Chapter - 5

New Demographic Composition and Social Mobility

It is difficult to form any clear idea of the population of the Punjab during the period under review in the absence of any systematic record. Only one instance is reported regarding the record of population. When Muhammad Tughlaq decided to give relief to the people of Delhi, he ordered the judicial functionaries to compile census registers of the various quarters of the capital city.¹ The result of even this solitary attempt is unknown. We do not know if these directions extended to areas beyond the city of Delhi.

In the absence of relevant information regarding the growth of population, any attempt to figure out the population strength would only be of a tentative nature. No substantive work has been done in this regard.² So the changes in the composition of demography with the coming of the Turks are main points of discussion. These changes in the composition of population helped in the emergence of a new pattern of demography and also determined the extent of both kinds of mobility, the spatial and social.

The spatial mobility may be explained in terms of physical mobility (demographic mobility). People moved from one country to another and rural to urban areas or vice-versa and from one urban centre to another. The social mobility signifies horizontal mobility and vertical mobility. In horizontal mobility, a person simply shifts his interests from one group to another without any alteration in his social status. It denotes the territorial distribution of persons. In vertical mobility, the economic and social status of an individual changes. It is defined as “the transition of an individual or social object or value from one social position to another”. The vertical mobility is a true index of the demographical changes in the Punjab during the period.³

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¹ Ibn Battuta, op.cit., p.5.
² H.C.Verma, Dynamics of Urban life in Pre-Mughal India, p.6
³ Ibid., p.77-78.
In addition to four classes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisay and Sudra, the various tribes and sub-castes based on occupations had woven the demographic canvas of the Punjab. These sub-castes separated on occupational basis were Brewers, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Bhat, Jats, Ahirs, Gujars, Rajputs, Sainis, Kambohs, Arains, Kanets, Barbers, Oilmen and still more, besides all these castes which were comparatively higher castes of the Punjab, there were also untouchables divided into castes of their own e.g. Chamars, Chuhras, Mochis, Banjaras, weavers, etc.\(^4\)

**Jats**

In the demographical composition of the Punjab, the Jats were the main component. In the first description, the Jats chiefly concentrated in the Central Sindh, in the territory of Brahmanabad, their settlements extended in the south to the port of Debul and in the north to Siwistan (Sehwan). The only tribute they could pay was in the form of firewoods. Jats owed the allegiance to Bhuddhist *sramanas* and under the Brahman dynasty of Chach, there has been harsh constraints imposed upon them.\(^5\)

In the *Chachnama* one finds information that Chach, the Brahman ruler of Sindh, humiliated the Jats and Lohanas. He compelled them to carry only sham swords, to wear no under garments, shawls, velvet or silk, only silken outer garments of red and black colors were allowed to wear. They were not allowed to put saddles on their horses and compelled to keep their foot and head uncovered and to take their dogs with them while going out. They had to furnish the guides and spies and carry firewood for the royal kitchen.\(^6\) Muhammad Qasim maintained these regulations declaring that the Jats resembled the savages of Persia and the mountains. He also fixed on their tribute.\(^7\) Alberuni also described the Jats as cattle owners and low Sudra people.\(^8\) The presence of the Jats in the Punjab is also attested by the

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\(^{6}\) Abi Bakr, Kufi, *ChachNama* English translation by H.M. Elliot and J. Downson, in *History of Medieval India* as *Told by Its Own Historian*, vol.i, p.151.

\(^{7}\) I.H. Siddiqui, *Delhi Sultanate : urbanization and Social Change*, p.3.

\(^{8}\) Abu Rehan Alberuni, *Tahkikat-i-Hind*, English translated by E.C. Sachau as *Alberuni’s India*, vol.i, p.401.
statement of another Ghazanvid historian that these ‘seditious Hindus’ supported the Masud’s officers against the rebel Yalaltigin. A northwest migration of the Jats to the southern Punjab from the Sindh must have taken place by the 11th century. The demographic mobility in the Jats occurred before the earliest Muslims invasions, the Jats spread over the Punjab proper where they established themselves firmly in the beginning of 11th century.

If the history of various tribes in Multan is investigated, it is found that there is scarcely a single tribe which has not been immigrated within the last 500 or 600 years. The whole of the population in Multan has been for many centuries in the state of flux. The Jats seem to have settled in the region by the time of Akbar. In Dera Ismail Khan, where the term ‘Jat’ is applied to the Sials, Awans and a host of petty tribes of the miscellaneous origin, the lower portion of the region was occupied by the scattered Jat tribes before the 15th century. Earlier in that century, all traditions went to show that the immigrated Siyas, Chinas, Khokhars, etc. settled themselves in Multan and Bhawalpur. Passing up the Indus, these Jat tribes gradually occupied the country on the edge of the Minawali Thal and settled in the Thal. In Rawlpindi, Rajputs took their place, on the frontier, were confined to the cis-Indus tracts and the immediate Indus riverine on the both sides of the stream.

The Jats of the western plains of the Punjab had immigrated to the river valleys from the Sindh or western Rajputana. The Jats of western and central sub-montane of the Punjab had come in these parts by the same route. The Jats of central and eastern Punjab had also in many cases come up the Sutlej valley but many of them moved from Bikaner straight to Malwa. The Jats of south-eastern Punjab and Jamuna zone had come from the north and west of Rajputana, were known as Dhe to distinguish themselves from the neighboring Jat tribes who were collectively

10. Ibid., p.66.
12. Ibid., p. 371.
13. Ibid., p.370.
15. Between the Sulaimans and the great sandy deserts of the Bahawalpur and the Sindh-Sagar Doab.
called *Helene.* They had firmly established themselves from the direction of Bikaner before the 12th century. After the defeat of Rai Pithora and the capture of Delhi by Shihab-id-din Ghori, Jatwan, a Jat, raised the resistance to Turkish aggression at Hansi, but was defeated on the border of the Bangar by Qutb-ud-din Aibak who captured Hansi. Another region in which the Jats had been well established from anterior to the first Turkish invasion was Rohtak.

Again in 1398, the presence of the Jats in southeast Punjab or Hissar tract was attested by Timur. He marched through the jungle from Ahruni in Karnal to Tohana through a tract which he found inhabited by the Jats, they plundered caravans on the routes and caused terror to the Muslims and travelers. On Timur’s approach, the Jats had abandoned the villages but he pursued them and put 2,000 of them to sword. The *Bhagri* Jats from the Bikaner prairies and the Jats from Malwa and the Sutlej valley were met at Sirsa. Till the sixteenth century Jats were spread over a region extending from the Chej and upper Rachna Doabs across the upper and central Bari Doab to the cis-Sutlej territory of Sirhind and Hissar-i-Firuza.

**Rajputs**

The Rajputs of the Punjab has been grouped by Ibbetson into four territorial groups. First comes, the Rajputs of Delhi and the Jamuna valley, most of the part belonged to the two great tribes of the Tunwar and Chouhan which gave to Delhi its most famous dynasties. Next comes, the Rajputs of the river valley of the western plains, many of them hardly be distinguished from the Jats belonging to the most part of the Bhatti of Jaisalmair and Bikaner and their predecessors the Punwar. The third group of the Rajputs of the western hills including the Salt Range, were the decadents either of *Yadubansi* dynasty of the Kashmir and the mythical Raja Rasalu of Sialkot or a group of tribes apparently of the Punwar

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origin which holds the hills or banks of the Jhelum. Finally, the Rajputs of the Kangra hills of whom the Katoch may be taken. To these must be added the Rajputs of central Punjab mainly represented by the Sials and Bhattis and kinder tribes of Sandal Bar.\textsuperscript{22}

The Rajputs had been divided into three races (bans), \textit{Suraj-bansi} (solar), \textit{Chander-bansi} (lunar) and Agni-kul or Barang-bansi. Again, each \textit{bans} was divided into \textit{khanps}, each \textit{khanp} into \textit{nakhs} and each \textit{nakh} into \textit{gots}.\textsuperscript{23} The Rajputs of Delhi territory and the Jamuna valley belonged to two great tribes of Chouhan and Panwar which gave the Delhi its most famous dynasties. The eponym of the Chouhan had two sons Sikand whose descendants were found in Bawal. The various branches of lunar race were the Badgujar, Kachwah and Shaikawat \textit{khanps}, which had common ancestors found in the eastern plains of the Punjab. Badgujar claimed their descent from Lav, a son of Ram and Sita and Kachhwah was created by Balmik out of \textit{kush} grass. Kalaji, a Kachhwah, had a son by the favor of Sheikh Burhan-ud-din, a Muslim saint, therefore, his descendants are called Sheikawats.\textsuperscript{24} Other lunar branch that found in the Punjab was the Jadu and Tunwar Rajputs. The Tunwars originally held Panipat and the country around and they did not seem to have been dispossessed till the early of the Turkish conquest. They held the whole \textit{nalli} tract but were driven out of the parts of it by the Mandhars. The lowland of the Markanda river with many villages near the Pehowa and their country was popularly known as Tunarwara.\textsuperscript{25} The Rajput tradition says that Chendel once held Kaithal and Samana and ruled the neighboring tract from Kohand. The Barah Rajputs held the country round Asandh, Saffidon, Salwan and Pundirs around Thaneswar. The Pundirs were expelled by the Chouhans who made Jundla their headquarter. The two formers tribes the Chandel and Barah were apparently at the same time expelled by the Mandahars who settled in Jind and made Kalayat their capital.\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotemark[22] Quoted by H.A. Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.ii, p.298.
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The Rajputs were found along with Jammu border and beyond it into Gurdaspur. In the region, the Rajputs were confined to the hills and the Jats to the plains. In the eastern hills which lay in the north-east corner of the Punjab, the highest stratum of the society was composed of Rajput tribes. But in the region, the term Rajput appeared to be used to denote the status not the race or caste or tribe. The Mian Rajputs of hills were entitled to salutation *Jai dia* and they were also called *Jaikara*. The term *Thakur, Rana* or chiefs simply denoted the status or rank while the term *Rathi* is derived from *rakbandi* (which is an equivalent of *karewa* or widow remarriage). ‘Rathi’ is a term which implies loss of status. They ploughed and cultivated land with their own hands and their rites at wedding or on death were not according to the *shastra.*

In the western plains of the Punjab, the Punwar Rajput was a dominating tribe. The word “Parmara” is an ancient saying denoting their extensive sway of *Nau kot Marusthali* extending along and below the Sutlej from the Indus and Jamuna signified the *maru asthal* or arid territory occupied by them and nine divisions of which it consisted. The Punwars were also found in considerable number along with course of the Sutlej and the lower Indus, though in the Derajat and Multan many of them ranked as Jats. They also spread up the Bias into Jalandhar, Gurdaspur and Sialkot. There was a very large colony of the Panwar Rajputs in Rohtak and Hisar. A few Panwar Rajputs were also found in Pabbi in the Jhelum. According to local traditions of Rohtak, the Panwar immigrated from Jilopattan or Daranagari and intermarried with Chouhans who gave them lands around Rohtak and Kalanaur.

The Rajputs of central Punjab connected themselves with the Rajputs of Rajasthan. The traditions stated that after the Mahabharta war, Susarma Chandra, a *sombansi* Rajput who had held the Multan was retired to Jalandhara Doab where he founded the kingdom comprised of Trigarta. The tradition of Guraya, Ghorewah Rajputs is

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that in 1070 C.E. two brothers Ahwaha or Hawaha and Kachwaha came from Kot Kurman or Udipur and obtained a grant of territory from Shihab-ud-din Ghorı.\footnote{Ibid., p.292.}

In the western Punjab, there was no distinction between the Rajputas and Jats. East of the Indus even in the Bahawalpur which adjoin the Rajputana, the distinction between the Rajputas and Jats was not known.\footnote{Ibid., p.296.}

### Ahirs

The first historical mention of Ahirs\footnote{The name Ahirs is doubtless derived from the Saskrit abhir milkman but various other etymologies are prevailed, one of the Ahira ‘snake-killer’, due to the fact that krisha had once killed snake, but according to the Mad-Bhagwat asked 10th chapter 17,shri Krishana did not kill the snake but brought it out of the Jumuna.} was found in confused statement in Vishnu Purana concerning them as Sakas, Yavanas, Bahliks and other outlanded dynasties which succeeded in Andhras in the 3rd century.

The Ahirs were probably by origin a pastoral caste of the Punjab. A branch of jadubansi Ahirs was chiefly found in the south east Punjab in Gurgaon, Rohtak and in Ahirwati which comprised Narnual, Khanaul and Rewari region of the Punjab.\footnote{H.A.Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.5-6.}

### Gujars

The dwelling place of Gujars was the city of Gujrat in the Punjab which was the country and tract of the Gujars. The Popular traditions assigned its foundation to Raja Bachan Pal, a surajbansi Rajput who came from Gigantic Doab and attributed its restoration to Ali Khan, doubtless the historical Alakhana who was defeated by Sangkara Verma of Kashmir between 883 to 910 C.E.\footnote{Ibid., p.306.} In the Punjab, they essentially belonged to lower range and sub-montane tract, they had spread down the Jamuna in a considerable number. But it is impossible to fix the date of Gujars colonization of this tract. In the Jamuna zone, they might have entered before the conversion of the castes. The Gujars of Firuzpur considered that their ancestors came from Daranagar in south India. They moved to Rania, Sirsa, and
thence again to Firuzpur via Kasur.\textsuperscript{34} They were almost confined to low land. Throughout the Salt Range and probably under the eastern hills, also were the oldest inhabitants among the tribes now settled there. In the southern Punjab, they were thinly scattered but the numbers increased rapidly towards the north where they had given their name to several important towns such as the Gujarawala in the Rechna Doab, Gujrat in Chaj Doab and Gujar Khan in the Sindh Sagar Doab.\textsuperscript{35} They were numerous along the Jhelum and Hassan Abdal throughout the Hazara. They were found in considerable numbers in the Dardu of Chilas, Kohli, and Palas to the east of the Indus. But in the west the Khakkhars, Janjuas and Pathans and in the east, the Rajputs had always been too strong for them and deprived them of their political importance. Throughout the hill country of Jammu, Chibal, Hazara and away in the territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as Swat river, the Gujars as herdsmen were found in great numbers.\textsuperscript{36}

Ibbetson suggests that the Jats and Gujars perhaps Ahirs also were of one ethnic stock and this is because there was a close communion between them. It may be that they were same in their far distant origin. Although, they had entered India in different times and settled in the separate parts, they ate and smoke together and the social standing of the Jats, Gujar and Ahirs seems perfectly identical. The Jats were the camel glazier and perhaps husbandmen, the Gujars were the cowherds of the hills and Ahirs the cowherds of the plains.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Khokhars}

The Khokhars were settled in a large number along with the valley of the Jhelum and Chenab and especially in the Jhang and Shahpur region. It was attested by contemporary historian Hasan Nizami, he says that having heard of the defeat of Shihab-ud-din Ghori by Khawarizm Shah, they assumed independent position and stopped sending tribute to him.\textsuperscript{38} Their leader Rai Sal blocked the route between

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., p.307.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p.307.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p.308.
\textsuperscript{37} Quoted by H.A.Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, p.310.
\textsuperscript{38} Hasan Nizami, p.233.
Lahore and Ghazani. Hasan Nizami described this revolt under Bahkan and Sarki, the Khokhars occupied the territory between the Jhelum and Chenab, devastated the villages and drove out the cattle belonging to the inhabitants and defeated the governor of Sehwan who held the Iqta within the border of Multan. Hasan Nizami would have to believe us that the troops of the rebels were as numerous as the leaves of a tree or the drops of water from vernal showers. They were also found in a smaller number on the lower Indus and the Sutlej, especially in Lahore and in the foot of hills from the Jhelum to Sutlej. Balban led an expedition to Jud hills and its vicinity. According to Barani that country was plundered and horses fell into the hands of soldiers in such a large number that their prices fell from 30 to 40 tankas in the army. It throws the light on the cavalry of the Khokhars. Sher Khan, a brother of Balban was the warden of the frontier who brought the Khokhars under his control.

They once ruled an extensive tract in the Jhang lying east to the Jhelum. The Khokhars of Gujrat and Sialkot had a tradition that they were originally settled at Garh Karana which could not be identified but was ejected by Timur. They went to the Jammu region where they spread along the hills and concentrated on the plains of the Jhelum and Chenab and their wide diffusion in the sub-montane tracts was explained in the history of Timur’s invasion. In the Akbar’s reign, they were shown as the principle tribes of the Dasuya pargana in Hosiarpur and then gave their name to the Khokharian a tract which contained 40 Khokhor villages. In Kapurthala, the Khokhars had four eponymous sects such as Sajrai, Kalu, Ber, Jaich. In Shahpur, the Khokhars were said to be split up into numerous sects among which was the Nissowana.

**Awans**

The Awans was an important tribe chiefly found in the Salt Range where they possessed an Awankari but also wildly spread over the east, southwest of that tract.

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40 Hasan Nizami, *op.cit.*, pp.233-34.
Extending along with the range from the Jhelum to the Indus, they were found in a large number throughout their country and beyond it up to the foot of the Sulaimans and the Safed Koh though in trans-Indus Bannu. They wholly merged in the Jats in Dera Ismail Khan. In Peshawar, the Awans were included in the Hamshya or faqir class. In Kohat towards Khushal Garh, they resembled the Awans of the Salt Range but elsewhere in that region were hardly distinguished from the Banghas and Naizias among whom they lived as a dominant tribe. The eastern boundary of their possession coincided approximately with the western boarder of Pind Dadan Khan but they had spread eastwards along as far as the Sutlej and southwards down the river valley into Multan and Jhang. They firmly held all the plain countries at the foot of the western Salt Range. 43

The word Awan is not implausibly derived from ‘ahwan’ helper, but various explanations of its origin are given. According to one tradition, the Awans claimed Arab origin and were descendants of Qutb Shah. The tribe was attached to the Muslim armies which invaded India as auxiliaries whence they came to be known as Awan. In Kapurthala, a more precise version of their legend relates them to Alwi Saiyyad who oppressed by the Abbasid sought refuge in Sindh and eventually allied themselves with Subaktigin who bestowed on them the title of Awan. But in the best available account of the tribe of Awan is said to be Arabian origin and descendants of Qutb Shah who had joined Mahmud of Ghazni when he invaded India. With him came six of his sons Gauhar Shah or Gorrara who settled near Sakessar, Kalan Shah or Kalgan who settled at Dhabnkot (KalaBagh), Chouhan who colonized the hills near the Indus, Khokhar or Muhmmad Shah who settled on the Chenab Tori and Jhajh. The descendants of these sons are said to be still found in Tirah and elsewhere.

**Janjuas**

Janjua tribe was found in eastern Salt Range, though not in a large number, their head quarter was situated in the southwest Punjab including Bahawalpur and Hosiarpur. Mr. Thomas gave the account of the tribe thus:

Some clans of the Rathor Rajputs immigrated from Jodhpur under the leadership of Raja Mal and occupied the uplands of the Salt Range. The Rajput group first settled in the Malot and extended the supremacy over the Jhanger, Kahun and plain country near the Girjak and Darapur. Raja Mal is said to have reigned in the days of Mahmud Ghazni and his authority was probably more or less recognized from Rawalpindi to the Jhelum. Mahmud invaded the Janjuas and captured the Raja Mal. The Raja was released on the one condition that his tribe should embrace the Islam. When the conversion took place, the Janju or caste thread was broken and the neophytes has been called Janjuas since then. The Janjuas once held almost the whole of the Salt Range tract, but were gradually dispossessed by the Khokhars in the north and by the Awans in the west and now they held only the central and eastern parts of the Range as tribal territory which is exactly what they held at the time of Babur’s invasion. They still occupied a social position in this tract which is second only to that of the Khokhars and are always addressed as Raja.

There settlement in the Salt Range is also mentioned by Babur. He described them certainly as the rulers from the old time of the Salt Range of the tract between Nilab and Bhera. He also described *malik* Hast Janjau as a *hakim* of the *ils* and *ulusis* in neighborhood of Sohan. As the ruler, the Jud and Junjaha ruled according to fixed customs not arbitrarily realizing a *Shahrukhi* yearly on every head of cattle and seven *shahrukhi* on the marriage. According to Babur, the hill of Jud was held by two tribes of common descents the Jud and Janjuhah. The Janjuhah was the old enemy of the Ghakkar. Babur records that a headman among them received the title of Rai while the younger brothers and sons of Rai were styled as *malik*. A pedigree made them descendants of Jaipal who opposed Mahmud of Ghazni at Nandana.

**Kambohs**

The Kambohs were one of the finest cultivating castes seldom engaged in the market gardening. They were found in the upper Sutlej valley and throughout northern portion of the eastern plains as low dawn the Jamuna valley as Karnal.
The Jamuna Kambohs seem to have come into the valley from the west where has lately been a very large influx of Kambohs of the north tracts of Patiala into the great dhak jungles between Thanswer and the river.\textsuperscript{44} The Kambohs of the Sutlej tract were divided in two branches, one came from the Multan (whence they were called lammawalas from lama ‘west’) and the other dawn the valley from the neighborhood of Kapurthala (where they were called tappawala, from tappa said to be the region between the Beas and Sutlej), both movements had taken place under the Sikh rule. The Kambohs, moreover, were not mere agriculturists. They were not frequently engaged in trade and even took services in the armies and in offices. Under Akbar, a Kamboh general called Shahwaz Khan commended 5,000 men and distinguished himself greatly in Bengal. Muslim Kamboh held Sohna in Gurgaon and the tombs and mosques that they had left show that they enjoyed a considerable position. The military persons, mercantiles and clerks are said to be distinguished as qalmi or “men of the pen”.\textsuperscript{45} The origin of Khambohs has been described thus:

Once a powerful Raja of the solar race whose capital was Ajudhia, marched thence to Derat and having killed Parmars its Raja took possession of his kingdom. He founded Warangar and his son founded another town named Dejapur. The city of Ghazni was his capital and lie near the city of Kambay, in the Peninsula south of Gujarat. While the Solono festival a religious rites was performing, he was attacked by an enemy who had conspired with his parohit. This city was plundered and its people were massacred and those who escaped, fled to Samana, thence spread over the country between the Jamuna and Sutlej and after wondering through the county watered by the Sutlej and Beas scattered over the whole Punjab. They are called Kambohs, came from Ghazni near Kambay. Other

\textsuperscript{44} H.A.Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.ii, p.442.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., pp.443-44.
assertion is that the name is a corruption of Kambudh a ‘man of a little intellect’ because they did not take up arm on the Solono day but preferred to die.\textsuperscript{46}

**Khatris**

An important element in the demographic composition of the Punjab, were the Khatris who were said to trace their origin in Multan. The Sarsuti or Saraswat Brahmans who were the *prohit* of the Khatris would eat any food prepared by a Khatri, a privilege said to be denied to Rajputs and true Sarswat Brahmans would accept the gifts from Khatris alone. In accordance with ancient rule, a Brahman shall only accept gifts from the warrior class.\textsuperscript{47} Besides, monopolizing the trade of the Punjab and greater part of Afghanistan, they were the chief administrators in the Punjab and had almost all the literate works in their hands.\textsuperscript{48} This community was strongest in the central part of the Punjab and Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Hazara and fairly occupied in the western hill states.\textsuperscript{49} The Arora Khatris were found in the southwest and Bhatias in Sialkot, Gujrat, and Shahpur.\textsuperscript{50}

**Arains**

The term ‘Arain’ is applied to market gardener which was synonymous with Bagban, Mali, Maliar in the southwest Punjab. The Arains claimed to be immigrated from Uchch and had some affinity with the Kambohs. From Uchch they migrated to Sirsa and thence to other parts of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{51} The Arains of Firuzpur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Hissar also traced their origin from Multan. As the Ghaghar dried up, they moved towards the Jamuna tract and cis-Sutlej. In the Jalandhar Doab, Arains came from Sirsa, Rania and Delhi in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{52} They were converted to Islam in 12\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p.444.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p.501.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p.504.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p.513.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p.507.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p.13.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p.14.
With the advent of Turkish invaders, there began a trend of demographic mobility of the population from the foreign land towards the Punjab. The Muslims of various tribes added in the demographic pattern of the Punjab. One might get astray instances of the numerical strength of the Muslim population in some localities before the Turkish conquest of India. It is not certain to get even a rough figure of their number during the Sultanate period. Its strength might be judged by the number and size of mosques, Idgahs and hummams built during this period. All these determinate that the growth of Muslim population was as increasing as the Sultanate progress. The invasions on the Punjab did not occupy more than fifty years of broader warfare in the span of almost five hundred years (1000-1500) in history of the Punjab. These fifty years broader warfare depleted its population and destroyed its settlements. It was filled up largely either by foreign inhabitants or by transplantation of Muslim population in the Punjab.\(^{53}\) Since then immigration of the foreign Muslims became a general phenomenon. New Muslim colonies were established adding to the already existing one. In the armies of the Turkish conquerors, the numbers of many tribes came in various capacities.\(^{54}\) Being essentially city dwellers these immigrants settled in the urban centers of the Punjab and gave a boost to the growth of many pursuits in urban centers.\(^{55}\) With the invasions of Mahmud Ghazni and Shihab-ud-din Ghori, particularly former, the foreign tribes came to India and in all the countries of Hind and Sind there were Muslims.\(^{56}\) In 1192 C.E. Shihab-ud-din Ghori invaded India with an army of 120,000. A good number of his soldiers would have been killed in the sanguinary battles with Rai Pithora. A major portion of the reminders (say 50,000) would have stayed in India under Qutub-ud-din Aibak.\(^{57}\) When he died, the immigrant Muslims were near about two and half lacs in the following order.

1,200 soldiers left by Shihab-ud-din in Bhatrinda 1190-91 C.E.

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\(^{53}\) H.C. Verma, \textit{op cit.}, p.69.  
\(^{54}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.70.  
\(^{55}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.70.  
\(^{57}\) Hasan Nizami says that the Sultan returned to Ghazna but the whole army remaining at the Ghazna of Inderpat Hasan Nizami, \textit{Tuj-ul-Masir} English translated by H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.ii, p.16.
50,000 remained with Aibak after Ghori left 1193-94 C.E.

10,000 immigrants as adventurers, refugees and *mashaikhs* etc.\(^5\)

During these two centuries (13th and 14th), Ajam (Persian and Central Asia) was thrice invaded, plundered and ransacked by Turkish tribe from the east. First, during the later days plundered the whole land and Sultan Masud himself had to fled with his father’s treasurers to India for safety. There must have been a great immigration of the Muslims into Punjab during this period.

The consolidation of the Suljuq empire stopped the immigration but with the establishment of the Qara Khita power in Turkistan conditions worsened again. In 1154 C.E., Sultan Sanjar himself was captured by the Ghuzz Turks and plundered Persia and Afghanistan. This event started the second great wave of immigration to the Punjab. One of these immigrants was a mystic, Sheikh Ali Hajwari, the author of *Kashful Mahjab* who lies buried in Lahore.\(^5\) During the reign of Iltutmish, the Khwarizmi prince Jalal-ud-din Makgbarani fleeing before Chingez Khan escaped to India with 10,000 followers. Even after his return, some of his followers would have stayed in the Punjab.\(^6\) Because of the Mongol’s upheaval, again in the court of Iltutmish there arrived twenty-five princes with their retainers from Iraq, Khurasan, Mawaraun Nahr.\(^6\) During the reign of Sultan Balban fifteen more refugee princes arrived from Turkistan, Mawaraun Nahr, Khurasan, Iraq, Azarbian, Persia, Rum and Shev.\(^6\) It appears that each came with a large number of followers because Balban allotted a locality (*mohalla*) for their residence.\(^6\) These followers comprised the masters of pen and sword, scholars and *mashaikhs*, reciters and musicians. In the armies of Turkish conqueror Muslims of many tribes like Khitai, Qara-Khatia, Qipchaq, Garji and Ilbari came to India and settled in the regions of the Punjab.\(^6\) Fakr-i-Mudabir writes that the army of Qutub-ud-din

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\(^5\) K.S.Lal, *Growth of Muslim Population in Muslim India*, p.108.

\(^5\) M Hibib, *Society and Politics during Sultanate Period*, p.68.

\(^6\) A.B.M. Habibullah, *op cit.*, pp. 95-97

\(^6\) Ferishta, *op cit.*, vol.iii, p.73.

\(^6\) Ibid., p.15.

\(^8\) K.S.Lal, *op.cit.*, p.11

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Aibak was composed of Ghorids, Turks, Khurasanis and Khaljis. In early years of Turkish conquest, demographic mobility occurred on a large scale in the Punjab. The soldiers who came to India, settled in the region.

The Khaljis who had lived in the western Turkishtan and later close to the Afghan tribal lands of modern eastern Afghanistan came with these Turkish tribes and settled in the Punjab. Mahmud Ghazni had recruited them for his army, Masud sent a punitive expedition against them. The Khalji tribe fought in Ghorid army is attested by the fact that when Shihab-ud-din Ghori was wounded in the first battle of Tarain in 1191 C.E., a Khalji soldier saved his life.

The inhabitants of the Sulaiman mountains to the west of the Indus were known as Afghans. A group of them living between Langhman and Peshawar were subjugated by the Subuktigin as expert horse-breeders, they often served in the army of the Turkish rulers sometimes raised to the level of commanders and governors. Balban was first ruler to make them prominent in 1260 C.E. he recruited 3,000 Afghans into his army as soldiers and they crushed the Mawati rebellions around Delhi. He also placed them in newly created military outposts near Delhi. The Afghan settlements in the midst of the Hindu population had been the policy of the Sultans from the time of Balban who built strong forts in midst of the strongholds of the Hindus in Kampil, Patiali, Bhojpur, Jalali and Katihar areas and placed them under the charge of the Afghans with marfuzi lands to maintain themselves and the garrisons.

During Muhammad Tughlaq’s reign, many leading Afghans tribal heads left their mountains home for Delhi. Some of them settled in the Multan and joined the

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66. S.A.A.Rizvi, *The Wonder that was India*, vol.ii,p.34.
68. S.A.A.Rizvi, *op.cit.*, p.81.
service of Malik Sahu Lodhi, the governor of Multan, later rebelled against Muhammad Tughlaq

With the establishment of Sultanate, Biloches of other tribes of Muslims began to arrive in Hindustan from western Asia, Persia, African, other Muslim countries and Afghanistan. The Punjab was rich and fertile land as compared to their own land, with the occupation of the Punjab by Ghazni and later by Ghori dynasty, many immigrants soldiers and traders, saints and scholars, political refugees and adventurers and even musicians, jesters and jugglers attracted by abundance wealth in cash and kind”. ..... began to flock to India. Minhaj-us-Siraj writes that people from Persia and adjoining countries came to India in various capacities. A large number of the Mongols who had arrived with the armies and sought service under Balban entered up to relationship with Muslim nobles. The Mongols who had sent Central and West Asian refugees into India, themselves occasionally arrived as invaders and stayed in the country. In 1296 C.E. the Mongol invader, Alghu Khan with his families made India his home. Under Ala-ud-din Khalji also many Mongols captives embraced Islam and settled in the Punjab. According to Ziya-ud-din Barani many needy persons from Khurasan, Iraq, Mawaraun Nahr, Khwarizm, Sistan, Herat and Damascus came to India to receive bounty from Muhammad Tughlaq. Ibn Battuta says that no new comer from Khurasan was allowed to enter into Indian territory unless he comes with the intent of staying in Hindustan. Ibn Battuta was himself required to write a bond to that effect. The evidences show that the foreign traders and merchants came to India in a large number both by the land and the sea routes, the horse traders, particularly from the northwestern side of Sindh and the Punjab. It is heard later that the best horses in India belonged to the Khurasani merchants, which shows that they had stayed...

71. Ferishta, *op.cit.*, vol.i, pp.33,84.
permanent in India.\textsuperscript{77} The demographic change was also brought about by the colonization of the Afghans and their transplantation from Afghanistan to the Punjab.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the period of colonization and transplantation of Afghan population in the Punjab. Bahlol Lodhi invited the Afghans of Roh from their homeland (diyar-i-khud) to settle in the Punjab and other areas. Under his jurisdiction, they came and settled in the towns and qasbas.\textsuperscript{78} It was peaceful movement which resulted in the extension of cultivation as these settlers also took to tilling. As a result of rapid colonization these areas soon became commercial out-posts and developed as towns and qasbas almost reproducing in the Punjab.

The emergence of Shershah as the unchallenged rulers of Hindustan signaled of increase in the Afghan settlements in India. The strength of the Afghans in the Punjab also increased so much that there developed a material gap between the old Afghan settlers and the new one who came to India during 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries.\textsuperscript{79}

Babur also planted a colony of Yusufzai Afghans at Kasur to overcome the Lodhi Afghans of Lahore.\textsuperscript{80} Shershah was selective in inviting the Afghans from Roh and other areas.

A new element of the converted Muslims has emerged in the demography pattern of the Punjab. When the local Hindu chiefs lost authority, the various tribes and castes of Punjab were converted to Islam by the means of force or will. But one thing is clear that the conversion was never complete. In the Salt Range and thereabout, even in the Punjab plains a new sub-division of the caste emerged as Muslim Rajputs, Muslim Jats, Muslim Gujars and Muslim Arains.\textsuperscript{81} The converted Muslim remained cohesive to their old customs. They led to cultural synthesis.

\textsuperscript{77} Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirihindi, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.107-185.

\textsuperscript{78} Abbas Khan Sarwani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi}, English translated by H.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.iv, p.306.

\textsuperscript{79} H.C.Verma, \textit{op.cit.}, 73.

\textsuperscript{80} Babur, \textit{Babar Nama}, English translated by A.C.Bevridge p.485.

\textsuperscript{81} Attar Singh, \textit{Socio-Cultural Impact of the Islam on India}, p.52.
among Hindu and Muslims. Subuktagin attacked on the Punjab and converted some people to Islam. But all these events took place in the trans-Indus region as Lanepoole writes that in 1000 C.E. there were no Muslims in northern India, east of the Indus.  

After Mahmud Ghazni’s attack on Multan, the number of converted Muslims seem to have grown up. Al-Idrisi says “the greater part of the population of Multan is Muslims so also the judicial authority and civil administration.” However, up to 1000 C.E., there were very few Muslims in Sindh.

In the year 1000 C.E., at first, Mahmud Ghazni attacked and plundered many frontier towns and appointed his governors. People were converted to Islam. In 1001-03 C.E. he attacked on Waihind (Peshwar) and is reported to have captured Jaipal and fifteen of his principal chiefs. His son Sukhpal and other relatives were converted to Islam and made Muslims. At Multan too conversions took place in a large number, for writing about the campaign against Nawasha Shah, Utbi says that this and previous victory of Multan was witnessed to his exalted state of proselytism. During his fourteenth invasion in 1023 C.E. Kirar, Nur, Lohkot and Lahore were attacked. The chief of Kirat accepted Islam. Many people followed his example. According to Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, Islam appeared in this part of the country by the consent of the people and the influence of force. At Bhera, all the inhabitants except those who embraced Islam were put to sword since the whole town is reported to have been converted. Tarikh-i-Yamini and Tarikh-i-Ferishta speak of construction of mosques, maqtabs and madrassas and appointment of preachers and teachers by Mahmud and his successor Masud. Wherever Mahmud went, he insisted the people to convert to Islam. In the Punjab, the sway of the

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82. Stanley lane Poole, Medieval India under the Muhammadan Rule, p.1.
84. H.M Elliot and J.Downson, op.cit., p.459.
86. Ibid., pp.27,30,33,40,42,43,45,49 also appendix, p.434-35.
87. Ibid., p.30.
88. Ibid., p.137.
89. Ibid., p.49.
descendants of Mahmud Ghazni was precarious and their proselytizing efforts could not have been quite rewarding of success.

It is possible that many Hindus forcibly converted to Islam during Mahmud’s raids returned to their former faith and very few the converted Muslims were left in Sindh after the death of Muhamad. Alberuni mentioned a number of restrictions imposed upon re-conversion to Hinduism. Alburani writes, “I have repeatedly been told that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escaped and returned to his country and religion. The Hindus were ordered that they should fast for expiation and then they bury them in the dung, stale and milk of cows till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag him out of dirt and gave them similar to eat. I have asked the Brahmans, if this be true but they denied and mentioned that there is no expiation possible for such an individual and he could never return into those conditions of life in which he was before carried off as a prisoner and how should that be possible? If a Brahman eats in a house of Sundra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and never regains it.” 90 But there are few examples of reconversion as Nawasa Shah reverted to Hinduism at the earliest opportunity. 91 This is also in the case of Raja Sal. The period between Mahmud Ghazni’s death and invasions of Shihab-ud-din Ghori such opportunities of reconversion were many, even on a large scale. Consequently, during this period of more than a century and a half, Muslim numbers do not seem to have shown any great rise. 92

With the invasion of Shihab-ud-din Ghori proselytizing activities were emphasized. According to Ferishta, three to four hundred thousand, the Khokhars and Tirahins were also converted to Islam by Shihab-ud-din Ghor. 93 It was not during military expeditions alone that conversion were effected for increasing the number of their co-religionists but the Muslim rulers made free use of the governmental machinery in peace time for proselytizing activities. One of the

92 K.S.Lal, op.cit., p.105.
93 Farishta, op.cit., pp.59-60.
measures which helped to raise the Muslims in numbers was patronage to foreign Muslim scholars, administrators, mashai kh, soldiers, and adventurers, indeed Muslims of almost any sort. This resulted in Muslim immigration on a large scale. Another step was the construction and maintenance of mosques, khangahs, maqtabs, and madrasas from government funds. These mosques besides being houses of workshops and centers of Islamic learning often provided asylum to the needy and the indigent who had potential converts. Sometimes conquests were undertaken with a missionary motive. But an important and effective means of obtaining converts was economic temptation or pressure. Ibn Battuta writes that Sultan Qutab-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji (1316-1320) used to encourage the Hindus to accept Islam by presenting a robe of honor and a gold ornament. Under Firuz Shah (1351-88) the state openly became an agency of conversion, Shams-i- Siraj Afif says that he ordered his amils to convert Hindus to Islam. Firuz Shah himself writes that he rescinded the jazia to lure people to become Muslims and this measure brought the groups of converted day by day from every quarter.

There are some references in the chronicles about individual Hindus accepting Islam because of dissatisfaction of their own faith. Al-Bladuri mentions such a case, “the son of a king fell sick and he desired the minister of the temples to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. But the son died and the king destroyed the temple, the idols and slain the ministers.” He afterwards invited a party of the Muslim traders who made known to him about the unity of God in Islam and he became Muslim. The group which converted to get relief from the zajiya referred by Firuz Shah, obviously belonged to the poor economically vulnerable sections. A few caste groups were converted to Islam because of their professional and vocational compulsions. Such conversions took place mostly in urban areas especially among artisans, merchants, handicraftsmen.

94 K.S.Lal, op.cit., p.117
96 Shams-i-Siraj Afif, op.cit., pp.268-69.
97 Firuz Shah, Fatuhati-Firoz Shahi, English translated by H.M. Elliot and J.Downson, op.cit., vol.iii, p.386.
99 M.Habib, Politics and Society during Early Medieval Period, p.75.
(mahavat) and butchers adopted the new faith. Some urban tailors were also converted to Islam. The independence of cotton carders (dhuniya), weavers (julaha) and tailors had encouraged for embracing the Islam. Bagger accepting cooked food from Muslims became Muslim automatically. Butchers became Muslims because their vocation found a ready and sympathetic clientele among Muslims. Sweet makers or halwais were found sticking to the old faith quite profitable for Hindus, as they could sell their produce to members of both religions but the Muslims liked meat dishes and we heard again and again of the Muslim cook shops which had a thriving business. Metal workers preferred the old faith. The growers of pan in the rural areas adhered to their old religion but in the cities, a minority of pan-sellers at least adopted the new faith. The wholesale conversions attributed to the Muslim mystics of the period. But the Muslim mystics did not bother about conversion. It was not a part of their duty. There was, of course, a considerable exchange of opinion between the followers of two creeds. Jogis of every kind used to frequently visit the khangah of Sheikh Farid-ud-din Shakar-i-Ganj. The mystics never indulged in manuzira or theological controversy of any sort. They never ran down Hinduism, not a single case of conversion or alternated conversion by a mystic Sheikh is recorded in reliable sources. A Muslim once brought his Hindu brother to Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya presumably, in hope that Sheikh would help in converting him but the Sheikh would have none of it. This was not his mission and he preferred to change the conversation. He remarked, “in the early days, conversion to Islam took place owing to the excellence of the Muslim character but where is that excellence now?”

India in the eleventh century was a country of fortified cities, town and of villages (mawas) and the control of higher classes over them was supreme and exclusive. The condition of the workers of the producing classes was tragic, restrictions were common to all of them and they were not allowed to live within the city walls or even within the fortified mawas. They could enter the gates at a fixed time to render their services and supply required commodities without which people could

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100. Ibid., p.76.
101. Ibid., p.77.
not exist. In contemporary Ajam students and teachers were recruited from all
classes while in India the doors of knowledge were closed to all persons not
belonging to the twice born caste and any attempt to cross the barriers was
severely punished. M. Habib writes “what is called the Muslim but is really the
Ghurian conquest of India meant two things--firstly, the substitution of the
Ghurian Turks for the Thakurs as the governing class. Secondly, the
enfranchisement of the Indian city workers, accompanies by a considerable land
slide among them towards the new faith.”

Demographic mobility further influenced the social mobility among various social
groups. In the vertical mobility, there was a considerable alteration in the rise or
decline of a person in terms of his economic and social status. He was noticed as
going down either to a lower level from his present position or climbing the ladder
to reach the position of eminence. One of the powerful factors for promoting the
social mobility was the Muslim social order which contrasted with the cast-ridden
social and legal structure of the India. The idea of social ‘oneness’ which was core
of the religious thoughts of the Muslims was a revolutionary force for promoting
the social mobility. In Islam, salvation was open to all. All the people high and low
assembled at the same place and prostrate alike before the unseen God. They dined
together and did not believe in the idea of theological contamination. Islam
rejected completely the idea of superior birth. The establishment of the Turkish
rule meant removal of all those disabilities and discriminations under which they
had suffered long. In new political order acquired the same rights in the law courts.
The new government refused to recognize any caste restriction or discrimination.
All the guilty persons were punished in a uniform manner based on the state
law. The new cities were thrown open for workers, artisans and Chandalas. The
city walls were constantly extended and within its fold all types of the people, high
and low built their houses and lived side by side without any stigma attaching to

102. Ibid., p.61.
103. Ibid., p.62.
104. H.C.Verma, op.cit., p.78.
105. K.A.Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics During the Thirteen Century, p.83.
106. Ibid., p.83.
anyone. The new cities were symbol of a new social order. Workers, laborer, artisans and non-caste groups fully benefitted and improved their social and economic position and finally resulted in upward mobility of this class.\textsuperscript{107}

It is noteworthy that the \textit{maqtab}s and \textit{madrasas} played an important role in enhancing the upward mobility. The doors of \textit{madrasas} were thrown open to all classes. For instance, the children of rustic and uncouth Afghan soldiers who were appointed by Balban at the \textit{thanas} along with the highway were benefitted from these civilizing institutions. The process of acculturation was set in motion among them and enabled the next generation of the Afghans to attain high positions under the Khalji and Tughlaq Sultans.

Although, there was opposition from a section of the ruling elite against the education of the low born Muslims, the condemnation of Ziya-ud-din Barani of the Indian converts to Islam or those who were descendants of the early converts have started competing with the members of aristocratic families. Therefore, Barani suggested that the children of the lowborn converts should not be admitted into \textit{madrasas} because the education would qualify them for the government jobs. Further, he says that only noble families had been chosen by God to rule mankind and that their existence was necessary for the maintenance of justice and stability in society.\textsuperscript{108}

Alberuni writes about the people called \textit{antyaja} who rendered various kinds of services and were not reckoned amongst any caste but only as members of certain crafts or professions. He further states, “there are eight classes of them who freely intermarry with each except the fuller, shoe-maker and weaver, for on others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds according to him are the fuller, shoemaker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of the wild animals and birds and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., pp.84-85.
outside them.”  

With the advent of Turks in the Punjab, the people of lower strata raised up in their social status. To meet the demands of the Sultans and their nobility, they found a suitable employment in the royal karkhanas for manufacturing of different kinds of goods for royal supplies. The nobles posted at provinces as governors maintained the karkhanas and made efforts to employ the master craftsmen to work there. Firuz Shah has surpassed in maintaining a large number of karkhanas in Delhi. Goldsmiths, gem-cutters, perfumers, artisans skilled at making different type of weapons and amours were employed in a large number. Master craftsmen trained thousands of slave boys in different crafts. Many slaves trained in the karkhanas attained important positions and actively participated in the politics of Delhi Sultanate. Therefore, the karkhana became one of the important institutions of foreign origin that served as important factor for social mobility.

The khanqahs of the Sufi saints also promoted the upward social mobility in the Punjab. Many Muslim saints had established their mystic centers in the Punjab. Baba Farid Ganj-Shakar had established a khanqah at Ajodhan and Ali Hujwari at Lahore in the Punjab. The non-caste people who constituted the majority of the population were denied to all amenities of civil life. They could not stay in the cities after sunset. They had no access to the temples and no sacred texts could be heard or recited by them. An analysis of the sites of the khanqahs of the Sufi saints reveals that most of them were established outside the caste cities in the midst of the lower sections of the population. The classless atmosphere of these khanqahs attracted despised section of society to its fold. All the discriminations and distinctions which the Hindu society had imposed upon them had no meaning here. All lived, slept and ate together in these khanqahs. The sacred books were open to all. These Sufi saints threw open their khanqahs to all sorts of men--rich and poor, high and low, town-folk, villagers and men and women. The distinction between the noble (sharif) and the lowborn (rizal) had no meaning to the mystics. Balban

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111. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, op.cit.,113-14.
might have refused to talk to low born persons in his court, he could dismiss them if so wished but when he visited the khanqah of saints he must have realized that there were places in his Sultanate where his position was not more exalted than that of ordinary human being.  

The revival of trade and commerce during the Sultanate period seems to have contributed towards greater social mobility in the Punjab. The trade attracted the enterprising people from higher as well as lower strata. Multani traders emerged into prominence in the Punjab. It was the traders and merchants of the Multan who gave its name to the whole community in the north India. They were made in charge of sarai-i-adal and were given financial support of twenty lac tankas for meeting the demands of the people in the geographical region in which market control policy operated. Some members of the aristocratic family preferred trade to state services. Whereas, the petty officials enriched themselves engaging in commerce. The brother of Malik Adhu Kansi, an important noble of Sultan Sikaner Lodhi who belonged to the town of Sikarpur in the Punjab travelled to Iran and Central Asia with the merchant caravan taking Indian products abroad and returned with the foreign merchandise.

Mahmud Ghazni appointed Hindu generals in his army such as Sondhi Rai, Biji Rai and Tilak as commander-in-chief of his army. He enlisted the Hindu interpreter like Bahram (Balram) and Surder in the nobility was finest examples of vertical mobility. In the same way with the establishment of Sultanate, new converted Muslims Imad-ud-din Rehan who belonged to Kaithal reached to the post of naib-i-mamlikat (deputy Sultan). It is more interesting that he secured this position by getting demission of Balban the great Khan of the Sultan Nasiruddin. The Khaljis had no pretension to noble lineage or past glory, during their period the doors of official opportunity were thrown open to all. No distinction was made on the basis of race birth and even creed for the government

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113. Ziya-ud-din Barani Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Hindi translated By S.A.A.Rizvi Khalji Kalin Bharat, pp.81-82.
115. K.S. LAl, Early Muslims in India, p. 137.
posts. Ham-ud-din Multani (malik-ul-Tujjars) the chief of merchants of the Punjab was entrusted with the office of Qazzat of the empire which was very important and lofty position and considered reserve for well established family of noble descent known for learning and religiosity. He had also served in the royal household as pardabar (in charge of curtains) and kuliddar (Keeper of the keys).

The contemporary Chisti Sufi Shaikh Nasir-ud-din had a better opinion of the same minister’s good qualities. He said that Himad-ud-din had been helpful to scholars and other deserving persons as sadr and performed the function of chief Justice with honesty and integrity. In short, the spread of education helped to undermine the social barriers created by Muslim immigrant families in the early days of the Delhi Sultanate. It promoted them for the higher ranks and proved prime stimulating factor of social mobility generally in India and particularly in Punjab. The Khokkars of the Punjab were appointed as officers and sawars by Ghiash-ud-din Tughluq in the Iqta of Dipalpur. They supported him in his struggle for the throne of Delhi against Khusrau Khan. The reign of Muhammad Tughlaq was marked by a remarkable example of upward mobility. Both Ibn Battuta and Barani mention many low-born persons whom Muhammad Tughluq raised to important positions in the empire. Ibn Battuta’s reference to Ratan a Hindu who was a barber by caste is of great significance. Despite of his low origin, he was appointed as a wali (governor) of Sindh with permission to have drums and flags a privilege accorded only to prominent nobles. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi shows how social mobility resulted from the Sultan’s attitude. Najib, the musician of obscure origin, was so much honored that he superseded the position and status of many of old nobles. He was assigned the charge of Gujrat, Multan and Badayan. He further says that Kishan Bazran of Indri who was mean of the meanest got the governorship of Awadh. Maqbal, a slave of Ahmad Ajaz, was entrusted with the

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119. Amir Khusrau, Tughlaq Nama, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, Khalji Kalin Bharat, p.188.  
120. Ibn Battuta, op.cit., English translated by Mehdi Husain, p.8  
governorship of Gujarat, an office meant for high nobles and prominent ministers. Isami would have believed us that the Sultan favored the Hindus because he was the enemy of Islam, therefore, subjected the Muslims everywhere to tyranny.\textsuperscript{122}

The emergence of the Afghans, Kalals, Araqians (liquor-brewers), Khatris and Kambos of the Punjab as prominent communities during the Sultanate period also provided insights into the social process at work.\textsuperscript{123} The Afghans seem to have settled in a large number in the northwest regions of the Punjab long before their conversion and annexation of their homeland by Mahmud Ghazni. They begin to enter the fold of Islam during the reign of Mahmud and by the close of the twelfth century, almost all the Afghan tribes seem to have converted. During the reign of Balban, a new generation of the Afghans brought up in the environment of the Delhi Sultanate came at scene. Balban entrusted them with the charge of newly established thanas around Delhi and the provincial armies, therefore, the numbers of the Afghan soldiers increased considerably. This improvement in their position has encouraged them to impart education to their children.\textsuperscript{124} As a result, the Afghans rose to the status of high nobles during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. Minhaj referred them as people known for their ferocity and rustic way. But during the Khalji period, the Afghans got aristocratic ways and competed with the members of old aristocratic families. Ibn Batutta, Barani and Isami furnished the details about the Afghans and showed that by then many of them had become cultured aristocrats and commanded respect in society for their services to the Sultanate.\textsuperscript{125} During the Tughlaq period, the Afghans had emerged as a new social group in the Sultanate. In Multan and Gujrat, they became so powerful that some of them began to aspire to the kingship. Even the suppression of their rebellions by

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\textsuperscript{122} I:\textit{bid.}, p.68.
\textsuperscript{123} I.H.Siddqui, \textit{op.cit.}, p.106.
\textsuperscript{124} Ziya-ud-din Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi} Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, \textit{Aadi Turk Kalin Bharat} , p.49.
\end{flushleft}
Muhammad Tughlaq in different provinces did not weaken their strength. They continued to hold important Iqtas and forts in the Delhi Sultanate.

Like the Kambos of Multan, the Khatris resided mostly in the Punjab also appeared to have emerged as an important new social group in the Sultanate during the fourteenth century. Having acquired proficiency in accountancy and arithmetic, they were employed in the revenue department. Many of them attained the position as finance officers along with the governors.

In the Punjab, the revenue department was mainly manned by the Khatri officials. Under Khizar Khan Saiyyad and his successor Mubark Shah, the Khatris enjoyed high position at Delhi. Similarly, they supervised the financial administration at the centre and in the provinces of the Punjab during the Lodhi period. Babur was surprised to see that all the revenue officials were Hindus. Hindu’s domination of revenue department seems to have caused resentment among the Muslim land grantees, for they were not expected to show any leniency in collecting state revenue at the time of harvest.

The Kalals (liquor brewers) seem to have prospered particularly because of the introduction of liquor distillation. Barani called them as khummars (wine makers) and araqis (distillers). Later medieval writers refer to them by their Hindustani caste name, Kalal. The wealth and prosperity acquired by the member of this caste seem to have led some of them to embrace the Islam.  

Shahu and Sadharan were the chaudhris in a village of the Thaneswar in which the kalals formed a dominant caste. But this local power had no use to them until they won the favor of Firuz Shah (then a prince) by marrying their sister to him and moving to capital. It was necessary for the court annalists of the Sultans to fabricate a genealogy which gave them the noble Rajput pedigree and secured from the stigma of low birth or at least attempted to do so. In this case, individual family secured the royal favor and a cultural transformation which won the acceptance in the ruling strata but the antecedents were useful as much as these

provided an affluent base from which the efforts could be made, likewise Sultan Sikander’s mother, as is well known, was drawn from the goldsmith caste.

Before the advent of the Turks, the distinctive features of society were the system of castes and sub-castes in which Brahmans were assigned the highest place right from the ancient time. Referring to the Brahmans, Alberuni says that the highest caste was of the Brahmans about whom the books of Hindus tell that they were created from the head of Brahma as Brahman is another name for the force called nature and his head is the highest part of animal body. The Brahmans are the choice part of the whole genius, therefore, Hindus consider them as the best of the mankind and religion was the exclusive monopoly of Brahmans. He not only administered to the religious needs of the people but also stood like an intermediate between God and man. With the establishment of Sultanate, a downward mobility was registered in the social status of the Brahmans in the Punjab. The rulers always consulted to Brahmans in all the important matters of the state such as declaring a war or committing a treaty. It was at the instance of the Brahman advisers that Raja Jaipal of Hindushahiya dynasty had refused to pay tribute to Subktigin and imprisoned the officials of the Sultan who were sent to recover the money. Ferishta writes that it was customary among the Rajas in affairs of movement to assemble a council consisting of an equal number of the most respectable Brahmans who sat right of the throne and of the noblest Kashtriayas who sat on the left. Social change occurred in material status of Brahmans as they were deprived of their royal patronage. Some of them shifted from the Punjab plains to the Punjab hills where they received the royal patronage of Rajput Rajas. Some of the Brahmans adopted the non-Brahmanical professions of trade and agriculture. For instance, Bohra the money lender of the Jamuna region had settled there from Marwar, originally belonged to the Brahman community notorious for unscrupulous rapacity. There was a rustic proverb bohra ki ram-ram aisa jam ka Sandesa. A Bohra’s good morning was like a message

128. Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Farishta English translate by Jhon Briggs, p.17.
129. 11 days from Brahmans, 13 from Kshatriaya, 16 from Vaisyas, 31 days for the Sudras i.e. during the period of impurity after the death.
from the angel of death.\textsuperscript{130} Though most of the Brahmans remained continue to work as priest in the temple, teacher in the \textit{pathshalas} and the family priest. A group of Brahmans is found in some parts of the Punjab who exercised the impure or inauspicious functions. Among them, the function of the \textit{Maha-Brahmans} or \textit{Acharaj} is to accept the offerings made on the name of deceased and these groups which accepted the offerings made within 13\textsuperscript{th} days of the death were excommunicated by the other Brahman groups. As a Brahmans visit the house at or after a death, his advent is considered inauspicious and his touch is pollution. After quitting the house by him, water in Multan charcoal etc. is scattered on the floor to avert after him.\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Dakaut} and new \textit{patre} Brahmans who receive all the unlucky offerings such as black things, dirty clothes, \textit{satnaja} (seven grains) oil, iron, goats, buffalos, especially on Wednesday and Saturday. No Hindu will eat any sort of food by their hands and at wedding they sit with the lower caste.\textsuperscript{132} The \textit{Dakauts} take offerings (\textit{dan}), alms (\textit{pun}) and also accept \textit{chhaya\textit{dans} made to \textit{sanicher} (Saturn), Ketu and Rahu. They beg on Saturdays receiving oil and coppers from the Hindus. These \textit{dans} are supposed to be \textit{karur} (hard, inauspicious) and bring evil influences on the recipients whence there is a the proverb “\textit{Kal Bagar se upje bura Brahmans se hoe}” means famine comes from the Beggar and evil is done by the Brahmans.\textsuperscript{133}

Before the advent of Turks in the India second important class was Kshatriya in the social order which were best represented by the Rajputs in the Punjab. They had all the privileges of the Brahmans except teaching and sacrificing. He enjoyed the right to learn the Vedas but not imparted instructions to them.\textsuperscript{134} The title of king appertained to the Kashtriyas. They had right to wield weapons for protecting the people likewise belonged to the caste only.\textsuperscript{135} With the advent of the Turks, the Rajputs declined socially and politically. Politically, they were replaced by the

\textsuperscript{130} H.A Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, p.115.
\textsuperscript{131} H.A Rose, \textit{op.cit.}, p.133.
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid.}, p.136.
\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.138-39.
\textsuperscript{134} B.P.Majmmdar, \textit{Socio-economic History of North India}, pp.95-96.
\textsuperscript{135} M.Habib and K.A. Nizami, \textit{Comprehensive History of India: Delhi Sultanate}, vol.v, pp.185-186.
new Turkish ruling class and socially, they were reckoned with the Jats. Denzil Ibbetson writes that the distinctions between the Jats and Rajputs were social rather than ethnic. He believes that those families of common stock whom the tide of fortune had raised to political importance, have become Rajputs. Their descendants have retained the title and its privileges by enforcing those rules, on which the higher are distinguished from the lower caste in Hindu scale of precedence; of preserving the purity of blood by avoiding to marry with families of inferior social rank, of rigidly abstaining from widow remarriage and refraining from degrade occupations. Those who transgressed these rules have fallen from the high position and ceased to be the Rajputs while such families as attaining a dominant position in their territory began to social exclusiveness and have become not only Rajas but also Rajputs.\(^{136}\)

He further says that in the plains of the Punjab, the Rajputs lost his status and had sunk in the social scale by allowing the practices of \emph{karewa} (widow remarriage) and numerous other. Jat traditions show the adoption of those customs which degraded the blue-blood Rajputs to Jat yeomen.\(^ {137}\)

Families who were lately known as the Rajputs which have sunk now are classed with the Jats. While the great ruling tribes, the Sial, Godal and Tiwana are commonly spoken as Rajputs and their smaller brethren as the Jats. The same tribe even is the Rajput in one region and the Jat in another, according to their positions among the local tribes. In the Salt Range the dominant tribes, the Janjuas and Manhas like are the Rajputs while all agricultural tribes of Indian origins who cannot establish their title of Rajput rank are the Jats. On the frontier, the Pathans and Biloches have overshadowed the Jats and Rajputs alike. Punwar and Tunwar, all the proudest tribes of the Rajputs have sunk to the level of the Jats for there can be no Rajput where there are no Rajas or traditions of Raja. ‘Rathi’ in eastern hills tract is a term which implies loss of status. They plough and cultivate land with

\(^{136}\) As quoted by H.A. Rose: \emph{op.cit.}, p.364.

\(^{137}\) \emph{Ibid.}, p.365.
their own hands and their rites at wedding or death are not according to the Shastra.138

Although, the Bhattis were exception, they showed upward mobility among the Rajput tribes. Early in the 15th century, the Bhattis under the command of chief, Rao Kalian had come to occupy a large tract along the Beas consisting of Asnikot, Kahror and Marot. Babur also mentioned a large tract on both sides of the Setluj in the possession of descendants of Rao Kalian. They gave their name to Bhattian and Bhattiorat tracts as well as to various places such as Batinda, Bhatner, Pindi Bhattian and possibly the Bhattiat in Chamba. Historically, the Bhattis first appear to be mentioned in Tarikh-i- Firuzshahi of Shams-i-Siraj Afif.

During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji, Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq appointed the iqta of Dipalpur, of which Abohar was a dependency. All the Jungles of Abohar belonged to Bhatti tribes. Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq, anxious to ally his family with the native chiefs, heard that the daughters of Rana Mall Bhatti were beautiful and accomplished, therefore, he sent the amaladar of Abohar to negotiate the alliance of one of them with his brother, Rajab. In his pride, Rana rejected these overtures and then Tughlaq proceeded to levy the outstanding revenue from Talwandi of the Bhattis with great severity. Rana’s daughter, Bibi Naila, hearing of this, urged her own surrender. ‘Consider’, she said, ‘the Mongols have carried of one of your daughters.’ She was accordingly married to Rajab, assumed the name of Bibi Kadbanu and became the mother of Firuz Shah in 1309 C.E.139

In 1394 C.E., Rai Daljit Bhatti of Bhatnar and Rai Daud Kamal-ud-din, assisted Sarang Khan in suppressing the rebellion of Shaikha Khokhar.140 In 1398 C.E, one reads that Rai Kamal-ud-din and Rai Khul Chand Bhatti were the muqtis of iqta lying near Samana.

138. Ibid., p.281.
139. Shams Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, Tughlaq Kalin Bharat , vol.ii., p.54.
140. Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, Tarikh-i-MubarkShahi, English translated by Henry Bevridge, p.165.
Timur attacked Bhatnar where the fugitives of Dipalpur and Pakpattan had taken refuge. The ruler of Bhatnar, Rao Dul Chand, was a Rajput and probably a Bhatti. Curiously enough, he is represented having a brother named Kamal-ud-din.\textsuperscript{141} During the reign of Akbar, \textit{Ain-i-Akbari} corroborates the location of the Bhattis as the \textit{zamidar} in a number of \textit{parganas} under the \textit{sarkar} of Dipalpur and Multan.

The Jats showed upward social mobility in the Punjab, as we have mentioned earlier that the Jats were living in many restrictions under the Chach dynasty but with course of the time, they began to move up the social ladder. Their subsequent transformation from pastoral to an agriculturist society took place in course of the next four centuries and they became political assertive of time. The Jat revolt against Mahmud Ghazni in 1025 C.E. is indication of the fact that they have gained importance.\textsuperscript{142} The Jats under Tilak hunted down Ahmad, the rebel governor of Multan at Mihran of Sindh, for this they received 100,000 \textit{dirhams} as a reward.\textsuperscript{143}

By the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Jats were settled not only as peasants but also as \textit{zamindars} in a large number of \textit{parganas} in the Punjab. Irfan Habib attributed this transformation to the introduction of the Persian wheel in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{144} The process of sanskritization began in this community and they often emerged almost equally to the Rajputs.

In many cases the Jat tribes could point to the Rajput tribe from where it sprang. For example, the Bhatti Rajput descent is claimed by Dhariwal, Randhawa, Sara, and Sidhu, the Chouhan Rajput descent by Ahlawat, Bajwa, Chatta, Chima, Dehia, Jakhar, Marral, Sargwan, and Sohal; the Puwar Rajput descent by Kharral, Harral, and Sarai; the Tunwar by Dhankar, Rathi, and the Sahrawat and Rathor by Dalal and Deshwal.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{141} Muhammad Habib and Kaliq Ahmad Nizami, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.120-21.
\textsuperscript{142} I.H.Siddiqui, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.3-4.
\textsuperscript{143} H.M.Elliot and J. Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, vol.ii,p.133.
\textsuperscript{144} Irfan Habib, \textit{Jatts in Medieval Punjab}, p.68.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., p.371
A demographic pattern emerged in the Punjab in the period under study. The devastating activities of the Mongol in the Central Asia and the policy of benevolence adopted by the Tughlaq Sultans towards the immigrants resulted in the immigration of huge mass of foreign population towards the Punjab. The Turks, Khaljis, Tughlaqs, Afghans, etc. became a part of demographic pattern. A new element of Indian Muslims was also added through different ways of conversion. Demographic mobility further led to social mobility along with some other factors such as new Islamic concept of equality, Sufi khanqahs, karkhanas, and new economic and social conditions. Some groups and tribes like Khatris, Kambohs, Afghans and Jats showed upward mobility while some others such as Brahmans and Rajputs moved downwards.