

TRIBAL SETTLEMENT IN PUNJAB AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SULTANS OF DELHI

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Abstract

The region of Punjab and its people played an important role in the history of the subcontinent. Because of its strategic position, it served as a battleground for warlords fighting for control of larger swaths of land. Many of the invading armies assaulted the Indian subcontinent via Punjab and Sindh. So the control of this proximate region was not only essential for the defence of the Delhi Sultanate from external invasions but also to ensure the maintenance of trade links with Central Asian regions, as trade routes pass through this region. Thus, the region has historically served as the gateway to the Indian subcontinent, and control over it could only be possible by maintaining congenial relations with the local population. The population of the principal doorway region consisted of different tribes and castes, which were well-organized and warlike by necessity. Among the notable and prominent tribes of Punjab were Khokhars, Jats, Bhattis, Janjuhas Ma'inas, Mundahars, etc. In this paper, an attempt is made to shed some light on the prominent tribes of Punjab, their diplomatic activities, and relations with the centre (state) during the Delhi Sultanate period.

Keywords: *Tribes, Punjab, Delhi Sultanate, Khokhars, Jats, Bhattis, Frontier Province, Lahore.*

Introduction

Punjab was home to a number of tribes. The term 'tribe' conveniently covers the social communities, which existed outside the caste system.¹ Among these tribes prominent were the Khokhars, Jats, Bhattis, Janjuhas etc. Out of these, the most well-known were the Khokhars, whose original territory lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab.² Further east and even closer to the capital of the Sultanate, the *muqtis* based at fortresses like Tabarhindah (Bathinda), Sunam, Samana and Hansi had to contend with other turbulent peoples like the Bhattis and Mains of the Abohar region which fell under Dipalpur; the Mundahars of Kaithal; and the Jats.³

Khokhars

Khokhars had an indigenous origin and belonged to a race of foreign invaders who came to India before the conquest of Muslims. After the establishment of Turkish rule, they were divided into Muslim and Rajput sections and lived on both sides of the river Jhelum in the northern hills of Lahore.⁴ Earlier, they had no more position than the plunderers, and took advantage of their strategic location and even disrupted trade routes used by travellers and merchants.⁵ Their activities can be noticed at different times for different motives.

The political presence of Khokhars in Punjab could be traced back to the time of Sultan Mahmud's invasion of their region, and their joining of the army of Anandpal ultimately giving Mahmud a tough time. Khokhars women also played an important role, by selling their jewellery to support their husbands.⁶ During the later Ghaznavid period, they rebelled against their hill chief, Chakra Dev of Jammu. They threw off his yoke and even refused to pay the tribute. As a result, Chakra Dev became harsh to them. The Khokhars then took help from Khusrau Malik, the then Ghaznavid ruler of Punjab.⁷ Khokhars supported Khusrau Malik, when Mui'zuddin Sam invaded. They appeared before the gates of Sialkot and defended the fortress.⁸ By the beginning of the 13th century, Bakan and Sarka, two Khokhar chiefs, took the opportunity and created disturbances in the region between Jhelum and Chenab (Saddra) when rumours of the death of Mui'zuddin Sam spread after his defeat by the Khawarizm Shah at Andkhui.⁹ Their activities cut off the line of communication between Lahore and Ghazni and planned to capture Lahore. Muizuddin himself marched to Hindustan to deal with these Khokhars, who fought bravely but were overwhelmed by the army of the Sultan.¹⁰ However, the Khokhars were rebellious and mostly countered the state probably because their territory was among those parts of Punjab that produced excellent horses.¹¹

During the reign of Sultan Iltutmish, Khwarizmi Prince Jalaluddin Mangbarni, settled in the Upper Sindh Sagar Doab, took Balala and Nikala near Lahore by defeating the Khokhar chief, Rai Khokhar. The Khokhars not only concluded a marriage alliance with Mangbarni, but also their chief along with considerable numbers of men from his tribe to join Mangbarni's army. This alliance and assistance to Mangbarni materialized perhaps because of their hostility towards Nasiruddin Qabacha, the governor of Sindh and Uchch.¹² Later, to regain her throne, Razia raised a considerable force of Khokhars residing east of the Beas River with good horses, but they were defeated near Kaithal.¹³

The inclusion of these tribes in her army suggests that her support was based on the chiefs of the tribes of Punjab.¹⁴ During the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Ulugh Khan, (later popularly known as Balban), raided and ravaged the *Koh-i-Jud* and Jehlum, the core areas of Khokhars; because of the disturbances created by them.¹⁵ It was a time of power struggle at the centre, and the Mongols captured the city of Lahore. After the retreat of Mongol forces, the Khokhars tried to capture Lahore, but the city was defended by Malik Qaraqush.¹⁶ Sher Khan, titled Mu‘azzam Khan,¹⁷ another governor of Punjab, forced the Khokhars and other tribes to abandon their strongholds.¹⁸ They were quite active in Sunam and Samana, even during the time of Balban.¹⁹ Amir Khusrau credits Jalaluddin Khalji with subduing them.²⁰

Ghazi Malik, the *muqta* of Dipalpur, sought the assistance of two Khokhar leaders, Gul Chnad and Sahaj Rai, while fighting against Khusrau Shah of Khalji.²¹ They played an essential role in Ghazi Malik’s victory over Sarsati just because of their bravery and support of the people of the Khokhar tribe.²² Ainul Mulk Multani in one of his letters mentions that the road from Multan to Ajodhan (Pakpattan) was unsafe because of the revolt of Khokhars.²³ Sirhindi mentions the revolt of Shaikha Khokhar in 1394 A.D.²⁴ By the close of the 14th century when Timur invaded India, the local Khokhar chiefs paid their respects and welcomed him with gifts.²⁵ Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, a near contemporary Timurid chronicler records that Nusrat Khokhar, brother of Shaikha Khokhar, gathered an army of 2000 men and resisted Timur when he reached near Jal (?), close to the Beas River, but was routed and forced to flee.²⁶

An interesting phase in the relationship of Khokhars with the centre came soon after the death of Khizr Khan (1421) when Jsrath Shaikha Khokhar²⁷ along with Tughan Raees (Rai) rose in revolt. Even prior to this, Jsrath attacked the ruler of Kashmir and made him a prisoner at a time when he was returning from Thatta. According to Sirhindi, he did it because his mind was deranged after loot and plunder when enormous wealth came into his hands, and, probably because of the chaotic state of the Sultanate, he began to cherish his imaginary visions of the conquest of Delhi. Thus, he began to harry in Punjab and started plundering the territories across Beas and Sutlej up to Jalandhar.²⁸ Jsrath, the local tribal man was so much in control and powerful that when he came to Jalandhar, Zirak Khan, the *muqti* (governor) of that place, did not dare to come and face him. Jsrath, however, imprisoned him in the fort.²⁹ Not only this, but he also besieged Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, *amir* in the fort of Sirhind.³⁰ When Sultan Mubarak came to know of these events, he

marched towards Samana despite the heavy rains. Jusrath, on the other hand, secured all the boats and made it impossible for the royal army to cross the river. Due to the swelling river both the adversaries kept an eye on the movement of others. Somehow the royal troops managed to cross the river and chase Jusrath. The later crossed the river Chenab (Janhav), and fled to the mountains of Jammu. Sultan Mubarak continually chased Jusrath and dashed further with the help of Raja Bhilm of Jammu.³¹ As soon as Sultan Mubarak Shah left Punjab, Jusrath, again made preparations, collected a large number of soldiers, most likely tribesmen, and marched towards Lahore, but was defeated by the imperial forces. As Rai Bhilm, the Raja of Jammu helped the royal forces against Shaikha Khokhar and destroyed Telhar, which was his strongest place of refuge. Shaikha Khokhar in order to take revenge, made a sudden attack on Bhilm Rai, and killed him.³² The army and wealth of Rai Bhilm fell into the hands of Shaikha, who again refreshed his troops and attacked Debalpur (Depalpur), and Lahore, but was opposed by Malik Sikandar, the governor of Lahore.³³ For the next seven years, he did not create any disturbance in the region, but in 1428 A.D., he appeared and besieged Kalanaur. When Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, the governor of Lahore, marched towards Kalanaur, he was attacked by the forces of Shaikha Khokhar and defeated. Being aware of this incident, the Sultan ordered Malik Zirak Khan and Islam Khan, the *amirs* of Samana and Sirhind respectively, to join the forces of Malik Sikandar. The three forces made a united attack on Jusrath Shaikha and defeated him.³⁴ Four years later, he again made an attack with a strong detachment on Malik Sikandar. After defeating and imprisoning him at Jalandhar, he marched towards Lahore.³⁵ When Malik Allahdad Kaka Lodi replaced Nusrat Khan as the governor of Lahore and Jalandhar, Jusrath Shaikha, again appeared from the hills, made an attack, and defeated him near Bajwarah.³⁶ During these years Jusrath remained a serious problem for the centre. Whenever he was defeated by the forces of an *amir* or the united forces of the *amirs* of Punjab, he went to the hills of Jammu, refreshed his troops, and reappeared for a fresh attack on the forts of Lahore, Dipalpur, Jalandhar, Sirhind, Samana, Kalanaur, Bajwara etc. After his great struggle, Jusrath decided to take external help. Thus, he started negotiations with Shaikh Ali, the Mughul governor of Kabul.

Shaikh Ali Mughal invaded Punjab in 1431 A.D. In this invasion, he was supported by the Khokhars of Punjab.³⁷ Khajeka, a nephew of Jusrath Shaikha Khokhar gathered a large force from Seur and Salwant and welcomed him. On his way to Beah (via Tabarhinda) he was joined by prominent Khokhars, like, Malik Abul Khair and Malik Ain-ul Mulk who acted as his guides.³⁸ By the end of 1431 A.D. Jusrath again emerged

from Telhar and encountered Malik Sikandar Tuhfa near Jalandhar. Malik Sikandar was defeated and taken prisoner. Shaikh Ali, then moved to Lahore to seize it.³⁹ It was only after the payment of a heavy ransom that Jasrath Shaikha released Malik Sikandar Tuhfa.⁴⁰ Jasrath negotiated for peace only when Bahlol Lodi was appointed governor of Lahore and Dipalpur. By the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Babur mentions different tribes governed by the headmen of the Kakars (Khokhars?), Tatar Kakar and Hati Kakar.⁴¹

Jats

Another vital component of the demographic composition of Punjab was the Jat community. They are believed to be the Scythians who retained their pastoral habits for a long period and continued to feed their cattle in the great prairies and jungle areas of the inter-riverine uplands. They emigrated from the region of Sindh, particularly from the banks of the lower Indus, and lived as a pastoral community until the 9th century A.D.⁴² At first, they were parts of Brahmanabad, a region of central Sindh; from there, they spread northward into Siwistan (Sehwan) and southward to the port of Dabel. *Chach Nama* mentions their population on both sides of the river Indus as Jats (*Jatan*), or the tribes of Jats (*taifa-i-Jatan*). It bifurcates them into *Jatan-i-sharqi* (eastern) and *Jatan-i-gharbi* (western), on the basis of two sides of the river.⁴³ They were not supposed to have martial law in place, and the only type of tribute they could provide was firewood. Because of their ties to Buddhist *shramanas*, the Jats were subject to severe restrictions under the Chach, a Brahman family. Besides pastoralists, the only professions they pursued were warriors and boatmen.⁴⁴

By the 11th century, the Jats probably expanded towards the north and gained enough power to challenge Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni by fighting on boats on the bank of River Indus. With 1400 war-boats built in Punjab, Sultan Mahmud fought against the Jats, who were expert in boat making and naval fighting but were defeated in 1027 A.D.⁴⁵ Farrukhi praised Sultan Mahmud for defeating these brave Jats.⁴⁶ The resistance of Jats of Multan and Bhatiya indicates that they were supporters of the Ismaili rulers of Multan, whom Sultan Mahmud conquered. They had developed their relations with the Carmathians of Multan and Mansura, and, probably at their instigation, they dared to molest the army of Sultan Mahmud. The political circumstances also changed their behaviour, as Punjab witnessed great political chaos. The dynastic change, the administrative instability, and the foreign invasions offered them opportunities. As pastoral and peasant soldiers encountered by the ruling

class, they showed steady courage, unmindful of the carnage on the field or off the miseries that were in store for them after defeat.⁴⁷ Alberuni called them “poor Sudra people and cattle owners.”⁴⁸ They were now held to be Shudras, and so they were no longer outcasts as they were in the seventh-century Sind.⁴⁹ Although they have not the good relations with Sultan Mahmud, yet with the passage of time they developed terms with the later Ghaznavid rulers. For instance, during the reign of Sultan Mas‘ud, on the request of Tilak, a Hindu commander, the Jats chased and killed the rebel Turkish commander Ahmad Yenaltigin.⁵⁰

Initially, the Jats were settled in the Multan and Bhatiya regions, and from there, they expanded their settlements towards the east.⁵¹ They were also settled in Siwalik, Sunam, Samana, Tabarhind, Thanesar, Hissar Feroza, and Sirhind. Jatwan, a Jat, strengthened the resistance to the Turkish aggression at Hansi, at the time of the Turkish victory over Rajputs, led by Prithviraj Chauhan. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who had already taken Hansi, overcame him at the Bakar frontier.⁵² Razia is reported to have recruited a large number of Jats in her army when she planned to reclaim her throne.⁵³

During the time of Balban Tamar Khan *muqti* of Samana and Sunam, had complete control over the Jats and other tribes of that region. Barani while praising the Tamar Khan, mentions that he had forced them to enter the mouse hole.⁵⁴ At the time of Timur’s invasion, Jats in Punjab were referred to as having aggrandized themselves for a long time by plundering the caravans of merchants. Timur mentions a place called Tohana, inhabited by a robust race of Jats, who were Muslims only of name and famous for theft and highway robbery that no traveler or merchants passed unscathed from their hands.⁵⁵

Babur mentions that the mountains of Nilab and Bhira which connect those with Kashmir were inhabited by different tribes and castes, prominently of the tribes of Jud, Janjuhas, Jats, Gujurs, and Kakars.⁵⁶ Regarding the Jats, Babur mentions that if one goes into Hindustan the Jats and the Gujurs always pour down in countless hordes from hills and plain for loot in bullocks and buffalo. These ill-omened people were just senseless oppressors. When he reached Sialkot, they fell into tumult over the poor and needy folks who came to help Babur. Babur then ordered two or three of them to be cut into pieces.⁵⁷

Bhattis

Bhattis were another martial tribe of Punjab during the Delhi Sultanate. At the time of the invasion of Mui'zuddin bin Sam, Bayana was under the control of Jadon, a Bhatti Rajput.⁵⁸ However, till the thirteenth century there is no record of their activity in Punjab. However, during the reign of Balban, Sher Khan, the *muqti* of Depalpur constructed the fortress at Bhatner, who, according to Barani, had completely controlled Bhattis, and other tribes and forced them to abandon their strongholds.⁵⁹ Probably they were spreading in all these areas. Afif gives us an account of the matrimonial relationship of the ruling elite with the Bhattis of Punjab. He mentions how Ghazi Malik (later Sultan Ghiyathuddin Tughluq) *muqti* of Dipalpur, under Ala'uddin Khalji arranged the marriage of his younger brother *sipahsalar* Rajab with the daughter of Rana Mall, the Bhatti chief of Punjab.⁶⁰ During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq several members of the Bhatti tribe rose to the prominent positions.⁶¹ Rai Bhiru (Bhirhu Bhatti chief) related to Firuz Shah Tughluq from his mother's side was among the loyal officers, who once rescued the Sultan from a hostile crowd of disgruntled men.⁶² When Sultan Muhammad sent his son Prince Humayun to Samana to fight against Abu Bakar Shah in 1390-91 A.D., the prince took the assistance of Rai Kamaluddin Ma'in and Rai Juljain (Zulji) Bhatti.⁶³ Rai Henu Juljain Bhatti, and Rai Daud Kamal Ma'in, the chiefs of their tribes assisted Iqbal Khan's forces in his campaign against Bahram Khan Turkbacha, who rebelled in 1405 A.D. in Samana.⁶⁴ Again in the middle of 1430 A.D., when Pulad Turkbacha, a slave of Sayyid Salim, revolted in Tabarhindah at the instigation of Sayyid's sons, Rai Henu Bhatti and Malik Yusuf met Pulad and set the terms of peace.⁶⁵ Again when Shaikh Ali of Kabul attacked and killed Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, and occupied Khusruabad, Sultan Mubarak Shah sent reinforcement to Imadul Mulk the governor of Multan, which included the Bhatti chiefs.⁶⁶

Besides these, the other tribes that were found in Punjab were Mundhars, Ma'inas, Jud, and Janjuhas.⁶⁷ Barani mentions that Sultan Jalaluddin while he was the *naib* of Samana and *muqti* of Kaithal, faced grievous wounds on his face from the sword of a Mundahar while plundering the villages of Mundahars of Kaithal. The mark of the sword was so deep that it was visible until the end of his life. Later, when Jalaluddin became the Sultan, the same Mundahar submitted to him. Sultan Jalaluddin rewarded him with a robe and a horse while praising him that he had crossed swords with many people both in wars and plunders but had not come across a braver person than this Mundahar.⁶⁸ The resistance continued in the 14th century as Sultan Muhammad bin

Tughluq led a punitive campaign against those who did not pay revenue, and resorted to mischief and highway robbery.⁶⁹ Probably, it would have been such a tribal people group that had attacked Ibn Battuta and his companions in 1334 A.D. while he was in between Abohar and Ajodhan.⁷⁰ Barani mention that the chiefs of Mundahars, Jiwanis, Bhats, and Minhas were brought into the capital.⁷¹ The tribes of Jud and Janjuhas were found in the region of Koh-i-Jud. From ancient times these two tribes were the rulers and lawful commanders of the people and hordes of the range and the country between Nilab and Bhira. The principal headman was called Rai and his younger brothers and sons were called Maliks. Their rule was friendly and brotherly and they could not take what their heart might desire.⁷² The clan of Bugials, (now Bagyals, a clan of the Ghakkars) were settled below Balnath Jogi Hill, which connects the hill of Jud.⁷³

Conclusion

It can, thus, be seen that these tribes and castes were illustratively important in their political character. They have shown during the Sultanate period, whether it was against the Ghaznavids, Ghurids, or the governors of the Delhi Sultans, the same propensity fall upon the rear of a retreating army undeterred by the heaviest odds or the terror-inspiring fame of the great conquerors like Timur. When encountered they showed the same obstinate and steady courage, unmindful on the field of the miseries that were in store for them after defeat. Among these tribes, the Jats were probably active during the initial period of Turkish rule, while on the other hand, Bhattis included in the Sultanate politics from the Tughluq period. All these tribes maintained different attitudes throughout the period. For instance, the Khokhars were rebellious and mostly countered the state probably because their territory was among those parts of Punjab that produced excellent horses, while the Bhattis had a supportive attitude towards the *muqtis*, and the Jats had a mixed one. Furthermore, when Shaikh Ali came to Punjab, the Khokhars welcomed and supported him. Even their chiefs like Malik Ainul Mulk Khokhar and Malik Abul Khair Khokhar acted as his guidesmen when he came to Punjab. At the same time, when he reached Multan, the Bhatti chiefs like Henu Juljain along with other *maliks* supported Ainul Mulk, the governor of Multan against the invader.

Sometimes the Sultans of Delhi were utterly confounded by the rebellious attitude of these tribes and did not know how to deal with the situation. For instance, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the continued attacks of Jasrath Khokhar, who not only dominated the

political stage for almost two decades by taking advantage of the adverse situations but on many occasions ravaged the Punjab plains and attacked *muqtis* of the Sultan. These were followed by the invasion of Shaikh Ali and the revolt of Turkbacha. The Delhi Sultanate, on the other hand, sought to maintain the semblance of peace by undertaking numerous military expeditions by transferring its *muqtis*. It was only after Bahlol Lodi united the Afghan factions and occupied large tracts in Punjab, and founded the Lodi dynasty that political stability came. Thus, the whole of Punjab was the mercy of these bandit rebels and invaders and the sufferings of the people knew no limit. The disturbance and chaos created in the Punjab had been taken advantage of by the chiefs of other regions.

Notes and References

¹ Irfan Habib, *Medieval India: The Study of Civilization*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2007, Reprint, 2011, p. 160.

² The Khokhars, Gakhars, and Kakars are three different tribes that are different from each other and frequently confused with one another. See Minhaj-i-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr., H. G. Raverty, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia including Hindustan from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*, 2 Vols., London, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1881, 2 Vols., Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1881, Vol., I, pp. 294, n, 455, n; Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, S. Chand and Co., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, 1976, p. 452, n 3. Abul Fazl mentions the Gakhars as different; probably, they were more politically active during the Mughal period. Abul Fazl Allami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr., H. Blochmann, *The A'in-i Akbari*, vol. I, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1927, Reprinted 2008, pp. 333, 338, 506-07, 543-44, 545; Abul Halim mentions them as a tribe of converted Rajputs, see, A. Halim, 'Relation of the Syad Kings with the Rulers of Provincial Dynasties', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol., 8, 1945, p. 118.

³ Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate A Political and Military History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, Reprinted, 2000, p. 127.

⁴ Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr., vol., I, pp. 481, 536 n, 537 n, & vol., II, p. 1132; K. S. Lal, 'Jasrat Khokhar' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol., 21, 1958, pp. 274-281; Peter Jackson, 'Jalal al-din, The Mongols, and the Khwarazmian Conquest of the Panjab and Sind', *Iran*, Vol., 28, British Institute of Persian Studies, pp. 45-54.

⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr., vol., I, p. 537 n; Alauddin Ata Malik-i-Juwaini, *Tarikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*, Eng. tr., H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Vol., II, London, 1869, p. 396.

⁶ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. II, 1869, p. 447.

⁷ Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr., vol., I, p. 453, n 4. Raverty opines that when Khusrau Malik aided the Khokhars against Chakra Dev, the latter sent his brother to Muizuddin and invited him to invade the territory of Khusrau Malik.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 398; Eng. tr., vol. I, pp. 454-55.

⁹ Tajuddin Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, edited and annotated by Syed Amir Hasan Abidi, Persian Research Centre, New Delhi, AH 1387/AD 2008, p. 241; Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 443; Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 604.

¹⁰ Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 403, 443; Eng. tr., Vol., I, pp. 481-82 & n, 604; M. Habib and K. A. Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol., V, part One, *The Delhi*

Sultanate A.D. 1206-1526, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970, reprint 2014, p. 178.

¹¹ On production of horses in these lands Sultan Balban, who had the experience of two decades (*qarns*) of having been a *malik* says: 'Chosen and selected horses are raised in great numbers in Siwalik, Sunam, Samana, Tabarhind, Thanesar, the habitations of the Khokhars and in the region of Jats and Mandahars, and my army gets enough horses from these people on a quite low prices.' Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 52-53; Eng. tr., p. 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol., I, Eng. tr., p. 294n.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol., I, p. 462; Eng. tr., vol. I, pp. 647-n 9; 648 & n3; Abdul Malik Isami, *Futuhus Salatin*, ed., A. S. Usha, Madras, 1948, pp. 132-137; Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. I, p. 86; Eng. tr., George S. A. Ranking, *Academica Asiatica*, Patna, 1973, vol. I, p. 121; Urdu tr., Aleem Ashraf Khan, NCPUL, New Delhi, 2008, vol. I, p. 63.

¹⁴ Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Studies in Thoughts Polity and Economy of Medieval India 1000-1526*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2021. reprinted. 2022, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 479; Eng. tr., Vol., I, pp. 687-88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol., II, pp. 165-66; Eng. tr., vol. II, p. 1136.

¹⁷ He was the cousin of Balban and was a great Khan who served for 30 years after the death of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, edited by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh, 2005, p. 65; Eng. tr., Ishtiyaq Ahmad Zilli, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2015, rep. 2021, p. 40.

¹⁸ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Eng. tr., pp. 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 65; Eng. tr., pp. 34, 41.

²⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Mashnavi Dewalrani Khizr Khan*, ed. Maulana Rashid Ahmad, Matba-i-Institute Aligarh, Aligarh, 1917, p. 52; Khusrau exaggerate the military exploits of Jalaluddin in Khuraman, Binban and Koh-i-Jud against the Mongols and local tribes that the Sultan shed so much blood in Koh-i-Jud that the region was covered with their blood. Amir Khusrau, *Miftah-u'l-Futuh*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 8.

²¹ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 378, 380.

²² Amir Khusrau, *Tughluq Nama*, Persian text, ed., Syed Hashmi Faridabadi, Matba Urdu, Aurangabad, 1933, pp. 86, 126-27; For their role in Ghazi Malik's victories see, Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 378-87.

²³ Ain ul-Mulk Abdullah bin Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, ed. S. A. Rashid, Idara-i-Tahqiqat-i-Pakistan, Lahore, p. 168.

²⁴ Sirhindi mentions that Shaikha Khokhar rebelled and sacked the fort of Lahore, and a punitive expedition was prepared under Prince Humayun Khan (Sultan Muhammad's son), but at the same time the Sultan's death occurred. Yahya Bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1931, p. 154.

²⁵ Timur, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Eng tr., p. 410; Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafar Namah*, ed. Maulawi Muhammad Iahdad, vol. II, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 169-170.

²⁶ Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnamah*, ed. Maulawi Muhammad Iahdad, vol. II, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 56-57.

²⁷ Sirhindi mentions his name as Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar, which indicates that he was the son of Shaikh Khokhar. Badaoni also mentions him as son of Shaikha Khokhar (Jasrath bin Shaikha Khokhar). Ferishta, however, mistakenly mentioned him as Ghakkar; Mahdi Husain gave dates back to A.D. 1399 when Timur invaded India; the eighth fort which he took was belonged to Shaikha Khokhar, Agha Mahdi, Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 466.

²⁸ Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 193-194.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 195-96. Sirhindi mentions that although Shaikha Khokhar tried hard to take the fort, because of the rainy season, he could not succeed. When the news came to the center, Sultan Mubarak Shah himself had to march to crush the rebellion in spite of the rainy season.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 197-99; Sometimes the situation became such problematic (difficult to handle) that the *amirs* of Sirhind, Dipalpur, and the Imperial forces from Delhi have unitedly faced Shaikha Khokhar's attack. Even they took the assistance of Rai Bhilm (Bhim) of Jammu.

³² The Raja of Jammu, who gave active help to the royal forces in fighting against Jusrath Khokhar paid for his alliance by being defeated and killed by Jusrath in 1423 A.D. A. Halim, 'Relation of the Syad Kings', p. 126; Lal, 'Jasrat Khokhar', p. 277.

³³ Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 201.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 212-13.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 223.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 226-27.

³⁷ Sultan Mubarak Shah repelled four invasion, which had taken place with the supports of the Khokhars, and the last of which was of Shaikh Ali Mughal. A. Halim, 'Relation of the Syad Kings', p. 119.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 217. When he reached Tabarhinda, the rebellious Pulad came out of the fort and paid an amount of two lakhs *tankas* to him.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 225.

⁴⁰ Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 168.

⁴¹ Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Babur Nama*, Eng. tr., Annette Susannah Beveridge, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, first pub. 1989, reprinted, 2017, pp. 387, 388-90.

⁴² Surriner Singh, *The Making of Medieval Panjab*, p. 15; Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Punjab and Sind', *Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, ed. H. Singh and N. G. Barrier, Patiala, 1976, pp. 95-95.

⁴³ U. M. Daudpota, ed., *Chachnama*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1939, pp. 153-55.

⁴⁴ Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Punjab and Sindh', p. 95.

⁴⁵ Abu Said Gardezi, *Zainul-Akhbar*, ed. Abd-al Hayy Habibi, Iran, 1347 A. H., pp. 191-92; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, vol. I, p. 18; Eng. tr., vol. I, p. 29; Urdu tr., p. 20; Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 10; Eng. tr., p. 16; Habib, *Medieval India*, p. 9; Singh, *The Making of Medieval Panjab*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ Farrukhi as cited by Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1931, p. 122, n 3.

⁴⁷ K. R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 30; S. Jabir Raza, 'The Martial Jats: Their conflict with the Ghaznavids', in Vir Singh, ed., *The Jats: Their Role and Contribution in the Socio-Economic Life and Polity of North and North West India*, vol. 2, Originals, New Delhi, 2006, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Edward Sachau, *Alberuni's India An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A. D. 1030*, London, 1888, rept. Rupa Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p. 396.

⁴⁹ Irfan Habib, 'Jatts of Punjab and Sind', pp. 95-95.

⁵⁰ Abul Fazl Muhammad bin Husain Baihaqi, *Tarikh*, ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz, Revised by Mohammad Jafar Yahaghi, *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Mashhad, 1383, pp. 409-10; For the relation of Tilak and Yenaltigin with Jats see, S. Jabir Raza, 'Hindus under the Ghaznavids', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 71, 2010-11, pp. 213-225.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'athir*, pp. 100, 104, 106, 109. Abidi, however, mentions the name as Baku, p. 104, n3; See also, Minhaj, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr., vol. I, pp. 516, n3.

⁵³ Isami, *Futuh-us Salatin*, pp. 132-137; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, vol. I, p. 86; Eng tr., vol. I, p. 121; Urdu tr., p. 63; Razia's inclusion of these tribes in her army suggests that her

support was based among the chiefs of the tribes of Punjab. Iqtidar Alam, *Studies in Thoughts Polity and Economy*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Eng. tr. p. 41.

⁵⁵ *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 428-29. Yazdi, *ZafarNamah*, Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, vol. III, p. 492; Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 463.

⁵⁶ Babur, *Babur Nama*, Eng. tr., p. 387.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁵⁸ Habib and Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 169.

⁵⁹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Eng. tr., pp. 40-41; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, vol. I, p. 91; Eng. tr., vol. I, p. 130; Urdu tr., vol. I, p. 81.

⁶⁰ Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi*, ed. Maulavi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 37-9. Iqtidar Alam Khan believes that the *muqti* forced the Bhatti chief to give his daughter to his brother in marriage. Iqtidar Alam, *Studies in Thoughts Polity and Economy*, p. 55.

⁶¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 103; Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Hindu Chiefs in Sultanate polity (Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries)', *Studies in People's History*, vol. I, no. I, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 25-26.

⁶² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*, Calcutta, 1890, p. 103; Habib and Nizami, ed., *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 581; Iqtidar Alam, *Studies in Thoughts Polity and Economy*, p. 55, n. 25.

⁶³ Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 146.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶⁶ It included Rai Juljain Bhatti, Khan-i-Azam Fateh Khan, Majlis-i-Aali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, Khan-i-Azam Islam Khan, Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk, and Khan-i-Azam Kamal Khan. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶⁷ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 65; Eng. tr., pp. 40-41, 298; Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 146, 174.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95; Eng. tr., pp. 120-121.

⁶⁹ Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 128.

⁷⁰ Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat-un Naazar fi Gharib ul Amsar, wa Ajaib ul Afsar*, Cairo, A.H 1323; Eng. tr., H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1971, p. 612.

⁷¹ Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 483; Eng. tr., p. 298.

⁷² Babur mentions that Jud and Janjuhas followed their ancient custom, i.e. given and taken; 'no less and no more'. For example, they set one *shahrukhi* for each yoke of oxen and seven for headship in a household. Babur, *Babur Nama*, Eng. tr., pp. 379-80.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 452, n5.