



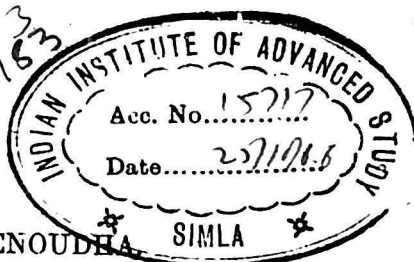
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II.—BENOUDHA

SIMLA

PART III.

WE have now suddenly and half unconsciously hit upon a new vein in social geology, quite dissimilar to any thing that has yet presented itself to our notice, an ethnological "dike," as it were, forced out of its proper level by its own fury and volcanic nature. In the stratum in which we are now conducting our researches, the Muhammadans are what geologists would call "intrusive;" and we do not hesitate to aver that this is precisely the light in which they were regarded by their semi-barbarous antagonists. We leave them for the present, under the conviction that we shall soon meet with them again, and better understand their natural position, if we continue to follow the progressive order of social stratification.

Foremost among the cities which excited the admiration and wonder of the Muhammadan strangers was Kanauj; but what circumstances tended so greatly to embellish and enrich that city Elphinstone in vain endeavours to discover. As to one possible cause he speaks conclusively and in the negative. It was not in any way connected with the magnitude of the dominions of the Rájá, for they were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars and alliances.* It will presently be seen, moreover, that shortly after Mahmud's invasion, Satraph, a large town on the extreme west of Benoudha, was selected by a friend and ally of his as a base of operations against the surrounding country; which would presumably not have been the case, had it lain within his territory. These facts appear to us to confirm our view that Benoudha retained its independence until after the commencement of the eleventh century, and that it never acknowledged the suzerainty of the Tomar Kings of Kanauj.†

*pec.

at a city

* Elphias, and 4th Edition, p. 281.
† The *ce* of Gang. Nymars was once for a *adan* army *ari*, a little to the north (I., 123). Feris (As. Soc. Journal I. iv.)'s account of but this was not till aft prince after Muham-madan invasion; there only considering the friendly to Miraf of the Tomars to the invaer (I. 144) town may have been part of ataqnquest effected by their joint efforts. Attempted

territorial aggrandisement on the part of the Tomars would have been a spur to patriotism in causing the league of Hindu princes against them, which Mahmud marched into Oudh for the express purpose of punishing. (Elph., 4th Edition, 281.) Under any circumstances, moreover, there would be ample room for a boundary line between Bári and Satraph.

About 1050 A.D., however, the Tomars were compelled to retire to Delhi;* and a Rahtor Chief, Chandra-deva, remote ancestor of the present Ráná of Jodhpur, establishing himself on the throne of Kanauj, founded the most famous dynasty of that kingdom. On the west the Tomars continued to be formidable rivals; but, in the opposite direction, the Rahtor power found no check to its expansion. Its utmost limits we leave undefined; it certainly embraced Banáras and Ayodhyá. Local legends, † quoted by Mr. Carnegie, single out Chandra-deva as the conqueror of Ayodhyá; and contemporary historians ‡ denominate the last of the Rahtors the "Rai" and "King" of Banáras.* They also state that he was the greatest King in India, and that his kingdom extended from the borders of China to Málwa, and from the sea to within ten days' journey of Láhor; Banáras itself is called the "centre of the country of Hind." § A copper land-grant, moreover, discovered in Ayodhyá in recent days, describes in language turgid with fulsome adulation how Jaya Chandra performed the not very munificent act of giving a village to a bráhman; and in the lengthy recital does not consider it inappropriate to refer to the fact that his great grand-father, Chandra-deva, "protected the sacred places of Kási (Banáras) "and Kási Kosava Kosala (Oudh) and Indrasthána, possessing "them." Thus, once again, after the lapse of many centuries, did Benoudha again for a brief season come under the domination of a Hindú prince.

The Rahtors held the sceptre of Kanauj for about a century and a half; and, at the end of that time, Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori marched against the city at the head of a tremendous following of fifty thousand mounted men, clad in armour and coats of mail. The Rájá was defeated and slain, and his kingdom thoroughly and permanently broken up. Ayodhyá had up to this point remained subject to Kanauj. || What became of it subsequently belongs to Muslim history.

* Mr. Carnegie says (Notes on Races, p. 25) "It has been mentioned as not improbable that Chandra-deva was the leader of the expedition, which for a time expelled the "Muhammadans from India." Should this rather be the leader of the anti-Tomar league? If so, we may see what cause first directed the attention of the Rahtors to Kanauj.

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Elliot's History of India II., 223, 251.

§ A later historian (see Ell. III., 312) speaks of Banáras as the ancient

residence of the arrogant rais; and Ferishta speaks of Jayachandra as prince of F and Banáras (Briggs' Ferishta). The comparison perhaps furnishes us with limited knowledge, into which the Tabaqát-i Násiri has introduced the Shaháb-ud-dín Ghazni, rather circuitous route of and Kanauj (Ell. II., 297).

|| Mr. Carnegie (Notes on Races, p. 25) gives the popular form of

The banner of the Muslim was first unfurled in Oudh, in the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazni; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the standard-bearer marched in the ranks of Mahmúd himself, for the Sultan is recorded to have twice reached Banáras,* and the highway from Kanauj to that place is known to have lain in later days across the southern portion of the province.† But, even if this supposition be correct, the most we are warranted in believing is that Mahmúd peacefully traversed Oudh in his eastward line of march; there are no grounds for thinking that he carried on hostile operations within it or in any way molested its inhabitants; indeed, while, in Banáras, he is particularly stated to have taken measures, on how-

the Pauranik account of the origin of the name Kanauj. The wind in human form once wooed the hundred beautiful daughters (Kanya) of Kush Nabh, of Mahodí, but their only answer was a reference to their father. Boreas became incensed and reverting to his natural condition entered into the nymphs as the air they breathed, and then had his revenge by making them hunch-backed (Kubja). Mahodí hence became known as Kanya-Kubja. "These loves of the Wind recall Milton's account of the parentage of Euphrosyne."

Zephyrus with Aurora playing.

As he met her once a maying.

* This statement is made on the authority of Abul Fazl (Aini-Akbarí, s. v., Allahabad). On the other hand, a writer contemporary with Mahmúd (the author of the *Tarikhu-s Subuktagin*), says of one Ahmad Nialtagin, a natural son of Mahmúd, that in A.D. 1023, he crossed the river "Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly (ná-gáh) he arrived at a city which is called "Banáras, and which belonged to the "province of Gang. *Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place.*" (Ell II., 123). Ferishta (Briggs', I., 57) in his account of Mahmúd says that that prince after reaching Kanauj stayed there only three days and then went to Mírat; but a few pages further on (I. 143) he mentions one Hájib Taghatagin, a General of Sultan Masúd bin Ibrahim, who at

the commencement of the twelfth century crossed the Ganges and carried his conquests further than any Muslimán had done *except Mahmúd*, which certainly implies that Mahmúd also crossed the Ganges. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* does not appear to record any expedition of Mahmúd to the east of the Ganges; but in connection with Sultan Masúd bin Ibrahim contains a passage concerning Hájib Taghatagin, almost word for word the same as Ferishta's. (Ell II. 278.) There is one rather important exception; it says "*since the days of Mahmúd*," and may therefore refer to Ahmad Nialtagin above-named, whose expedition took place only three years after Mahmúd's death. If such be the meaning of this passage, Ferishta must probably be read in the same sense, and Mahmúd's claims become rather weak. The circumstantial account of Abul Fazl, however, on whatever founded, still remains intact. Abul Fazl even gives the dates of Mahmúd's visits to Banáras, which correspond to A.D. 1019 and 1022.

† Ferishta I., 256, says that the road from Dehli to Bengal lay through Jaunpur and Banáras. See also *Calcutta Review*, vol. xli., 1865, p. 118. In Ell. III. 36, 'Iwaz (Oudh) is said to be one of the provinces traversed in the journey from Dehli to Hind; but from the other names given, 'Iwaz would appear to lie between Dehli and Badáún.

ever limited a scale, for the introduction of the religion of the Koran; in Oudh he left no such traces of his visit.

We, therefore, readily concur in the general opinion that Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází,* a nephew of 'Mahmúd, is to be credited with the first *invasion* of Benoudha. We refer that event to the year A.D. 1032.

Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází was endowed with every grace and virtue, a perfect paragon of excellence. The beauty of Yusuf, says his panegyrist, the grace of Abraham, and the light of Muhammad shone upon his brow; and with kinship to render these attractions the more apparent, it could scarcely be otherwise than that Sayyid Salar should stand high in the good graces of his uncle. But who shall gainsay Gray's paradox that a favourite has no friends? when was ever prime minister who shared not Ahitophel's bitterness of mind at slighted counsel? Khwája Hasan Maimandí, Mahmúd's Wazír, took such umbrage at the weight the youth's voice carried with it in the council chamber, that he threw up the seals of office in disgust. But then, as now, kings sometimes found it difficult to replace the loss of an able minister, and so to conciliate the Khwája, Sayyid Salar was informed by Mahmúd that he must submit to a short ostracism. It was suggested that he should spend the period of his absence in the pleasures of the chase at Kábulíz; but this to Sayyid Salar's enterprising and intrepid spirit appeared to be inglorious inaction, and he obtained the Sultán's sanction to undertake an expedition against Hindustan, to subdue the realms of heathen-esse, propagate therein the faith of Islám, and cause the Khutba to be pronounced therein in the Sultán's name.

The spoils of Thanesar and Somnath had already familiarised the Ghaznavids with a knowledge of the wealth of Hind, so adventurers of every degree readily flocked to his standard; and he set out with an army amounting, with his own followers and

* It has sometimes been supposed that this Sayyid Salar is an imaginary character; but if so, his mythical and saintly birth took place more than five centuries ago, as his tomb had become a place of sanctity by the time of Muhammad Tughlak, who paid a visit to it, and devoutly made offerings at the shrine (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Zia-ud-dín Barní. Ell. III. 249), and Sultan Firúz is said to have done the same in 1376 A.D. (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Shams-i-Shiráj, Ell III. 362). At the same time great uncertainty exists as to who the saint was and

when he lived. Sir H. Elliot (Sup. Glöss. S. V. Ghází Mián) quotes the opinions of several authorities; we may add that in the passage of the Firúz Sháhí above-quoted, Sayyid Salar is said to have been one of the heroes of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktágin. In our remarks concerning him, we follow the Mirát-i Mas'údí, which Sir H. Elliot pronounces to give the most authentic account. Comparing dates and other particulars, there may have been some, perhaps a close, connection between Sayyid Salar's expedition and that of Ahmad Nialtigin.

those who joined him, to 1,100,000 men,* each of them, so to say, armed with the Korán in one hand, and the scimitar in the other; for Sayyid Salar steadily followed an alternative policy like the *parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos* of mighty Rome, of sparing the tractable and willing convert, but putting the stubborn to the sword.†

Sehúr, Multán, and Ajúdhan‡ successively felt the prowess of the youthful warrior, and the throne of Dehli next fell into his hands. Mas'úd, however, declined to ascend it, still affirming that he was warring only for the glory of God. Even so, in more recent times, did Cromwell, with a similar mockery of the Divine Name, put aside the crown of England.§ Finding the precious treasure almost within his grasp, with characteristic caution he paused to "seek God for counsel," that is, he wished to know the opinions of his army; and having at length satisfied himself that the measure was disagreeable to the *army*, he found himself prompted by *divine inspiration* to declare that he could not undertake the government with the title of king.

Sayyid Salar was probably acted upon by a similar influence, and acute enough to comprehend that it was necessary to find continued employment and the opportunity of gathering fresh spoils for the turbulent soldiery he had led into a foreign country. Tamerlane,|| indeed, thus frankly and unblushingly expounds the double purpose of a holy war. "My principal object," says he, "in coming to Hindustan, and in undergoing all this toil and hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object; that the army of Islám might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels: plunder in war is as lawful as their mother's milk to Musalmáns who war for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."

After six months' stay at Dehli, therefore, Sayyid Salar marched on to Kanauj; and after a friendly meeting with the king of that country (to whom he took the opportunity of imparting a few valuable hints on State-craft) continued his journey for ten days after crossing the Ganges, when he arrived at Satrakh. He had

* Ell II., 529.

† See Ell. II., 530-534.

‡ Professor Dowson in a note on this word (Ell II., 530) says "Ajúdha" or Ajúdhya is the old form of the name Oudh. The scene of Mas'úd's later exploits is laid in the "neighbourhood" of Oudh." The Ajúdhan referred to in the text,

however, is a town in the Panjáb (Cunnigham's *Ancient Geography*, 214, 218). In Briggs' *Ferishta* I. 479, it is said to be situated 24 miles from Láhor.

§ Smyth's *Lectures on Modern History*. Cromwell.

|| Ell. III., 451.

now reached Benoudha, and immediately addressed himself to the task of its subjection. At that time, we are told, Satrakh was the most flourishing of all the towns and cities of India; it lay in the centre of that country, and abounded in good hunting-ground; moreover it was a sacred shrine of the Hindús. It thus had the recommendation that the Musalmáns, even while enjoying nominal repose, had temples of the heathen always ready at hand in the desecration of which they might employ themselves, whenever the fancy seized them, and from resort to which they could always debar the Hindú pilgrim. Mas'úd accordingly took up his quarters there, and sent out armies on every side to conquer the surrounding country. Salar Saifu-d-dín and Miyáa Rájá he despatched against Bahraich, Sultánu-s Sulátín and Mír Bakhtiyár against the lower country; Amir Hasan Arab against Mahona; Sayyid Azizu-d-dín (otherwise known as Lál Pír or Saint Rufus) against Gopamian and its vicinity; and Malik Fazl against Banáras and its neighbourhood. Mas'úd's warlike ardour seems to have cooled down a bit, so he reserved for himself the easy duty of "continuing to reside with great magnificence at Satrakh and enjoying the pleasures of the chase."*

Here his father Salar Sáhú joined him; and about the same time, it was ascertained, by means of intercepted letters, that the chiefs of the south of Oudh were contemplating the formation of an alliance with those of the north against their common foe. Salar Sáhú accordingly started off by forced marches against the former and, surprising them by a night-attack took possession of their capitals, Karrah and Mánikpur. Muhammadan generals were placed in charge of both those places, and Salar Sáhú returned to Satrakh in triumph.

In the meanwhile, the Chiefs of the north were making common cause against the garrison of Bahraich, which sent to Satrakh

* Professor Dowson (Ell. II., 549) says on the authority of General Cunningham, "Satrakh which is placed at ten days' march on the opposite side of the Ganges from Kanauj, is probably Vesákh or Besákh, a name of Sahet or Ayo-dhya (Oudh), Saddhúr and Amethí must be Bhadr and Amethí, two towns between Karra-Mánikpur." But Mr. Carnegie (Notes on Races, p. 25) and Mr C. A. Elliott (Chr. Oon. p. 84) place Satrakh in the Daryabad (now the Bábabankí) district, in which we find by reference to Mr. Williams' Census Report (Tables, *passim*), that it still gives its name to a pargarah and to a taluq.

(App. G. xxi). 'Saddhúr' would similarly seem to be Sidhaur, which gives its name to another pargarah in the same district; and Amethí the town of that name a little to the south of Satrakh on the Lucknow-Jaunpúr road. In the time of Akbar it gave its name to a pargarah in the Lucknow Sarkár. All three places are prominently marked on the Revenue Survey Map, as Sutrikh, Sidhowr, Umethce. It is necessary to point out that neither the map nor the books alluded to, were in existence at the date (1862) of the publication of General Cunningham's Archaeological Report to which Professor Dowson refers.

to demand immediate aid. Sayyid Salar now wished to be placed in command of Bahraich; but this object being frustrated by his father's anxiety for his safety, he was obliged to content himself with a hunting excursion into that country. While still there, however, he received tidings of the death of his father at Satrah, so he again buckled on his armour for a renewal of the contest with the infidels. Not many months elapsed* before he was slain in battle with them (A.D. 1033), and thus earned the title, by which his panegyrist delights to describe him, of the Prince of Martyrs.

Regarding the permanence of the impression produced on Benoudha by this invasion, opinions are somewhat at variance. Mr. Carnegie† appears to favour the view that the Musalmán army was all but annihilated, and that scarcely a man escaped to tell the tale. Mr. J. C. Williams, on the other hand, in his Report on the Census of Oudh, brings forward four arguments against this theory, three of which are based on statements contained in one of the books under review. We may here appear to be laying Mr. Carnegie open to the charge of inconsistency; but it appears that the passages in question are not from Mr. Carnegie's pen, but from that of Mr. Woodburn of the Civil Service, who "most obligingly undertook to arrange the portion of the notes "which belonged to the Muhammadan portion of the subject, and "very largely added to them from his own well-stored mines of "knowledge."

"Doubtless," says Mr. Woodburn,‡ "no family can give convincing proofs of such descent; but tradition still connects several with the survivors of the invading force," and he then proceeds to enumerate instances in point. Several families in Bahraich itself are supposed to be descendants of the invaders. Sayyid Mas'úd Bihání escaped to Biháwan in Faizábád, and the descendants of his brother fugitive Shekh Mahmúd still inhabit the town of Hanswár in parganah Bisbar. Other Shekhs established themselves in the same vicinity, and a Mughal family in Alanpur in the Akbarpur parganah. The town of Saidpúr in the district of Daryábád is believed to have been founded by Sayyid Abdulla, one of Sálár's captains; and the Patháns of Gopaman claim descent from other warriors of the same army.

These instances may, we believe, be multiplied. The old Bhar

* Sayyid Salar's birth took place on the 21st Sha'ban 405 H. (1015 A.D.). He was eighteen years old, says his biographer, when at Satrah; (which would appear to involve a slight contradiction of the subsequent statement that) he went to

Bahraich on the 17th Sha'ban in the year 423, or a few days before he turned eighteen. He was killed on the 14th Rajab 424 H. (14th June 1033).

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Notes on Races, p. 63.

citadel of Udyanagar was demolished, and the present city of Jais* founded on its ruins by Sayyid Najmu-d-din, who commanded a portion of the hosts of Mas'ud; Subcha at the same time passed into the hands of the ancestors of the present Shekh owners; Salone contains the dargah and tomb of the Martyr (Shahid) Piran Puronta,† a companion it is said of the renowned Sayyid Salar of Bahraich fame; and some Shekh families in the Beház tehsil in the district of Pratábgarh‡ are said to be descendants of those who came with that General.§

Nor do family annals alone contradict the tale of utter destruction of the first Muhammadan invaders. "The tomb of Sayyid Salar at Bahraich is admittedly a cenotaph erected two hundred years after his death; but 'the graves which still exist' at the various points of his march are presumed to have been constructed by his orders. The fact that so small an army marched successfully through a considerable tract of country, suggests that it met with less opposition than Muhammadan traditions assert, and construction of permanent tombs for those who died seems to favour the supposition. I am inclined to urge, from the preservation of these tombs, that the Muhammadans were not received with particular rancour, and that the extirpation of the army after its defeat is doubtful."

We feel no hesitation whatever in yielding assent to the views here expressed, or to the qualification which immediately follows that only a faint connection can at the same time be traced between the present Muhammadans of the province and the pioneers of their faith in Avadh. This last word means Oudh, and Mr. Carnegie is careful to explain in his preface that it was only under the influence of *sæva necessitas*, that he adopted such an uncouth metamorphosis of so familiar a name.

It has been seen that Sayyid Salar with stern impartiality, despatched expeditions against all the four quarters of the compass; but, though Banáras and Jaunpur on the East escaped not, the history of Ayodhyá, Kusapura and Aror is wholly silent about his coming. Their reduction under Muhammadan rule was reserved for other hands.

The complete conquest of Benoudka was effected by Shahábu-d-din or Muhammad Ghorí in A.D. 1193-94. Part of the Kanauj-Banáras Empire, it fell to Shahábu-d-din as part of the fruits

* This differs from what is said in Notes on Races, p. 65; but we have reason to believe it to be in accordance with the account the Sayyids of Jais give of the matter.

† Mr. R. M. King's Pratábgarh Report, p. 36.

‡ Ibid, p. 26.

§ Settlements were also made at the same time in the adjoining provinces, e.g., at Bhilwal, a few miles south-east of Amethi, and at more than one place in the Allahabad district.

of his victory over Jayachandra in the battle of Chandwár. Fresh Muhammadan colonies were now planted in it, the principal of which were those of Radaulí in Daryábad, and Mánikpur in Prathágarh; and the various States, evolved in the time of Bhar supremacy out of the old province of Benoudha, were constituted proconsulates of the Ghorian Empire. In Ayodhyá is still shown the tomb of Makhdúm Sháh Jorán Ghorí, a Lieutenant, it is alleged, of Shakhábu-d-dín.* May not the tenant of this tomb have been the first Muhammadan Governor of Oudh?†

The conjecture is at least a fair one: the more so that written history shows that at all events within four years of the battle of Chandwár, the province was under the rule of Kutbu-d-dín's Generals.‡ In relating the history of the grim hero Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that "this Muhammad Bakhtiyár was a Khiljí of Ghor in the province of Garmsír. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise and experienced man. He left his tribe and came to the Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín at Ghaznín, and was placed in the diwán-i-arz (office for petitions); but as the chief of that department was not satisfied with him, he was dismissed, and proceeded from Ghazni to Hindustán. When he reached the Court of Dehli, he was again rejected by the chief of the diwán-i-arz of that city, and so he went on to Badaún into the service of Hizbaru-d-dín Hasan, Commander-in-Chief, when he obtained a suitable position. After a time he went to Oudh, in the service of Malik Hisámu-d-dín. He had good horses and good arms, and he had showed much activity and valour at many places, so he obtained Sálilat and Sahlí in jágír.§"

We have quoted this passage *in extenso*, because Muhammad Bakhtiyár is himself credited by Elphinstone with the conquest of a part at least of Oudh; whereas it is clear from our quotation that he found the province under a Musalimán Governor, or at least in the occupation of a Musalmán army on his first arrival in it; and that it was only by entering into the service of the then

* See As. Soc. Journal—I. IV. 1865, p. 250, where it is said that many coins of the Ghorí Kings of Dehli have been found lately in the North of Oudh; but we hesitate to use this argument, as perhaps the passage must be read by the light of another at p. 238 of the Journal, which in speaking of Dhopápur, in the South, limits the ranges of coins there found between Násiru-d-dín Mahmúd Ghorí and Akbar, and the earliest of them would then belong to the thirteenth century. By

the next paragraph, however, it will be seen that there were Muhammadan Governors in Oudh and Bahraich before the accession of Násiru-d-dín.

† Faizábád Report, p. 27.

‡ Thus Muhammad Bakhtiyár "had subdued the districts of Behár and Nadiyá" by A.D. 1197 (Ell. II. 300) so that the Governor of Oudh under whom he commenced his military career must have been in office before that time.

§ Ell. II. 305.

Governor or Commander-in-Chief that he obtained a base of operations for his subsequent incursions into Behar. Malik Hisámu-d-dín's appointment to Oudh is easily intelligible. He had been a companion of Kutbu-d-dín in the Banáras campaign, and immediately on its conclusion had been appointed to the government of Kol.* His transfer to Oudh fits in well with the death at Áyodhyá of the above-mentioned Makhdúm Shah Jurán Ghorí.

We must, therefore, pluck a laurel from Muhammad Bakhtiyár's brow, though we will not altogether deny him a place in the history of Oudh. He may have succeeded Hisámu-d-dín, and thus been its third Governor; for in the year 1202, after having been rather shaky in his allegiance for some time, he deemed it prudent to conciliate Kutbu-d-dín, and therefore "joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from the direction of Oudh and Behár."†

On the death of Kutbu-d-dín, Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí ceased altogether to acknowledge fealty to Delhi;‡ and for the first, though by no means the last time, under Musalmán rule, Hindustán was divided, and an Empire of the East and an Empire of the West began to exist simultaneously, just as happened to Rome in the days of its decline. Muhammad Bakhtiyár's son § Ghaiásu-d-dín was awakened from his short dream of independence by Shamshu-d-dín Altamsh, who (A.D. 1225) reduced him to the condition of a feudatory of Delhi, and restricted his dominion to Bengal Proper. The rest of the territory he had previously held was parcelled out into smaller jurisdictions, in which we believe may be traced the commencement of those arrangements, which were afterwards more fully elaborated in the Ain-i-Akbarí. || Among them Oudh—not the Oudh of Rána,

* Ell. II. 224. We are assuming that Maliku-l Umará-Hisámu-d-dín 'Ulúk and Malik Hisámu-d-dín Ughlabak are no other than one and the same.

† Ell. II. 232. Elphinstone perhaps had this passage in his mind when he wrote; but if so, it obviously conveys no authority for the statement that Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí conquered Oudh. The reference he gives is apparently intended only to support the assertion, that Muhammad Bakhtiyár waited on Kutbu-d-dín; for it does not say, he conquered either Oudh or Behar; on the contrary it says he had been appointed Governor of Behar (and that alone) by the king. Nor does Ferishta in his account of the Sherki Kings mention Oudh among the

acquisitions of Muhammad Bakhtiyár, nor does Abu-l Far' in the Ain-i-Akbarí s.v. Bengál.

‡ Ferishta I. 203.

§ Elphinstone gives the same date as in the text, but makes Muhammad Bakhtiyár himself the adversary of Shamsu-d-dín; but compare Ferishta I. 208 and Ell. II. 319, 324. Muhammad Bakhtiyár died in A.D. 1205, and still at the death of Arám Sháh (A.D. 1211) Hindustán was divided into four principalities, of which Lakhnautí held by Khiljí chiefs and Sultans was one.

|| Thus the three contiguous Governments of Bahraich, Oudh, and Mauikpúr mentioned in the succeeding sentence appear as three contiguous sarkárs in the Ain-i-Akbarí

of the Mughul Emperors, or of the Nawáb Wazírs, but a tiny little tract bounded on the north by Bahraich and on the south-west by Mánikpur—became again a separate province, under the rule of its own governors.

The first incumbent of the office (A.D. 1226) was Shamsu-d-dín's eldest and favourite son,* Násiru-d-dín, a prince, according to Muhammadan writers, of rare ability and promise, whose early virtues held out hopes of a brilliant reign, soon disappointed by his untimely death. In this perhaps consists his excellence, that while still Governor of Oudh he overthrew and sent to hell the accursed Bartúh (?) under whose hand and sword more than two hundred and twenty thousand Musalmáns had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and brought a body of them into submission.

A few years after his death, his namesake Násiru-d-dín Tabáshi Muizzi held the province,† and distinguished himself by leading an army to the relief of Sultán Razia while she was besieged in Dehlí by the chiefs of the faction opposed to her elevation (A.D. 1236). The glory of the affair, however, lay in the attempt, for it terminated unsuccessfully; Násiru-d-dín was taken prisoner and died in captivity soon after. Next to him comes mention of Kamru-d-dín Kairán, ‡ whom Mirháju-s Siráj, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, particularizes as having shown him great attention in Oudh, while he was making a tour from Dehlí to Lakhnautí (A.D. 1242). On such trifles does fame depend! This Kamru-d-dín may, for all we know to the contrary, be the anonymous "Chief of Oudh," enumerated as one of the nobles who eleven years later instigated Ghaiásu-d-dín Balban, then banished from the Court of Dehlí, to take up arms against the Emperor and the minister who had supplanted him§

In the year 1255, something mysterious happened in the royal harem,|| the result of which was that under the "behests of fate" the mind of His Majesty was turned against his mother, the Malika-i-Jahán. She was married to Katlagh Khan; so to get her and her husband away from court, Oudh was granted to them, and they were directed to proceed thither. This command they obeyed without hesitation, but before the year was out, His Majesty had taken it into his head that Katlagh Khan was better

* Ell. II. 329.

† Ell. II. 323.

‡ Ell. II. 343. It is not expressly mentioned that Kamru-d-dín Kairán was Governor; but he is mentioned (Ib. 342) in the same breath with Táju-d-dín Sanjar Katlak, who held that rank in Badáun.

§ Ferishta (I. 230) calls one Qazí Jalálu-d-dín (who was sent in A.D. 1243 with a Khillat to Tughán Khan of Lakhnautí) Governor of Oudh; but in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Ell. II. 345) the same person is called *gāzī* of Oudh.

|| Ell. II., 354, 355, 373, 374, 375.

out of Oudh, and ordered him to proceed to Bahraich.* This time Katlagh Khan questioned the propriety of the order, and refused to act upon it. A royal army was accordingly sent against him to enforce obedience, which he not only ventured to meet, but succeeded in defeating. He was unable to follow up his victory, however; and Balban, now reinstated in the office of Wazir, having been sent against him with a second army, he was obliged to evacuate the province, his connection with which thereafter ceased.

He appears to have been succeeded by Arslán Khán Sanjar,† who like him has been immortalised by means of his disloyalty. In A.D. 1259, Arslán Khán was summoned to join the royal camp, an invitation to which he for some reason deemed it imprudent to respond, and he therefore began to meditate revolt. The energy and vigour of the Wazir Balban, who in spite of the hot season promptly led an army to the neighbourhood of Karrah, induced him to lay aside his seditious schemes and make his submission to the Emperor. By the intercession of the minister Arslán Khán obtained pardon; but, though not degraded and disgraced, he was removed to another province, that of Karrah-Mánikpur.

Aptagín,‡ the "long-haired" otherwise known as Amír Khán, was probably installed in his place; for he was an old slave of the all-powerful Wazir, (and so likely to be appointed at such a time) and when mentioned in connection with the affairs of twenty years later (A.D. 1279) "he had, for *many years* held the fief of Oudh." He is remembered only by his tragic end. He was selected by Balban to command an expedition against the rebel Tughral, but suffered a severe defeat, and Balban ordered him to be hanged "over the gate of Oudh"! This is not the only instance of such measure being meted out to unsuccessful Generals, and Balban is said to have gone almost wild with rage and vexation at the rebellion of Tughral; but a second motive also probably influenced him in his savage treatment of Amír Khán. In the palmy days of ancient Rome, the victorious consul while borne along in triumphal procession, was accompanied in his car by a slave, who, to prevent his indulging in excessive

* Imádu-d-dín Rihán had been appointed to Bahraich when Katlagh Khan came to Oudh (Ell. II. 373), but Taju-d-dín Sanjar, perhaps the one mentioned in a previous note, was shortly afterwards appointed to the same government. Katlagh Khan, apparently in consequence of an understanding with Imádu-d-dín seized Taju-d-dín and confined him

in prison. Taju-d-dín managed to escape, however, and went to Bahraich; when Imádu-d-dín was defeated and slain. His downfall is said to have hastened the ruin of Katlagh Khán. (Ell. II. 374.)

† Ell. II. 379.

‡ Ferishta I. 256, Ell. III. 114, 121, 130.

self-complacency, ever and anon reminded him of their common nature, and of the little distance that separated the ruler and the bondman. Ghaiásu-d-din, by fortune a monarch, but by birth a slave, heard the same warning incessantly repeated by a "still small voice within;" and no sooner did he ascend the throne than he set about taking all power out of the hands of his old associates, and the servile class in general.* To this settled policy, we conjecture, as much as to a sudden out-burst of wrath on the part of Balban at his defeat, did Amír Khán fall a victim. Even in that age, at least, judged by the grounds on which Balban nominally acted, "this condign punishment excited a strong feeling of opposition among the wise men of the day, who looked upon it as a token that the reign of Balban was drawing to an end."†

Balban's Governors, indeed, held no sinecures; he employed them pretty freely to point a moral, or adorn a tale. In the narrow compass of Oudh alone is to be found a second example of his unrelenting severity towards those who had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure. Haihat Khan, Governor of Oudh, an officer also of the household troops, had a person of obscure rank put to death, while in a state of intoxication. The widow complained to Balban, and the unlucky Governor was sentenced to receive a public whipping of five hundred lashes, and after its infliction made over as a slave to the widow, out of whose clutches he escaped only by the payment of a ransom of 20,000 silver tankas.‡

A few years later, Oudh, then governed by a nameless "Khán" became the scene of an event of a much more pleasing character, the romantic meeting of the thrice-royal Kai-Kubád with his father Baghra Khan, celebrated by the poet Amír Khusrau as the conjunction of the two auspicious planets.§ Kai-Kubád, on the death of his grand-father Balban, was placed on the throne under the title of Muizzu-d-dín. Baghra Khan, then absent in his Government of Bengal, no sooner received intelligence of the circumstance, than he advanced from Lakhnautí to Oudh, with a powerful army, had the Khutba read in his name, and proclaimed himself King under the title of Násiru-d-dín. Kai-kubád in turn collected his forces, and sent them in the same direction, and on his arrival from Dehli pitched his camp at Oudh (Ayodhyá) on the banks of the Ghaghra. Baghra Khan was posted on the opposite side of the river. Messages of defiance were exchanged with equal spirit on either side, until at length the affection of the father overcoming his displeasures, Baghra

* Elphinstone.

† Ell. II. 314.

‡ Ferishta I. 253.

§ Ell. III. 530. A somewhat different account is given by Elphinstone, p. 328. See also Fer. I. 278.

Khán addressed his son in conciliatory terms, and requested to be admitted to an interview.

They met, each endeavoured to persuade the other to assume the place of honour; each shrank from occupying it himself, "Long they continued in this gentle altercation, and no one could see the step of either advance." At length, Baghra Khan seizing his son's hand placed him on the throne, and then descending stood before him with his hands joined in token of humility and respect. Kai-Kubád, all dutiful during this transient revival of filial affection, speedily rose from the throne, descended and embraced his father. The courtiers looked on with mingled wonder and emotion, while Baghra Khan confirmed his son's possession of the throne and offered thanks aloud to heaven that he had seen the desire of his heart accomplished. Were this affecting scene enacted on the modern stage, it would be accompanied at its close with soft and solemn strains of music; the poetic narrator similarly feeling that some finish was still wanting to the tableau ranged the "officers of State on either side, holding trays of jewels in their hands, which they poured upon the heads of the two Kings, and the ground before them was strewed with rubies, pearls, silver and gold!"

Soon after this reconciliation the camps were broken up; and Kai-Kubád, on his departure nominated Khán-i-Jabán, immortalised by Amír Khusrau of whom he was a warm patron, to the Government of Oudh.* He retained it for at least two years, as for that time Amír Khusrau was a constant attendant at his court; and was followed, immediately or shortly after, by Malik Ali, whose brief tenure of office was terminated by his rebellion.†

The house of Khiljí was now established on the throne of Dehli; but Malik Chajjú, a nephew of Ghaiásu-d-dín, held the important government of Karrah, and did not yet despair of recovering the more magnificent heritage of the house of Balban. He accordingly raised the standard of revolt.‡ Malik Ali was then Governor of Oudh, and lent himself to the furtherance of Malik Chajjú's ambitious designs. The confederates met with small success, for their army was very soon defeated by Arkallí Khán, second son of the Khiljí Emperor. All the Chiefs were taken prisoners, and sent in ignominious procession with boughs of trees round their necks to Dehli.§ The lives of Malik Chajjú and Malik Ali were spared, but their provinces were confiscated. Aláu-d-dín Khiljí, afterwards Emperor, was immediately appointed

* Ell. III. 532.

† Ferishta (I. 293) calls him *Amír Ali*, which may be explained, by Ell. III., 157. Both *Malik* and *Amír* were titles, the former a degree high-

er than the latter. Amír Ali had also according to Ferishta a new title, Hatim Khán. •

‡ Ell. II. 137.

§ Ferishta I. 293.

to that of Karrah, and very shortly afterwards succeeded Amír Ali in that of Oudh.

Famous as a Monarch, victorious as a General, infamous as a regicide, aye and parricide to boot, Aláu-d-dín Khiljī owes no portion of his notoriety to his connection with Oudh. Almost immediately after he received a grant of the province, he set out on an expedition to Deogír* ; and on his arrival at Karrah on his return, those events occurred which converted him from a provincial ruler into an Emperor, and he marched direct to Dehli. Nor is there any thing to show that he subsequently ever visited his early government.

During Aláu-d-dín's absence at Deogír, Alanu-l-Mulk, uncle of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firúz Sháhí*, acted as his deputy in Oudh and Karrah ;† and on Aláu-d-dín's attaining the imperial dignity he was confirmed in the government of those provinces. (A.D. 1296.) In the following year, however, he was summoned to Dehli ; and notwithstanding his being, as his nephew mischievously records, obese and lazy, was created Kotwal of that City.‡ Oudh still continued to retain its individuality, being one of twenty-three principal provinces § into which the empire of Dehli was divided : but we are unable to say who held it during the next quarter of a century. We then find incidental mention of one Malik Tigin of Oudh,|| who (A.D. 1328) accompanied Ulugh Khán,¶ son of Ghaiásu-d-dín Tughlak in his expedition against Warangal. Together with many other nobles, he deserted from Ulugh Khán's camp, at an important crisis of the siege of that place, and thus caused its failure. He paid the penalty of his misconduct by falling into the hands of the Hindús who killed and flayed him and sent his skin to Ulugh Khán at Deogír.

He was succeeded by Malik Ainu-l-Mulk** under whose long and beneficent rule, Oudh reached a state of great prosperity ; so much so that many of the nobles and officials of Dehli, dreading the stern character of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak came and settled in that province (and in Zafrabad also held by Ainu-l-Mulk) together with their wives and families. Ainu-l-Mulk was as loyal a subject, and as skilful a General as he was an experienced Governor, and had more than once given proof of those qualities by

* Ell. III. 148.—Ferishta I. 333. After obtaining Oudh, Aláu-d-dín seems to have gone to Dehli, then back to Karrah, and then to Deogír.

† Ell. III. 149.

‡ Ell. III. 161.

§ Ell. III. 574.

|| Ell. III. 233, and Ferishta I. 405.

¶ Ell. II. 231. Usually called Alaf Khán.

** We argue that such was the case because in reference to the events of A.D. 1340, it is said that Ainu-l-Mulk had held Oudh for many years (Ell. III. 247), and that he was an old courtier and associate of the Sultán (Ib. 248) which might account for his appointment a long time before.

the reduction of refractory chiefs, in which he had been assisted by his brothers.* The Sultán, accordingly, in A.D. 1340, meditated the removal of the whole family to Deogír, where a good ruler was required; but AINU-L-MULK, who was simultaneously called upon to surrender the Delhi refugees, become alarmed, and together with his brothers plunged into that rebellion, which they had so often been the means of punishing in others. They had the temerity to take the initiative, and march against the Sultán, but suffered a complete defeat. The Malik's brothers were slain in the conflict, and he himself fell into the hands of the Sultán, who treated him with unusual clemency as he thought that he was "not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake." Whether he was not deprived of his office, however, is doubtful; for according to one account, his services were for some time lost to the State, on account of the misconduct of his brothers, and when they were again employed it was in the fief of Multán.†

AINU-L-MULK, it has been seen, held at the same time the two provinces of Oudh and Zafrabad; and here begins to be dimly foreshadowed that closer and more lasting union between them, which took place at the end of the same century. Not that they were continuously held together from the time of AINU-L-MULK; for when, after the extinction of the revolt of SHAMSU-D-DÍN, of GUJARÁT, new Governors were appointed to all border provinces (A.D. 1376),‡ Oudh was given to HISÁMU-L-MULK, while Zafrabad fell to Malik Bahroz. But a very few years subsequently, (A.D. 1394) the vast empire of Delhi fell to peices, and seven Kingdoms § rose upon its ruins; and then Oudh and Jaunpur (together with Karrah and Kanauj) became united under the same sceptre, that of that Sharkí dynasty of Jaunpur.

(To be continued.)

* The assertion (Ell. III. 248) that AINU-L-MULK and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting must mean in comparison with the Sultan; for taken by itself, it is contrary to related facts. As early as the year 1304, AINU-L-MULK had conquered Málwa.

† Ell. II. 369. Ibn 'Batúta says that on his capture he was treated with every indignity and kept in chains for two years and a half, and then pardoned (Ell. III. 619).

‡ Ferishta I. 456.

§ Ferishta I. 498.

