

Multan - a historic city of Pakistan

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Multan, which in its long history has been known by various names, is one of the most ancient and historic cities of Pakistan and throughout the centuries has played a memorable role in the life of the country. "The old name of Multan was Kasheppuri, which was got built by *Rajah* Kashep; after Hernakas, his son Perhalad became the ruler, after whose name it was later known as Perhaladhuri. It got the present name of Multan because of Mali dynasty, which was defeated by Sikander Maqdooni".¹

Long before its conquest by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 A.D., Multan had been an important place in the successive kingdoms of the Greeks, Bactrians, Kushans, and White Huns. "Multan was earlier under the domination of Mansurah and afterwards in the middle of third century Hijra, acquired the status of a sovereign state."² This statement is supported by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali when he writes, "The city (Mansourah), which stood a few miles from Brahmanabad, the pre-Islamic capital of Sindh, was founded by Mansour bin Jamhur and from 871 onwards was the capital of Sindh, which at one time constituted one of the two Muslim kingdoms in Pakistan, the other being that of Multan."³ It means that firstly Multan was a part of Sind whose capital was Mansoorah and later it itself became an independent Muslim kingdom.

Describing the invasion of Multan by Arabs, Moulai Shadai writes, "After conquering Isklandah, Muslim troops (under the command of Mohammad bin Qasim), invaded the fort of Sikah, which was in the south of river Ravi. The ruler of the place Bajeerai left it after encountering the attack for 17 days. Muhammad bin Qasim put the fort under the charge of Atba bin Saleema, and after crossing the river Ravi, laid a siege to Multan. Girseeh, son of Chander, the

Raja of Multan, fled to Kashmir, after encountering the invasion for two months. The victors got a buried treasure worth rupees three crores from Multan's temple of *Aftab* (sun), 'Baitul Zahab'. It must be remembered that 1/5th of the treasures found at Debal, Sewistan, Nerunkot and Alore, the towns of Sind, was sent to Hajjaj bin Yousuf and the remnant distributed among the troops. But the treasure acquired at Multan was sent to Damascus via Debal and Basrah through ships. Muhammad bin Qasim appointed Daud bin Nasr Amani as the Governor (ruler) of Multan and Azhar Madani as the commander of the fort and he himself proceeded to Keeraj".⁴

After 712 for nearly 300 years the city became the capital of the Muslim empire under the Arabs and then, on its conquest by Sultan Mahmoud Ghaznavi in 1005, it formed an important stronghold of the Ghaznavi empire, as Sorley remarks, "Sind was under Arab governors for a period of nearly three hundred years.....It remained under Arab influence for a considerably longer period when the early dynasties of Multan and Mansura were in power in Upper and Lower Sind till nearly the end of the tenth century A.D."⁵ When the Ghaznavis were defeated by the Ghauris in 1175, it was incorporated in the Muslim kingdom at Delhi and continued to be an important north-western fortress of that kingdom. In the course of the next three centuries, it suffered ten invasions including those of Timur Shah in 1397 and Babar in 1528, as a result of which it became part of the Pak empire, now built up by the Mughals."⁶ Whereas Moulai Shadai assumes, "Babar used to invade Punjab from Kabul. The ruler of the Punjab, Daulat Khan Lodhi was also the supporter of Babar. Babar directed Mirza Shah Hasan to conquer Uch and Multan. Thus in the year 930 Hijra (1523 A.D.) Punjab was under the rule of Babar."⁷ There is a slight variation between these two statements so far as the year of incorporation of the Punjab (including Multan) into Mughal empire is concerned. This point will be clear in the following paras.

"The province of Multan, which though lying among deserts, contains some of the most fertile and populous parts of the Punjab, was then possessed by the dynasty of Langas. The first Muhammedan conquest of Multan, if we except a transient one under the early Khalifas, was made by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors;

on the decline of whose empire it again fell under the native Hindus. It was afterwards conquered by the emperors of Delhi, under which kingdom it remained till the fall of the Tughlak dynasty, when the whole empire fell to pieces, and new monarchies started up in every direction.....”⁸

“Multan which during eighty years was held by the Langa dynasty, seems to have been a prey to the surrounding tribes of Gakers, Afghans, Baluches and Sehna Jams. Its territory reached from the Indus, near the Derra Din-panah, to the Ravi, and thence downward to upper Sind. It contained much desert; but the lands on the banks of the Chenab and the Ghara were richly cultivated, as well as some on the Indus; and Multan being the route which the caravans between India and Kandahar were accustomed to take, the union of commerce and agriculture had made Multan and Uch flourishing cities.”⁹ According to this statement, the Langa dynasty ruled Multan for eighty years and according to Sorley, “.....the Arghuns ruling (Multan) as feudatories from 1521 to 1554 and the Turkhans from 1554 to 1591.”¹⁰ Since the Mughals began to rule Multan (of course through the Arghuns) about 1521 after defeating the Langa dynasty, it may be inferred that the Langas ruled the city from 1441 to 1520 A.D.

“Hardly twelve months had passed since Baber entered India, and only eight since the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim, yet the Emperor’s sway now extended from Attok to Behar; and, from Kalpi and Gualiar, to the mountains of Himala. It was about this time, too, as is elsewhere mentioned, that Multan was added to his empire. When, on a previous occasion, he invaded the Penjab, he had encouraged Shah Hasan Arghun, who was then in possession of Bheker, to attack that province. This he willingly did; ravaged the country, and invested the capital. On this first occasion, the Arghun retired, on getting a cession of that part of the Multan territory which lay below the Ghara. But having not long after renewed his invasion, he once more sat down before the city of Multan; which, after a siege of fifteen months, he took by storm and plundered.”¹¹ Sultan Mahmud Langa, the ruler of Multan at the time of Mughal conquest, was shaky. “However, with the support of Suhrab Khan Dodaj, his rule was lingering on.”¹² After occupying Uch, Shah Hasan took into posse-

ssion the fort of Darawar. As per the directions of Babar, he then reached the fort of Multan.

"Shah Hasan...sent forward a party of five hundred horses in advance, and, following, encamped on the frontiers of the Men of Lar. Nanda Dehr, a man of great weight at Multan, having waited on him and submitted, he proceeded on to Uch. The Langas...resolved to hazard a battle in its defence...But Shah Hasan's veterans...broke and routed their opponents with great havoc..."¹³ The terror-stricken Sultan Mahmud deputed Shaikh Bahauddin Qureshi, the great saint of the time, and Maulana Bahlool to Shah Hasan for compromise, but the Arghun invader did not listen to them.

"Sultan Mahmud Langa, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, and the occupation of the second city of his dominions, strained every nerve to raise a powerful army to overwhelm the invaders... He marched out of Multan, proposing to meet Shah Hasan."¹⁴ According to another author, "Finally, seeing no other way out, Sultan Mahmud Langa came to encounter the Mughals with an army of eighty thousand Jats, Rinds, Dodais, Qurais and Chandia Baluchs, but was defeated. His son and daughter, both of whom were minors, became prisoners. They were handed over to Miskeen Khan Tarkhan by Shah Hasan urging him that the children should be looked after like his own."¹⁵ As regards the death of Sultan Mahmud Langa, Erskine remarks, "The Sultan, after halting a month close by Multan, to provide the necessary stores, ammunition, and arms, at length put his army in motion. But, at the very first station, he died suddenly."¹⁶ Regarding the year of Sultan's death Moulai Shadai writes, "Sultan Langa died after ruling upto 931 Hijra (1524 A.D.)."¹⁷

After Sultan Mahmud, his son Sultan Hussain Shah became the ruler of Multan. "When his (Sultan Mahmud's) death was announced, the Langas and Baluches assembled and raised to the throne his son, Sultan Husein Langa, then a minor."¹⁸ As a result, the reins of the government remained in the hands of Shaikh Shuja-ul-Mulk Bukhari, who was Sultan Mahmud's brother-in-law and who, by remaining inside the fort, resolved to fight the Mughals afresh, though he could not be successful. This was so because Langer Khan, the commander of Langas, who was in fact a slave of this dynasty and "who killed Sultan Mahmud Shah by poisoning him"¹⁹

became a traitor and joined Shah Hasan Arghun. This seems to be one of the main reasons why, "Shah Hasan did not long remain inactive...The state of Multan speedily recalled him into that country."²⁰ Stating, most probably, as another reason of Shah Hasan's second invasion, the same author writes, "The invasion of Multan by Shah Hasan was much facilitated by a deadly quarrel that had arisen between the reigning prince, Mahmud Langa, and two of his ministers of the Sehna tribe, who were patronised by Sultan Sikander Lodi of Delhi, which had proceeded to such a length that the hostile parties met in the field, and, Mahmud being defeated, a division of Multan had taken place, —the minister Jam Bayezid receiving the cession of the district of Sirwar, up the Chenab, while Mahmud retained the city of Multan and the country below it"²¹ It follows, therefore, that Shah Hasan's invasion was for the part of Multan which was under the rule of Sultan Mahmud Langa.

"Shah Hasan pushed onwards to Multan; and the Langas, though they had collected in some force, seeing no hope of encountering him with success in the field, retired into the capital...Shah Hasan, without loss of time sat down before Multan, and laid active siege to the place."²² Describing the siege and its effects the same author continues, "When the siege had lasted a year and some months... a scene of indiscriminate slaughter and pillage ensued...The greater part of the Langas, and of the army of Multan, perished in this calamity."²³ According to another author, "As a result of the siege, the inhabitants of Multan were tortured so much that they began to eat even dogs and cats. The Arghuns resorted to looting, so much so that they did not leave even the *haveli* of Maulana Ibrahim, President of *Jamey Jameyee* and his son Maulana Saaduddin Lahori. All the prisoners who were from 17 to 70 years of age were killed by the Mughals. Multan was completely ruined."²⁴ Both of these statements support each other. "Shah Hasan at length put an end to the slaughter"²⁵ most probably when, "in the end, Sultan Hussain Shah surrendered in 932 A. H. (1525 A. D.)."²⁶ Shah Hasan, after remaining two or three months in Multan, returned to Bukkur (Sind), leaving Khwaja Shamsuddin, one of his Amirs, in charge of the city and Langer Khan its commander.

An oppressive foreign government, unsupported by a powerful military force, could not be expected to maintain its authority for a

longer period. Accordingly, "Langer Khan, disgusted with the management of affairs, left Multan, and repaired to Baber's court....The Arghuns had held it about fifteen months. Shah Hasan is said to have, in consequence, resigned the province of the Emperor; who seems to have bestowed it upon his son, Askeri, and to have sent him, accompanied by Langer Khan, to take possession of his government, and under the management of Langer Khan it remained during the rest of Baber's reign."²⁷ On the other hand Moulai Shadai writes, "Langer Khan was clever and a statesman. He firstly removed the symptoms of Multan's destruction, thereby winning people's favour. When he saw himself strong enough, he deported Khwaja Shamsuddin from Multan, and extended his possession over it."²⁸ There is a slight contradiction between these two statements. However, one fact is quite clear that Langer Khan remained incharge of the government of Multan, whether it was his own or of Mughal prince Askeri and that in any case he had to act as the feudatory of the Mughal empire so far as the period of Babar's reign is concerned.

In 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) Babar was dead. After him, his son Naseeruddin Humayun became the ruler of Delhi and Agra. "On Baber's death, Humayun found himself compelled to give Multan, along with the whole of the Punjab, to his brother Mirza Kamran. That prince sent his own servants to take charge of Multan, and recalled Langer Khan to Lahore."²⁹ Another author is of the view that, "Kamran called Langer Khan to Lahore and after bestowing upon him the province of Kabul, annexed Multan to the Mughal Empire."³⁰ Thus Multan came under the direct rule of the Mughals. From Kamran, Multan passed on to Sher Shah and his descendants. Later, under Akbar, it was regained by the Imperial family.

"When Sind was annexed to the Moghul dominions by Akbar, the country as a whole was made part of the subah of Multan and Sarkars were established in two places, Bakhar in the north and Tatta in the Indus deltaic region...For a whole century the governors of Bakhar and Tatta were appointed first from the Tarkhan dynasty and later from Hindustan by the Moghul Emperor and were members of the feudal bureaucracy which controlled the administration."³¹ Thus, under the administrative system of the Mughals Sind consisted of two divisions of the province of Multan.

Nadir Shah invaded Sind/India about the middle of the 18th century. "Upper Sind at the period of the invasion of Hindustan and the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah formed part of the Subah of Multan. On the dismemberment of the empire of Delhi the portion named Moghulee, comprising Sukkur, Bukkar and Shikarpur and its dependencies was annexed to the Durani Kingdom by Ahmad Shah Abdali whose capital was Kabul. The Afghan possessions in Sind extended on the north-east to Kashmore on the Multan frontier, north to the Rojhan and the desert and south to Mundajee on the Larkana River."³² Thus, according to Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, "in 1752, it (Multan) was part of the Pak kingdom at Kabul."³³ In the 19th century after being threatened several times by the Sikhs, it was captured by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818. This was a short-lived possession, because only thirty years later, in 1849, it was surrendered by Maharaja Dalip Singh to the British. It is worth mentioning that, "in the War of Independence, it was one of the centres of the rising, and the regiments stationed there, though disarmed, were engaged in action in August, 1858."³⁴

Multan of today comprises the old city and the cantonment and it constitutes a centre of the silk, cotton and carpet industries, and "an entrepot for trade between Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran."³⁵ It is, above all, a great religious place and contains several famous shrines, including those of Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakariya and Hazrat Muhammad Yousuf Gardezi. The shrine of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakariya, better known as Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ul-Haq, stands on the northern edge of the fort of Multan. It is a beautiful piece of architecture and the people from all parts of the country come to pay homage to it. "The saint was born at Kot Karor in 1169 and died at Multan in 1266. He completed his studies in Iran and Turan, then visited many countries, and finally started his mission in Multan."³⁶

Among other great shrines of Multan, the one which is worth mentioning is that of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Yousuf Gardezi. It is a rectangular dome-building of great beauty, standing near the Bohar Gate in the city and it is respected by all classes of people throughout the country. He was born in 1058 at Gardez near Ghazni, Afghanistan, and even in his childhood was absorbed in the study of religious literature. On completing his education at Gardez, he came to Multan, and started his mission there to propagate Islam."³⁷

Rivers play an important role in building an economy, particularly the agricultural one. The province of Punjab receives much advantage from this natural factor. "It is a well-known fact that the Chinab and the Jhelum, which today join the Mithran at Mithankot, used to flow into the Mithran at Uch in the 17th century. In those days Multan was situated on the Ravi; now it is 36 miles from the confluence of that river with the Chinab. One hundred and fifty years ago the Beas deserted its old bed, which can still be recognized between Montgomery (Sahiwal) and Multan, and joined up with the Sutlej near Firozpur, several hundred miles upstream."³¹ The author continues, "After flowing through the Chamba Hills, it (Ravi) enters Gurdaspur district, and then, running between Sialkot and Amritsar districts, it passes by the city of Lahore. After this, entering Montgomery and Multan districts, it falls into the Chinab."³²

About the temperature at Multan Chaudhry Rahmat Ali states, "...the highest temperatures registered in the plains are 127 degrees at Jacobabad on 12th June, 1919, and over 120 degrees at Haidarabad, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, Montgomery, Lahore..."⁴⁰ With regard to the rainfall, he writes, "The average annual rainfall at some of the important places in Pakistan is as follows:

...Karachi 7.56 inches; Haidarabad 7.12; Multan 7.20;..."⁴¹

It has been mentioned earlier that Multan is a historical city containing among other things, the shrines of many famous saints. But apart from that the place has been a well-known producing centre of industrial output. The following industries/products of Multan are worth noting :

- a. *Lungees* (turbans or waistbands) a product of cotton industry.
- b. Carpet-making.
- c. Silk products, particularly the *Lungees* of Silk industry.
- d. Steel trunks, boxes, bat-cases and surgical instruments, the products of Metal industry.
- e. Bangles (of ivory) a product of Ivory-carving industry.
- f. Glazed and enamelled pottery, a product of Pottery industry.

Regarding this industry, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali writes, "For glazed and enamelled pottery Multan is by far the most important

centre as is Delhi for glazed chinaware, Peshawar for faience, and Panipat, Jhajjar, Jullundur and Tanda for 'featherweight pottery'."42

Trade and Commerce

Multan has remained in the past an important commercial centre for India/Central Asian countries and "it (Shikarpur) shares with Multan the title of one of the Gates of Khorassan,"43 a great emporium of Central Asia during the past three to four centuries. Speaking on the importance of Multan from a commercial point of view, Postans further writes, "Beyond Sindh the first mart of commercial importance is Multan, situated between the Sutliij and Jilum, in the Lahore territories; and having one of the only three communications (the Bolan, Khyber, and Daman now alluded to) through the mountains to Candahar, and thence to Hirat, and carrying on a very extensive trade to those countries by the agency of the Lohani Afghans, the supplies in British manufactures and metals being conveyed from Calcutta and Bombay by land carriage, the former through Lucknow, Delhi and Bahawalpur, the latter through Gujirat, Marwar, and Bikanir. The extent of this traffic to the upper country will be understood when it is stated that in one year upwards of 5000 camels, laden with merchandise, pursued that route from Multan. The return trade is of the same nature, and at the same period as that to Shikarpur by the Bolan, consisting of drugs, dyes, dried fruit, horses..."44 Bahawalpur, the whole of the Punjab including the great cities of Lahore and Amritsar, were supplied with British merchandize by the same means as Multan at a cost of time of between two or three months.

Great importance has at all times been attached to the trade of the river Indus; and Sind occupying so prominent a position as the key of the whole river has thus obtained a commercial value. It was until the recent past intimately connected with the commerce of that river, being the entrepot and great line of communication between the sea and Central Asia, as also the places to its north and north-east. In this connection Sorley writes, "Masudie says that the Arab merchants at this period (of Arab rule over Sind) formed the commercial communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India. They brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the sea-ports of Sind and from there conveyed them by way of Multan

to Turkistan and Khurasan"⁴⁵ It means that the goods which were unloaded at the ports of Sind were transported to Multan by way of river Indus from where they were conveyed to the countries of Central Asia. This view is further supported by Sorley when he, at another place, writes, "The Indus was the chief means of communication between Lahore and Thatta and almost all the important cotton manufacturing places were on the river or within easy reach of it..."⁴⁶ Since Lahore is in the north-east of Multan on the bank of river Ravi, which takes its course from river Indus, Multan comes on the bank of river Indus. Of course, the statement of Sorley does not pertain to the Arab period, however, it can be extended to that period as well because at that time Debal was the port of Sind near the location of Thatta.

Not only this but Multan (along with Lahore) also contributed towards making Sind a profitable centre of trade with Europe as is clear from Sorley's statement, who writes, "...Sind with its internal waterway system of the Indus, its easy connexion with Lahore and Multan, two very flourishing towns at this period (17th and 18th centuries) of India's history, its thriving cotton industry, and its vast emporium at Tatta with its busy port at Laribunder, was soon envisaged as a profitable centre of trade with Europe."⁴⁷

When the East India Company established their second factory in 1758 at Thatta, "there were about thirty reputable houses of Multan merchants in Tatta and some from Surat; at present there are none from Surat and but one Multan house of any credit; at that time there were from three to four hundred freight bales of raw silk imported annually but during the four years that I have been here the import has not exceeded 40 bales on a medium."⁴⁸ The contribution of Multan merchants in the trade of Sind is also evident from the above statement.

In Sind, apart from the merchants of Multan there were bankers from that place, like those from Shikarpur, who used to finance trade between various places including Sind and Multan. Sorley in this regard writes, "In Sind there were many considerable Hindu traders on whom the company's agents relied and the names of them are mentioned casually in the East India Company records, for example Bumbamal, who was required to make a large payment

to the Moghul officers out of his wealth, and Navaldas, who is quoted as an instance of a reliable man of business capable of financing commerce between Sind, Multan, and Lahore. In fact he must have been one of the merchants called Multanis, who have given their name to an efficient banking business, men whose names are still current in the indigenous banking and commercial transactions of this portion of Asia."⁴⁹

Speaking on the articles of trade between Multan and Sind, Sorley states, "The articles of import (into Sind) were English piece-goods, velvets, woollens, sugar, spices and metals; mostly from Bombay; cotton, coarse-cloths and silk fabrics from Marwar and Gujarat; silk manufactured goods from Bahawalpur and Multan; dyes, drugs, dried fruits, horses from the North-West."⁵⁰ Postans endorses his view, while commenting on the trade of Sind. According to him, "Commencing with a slight review of the provincial or home-trade of Sindh, being that confined to its own supply and consumption, the imports may be enumerated as consisting principally of English piece-goods, velvets, woollens, sugar, groceries, spices, and metals, the greater part of which are derived from Bombay; cotton, coarse-cloths, and silk fabrics from Marwar and Gujirat; silk goods manufactured from Bahawalpur and Multan; raw silk from the north-west, as also dyes, drugs, dried fruits, horses &c., from the same quarter..."⁵¹

Giving a detailed account of the trade of Multan with other parts of India and Central Asia, Andrew writes, "Regarding the existing trade on the Indus, I am indebted to that able officer, Major G.W. Hamilton, Commissioner at Moulton, for the following interesting letter."⁵²

"...Indeed, before I left Moulton, goods from Bombay for Delhi had been sent by steamers by the Moulton route.

"There is at present a considerable trade between Moulton and Lahore, Umritsir, &c., and between Moulton and Ferozepore. From Lahore and Umritsir, the imports to Moulton are silk goods, grain, oil-seeds, &c.; the exports from Moulton to these places are madder, and various articles of English, Afghan, and other produce. From Ferozepore the imports are chiefly grain, and the products of the Gangetic provinces.

“Moultan is also a chief entrepot of the trade with southern Afghanistan and Persia. The Afghan caravans arrive at Moultan in October and November, bringing fruits, madder, asafoetida, raw silk, goat-wool, camel-hair goods, furs, &c. A few of the caravans proceed in advance to Delhi and the Gangetic provinces, but the greater portion of the traders remain at Moultan and dispose of their goods through native agents, who forward the articles to Hindostan. The Afghan traders make up their investments at Moultan during the cold season, and the return caravans from Hindostan arrive there in April, when they all return to Afghanistan. Besides the trade by the Indus and its confluent, there is also a considerable traffic along the valleys of the rivers between Lahore, Umritsir, Moultan and Scinde. On all the lines of road I have mentioned the goods are carried on camels, at the rate of about twelve miles per diem.

“If there were an improved communication by steamers between Moultan and Kurrachee and a railroad between Moultan and Lahore, I feel certain that this line would attract all the traffic on the different lines above mentioned. The Europeans in the Punjaub would prefer getting their supplies of English and China goods by this route. The Afghan merchants would be able to forward their goods to Hindostan without delay—a matter of great importance as many of the articles are of a perishable nature. I omitted to mention the exports from India to Afghanistan. They are mostly cotton goods, hardware, indigo, sugar, cotton and groceries. Few of these are articles of European produce, which are still little known in the Punjaub. But I feel assured that were such articles procurable at moderate prices at Moultan, they would be eagerly purchased by the Afghan merchants for the markets of Afghanistan and Central Asia. The articles most likely to be in demand are cotton piece-goods (chintzes and blue calico are preferred), cotton twist, coarse woollens, hardware, cutlery, paper, &c.”⁵³

The commercial value of Multan until the present past is evident from the above statements. Like Shikarpur, Multan was also an important trade centre for Central Asia and different parts of undivided India, being one of the gates of Khorasan. The place could again be revived to its past position of renown, were the conditions of the era of development fulfilled, with regard to the goods to be

traded in, the means of transporting them, and the services auxiliary to trade and commerce, i.e. banking, insurance, warehousing, packaging and the like.

Footnotes

1. Moulai Shadai, '*Janat-us-Sindh*', 1958, Hyderabad, p. 64.
2. Ibid, pp. 149-50.
3. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, '*Pakistan, the Fatherland of the Pak Nation*', 1947, Cambridge, p. 143.
4. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 112.
5. H. T. Sorley, '*Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*', 1966, Karachi, p. 238.
6. Ch: Rahmat Ali, op. cit., pp. 132-33.
7. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 386.
8. William Erskine, '*A History of India under Baber*', 1974, Karachi, p. 386.
9. Ibid, p. 387.
10. H. T. Sorley, '*Gazetteer of West Pakistan*', 1968, p. 157.
11. Erskine, op. cit., p. 456.
12. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 386.
13. Erskine, op. cit., p. 389.
14. Ibid, p. 390.
15. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 387.
16. Erskine, op. cit., p. 390.
17. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 387.
18. Erskine, op. cit., p. 391.
19. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 387.
20. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 392-93.
21. Ibid, pp. 387-88.
22. Ibid, p. 394.

23. Ibid, p. 395.
24. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 387.
25. Erskine, op. cit., p. 395.
26. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 387.
27. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 387-88.
28. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., pp. 387-88.
29. Erskine, op. cit., p. 398.
30. Moulai Shadai, op. cit., p. 388.
31. Sorley, '*Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*', p. 23.
32. Ibid, pp. 29-30.
33. Ch. Rahmat Ali, op. cit., p. 133.
34. Ibid, p. 133.
35. Ibid, p. 133.
36. Ibid, p. 168.
37. Ibid, p. 169.
38. Ibid, p. 43.
39. Ibid, p. 45.
40. Ibid, p. 58.
41. Ibid, p. 60.
42. Ibid, p. 91.
43. T. Postans, '*Personal Observations on Sind*', 1973, Karachi, p. 32.
44. Ibid, pp. 278-79.
45. Sorley, '*Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*', p. 239.
46. Ibid, pp. 88-89.
47. Ibid, p. 88.
48. Ibid, p. 53.
49. Ibid, p. 104.
50. Ibid, p. 92.
51. Postans, op. cit., pp. 264-65.
52. W.P. Andrew, '*The Indus and its Provinces*', 1976, Lahore, p. 145.
53. Ibid, pp. 147-48.