

Urban Place Names in Pakistan: A Reflection of Cultural Characteristics

AKHTAR HUSAIN SIDDIQI, ROBERT W. BASTIAN

The most obvious reason for naming a place would be to express the nature of the situation by its most striking features, with the view of impressing its character on the memory and conveying to persons who had not seen it an idea of its peculiarity.¹ Natural topographical names contain condensed descriptions or verbal pictures of objects. On the other hand, the names of personalities, whose character it is impossible to ignore, may indicate the civilization or dominance of a dynasty by a king. In fact, local names act as an important adjunct to written and unwritten records. Such names provide the clue to ethnological facts and movements of people of which history generally preserves no trace.

An analysis of place names, selected for this study, suggests that these names reflect not only some essence of the cultural history of the western section of the Indian subcontinent; they also reveal regional settlement patterns of the conquering tribes and kings. Thus, urban place names in the more densely settled parts of Pakistan reflect the net effects of several millenia of cultural succession.

URBAN CENTERS AND TYPES OF PLACE NAMES

A cursory glance over the distribution of place names shows that the northern area of the country has a concentration of Hindu personal names, whereas the well-watered plains of Punjab and Sind are dotted with Muslim personal names. Place names identified with personal names of Sikh religious leaders or rulers are few and are localized in the eastern section of Punjab. Since most of the area with a Sikh population majority fell in East Punjab at the time of partition of the subcontinent (1947), only a few places remained in Pakistan. (Sikhism started in the Sutlej Valley, covering the

¹C. Blakie, *A Dictionary of Place Names*, Gale Research Co., Book Tower, Detroit, 1968, p. XIII.

Amritsar, Jullundur, and Ludhiana areas of the United Punjab). Sikhism is the most recent religion of the subcontinent, and people of this minor faith clustered in a smaller area than adherents of Hinduism and Islam. Hindus and Muslims have occupied all parts of Pakistan during the periods when their faith have dominated the cultural life of this realm. It is also interesting to note that the European names are few and are found only in those areas the British considered strategically important against the native rulers and/or tribes.

CENSUS DEFINITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN PLACES

According to the 1951 and 1961 Censuses, a town was defined as an urban area if it contained a continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons.² All incorporated municipalities are also treated as urban even if they had less than 5,000 inhabitants. The census criteria were used when selecting all 172 urban place names for analysis in this study.³

The distribution pattern of urban place names in Pakistan brings to light marked regional variations. Between 90–95 percent of Pakistan's urban centers are concentrated in the Indus Plains, which are flanked by the Thar Desert on one side and the arid mountain complex of Sind, Baluchistan, and Northwest Frontier Provinces on the other. These sparsely populated regions are characterized by widely dispersed communities with populations of less than 5,000 inhabitants. However, in the well-watered agricultural plain of the Indus Basin, urban settlements are encountered frequently and display a linear arrangement along main transportation routes that run parallel to the Indus River and its tributaries.

The total population of the Indus Basin was never large during the long initial stages of occupancy. A moderately dense population was confined to small regional enclaves or narrow isolated strips along the major water courses or channels; the rest of the area was uninhabited and a number of tribes controlled the land. It is significant that most often individual settlements were small villages, and that even the dominant political centers in the area were most aptly described as towns. It can be conjectured that at the time of establishment of these places each family or clan lived apart, and that the village, which is still the unit of population, arose as a family multiplied and occupied several houses side by side.

²Government of Pakistan, Office of the Census Commissioner, *Census of Pakistan, 1951*, Karachi, 1953, p. 39.

³Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Census 1961, West Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1961.

ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE NAMES

In order to be understood a place name ought to be written clearly and correctly on the map in the language concerned. During the British period of rule in India, place names were translated into English on both an official and unofficial basis. Words were spelled incorrectly because of the English way of pronouncing and writing Indian names, causing defective Romanization and occasional misrepresentation.⁴

Although place names provide a good basis for toponymic studies, scientific study of place names of the subcontinent has hardly begun.⁵ Moreover, the popular etymologies, which the local folks are ready to provide, are no more trustworthy in the Indian subcontinent than elsewhere. However, about one-third of the total Indian names can be described in precise terms. These consist of personal names or designations with a suffix or a prefix of the same general nature as the English '-ton' or '-ham.' Information on the history of these places can be tracked back in the literature for several centuries, and it is quite certain that the names refer either to the founder of the places, or to an individual, whether political or divine, in whose honor they were founded or under whose protection they were placed.⁶

Names are constantly found in diminutive or familiar forms reflecting changes which they underwent under different circumstances over time. The usual process was to shorten a long vowel, to double a consonant and to add a termination, either an *a* or an *i*.⁷ In some cases, the shifting of the accent prohibited the doubling of the consonant preceding the termination of *ai*, such as when *Durg* became *Durgai*, and *Loral* came to be called *Loralai*.

Some names bear evidence of the region's dynamic cultural, ethnic, and historical background. For example, the city of Lahore appears in history under about fifteen different names, changing from one conqueror to the next. The founding of Sialkot is attributed to *Raja Sala*, uncle of the *Pandavas*. It has also been suggested that the site is that of *Sakala*, an Indo-Greek capital. Peshawar, an old town, was the capital of the ancient kingdom of *Gandhara* and was known as *Purushawara* (the seat, or fort, or enclosure of Purus). Its present name (*Peshawar* or frontier town) is ascribed to Emperor Akbar, who thought the name was of Persian origin, meaning frontier. *Thata*

⁴F. R. Gifford, "What is an Indian Name?," *The Journal of the United Service Institute of India*, Vol. LXXV, No. 319, April 1975, pp. 176-181.

⁵S. S. Padhye, "A Study in Toponymy," *Bombay Geographical Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1962, pp. 97-102.

⁶W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee, *A Short History of India*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1936.

⁷C. J. Lyall, *Guide to the Translation of Hindu and Muhammadan Names*, 4th Edition, Calcutta, 1908.

is another old town, which derived its present name from the Persian term *Tah-Tah*, meaning layer over layer. The term signifies the succession of various civilizations.

TYPES OF PLACE NAMES

Place names in Pakistan fall into eight categories: personal names (33.7%), references to historically important figures (8.1%), references to local natural objects (32.0%), references to local manmade objects (14.5%), names denoting numbers, distances, and markets (3.5%), indications of Aryan tribal affiliation (4.1%), formerly Greek names (1.2%), and a residue of others which were either unidentifiable or did not fit in the above categories (2.9%). Personal names, references to important historical figures, and indications of tribal affiliation account for 46 percent of all urban place names (Table 1). They reflect the essence of cultural history and are largely concentrated in the historically attractive plains of Punjab and Sind (Table 2).

Within these provinces the flat plains of the Indus River system abound with place names whose prefixes and suffixes signify that the community was the home of some important personality. Most personal names were given by early settlers in honor of community founders and rulers. Some were attached later in memory of local birth of an important person.

For more hostile environments as along the west banks of the Indus River and in the hilly and desert sections of the country place names containing generic terms referring to natural objects are common. The most obvious characteristics of a place are shape and size, relative situation (high or low, behind or in the front), color, the kind of rocks or soil of which it is composed, the climate it enjoys or endures, its vegetation, and the animals that frequent it.

PERSONAL NAMES AND REFERENCES TO HISTORICAL FIGURES

Personal place names are concentrated in both the upper Indus Basin and along the lower Indus Valley. The personal names can be identified as those of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Englishmen. Hindu names are clustered in the uppermost sections of Punjab and the Trans-Indus plain. Muslim names are concentrated in the lower Valley. Sikh names are confined to the north-eastern corner of Punjab. English names are found in the area where the British experienced serious resistance from Muslim rulers and local tribal chieftains in the early colonial period (Map 1 & 5). About 62 percent of the personal names pertain to Muslims. Hindu names account for about 21 percent of the total. English and Sikh personal names constituted 12 percent

and 5 percent, respectively. The present distribution also shows that about 97 percent of the personal names refer to males; only 3 percent of the total refer to females, a clear indication of a male-dominated society.

Eight percent of the place names are based on personal designations. Personal titles, ranks and position constitute the largest subgroup (64%), followed by the names of religious or holy personages (29%). Most of the names indicating religious affiliations are found in the central section of Punjab. Names reflecting valor or marital character comprise the smallest subgroup (7%).

REFERENCES TO NATURAL OBJECTS

Place names that describe landscape features or characteristics of the natural environment are largely found in the uplands and in the unproductive deserts of the lowlands (Maps 3 and 5). Names based on the natural environment describe (a) land surface features, (b) vegetative cover, (c) animals, (d) water courses, (e) climatic characteristics, and (f) ground water quality. Names denoting topographical features are associated primarily with the uplands. Examples refer to such objects as a narrow pass (*Tangi*), a valley (*Kalat*), a gorge (*Malakand*), or a peak (*Pezu*). Lowland topographical references include raised land (*Thal*) and level plain along a river (*Hala*). In the lowlands place names that refer to water courses include stream bends (*Narowal*), water course (*Wah*) and riverbed (*Talagang*).⁸

Place names identified with natural vegetation are *Dargai* (thicket), *Jhang* (local dialect signifying a clump of trees or grove), *Sambarial* (a shrub found close to a river where climate is dry), *Kandiario* (a thorny bush in Sind), *Leiah* (a species of tamarix in Punjab), and *Kalabagh* (black garden/grove). In the valley plains of the uplands additional place names have vegetative connotations. Examples include *Chaman* (green pasture), *Bostan* (flower garden), and *Murgha* (pasture land). Each of these also indicates the availability of useful land and the presence of water.

Some place names are identified with specific animals such as peacock (*Moro*), cow (*Gokkhar*), and horse (*Isakhel*). Others refer to places where

⁸To find the literal meanings of the place names the following dictionaries were consulted: Henry Walter Bellew, *Dictionary of the Pukhto or Pushto Language*, London, date?; M. Longworth Dames, *A Sketch of the Northern Baluchi Language, A Grammar and Vocabulary*, Calcutta, 1881; George Abraham Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX—Indo-Aryan Family Central Group p. 1, Western Hindi and Punjabi*, Calcutta, 1916; Bhai Maya Singh, *The Punjabi Dictionary*, Patiala, 1961.

game was abundant such as *Shikarpur* and *Saidu* which indicate hunting grounds.

Place names describing climatic conditions include *Jaranwala* which refers to burning heat and *Taunsa* which means great thirst or dry land. Terms describing ground water quality include *Kushab* which indicates the availability of fresh water and *Kharian* that denotes saline water.

REFERENCES TO MANMADE OBJECTS

Place names identified with manmade objects refer to ponds, graves, stupas, landing places on the river, wooden bridges, mud houses, carved stone, courtyards, and prisons. Such names take their identity from some prominent manmade feature that predated the settlements or was subsequently established close by. For instance, Sargodha was derived from the word *Sar* meaning pond and *Godha* from the name of the Hindu mendicant who lived by the pond. *Thul* in Sindi indicates a vertical, cylindrical structure; this place is named after the Buddhist stupa in the area. *Pak Pattan* literally means “holy landing place” or “ferry of the pure one.” (It is interesting to note that Alexander’s historians called the place *Ohydrakae* or *Sydrakae* [land of people]). In the uplands, the place name *Drazinda*, meaning prison door, is identified with the local prison.

REFERENCES TO NUMBERS, DISTANCES, AND MARKETS

Place names identified with numbers or distances are found in the north and northwest regions of the country. *Lakki* means 100,000 (one hundred thousand). *Hazara*, meaning thousand, has been translated from a Turkish word meaning a regiment of a thousand men. It is said that in 1399 A.D., after his invasion of India, Timur placed the area under Turkish control and stationed one thousand troops there. On the other hand, *Daska* was founded during the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan and named after him. Later, it was renamed for a Hindu family and called *Jak*. In fact, the place is situated 10 *Kos* (local measure of distance) from Pasrur or Sialkot and came to be known as *Daska*. Places specializing in trade and commerce are locally called *mandis* (market places) such as Mandi Bahauddin (market place associated with personal name) and are identified as the local or regional agricultural marketing centers (Map 3).

NAMES WITH GREEK ANTECEDENTS

An examination of place names that have changed over the centuries

reveals that most of them lie along the route followed by the army of Alexander the Great. His army entered the south of India in 326 B.C. and followed the River Indus to the Himalayan foothills. In his time a number of strategic points were established and walled cities with a nucleus of Greek inhabitants were intended to develop into permanent colonies. These plans were frustrated by disputes among the Greek leaders who succeeded Alexander upon his death in 323 B.C. Regional governors declared themselves kings of their respective provinces. Their realms later fell into the hands of nomadic invaders, and areas along the Indus reverted before long to Indian control (Chandragupta Maurya). In fact, because of the dominant Hindu culture in the region, the Greek identity of the cities founded by Alexander was soon lost. As Hellenic power and culture disappeared from India, so did the settlements connected with that culture.⁹

Some traces remain of the Greek presence in the area, however. For example, the name *Accra* was derived from the Greek word *Acropolis*, meaning a raised fortified place. The present town of Sehwan on the west bank of the river Indus was called in Alexander's time *Sevestan*. *Mekran*, lying on the coast of the Arabian Sea, can be translated as *Mah* (town) and *Keran* (shore of the sea), but the name also can be considered a corruption of the Persian words *Mahi Khoran*, meaning "fish eaters." It is said that in Alexander's time it was called *Ichthyo Phagai*, meaning "fish eaters." Ptolemy mentioned the town of *Swat* or *Swastene*.

OTHER PLACE NAMES

Some names cannot be placed in any of the above categories. For instance, *Multan* expresses the religion of the ancient people who worshipped personified natural phenomena, such as the sun. One of the oldest cities of the subcontinent, *Mulasthan*, derived its name from that of the idol of the temple of the sun god. *Tank* is the corruption of the word *Tak*, which meant frontier. The name of Thatta, one of the oldest towns, was derived from the Persian term *Tah-Tah* which literally means layer over layer, signifying a settlement that has gone through various civilizations. *Baffa* has been corrupted from the Arabic word *Vafa*, meaning fidelity.

⁹The power structure of the non-monarchical Greek state in India can best be described as aristocratic. One reason for the decline of such republics by the end of the fourth century A.D. was the tendency for offices to become hereditary as they were in the monarchies that dominated the political picture at that time. Those who exercised executive functions, in fact, were often referred to as kings (Charles Drekmeier, *Kings and Community in Early India*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1962, pp. 279-281).

PLACE NAMES AS A REFLECTION OF CULTURAL SUCCESSION

Indigenous cultural forces have produced certain morphological characteristics that distinguish towns and cities in the Indian subcontinent from those in the West. As Aryan culture developed, it absorbed many new elements and changed in the process. The presence of shrines and the chain of temples, so common in some cities, are clear manifestations of Hindu culture, whereas mosques, tombs, and *khanqahs* (monasteries) reflect the influence of the Muslim cultural tradition. Acquaintance with the history of the area shows that administrative and judicial functions have been key factors in the development of urban places in Pakistan. Military specialization (forts or cantonments) is identified with an idea of the military significance of some urban places, both in the past and today. Towns associated with forts are located within narrow belts that were considered of strategic importance in the area during one time or another (Map 4). Regional variations in the proportion of place names affixing and prefixing words meaning "forts" or "fortresses" suggest that the pattern reflects the frontier stages of various *Rajdhani*s (principalities) in the region.

TRIBAL AFFILIATION

Ancient civilization in the Indus Valley produced an urban society with a complex governmental organization. The life span of this culture has been estimated to have extended from 4000 to 2500 B.C. The cause of the downfall of the thriving cities in the Indus Valley is not known. The ancient civilization was eclipsed by a more localized tribal order introduced by Aryan nomads who pushed through the mountain passes from central Asia in successive waves from 2000 to 1000 B.C. The original clan societies introduced the Sanskrit language, complex social structure known as the caste system, and established kingdoms.¹⁰

Place names that reflect Aryan tribal affiliations are concentrated largely in the northern sections of the Indus Basin; these localities were the strongholds of tribal chiefs at one time or another (Map 2). Such names are either prefixed or suffixed with the words meaning "fort." The tribes of Huns, Scythians

¹⁰Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Chuckerverty Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1924.

M. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes of Castes of the Punjab and Northwest Frontier Province*, Patiala, Punjab Language Dept., 1970, Vol. I, II, & III.

Etymologically the word *rajya* (kingdom) implies merely "that which pertains to or comes from the King." It seems doubtful that any real concept of the state in the modern sense, as something distinct from the king and his officers, existed in ancient India. (A. L. Basham, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, p. 17).

and Yavans settled down in the submountain tracts where rainfall was low. Later, the early Aryans (noble, honorable) settled in the Punjab plain. Speaking a common language and sharing a common religion, they came into conflict with people known as *Dasa* (slaves), non-Aryan tribes. The *Gurjaras* gave their name to the present Gujrat and founded several important ruling dynasties. Later various *Gurjara* kingdoms were established in the northwest region of India. Now the everyday form of the name *Gurjara* is *Gujar*, and the country formerly held by some of these kingdoms still bears the name of *Gujrat*.¹¹

HINDU NAMES

Place names identified with Hindu culture are largely confined to the northern section of the upper Indus plain and extend into the trans-Indus region (lying in Punjab) and in the southern section of Northwest Frontier Province (Map 5). Subject to local and temporary interruptions, Hinduism dominated India politically until the thirteenth century. Hindu kings not only dominated the northwestern part of the subcontinent in the Punjab and the Indus Valley, but also expanded their power into Afghanistan. They created a centralized imperial structure and an efficient bureaucracy. Among the more significant changes that had taken place by the middle of the first millennium B.C. was the development of towns and urban cultures. In medieval Hindu India, the usual system of government had some resemblance to the feudal system of medieval Western Europe. As the Gupta dynasty declined, provincial governors, whose posts were often hereditary, took to calling themselves *maharajas*, and increasingly assumed the status of kings. When political authority eventually passed to Muslim conquerors the Hindu way of life remained substantially unchanged, governing the conduct of the great majority of people for a long time. Muslim rulers realized the need for better understanding of Hindu culture to ensure more effective administration and showed respect for the Hindu manners, customs, religion, and mode of life. Thus, many Hindu names co-existed with Muslim names, signifying Hindu cultural, historical, and geographic characteristics of the regions.

Hindu names may be broadly classed as religious and secular. Religious names are either the names of attributes of deities, holy personages, or historical personages (kings, queens, princes, and *rajās*). They may reveal

¹¹Sometimes the military role was distinguished from the political function; the knight was referred to as *rajanya*, the prince as *rajaputra*. Such tribal republics in Sind and Punjab existed into the fourth century B.C., bowed before Mauryan expansion, and emerged again with the decadence of the regime to flourish until the early centuries A.D. By the fourth century their power had faded.

some peculiarity of appearance, a personal incident, martial deeds, or expression of valor. Such names may appear in their primitive or diminutive form, and they may be simple or compound. Also, particular classes display a preference for particular kind of names. For instance, *Brahmans* more commonly used religious names, while other castes used personal names. *Rajputs* (means king's son; a member of a dominant military caste of Kshatriya rank and Ando-Aryan race) used their personal names. The majority of Hindu names, however, are of native origin.

Some Hindu names are borrowed from either the Arabic or Persian languages, reflecting the later Muslim influence on society. Sanskrit (Aryan) names are largely found in the northern areas of Punjab; Persian and Arabic influences are found in the western and southern areas of Pakistan. The most commonly used suffixes or prefixes from Sanskritic languages are *Nagar* (city), *Pur* (town), *Pind* (lump, a small altar of sand), *Ganj* (market), *Garh* (fort), and *Kot* (fort). The use of Persian suffixes, such as *Abad* (abode of), *Shahr* (city), *Qila* (fort), and *Nahri* (irrigation canal) indicate that the name cannot predate the thirteenth century. The *palce* may be far older, however, for the conquerors on occasion renamed ancient sites.

Some names reflect land tenure. Often the name of a place is taken from the name of a person who owned the land, i.e.; *Zamindar* or landlord. In Mughal parlance, chieftains were known as *Zamindar rajas*. The *Zamindars* inherited or built their own fortresses for protection from their rivals and enjoyed the right of ownership over the land.¹²

MUSLIM NAMES

Urban centers identified with Muslim personal names are concentrated in the Indus Valley, which is flanked by a desert strip on the east and the arid mountain region on the west. They show a high degree of concentration in the Valley and a dispersed pattern in the northern plain (Map 5). Closer observation reveals a primarily north-south linear arrangement of towns along main transportation routes, which for the most part run parallel to the River Indus.

A series of invasions led to the introduction of Muslim place names in India. As early as the year 711 A.D., Arabs reached the mouth of Indus and captured the area of Sind. Subsequently, the Turks moved westward, enlarging their principality and establishing their frontier on the Indus (973 A.D.). Another wave of invasions led by Mahmud of Ghazni, an Afghan Turk, came to India in 998 A.D. The Ghaznavides conquered the Muslim kingdom of

¹²A. L. Basham (Editor), *A Cultural History of India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975.

Sind, occupied by the Arabs. In 1191 AD. Mohammad of Ghori, an Afghan, controlled much of Northern India. On his death in 1206 A.D., one of his generals established a Muslim kingdom (Delhi Sultanate) that remained in existence until 1526 A.D. In 1524 A.D., Babur (a Turk descended from Timur and Genghis Khan) invaded India and founded the *Mughal* dynasty (Mughul comes from the Arabic word for Mongol), which controlled and occupied a large area of Northwest India from Karachi to Lahore and built fortresses for protection and control. These places remained their strategic importance because of the strained relations with indigenous tribal groups and rival principalities. From 1206 A.D. the Muslim impact on Indian culture was profound and widespread in its influence.

Muslims preferred to name places after important personalities. The majority of Muslim names will be found to have religious significance, but persons' titles and martial addresses were also used. Muslims were no more hesitant than Hindus when it came to using the old Aryan generic terminations of *pur* (town), *nagar* (town), *garh* (fortress), and *kot* (fort) in conjunction with the name of the person to be commemorated. Other Persian and Arabic suffixes used are *abad* (abode of), *Shahr* (city), and *dera* (tent), whereas *mian* (respected person) and *sharif* (eminent chief) referred to reverend or respected personages.

Names reflecting the status of individuals largely refer to religious leaders. Some were the founders of the sites placed under their protection. Although little is known about the details of Muslim conversion in Punjab, religious leadership is usually credited to the work of *Sufi* (an ascetic Muslim mystic) mystics, who established their *Khanqahs* (monasteries) in western Punjab in the years following the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. They introduced the *Sufi* orders, the *Chisti*, *Suhrawardhy*, and *Qadri* orders (1229–1489 A.D.). The *Khanqahs* served as local outposts of Islam that linked the tribally organized population of Punjab into the larger Islamic community. Subsequently, these local centers, first the *Sufi Khanqahs* and later the tombs or shrines of *Sufi* saints, provided the focus of Islamic organization in the area.¹³ During the Mughal times (1583–1707 A.D.), the state established close ties

¹³David Gilmarti, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1979, pp. 485–517;

C. F. Massey, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Lahore, Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1910;

Adrian C. Mayer, Pir and Murshid: "An Aspect of Religious Leadership in West Pakistan," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Jan. 1967;

Major Aubrey O'Brien, "The Mohammadan Saints of the Western Punjab," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLI, 1911, p. 511;

with many of the important *Sajjadanashins* (successors). These petty tribal chiefs were also appointed by the state as local governors.

ENGLISH NAMES

English place names are few in number. They are found primarily in the central section of the upper Indus Plain. A few English place names are also found in the northwestern corner of the submontane region of the Indus Basin (Map 5). Place names associated with British colonialism identify strategically important points. The central section of the Punjab Plain (from the Sutlej to and beyond the Indus) was dotted with garrison posts intended to fortify the area occupied by the British against the insurgent *Mirs* of Sind in the south and intractable tribal chiefs holding the area to the west.

The British found an old established culture and were at first fascinated by it. Once the initial enthusiasm had waned, they began to view Indian society as barbaric and set about to "civilize" it along Western lines. This effort led to a clash between foreign institutions and Indian society. The local religious leadership of both the Hindus and Muslims resisted the dominance by the English. They never accepted the idea of embracing European culture or intermixing it with their own. However, some English personalities (such as Lawrence, Montgomery, Lyall, etc.) did make their mark on the administrative mores of the regions in which they served. In these isolated cases sufficiently favorable attitudes emerged to withstand the rigid opinions of the local religious leaders.¹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

Much of the history behind the founding of urban places in Pakistan is reflected in their names. With the passing of time, however, the images have become blurred and often the transcriptions unrecognizable. Despite these

J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971, p. 173.

Despite the Muslim conquest of the Hindus, Hindu chiefs enjoyed local power under Muslim suzerainty and Hindus held executive posts in the administration. It is true that military and political power over the greater part of India rested with Muslims, yet its continued exercise depended on the tacit observance of certain conditions. Muslims in India refrained from trespassing beyond the traditional functions of political activity. They did not interfere actively in beliefs, customs, and laws of subject communities. They also preserved the cultural and religious identity of the ruling group so that it would instinctively cohere to defend its privileged political position against non-Muslims (Wm. Theodore de Bary (Editor), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1958, p. 383).

¹⁴S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1978.

facts place names are a key to cultural succession and can be excellent guides in recognizing cultural regions in Pakistan.

The regionalization of personal and titular (Hindu and Muslim), tribal (Aryan), and ancient Greek place names reflect spatial variations in cultural succession. Besides, the distributions of generic place names describing different types of natural and manmade objects reflect how people collectively viewed and evaluated their environment in the past.

Analysis of the distribution of Hindu and Muslim names in Pakistan indicates a greater concentration of Muslim names in the most fertile and well-watered plains of Pakistan. Hindu names are found primarily in the upper Indus Plain. The refuge type of location of Hindu names reflects their greater antiquity. The association of Muslim names with the most desirable area of settlement reflects the more recent dominance of Islamic culture. Thus in the absence of documentary evidence considerable insight into cultural diffusion and infusion can be gained from the study of the origin of place names. Once the identity and character of a culture has been grasped through insights gained from general historical accounts, the names of places begins to reflect socio-cultural forces that have been at work. These include religion, ideology, dynastic and tribal history, and past political structure.

Indiana State University

Table 1: Distribution of Place Names, by Categories

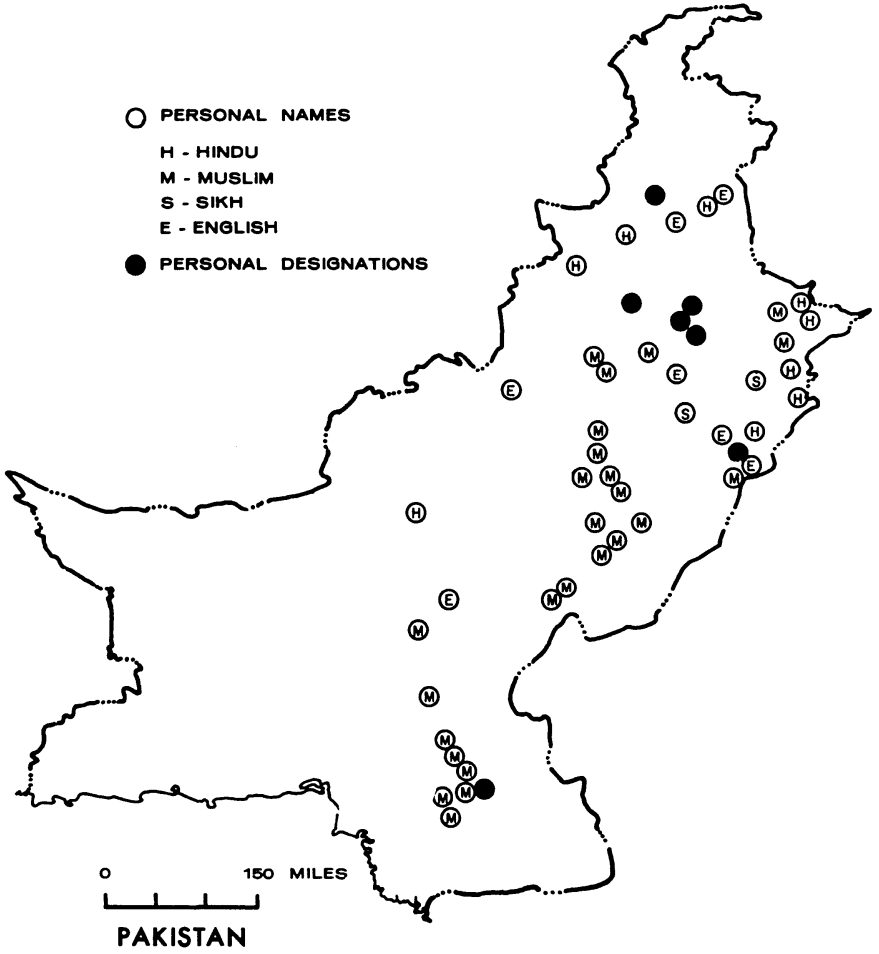
			No. of Cases 58	Percentage 33.7
I.	<i>Personal Names</i>	No. of Cases		Percentage Distribution
	A. Male	56		96.6
	B. Female	2		3.4
	(a) Hindu	12		(20.7)
	(b) Muslim	36		(62.1)
	(c) Sikh	3		(5.2)
	(d) English	7		(12.0)
				<u>(100.0)</u>
II.	<i>Designations of Persons</i>		14	8.1
	(a) Martial	1		(7.2)
	(b) Religious	4		(28.6)
	(c) Personal Title, Position, etc.	9		(64.2)
				<u>(100.0)</u>
III.	<i>Natural Objects</i>		55	32.0
	(a) Based on Forest/Vegetation	12		(21.8)
	(b) Natural Objects	22		(40.0)
	(c) Characteristics of Natural Objects	13		(23.6)
	(i) Climatic			
	(ii) Land			
	(iii) Water			
	(d) Based on Animals	8		(14.6)
IV.	<i>Manmade Objects</i>		25	14.5
V.	<i>Names Denoting:</i>		6	3.5
	(a) Number	4		
	(b) Distance	1		
	(c) Market	1		
VI.	<i>Tribal Affiliation</i>		7	4.1
VII.	<i>Names Changed over Time</i>		2	1.2
VIII.	<i>Others</i>		5	2.9
			<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: computed by the author

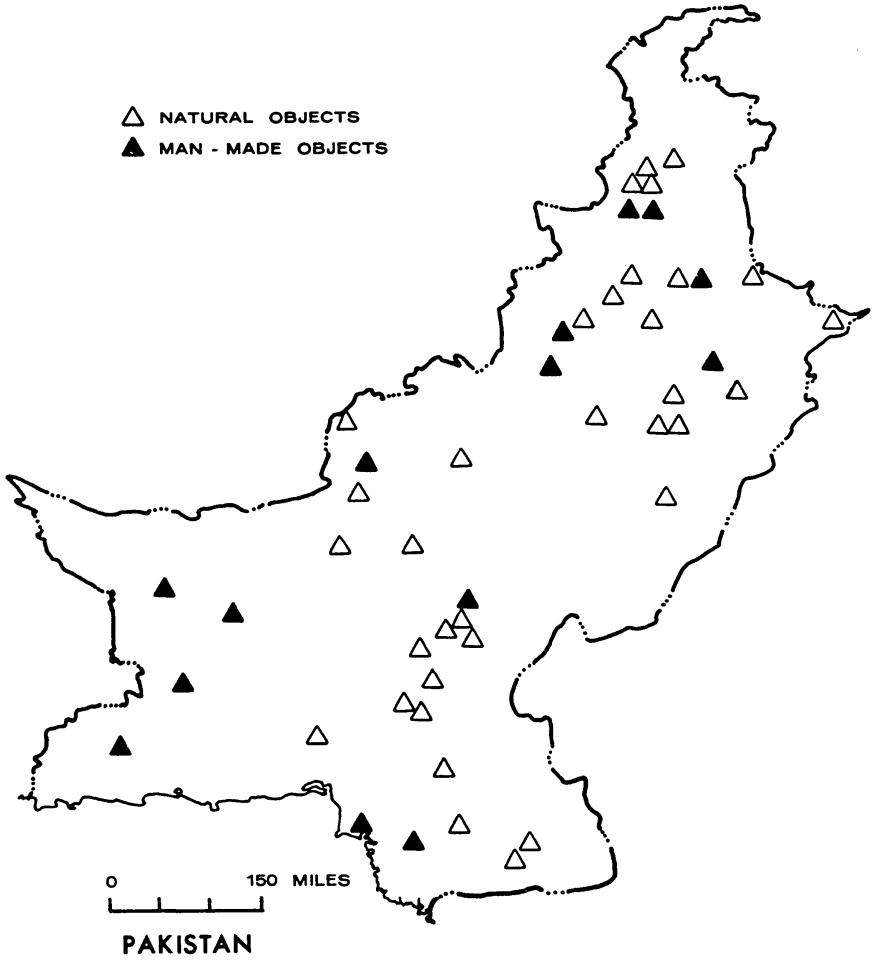
Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Place Names, by Regions

	<i>Indus Plain</i>		<i>Uplands</i>	
	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>Sind</i>	<i>Baluchistan</i>	<i>NWFP</i>
<i>Personal Names</i>	38.7	32.5	18.2	20
Male				
Female				
(a) Hindu	(22)		(50)	(50)
(b) Muslim	(59)	(92)		(25)
(c) Sikh	(8)			
(d) English	(11)	(8)	(50)	(25)
<i>Designations of Persons</i>	12.9	8.1	0	5
(a) Martial	0			(100)
(b) Religious	(42)			
(c) Personal Titles, Positions, etc.	(58)	(100)		
<i>Natural Objects</i>	26.9	37.8	54.5	50
(a) Based on Forest/Vegetation	(24)	(14)	(17)	(20)
(b) Natural Objects	(36)	(14)	(67)	(40)
(c) Characteristic of Natural Objects	(36)	(36)		(20)
(d) Based on Animals	(4)	(36)	(16)	(20)
<i>Manmade Objects</i>	6.5	13.5	27.3	20
<i>Names Denoting</i>	5.4	2.7	0	
(a) Number	(60)	(100)		
(b) Distance	(20)			
(c) Market	(20)			
<i>Tribal Affiliation</i>	6.5	2.7	0	0
<i>Names Changed over Time</i>	0	2.7	0	5
<i>Others</i>	3.1	0	0	0

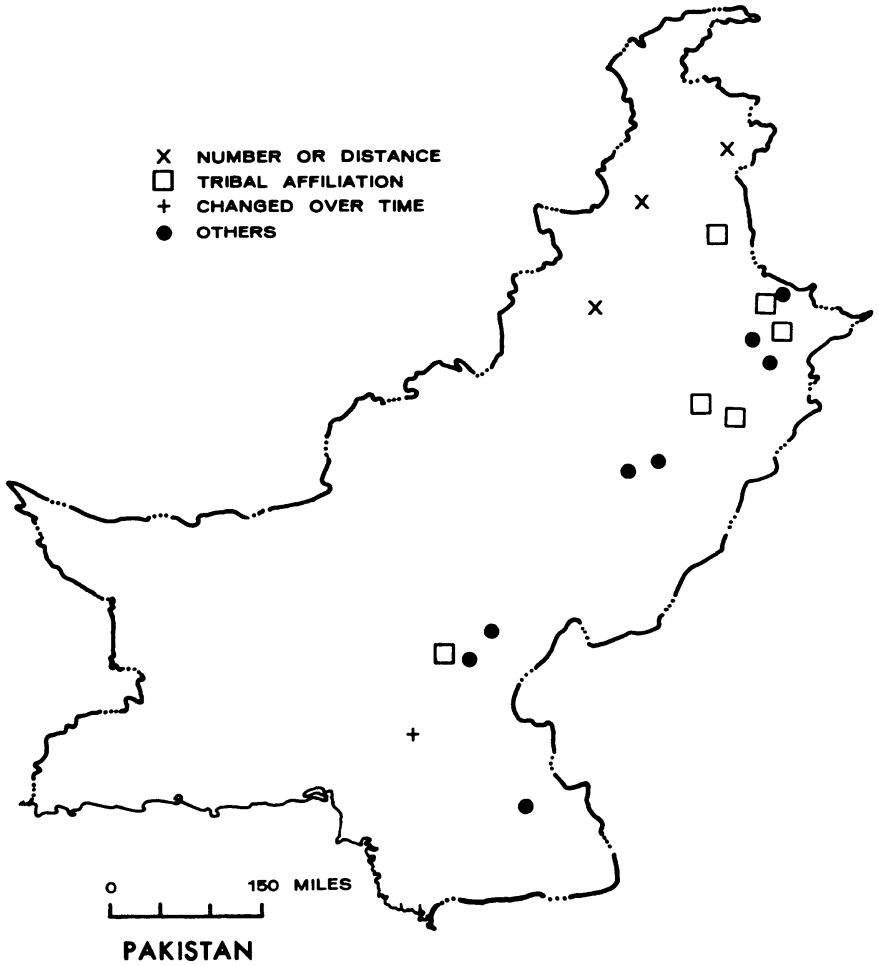
Map 1: Distribution of Place Names based on Personal Designations



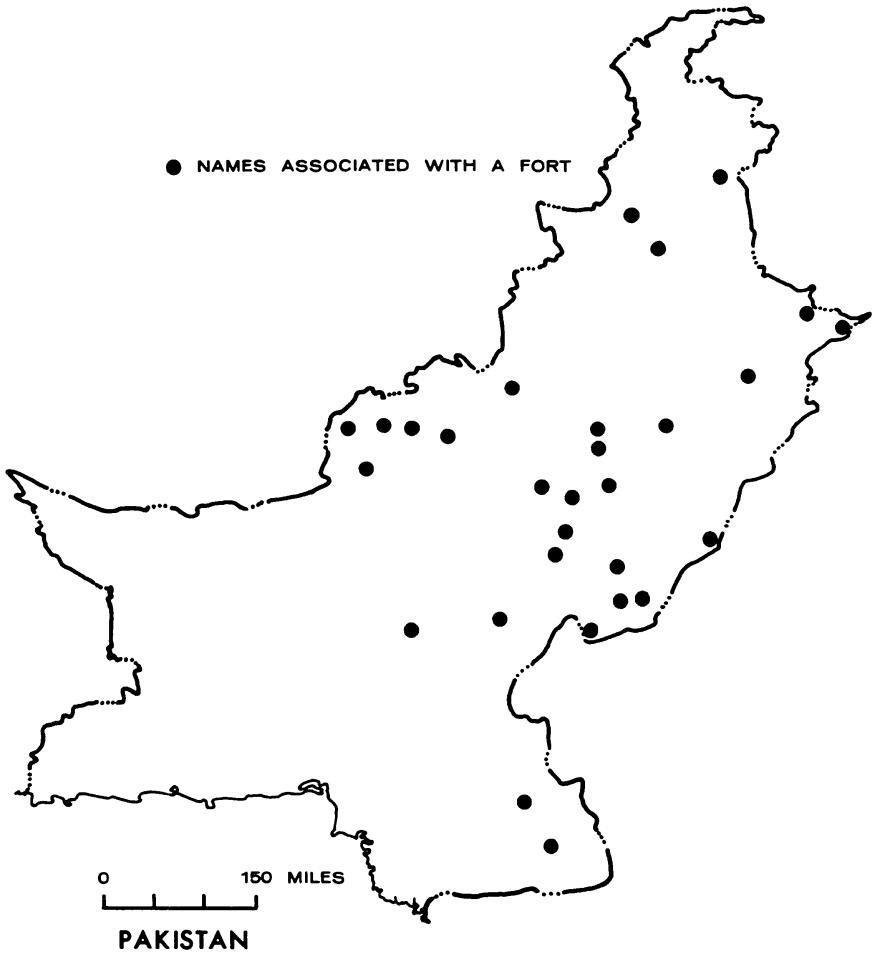
Map 2: Distribution of Place Names Associated with Natural and Manmade Objects



Map 3: Distribution of Place Names having Tribal Affiliations, Changed over time, indicating number or distance and others



Map 4: Distribution of Place Names Associated with "forts"



Map 5: Regionalization of Place Names Types

