

THE KOH-I-JUD AND ITS TRIBES

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The study of the Koh-i-Jud and the tribes of this region is of vital importance for understanding the problem of the frontier of the Delhi Sultans. This region played a definite role in the formation of their frontier policy. However, a student of medieval Indian history comes across only a passing reference to the Koh-i-Jud and its tribes in contemporary sources. This paper attempts to throw light on the historical geography of the Koh-i-Jud and the political history of its tribes.

Historical Geography:

The Jud hills are a very important region of South Asia. The word Jud (جود) was first used by medieval Indian historians in such works as *Taj al-Ma'athir*, *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*. They were followed by Diya' al-Din Barani, Yahya Sirhindi, Badauni and Firishta. The earliest distinct mention of Jud, however, occurs in the *Taj al-Ma'athir*, a history written in 620/1205, which says:

The Kokars (کوکر) razed the country between the Sodhra (modern Chinab) and the Jhelum and defeated the Muslim Governor of Sangwan, who held a fief within the border of Multan, but was defeated by Qutb al-Din Aibak, and one of the sons of Kokar Rai escaped to a fort in the hills of the Jud, which was captured on the following day by the Sultan.²

The Kokars mentioned here are obviously the Gakkhars who ravaged the area between the Jhelum and the Chinab, and when Qutb al-Din Aibak advanced, retreated to Jhelum. One of the sons of the Rai, however, entered the Jud hills.

Next, Rashid al-Din refers to Jud hills in his *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, when he speaks of a battle fought between Sultan Muhammad bin Sam and the tribes of the Jud hills. He records: "... the Kokars fled to the highest ranges of the Koh-i-Jud after their defeat."³ Similarly, Minhaj al-Din Siraj in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* mentions: "The Kokars and the tribes of the Koh-i-Jud کوه جود had broken out into revolts when Sultan Muhammad bin Sam was engaged in preparing

his expedition against Turkistan.”⁴ Juwayni also in his *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* says: “When the weather became hot Sultan Khwarazmshah left Uchch for summer quarters in the mountain of Jud, and Balala and Nikala.”⁵ Another medieval historian, Diya’ al-Din Barani, while recording the account of Balban’s expedition against the tribes of the Koh-i-Jud writes: “Balban accordingly marched thither with suitable forces and inflicted chastisement upon the hills of Jud and the vicinity.”⁶

These references to the Jud hills in the medieval works prove that they were not unknown in that age. It is important to note, however, that earlier historians of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni’s period have not mentioned the name of Jud hills. Al-Biruni, who visited India and remained in the fort of Nandana, situated in the Jud hills, does not mention the name of Jud. It seems that the hilly area was then better known as Nandana which was not only a province of the Hindu Shahis but also a “national capital” at the beginning of Anandapala’s reign as mentioned by Al-‘Utbi.⁷ Though there is a reference to the hills in the contemporary works but the name of the hills is not given. Al-‘Utbi in his work, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, says, “Bigi Rai of Bhetai (modern Bhera) escaped after the defeat and sought refuge on the top of some hills of Balanat.”⁸ Al-‘Utbi further says: “Mahmud did not advance beyond the hills of Balanat, a mountain overhanging the Jhelum and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill.”⁹ Later on when Sultan Mahmud captured Nandana from Trilocanapala, son of Anandapala, in A.H. 404/A.D. 1013, there is again no mention of the Jud hills.¹⁰ At the time of Mahmud of Ghazna’s invasion of India, the Jud hills were known by the importance of Nandana and its one peak Balanat, and hence only these names occur in the contemporary works of history. The name of the Jud hills became more well-known during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Sam and later in the time of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal rulers. This happened after the destruction of Nandana.

Later chronicles, such as, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, and *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* have also mentioned the Jud hills. Similarly Sharaf al-Din in *Zafar Nama* also tells us about the Jud hills. He says: “When Timur crossed Indus, all the Rajas and Zamindars of the Koh-i-Jud submitted their allegiance to Timur.”¹¹ Babur, the founder of the Mughal rule in India, also visited the Jud hills. He records: “Fourteen miles (seven kos) north of Bhera lies the mountain range written in *Zafar Nama* and other books as the Koh-i-Jud.”¹² After Babur, Abu al-Fadl also writes in *Akbar Nama*: “Seven kos from Bhera towards the north, there is a mountain called the hill of Jud.”¹³ These accounts of the Sultanate and the Mughal periods clearly show that the name of the Jud hills was well-known at that time. Modern historians and travellers, such as, Cunningham, Elphinstone, Wolseley Haig, and others have identified Jud hills with the Salt Range¹⁴ of today.

The study of all these accounts of medieval writers quite naturally leads to the question that why they called them the Jud hills. It is astonishing to observe that none of the medieval historians and geographers have answered

this question. Babur is the first person, who has tried to provide an explanation in the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, where he writes: "I had not known why the Koh-i-Jud was called thus? Now I know. On it dwell two tribes, descendants from one parent-source, one is called Jud, the other Janjua. These two from of old have been the rulers and lawful commanders of the peoples and hordes of the range and of the country between Bhera and Nilab. . . on one half of it are the Jud, the Janjua on the other. People call it Koh-i-Jud through connecting it with the Jud tribes."¹⁵ Babur is, however, reticent about the origin and early history of Jud. Modern British writers have tried to trace the origin of the Jud and Griffin is one of them. He says:

The traditions of Janjua trace their descent from a Raja Mal, a descendant of the Pandus of the Rathor Rajput race, who about A.D. 980 migrated to the Punjab from Jodhpur. Hearing that the Pandus had once taken shelter in the hills to the north of Jhelum he journeyed there with his followers and founded the village of Rajgarh now famous as Malot, where he ruled in peace till the invasion of India by Sultan Mahmud. . . He adopted Islam after being forced by Mahmud. . . He left five sons and among these only two sons, Jodh and Wir, got importance. On the death of their father, they determined to divide the country, the Maluki Dhan, between them, Jodh took the Salt Range, near about the Makroch and captured the town of Makshath. . . He changed its name to Makhiala and built there a fort and two tanks for rain water. Wir, the second son of Raja Mal, took the possession of Kura near modern Pind Daden Khan. . .¹⁶

In contrast to the remarks of Griffin, that the Jud hills and their names point to the fact that they were situated in the territory of Jodh, son of Raja Mal, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and which is not supported by any contemporary chronicles. According to Erskine and Leydon, this hill got the name Jud from a supposed resemblance between the lofty isolated Ararat and a spur of the Salt range.¹⁷ Beveridge goes a step further and suggests that "Jud is probably the Sanskrit word *Yuddha* meaning war,"¹⁸ Beveridge's argument is based on the fact that the dwellers in this hilly range have fought wars either with the original inhabitants for capturing the region or with the outside invaders to safeguard their territory.¹⁹ Thus on account of these wars (in Sanskrit *Yuddha*) the hilly region got the name of Jud hills.

After discussing the historical background of Jud hills and the literal meaning of Jud as far as it is possible to trace it, we now turn to its geography. Babur was the first writer to throw light on the geographical position of the hills. He records: "The Koh-i-Jud runs for fourteen miles along the Bhera country, taking off from those Kashmir mountains that are one with the Hindu-Kush, and it draws out to the south-west as far as the foot of Din Kot on the Sind river."²⁰ According to this observation of Babur, Jud hills extended from Din Kot or Dan Kot near modern Kalabagh to the borders of Kashmir probably near the present Mangla Dam. Firishta, a historian of the Mughal period, also describes the location of the Jud hills while speaking of the Gakkhars. He says "The Gakkhars who inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilab to the foot of the mountains of Siwalik, exercised unheard of cruelties. . ."²¹ This is certainly the region of the Gakkhar tribe, which lies between Nilab and the hills

of Siwalik, which, according to Firishta, is identified with the Jud hills. The name of the Koh-i-Jud was used till the reign of Akbar, and then its importance decreased because the frontier of the Mughals now came to extend upto Qandahar and Kabul. As modern British travellers and geographers have identified the Jud hills with the Salt range, it is pertinent to understand their reasons as well. According to Elphinstone, "it is a branch of Safed Koh and may be called the Salt range as shooting out from the Safed Koh and extending in a south-easterly direction by the South of Teeree to Kalabagh where it crossed the Indus, stretches across part of the Punjab and ends at Jalalpur on the right bank of the Jhelum becoming lower as it gets further from the mountains of Sulaiman".²² Another British geologist, Wynne, records: "The Salt range forms a prominent physical feature of the northwest of India, rising between the outworks of the Himalaya, Hindu-Kush and Afghan mountain. . . ."²³ Yet another authority, Spate, writes: "Salt range ramparts, sensuous in outline and exceedingly complex in detail, sharply mark off the region from the Punjab plains. They reach nearly 5000 feet at Sakesar, but in general the summits are at 2500-3500 feet. . . ."²⁴ These accounts of the experts fully describe the physical features of the Salt range. Similarly the Salt range has been defined by other British experts like Garrett, Thomas, and Cunningham but it seems not wise here to refer to their accounts. However, these descriptions of the Salt range show the physical position which the Salt range is holding today. However, we are concerned with the location of the Jud hill of the medieval age and for this the description of Babur about the Koh-i-Jud is more relevant. According to the description, the Koh-i-Jud was limited only to the eastern side of the Indus. Thus the Koh-i-Jud is apparently a part of the Salt range described by the modern geographers.

This account about the historical geography of the Koh-i-Jud explaining its exact location will be of great help in understanding the role it played in the history of the region. Now we turn to the history of the tribes which inhabited this region.

Tribes of the Koh-i-Jud

The tribes of the Koh-i-Jud played a dominant role in the medieval period. The contemporary chronicles have mentioned Janjua and the Gakkhar as the main tribes of the Jud hills but they do not throw much light upon their history. During the Ghaznavid period as mentioned by Al-Biruni,²⁵ Nandana, situated on the Jud hills, was the capital of Anandapala, whom modern writers include among the Hindu Shahi rulers. After the end of the Hindu Shahi rule, this region became a part of the Ghaznavid kingdom.²⁶ Probably at this time the Gakkhars (or Kokars) got their footing in this region under the leadership of Gakkhar Shah.²⁷ After the decline of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids established their political power and advanced towards India. At this time, there is reference to the tribes of the Koh-i-Jud. Manhaj mentions that "the Kokars and the tribes

of Koh-i-Jud had broken out into revolt when Sultan Muhammad bin Sam was engaged in preparing his expedition against Turkistan. . . .²⁸ The author of *Jami'al-Tawarikh* also supports this statement and says: "The ruler of Koh-i-Jud, at which the frontier of Hind commences, who had turned Musalman, and subsequently relapsed, and the Kokars (or Gakkhars) who also used to pay tribute to the Sultan, in consequence of these reports of Sultan's death also rose . . ."²⁹ According to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*:

Among other enemies, one named Rai Sal, who lived in the mountains between Lahore and Kabul, having united with a number of Kokars, who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shihab al-Din, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercepted the communications between Lahore and Ghazni, so that no one could pass from one to the other.³⁰

These references show that Rai Sal belonged to a tribe different from that of the Kokars. It is possible that he was a ruler of the Janjua tribe. Thus both Rai Sal and the Kokars were the main dwellers of the Koh-i-Jud at the time of Sultan Ghuri's invasion of India. But Babur mentions Jud, Jats and Gujars in addition to the Janjua and Gakkhar as the tribes of Kod-i-Jud.³¹

The Gakkhar Tribe

Though much has been written about it, the mystery surrounding the origin and early history of the Gakkhars is far from resolved. General Court tried to connect the Gakkhars with the Greeks³² but without any firm basis. According to Cunningham, the Gakkhars represent the 'savage Gangaridae' of Dionysius and the descendants of the great Yuechi Scythians, who entered India from the north west in the early centuries of the Christian era.³³ But Denzil Ibbetson and Thomson argue that though the Turanian origin of the Gakkhars is highly probable, the rest of Cunningham's theory is merely a plausible surmise.³⁴ These controversial opinions about the origin of this tribe are not only a feature of modern scholarship, medieval historians also widely different on this point. *Taj-al-Ma'athir* says:

The Kokar tribe, rising in rebellion, entertained the idea of becoming independent, and obtaining dominion ... On hearing this Shihab al-Din Ghuri wrote to his slave, Qutb al-Din, who was the commander of the forces of Hind, to assemble the troops of Hindustan and march against the Kokars ... When the command reached Qutb al-Din, he assembled and made ready his forces and was about to move against that tribe ... Shihab al-Din himself also set out from Ghazni towards Hindustan. When the Sultan reached Peshawar, he found that the Kokars in large number, had taken up a position between Jhelum and Sodhra. On hearing this news, the Sultan made a forced march from Peshawar on Thursday, the 25th of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 602 A.H., and fell upon them unawares and from break of day till the time of afternoon prayers he kept up the flames of battle and conflict, and the Kokars fought in such wise, that with all that grandeur and power, the Sultan had nearly been forced back from his position when, unexpectedly, at that juncture, Qutb al-Din Aibak, with the forces of Hindustan arrived and commenced slaughtering the Kokars. As Qutb al-Din's troops were fresh and vigorous, the Kokars were unable to resist them, and they took to flight.³⁵

This evidence leaves little doubt that the Kokars inhabited the Koh-i-Jud region at the time of Sultan Shihab al-Din Ghuri's invasion of India. Raverty in his translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* on the basis of his linguistic study,³⁶ has tried to identify the Kokars with Khokhars. The factual position is however, somewhat different. There is hardly any Khokhar living in the vicinity of the place of the murder of Sultan Muhammad bin Sam,³⁷ which lies six kos from the present village of Sohawa in the district Jhelum. This whole area is occupied by the Gakkhars but Raverty would like to substitute the word Gakkhar for Khokhar and take them to be the murderers of Sultan Shihab al-Din Ghuri. Raverty's reading of Khokhar does not appear to be sound. The Kokar mentioned in this account can more plausibly be taken for the Gakkhars as they have been living in this part since time immemorial. This is supported by several contemporary chronicles. For example, Juwayni records: "Prince Jalal al-Din crossed the Indus with seven hundred followers after his defeat at the hands of Chingiz Khan and sought refuge in the Koh-i-Jud. As the number of the followers went on increasing by his presence in their region, the neighbouring chiefs of the Koh-i-Jud felt threatened, and one of them decided to turn him away. The Raja led an army of six hundred soldiers against the Sultan but was defeated"³⁸ Juwayni further adds: "After refusal of asylum by Iltutmish Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah returned to the hills of Balala and Nikala,³⁹ where the total number of his followers amounted to 10,000 men. He now sent Taj al-Din Khalji with an army to the mountain of Jud. They ravaged the country and carried off much booty".⁴⁰ Now after ravaging Jud, Jalal al-Din made friendly overtures to the Raja of the region. Once again, according to Juwayni: "Jalal al-Din also sent an embassy to Rai Kokar Sankin (سیکن) and sought his daughter in marriage, who agreed and likewise sent his son to Sultan Jalal al-Din with an army. The Sultan conferred upon the son the title of Qutlugh Khan".⁴¹ The name Rai Kokar Sankin, which may be a corrupted form of Mang Khan, also poses problems of identification. This conjecture also finds support in Duni Chand's narrative.⁴²

After the departure of the Sultan Jalal al-Din from India, his chief Hasan Qarlugh of the Indian territories made alliances with the chiefs of the Koh-i-Jud and established his rule in this region.⁴³ After the end of the Qarlugh rule in this region, the chiefs of Koh-i-Jud made alliances with the Mongols and acted as guides to them in their raids into the frontier *iqta's* of the Delhi empire. Minhaj refers to an expedition which was led by Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish to crush the tribes of the Koh-i-Jud, but the Sultan could not do this on account of his illness and subsequent death. Soon another expedition was sent by Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud and Ulugh Khan Balban against the rulers of the Koh-i-Jud and Banian regions. Having crossed the river Ravi near Lahore, Sultan Nasir al-Din encamped on the bank of the river Sodhra (Chinab) and then ordered Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Balban) to march towards Nandana in the Koh-i-Jud and Banian for the chastisement of their local rulers. On Ulugh Khan's march the local people destroyed the cultivation, so that the Delhi army

could not get fodder for its troops. Consequently, Ulugh Khan plundered the tract upto the territory of Rai Jaspal who had fled away with his followers and Ulugh Khan retreated".⁴⁴ Here Minhaj refers to Jaspal, another tribal chief of the Koh-i-Jud. This event also confirms that the Gakkhars were the main tribes in this region who always remained active and were a perpetual source of trouble for the Delhi Sultans.

During the rule of 'Ala al-Din Khalji, the region of the Koh-i-Jud was ravaged for the first time by the Mongols because, it seems, that the tribes of this region, perhaps, refused to guide the Mongol forces for their raids into India. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Afghans under their leader Shahu crossed the Indus and ravaged Multan and Lahore. Taking advantage of this disturbance, the Gakkhars, rose against the Delhi empire, Firishta says: In the year 743/1342, Malik Haider, a chief of the Gakkhars, invaded the Punjab and slew Tatar Khan, the viceroy of Lahore, in action. Khawaja Jahan was sent but the Gakkhars seem to have maintained their position and completed the ruin of the province".⁴⁵ Till the invasion of Timur in 801/1398, the Gakkhars established their position. During the short reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Tughluq, the Gakkhars revolted under their chief Shaikha and occupied Lahore. But Timur records in his *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* that Shaikha Gakkhar was the governor of Lahore on the part of the Delhi Sultan".⁴⁶ Hence it is possible that he was removed by the Delhi Sultan from the governorship of Lahore. As a result, Shaikha raised the banner of revolt against the Delhi Sultan. Firishta records: "Sarang Khan, the governor of Depalpur, in the succeeding reign of Mahmud Tughluq, after collecting a large force from the country round about Multan, went out to meet them and a great battle was fought about 24 miles from Lahore. Shaikha was utterly defeated and having hastily removed his wife and family from Lahore, he fled and took refuge in the Jammu hills".⁴⁷ On account of these events Shaikha was antagonistic to the Delhi Sultans and consequently he approached Amir Timur. Hajji Dabir says: "Shaikha went to Iran and waited on Timur and persuaded him to capture Delhi. He acted as a guide for Timur and took him to India by the shortest cut and easiest path".⁴⁸ Shaikha was succeeded by his brother Jasrat after his death, who resolved to extend his conquests as far as Delhi. Jasrat seized Lahore, Ruper, Ludhiana and Sirhind, which forced Mubarak Shah, the king of Delhi, to lead personally with a force against Jasrat. Jasrat without giving battle fled and the Sultan pursued him as far as Jammu. Though a large number of Gakkhars were killed still Jasrat escaped by flight to the hills.⁴⁹ Jasrat formed a friendly compact with Mir Shaikh Ali, the governor of Kabul. During the reign of Sayyid Muhammad, the Gakkhars under Jasrat joined Bahlul Lodi, the governor of Punjab.⁵⁰ Thus the Gakkhars developed cordial relations with the Lodis and remained peaceful till the invasion of Babur. This is also verified by Babur who records in *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* that Tatar Gakkhar had waited on Daulat Khan and was in a certain way subject to him".⁵¹ At the time of Babur's invasion, Tatar Gakkhar and Hati Gakkhar of the same family were the rulers of the Koh-i-Jud. According to Babur:

Amongst the mountains of Nilab and Bhira which connect with those of Kashmir, there are, besides the Jud and Janjua tribes, many Jats, Gujar and others akin to them, seated in villages everywhere on every rising ground. These are governed by headmen of the Kokar tribes, a headship like that over the Jud and Janjua. At this time (925 A.H.) the headmen of the people of these hillskirts were Tatar Kakar and Hati Kakar, two descendants of one forefather, being paternal uncle's sons.⁵²

This account of Babur confirms that the Gakkhars were prominent in the hilly region between the Indus and the Jhelum. Babur established good relations with them and consequently after Babur's death, the Gakkhars sided with Humayun, while he was being chased by the Suri forces. Abbas Sarwani writes that Sher Shah was determined to crush the Gakkhars and for this purpose he built a fort at Rohtas which was situated in the Gakkhar territory. He also marched with his forces to meet Sarang Khan, a Gakkhar chief, who was defeated and killed".⁵³ After the death of Sarang Khan, his brother Adam Khan assumed the leadership of the Gakkhars and came out to face the forces of Salim Shah, the successor of Sher Shah. After regaining power in India, Humayun, established friendly relations with the Gakkhars, which were continued throughout the Mughal rule in India. Thus, the Gakkhars governed the hilly region between the Indus and the Jhelum under various Gakkhar chiefs for many generations, which is proved by the genealogies given by Abu al-Fadl and Duni Chand.⁵⁴ After their settlement in Koh-i-Jud, the Gakkhars were split up into several branches. According to Rose, these branches were six in number and were spread in various principal areas, such as Admal in Sultanpura; Iskandral in Lehri and Bakrala; Bugial in Domeli, Pandhri and Baragowah; Frozal near Jhelum and lastly Tulial near Dina.⁵⁵ This settlement also shows that they were the old inhabitants of Koh-i-Jud. At present, the Gakkhars are mainly concentrated in the Jhelum, Hazara and Rawalpindi districts.

The Janjua Tribe

The Janjuas represent next important tribe of the Koh-i-Jud. They connect themselves with the Rajputs. They once held almost the whole of the modern Salt range tract, but were gradually dispossessed by the Gakkhars in the north and by the Awans in the west. Ultimately, they were left in possession of the central and eastern parts of the Koh-i-Jud which they held at the time of Babur's invasion. There are different views regarding their origin. According to Clauson, "In A.D. 540, the tribes identified with *Juan-Juan* who ruled the eastern parts of the steppes from the Chinese frontier in the east to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan and a line running roughly north from that point to the western tip of Lake Baikal in the west. ... About A.D. 552 their empire was destroyed by the Turks".⁵⁶ This theory of the Chinese origin of the Janjua was rejected by Grousset, who talks of the Mongoloid origin of the Janjuas.⁵⁷ The Arab writer Masudi has an important piece of information on this point. He says: "The king of Kandahar, who is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains, is called Hahaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country.

From his dominions comes the river Raid, one of the five rivers which form the Mihran of Sind. Kandahar is called the country of the Rahbut (or Rajput)".⁵⁸ Here there are three important things to be noted, firstly Masudi has given the name of the contemporary Hindu dynasty which ruled in "Kandahar". secondly this dynasty is called by him *J-Haj* (جہا) or *H-Haj* (ہجہ), and thirdly the country is said to be of the Rajput. In other words, the ruling dynasty were Rajputs. From Al-Biruni we learn that the ruling dynasty was Hindu Shahi, which name is more a title than the actual name of the dynasty. Here for the first time Masudi gives the name of the dynasty as *J-Haj* or *H-Haj*. This interpretation was also given by Elliot.⁵⁹ It is because of this reading that Cunningham equated J-Haj with Janjua.⁶⁰ This equation is corroborated by the fact that the ruling dynasty was called Rajput - a claim still made by the Janjuas of today. Hence it is possible that the real name *J-Haj* was Janjua. If this is acceptable, the history of the Janjuas can be pushed back to the time of the Hindu Shahis, who put up a formidable fight against the Ghaznavid Sultans but were ultimately defeated and had to remain unnoticed for some time. Juwayni's account about the battle between Chingiz Khan and the Rana of Jud hills is helpful in understanding the origin of the Janjuas too. Juwayni says: "Chingiz Khan despatched an envoy to the Rana of the Jud hills also, who at first accepted submission but did not remain constant. The Khan sent an army which seized and slew him."⁶¹ Juwayni does not mention the name of the Rana of the Jud hills here but it is possible that this unnamed Rana was the chief of the Janju'a tribe, as the name Rana is very common among the Rajputs. There is again a reference in Minhaj that Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Balban) led an expedition and plundered the tract upto the territory of Rae Jaspal who fled away with his followers to Koh-i-Jud.⁶² This Rae Jaspal may be a Janju'a chief because his name resembles the names of Hindu Shahi rulers of this region. Sultan Jalal al-Din Khalji refers to them as an important tribe of the Koh-i-Jud and says: "...how, at another time, I made the blood flow in Junju'a, so that a boat might have glided within the hills of Jud."⁶³ This reference is important since it speaks of the power of the Janju'as and its power was crushed by Sultan Jalal al-Din Khalji. We do not hear about them anymore until we come to the time of Babur who says: "The Janju'as were the rulers, from old times, of the Koh-i-Jud and of the tract between Nilab and Bhira. Langar Khan and Sangar Khan are the rulers of this region."⁶⁴ From Babur we learn that the Janjua's were supreme in the eastern parts of the Koh-i-Jud. Later on Sarwani also mentions the Janju'as in his work, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*. It was with their help that Sher Shah Suri was able to build the fort of Rohtas and crush the Gakkhars.⁶⁵ Similarly, Abu'l Fadl, calls them the old settlers of the Sind Sagar Doab.⁶⁶ At present, the Janju'as also live in the eastern and central parts of the Salt range.

The Jud Tribe

The early history of the Jud tribe is quite obscure. Medieval works, though mention the Koh-i-Jud and its tribe, they do not give any details about the Jud tribe. Babur's account is the only source which says: "The hill of Jud was held by two tribes of common descent, the Jud and Janju'a".⁶⁷ This account of Babur suggests that the Jud and the Janju'a were of the same family. Babur further records: "Seven kos north of Bhira lies the mountain range written in the *Zafar Nama* and other books as the Koh-i-Jud. I had not known why it was called this: I now know. On it dwell two tribes; descendant from one parent source, one is called Jud, the other Janju'a. These two from of old have been the rulers and lawful commanders of the peoples and hordes (*Ulus*) of the range and of the country between Bhera and Nilab . . . The Jud and Janju'a both are divided into several clans . . . On one half of it are the Jud, the Janju'a on the other. People call it the Koh-i-Jud through connecting it with the Jud tribe."⁶⁸ This description of Babur shows that this hilly region became famous due to this tribe and is known as Jud hills most probably after their name. This tribe may represent the modern Jodhra tribe⁶⁹ who are settled in the Jhelum District.

Besides the Gakkhars, the Jud and the Janju'as, there were other tribal hordes like that of the Awans,⁷⁰ the Gujars,⁷¹ and the Jats,⁷² etc. in the Jud hills during the medieval times but they were not in a ruling position.

To sum up, the Gakkhars and the Janju'as were the main tribes who played a dominant role during the medieval period in this hilly region which served as buffer zone between the territories of the Mongols and the Sultan of Delhi. The present study of the region and its tribes should go a long way to elucidate the intricacies involved in frontier policy pursued from time to time by the Delhi Sultans. It is, however, unfortunate, that the available sources shed little light on the social and cultural history of these tribes. Nevertheless, a detailed study of a number of surviving forts in this region can be helpful in understanding the military strategy and, to some extent, the war tactics of these people. A sociological analysis of the different branches of these tribes will reveal the actual social condition of these people. All of them have preserved long genealogies and traditional history about their origin. For example, the Gakkhars call themselves Kiyanis. It will be worthwhile to examine how and why they came to associate themselves with this old Persian tradition. These tribes with the passage of time have become part of the Pothwar plateau. They have adopted this region as their homeland, accepted its language as their own, imbibed local rituals and customs and have contributed their share to the already rich cultural tradition of this region. Their detailed history remains to be written.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sangwan has defied identification by the contemporary as well as modern historians, but possibly the tract between the Jhelum and the Chinab was known as Sangwan.
2. Hasan Nizami, *Taj-al-Ma'athir*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Lahore, 1976, Vol.II, p.145.
3. *Jami'al-Tawarikh* cited by Raverty mentioning as Jabl-i-Jud جبل جور Minhaj-al-Din Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, tr., Raverty, Calcutta, 1873, Vol. II, p. 482.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 606-609.
5. 'Ata Malik Juwayni, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, tr., J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, Manchester, 1958, Vol.II, p.15. Balala may be identified with Balanat, a hill peak near Jhelum, and Nikala may be Makhiala on the Salt range.
6. Diya' al-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, (ed) Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, n.d., Vol.I, p.150.
7. Al-'Utbi, *Kitab-i-Yamini*, tr. James Reynolds, London, n.d., p.266. Abdur Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of Sahis*, Islamabad, 1979, p. 151.
8. Balant is today called Jogi Tilla and is one of the peaks on the Salt Range, *Ibid.*, p. 151.
9. Al-'Utbi, *op.cit.*, p.226
10. Abdur Rehman, *op.cit.*, p. 159.
11. Sharaf al-Din Yazdi, *Zafar Nama*, tr., Elliot, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Lahore, 1976, Vol. III., p. 482.
12. Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, tr., A.S. Beveridge, London, 1921, p.379
13. Abu al-Fadl, *Akbar Nama*, tr., A.S. Beveridge, Calcutta, n.d., Vol.I, p.237
14. Ranking says that the Koh-i-Jud is apparently a part of the Salt Range (lat. 32, long.71), Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, G.S.Ranking, tr., (Calcutta), 1898, Vol.I., p.128.
15. Babur, *op.cit.*, p.379.
16. Lepel H. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1910, Vol.II p.254
17. A.S. Beveridge, *op.cit.*, p.237fn.
18. *Ibid.*,
19. Describing the battle of Nandana, 'Utbi says that the conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends and the enemies were slain on the tops of the hills and in the village, al-'Utbi, *op.cit.* p.152.
20. Babur, *op.cit.*, p.397
21. Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, tr., J.E. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, London, 1929, Vol. I., p.22.
22. M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies*, London, 1915, p. 4.
23. G.Wynne, *Geology of the Salt Range in Punjab: Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1878, p.36.
24. O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, New York, 1954, p.451.
25. Al-Beruni, *Kitab Ma lil-Hind*, tr. by Sachau as *Al-Beruni's India*, London, 1888, p.258
26. C.E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, New York, 1977, pp.126-30.
27. Duni Chand, *Kaigauhar Nama*, ed., M. Baqir, Lahore, 1970, p.46.
28. Minhaj, *op.cit.*, p.482. The upper route of the north-west frontier region was not safe. The tract was known as Jud hills. It was inhabited by the hill-tribes known as Kokars.. Awan, and Janju'as who were turbulent and used to plunder the neighbouring cities. G.D. Gulati, "Multan as a trading centre during 13th and 14th century," *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, Patials, 1978, p.58.
29. Rashid al-Din, *Tarikh-i-Ghazani*, p.192. "Sewakpal or Sukhapal, a near relation of

Jaipal, who had been made prisoner along with Jaipal in A.D.1002, and who had subsequently embraced Islam, was appointed governor of Multan by Mahmud. But no sooner had Mahmud turned his back, than Sukhapal. turned Hindu. . . ." Gulshan Rai, "The Struggle of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabal and Punjab against the Central Asian Turks (807-1027 A.D.)," *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Lahore. 1919, p.126.

30. Maulana Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, cited by Raverty, *op.cit.*, p.382.
31. Babur, *op.cit.*, p.387.
32. General Court, cited by Davis Rose, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, London, 1883, p.274.
33. A.Cunningham, *Ancient History of India*, London, 1871, pp.22-3.
34. Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Census Report, 1891*, p.483; Thomson, *Jhelum Settlement Report*, Lahore, 1892, p.57.
35. Hasan Nizami. *op.cit.*, cited by Raverty, pp.482-3.
36. For details see Raverty, *op.cit.*, pp.361-71.
37. Hodivala says that the persons into whose hands, the Sultan fell were not the infidels or Khokhars, who were defeated in battle, but were Malahida (ملاحده) as mentioned by Minhaj. Here Malahida means Qaramatae or Ismaili. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1939, p.204.
38. Juwayni, *op.cit.*, p.412.
39. Hodivala identified Balala with Bugial which lies under the lofty hills of Balanat on the Salt range, and Nikala with Makhiala on the Salt range. See for details, Hodivala, *op.cit.*, pp.233-4.
40. Juwayni, *op.cit.*, p.146.
41. As the Kokar chief had some quarrel with Qabacha, the ruler of Sind, he willingly entered into an alliance with the Sultan. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
42. The word Mang may have been originally San. Similarly the word Kin or Kan may have been Khan. And it seems that with the passage of time. Sankan was changed into Mang Khan and later writers like Duni Chand chose to use the latter.
43. Minhaj, *op.cit.*, p.730, U.N. Day. "The North-west Frontier of the Sultanate during the 13th century," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1941, p.62.
44. Minhaj, *op.cit.*, p.732.
45. Firishta, *op.cit.*, p.245.
46. Timur, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*. ed.Abu Talib Husain, Tehran, 1662, p.459.
47. Firishta, *op.cit.*, p.279.
48. Agha Mahdi Husain's view is that Shaikha went to Samarqand where Timur at that time was present. It was from Samarqand that Timur started for India in Rajab 800/ April 1398.A.M.Husain, *Tughlaq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1933, p.467.
49. Firishta, *op.cit.*, p.279.
50. *Ibid.*, p.420.
51. Babur, *op.cit.*, p.389; R.C.Verma, The Relations of the Mughuls with the tribes of the North-west," *Islamic Culture*, October, 1950, p.259.
52. Babur, *op.cit.*, p.387.
53. Abbas Khan Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, tr., Elliot, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Lahore, 1976, Vol.IV, p.104.
54. See for details, *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr., p.414; *Kaigauhar Nama*, p.49.
55. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1978, p.275.

56. G.Clauson , *Acta Orientalia*, Vol,XXXII, 1970,p.54. Samolin says that the *Juan-juan*, after their defeat, took refuge at Ch'ang-gan, the capital of the western Wei. They were pursued by the Turks who arrived before the capital with a powerful force and demanded that the Chinese deliver the fugitive over to them. The ruler of *Juan-juan* and three thousand of his followers were turned over to the Turks who decapitated them outside the city. W.Samolin, *East Turkistan Down to the Twelfth Century*, London, 1954, p.55.
57. Cf. Rene Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, tr., Naomi Walford, New Jersey, 1970, p.80
58. Mas 'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, tr., Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*. Lahore, 1976, Vol, I, p.22.
59. Elliot, *op.cit.*, p.22.
60. A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Calcutta, 1962,p.94.
61. Juwayni, *op.cit.*, p.412; North Indian title of Rana was the proper name. Minhaj, *op.cit.*,p.732.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Amir Khusrau, *Khaza'in al-Futuh*, tr., Elliot, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Lahore, 1976, Vol.III,p.537.
64. Babur, tr.,p.146.
65. Sarwani. *op.cit.*, p104.
66. Abu al-Fadl, *op.cit.*,p.326.
67. Babur, p.390.
68. *Ibid.*, p.279-80.
69. "Thomson's Account of the Tribes in Jhelum," cited by Rose,*op.cit.*,p.355.
70. The A'wans are an important tribe chiefly found in the Salt range. About the origin of the A'wans, Cunningham says that the Janjua's were within historical times one race while a British writer Brandreth suggests that the A'wans, though recent immigrants into the Punjab, are descended from the Bactrian Greeks. But in the best available account of the tribe the A'wans are indeed said to be of Arabian origin and descendants of Qutb Shah, who ruled Herat and joined Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna when he invaded India. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.17;"Brandreth's Account" cited in Rose, *op.cit.*, p.26; W.S. Talbot, *Jhelum Gazetteer, 1905*, Lahore, 1906. pp.102. 102-3.
71. There are different theories regarding the origin of Gujars. It is said that they are descended from White Huns or Opthalities. Their dwelling place was Gujrat, the country or tract of the Gujars. Popular local traditions assign its foundation to Raja Bachan Pal in A.D.910 Rose, *op.cit.*, p.304. At present the Gujars are found in great number in every part of the north-west of India from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazara mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarat. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.82.
72. The Jats of the Koh-i-Jud were the ancient dwellers of the area and constituted one of the important hordes of the hills when Babur invaded India. Babur, *op.cit.*,p.380.