

# Religious Locale and Inter-Religions Demographic Structure of Colonial Multan

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## *Abstract*

*Most of the problems of modern state and society have been associated with the cultural norms which, it is believed, are the product of the demographic structure of the society. In this way, the study of the demographic structure of a society becomes essential, especially when the demographic composition is not homogeneous. The paper explores the demographic composition of Multan during the British colonial period on racial, religious and professional models with a thematic assumption that Multan has been a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religions centre since ancient times and a spiritual religious character has been dominating the city. The Demography of Multan represented Central Asian, Middle Eastern, Indian, Persian and European flocks as well as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee and Jew following. It concludes that this multi-ethnic and multi-religious character has contributed potentially to the formation of 'Multani Culture'. In spite of racial and professional identities operating within the cultural symbols, there was a strong spiritual-religious affiliation among the different groups of society. However, this was neither religious homogeneity nor religious bigotry rather it was a sort religious liberty that kept Multani society and culture intact.*

## **1. Introduction**

Multan has been considered one of the most ancient living centers of civilization in the world.<sup>1</sup> Its antiquity reflects a long history of interaction and intermingling of different ethnic, racial and religious communities of the world. Representing medieval structure of urban planning, settlement and administration, religiosity of demographic structure of Multan during the colonial period was more complex than the traditional tribal/caste and vocational stratification of medieval society and even more independent from the feudal and estates structure of rural agrarian culture.<sup>2</sup> It was an epitome of a multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multi-religious societal composition, having guild interests, mostly same as those of castes and clans' ties in the rural and agrarian societies of medieval world. This heterogeneous compound, by the time, took the form of a new culture specific to the city, known for the tolerant, tendered, and mystical-spiritual behavior of the people of the city, having affinity with all those who come to join the inhabitants of the city.<sup>3</sup>

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Although modern theories of race deny the concept of purity of blood of any racial group in the now current world,<sup>4</sup> the paper focuses on the theme that demographically Multan city has never been a strong hold of any one racial, ethnic or religious group since ancient times, until the emergence of Pakistan. In spite of some popular assumptions promoted by some leading experts of antiquity that during the ancient times the region was populated by 'Malhi' or 'Malohi' tribe of central India,<sup>5</sup> the paper argues that the religious and mythological status of the city was more prominent than its tribal status during the ancient times. Even the racial and tribal interpretations were dominated by religious and mythological aspects of 'Sun worship', which was a popular creed all over the world until the emergence of Islam.

For, the paper approaches the locale of the Multan in the traditional world and its impact on the demographic structure of the city. This approach is supported by the classification and analysis of the demographic statistics of Multan during the pre-independence colonial period.

## **2. Locale of Multan in the Traditional World**

The demographic structure of Multan is the product of the historical, mythological, political and cultural locale the city has maintained within its physical-geography. The traditional world was based on mythological-religious foundations; therefore, locale of Multan in the traditional world was determined by a mythological-religious out look which was supported by six major aspects:

- First:** The Antiquarian Status of the City
- Second:** Geographic locale of the city
- Third:** Commercial Centre
- Fourth:** Religious Sanctification
- Fifth:** International Rout Links.
- Sixth:** Spread of Modern Religions

### **2.1. The Antiquarian Status of the City**

Multan has been considered one of the most ancient living cities of the world. The archaeological excavations in and around Multan during the second half of nineteenth century and the through out the twentieth centuries confirm that Multan has been a centre of civilization since ancient times.<sup>6</sup> However, by the times of the Greeks, one can found the written record of the state of society and its interaction with the other societies. This record, in the form of indigenous Scripture and Greek, Chinese and Muslim Travelogue texts, provides sufficient examples to believe in the permanent existence of the city on the world map and continuous flow of population in Multan and from Multan to other parts of the world. In this perspective, one can find the evidence of Aryan, Greek, Arab, Turks, Scythians, Persians, Baloches, Mughals, Afghans, Rajputs, Africans, Jats, Maratha, Pathans and other races' interaction and influence on the region and demography of the region.<sup>7</sup> This permanent existence on the map has made Multan a best place to the study of cultural and racial inter-mingling and religious interaction from the most ancient to the recent times. Geographic locale, status as commercial centre and religious

significance, provide support to each other, all form the crust of the antiquarian status of the city.

## **2.2. Geographic Locale of Multan.**

The geographic locale of Multan seems to be the key to understand the demographic structure of Multan city. Located at 30 11 44 North and 71 28 31 East on geographic coordinates,<sup>8</sup> it is a tropical hot region, However, Multan seems to be the central place between Harappa and Mohenjodaro, two renowned centers of ancient civilizations.<sup>9</sup> Surrounded by four big rivers, Ravi, Chenab, Indus and Sutlej, the region has been well known for its agrarian products and handicrafts related to its agriculture. Multan city served as a market center for this economy. The economic prosperity of the region and the tolerant behavior of its inhabitants assigned it a mythological status and made it a meeting point for the adjacent civilizations: Persia, Central Asia, Middle East and India.

## **2.3. Status as Commercial Centre**

The geographic locale and the agricultural produces made Multan a best place for trade in the region. As the other areas of the region were under strong tribal control, therefore independent status of Multan became a route cause of the promotion of trade and commerce in the city and the emergence of Multan as a commercial centre. The merchants of different areas of Arabia, Central Asia, Persia, Hindostan, Bengal, Rajhistan, Guzrat, Makran and Sind established permanent contacts with the city.<sup>10</sup>

## **2.4. Religious Sanctification**

Multan has mythological-religious sanctity since very remote age. This status brings to light a variety of mythological influences developing in Multan city. These influences made Multan a permanent centre of pilgrimage and people from all around the world began to come to Multan. Religious festivals can be supposed to be providing a centre of activity for trade, commerce and immigration during the medieval times. This demographic theme seems to be supported by the view of status of Multan as an ancient trade centre.

The ancient world view is considered to be based on Fire, Sun and Light worship and Sun worship is supposed to be the only universal phenomena of then known world. Multan is considered to be the one major centre of the Sun worship. The following table shows that almost all except one interpretation of the old names of the Multan link it with the tradition of sun-worship. As the sun was considered to be the source of life and source of purification of earth from impurity of the worldly behaviour, therefore, it was a sacred centre for those who believed in Sun-god. The old known names attached with the city to recognize it confirm these speculations.

**Table:<sup>11</sup>**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Old Name</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
1.	<b>Malli/Malohi/Maluvasthan</b>	The city of Malaya tribe who worshipped Sun god
2.	<b>Kasyapapura</b>	The origin-land of Sun gods
3.	<b>Hanspura</b>	The land of Sun
4.	<b>Bagapura</b>	the land of Sun
5.	<b>Parhaladpura</b>	City of Parhalad (god)
6.	<b>Adysthana</b>	The land of Sun god
7.	<b>Kaspapurose</b>	The city of Sun
8.	<b>Kaspaturese</b>	The city of Sun
9.	<b>Kasperia</b>	The city of Sun
10.	<b>Sambapura</b>	The city of the worshiper of Sun
11.	<b>Mulsthanapura</b>	The city of god of sun Rays
12.	<b>Sauvira</b>	The land of great heroes

The prosperity of the city and the region and the mythological-religious creed of Sun-worship had made the city popular in adjacent world as the belief in Sun-god was not only popular among the trans-Sutlej Hindustani mythology, but also more spiritually was followed by the Persians and Middle Eastern communities and even among the Greco-Roman world which linked the city with these regions.<sup>12</sup> The people around the world had not only contact with the city, but also had a general tendency of migration towards Multan city either because of its religious sanctity or due to its commercial importance.

It appears that religion and economy had constructed the demographic foundations of Multan city. It naturally made Multan a central point of caravan-routes, either of Pilgrims or of traders and linked it with all major centers of civilizations. The immigration in Multan and emigration from Multan contributed potentially in the development of a permanent demographic structure of the city. Therefore, not only the trans-Sutlej communities from the East, but also trans-Indus

communities from the West were used to take their ways to Multan to pay their tribute to the deities recognized and associated with this venerated place. Resultantly, immigration and emigration became a permanent part of Multani demography. As permanent population remained very much confined to the traditional religious class, therefore, Multan provided an extended space for the intermingling of religious, ethnic and racial communities and for the development of a compound culture, especially, represented by its language having the ability to pronounce every phonetic composition of the world languages.<sup>13</sup> This compound provided a landscape for the settlement of any group intending to maintain its individuality or wishing to merge in the main-stream compound of culture. It reflected a high level of tolerance, coherence, intermingling, interaction and resultantly veneration among the people and races inhabited around the region.

### **2.5. International Route Links**

The presentation of Multan merely as a city of main stream trade route does not reflect the status of the city properly; rather it was a centre for pilgrims also. There were so many routes established to link Multan with Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia in the North West and to link Delhi, Rajputana , Gujrat and Sind in the South and East. These links developed a demographic pattern which was based on the inter-mixture of different races and religions. Through the status as a religious and trade centre, Multan city performed the functions of a caravan route-junction, where all routes and caravans from all around had to come, exchange their goods for barter and had to take their ways back or forward. During the middle ages, Multan was a junction linking a number of main routes serving for the demographic changes in the region, such as:

1. **Multan- Quetta/ Qandahar route:** linking Multan through Kurram and Gomal Passes with Afghanistan and Central Asia and Persia.
2. **Multan-Quetta-Persia Route:** Linking Multan with Persia and Central Asia
3. **Multan-Gomal Pass-Central Asia Rout:** Linking Multan with central Asian religions and races
4. **Multan-Khyber Pass Route:** linking Multan with Northern Afghanistan and Central Asia through Potohar region.
5. **Chennab-Indus Water Channel:** linking Multan with Middle East and Persian Gulf through Arabian Sea.
6. **Multan-Lahore Road:** Linking Multan with Lahore and Hindostan.
7. **Multan-Delhi Road:** linking Multan with Hindustan through Delhi.
8. **Grand Trunk Road:** linking Multan with Northern India and Bengal.
9. **Multan -Abohar Route:** linking Multan with trans-Sutlej Cholistan, Rajasthan, Sind and Guzrat<sup>14</sup>

A mass of people continued to immigrate into and emigrate from Multan since ancient times; however, the process appears to be taking the form of a visible or prominent scene at certain stages of history. Being a meeting point for civilizations of India, Persia, Central Asia and Middle East, its history has no traces of tribal

warfare, rather a place where imperial powers collided to achieve control over the adjacent regions as well as wealth. Therefore its demography represented a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic configuration or compound racial contents. However, the city of Multan can be considered a centre for refuge during the time of turmoil. The major races who took up this city for their political and power exploits were martial races. All major evidences of history from the time of Alexander of Macedonia in 321 B.C. to our current time in the twentieth century confirm this theory at large.<sup>15</sup>

### **2.6. The Emergence and Spread of Modern Religions.**

The demographic links and religious veneration had begun to develop new cultural-religious discourse in the region since very ancient times. The cultural religiosity found in the Harrappan and Mohenjodaran civilizations and emergence of Hinduism and Buddhism seem to be the result of this interaction. Although, the Buddhism's nature mystical behaviour was very much close to the spiritual character of the region, no strong traces of Buddhism can be found in and around Multan. However, mythological Hinduism got itself established deeply in the region. The identity of the city attached with the Sun-god shifted its association to Hindu deities<sup>16</sup> who had also placed indigenously established Sun-god (Suriya) at a high place of religious festivity.<sup>17</sup>

The penetration of indigenous deities faced a new wave of cultural influence by the third century B.C. from Greeko- Bactrians, Persian Central-Asian cultural invasion followed by the races under the influence of Islam. First invasion brought Zoroastrian-Persians' religion. This impact dominated by the Deities of Sun and Fire and second wave of invasion brought Islamic religions in the region. Both left a strong impact on the culture and religion of the area.<sup>18</sup> Very soon Islam became the largest followed religion. Its interaction with the indigenous culture introduced new forms of spirituality in the form of Sufism and Indian Islam. Multan became a great centre of Muslim mysticism.<sup>19</sup> This combination resulted in the emergence of a new indigenous religion known as Sikhism. However, Christianity was introduced by the imperial masters and remained aligned with ruling elites and never became able to establish its foundations in the culture of the region. The status of the city as a centre of inter-cultural, inter-religious activity can be found universal throughout the history.

### **3. People on the Move Under the British**

As we have discussed there has been a constant flow of people to and from Multan since ancient times. The process of ethnic and cultural interaction became accelerated during the British colonial times, due to the introduction of modern moods of transportation especially Railway. On the other hand, Multan emerged as a major out-post of British Empire in the South-West of India especially towards central Asia, Middle East, Afghanistan and Persia. Following table provides the figures of immigrants and emigrants from Multan, during the last fifty years of British rule.

**Table of Migration<sup>20</sup>**

<b>Census Year</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration</b>
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<b>1901</b>	616000	616008
<b>1911</b>	802264	728782
<b>1921</b>	788028	789028
<b>1931</b>	1022624	1022624

The table indicates that there was so continuous a flow of immigrants and emigrants that balance of demographic composition was maintained. It is however to be explored that what was the nature of settlement.

#### **4. Religio-Demographic Taxonomy of Colonial Multan**

Demographically, the population of Multan city has been classified in three ways. Foremost important classification was based on tribe/caste, religion and profession. Although tribe and profession marked the foundation of distinction and identity, nature of the religion and culture has a profound impact on the determination of profession of a religious group. Every tribe and professional groups had a further division based on their belief system. In most of the cases, the three divisions were combined into one major concept of identity.

As a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural centre of religious and trade activity, Multan was populated by all popular religions of the world by the end of nineteenth century, except that of the followers of the Buddhism. It is probable that Buddhist had been converted to Islam on the traditional pattern of conversion in the Indus valley after the Muslim conquest of the region as Multan had become a centre of Sufi activity which were very close to the spiritual norms of Buddhism. However, Hindus, Sikhs, Janis, Muslims, Christians, Parsees and Jews were found here in the Multan. These religious groups were further divided into sects. The following table shows the population of various religious groups in the censuses of India from 1881 to 1931.

**Table of Religious Demography<sup>21</sup>**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Year</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Hindu</b>	<b>Sikh</b>	<b>Jain</b>	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Christian</b>	<b>Parsee</b>	<b>Jew</b>
<b>1881</b>	68674	29962	661	46	36294			1711
<b>1891</b>	74562	32130	961	24	39765	1672	09	01
<b>1901</b>	87394	36947	1588	134	46899	1777	49	
<b>1911</b>	99243	38341	2659	388	55686	2105	58	
<b>1921</b>	84806	25339	1573	28	55864	1955	47	
<b>1931</b>	119457	40424	2960	424	72134	1823		

Among these religious groups, Hindus and Muslims were the major groups inhabiting Multan. However Muslims not only formed a definite majority, but also increased their strength in number during the first half of the twentieth century under the imperial administration. According to the population census of 1881, the population of the Muslims was 52.84 % of the total population of Multan city and Hindus formed 43.63 % of the total population of the city. The population of Hindus decreased in terms of fraction, according to the census report of 1891 especially due to a minimum level conversion of Hindus to Christianity, therefore the population of

Muslims increased in fractions in comparison with the Hindus. However, all Jewish population seems to have migrated and no census evidence of existence of Jews after 1891 is available in documents.

Indication of the widening demographic difference between Hindu and Muslim Population can be found by the end of nineteenth century. The Muslim population began to increase and Hindu population began to decline. The epidemic of plague before the census of 1921<sup>22</sup> brought to focus major demographic shift in Multan city which was strongly supported by the Hindu-Muslim communal riots in the 1920s.<sup>23</sup> This structure continued until the partition of India plan 1947. The epidemic decreased the population of Multan to 84806 in 1921 as compared to 1911 census report's figures of 99243. The Muslims maintained their population. However Hindu population decreased significantly as 38341 in 1911 to 25339 in 1921. Their population declined to 30 % against 43 % of total population in 1891. The Muslims became 66 % of the total population. By the census of 1931, the Hindus could maintain only 33% of total population, but Muslims got their share in population established at 60% which remained firm until 1947. However almost all Jain population got shifted towards South of India.

The migration chart indicates that the population of Pathans increased rapidly after the epidemic of Plague.<sup>24</sup> The gap of migration of Hindus at a large scale was filled by them.

#### **4.1. Religious Taxonomy of Castes and Clans**

Religious/ Communal divide was a major demographic fact, yet Multani society was based on professional caste and clan system, having distinction of customs, traditions and rituals. As it was a multi-cultural society, therefore most of the dominant castes and clan had a history of migration from the different parts of the world. Although the people, who had migrated from the trans-Sutlej South and East regions, were mostly Hindus and people who had come from the trans-Indus North and West, were considered to be Muslim. However there were a number of castes and clans who had almost equal following of Hinduism and Islam. The following categories indicate the communal division of castes and clans in the Multan:

**Hindu Castes and Clans:** Arora, Arya, Brahmin, Bagaria, Khattri, Bhabhra, Chimar, Churra, Kori, Ood.

**Muslim Castes and Clans:** Khoja, Khokhar, Shaikh, Marth, Mughal, Pathan, Qureshi, Syed, Biloch, Chishti, Daudpotra, Arain

These caste and clans had universal adherence of Hindu or Muslim religious creed and rituals. Brahmins were Hindu theologians functioning as mediators between the supernatural deities and the common masses. Arora, Khitris and Bagaria were Hindus' commercial classes and others were professional classes of Hindus. They all religiously were connected with the South and North India. The Brahmins formed one of the major Hindu groups residing in the towns consisted almost 20% of total Hindu population of the city. Their major castes were Sarsut and

Pushkarna. Khattris formed near about 10 % of the Hindu population, and were migrants from the ‘Punjab Proper’.<sup>25</sup> Their major castes were Mirhotras, Khannas and Kapur. Only major Hindu caste of indigenous origin were Aroras, forming an over-whelming majority of the Hindu population in the city. Locally they were not termed as Hindus, but were called ‘Karar’. They had a monopoly over the professions of trade and money-lending. Therefore, they had a vast land occupied on mortgage in the district. They maintained their own system of ‘goot’ (sub-caste) within the Arora community. Therefore, they had naturally a distance with other population of the city as well as grievances and whenever there was a communal tension, this section had to face the grievances of the other sections of the society.<sup>26</sup> Other than these major Hindu tribes, there were tribes of indigenous Indian origin the part of whose had mixed communal following. The people from those castes could be found among the followers of Islam as well as Hindus and Sikhs. Common among them were; Faqirs who had almost equal number of followers of Islam and Hinduism. The same was the case with Ahirs, Jats, Rajputs and Bhattis.

On the contrary, major Muslim castes were universally Muslims and had migrated from Central Asia, Middle East, Persia and Afghanistan. Although the contacts between Multan and these regions were established since long, the process had a dynamic impact through the politics of invasions. The arrival of the Syeds and Qureshis has continued since the second century of Hijra through the regions of Central Asia and Persia and through the sea routs, especially since Muhammad bin Qasim’s invasion of Sind. Other Central Asian and Persian flocks continued to enter in the region and partially settle down in Multan region during the long age of Muslim invasions from Mahmud of Ghazna in the tenth century to Ahmed Shah Abdali in the Eighteenth century. This period created an environment for the settlement of Mughals, Iranians, Kurds, Medes and Afghans in the Multan city and they are still residing in the city mostly known through their sub-clans or castes.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.2. Religious-Professional Demographic Taxonomy of Multan

The case with the professional groups which in Hindu system of social stratification were considered ‘Kummy’ [the working class] and were treated as ‘low castes’, was very different. Divided into a system of castes on Hindu pattern, like guilds of European Middle ages and having a strict system for maintaining purity of professional blood, with the exception of a few communally mixed professions, almost all professional groups and castes were overwhelmingly followers of Islam. As Multan was a city known for the cotton products therefore in spite of the existence of all major professions of civilized society, most of the professionals were working in the professions which were related to the products of cotton. Two types of professions were perfectly occupied by the Muslims: the professions related to the Cotton industry and professions related to cleansing of human environment. The following table reflects the communal nature of professional castes:

**Communal table of Professional Castes:<sup>28</sup>**

S. No	Castes	% of Muslims	% of Non-
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			<b>Muslims</b>
	Banjara	100.0%	Nil
	Bharai	100.0%	Nil
	Macchi	100.0%	Nil
	Nangan	100.0%	Nil
	Qasab	100.0%	Nil
	Kutana/Mussali	99.9%	0.1%
	Mirasi	99.8%	0.20%
	Malah	99.76%	0.24%
	Kumhar	99.6%	0.4%
	Mochi	99.0%	1.0%
	Nai	99.0%	1.0%
	Teli	99.0%	1%
	Tarkhan	98.9%	1.1%
	Julah	98.5%	1.5%
	Darzi	97.8%	2.2%
	Penja	97.6%	2.4%
	Chimba	97.5%	2.5%
	Kanchan	97.5%	2.5%
	Lohar	97.4%	2.6%
	Dhobi	97.08%	2.92%
	Kahar	95.6%	4.4%
	Faqir	95.0%	5%
	Nat	92.0%	8.0%
	Mali	90.0%	10%
	Kamboh	85.6%	14.4%
	Sunar	67.0%	33%
	Mahatam	63.5%	36.5
	Jogi and Rewal	55.6%	44.4%
	Bazigar	46.0%	54%
	Jhiwar	38.5%	61.5%
	Chuhra	24.4%	75.6%
	Lodha	18.8%	81.2%
	Labana	10.0%	90.0%
	Kori	2.3%	97.7
	Marija	2.0%	98%
	Chimar	0.55 %	99 %
	Mazhabi	Nil	100

The table shows a communal divide in the professional arena very strong. Most of the professions either minor or major were held by the Muslims, However, some of the professions mentioned at the end of the table were dominated by the Hindus, This division reflects, in one way or other, the religious belief system also. For example Mazhabi can be considered a free religion and no Muslim claimed to be

a Mazhabi. However, among the Hindus this trend was dominated. In the same way, professions working with the leather products were dominated by the Muslims as Hindus were considered to be against the use of meat. The analysis of the other professions can produce a more better understanding of the demographic structure of the region.

**Conclusion:**

Multan appear to be a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic religious and commercial centre since ancient times, linked with the Persia, Central Asia, Middle East, Hindostan and Bengal through land routs as well as water channels. Its ethnic compound seems to have developed ‘Multani Culture’ well known for its ability to absorb differing and conflicting cultural traits as well tolerance as three fundamental parameters of demographic analysis, i.e., Race, religion and profession seem to be working together in the city, as ethnic identity was closely linked with the communal identity. Simultaneously, the professional or vocational identity was associated with the communal-religious symbols and forms of representations. The cast structure appear to be working equal to the level of medieval guild structure of Europe, especially those of working classes or professional classes independent of feudal structure. The professional classes’ strong sense of superiority and pride did not allow the practitioners of other professions to enter in their family circles in spite of a strong communal brotherhood. They were used to marry among the families members of who belonged to their professional groups. They have their particular customs and rituals mostly related to their professions. They had a group of people assigned the task of maintaining communication with all the members of the guild in the region; for example ‘Mochi Mang’ or ‘Jat Bhagat’ (A group who was accustomed to beg only from the people who were attached with a particular profession and were used to serve as mediators between the members of the guild).<sup>29</sup> The existence of such groups was very common to serve the purpose of communication between the members of guild. They were highly respected as they had contacts with the hierarchy of the guild from top to bottom and were used to serve the purpose of development of new matrimonial alliances. However, this guild interest was dominated by the communal identity during the first half of twentieth century. This structure seems to be broken due to the mass scale migration after the independence to India and Pakistan. The city became a single community centre of Muslim mercantile class as well as professional except a very few Hindus and Christians. The loss of multi-communal still did not affect the Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural status of the city. It still holds this tradition with pride.

**References:**

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<sup>1</sup> In the recent years, a number of initiatives have been taken to restore the antiquarian status of Multan city. Other than placing a number of monuments on the list of world heritage by UNESCO, the city is declared sister city with Rome of Italy and Damascus of Syria. The Government of Italy has signed a memorandum of

understanding with the city government of Multan for the restoration of old city of Multan especially, the Old City Wall.

<sup>2</sup> For a view of the medieval society and difference between agrarian and civic societies, see Sidney Painter, *Medieval Society*, London: Cornell University Press, 1951 and M. P. Srivastava, *Society and Culture in Medieval India, 1206-1707*, Delhi. Chugh Publications, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Khurram Qadir's 'How I Became a Saraiki' in *Saraiki Wasaib*, Multan. Saraiki Area Study Centre, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> See for details Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, *Outline of the History of Assyria* (London, 1853); and *Notes on the Early History of Babylonia* (London, 1854); George Rawlinson, *Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, Seven Volumes, (London, nd.); and Mir Khuda Bakhsh Marri Bijarani, *Search Lights on Baloches and Balochistan* (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), pp.12-13.

<sup>5</sup> Ashiq Muhammad Khan, 'Multan Through the Ages', in *Saraiki Wasaib*, op. cit., pp. 1-26

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, London. Trubner & Co, 1871 and *Archaeological Survey of India*, VI. V, Calcutta. Superintendent of the government Printing, 1975; Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, 'Multan Through the Ages', in *Saraiki Wasaib*, op. cit., pp. 1-26

<sup>7</sup> See for details, *District Gazetteer of Multan*, 1923, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel, 1991.

<sup>8</sup> See any Satellite Map of Multan on internet.

<sup>9</sup> Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge. Cambridge: University press, 1962. Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, Oxford. Oxford University press, 1998.

<sup>10</sup> I am not going to take up this issue in detail as it is discussed in detail by Dr. Humaira Arif in his article 'Medieval Period and the commercial Trends of Multan' in *Saraiki Wasaib*, op. cit., pp. 123-134.

<sup>11</sup> These names are taken from different Ancient and medieval sources. However a number of modern historians have used references of those sources, especially Indian, Greek, Persian and Arab sources. See for details Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Multan Through the Ages* and Humaira Arif Dasti, *Multan: A Province of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998.

<sup>12</sup> See Ahsan Wagha, 'Saraiki Area: the Centre and the circle' in *Saraiki Wasaib*, pp. 111-122.

<sup>13</sup> See for Details Ahsan Wagha, *The Saraiki Language*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, SOAS, UK.

<sup>14</sup> For the detail of these routs other than travelogues see *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982.

<sup>15</sup> For details see, K. C. Sagar, *Foreign Influence on India*, New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1992.

<sup>16</sup> The stories of Ram, Lakshman and Sita, three popular mythological Deities well venerated among the followers of indigenous Indian religions are also attached with this region. One popular story narrates:

‘The River Ravi flows down a distance of nine miles in a straight canal in this region. According to local Hindu mythology of the time, this position of River Ravi was ascribed to the miracle of Ram and Lakshman. According to local Hindu mythology, one day Ram and Lakshman were taking bath in the Ravi and there was no one to watch their clothes. While swimming they desired the river to flow straight so that they could watch their clothes. They swim about nine miles and the river began to change its course and became straight according to the wishes of Ram and Lakshman. Another story relates that Ram was watching Sita who was sitting on the bank of River Ravi (at Sita Kund) and was washing her clothes. Ram wanted to watch her beauty and the river respected his wish. After swimming nine miles they came out from the river: Ram on the Left bank and Lakshman on the right bank. Two sacred places began to be known as Ram Choutra and Lakshman Choutra and were well venerated among the Hindus of the region. Temples were erected on the spots and an annual fair was used to held on these places in the month of Besakh (April). Dewan Sawan Mal of Multan not only rebuilt the temple of Ram Choutra but also erected a temple in Sara-i-Sidho which is still being used as a school.’ (Lal Chand, *Geography Zila Multan*, (Multan: Lal Chand Publishers, n.d.), p.18; Lala Fateh Chand, *Multan Kay Zila Ka Geographia*, (Lahore: Mufeed –e-Aam, 1888), pp. 44-5.

<sup>17</sup> Suraj Kund is a term applied to the place of worship of Sun-god. It still reminds the dominant impact this deity in and around Multan as the place is still known with the same name.

<sup>18</sup> Humaira Arif Dasti, *Multan: A Province of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998, Third chapter.

<sup>19</sup> The Sufi tradition in Multan is constructed around the person of Bahauddin Zakariya, Shah Rukn e Alam, Shah Shams Sabzwari, Musa Pak Shaheed and Shah Yousuf Gardez. The mausoleums of the saints are the centers of Sufi practices even today.

<sup>20</sup> The Data of earlier period is not available, therefore, the table is derived from the data available in *Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXVII. Part B. Multan District Statistical Tables* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1936), p. xxxiii.

<sup>21</sup> The Punjab Government, *Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXVII. Part B. Multan District Statistical Tables* (Lahore: Superintendent government Printing, 1936), p. xxviii.

<sup>22</sup> Gazetteer of Multan District 1923, p. 118

<sup>23</sup> Muhammad Shafique ‘Indigenous Challenges and Potent Response: Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gilani (1875-1960) as ‘Salar’ of Multani Muslim Community’ in *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol XXX, No. 1, pp. 159-182

<sup>24</sup> See *The Gazetteer of Multan 1923*.

<sup>25</sup> The term ‘Punjab Proper’ is used in the District Gazetteer Multan 1923 for the areas dominated by the Sikhs and origin of Sikh Empire.

<sup>26</sup> The term 'Karar' is still used in the rural areas of Multan for the community of Hindu money lenders. However, in general it is used for all classes of Hindus in Multan.

<sup>27</sup> See for detail the ethnic data provided by Aulad Ali Gillani in his *Muraqa-i-Multan*, Lahore: 1996

<sup>28</sup> The Punjab Government, *Punjab District Gazetteers Volume XXVII. Part B. Multan District Statistical Tables* (Lahore: Superintendent government Printing, 1936), pp.xx- xxviii.

<sup>29</sup> The tradition has been functional by the end of twentieth century. However with the growth of globalization and spread of modern mechanical profession, the tradition has gone declined. See for details Lochan Singh Buxi, Bhakti Movement: Its Impact on Sikh Spiritual Tradition, *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religions*, 17(1), 1998. pp 107-28. The Same tradition among the Hindu division of professions is associated with Mochi Mang.