the *Kalpa Sūtras*. It came to possess a mixed population. Brahmanas and Kshatriyas coming to the land were spoken of in a derisive tone as *Brahmbandhu* and *Kshatrabandhu*, i.e., so called Brahmanas and Kshatriyas by the Aryans*. But Magadha has always been included in the Madhyadesa as the Buddhist holy land. The Magadha country seems to have a separate alphabet which *Bodhisattva* is said to have mastered†.

There flourished here the famous international seat of learning, Nalanda, which not only attracted to its Seminaries scholars from foreign lands, but also sent out to the far off regions its alumni proficient in varied branches of human lore, as representative of Indian culture and thought.

PRE-HISTORY, PROTO-HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The pre-historic and the proto-historic sites, within the area of this district, are still very rare; but, it is possible that certain places in the famous Rajgir valley, with its environs of 12 square miles in area such as Giriak, Tapovan, Jethian, Chormagarh may yield valuable data. The tremendous archaeological potentiality of Rajgir, one of the key-sites of ancient India, has all along been realized, and may have led to the previous explorations at the site. In 1949, stone chert flakes were found between Sonbhandar Cave and Maniyar Math. These are now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Nalanda. Such flakes found at the celebrated sites of Mohen-jodaro and Rupar, etc., have generally been dated c.2000 B.C., and ascribed to neolithic age, i.e., the transitional phase between absolutely stone age and metal age. It is likely that when metal came into use, its rarity might have made it difficult for ordinary man to use it. Naturally, therefore, while the affluent in the society would be utilizing the new find, the masses would continue with the stone implements. The metal age is called chalcolithic, because of the use of copper in the first instance. At Rajgir, however, the predominant bias for Buddhism has prevented the archaeologists and scholars to apply themselves to the discovery of the earlier epochs of pre-history even when the objective has been more deliberately archaeological. Very few systematic recordings of the stratification and pottery types are available. Now development and afforestation are practically obliterating the evidence entombed in the bosom of the earth for millenniums with the result that Rajgir,

*An *Advanced History of India* by H. C. Ray Chaudhury, R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Datta, pp. 57-58.

†B. C. Law : *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 44-45.

the seat of the ancient culture of Eastern India, has remained unlinked with the present developments in Indian archaeology. In 1950, a peripheral part of the pre-historic valley along the northern part of the western wall of the inner defences had been cut and a 25 feet high section exposed. This showed in its lower depth a large number of Neo-Black pottery. An excavation carried out revealed that below this, in a layer, earlier than 5th century B.C., above the natural conglomerate, consisting of brownish compact clay, were shapeless sherds, overlain with thick part of pebbles, superimposed with another layer of similar kind, which were capped by a layer of burnt earth with charcoal pieces. Evidently these pottery pieces and pebbles were deposited by the river in one of its floods during a very early phase of the occupation of the site. There is no means of ascertaining the date of these occupations as the sherds are too fragmentary to be affiliated to any known industry. In 5th century B.C. they were followed by the Neo-Black pottery makers.

The earlier pottery consisting merely of few sherds does not give any clear picture of its technique and historic-geographical synchronism. It is crude and coarse red ware with a dull wash of terracotta colour though sometimes black slips on the outer face are rare. One sherd had a chocolate slip on the brownish inside and black slip on the exterior. A small sherd was found in the cutting of the Giriak mound by the Panchane river in July, 1957. But this too had no archaeological context. Possibly it belongs to the late chalcolithic period.

The excavations at Kumhrar which were conducted under the auspices of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute for five consecutive years from 1951 to 1955, revealed cultural sequence of the site from the Mauryan period up to 600 A.D. Eight more stumps of pillars of the Mauryan Pillared Hall, in addition to those exposed by Dr. Spooner in 1912-14, were discovered. The two important discoveries deserve special mention. These are the sites of *Arogya Vihara* with its terracotta sealing bearing the legend (*Sri Arogya Vihara Bhiksu-Samghasya*)—of the Sanatorium-cum-monastery of the Bhikshu Sangha) in the Gupta-Brahmi script and of a monastery with a seal bearing its plan and legend (*Sanghasa*). A few inscribed pot-sherds with inscriptions *Arogya-vihara* (*Dha*)*nvantareh*, *Jivaka*, *Buddhadeva* (*va*)*layani* (*mittam*), (*Sra*) *manyah Dharma*, *Bhasarva*, etc., support the fact that the site was a monastic one. Mention may be made of fine terracotta objects of flying *Gandharvas*, a female devotee, a winged deer, etc. A few silver and copper punchmarked coins, Ayodhya coins, Copper-cast coins, Kausambi coins, coins of Bhumimitra, Kaniska, Huviska and Chandragupta II and a few Muslim coins are among the important finds of the site*.

*Annual Report of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna (1960), p. 2.

In 1956, the excavations at *Gulzarbagh Government Press playground, Mahabirghat, Begam-Ki-Haveli, and Shah Kamal Road*, collectively revealed five cultural periods from the 6th century B.C. to 1600 A.D.

Period I (600 B. C. to 150 B. C.)—It yielded Northern Black Polished Ware along with light red ware and a few sherds of grey ware. Other important finds included terracotta figurines and bone points.

Period II (150 B. C. to 100 A. D.)—The important finds of the Period were terracotta soak well and the Northern Black Polished Ware and its associated wares.

Period III (100 A. D. to 300 A. D.)—The noteworthy finds of the period were ornamented terracotta figurines, copper objects and a hollow amulet of gold, fashioned after one of the coin types of Huviska. The obverse of the amulet shows the bust of the king along with the legend in Greek reading *Shao Nano Shao Opeski Kosano*.

Period IV (300 A. D. to 600 A. D.)—Among the interesting finds of the period, mention may be made of the terracotta Naigamesa figurines, terracotta beads and dull red ware.

Period V (600 A. D. to 1600 A. D.)—A silver coin of Shah Jahan, terracotta figurines of Muslim and Maratha head dresses and Muslim glazed wares are noteworthy finds of the period.

ANCIENT RULING DYNASTY

The Vedic literature mentions Pramaganda as the king of Magadha. The earliest ruling dynasty of Magadha, according to the *Mahabharat* and the *Puranas*, is that founded by Brihadrath, son of Vasu and father of Jarashandha. According to *Ramayana*, Vasu founded the city of Girivraja or Rajgir. The *Puranas* give lists of the "Brihadratha kings" from Jarashandha's son Sahadeva to Ripunjaya, but the *Puranic* chronology and order of succession lacks corroboration from other texts.

In the sixth century B. C., the Brihadrath dynasty was overthrown and a new dynasty was founded by Bimbisara. We learn from the Pali texts that Chanda Pradyota of Avanti was a contemporary of Bimbisara. Most of the scholars have now accepted the text in the *Buddhacharita* by Ashwaghosh that Bimbisara was a scion of the

Haryanka dynasty which preceded Sisunag*. Bimbisara annexed Anga† by defeating Brahmadatta and put Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which ended only when Asoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. Bimbisara was an able king. He maintained friendly relations with northern and western neighbours and contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring houses of Madra, Kosala and Vaishali. He sent Jivaka to Chand Pradyota of Avanti when the latter was suffering from jaundice and received an embassy from King Pukkusati of Ganghara‡. He is also credited by a Chinese pilgrim with having built a new city at the foot of the hills, lying to the north of Girivraja, which he named Rajagriha or King's Abode.

Bimbisara is said to have been killed by Ajatsatru who seized the throne. He proved to be a strong imperialist and humbled Prasenjit, king of Kosala, in a war and gained the hands of a Kosalean Princess, Vajira, along with the gift of Kashi in dowry. He constructed a new base of defence at the confluence of the river Ganga and the Son which led to the foundation of Pataliputra, the new capital of Magadha. The fortification of Pataliputra was against the attack of the Lichchavis on Magadha.

Ajatsatru for the first time made use of two secret weapons of war—the *Mahasilekantika* and the *Rathmusala*, the engines of destruction like the modern tank and annexed the republic of Vaishali by defeating them. The Jain text indicates a period of more than sixteen years for this war**. The annexation of Vaishali expanded Magadha northward to the borders of Nepal.

The annexation of Kashi and Vaishali brought the Magadhan imperialism face to face with the equally militant state of Avanti. Ajatsatru, a cautious imperialist, consolidated his empire to face an imminent attack of Avanti, but does not appear to have succeeded in humbling her.

The reign of Bimbisara and Ajatsatru was otherwise also equally important. During their rule, the gospel of Buddhism and Jainism permeated far and wide. In religious tradition Ajatsatru is remembered as a patron of Devadatta, the schematic cousin of the Buddha, and also a friend of the Jains and Buddhists.

*H. C. Ray Chaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 114-115.

†South Bhagalpur.

‡An *Advanced History of India* by H. C. Ray Chaudhury and others, p. 59.

***History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II by R. C. Majumdar and Pusalker.

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

Buddhism did not arise without reason and merely to end the Brahmanical domination. India, and particularly Eastern India at the time, presented a picture like that of Arabia on the eve of the rise of Islam. The Vedic organisation and its rituals had created an adverse reaction. Consequently there arose two great rival creeds: Buddhism and Jainism, with their respective philosophy and codes of conduct. In the field of religion, the East presented a chaos of thoughts and ideas, evidences of which are met with in the Pali *suttas* such as *Brahmhajala*, *Samannaphala*, *Tevigga* and *Sonadanda*, etc. The doctrine enunciated by Mahavira went to the other extreme, i.e., fasts, punishment of flesh, extreme asceticism and *ahimsa*. As logical growth between these two contradictory claims of Jainism and Brahmanism, arose the *via media* or the *Majhima patha* of Gautama, the *Seventh Buddha*.

SUCCESSORS OF AJATSATRU

The Puranas* mention Darsaka as the immediate successor of Ajatsatru. But Buddhist† and Jain writers assert that Udayi was the son and successor of Ajatsatru. Probably out of fear of Avanti's aggression, Udayi transferred his capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra on the confluence of the Ganga and the Son, where Ajatsatru had constructed a fort as a base of operations against the Lichchhavis. This fortified village was visited a few months before his death by Lord Buddha, who prophesied its future greatness in the following words: "Of all famous places, busy marts and centres of commerce, Pataliputra will be the greatest; but three dangers will threaten it—fire, flood and internal dissension." During the reign of Udayi the first Buddhist council was held at Rajgir.

SISUNAGAS

After Udayi, the history of Magadha becomes rather obscure. His successors, Aniruddha, Munda and Nagadasaka were all incapable and parricides. The citizens of Pataliputra became indignant and banished the last ruler and an *amatya* (Minister), Sisunag by name, was raised to the throne. He annexed Avanti. Sisunag was succeeded by Kalasoka or Kakavarnin in whose time the second Buddhist council was held

*According to the Buddhist text the successors of Ajatsatru were Udayabhadra, Aniruddha, Munda and Nagadasaka. But according to the Puranas they were Darsaka, Udayi, Nandivardhana and Mahanandi, *Bihar Through the Ages*, 1958, p. 105.

†Cf. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 105-106.

at Vaishali. He transferred the capital permanently to Pataliputra. Vaishali also was occasionally graced by the presence of the Sovereign. He met a tragic end with a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of a city which may have been Pataliputra, Vaishali or some other important city in the empire. He was succeeded by Bhadrasena who built many stupas and reigned for seventeen years. Nine other kings followed him and the last of them was overthrown at Pataliputra by Mahapadma Nanda, who founded the Nanda dynasty.

NANDAS

Mahapadma Nanda was a great conqueror, who uprooted the Kshatriyas and extended the limits of his dominions far and wide. His conquest of Kalinga is probably referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a portion covering the southern part of the Bombay presidency and north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas. The extent of the Nanda rule over Deccan is suggested by the existence on the Godavari of a place called Nan Nand Dehra (Nander). Mahapadma can be regarded as the first historical paramount ruler of India. He was succeeded by his eight sons who were kings in succession. The last king, Dhannanda, was ruling at the time of Alexander's invasion and it was the rumour about the might of this Indian ruler that led to the retreat of the Macedonian invader from India.

MAURYAS

The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya, a scion of the Mauryan Clan, with the help of Chanakya or Kautilya. Himself a native of Magadha he headed a revolt against the Greek domination which Alexander had established in the north of India and destroyed most of the Macedonian garrisons. He then turned against the Nandas, and captured Pataliputra. Undisputed master of Magadha and commander of a force of six hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, nine thousand elephants and a multitude of chariots, he proceeded to reduce to vassalage the greater part of India until his dominions extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. With an ease equal to that attending his conquest he succeeded in repelling the invasion of Seleucus Niketor, king of Syria and lord of Central and Western Asia, who was obliged to retire, after ceding the outlying province of Afghanistan and giving his daughter in marriage to the victorious emperor. After this victory, the boundary of India extended up to the Hindukush mountain in Central Asia, which has been described by V.A. Smith as the scientific boundary of India*.

*An Advanced History of India, p. 61.

Chandragupta was a great conqueror and he brought the whole of Northern India and large parts of peninsular India under his sceptre. Chandragupta carried his victorious arms up to Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district*. The southern conquest is also attested by several inscriptions of Asoka, viz., the Gavimath and Palki-gundi inscriptions in the Kopbel taluq; the Maski inscription in Hyderabad and the Yarragudi inscriptions in the Karnool district. A small hill at Sarvana Belgole is called Chandragiri, because of the first Mauryan king's association with the hill†. His rule in North Mysore is referred to in certain Mysore inscriptions. Saurashtra also formed part of his empire. With the help of Kautilya, he built up an efficient system of administration.

MEGASTHENES' ACCOUNT

Soon after the conclusion of peace in 303 B.C., Seleucus sent Megasthenes as his envoy to the court of Chandragupta. Megasthenes wrote an account of what he saw, which has unfortunately been lost; but Greek historians and geographers have quoted his description of Pataliputra and on the system of Government of Chandragupta, and in this way some fragments of his work have been preserved. Strabo has preserved for us some part of his account of Chandragupta's revenue administration‡. It is significant that the most important duty of the Revenue Officers, apart from the duty of collecting revenue, was the control of irrigation work, inspection of the sluices by which water was let out from the main canals into the distributaries, so that all might have their fair share of it. They superintended occupations connected with the land, those of *shikaris*, woodcutters, carpenters and miners; and they were also in charge of the roads, on which pillars were erected at every ten stadia**. Magasthenes gives an account of the municipal administration of Pataliputra which was carried on by a commission of thirty members divided into six Boards§.

The Municipal Commissioners in their collective capacity were required to control all the affairs of the city. Pataliputra was apparently one of the biggest cities of those times. It was built at the confluence of two rivers, the Son and the Ganga, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and a mile and half broad, protected by a moat 60 feet deep and 600 feet wide and provided with 64 gates and 570 towers. The city was mainly built of wood as a protection against floods††.

*Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 98—103.

†R. K. Mookerji: *The Foundation of the Maurya Empire*, as covered in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 9.

‡Strabo XV, i.

**A Kosa of four thousand cubits.

§See, Local Self-Government (*infra*) for details.

††R. K. Mookerji; *Op Cit*, pp. 11-12.

During the time of Asoka, the Rajjukas were made the supreme head of the local administration.

BINDUSARA AND ASOKA

Chandragupta reigned for about 24 years. The extent of the Mauryan empire seems to have remained undiminished during the reign of his successor. We do not know whether Bindusara made any new conquest though he is credited with having suppressed revolt in Taxila. During his reign Megasthenes was succeeded by Daimachus. The Ptolemy of Egypt sent another ambassador named Dionysios, who lived in the city of Patna.

Asoka was coronated in 269 B.C. and during the first thirteen years of his reign, he continued the traditional Mauryan policy of expansion within India and of friendly relations with the foreign powers. Asoka conquered and annexed Kalinga and placed it under a Kumar with capital at Tosali. Subsequently he recorded in one of the rock edicts his feelings of profound sorrow and remorse caused by the miseries of the people during his Kalinga campaign. This proved to be a turning point in the career of Asoka. It introduced a momentous change in the Mauryan policy by substituting *Dharmavijaya* for *Digvijaya*. It is a unique example in the history of the world that a conqueror after a resounding victory decided to eschew further conquests at a time when the arms of Magadha could very easily embrace the extreme peninsular India and tribal areas on the frontiers. Henceforth royal activities were directed to developing cordial and social relations and religious toleration among various groups. The entire administrative machinery of the State began to be used in propagating true spirit of Dharma, religious toleration and welfare of the people not only in the empire but also outside its boundaries, even to the distant kingdoms of Western Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe. Ceylon and Burma also received the cultural missionaries of Asoka. He established philanthropic institutions in foreign countries*. From his seat at Pataliputra Asoka sent out the first royal missionary of international peace and co-operation to different parts of the world. It is believed that in early life Asoka was a Brahmanical Hindu, specially devoted to Siva. He subsequently became a convert to Buddhism; and he propagated his new creed with such vigour as to change it from a local sect into a world religion. After his conversion Asoka became an ardent protector of animal life; and perhaps in the hospital for animals which he founded at Pataliputra we have the origin of the *pinjrapol* which is commonly found in India. Towards the end of his reign he himself assumed the yellow robe, and he died at a holy hill near Rajgir. His responsibility

*R. R. Diwakar : *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 192—194.

for the fall of the Mauryan empire is at best indirect inasmuch as his peace policy after the Kalinga War led to the ultimate weakening of the powerful military organisation which failed to repel the Greek invaders.

PATNA BETWEEN 185 B.C. AND 320 A.D.

The last Mauryan King, Brihadratha, was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra Sunga who founded the Sunga dynasty in 185 B.C. With the downfall of the Mauryas, the political unity of India disappeared. The Sungas appear to have failed to arrest the centrifugal forces which had full play till the advent of Samudragupta. Kharavela invaded Magadha twice and defeated its king in the battle of Gorathgiri, harassed Rajagriha and approached Pataliputra. The king is identified with Brihaspatimitra. Pushyamitra came out victorious in a war with Vidarbha. According to Patanjali and Kalidasa, a Greek invasion of Pataliputra* had occurred in the time of Pushyamitra and the recent excavations at Kumhrar (1951—54) have proved this fact beyond doubt. Pataliputra continued to be graced with the presence of the Sovereign, but it had a rival in the city of Vidisa, modern Besnagar in Eastern Malwa, where the crown prince Agnimitra held his court. The tide of Greek invasion was arrested and prince Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, inflicted a defeat on the *Yavanas* on the banks of the Sindhu. Pushyamitra performed two *Ashwamedha* sacrifices to assert his sovereignty. He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. This prince is the hero of a famous drama† by India's greatest play-wright, Kalidasa. The Sungas were replaced by the Kanvas. It appears that after the Kanvas, Visakhmitra of the Mitra dynasty was ruling over Patna as is evident from his inscriptions discovered at Nalanda‡. The last Kanva ruler is believed to have been supplanted by the Satvahanas. The Kushans are believed to have exercised some influence over the region of Patna as is evident from a number of Kushan archaeological finds and coins**. About three thousand copper coins of Kushans have been found at Buxar alone. The occurrence of images of mottled and sand-stone of Karri possibly indicates that Magadha was occupied by the Kushans.

A unique coin of the Kushan period procured* from Rajgir and bearing the Greek character and an unidentified figure on the reverse has been found.

*Cf.—If the *Garga Samhita* is to be believed, a Greek army penetrated into Pataliputra.

†*Malavikagnimitram*.

‡*An Advanced History of India*, p. 114.

***Annual Report of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna* (1960), p. 2.

The history of Magadha remains obscure until it rose into prominence once again with the rise of the Guptas.

The period under review, though politically barren, is remarkable for the revival of plastic based on the ancient tradition of the orient.

GUPTAS.

The rise of the Gupta dynasty to imperial position began with Chandragupta I whose matrimonial alliance with the Lichchavis contributed largely to its rising fortunes. The Gupta Era beginning from 320 A.D. is generally said to mark the accession of Chandragupta I to the throne. He revived the ancient glories of Magadha. Samudragupta, the next king, is probably the greatest of his line. He probably came to the throne sometime after A.D. 320 and died before A.D. 380, the earliest known date of his successor†. The suzerainty of the Guptas was acknowledged by the frontier and insular kings who offered him homage and tributes. In certain records of the twelfth century A.D. Chandragupta II is represented as the lord of the city of Ujjain as well as Pataliputra. The epithet "Sakari" shows the military valour of this king. He appears to be mentioned in the *Arya-manju-sri-mule-kalpa* and also in the *Tantrikamandaka*, a Japanese text. A Chinese writer, Wang-hieuen-tse, refers to an embassy sent to him by Sri Meghavarma (Vana), king of Ceylon, to seek permission to build at Bodh Gaya a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims. Samudragupta is one of the greatest military geniuses that India ever produced. His whole reign was a vast military campaign. His empire covered the whole of Northern India. The eastern kingdoms like Bengal, Assam and Nepal, and the western non-tribal States like those of Malavas, Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas, Madras and Abhiras, proffered submission of their own accord and agreed to pay taxes to the Gupta Emperor. Indeed, the terror of the Gupta arms was such that even the distant Kushana kings of Afghanistan and the Saka kings of Gujarat sought the favour of Samudragupta.

But the most difficult undertaking of the Gupta Emperor was unquestionably the great military expedition to Southern India along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. His victorious army reached as far as the far-famed Pallava kingdom of Kanchi. The march along the coast suggests a joint operation by army and navy.

†An Advanced History of India, p. 145.

Cf. Oxford History of India, p. 166.

His successor Chandragupta II ruled from A.D. 380 to 413*. He carried on the policy of "World Conquest" pursued by his predecessor. His court is said to have been adorned by "nine gems" including Kalidasa and Varahmihira. Another notable contemporary of Chandragupta II was Fa-Hien. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim was struck with admiration by the famous royal palace and the houses of dispensing charity and medicine at Pataliputra†. "The nobles and householders of the country", Fa-Hien says, "have founded hospitals within the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, the crippled and the diseased may repair. They receive help of all kinds gratuitously, physicians treat them, and offer them food and drink, medicine or decoctions everything, in fact, that may contribute to their case"‡. The existence of a hospital at Pataliputra, as noticed by Fa-Hien, is supported further by the recent archaeological excavations at Kumhrar. One of the seals discovered there in 1951 refers to the existence of an "Arogyavihara" or a hospital.

FALL OF PATALIPUTRA.

Hiuen Tsiang, another Chinese pilgrim who visited India between A.D. 630—644, says "It is an old city long deserted; now there only remain the old foundation walls. The monasteries, Hindu temples and Buddhist stupas, which lie in ruins, may be counted by hundreds, and only two or three remain entire". He refers to king Puranavarman of Magadha. The city of Pataliputra was ravaged by the repeated incursions of the Hunas against whom Narasingha-gupta Baladitya fought successfully. The Hunas seem to have sacked Pataliputra and extended their authority up to the confines of Nalanda where one of the seals is ascribed to them.** All that was left of the ancient city was a small town containing about a thousand houses, to the north of the old palaces and bordering on the river Ganga. This devastation was probably in the latter half of the sixth century, and later due to the inroad of Sasanka, king of Central Bengal, a fanatical enemy of Buddhism, who sacked the city, broke its sacred relic, a stone marked with the footprints of Buddha, destroyed the convents and scattered the monks, and carried his ravages to the foot of the Nepal hills. For sometime, Patna was sandwiched between the Maukharis in the west and Gaudas in the east.

*Cf. *Bihar Through the Ages*, 1959, p. 256, which records the accession of Chandragupta II in A.D. 375-376.

Also see, *Oxford History of India*, p. 167, which refers to "about A. D. 380 or perhaps five years earlier" as the date of his accession.

†*An Advanced History of India*, pp. 149-150.

‡*Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

**R. K. Chaudhury : 'Huna Invasion of India'—Altekar Commemoration Volume of the JBRB.

The persecution of Buddhism by Sasanka was however followed by the royal patronage of Harshavardhana, also called Siladitya, who ruled northern India between 606—647 and assumed the title of king of Magadha.

On the death of Harsha either at the end of A.D. 646 or at the beginning of A.D. 647, the throne was usurped by Arjuna or Arjunasva, his minister. He is said to have come into conflict with a Chinese mission headed by Wang-Hieuentse. The Chinese envoy received assistance from Tibet and Nepal, inflicted crushing defeat on the enemy and carried off the usurping minister to China.

LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA.

In A.D. 672 the most powerful sovereign of Magadha was Adityasen. He ruled over an area wider than Gaya, Patna, Bhagalpur and Shahabad. Adityasen signalled his accession to power by the performance of *Ashvamedh*. He and his three successors ruled over Magadha in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. They all assumed imperial titles. Yasovarman† of Kanauj defeated the powerful rulers of Magadha-Gauda. His exploits are described in the Prakrit work "*Gaudavaho*" by Vakpatiraja. He maintained diplomatic relations with the Chinese Empire (A.D.731). He led a campaign against Tibetans, defeated them and blocked the passes leading to the mountainous territory‡. In the end he roused the hostility of Lalitaditya of Kashmir, and perished in a conflict with him.

PALA KINGS.

After this, the central power declined, and each small potentate carved out an independent kingdom. Early in the eighth century (Cir 755) a chieftain named Gopala became ruler of Bengal, and extended his power over Magadha. He made his capital at Bihar, and built the great Buddhist monastery of Odant or Udandapura in the town. His successors were also devout Buddhist, and most of the Buddhist remains extant in the district date back to this period (800—1200). Under their rule Magadha became a great centre of missionary enterprise, sending out emissaries to propagate the gospel of Buddhism all over India and

†Cf. The historicity of Yasovarman doubted by Smith and Stain, have been supplied by two ruins found in Patna district, one was the stone inscription found at Ghorsawan stating that a city named after the Kanauj king had been founded there, probably on the site of the battle (Yasovarman of Kanauj—Dr. Barua commemorative volume, *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV). The second record was found at the Nalanda and inscribed by a Buddhist Bhikku.

‡Dr. R. C. Majumdar : *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation* (1927), p. 352.

abroad. During the Pala rule, there was revival of Buddhism in Tibet, where the corrupt Lamaism was reformed in the eleventh century by Atisha, the hierarch of Magadha and abbot of the monastery of the Vikramasila. The Palas were the last imperial rulers who issued their commands from the city of Pataliputra. Under the Pala hegemony, Magadha came to be involved ultimately in all India politics. Bihar became the scene of marches and counter-marches during the so called tripartite struggle between the Palas, Pratiharas and Rastrakutas. Rampala defeated Pithipati Devarakshit of Magadha, but after his death, the hold of the Palas over Magadha became weak. It was under the rule of the Palas (Devapala) that King Balputradeva of Sumatra was allowed to construct hostels for international students at Nalanda.

When the Senas began to rule over Bengal and the Karnataks over Mithila, the Palas continued to hold nominal sway over Pataliputra. After the Palas, Govindachandra and Jayachandra of the Gahadwala dynasty held sway over Magadha. Lakshmansena is credited with having driven out the Palas. The importance of Pataliputra under the Palas is apparent by the fact that the feudatory vassals are said to have greeted the overlord in this city and their troops were assembled here. It was in the first half of the 13th century A.D. (C. 1234—36 A.D.) that the Tibetan traveller Dharmaswami visited Magadha. It appears from his writings that Nalanda, in its truncated form, existed at least up to 1238 A.D. It was after the fall of the Gahadwalas that the central authority in Magadha vanished and the chiefs of Magadha began to fight amongst themselves. The Muslim invaders took advantage of the situation and attacked Bihar.

NALANDA.

Nalanda, the ancient seat of learning, was haloed both by Gautama Buddha and Mahavira. Taranath thinks Nalanda to be the birth place of the Venerable Sariputta who along with 80,000 *arhats* attained *Nirvana*.^{*} Tradition is current that the Nalanda *Vihara* was first constructed by Asoka, but it lacks corroboration. Fa-Hien, who visited Magadha in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. does not refer to it. The other Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited it in the seventh century A.D. found the *Samgharama* having students from all over India numbering 10,000. The royal recognition of Nalanda dates back probably to C.450 A.D.[†]

Narsimhagupta Baladitya, the Gupta King, whose services to the Buddhist religion and learning were manifold, built a monastery at

^{*}Samadar : *The Glories of Magadha*, p. 126.

[†] *Ibid.*

Nalanda†. Thus it is beyond doubt that Nalanda became the seat of learning after the visit of Fa-Hien and prior to the visit of Hiuen Tsiang. I-Tsing, another Chinese pilgrim (C. 671 A.D.) studied at Nalanda for long years and found it in a prosperous condition.

The name and fame of Nalanda flourished for long and in 750 A.D., the Tibetan King sent emissaries to Nalanda to invite its high priest Kamalsila to Tibet. Kamalsila flourished between 728-776 A.D. and was a contemporary of Santa Raksita who also went to Tibet**.

The Nalanda copper plate of Devapala proves the existence of religious and cultural contacts between Magadha and Indonesia. Viradeva, an inhabitant of Nagarhara visited Nalanda and Devapala made him the high priest§.

According to Tibetan accounts Nalanda had a fine library, situated in the quarter known as Dharmaganja (Piety Mart). The University of Nalanda continued to attract Tibetan scholars. Dharmaswami (early 13th Century) refers to earlier Tibetan visitors at the University. He writes that he witnessed raids by Turks on Odantpuri. According to Taranath the *Vihara* was destroyed by the Turks.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

The Buddhism was finally swept away from Magadha by the Muhammadan invasion under Bakhtiyar Khilji. In 1197 Bihar, the capital was seized by a small detachment of two hundred horsemen, who rushed through its eastern gate, and sacked the town. The slaughter of the "Shaven-headed Brahmans" as the Muhammadan chronicler calls the Buddhist monks, was so complete that when the victor searched for some one capable of explaining the contents of the libraries not a single living monk could be found. It was discovered that the entire fort was a place of study. A similar fate befell the other Buddhist institutions which became targets of combined intolerance and rapacity of the invaders. The monasteries were sacked and desecrated. Those monks who escaped the sword fled to Tibet, Nepal and Southern India. The Muslim raid on Bihar gave a death blow to Buddhism ; but it appears from an inscription of Vidyadhara, dated Samvat 1276 (1219 A.D.) that it did not wholly disappear from Northern India*. Thence forward Magadha passed under Muhammadan rule. Bihar was included in the Bengal viceroyalty under Bakhtiyar Khilji.

†R.R. Diwaker : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 260.

**Samadar : *The Glories of Magadha*, p. 127.

§ *Ibid*, p. 130.

* *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, Vol. I, by Ishwari Prasad, p. 75.

After the death of Bakhtiyar, the province of Bihar, with its capital at Udwand Bihar (Biharsharif) came to be regarded as a province of Khalj Malik of Lakhnauti. According to Ferishta, the dead body of Bakhtiyar was brought back to Bihar and was buried there. Local tradition also avers the fact that the eternal resting place of the founder of Muslim power in Eastern India is Mohalla Imadpur in Biharsharif.

The death of Qutb-ud-din Aibak and unsettled conditions that followed permitted them to rule as independent sovereigns. With the accession of Iltutmish the situation changed. At that time Husam-ud-din Iwaz was the Malik of Lakhnauti, who styled himself as Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Iwaz. Numismatic evidence shows that the ablest of the Khaljis Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din received investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad, a few years before Iltutmish got the same. In 1225 A.D. the Delhi Emperor proceeded towards Lakhnauti, and occupied Bihar. Ghiyas-ud-din submitted to Iltutmish; but committed a mistake by attacking Izz-ul-mulk Ala-ud-din Jani, Governor of Bihar, appointed by Iltutmish. The deposed Governor sought shelter under Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, Governor of Oudh, the eldest son of Iltutmish. In the inevitable sequence Mahmud was victorious, Iwaz with his Khalj Malik was killed. According to Minhaj his independent rule lasted for twelve years.

Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud became the first Governor of Bihar under the Slave dynasty of Delhi; but died in 1229 A.D. The next important Governor of Bihar was Izz-ud-din Abdul Fatah Tughril Tughan Khan (1232—1244). From a stone inscription found in Biharsharif, we learn about the construction of a house during the rule of Tughril Tughan Khan in 646 A.H. (1242 A.D.). It also mentions his Treasurer (*Al-Khazan*) Mubarak Khan. According to Mulla Taqia, he defeated Narsimha Deva of Tirhut and made him captive†. On the death of Tughril Tughan Khan he was succeeded by Malik Jalal-ud-din Masud Jani who ruled for four years (1247—1251). He was succeeded by Malik Ikhtyar-ud-din Yuzbak, Governor of Oudh in 1251 who took the title of Sultan Mughis-ud-din; but, on hearing of the approach of the Delhi army fled precipitately to Lakhnauti. On his death in Kamrup, Jalal-ud-din Masud Jani was again appointed Governor of Lakhnauti and Bihar, but he did not rule more than a year. The period under review was rather uncertain due to the threatened inroads of Mongols. An Arabic inscription, the Barahdari inscription of Biharsharif, dated 1265, A. D. mentions Tartar Khan as Governor of Bihar*. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din

†R.R. Diwaker : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 383.

† *Ibid*, pp. 386-387.

* *Ibid*, p. 388.

Balban appointed his second son, Nazir-ud-din Bughra Khan as Governor of Bihar and Bengal in 1282-83. He died about 1291 A.D. and in that year his second son Sultan Rukn-ud-din Kaika-us (1291—1301 A.D.) issued coins in his name, and was succeeded by his younger brother as an independent ruler. From an inscription found at Lakhisarai we learn that Zia-ud-Daulat Waddin Firoz Altigin was the Governor of Bihar under Kaika-us. He was succeeded by Sultan Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah (1301—1322 A.D.). It was in his regime that two mosques were built at Biharsharif—his headquarters. The inscriptions in Arabic are good specimens of the artistic combination of the Naskh and Tughra styles. Hatim Khan and his elder brother Bahadur Shah, have been mentioned by H. Ahmad-Sharf-ud-din, the 14th century saint in a rare *Malfuz*, *Munis-ul-Muridin*, compiled (1354) by a disciple of the saint.

There is ample evidence, both inscriptional and numismatic of the hold of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and of Muhammad Shah Tughluq on Bihar. Among the inscriptions, the most important is the Sakunat (residence) inscription at Biharsharif, dated 1332.

Badauni mentions an expedition to Bihar and Bengal by Muhammad Tughlaq in 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.). The *Malfuzat* of the patron saint of Bihar, H. Sharf-ud-din and another entitled *Manaquib-ul-Asfa* of his cousin Shaikh Ashoab, mention Zain-ud-din Majd-ul-Mulk as the Mufti (fief-holder) or Governor of Bihar. The letter also mentions that Muhammad Tughluq sent by Majd-ul-Mulk a Bulgarian carpet for the saint and had also ordered him to set aside a *jagir* from Rajgir for the maintenance of Khanquah.† The town of Biharsharif has supplied an epigraph, dated 1st Ramjan 732 A.H. (27th May, 1335 A.D.), which commemorates the erection of a gateway to the palace of the imperial viceroy Abul Mujahid Muhammad-bin Tughlaq Shah. Judging from the large number of his inscriptions still existing, Sultan Firuz Tughluq appears to have been very popular in Bihar. The earliest are three in number, all dated 1353 and belonging to the shrine of Malik Ibrahim Bayu, on Biharsharif Hill. One of these inscriptions mentions Firuz Tughluq, and another Malik Bayu as 'pivot of the realm' and as the Muqti of Bihar. Next in chronological order is another set of three inscriptions, one at Kako (Jahanabad, in Gaya district) and two at Biharsharif, dated 1359. Local tradition, supported by inscriptional evidence, indicates that Firuz Tughluq paid a visit to Kako while on his way to Bihar. There is an interesting Sanskrit inscription in a Jain temple at Rajgir, regarding the name of Sultan Firuz Tughlaq as the "protector of the good". Another inscription dated 792 A.H. in Kabiruddin Mohalla of Biharsharif mentions Muhammad Shah (1389—1392

† R. R. Diwaker : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 391.

A.D.), son of Sultan Firuz Tughlaq. An Arabic inscription found at Maner mentions Zia-ul-Haq, as the Governor of Bihar in the reign of Muhammaud Shah (1392—1412 A.D.). There is enough inscriptional evidence from 1482 to 1486 which avers the Sharqi hold on Bihar. Copper coins are also available in Rajgir and elsewhere to corroborate this.

During the Lodis regime Bihar played an important role in the history of India. In 1494 A.D. Sultan Hussain Shah, ex-ruler of Jaunpur raised an army in Bihar to encounter Sikandar Lodi but was defeated and had to flee to Biharsharif. Sikandar followed him there also and did away with Sharqi rule. There are several villages in the Patna district which bear his name, but the camp of Sikandar appears to have been at Darbeshpur Diara, contiguous to Maner.*

The asylum accorded to Hussain Shah Sharqi by Sultan Alla-ud-din Hussain Shah of Bengal brought the imperial forces face to face with Bengal army. Hussain Shah sent an army under his son, Danyal, to check the advance of the imperial army from Qutlughpur, probably village Kutlupur, 4 miles south-east of Maner. But eventually the treaty signed at Barh averted the trouble. An inscriptional stone recently found at Biharsharif, records the erection of its eastern gate by Hazi Khan in 1495 A.D., after the conquest of Bihar by Sikandar Lodi and at the time of Wazir-ul-Mulk Darya Khan, the successor of Mubark Khan Nuhani. Dariya Khan was succeeded by his son, Bahar Khan, who assumed the name Sultan Mahmud after the death of Ibrahim in the first battle of Panipat ; and became the ruler of Bihar and Jaunpur, with Biharsharif as his capital. Babar has mentioned in his memoir about this rising Sultan. In face of inscriptional evidence in support of Hussain Shah of Bengal extending his sovereignty over North Bihar it appears that South Bihar comprising Shahabad, Gaya and Patna were definitely under Sultan Muhammad.

After the fall of Chandari in 1528 A. D. Babar set out to suppress the revolt of the eastern provinces. By April, 1528 he had arrived at Saryu or the Goghra. He might have reached up to Buxar and Chausa after conquering Saran and Tirhut. According to R.D. Banerji, Babar returned to the north after concluding a treaty with Bahar Khan *alias* Sultan Mahmud at Maner in the Danapur Subdivision of this district.

On death, Sultan Mahmud was succeeded by Jalaluddin from whom the kingdom of Bihar was seized by Mahmud Lodi, son of Ibrahim Lodi. Babar again had to intervene and without any pitched battle got back Bihar and appointed Jalal Khan Nuhani as Mughal Governor of

*R. R. Diwaker : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 396.

Bihar, the latter mother appointed Sher Khan as his deputy. During this campaign Babar visited the shrine at Maner. But within four years Sher Khan made himself *de facto* ruler of Bihar.

SHER SHAH.

Sher Shah found Biharsharif the old capital of early Muslim rulers unsuitable to be the headquarters of the new province. The insignificant town of Patna (*qusba-i-muhtaqar*), was selected by him to be the capital of the province in 1541 A.D.* He commanded architect and engineers to erect a fort which was constructed at a cost of 5 lacs of rupees, and completed within a short time.

AKBAR

The death of Sher Shah unloosened the forces of disintegration due to internecine war among the claimants of the throne. Sulaiman Karrani the ablest among the six sons of Jamal Karani was appointed Governor of South Bihar in 1545, when Muhammad Khan Sur was appointed Governor of Bengal and North Bihar. The two were on friendly terms, as is evidenced by an inscription dated 1554, found in Biharsharif. Sulaiman was succeeded by his eldest son Bayazid in 1573, who was murdered by Afghan chiefs and Daud his younger son was put on the throne. He got the *Khutba* read in his name, and coined money. He also seized the fort of Zamania, built by Khan Zaman. Akbar directed Munim Khan, Subahdar of Jaunpur, to proceed against Daud. Munim Khan, with a large force, arrived at Patna and concluded a treaty which ended in a fiasco. Todar Mall had already been sent to assist Munim Khan. The Khan-i-Khanan hastened to Bihar and was opposed at the confluence of the Son and the Sarju where the battle took place. Daud fell back on Patna fort, parts of which he repaired and made his bastion for defence. Munim Khan besieged Patna but finding himself unequal to the task pleaded for the Emperor's presence. Akbar arrived at the fateful ferry of Chausa, where Humayun had been defeated, on August 3, 1574, and later landed in the neighbourhood of Patna. According to the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, "the Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and ascended the Panj-pahari, which is opposite the fort. This Panj-pahari, or 'Five Domes', is a collection of old domes (*gumba*), which the 'infidels' had built in old times with hard bricks placed in layers. The Afghans who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress, saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey and in their despair and recklessness fired some guns at the Panj-pahari, but they

*J. N. Sarkar : *An Article in Bulletin No. I of A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies* published in February, 1963, p. 147.

did not cause injury to anyone". Daud took to flight and Akbar entered the walled Patna City.

The supreme command of Bengal campaign was vested in Munim Khan. Daud lost Bengal, and retired to Orissa. Muzaffar Khan was made Governor of Bihar, with headquarters at Hajipur. The death of Munim Khan in 1575 brought in anarchy. Now his army was faced with rebellion on every side. Junaid Karrani was mischievously active in South-Eastern Bihar and Gajapati Shah of Jagdishpur had started a guerrilla campaign in Shahabad. Muzaffar Khan enjoyed only precarious sway in Hajipur. In the battle of Rajmahal, Daud lost his life. Shaba Khan succeeded in smashing Gajapati Shah*. But Bihar and Bengal was far from subdued. In 1579-80, the storm broke out. For the moment, the rebel forces had won; but retribution was near at hand. Muhibb Ali Khan defeated Arab Bahadur and recovered the fort of Patna. In South Bihar, a contingent under Musum Khan Kabuli took Biharsharif, Sherghati and Gaya. Dalpat Shah, successor of Gajapati was defeated at Jagdishpur and Bihar was recovered for Akbar. In 1582, the rebels pushed up to Hajipur, Sadiq Khan gallantly heldout within Patna fort, and even crossed to the other side, to recover Hajipur. By 1584, the revolt of Bengal and Bihar had been suppressed. After the fall of Patna Akbar made Bihar a district Subah of his empire.

Muzaffar Khan, the Governor of Bihar made his sway firm by distributing extensive *jagirs* among the Khans and military commanders. He was succeeded by Shujjat Khan in compliance with an imperial *firman* in September, 1577. After Shujjat's transfer to Malwa in March, 1578 Khair-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka was sent in June, 1580 to take over the Government of Bihar and he continued here till 1582. Bihar during this period was virtually in the hands of a number of military fief-holders. Masum Khan Kabuli held Patna and its neighbourhood. Revolts and rebellion became the order of the day. Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka became the Subadar of Bihar during this period. His one of those few cases of a ruler of Bihar being put in charge of Bengal as well. His arrival in Patna was delayed by the rebellion of Dalpat Sahi of Jagdishpur. About this time Shahbaz Khan was sent to Bihar and the Khan-i-Azam asked him to join hands with him in reducing the rebel of Jagdishpur. Although the stronghold of the rebels was captured but since the generals were at loggerheads no joint actions were taken to suppress the revolt. But the tact and ability of Todar Mal saved the situation. After Khan-i-Azam, Sayeid Khan Chaghta became Governor of Bihar. He was replaced by Mirza Yusuf Mushbadi in September, 1585. Raja Man Singh then was appointed Governor of Bihar who administered excellently

**Akbarnama*, III, pp. 260-266.

and all refractories became obedient. Prince Salim, who raised the banner of revolt against his father came to Bihar during the last phase of Akbar's reign.

LATER MUGHALS.

Jahangir's reign witnessed the construction of mosques at Patna. Nazar Bahadur, one of his chief officers, constructed in 1626 the famous building of Sangi Masjid, still standing and better known as Pathar-ki-Masjid. Another mosque of Jahangir's reign still standing is the one built by Masum Khan in 1614, at Guzri, Patna City. Prince Parvez, the first Mughal prince to rule Bihar, gave his name to Parvezabad now known as Paleza, opposite Patna, on the bank of the Ganga. When Prince Khuram revolted, Prince Parvez was deputed against him, along with Mahabat Khan and others. The rebel prince reached Patna and many *jagirdars* of Parvez joined him. Khuram like his father, appears to have made extensive grants of land in Bihar. However, he was defeated and driven out of Bihar. Mirza Murad, the eldest son of the Governor Masud Fidai, the last Governor of Bihar during Jahangir's reign, settled at Patna, where he built a mansion on the bank of the river Ganga. His tomb in the compound of the General Hospital, Patna, is still an object of veneration. The Muradpur Mohalla, Patna, also bears his name.

Peter Mundy, who came to Patna in 1632 refers to Saif Khan, the Governor of Bihar. His Governorship was characterised by peace, prosperity and splendour. Peter Mundy also mentions the *madarsa* and the mosque attached to it, which Saif had built. The mosque bears an inscription, dated 1629. The Arabic College, of which the mosque was a part was famous in the Islamic World, and its Principal was regarded as an authority on Muslim Law*. The Shahi Idgah in Patna City, with an inscription, dated 1628-29, was built in a short time on Saif's orders. Shaikh Ali Hazin, the famous poet of the 18th Century, resided here during his stay in Patna. An other important Governor of Bihar was Shaista Khan (1639—43). The most important event of the period is testified by two inscriptions, dated 1646, standing at Colonelganj and Babuaganj in Patna City.

In 1697 Aurangzeb, appointed his grandson, Azim-us-Shan as Governor during whose rule Patna attained the zenith of its splendour. This prince made his court at Patna, and in 1704, he named the city Azimabad, after himself. Many of the nobles of Delhi came to live here. The prince made extensive repairs to the fort and renovated it thoroughly. During the later Mughals Bihar became an appendage of Bengal.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

The commerce of Patna attracted the European merchant companies. The first English commercial mission set forth from Agra in 1620. Two

†R. R. Diwakar : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 494.

**Ibid.*

Englishmen, Hughes and Parker, were sent from Agra to Patna to start their business but failed due to high transportation charges. A second attempt was made from Surat through Agra to establish English trade at Patna in 1632, when Peter Mundy came to Patna with eight carts laden with barrels of quick silver and parcels of vermilion. After staying a month at Patna, Mundy reported against the enterprise. When, however, the English established themselves in Bengal, it was possible for them to exploit the great saltpetre trade of Patna from 1657 onwards. Saltpetre was in great demand in Europe for the manufacture of gunpowder; but the English were not blind to the value of other trade which is evident from a report submitted in 1661. Musk was brought in from Bhutan and sent to Agra for export to Persia and Venice; drugs came from China; opium, even then the great local produce,[†] was sold in great quantities. Under the vigorous superintendence of Job Charnock, who was chief of the factory from 1664 to 1680 the English trade developed, and fleets of Patna boats laden with saltpetre were a common sight along the Ganga. The Court of Directors were never weary of asking for saltpetre from Patna, where it could be had so good and cheap that the contract for it was discontinued on the west coast in 1668 and at Masulipatam in 1670.

The English, however, were not the only merchants in the field, for the Dutch had made a settlement there before this. Taverneir, who visited Patna with Bernier in 1666, found it "one of the greatest cities of India". Further he mentions: "The Holland Company have a house there, by reason of their trade in saltpetre, which they refine at a great town called Chouper*. Coming to Patna, we met the Hollanders in the street returning from Chouper, who stopped our coaches to salute us. We did not part till we had emptied two bottles of Shiras wine in the open street, which is not taken notice of in that country where people meet with an entire freedom without any ceremony."

In 1680 Charnock left Patna for Cossimbazar, and the English soon became embroiled with the authorities. Next year Shaista Khan, the Viceroy of Bengal, forbade the purchase of any saltpetre, threw Peacock, the new factory chief into prison, and imposed a duty of 3½ per cent on all the Company's goods. In 1686 Shaista Khan sent orders to Patna to seize all the Company's property and imprison their servants; and again in 1702 all the English goods were seized and confiscated, and the servants were confined for seven weeks in the common jail.

The exactions of the Viceroy nearly put an end to the trade at Patna. In July, 1704, English trade at Patna was stopped owing to high customs. In 1706 the Council at Calcutta seemed anxious to keep

[†]Captain Alexander Hamilton writes in 1727: "Patna is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the English and Dutch have factories for saltpetre and raw silk. It produces also so much opium that it serves all the countries in India with that commodity." See *Patna District Gazetteer*, 1924, p. 25.

*i.e., Modern Chapra.

the factory going on, and two of its members were sent to the Patna residency with money and presents. In 1707 the Council, hearing of Aurangzeb's death and alarmed at the news that it was intended to levy contributions from all merchants, sent orders to their agents to leave Patna at once with all the saltpetre they could collect. In 1709 it was again agreed after much consultation to continue the Patna factory. In 1712, after Farrukhsiyar advanced his claims to the throne, it was resolved to lay the city of Patna under contribution; a list of the rich men was drawn up, at the head of which stood the English, and the goods of the Dutch Chief, Van Heorn, were confiscated. A watch was set over the factory, and the English withdrew to Singia, but were compelled to pay Rs. 22,000 to the Prince and Rs. 6,500 as presents to the Governor, the Barhah Said Hussain Ali. They were more fortunate than the Dutch, who were forced to hand over two lakhs of rupees. In 1715 the factory was temporarily abandoned; but experience soon showed that without a proper staff it was impossible to obtain the saltpetre and piece-goods which the Company required from Patna, and in 1718, after the embassy of John Surman to Farrukhsiyar, the Patna establishment was restored.

MARATHA AND AFGHAN RAIDS.

Alivardi arrived at Azimabad (sic. Patna) in 1733 A.D. But the task that faced him was not easy. However, by combining repression with conciliation, he crushed the feudal lords and restored peace in Bihar. Sarfaraz succeeded Shujauddin in 1739; and assumed the name Alaudduallah Haider Jung. Ill-trained for administration, he lost the crown of Eastern India in the fateful battle of Giria and Alivardi became the Nawab. His first difficulty was with the Marathas under Bhonsles of Nagpur, agnates of Shivaji. Alivardi, to save Orissa and Bengal, had appealed to the figure-head at Delhi, the result was not to his liking. Bihar and Patna became involved in this *faua pas* of Alivardi. Emperor Muhammad Shah asked Safdar Jung, the Wazir of Oudh, to rescue Alivardi with 7,000 Qizilbash cavalry and 10,000 Indian soldiers in December, 1742; just when Alivardi had given a *coup de grace* to Bhaskara Pandit in Orissa. Mischief mongers circulated the rumour that Safdar Jung had a *farman* in his pocket. Alivardi was unnerved and the people of Patna became panicky. In the meantime, Safdar Jung had reached Maner. The Wazir entered Patna on 7th December, 1742; and established his camp in a jungle, now called Bankipur. He placed the fort under his control. After visiting the tomb of his maternal grandfather, outside the city, he returned to Bankipur, to receive the *nazars*. Alivardi appealed to the Emperor to recall the Wazir of Oudh. Balaji Baji Rao was also reported to be advancing and Safdar Jung thought it prudent to return to Oudh, by crossing the Ganga at Maner, with the help of a bridge of boats on 15th January, 1743. In 1745, Raghuji again entered Bihar. Crossing the jungle

tracts of North Birbhum and hills of Kharagpur, he arrived at Fatwa, pillaged and burnt it. Then he proceeded towards Gaya to rescue the nephew of Mustafa Khan. He reached Patna and was met by Alivardi who had camped at Bankipur, and marched through Naubatpur, to meet the Marathas ; but, the enemy avoided pitched battle. They were ultimately caught near Rani's tank, in the neighbourhood of Mahibalipur, 19 miles south-west of Naubatpur, on the Son; where, indecisive fighting for 18 days took place. Raghuji Bhonsle proceeded towards Murshidabad, followed by Alivardi through Maner and Patna.

In 1748, a greater catastrophe befell the inhabitants of Patna in the shape of Afghan rebellion, which left a sordid tale of violence. Zeinuuddin was murdered in Chehelsutoor Palace*. The widow Amina Begam at first shut herself in the *zenana*; but, Haji Ahmed was arrested and tortured for 17 days ; he died on 30th January, 1748. His dead body was buried at Sabalpur in the vicinity of the celebrated Zafar Khan garden. The city of Azimabad was thoroughly sacked. Every house was entered and subjected to inhuman indignities. Many lost their lives, money was extorted from the bankers ; even beggars and vagabonds were not spared. Amina Begam and her children were brought out from the palace and conveyed to Zafar Khan's garden in an uncovered bullock cart. Alivardi heard of the treacherous assassination and public insult of his daughter. Joined by Saif Khan of Purnea, Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari, Kamghar of Mayi, he reached Barh and fought the battle of Rabisarai near Fatwa with the renegades, and their Maratha allies. On 18th April, the confederate army was defeated. After a few days, halt at Baikhatpur, he entered Patna. The citizens of Patna had never welcomed a conqueror more jubilantly and more sincerely. The treaty of 1751 put an end to Maratha raids, Alivardi passed away in 1756.

AFTERMATH OF PLASSEY.

The battle of Plassey in 1757 is a turning point in Indian history which made the Englishmen overlords of the most important province of India. Jean Law was near Rajmahal, on his way to join Siraj-ud-daula, when he heard the result of the battle of Plassey. He at once set out for Patna, with the intention of offering his services to the Governor Ramnarain, who was not expected to accept the new regime. On the 6th of July, 1757, Eyre Coote started from Murshidabad in pursuit with 223 Europeans and five hundred *sipahis*. He entered Patna district on July 23, when he camped at Dariyapur. At Punarak, on the following day, the Europeans refused to march, discontented at the lack of their customary supply of *arrack*. Coote pushed on with the *sipahis*, and the whole body arrived at the Factory on the 26th, the Europeans having come from Punarak in boats. On that night the Europeans, being once more within reach of *arrack* became drunk

*For a description of the palace cf. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, p. 71.

and disorderly, whereupon Coote flogged thirty of them after a court-martial. This severity restored discipline among the Europeans ; but on the 29th the *sipahis* in a body laid down their arms. Coote persuaded them to return to duty, and proceeded to Maner and thence to Chapra in pursuit of Law, who had left Patna after he had learned that Coote was in pursuit of him. When Coote returned to Patna, Ramnarain undertook to swear allegiance to Mir Jafar, if the English would guarantee his safety, to which Coote pledged himself. In following February Mir Jafar came to Patna, accompanied by Clive, who camped at Company Bagh* at Bankipur with his army. The Subahdar Mir Jafar would have liked to bestow the Government of Bihar on his brother-in-law Mir Kasim but Clive protected Ramnarain, whose allegiance to the new regime was henceforth secured. The Zamindars were summoned to a *darbar* at Patna, which Sundar Singh attended ; but Kamgar Khan held aloof. Sundar Singh subsequently co-operated with Ramnarain in disciplinary measures against Bishun Singh of Powai ; but in the following year he was prominent among the Zamindars who invited Shahzada Ali Gauhar to invade Bihar, though he was murdered by one of his own officers at Tikari before he could take any part in the campaign.

When Ali Gauhar, son of Alamgir II, revolted against his father, he was invited by Kamgar Khan, Pahalwan Singh and Sundar Singh to invade Bihar, whither he came early in 1759, accompanied by Law with two hundred Frenchmen. Kamgar Khan joined him in Bihar district, and the army proceeded to invade Patna ; but the besieging army melted away, in spite of Jean Law's adjurations, on the arrival of the advanced guard of Clive's relieving force. Clive marched to the Karamnasa, clearing the country of scattered bands of plunderers ; and he then returned to Bengal, leaving in Patna under Captain Cochrane two field guns, a company of European infantry and eight companies of *sipahis*.

When it was known that Clive was about to return to England the Shahazada, who now by his father's death could claim to be legitimate emperor, again invaded Bihar and was again joined by Kamgar Khan. Early in 1760 the invading army approached Patna ; and Captain Cochrane marched out with Ramnarain on the east of the City, where he entrenched himself to await the arrival of Major Caillaud's force from Bengal. Strict orders had been given that Cochrane should not engage the enemy before Caillaud's arrival ; but on the 9th of February Ramnarain unwisely determined to risk an engagement, in which Captain Cochrane's force was necessarily involved. The result was complete defeat, and the only surviving European officer was Dr. Fullarton, who heroically conducted the retreat to Patna. Caillaud arrived shortly afterwards, and the emperor's army suffered defeat at Sirpur on the 22nd of February. The discomfited army withdrew to Bihar, whence the emperor marched towards Bengal, pursued by Caillaud. When the emperor and

*Present site of the Civil Court and the Collectorate.

Kamgar Khan found that they could not surprise Murshidabad, they doubled back towards Patna. At Bihar they found Jean Law waiting for them ; and the army proceeded to besiege Patna.

Caillaud did not immediately perceive the manoeuvre of the emperor, who obtained several days's start. The defence of Patna was conducted by the Company's *sipahis*, numbering about three hundred, and by a body of three hundred cavalry, which had been raised by Shitab Rai.* The position of the defenders was desperate, when in the early afternoon of April 28 a body of men was seen approaching Hajipur. This was at first taken for the army of Kadam Husein, *faujdar* of Purnea who was known to be marching to join the emperor ; but it was soon discovered from the glitter of the bayonets and the colour of the uniforms that the troops were British†. Randfurle Knox had marched three hundred miles in thirteen days to relieve Patna, with two hundred picked Europeans, a battalion of *sipahis*, and two guns. On the 29th of April Knox attacked Kamgar Khan's intrenchment with such vigour that Zamindar escaped with some difficulty. Kamgar Khan did not care to stay near so enterprising an enemy, and he withdrew his force to some distance. Two or three days later, the emperor's army abandoned the siege, and marched away towards Gaya.

Kadam Husein, with six thousand cavalry, ten thousand infantry, and thirty guns, arrived at Hajipur at the end of the second week of June, whereupon Knox crossed the river with his little force of a thousand men, with five guns, accompanied by Shitab Rai and his three hundred men. On the 16th of June, as soon as the engagement began, Knox's little band of heroes was completely surrounded ; for six hours column after column of cavalry charged on them, steadily received. On one occasion the English detachment was nearly overwhelmed, but a brilliant charge by the grenadiers of Knox's own battallion repulsed the enemy and saved the party. At length, tired of these fruitless attempts which had been attended with considerable loss, Kadam Husein was forced to retreat, leaving behind him four hundred dead on the field, three elephants, and eight pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the victors. Knox followed up the retreating army until evening closed in, capturing and blowing up a number of ammunition tumbrils. Kadam Husein had indeed been completely defeated, and he fled towards Bettiah.

* Rao Shitab Rai, a Kayastha of exceptional character and capacity had recently come to Patna as Imperial Diwan, and Governor of Rohtas. These were practically honorary posts under the conditions then existing ; but he held large *jagirs* in Malda and Pilich parganas, which made him a wealthy man at Patna. From this period, particularly after his heroism at the battle of Birpur, his fortunes were bound up with those of the English.

† *Brooms*, p 298. See, also S.C. Hill's *Memoir of Knox* J.B. O.R.S., Vol. III, p. 120.

No further steps were taken against the emperor during 1760 ; and he remained in South Bihar with Jean Law and Kamgar Khan. Carnac took command of the army at Patna on the 31st of December, and at once made preparations for disposing of the emperor's army. The armies met at Siwan on the Mahane river, nine miles from Bihar, on the 15th of January, 1761, where the emperor was defeated and Jean Law was taken prisoner. Carnac gave the emperor no rest, until at last wearied of the continual pursuit, he came to terms near Gaya. He then returned to Patna with the English and the campaigns concluded with his recognition as emperor, when he was enthroned as Shah Alam in the upper room of the factory at Gulzarbagh on the 12th of March, 1761.

REVOLT OF MIR KASIM.

When Clive left for England, the deposition of Mir Jafar in favour of Mir Kasim soon followed. In May, 1761 Eyre Coote came to Patna as Commander-in-Chief, and for the time Ramnarain was safe ; but in June there was an open rupture between Mir Kasim and Coote, who was recalled to Calcutta, and Ramnarain was at once removed from his post. The new Nawab set vigorously about the pacification of South Bihar ; Buniad Singh and Fateh Singh of Tikari were captured and placed in confinement at Patna ; Kamgar Khan took to the hills, and Bishun Singh of Powai fled to Benares. For the first time in many years revenue was realized from the Southern Parganas. But there were continual quarrels between Mir Kasim and the English, which were intensified when in 1762 Ellis, a personal enemy of the Nawab, was appointed Chief at Patna. Henceforth events moved rapidly towards the final rupture. On his arrival at Patna Ellis gave grounds of offence by his indefensible arrest of an officer of the Nawab, who had purchased five maunds of saltpetre, and by imprudent insistence upon search of the fort at Monghyr where two English deserters were alleged to have taken refuge. Further, quarrels ensued regarding exemption of the Company's servants from internal customs duties. The Company's factory lay immediately outside the western wall of the city of Patna ; but the main western gate of the city (*pacchim darwaza*) was nearly half a mile to the south-east down the main road. A small wicket gate stood at the entrance of the road now known as Diwan Mahalla Lane, which had been closed on a complaint from the factory that some deserters had entered the city by it ; but it was found that the using the main western gate was inconvenient, and Ellis wished to have the wicket gate reopened. The Nawab refused to allow this ; and there was much bickering over this matter. The Nawab then made a stockaded entrenchment on part of the wall which commanded the factory. Ellis regarded it as a preparation for hostilities. In May, 1763 he applied to the Council for permission to take aggressive measures should

he find the Nawab bent on commencing war; and this permission was granted.

On the morning of the 25th of June Ellis, who had heard that reinforcements for the Nawab's army were approaching Patna, seized the city with the military force at his disposal, consisting of four companies of European infantry and one of artillery, with three battalions of sepoys. Such a force should have been sufficient to hold the city against all attacks; but discipline was lax; the troops scattered in search of plunder; and the Nawab's reinforcements coming from the east recaptured the city the same afternoon. The British were now besieged in the factory by the Nawab's troops under Markar, until the 29th June when they crossed the river, and set out for Chapra. At Manjhi they met Somru's brigade, and worn out with fatigue and hunger, they were defeated and captured.

The Nawab was now openly at war with the British, and Kamgar Khan came down from his retreat in the Chota Nagpur hills to join Mir Kasim at Bhagalpur but instead of adding his forces to the army encamped at Udhuanala, he went on a raiding expedition into Birbhum, to divert the attention of the British forces advancing from Bengal. But the Nawab's armies were beaten wherever they met the British; the victory at Udhuanala on the 5th of September opened the way to Monghyr and Patna; and Kamgar Khan made his way home to Hasua, where he died shortly after.

The victorious British army was now advancing towards Patna. Mir Kasim had already put to death Ramnarain, with Fateh Singh and Buniad Singh of Tikari, but the British prisoners remained in confinement in a house which belonged to Haji Ahmad, brother of Alivardi Khan. When Mir Kasim heard of the fall of Monghyr, in despair and fury he ordered the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, whose exact number cannot be definitely noted. Women and children were spared.*

Major Adams, with Knox as his Quartermaster-General arrived before Patna on the 28th of October. By the 5th of November breaches had been made by the north-east gate and on the eastern side of the fort, which was carried by storm on the following day. Mir Kasim, who had been awaiting at Bikram the result of the siege, escaped into the territory of the Nawab of Oudh, who gave him shelter and assistance.

Adams resigned the command of the army, on account of ill-health, to Knox on the 9th of December, but Knox himself was ill, and on the 28th of January, 1764 he died at Bankipur, where he was buried.

In March, 1764 Carnac took command of the army in the field, and conducted an inglorious campaign. After advancing to Buxar, he withdrew to Patna before the army of Mir Kasim and his allies Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-daula. Thereafter the army of Carnac and Mir Jafar

*R. R. Diwakar : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 584.

encamped round the city with the right wing at Afzal Khan's garden†, where Carnac had headquarters; while the line of Mir Kasim stretched from Jafar Khan's garden to Bankipur. On May Mir Kasim's army took the offensive and suffered reverses with heavy loss. However, Carnac failed to follow up his success. On 30th May Mir Kasim withdrew to Buxar. In August Major Hector Munro took command of the British army; and on 23rd of October he gained the decisive victory at Buxar, which made the British undisputed master of these provinces.

The arrival in India of Lord Clive in 1765 brought to an end that intermediate period of British ascendancy in Bengal, during which the Company's civil officials had amassed wealth while the affairs of the country and the company suffered. While Randfurlie Knox and Adams died worn out with their labours, those who by following a very different path had enriched themselves, lived to enjoy the wealth which they had acquired. One at least did not. William Bilers, Chief of Patna, had taken the usual bribes for appointments made when the fall of Mir Kasim opened opportunities to him; but he did not dare to face Lord Clive, and committed suicide at his house in Company Bagh at Bankipur before Clive arrived‡. He lies buried in the little graveyard in Company Bagh.

ADMINISTRATION OF BIHAR.

In August 1765, Clive obtained from emperor Shah Alam at Allahabad the formal grant of the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; and he made important changes in the civil and military administration. The cantonments at Bankipur, where the whole army had lately been quartered, were assigned to the third Brigade under Robert Barker until three years later when the Brigade was moved to the new quarters built at Danapur. The pacification of the province of Bihar was by no means complete; but until 1857 the peace of Patna district was unbroken, except for slight disturbances in 1781, and an abortive invasion of Pindaries in 1812.

Clive appointed Dheraj Narain, brother of deceased Ramnarain; but early in 1766 a council of three was appointed, consisting of Middleton, Chief of the factory, Dheraj Narain and Maharaja Shitab Rai. In following September Thomas Rumbold was appointed Chief of Patna in Middleton's place, and Dheraj Narain was removed. Shitab Rai was now the Company's *naib diwan* for Bihar and his place as agent of the emperor was taken by the Nawab Reza Quli Khan (Manir-ud-daula), founder of the well-known Bhiknapahri family. Rumbold carried on the administration jointly with Shitab Rai until he went to England in 1769, when he was succeeded by James Alexander. .

†Now the compound of the Bihar College of Engineering.

‡Broome, p. 525. *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, iii, p. 7.

FAMINE OF 1770.

*Towards the end of 1769 signs of an impending famine began to appear in Bihar. Earlier in the year Rumbold had given warning of danger; but in August he had reported that rain had fallen, and it was hoped that the season would be favourable. This expectation was belied, the premature cessation of the autumnal rains ruined the standing crops; and in January of 1770 famine had proceeded so far that Shitab Rai reported that fifty persons were dying daily of starvation in Patna. Alexander wrote at the end of January that the immediate distress was extreme, and that each day lost in deliberation added to the calamity. Nevertheless, he stated in the same letter that he had issued order to take for Government twenty-five seers out of each maund of grain reaped, leaving fifteen for the *raiya*t. Shitab Rai, proposed to set aside two lakhs of rupees for relief work. But the Government of John Cartier would neither accept responsibility nor delegate it to the local officers; they agreed that something must be done; but they would not definitely approve Shitab Rai's proposal. In following April Alexander reported that the depopulation in the interior part of the country is more rapid than would be imagined by any person who has not been witness to it; and such is the disposition of the people that they seem rather inclined to submit to death than extricate themselves from misery and hunger by industry and labour. We should pronounce this estimate of the people of Patna to be unjust, if we judge its correctness by their character at the present day. In any case, taking five-eighths of a famine crop as revenue would be deemed now-a-days a severe mode of inciting cultivators to exhibit industry and self-reliance in such circumstances. By this time, reports Alexander, "the miseries of the poor increase in such a manner that not less than 150 have died in a day in Patna. In consequence of this, I disburse on the Company's account daily 380 sonat rupees, 100 of which is disbursed by the Raja. The officers at Dinapore, by a private subscription, feed a large number, and the French and Dutch give as largely as can be expected from their small factories". The rainy season in time brought relief; but there had been considerable depopulation before that relief came, from which the country did not recover for many years.

APPOINTMENT OF THE COMITROLLING COUNCIL OF REVENUE AT PATNA,
1770.

In 1770 a change was made in the system of administration by the appointment of the Revenue Council of Patna, which consisted of James Alexander as President, with Robert Palk and George Vansittart as members, with authority over the *naib-diwan* in revenue matters, though Shitab Rai remained in general charge of the *nizamat* administration. The Council at once began to interfere actively in revenue affairs. On

*Annals of Rural Bengal, pp. 19-30, 405, 415 Revenue Chief of Bihar, p. 9.

November 5, 1770, a large body of *raiya*s complained of the exactions of the renters, whereupon the Council fixed the maximum rent at nine-sixteenths of the produce, compelling the farmers to undertake by their covenants not to collect at a higher rate. It is probable that in this order we may find the origin of the tradition that nine-sixteenths of the produce is the normal rent in South Bihar*.

In 1772 the Directors issued their famous despatch wherein they announced their intention to stand forth as Diwan, ordering the removal of Shitab Rai. This order evidently caused some embarrassment to Warren Hastings and the local Council who were unwilling to put a slight upon their honoured friend ; Shitab Rai who however was treated with all possible consideration, though he was publicly removed from his office and sent to Calcutta for an enquiry into his administration*. He emerged from the enquiry with honour, and in the end he was reinstated ; but he died shortly after his return to Patna in 1773. Thereupon his son Kallian Singh was appointed Rai-raiyan of Bihar, with an annual salary of fifty thousand rupees ; and the *naibs* of Shitab Rai were re-appointed, one of whom was Raja Khiali Ram, the Agarwala, whose descendants still flourish in Patna. The general revenue administration remained in the hands of the Council, of which successive Presidents were Richard Barwell (1771), John Graham (1772), George Vansittart (1772), George Hurst (1773), Thomas Lane (1773), Robert Palk (1775), Issac Stage (1776), Ewan Law (1777) and William Maxwell (1780).

GREAT REVOLT OF 1857.

In 1857 the garrison at Danapur was under the charge of Major General Lloyd and it consisted of the 10th foot† and a company of European artillery, with a company of local artillery, and the 7th, 8th and 40th battalions of Indian infantry. Patna was then a centre of intrigue for disaffected Muhammadans. William Tayler, Commissioner of Patna Division had taken precautionary steps and was watching the course of the movement since the Meerut outbreak of May, 1857. On the 18th of June the Commissioner, William Tayler, treacherously put under detention the three Maulvis who were the head of the Patna Wahabis as hostages for the good behaviour of their followers. But the intimidation could not kill the urge of the disaffected people. Kaye strongly denounced the act of Tayler and said, "To invite men to a friendly conference and when actually the guests of a British officer to seize their persons is not only very like *treachery* but is *treachery itself*."‡

*It is stated in the *Patna Settlement Report* that restrictions on collections were omitted in the *Kabuliyats* of 1781, as is implied in Sir John Shores minute of June 28, 1789. (*Harington's Analysis*, Vol. III, 451). But in his letter of May 6th, 1788, W. A. Brooke, the Revenue Chief, distinctly asserts that the renters by their current *kabuliyats* had undertaken to leave seven-sixteenths to the *raiya*s, and that this was the standing rule.

‡**For the despatch, and the action taken on it with regard to Shitab Rai, see, *Carracioli*, IV p. 251. See, also *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 38-39.

† Later the First Battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment.

‡Kaye: *History of the Sepoy War*, III, pp. 83-84.

On the third of July sixty or seventy Muhammadans, with drums beating and green flags waving, suddenly rushed to attack the Roman Catholic Church in the city. Rattray's Sikhs, who were in Patna, were at once ordered to the spot; but Dr. Lyell, Superintendent of the Opium Factory, thinking that his presence would overawe the rioters, rode on in advance. As he approached, several shots were fired at him and he fell mortally wounded. The moment was critical, but the Sikhs just then arrived, and quickly dispersed the crowd. Maulvi Ali Karim, who had returned to Patna, again escaped. The materials found at Patna indicated the existence of a widespread conspiracy. The Commissioner ordered on the 8th July, to attach all the property of Ali Karim. Thirty-six persons were afterwards arrested and sixteen were sentenced to death. Among others the Jamadar, Waris Ali, went to the gallows crying, "To the rescue, all friends of the King of Delhi". A contemporary English account notes that by dint of constant arrest and increasing use of hemp, the city was kept quiet; the inhabitants were overawed. As a result of this the three of the regiments at Danapur revolted against the alien Company on the 25th July 1857.

With his garrison strengthened by two companies of the 37th foot, General Lloyd on the morning of 25th July removed the British troops, issuing orders that the caps in possession of the sepoys should be given up; but the sepoys, when called upon to obey this order, fired on their officers. These sepoys proceeded to join Kuar Singh.

An ill-fated attempt was now made to undo the error of allowing these men to join the rebels at Arrah with their arms and accoutrements. Four hundred men of the 10th foot left in a steamer on the 29th; but the expedition was badly mismanaged. The troops were landed at 7 P. M. and marched in the darkness in their white summer uniforms, by the Chapra Ghat Road towards Arrah. At midnight they fell into an ambuscade; and in the morning they had to retreat. Half of their number were left behind, and of the survivors only about fifty returned unwounded. Two hundred British soldiers and two guns were now sent to the city to overawe the disaffected, who gave no more trouble; but for the rest of the year stray bands of mutineers roamed over the district destroying thanas and looting private property; and order generally was not restored until early in 1858.

CREATION OF THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

By proclamation* made by the Governor-General of India on the 22nd March, 1912, the territories of Bihar and Orissa, which were formerly subject to and included within the limits of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, were constituted into a separate province named Bihar and Orissa†. This was fulfilment of a popular urge which had manifested itself after the great revolt of 1857. The intellectuals

*The province of Bihar and Orissa actually came into being on April 13, 1912 and on that day the "Biharee" came out as full-fledged, Daily.

†*Patna High Court*, a Supplement to volume, 1967, p. 1.

of Bihar led by the late Sachchidananda Sinha, launched a movement for separation of Bihar from Bengal and in order to accelerate its pace he devoted all his talents in organising a paper to be run and controlled entirely by Biharees. With the co-operation of Babu Saligram Singh and Babu Bisheshwar Singh of Kulharia family and other colleagues, he started the publication of an English weekly, "Bihar Times" from Patna in 1894 under the editorship of Babu Mahesh Narayan. In 1906 it was re-named "Biharee"* and became a bi-weekly. Another English weekly "Indian Chronicle", which had been started at Patna in 1881, on passing into the hands of Babu Mahesh Narayan also championed the cause of Bihar. However, another English weekly, the "Bihar Herald", founded in 1872, became bitterly hostile to the demand for a separate province of Bihar.

It was mainly through the "Bihar Times" and the "Biharee" that the late Sachchidananda Sinha and Mahesh Narayan carried on the movement for the separation of Bihar from Bengal. Sir Syed Ali Imam as Law Member to Government of India also contributed substantially to the creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa as also its own High Court.†

FREEDOM MOVEMENT.

Swadeshi Movement.—The partition of Bengal in 1905 agitated the public feeling in Bengal and elsewhere and evoked strong protest against this action of Government. This gave a fillip to the *Swadeshi* Movement which had been thought of before by leaders of the country. It assumed religious sanctity and the youths of Bengal took a vow for *Swadeshi* agitation. Liaquat Hussain of Bihar who was then in Calcutta stood forth as a champion worker for the *Swadeshi* cause. On the 16th October, 1905 *Raksha Bandan Divas* was observed in some parts of Bihar with due solemnity. Surendra Nath Banerji came to Monghyr in 1906 and delivered a fiery speech which made a deep impression on the minds of the youth.‡

Hindu-Muslim Unity.—In 1908, first Bihar Provincial Congress was held at Patna under the Presidentship of Sir Ali Imam. Perhaps it was a unique instance in the whole country when Muslims and Non-Muslims worked in complete harmony for promoting common ideals to achieve freedom of the country.**

*See, N. Kumar : "Journalism in Bihar", 1969 for details.

†Patna High Court (*Supra*), p. 16.

‡History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar, Vol. 1, pp 109, 149, 150 and 154.

**Sachchidananda Sinha: "Some Eminent Bihari Contemporaries, pp. 79-80.

The "Biharee", 1st October, 1909.

Also see, The History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar, Vol. I, 1957, p. 151.

At the 25th session of the Indian National Congress held at Allahabad in 1910 Syed Hasan Imam strongly criticised the scheme of separate electorate. At the same Congress, Maulana Mazharul Haque seconded the resolution moved by Mohammad Ali Jinnah against the application of the principle of separate communal electorate to Municipalities, District Boards or other Local Bodies. He strongly pleaded for communal harmony between the Hindus and Muslims in order that they could work shoulder to shoulder for the emancipation of the country.

The Indian National Congress held its 27th Session for the first time in Bihar in 1912 at Bankipur, Patna. Maulana Mazharul Haque was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and important public men including Sachchidananda Sinha served on it as General Secretary.

In 1914, two Biharees, Maulana Mazharul Haque and Sachchidananda Sinha were elected to serve on deputation to England by the Congress (along with some other leaders from the rest of India).

Patna University.—An extraordinary Session of the Bihar Provincial Congress, held at Bankipur in November, 1916 recorded strong protest against the reactionary feature of the Patna University Bill.* Rajendra Prasad, then General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Association carried vigorous agitation against the objectionable features of the Bill and succeeded in getting it substantially modified before it was enacted.

Indigo Agitation.—On the invitation of one Rajkumar Shukla, a raiyat of Champaran, Mahatma Gandhi arrived at Patna on the 10th of April, 1917 with a view to take up the cause of the raiyats of Champaran against the European indigo planters. Maulana Mazharul Haque played host to him and saw him off to Champaran. On the 18th April, 1917, H.S. Polak, Maulana Mazharul Haque, Rajendra Prasad, Brajkishore Prasad and others also went to Motihari from Patna to assist Mahatma Gandhi in collecting evidence into the excesses of the planters against the local tenantry.

Khilafat.—After the First World War, there was a universal protest on behalf of the Muslims in India, as indeed in other Islamic countries, against the British who were mainly instrumental behind the breaking up of Turkey, which had hitherto been a symbol of Islamic power. As the Indian National Congress had launched Non-Co-operation Movement against the British power in India, it found a commonality in Muslims and supported the cause of *Khilafat*. A public meeting was held at Patna in the Anjuman Islamia Hall on the 13th November, 1919 and it decided unanimously against participation in peace celebrations on the conclusion of the First World War. In accordance with the desire of Maulana Mazharul Haque and other Muslim leaders, a

*Also see, *The History of the Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, 1957, p. 157.

hartal was observed throughout Bihar on the 19th March, 1920. At Patna, the Secretary of the Provincial Khilafat Committee, S. Sami, son-in-law of syed Hasan Imam, took a leading part in organising the *hartal*.

Jalianwala Bagh.—In protest against the repressive measures of the Rowlatt Act, Patna observed 6th of April, 1919 as the day of prayer. Syed Hasan Imam led a peaceful procession to demonstrate the public sentiments. A *hartal* week was also observed all over India from 6th to 13th April, 1920 under the instruction of Mahatma Gandhi, as a protest against the massacres by the British in the Jallianwala Bagh. Maulana Mazharul Haque and his colleagues made this week a success at Patna.

Renunciation of Titles.—On 1st August, 1920, a meeting was held at Patna at which it was decided to renounce the title conferred on Indians by the British Government and also honorary offices.

Non-Co-operation Movement.—Mahatma Gandhi launched his first Non-Co-operation Movement in India in 1919 and Patna played a leading role in this. Maulana Mazharul Haque founded the Sadakat Ashram at Digba which became the seat of political activities for the Indian National Congress. It was under Mahatma Gandhi's influence during his sojourn in Bihar during 1920-21 that the Bihar Vidyapith and the National College were founded to provide education to students who had been withdrawn from Government educational institutions as a part of policy of Non-Co-operation Movement. The Bihar Vidyapith was to co-ordinate the activities of all national educational institutions in Bihar. Maulana Mazharul Haque became the Chancellor and Babu Brajkishore Prasad, Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyapith while Rajendra Prasad was the Principal of the National College (opened on February 4, 1921).

Representation in Council.—The Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909 had provided for popular representation in the Imperial Legislative Council and in pursuance thereof the late Sachchidananda Sinha was elected in 1910 to represent Bihar in that Council.

Diarchy.—After the First World War the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, 1918 introduced diarchy in provincial administration, providing for transferred and reserved subjects. Education and Health were transferred subjects and were put under Indian Ministers since 1921, though the other subjects remained exclusively under the charge of the Provincial Governor, beyond the purview of the legislature. This system continued till 1937 when it was replaced by provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935. The limited scope of diarchy belied the hopes and aspirations of the people who aspired for fully responsible Government.

*Revolutionary Nationalism.**—In the wake of the partition of Bengal, a wave of terrorist activities swept over Eastern India and it was felt in Bihar also. Khudi Ram Bose, a young revolutionary of 18, was hanged at Muzaffarpur on the 11th August, 1908. The execution of this young patriot profoundly shocked the enlightened opinion in Bihar. The throwing of a bomb in the Central Assembly Hall at Delhi by Bhagat Singh in 1929 and his execution also agitated the minds of younger generations.

In post-1930 era Bihar was much influenced by the revolutionary incidents taking place in India, particularly in Bengal. Patna City was an important centre of terrorist activities. It had members of the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Army. On the 28th June, 1931, there was a bomb incident at Patna when Police Officers were trying to apprehend Hazari Lal who was wanted in connection with the Delhi Conspiracy Case. Surajnath Choube was suspected to have been involved in a bomb case at Lucknow. The well-known Patna Conspiracy Case ended in conviction of Surajnath Choube and six others. Choube was sentenced to death but on appeal, the High Court commuted his sentence to transportation for life. The Bihar terrorists were in touch with other branches of the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Army. Hazari Lal, a resident of Patna City who had been trained in revolutionary cult in Bengal was receiving visits from Chandra Sekhar Azad and other terrorists.

At Amhara in Danapur Subdivision, the police searched the house of Chhotan Pd. Singh and Jadu Singh on the 3rd October, 1931 and is reported to have discovered there a live bomb and took into custody Bhagwati Singh and Sudama Singh, sons of Jadu Singh.†

At Patna leaflets containing pictures of Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutta (who were settled in Patna City) were sold. ‡ Its authorship was attributed to Prof. Gyan Saha of B.N. College, who was considered by Government as a revolutionary of extreme views who favoured terrorism as a means to achieve independence of the country. It appears he was intimately connected with Manindra Nath Roy, leader of the Patna Revolutionist Party and Jayachanda Vidyalkar, another Professor of B.N. College and leader of the Punjab Section of the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association.**

Home Rule.—Both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League held their annual sessions at Lucknow in December, 1916 and concluded the Lucknow Pact, according to which the Congress agreed to

* *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, pp. 249-50.

† *Ibid*, p. 251.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 249-51.

** *Ibid*, Vol. II., p. 38.

a separate electorate for the Muslims and both the organisations jointly formulated a scheme of reforms known as the Congress-League Scheme. The Lucknow Session of the Congress advocated a union between the Moderate and Radical Sections of the Congress on the death of two great leaders of the Moderates, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pheroz Shah Mehta. In 1915 Mrs. Anne Besant, and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak assumed leadership of political life in the country and they started two Home Rule Leagues at Madras and Poona respectively in 1916 and began to carry on vigorous propaganda in support of the Congress-League accord of Lucknow. The influence of the Home Rule Movement was felt in Bihar* and at the meeting held at Bankipur on the 16th December, 1916, it was decided to start a Home Rule League at Bankipur and Maulana Mazharul-Haque was elected its President. It may be mentioned that the Maulana had played a leading role in supporting the resolution for a Self-Government at Lucknow Congress in 1916. The League decided to organise campaigns in rural areas and to collect subscriptions. Mrs. Besant arrived at Patna on the 18th April, 1918 and was accorded a great welcome. A large number of students, both Hindu and Mohammadans lined the streets and filled up the house-tops and women folk also crowded Mrs. Besant in some places. Among the local leaders of the Home Rule Movement, Hasan Imam, Purnendu Narayan Sinha and Syed Hasan Khan may specially be mentioned. The Movement spread to various parts of the State and its branches were opened at Muzaffarpur, Chapra and Gaya. It may, however, be mentioned that in Champaran the associates of Mahatma Gandhi kept themselves aloof from the Home Rule activities. Rai Puran Chand of Patna City, Joint Secretary of the Patna Home Rule mooted the idea of starting the worship of Bharat Mata on the Vijaya Dashami day. This worship was very popular till about 1930† and even now in some locality it is observed.

Swaraj Party.—A section of congressmen who were in favour of Council entry met at Patna on the 26th February, 1923 and formed the nucleus of Swaraj Party. Prof. Abdul Bari of National College, Patna was one of its founder-members. The main point of divergence between this party and that of the Congress verged on election to local bodies and Councils. The Congress candidates without any distinction between those of the no-change majority and those of the Swaraj Party thought that the municipal elections could achieve remarkable success. Rajendra Prasad and Anugrah Narayan Sinha were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the Patna Municipality. The Swaraj Party candidates contested the election to Legislative Council and Assmebly with success.‡ From Patna Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hussain, formerly a member of the Assembly and contesting as a Swaraj Party

*B. and O. Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1917, dated 6th January, 1917.

†*Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. I, p. 164.

‡*Freedom Movement in Bihar*, 1957, Vol. I, p. 453.

candidate was returned after defeating Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail, who usually supported Government. 12 Swarajists were returned to the Legislative Council.

Simon Commission.—The Simon Commission arrived at Patna on 12th December, 1928 in course of its itinerary of India to study the working of the diarchy *vis-a-vis* the contemporary political scene. A conference of all parties was held at Patna under the Presidentship of Sir Ali Imam and it was decided to boycott the Commission. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee had held its session at Patna on 9th December, 1928, just a few days ahead of the arrival of the Simon Commission and contributed much to the success of the demonstration against it, which was led by the late Rajendra Prasad.

Non-Co-operation Movement, 1930.—This manifested itself in shape of Civil Disobedience in intense degree. The *Salt Satyagrah* was observed in Patna district from 16th to 21st April, 1930. This was inspired by the Dandi March of Mahatma Gandhi, who had gone to the sea-shore to assert the right of free manufacture of salt as a symbolic protest against the Government monopoly. The important centres of this *Satyagrah* were Amhara, Bikram, Naubatpur, Khagaul and Danapur. Some centres were also opened in certain villages in Barh Subdivision. A procession was led by Ram Briksha Benipuri, editor of the "Yuvak", at Gulzarbagh and he was arrested. Prof. Abdul Bari and Acharya Kripalani led a procession of *Satyagrahis* near Patna College and were severely beaten by the European officers and the mounted police chased the processionists and whipped them indiscriminately. Another phase of this movement was picketing of toddy, liquor and *ganja* shops. No-rent campaign was also launched.

Non-Co-operation Movement, 1932.—The Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on the 5th March, 1931 had brought a truce in the struggle between Government and Congress; but the policy of conciliation followed by Lord Irwin was reversed by his successor, Lord Willingdon who started repressive measures against the freedom movement and put its leaders in jail. The movement was re-launched. The Patna Central Jail, as in fact other jails in Bihar, became overcrowded with political prisoners. Later, the release of Mahatma Gandhi gave a new orientation to the movement when he took to constructive social work. An important phase was his revolutionary demand to open the temple gates in Kerala to Harijans.

Earthquake of vast magnitude occurred on the 15th January 1934 and it caused widespread destruction of human life and properties in Bihar. Mahatma Gandhi with local leaders toured the affected areas and organised prompt relief under the auspices of the Bihar Central Relief Committee with Rajendra Prasad as Chairman. Contemporaneously the centre of political gravity in the country shifted to Patna during the sojourn of the leaders.

Kisan Sabha.—In post-1930 era Kisan Movement was at its peak in Patna district with its centre at Bihta under the leadership of Swami Sahjanand Saraswati.* It championed the cause of the tenants against the repression of Zamindars, asking them not to pay rent. This was in line with the spirit of Non-Co-operation Movement.*

Congress in power.—The Indian National Congress after contesting the General Elections in 1937 secured majority in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The Governor, Sir M.G. Hallett invited the late Shrikrishna Sinha, leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly on 24th-25th March, 1937 to form Government. But on the refusal by the Governor to give assurance of non-interference in the day-to-day administration, the Congress declined the offer and the late Mohammad Yunus, leader of the next largest party, formed an *ad-interim* Ministry. However, subsequently on assurance of non-interference by the Governor, the Congress formed its Government in Bihar on 20th July, 1937 with the late Shrikrishna Sinha as Premier. This Ministry, however, submitted its resignation on the 15th February, 1938 on the question of release of political prisoners. This remained in abeyance and ultimately on settlement of the differences on the aforesaid matter, the Congress Ministry resumed office on the 26th February, 1938. On the eve of the Second World War, the Government of India declared this country a co-belligerent with Britain against Germany on the 3rd September, 1939 without consulting the Congress ; which in turn asked the British Government to declare their War and Peace aims and commit themselves to free India on the conclusion of the War. Ultimately the Congress Ministry in Bihar, as in other States, where they were in power, resigned on the 31st October, 1939.

Quit India Movement.—In 1942, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution, known as "Quit India", giving an ultimatum to the British Power to leave this country. As a sequel to this, the British Government arrested all the national leaders. This caused wide spread reactions against Government all over the country, culminating in serious break-down of law and order and virtual collapse of Government for weeks together. The most striking event at Patna was the firing in front of the eastern gate of the Patna Secretariat on the 11th August, 1942 on a procession, mostly of students who asserted to unfurl the National Flag on the Secretariat building. Seven students died† as a result of the firing and a fair number were injured. The Government let loose severe repressive measures all over the district. The educational institutions were closed and people had to observe curfew over long periods, besides having limitations on their civic rights. All these, however, kindled the fire of patriotism among them and prepared a sound background for the impending independence of the country.†

*See, Chapter on Revenue Administration in this volume, pp. 365—368.

†See, Appendix I to this Chapter.

In spite of preventive measures taken by the authorities the popular excitement could not be contained. The furious mobs set many Police-Stations and Post-Offices ablaze. Both road and rail communications were disrupted. Two Canadians were also killed at the Fatwa Railway Station by the furious mob on the 11th August. Telephone and telegraph wire were cut and poles removed. The atrocities of the military and Police to suppress the popular fury throughout Patna district, are well-known.

After the war was over elections were held in 1946. The Congress captured majority of the seats and formed the ministry headed by the Shrikrishna Sinha on the 30th March, 1946. When independence was finally achieved on the 15th August, 1947 there was tremendous enthusiasm throughout the province. Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, who was appointed Governor of Bihar, took oath of office on the mid-night of 14th and 15th August. In the afternoon of the 15th August, he laid the foundation stone of the Martyrs' Memorial, which has since been erected to commemorate the memory of the students who were killed by police firings on 11th August, 1942.*

*See, Appendix I to this Chapter.

APPENDIX I

The following students died in police firing in front of the eastern gate of the Secretariat on 11th August, 1942 :—

- (1) Uma Kant Prasad Sinha, son of Shri Ram Kumar Sinha, of village Narendrapur, P.O. Hussainganj, P.-S. Darauli, district Saran. (A student of Class XI of R.M.R. Seminary, Patna).
- (2) Ramanand Singh, son of Shri Lakshman Singh, of village Sahadatnagar, P.-S. Masaurhi, district Patna. (A student of Class XI of R.M.R. Seminary, Patna).
- (3) Satish Prasad Jha, son of Shri Jagdish Prasad Jha, of village Kharhara, P.-S. Banka, Bhagalpur. (A student of Class XI of Patna Collegiate School).
- (4) Jagpati Kumar, son of Shri Sukhraj Bahadur, of village Karathi, P.-S. Obra, district Gaya (a student of 2nd Year Class of B.N. College, Patna).
- (5) Devi Pado Chaudhury, son of Shri Devendra Nath Chaudhury, of village Jamalpur, P.-S. Bishwanath, district Sylhat*. (A student of Class IX of Miller H.E. School, Patna. His father was then serving as a teacher in Punaichak L.P. School, Patna).
- (6) Rajendra Singh, son of Shri Sheo Narayan Singh, of village Banwarichak, P.-S. Sonepur, district Saran. (A student of Matric Class in Patna High School).
- (7) Ramgovind Singh, son of Shri Devaki Singh, of village Dasratha, P.-S. Phulwari, district Patna. (A student of Matric Class in H.E. School, Punpun).

*Then in Assam ; now in East Pakistan.