SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE REGION

In this chapter, an attempt is being made to sketch the social composition on the basis of evidences available in Persian chronicles, travelers' account, local sources along with Settlement Reports, Gazetteers and earliest Census Reports. W. H. Moreland\(^1\) was the first to suggest the population estimates for the Akbar's empire. Kingsley Davis\(^2\), Ashok V. Desai,\(^3\) Irfan Habib\(^4\) and Shireen Moosvi\(^5\) made certain modifications to the Moreland's estimate by adopting different methods. The basis for their estimates remained either the figures provided in the "Account of Twelve Provinces" in the Ain-i-Akbari\(^6\) or the demographic data available in the Settlement Reports and Census Reports. By and large the estimates computed by them relate to c. 1600. For years earlier to c. 1600, we lack even indirect references in order to attempt any guesstimate.

Though Moreland, Irfan Habib and Shireen Moosvi's estimates differ in size of population for c.1600, their primary base is assumption which is the measured area of the Ain that represented the size of cultivated area. Since

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\(^1\) W. H. Moreland, India At The Death of Akbar, pp. 9-22.
\(^6\) Ain-i-Akbari, (tr.), II, pp. 219-417.
we have shown our reservation on this and have said that roughly about fifty percent of the Ain’s measured area was under cultivation the estimates of the above scholars appear to be highly inflated. Haryana being a small region contained comparatively small ratio of persons to that of Akbar’s empire population. No attempt is however made here in this regard due to paucity of complete data.

The Ain-i-Akbari mentions only the caste names of zamindar class, which can not be taken to demarcate the caste groups of the region. We have therefore found it much easier to find the size of rural population by putting them under two categories — traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes, (see Appendix V-A). Under the traditional castes following groups have been included: Gujar, Jat, Ahir, Thathar, Meo, Gond, Dhuna, Dadbhalsa and under the non-traditional cultivating castes are Rajput, Afghan, Ranghar, Taga, Musalman (Khaildar), Sayyid, Malikzadah, Bakkal, Lohani, Multani, Khanzada, KyamKhani, Brahman etc.

Many of these traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes do find mention in pre Ain-i-Akbari sources. However, these do not record them as zamindar class as in case of Ain-i-Akbari. Their mention in Ain indicates them as the residents of Haryana territory and also their status in the caste hierarchy.

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7 W. H. Moreland, India At The Death of Akbar, pp. 20-21.
The presence of two occupational classes is further confirmed in the Memorandum of late eighteenth century⁸ and Settlement Reports of various districts during nineteenth century. If the accounts of pre-Mughal sources, Ain-i-Akbari, Memorandum and account of Denzil Ibbeston (for 1881)⁹ are taken together and a comparison is drawn, then we can have some idea of caste structure of the Haryana region. This comparison reveals the changes which occurred during the study period among the zamindar classes. The Memorandum and the account of Denzil Ibbeston in particular reveal the addition to the zamindar class throughout the study period. The Memorandum has limitations, as it deals only with the eastern territory of Haryana region along the Delhi-Kabul route and shows the existence of Sikh zamindars in the surroundings of Shahabad and Kurukshetra/Thanesar. It is account of Denzil Ibbeston, which clearly establishes the location of zamindar class in various pockets of the Haryana region.

Based on appendix V-A traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes seem to be the permanent population in urban settlements as well as rural settlements. However, the percentage in rural settlements was larger. The proprietors of large land holdings possibly stayed in fortified structures. These zamindar castes were accompanied by other castes, which fall in lower

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⁸ Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Kadir Khan, 'Memorandum of Route between Delhi and Cabul', pp. 15-18.
⁹ See Denzil Ibbeston, Panjab Castes, (whole book)
hierarchy and do not find mention in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but sometimes reference to them is made in other contemporary sources.

The percentage of the superior rights holders worked out on the basis of the *Ain-i-Akbari* does not necessarily mean that the mentioned castes had enjoyed proprietary rights over land in the same percentage. Many of the proprietary right holders simply paid their revenue to the *zamindars* of their localities. They were thus lower in social and economic hierarchy. Such persons are referred in sources as the *khud kasht* and the *pahi kasht*. The scholars\(^\text{10}\) have offered explanations to these and suggests the existence of lesser traditional and non-traditional cultivating castes. A *khud kasht*, was the cultivator who had his own land either under a *zamindar* or in independent capacity. He enjoyed the proprietary rights and helped the state in the collection of revenue. It is defined in Khwaja Yassin's *Glossary* as 'one who having paid himself the money 'zar' for the (purchase) of oxen etc., gets the cultivation done by the peasants... (riyaya)... that is one who has a house in the land of his *zamindari* and who engages in cultivation there, is called

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*khud kasht*.11 These *khud kasht* cultivators acted as intermediaries. Their position depended upon their land holdings. The next in hierarchy were the *pahi kasht*. The *pahi kasht* was a resident in one village but cultivated another person’s land located in the different *zamindari* jurisdiction.12 Though our sources are silent for these two categories for the Haryana region however, the possibility of existence of these categories can not be ruled out. The *pahi kasht* probably cultivated for the non-traditional cultivating *zamindars*.13 Besides the *pahi kasht*, there was other category of cultivator, who cultivated the land in the same village, but did not have land of their own. These landless cultivators belonged to the lowest stratum of the village society.

During medieval times liberal grants were given to religious persons, men of knowledge and learning, persons of noble lineage, destitutes etc. These grants were known as *wazifa* or *madad-i-maash*. These were both in cash and grants. *Ain* gives us the account of the *suyurghal* grants. Appendix

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V- B gives account of percentage of the suyurghal grants of various parganas of the sarkars of the Haryana territory in c. 1595. Accordingly 6.58 percentage of jama of Haryana territory constituted the suyurghal grants. The maximum grants were made in sarkar Delhi, i.e., 11.28%, followed by sarkar Sirhind, i.e. 9.49%, sarkar Sahar, i.e. 4.41%, sarkar Tijara, i.e. 4.44%; sarkar Narnaul, i.e. 3.12%; sarkar Hissar-i-Firuza, i.e. 2.78%; sarkar Rewari, i.e. 2.34%; and sarkar Alwar i.e. 1.88%.

Such grants were common during pre-Mughal times as well. We have one instance in case of pargana Thanesar of sarkar Sirhind during the reign of Tughlaqs'. References about specific grants are also available. Thus during Akbar's regime, 100 bighas of cultivable land was granted as madad-i-maash to mujawirs of the shrine Makhdum Mujdud Din Haji, thirty bighas were granted to one Adar Banu for her maintenance during the reign of Jahangir in pargana Panipat of sarkar Delhi through a firman. This was reconfirmed by another firman in 1623. The other firman dated 1622-23 confirmed the grant of 130 bighas to one Amina in pargana Panipat. Amina is recorded as the daughter of Shaykh Abdur Rahim. The firman of

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16 ibid., p. 100 Also IHRC, XIII, p. 162; the date of firman is 13th August, 1616.
17 ibid., p. 124; also see Faramian-i-Salatin, pp. 48-50.
18 ibid., p. 123.
19 ibid.
Jahangir\textsuperscript{20} of 1623 in case of Banu ordered the officials to measure and consolidate the land and deliver its possession to the grantees.\textsuperscript{21} In this firman, the state officials were instructed not to impose taxes like peshkash, jaribana, muhassilana, zakitana, mihrana, daroghana, begar, shikar, dehnimi, muquddami, sad-doi, qanungoi etc. For this it is not clear, whether such exemptions covered the entire grant or were applicable to the part of land, which was given out of the uncultivated part. In all likelihood, exemptions covered the uncultivated part of the land in the grant, while the cultivators continued to pay the above charges to respective officials along with state demand to the grantees. The cases of 

\begin{itemize}
\item pargana Thanesar and Panipat too suggests that such grants were made to religious persons or their descendants or some times to destitutes.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{itemize}

The \textit{suyurghal} amount should be much higher than mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{23} Apparently, the figures in appendix V- B are against the estimated jama and do not include part of the grants on uncultivable waste which was kept at fifty percent.\textsuperscript{24} This would double the amount of \textit{suyurghal} available to us for various \textit{parganas} of Haryana territory as 30,315,324 dams.

Section of people identified with Mewat region are called as Mewatis who occupied prominent position in the sources. Both Minhaj and Barani

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} ibid., p. 124.
\item \textsuperscript{21} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{22} ibid., pp.123-24.
\item \textsuperscript{23} For explanation see K. K. Trivedi, \textit{Agra ; Economic and Political Profile}, p. 97.
\item \textsuperscript{24} ibid.
\end{itemize}
records them near Delhi in south Haryana.25 Though they are not recorded as cultivating castes, rather as recalcitrants. However the possibility of their being cultivators and permanent settlers can not be ruled out. The second reference is made towards Jats and Gujars who migrated from the adjoining provinces of Sind, Panjab and the Rajputana to the present territory of Haryana.26 The Ahirs which were located pre-dominantly in sarkar Rewari, trace their origin from Yaduvanshis and got settled as cultivators in the Haryana territory before the advent of Turks.27 The various Rajput clans similarly establish their claim in the region.28 The region traces the existence of Khanzadas, Sayyids, Pirzadas, Shaikhzadas, KyamKhanis etc.

Jats seem to be most dominant traditional cultivating caste. Like the Rajputs, they are also divided into various clans and trace their origin either based on traditions or place names. Ain-i-Akbari gives names of a few.29 Jats were mainly located in proper Haryana tract. However few could be found both in Bhattiana and Mewat tracts as well.

25 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (tr.), pp. 850-51; Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 55-56 and (tr.) in Tuglaq Kalin Bharat, II, pp. 163-64.
27 Denzil Ibbeston, Panjab Castes, pp. 202-03.
The first historical account of Jats is traceable in the description of Hieun Tsang in Sind during seventy century A.D.\textsuperscript{30} For him, these people were engaged in tending cattles.\textsuperscript{31} The description reveals that they were the pastoral communities. The Jats are further identified in \textit{Chachnama} during eighth century AD\textsuperscript{32} They were found as soldiers and boatman.\textsuperscript{33} The time of migration of Jats towards Punjab and Haryana from Sind is not available in any source. However, Al-Beruni identifies them as cattle owners in the Lahore area during eleventh century.\textsuperscript{34} The Sultanate sources are silent on the existence of Jats either in Punjab or Haryana territory. It is \textit{Baburnama}\textsuperscript{35} which traces their existence along with Jud and Janjuha tribes, Gujars and others in the surroundings of Nilab and Bihra mountains during 1519. Babur further records them in 1525 along with Gujars in the vicinity of Sialkot.\textsuperscript{36} He records this in the following words: ‘...if one go into Hindostan, the Jats and Gujars always pour down in countless hoards from hill and plains for loot in bullock and buffalo... and stripped them bare’.\textsuperscript{37} This information is confirmed in \textit{Tabaqat-i-Akbari} as well.\textsuperscript{38} Badaoni records their presence in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} S. Beal, \textit{Buddhist Records of the Western World}, II, p. 252. as cited in Irfan Habib, ‘Jatts of Panjab and Sind’, p.94.
\item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{ibid}.
\item \textsuperscript{33} \textit{ibid.}, pp. 121 and 139 as cited in Irfan Habib, ‘Jatts of Panjab and Sind’, pp. 95 & 102.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Al-Beruni’s \textit{India}, (ed.) and (tr.), E. Sachau, I, 401.
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Baburnama}. (tr.), p. 387.
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{ibid.}, p. 454.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{ibid}.
\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Tabaqat-i-Akbari}. (tr.), II, pp. 265-66.
\end{itemize}

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1573-74 in the vicinity of Shergarh close to Dipalpur.\textsuperscript{39} They are also referred by Siddi Ali Reis, a Turkish traveler of the sixteenth century in Multan.\textsuperscript{40} It is \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, which finally records them in the Haryana territory of south Punjab and cis-Sutlej areas of sarkar Sirhind and sarkar Hissar-i-Firuza.\textsuperscript{41}

The transformations, which took place during the gap of five hundred years reveal that the Jats initially were of pastoral community who changed into agriculturists par excellence. They are traced in the following \textit{parganas} in the \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}.\textsuperscript{42}

- \textit{Sarkar Delhi} : Jhajjar, Rohtak, Sonepat, Safedon, Kharkaunda, Mandhauti.
- \textit{Sarkar Rewari} : Bawal, Pataudi, Rewari
- \textit{Sarkar Sirhind} : Thanesar, Khizrabad, Guhram, Doral.
- \textit{Sarkar Narnaul} : Chal Kalinah, Kanodah, Khodan
- \textit{Sarkar Sahar} : Bandhauli, Nunhera, Hodal

\textsuperscript{39} Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, (tr.), III, pp. 80-81.
\textsuperscript{40} Siddi Ali Reis, \textit{The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Reis in India, Afganistan, Central Asia and Persia During the Years 1553-56}, (tr.) A. Vembery, London, 1899, pp. 44-45.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}, I, pp. 526-27 and (tr.) II. pp. 298-300.
\textsuperscript{42} ibid., I, pp. 453, 518-20, 526-27 and (tr.) II, pp. 203-06, 291-93 and 298-301. (The amount of revenue supports this argument for various \textit{parganas})
Being the cultivators they are identified as lower caste *vaishya* in the caste hierarchy by the author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*.43 The late nineteenth century source *Karnama-i-Rajputan* throws light on their history and spread.44 It also puts forth their origin from Yadavs or Rajputs.45 However, nothing with certainty can be stated as this is based on traditions. It traces their historical past since pre-Turkish period to post-Aurangzeb period.46 During post-Aurangzeb period, the Jats laid foundation of independent principalities at Patiala, Kapurthala, Bhartpur, Dholpur etc.47

Denial Ibbeston has put an opinion regarding the increase in number of Jats for the following reason: 'a continuous influx into the ranks of Jats, as men of other castes took to agriculture, and in course of time designated themselves as Jats by virtue of their profession'.48 *Ain-i-Akbari* records various clans as Halu, Sangwan, Seron, Punya, Jat, etc. It is difficult to provide their hierarchy.

Jats remained pre-dominantly engaged in agrarian activity, but the possibility of their stay in *qasbas* and *pargana* headquarters can not be ruled out. It is mere speculation that the lesser peasants in the lean season might have moved in search of employment to the *pargana* headquarters or *sarkar*
headquarters, and joined the imperial forces. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the list of retainers both infantry and cavalry under the Jat *zamindars*. If we consider retainers in the Jat *zamindar* area, the figures are as follows: 560 for cavalry and 19,400 for infantry (based on appendix V-C).

The Rajputs were the non-traditional cultivating castes in many *parganas* of Haryana region.\(^{49}\) Various clans have been recorded in *Ain-i-Akbari* (see appendix V-A). The other clans which are not referred in particular are identified as Rajputs in general.

Chauhans find mention since the pre-Turkish period.\(^{50}\) Their presence was felt in the battle of Tarain during 1191 and 1192 AD.\(^{51}\) Later Aibak and Ilutmish and other Sultans faced Chauhan resistance at places like Hansi, Sirsa etc.\(^{52}\) Denzil Ibbeston identifies them as one of the Agnikula tribes.\(^{53}\) They are one among the thirty six royal families. Their seat was originally located at Ajmer and Sambhar in Rajputana.\(^{54}\)

Tonwars were from the thirty six royal clans.\(^{55}\) The location of Tonwars in *Ain-i-Akbari* and Denzil Ibbeston are identical for Haryana region. The

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\(^{51}\) *Futuh-us-Salatin*, (tr.) I pp. 141-42.

\(^{52}\) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (tr.) I, pp. 468-69 & 491.


\(^{54}\) *ibid*.

\(^{55}\) *ibid*. 

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Jatus of Haryana also belong to Tonwar clan. Similarly, Rathor Rajputs too belong to the thirty six royal clans. The seat of power was originally located at Kannauj. It is not clear at what point of time they migrated to various pockets of Haryana. Their probability of being in the services of Mughal state and imperial forces exist.

The Joiyas were originally located in Bikaner pargana of Rajasthan provinces. They migrated towards western extremities of Haryana region and are identified as settled in pargana Sirsa. They remained in conflict with the local people. One of the nishan is of prince Khurram confirms their presence in Sirsa, dated March, 1614 A. D. This nishan reads as:

...addressed to Rai Suraj Singh, states, that there was dispute regarding the boundary line of the parganas of Sirsa and Bhatner (Bhatnair) some time back. The dispute has now been settled, since the son of Rai Barat Chand, accompanied by Sundar Das, the tax collector of Sirsa and demarcated the boundary line in the presence of people there. The son of Rai Barat Chand has recovered the revenue of the land situated in pargana Sirsa from Bhara Jaya (Joya) and Bhadhur Jaya (Joya) who had seized the said land. The revenue thus realised has been handed over to Sundar Das, karori of Sirsa. As the said pargana has been conferred upon him (addresses) in jagir, it is his duty to collect the revenue of the land from the persons referred to above and deposit it with Nawroj Beg, the karori of

56 ibid... p. 136.
57 ibid., p. 137.
58 ibid., pp. 113 & 146. (They are identified as Rajputs and are recorded as one of the 36 royal races among Rajputs. They are found in Haryana, Bhatnair, Bhattiana, and Nagor. Their ancient seat is in Bikaner, on the bed of old Ghaggar just below Bhatnair. The Joiyas of Sirsa in Hisar District traces their origin from Bhatnair)
Sirsa. Now all the government dues are to be received from them. It bears the seal of Prince Khurram.\textsuperscript{60}

Their presence is further confirmed through firman of emperor Jahangir dated 28\textsuperscript{th} June, 1623.\textsuperscript{61} This firman is regarding the settlement of dispute between Khandot and Joyas of pargana Bhatnair and local people of Sirsa.

The firman reads as:

...addressed to Raja Sur (Singh), states that Behzad and Ala-ud-din, while coming form Sirsa, lodged complaint in the court to the effect that Askaran, Kesho Das and others of the Khandot and Joya clans of the pargana Bhatner (Bhatnair), had raided and looted their villages and murdered Rai Jallu and others. Orders him (addresses) to punish the miscreants and recover the looted property from them and return it to the owners.

Ranghar /Rangar Rajputs are recorded as the muslim Rajputs,\textsuperscript{62} who were settled in the entire 'Haryana proper tract'.\textsuperscript{63} Bhattis traces their origin from Bhatnair and were next to Hindu Rajputs.\textsuperscript{64} The region inhabited by them is now popularly identified as 'Bhattiana tract'. However, in c. 1595, they were located in Dorala pargana of sarkar Sirhind.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{60} Descriptive list of Firmans, Mansurs and Nishans p. 25 in S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, 1526-1627, pp. 90-91.

\textsuperscript{61} ibid., p. 51 and S. A. I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents 1526-1627, pp. 123-24.

\textsuperscript{62} Denzil Ibbeston, Panjab Castes, p. 137.

\textsuperscript{63} Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp. 453-55, 518-20 and 525-27, (tr.) II, pp. 203-06, 251-93 and 298-301.

\textsuperscript{64} Denzil Ibbeston, Panjab Castes, pp. 144-46.

\textsuperscript{65} Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 527 and (tr.) II, p. 301.
Besides these Rajput clans of *Ain-i-Akbari*, mention of Mandhar Rajputs is found in *Baburnama*. Babur while returning from Lahore received complaint from the *qazi* of Samana against Mohan Mandhar (Mundahir) Rajput, who had attacked the village of the *qazi* and killed his son. Mohan Mandhar is identified to be located in *pargana* Kaithal. Babur sent expeditions against him. According to Denzil Ibbeston, during nineteenth century the Mandhars were dominant in the region of *pargana* Jind and Asandh of the 'proper Haryana tract'. Probably the Mandhars of *pargana* Kaithal spread in other parts of Haryana proper tract during the succeeding years.

Among the muslim non-traditional cultivating castes were Afghans, Sayyids, Malikzadas, Khanzadas, Meos, KyamKhanis etc. The survey of *suba* Delhi and Agra comprising Haryana territory reveals:

i) Afghans were located in *pargana* Sonepat and Panipat of *sarkar* Delhi; *pargana* Chahta of *sarkar* Sirhind and Narhar of *sarkar* Narnaul.

ii) Sayyids were located in *pargana* Barwala of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza.

iii) Malikzadas in *pargana* Barwala of *sarkar* Hissar-i-Firuza.

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66 *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 700-701.
iv) Khanzadas in *parganas* of *sarkar* Tijara and in *parganas* Indri Ujinah, Bisru, Kotla, Jabalpur and Ismailpur of *sarkar* Alwar.

v) Meos were located in *parganas* of Bisru, Tijara, Khanpur, Firuzpur, Ghasera, Nagina of *sarkar* Tijara; Koh Mujahid and Kamah of *sarkar* Sahar and Harsauli and Jalalpur of *sarkar* Alwar.

vi) KyamKhanis in *pargana* Narhar of *sarkar* Narnaul.

vii) Beside these, mention to Khaildar who were muslims in *pargana* Taoru of *sarkar* Rewari is available. However, their identity is not otherwise established.

viii) Reference to Pirzadas is also found in the *sanad* of Akbar. They do not find reference as *zamindar* caste in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In contemporary times, they were lesser cultivators, who were located in *pargana* Dhatart of *sarkar* Hisssar-i-Firuza.

The Afghans, Sayyids, Malikzadas etc. were muslims by origin and settled in the Haryana territory since the eleventh century. While the

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68 *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 525 and (tr.), II p. 298.
69 Lieut. Yule, 'A Canal Act of the Emperor Akbar, with some notes and remarks on the History of the Western Jamuna Canals', *JASB*, XV, 1846, p. 213, (It is however not clear form the *sanad* that Pirzadas were the cultivators of which category during the contemporary times. But the possession of *sanad* with Abdul Samad and Abdul Mustakim Pirzadah suggests them belonging to the muslim non-traditional cultivating caste.)
Khanzadas, Meos and KyamKhanis were the converts from the Rajputs and otherwise. We will trace their identity based on contemporary sources and sources of the nineteenth century.

The Meos emerge as third largest revenue payer in the region, c.1600. Main parganas were in sarkar Tijara, Sahar and Alwar of south Haryana. According to traditions, they originated from Raja Basu and mermaid but the later sources establish them part of Mina tribe, or the offsprings of Mina and Rajputs. However, they are first traced in the account of Minhaj-us Siraj and later by Barani. The Meos remained troublesome for Delhi Sultans during thirteenth century and afterwards. Balban took numerous expeditions against them in Delhi surroundings. They were converted to Islam by one Shahid Salar of Baharaich. They organised themselves as Meo Chattri. According to the author of Tarikh-i-Meo Chattri, they were converted to Islam during the reign of Tughlaq Sultan. However the

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70 James Skinner, Tashrih-al-Aqwam, Br. Add. 27, 255, I, ff. 71-75 (photocopy in the Dept. of History, AMU, Aligarh); also see K. K. Trivedi, Agra : Economic and Political Profile., pp. 115 & 128.
72 Karnama-i-Rajputan, (Urdu text), p. 345.
73 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (tr.), pp. 850-51.
74 Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 55-56.
75 Alexendar Cunningham, ASIR, XX, pp. 22-23.
76 Hakim Abdul Shakur, Tarikh-i-Meo Chhatri, Gurgaon, 1974, p. 113.
contemporary sources refer to them as Mewatis.\textsuperscript{77} Abul Fazl records them as Mewrah, the natives of Mewat.\textsuperscript{78} During sixteenth century, they remained famous as runners and were employed by Akbar as dak-Mewrah's.\textsuperscript{79} Their number is given as one thousand.\textsuperscript{80}

We do not find the name of the leaders of the Meos in contemporary sources, but their reference together with Khanzadas suggests that Khanzadas probably were their leaders.\textsuperscript{81} According to Meo traditions one Todar Mal, who lived at Ajangarh in Alwar was their leader. He came in conflict with Akbar. Akbar sent expeditions against him under Bada Rao Mina for the collection of revenue.\textsuperscript{82} However, Todar Mal settled the dispute for the half of the amount of revenue.\textsuperscript{83} Todar Mal’s son Darya Khan, according to same tradition, joined the Mughal service. However this is not

\textsuperscript{77} Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, (tr.) K.K. Basu, pp. 209-11. (It does not confirms them as Meos in particular. The other inhabitants of Mewat are also identified as Mewatis. Karmama-i-Rajputan, p. 345 describes them along with Khanzadas. The Meo remained in close association with Khanzadas). Also see Alexendar Cunningham, ASIR, XX, pp. III-IV.

\textsuperscript{78} ibid.; Alexendar Cunningham, ASIR, XX, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{79} Ain-i-Akbari, (tr.) 1, P. 262, Also see Alexendar Cunnigham, ASIR, XX, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{80} ibid.

\textsuperscript{81} Karnama-i-Rajputan, (Urdu text), p. 345.

\textsuperscript{82} Alexendar Cunnigham, ASIR, XX p. 26. (This piece of information is based on the bards saying among the Meos, Known as Mirasis, Todar Mal was the zamindar of Ajangarh, an old fort on the hill, Todar Mal used to repeat the following verse :

'Panch Pahar ka rajahi, aur puro tero doll
Adha Akbar Badshah, adhah pahet Todar Malls'

\textsuperscript{83} ibid.

\textsuperscript{84} ibid.
confirmed by any of the contemporary sources. *Ain* records them as the *zamindars* against *parganas* of Tijara, Sahar and Alwar.

The Khanzadas are recorded to be found in the *parganas* of Indri, Ujinah, Bisru, Kotla of *sarkar* Tijara; Jalalpur and Ismailpur in *sarkar* Alwar.\(^{85}\) However reference to them is made in *Baburnama* as well at an earlier date.\(^{86}\) According to the post Mughal sources, *Arjang-i-Tijarah* and *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, the Khanzadas claim their origin from the Jadon clan of Rajputs, who were settled in the Thangarh fort of *sarkar* Alwar\(^{87}\) i.e. in present Rajasthan province. It was during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, that the descendents of Lakhanpala, Sambhar Pala and Sopar Pal embraced Islam and took the name Nahar Khan and Jhajjar Khan respectively.\(^{88}\) The historical account does not refer much about Jhajjar Khan, whereas descendents of Nahar Khan find frequent mention. They spread in the area covered by the *parganas* of *sarkars* Delhi and Rewari in *suba* Delhi and that of *parganas* Tijara, Sahar, Alwar and Agra of *suba* Agra.\(^{89}\) This area has been recorded in contemporary sources as Mewat tract.\(^{90}\)

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\(^{85}\) *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 451-453 and (tr.) II, pp. 202-04

\(^{86}\) *Baburnama*, (tr.), pp. 545, 547, 551, 577-81


\(^{88}\) *ibid.*, p.8; *Karnama-i-Rajputan*, p. 345; also see Alexendar Cunnigham, *ASIR*, XX, pp. 10-11.


\(^{90}\) *ibid.*
Nahar Khan, popularly known as Bahadur Khan or Bahadur Nahar, played a vital role in the post Firuz Shah period. His name appears before and after Timur's invasion (1398), being actively involved in the politics of Delhi. Later his successors caused trouble for the Delhi Sultans. However, they were reduced by the royal forces. During the time of the Lodhis, Khanzadas did not maintain good relations and therefore lost some of their possessions. Still later, they sided with Rana Sanga against Babur in the battle of Khanwa, and therefore had bitter relations with the Mughals. Their leader at this point of time was Hasan Khan Mewati, who was killed in the battle. They are recorded as the zamindars in the parganas of sarkar Tijara and Alwar only. The Khanzadas do not find any mention as mansabdars either under Akbar or Jahangir. However, under Shahjahan, one Firuz Khan Mewati's name appears in the imperial services. During the war of successions Feroz Khan is reported to have left the camp of the Prince Dara Shikoh and joined the services of Aurangzeb. He is recorded as to be

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91 Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, (tr.), pp. 149-50, 154, 157, 159, 162, 172-74, 186 & 198.
92 ibid., pp. 172-73 & 210n.
93 ibid., pp. 212-213, 235.
95 Baburnama, (tr.) pp. 545, 547, 551, 562, 577-81; Arjang-i-Trjarah, pp 17-18 as cited in K. K. Trivedi, Agra : Economic and Political Profile, pp. 115 & 128.
96 ibid.,

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enrolled under Auraungzeb in the rank of 1500/1000.99 Similarly his son Purdil Khan also remained in the service of Aurangzeb.100 Thus a brief account of Khanzadas suggests that they belonged to the class of local land magnates.

KyamKhanis though recorded only in the pargana Narhar of sarkar Narnaul in Haryana region as zamindar class,101 however played significant role in pre-Mughal times in the polity of Delhi Sultanate. Kyam Khan Rasa of Jan kavi gives insight of the contemporary times.102 Kyam Khanis trace their origin from Karam Chand Chauhan Rajput,103 who was popularly known as Qyam Khan, who was converted to Islam by Sultan Firuz Shah.104 The education and military training was imparted to him at Hissar-i-Firuza which was founded by Sultan himself.105 Qyam Khan remained influential during the reign of successor of Firuz Shah.106 He first came in conflict with Khizr Khan (Sayyid) and later supported him in his effort in the conquest of

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99 Alamgirnama, pp. 96 and 440 also see K. K. Trivedi, Agra : Economic and Political Profile pp. 115 & 128.
100 Tazkirat-ul-Umara of Kewal Ram, p. 34.
101 Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp. 453-54 and (tr.) II, pp. 204-05.
103 ibid., (text), p. 11 and verses, 120-122; Karam Chand was the son of Mota Ram Rai Rajput who was a Chauhan. See verses 85-119 and pp. 8-11 of the text Kyam Khana Rasa.
104 ibid., (text), p. 12 and verse 132.
105 ibid., (text), pp. 12-14 and verses 136-60.
106 ibid., (text), pp. 15-16 and verse 175, though there is no supportive evidence to show that such an officer existed under Firuz Shah.
Delhi and other places.\textsuperscript{107} Qyam Khan died at the age of ninety five.\textsuperscript{108} His successors were based at Hissar-i-Firuza\textsuperscript{109} and Hansi,\textsuperscript{110} and commanded influence in Haryana region along with Nagor of Rajasthan Province. The Successor of Qyam Khan, Fath Khan received favours from Sultan Bahlul Lodhi.\textsuperscript{111} However his relationship with the sultan deteriorated over some issue of marriage. He then never visited Delhi till his death.\textsuperscript{112}

\textit{Kyam Khan Rasa} records the Valour of KyamKhanis under the Mughals. Kyam Khanis were mainly based at Fatahpur in Rajasthan. However their kinsmen continued to stay in Haryana region. They received \textit{mansab}, titles and \textit{jagirs} at other places. The name of Alaf Khan emerged prominently during the reign of Akbar and Jhangir.\textsuperscript{113} He led campaigns in the south, Mewat and Kangra.\textsuperscript{114} Alaf Khan was succeeded by Daulat Khan, who received title of \textit{diwan} under Shahjahan\textsuperscript{115} and remained in Kangra for fourteen years and thereafter went to Kabul and Peshawar.\textsuperscript{116} His son, Tahar Khan received high \textit{mansab} and Nagor from Shahjahan, where he stayed for few months.\textsuperscript{117} He died while he was on campaigns towards Kabul and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 21-26 and verse 246-307.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), p. 26 and verse 304.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 27-28 and verses 309-11.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), p. 31 and verse 373.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 33-34 and verses 394-405.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), p. 37 and verses 438-444.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 57-82 and verses 671-940.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 61-82 and verses 719-940.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), p. 82 and verses 942-43.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), p. 83 and verses 956.
\item \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp. 83-86 and verses 958-980.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Similarly, his father Daulat Khan died there. Their successors ruled at Fatehpur and were famous as Nawabs.

A brief account of Kyam Khanis suggests that though they resided in Haryana region for a short period, but with their valour, could establish good rapport with imperial authorities. Jan Kavi only traces their political conduct and remains silent on their social life. Their relationships with others like Meo, Kachchawah, Jatu, Jodha, Rathors, etc. however is sometimes reflected in Kyam Khan Rasa. It suggests that they remained in commanding position and were closely associated with the Mughals.

During the course of earlier discussions (Chapter IV), we have found mention of a number of fortified settlements and important personalities. For instance Nusarat-ud-din Taisi Muzzi was the maqti of Hansi (1227-28) and Balban remained incharge of iqta Hansi and stayed there for some time. Similarly, Ibn Batutta inform us of Kamal-ud-din and Qutlug Khan who were originally the residents of Hansi. Kamal-ud-din, sadr-i-jahan beame qazi-ul-qazat (Chief Justice) of the Sultanate in first half of fourteenth century. Similarly, he mentions about one Shams-ud-din al Fushanji of Sirsa, who was a Chamberlain. Affi inform us of Malik Dalyan as shiqqdar

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118 ibid., (text), pp. 85-86 and verses 978-980.
119 ibid., (text), pp. 89-90 and verses 1024-1031.
120 ibid., (text), pp. 91-92 and verses 1032-1045.
121 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (text), pp. 239-42, 281-324.
123 ibid.
124 ibid.
of Hissar-i-Firuza in mid fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{125} Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz was \textit{maqti} of Palwal.\textsuperscript{126} Malik saif-ud-din Aibak and Taj-ud-din Sanjar as \textit{maqti} of Sirsa during thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{127}

During Mughal times the urban settlements besides having the local officers in hierarchy had the imperial officers along with their retainers. They stayed there during their assignment tenure. For instance Chugta khan was appointed as \textit{faujdar} of Mewat during 1\textsuperscript{st} RY of Akbar.\textsuperscript{128} Iqram Khan Hoshang was appointed as \textit{faujdar} of Hissar during 19\textsuperscript{th} RY of Jahangir with a \textit{mansoab} of 2000.\textsuperscript{129} Fakhruddin Ahmad alias Taribyat Khan was appointed as \textit{faujdar} of Hissar with a \textit{mansab} of 800 during 1\textsuperscript{st} RY of Shahjahan.\textsuperscript{130} Khwaja Abdul Makarm alias Jan Nisar Khan appointed as \textit{faujdar} of Narnaul with \textit{mansab} of 2000, during the 45\textsuperscript{th} RY of Aurangzeb.\textsuperscript{131}

If was also noticed that Hansi- Hissar and Narnaul territories were given to close confident of Delhi Sultans, and to the princes during Mughal regime. Whenever they visited these places, they recorded hectic mobility. The imperial offices and princes were followed by large contingents. Definitely the urban settlements experienced new life.

\textsuperscript{125} Afif, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi}, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{126} Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, (text), pp. 233-53.
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{ibid.}, (text), pp.238-39, 254-55.
\textsuperscript{128} Tazikirat-ul-Umra of Kewal Ram, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{129} \textit{ibid.}, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{ibid.}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{ibid.}, p. 46.
Other essential component at these urban settlements were the religious person, people of knowledge, *ulemas, qazis, pundits* etc. Hansi, Panipat, Narnaul and Thanesar are reported to have emerged as prominent sacred centres in contemporary times. Mention of sufi saints based at these settlements has already been made in Chapter IV of this thesis. These *sufi* saints established *khanqas* (hospice), which were inhabited by sizeable population. Hansi is reported to be the residence of the disciples of *Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar*. The complex is famous as *Char Qutub* and the tombs of the Shaykh Jalal-ul-din and his successors are still intact at Hansi. Thanesar, which is recorded as Hindu pilgrim centre\textsuperscript{132} emerged as *sufi* centre and centre of Sikh religion as well. In sixteenth century, it was inhabited by various hindu sects. The name of two sects appears on the occasion of solar eclipse, when Akbar visited it.\textsuperscript{133} According to *Akbarnama*, these sects were Puri and Kur,\textsuperscript{134} who stayed earlier as well as afterwards. During our study period, Thanesar evidenced fair twice\textsuperscript{135} on the occasion of solar eclipse. It evidenced larger number of people visiting the above mentioned occasion. This large population can be considered the transient population, who visited it either from Haryana region or outside the Haryana region.

\textsuperscript{132} *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 516-17 and (tr.) II, pp. 289-89.
\textsuperscript{133} *Akbarnama*, (tr.), II, pp. 422-24.
\textsuperscript{134} *ibid.*
\textsuperscript{135} *ibid.*; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 301-03.
The *vaishya* community are generally considered dealing with the trade. Our contemporary sources do not indicate that much trading activity was carried out in Haryana region as it is evident in case of Gujarat or Bengal. But the existence of transit trade and trade in agrarian production is however recorded. It might suggest something on the nature of permanent population involved in such activities in Haryana region, during the study period.

No particular caste is recorded as the trading community in the Haryana region. However, the ancestors of the author of *Ardhakathanak*, Banarsidas were the residents of the village Biholi near Rohtak. Banarasidas and his ancestors were Jains. They belonged to clan of Srimals. Ganga and Gosala were settled in Rohtak and took over to trade. In the later period, the family shifted to the larger towns of the north India and emerged as a promising trading family. Similarly, Hemu who belonged to Dhunsar tribe used to sell products on the streets of Rewari. The commodity referred is *namak-i-shor*.

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137 *ibid.*, (for Rohtak see pp. 109-111)
138 *ibid.*
139 *Akbarnama*, (tr.), II, pp. 71-72.
140 *ibid.*; (tr.) I, pp. 615-19. (He can not be considered belonging to the trading community. The instance is quoted to support that during medieval times the case of changing the occupation use to take place). Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, p. 237, however, records them as involved in petty hawking and peddling) Also see Denzil Ibbeston, *Panjab Castes*, pp. 244-45.
Frequent reference is also found to banjara traders in case of Haryana region along the major and minor routes. It is not clear from the contemporary sources whether they constituted the permanent population of Haryana region or not. But the secondary sources throw some light on the banjaras. Elliot has given the vivid description of banjaras.\textsuperscript{141} According to Denzil Ibbeston they were ‘the great travelling traders and carriers’ and under the Afghan and Mughal Emperors they were the commissariat of imperial forces\textsuperscript{142}

We find reference to baniyas, who derive the present nomenclature from the Sanskrit term banijya which means trade. The mahajans recorded in contemporary sources, stayed in both rural and urban settlements. They probably belonged to baniya castes. A reference to them is found in Firuz Shah period at Sirsa.\textsuperscript{143} They tendered loans to Sultan Firuz Shah. The amount borrowed was used to pay the forces. Similar reference is not recorded in Mughal times for the region. However, the probability of their existence can not be ruled out in the qasbas and shahars. Denzil Ibbeston identifies their existence ‘in great number only in Delhi and Hissar divisions, Ambala...’\textsuperscript{144} He also provides reference to various sub-castes of baniyas (occupational caste): Agarwala, originally located at Agroha in Hissar.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{141} H. M. Elliot, \textit{Races of the North Western Provinces}, I, pp. 52-56.
\textsuperscript{142} Denzil Ibbeston, \textit{Panjab Castes}, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{143} Afif, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuza Shahi}, p. 59
\textsuperscript{144} Denzil Ibbeston, \textit{Panjab Castes}, p. 242.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{ibid.} p. 243.
Saralia *baniyas*, branch of Agarwals; they got separated from the Agarwals of Agroha and settled in Sarala, a settlement not far from Agroha.\(^{146}\)

Dhunsar, which have been already mentioned above, records their headquarters at Rewari.\(^{147}\)

The last essential component of the Haryana region were the artisans both skilled and un-skilled, menial castes etc. They were involved in variety of occupations associated with both agrarian and non-agrarian activities. Our sources are silent regarding the identification of these castes for Haryana region. But they refer in general about them as occupational castes at various occasions. Taking various occupations as essential activity at the urban settlements (at least for medium size *shahars* and *qasbas*, I have attempted to provide their account on the basis of secondary sources and stray references in contemporary accounts.

Thanesar and Panipat, which are recorded as important textile production centres in the contemporary times, definitely contained weavers communities. The artisans engaged in textile work, probably were located all over the Haryana region, but these settlements excelled due to their location along the frequented route. According to Denzil Ibbeston, term used for the artisans of textile craftmanship is *julah* (weaver)\(^{148}\) The others associated

\(^{146}\) *ibid.* p. 244.

\(^{147}\) *Akbarnama*, (tr.) I, pp. 615-19.

\(^{148}\) *ibid.*, pp. 302-03
with allied activities are washerman, dyer and tailor. They belong to various castes: dhobi, rangrez, darzis etc. The weavers and allied artisans belonged to both hindu and muslim communities. The percentage shown in 1881 census indicates about the larger percentage of mulsim community as artisans.

The other artisans, which inhabited the urban settlements were leather workers or chamars, water carriers or kahar or mahar, potter or kumhar, thathara-seller of vessels of copper, brass and other metals, jeweller or sunar, saltmaker or agari, saltpetre maker or nungar or shorgar, oil presser or teli.

In the last one can infer that the Haryana region was thickly populated. The population was engaged in various activities: administrative, trading, religious, production, craftsmanship etc. These activities carried out during the study period contributed to the generative growth of the region. The inter-personal relations between various social groups, both at horizontal and vertical level created dynamic environment, which infused both vertical and horizontal mobility.

149 ibid., pp. 320-24
150 ibid., pp. 296-301.
151 ibid., p. 306.
152 ibid., pp. 315-16.
153 ibid., p. 317.
154 ibid., p. 316.
155 ibid.
156 ibid.
157 ibid.