

# SOURCEBOOK FOR THE SHAHI KINGDOMS<sup>1</sup>

## Wayhind (Modern Hund) in Early Medieval Historical Sources

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The historical town known as Udabhāṇḍa(pura) in Sanskrit, i.e., modern Hund, is referred to as Wayhind or Vayhind in Arabic and Persian sources.<sup>2</sup> It was located on the bank of the Indus River, now in Pakistan, to the east of Peshawar and west of Taxila.<sup>3</sup> Its strategic geographical position as a connecting point between Kābul and the Panjab probably conferred on the town its status as a political and administrative center (Kimmert 2020).

Nevertheless, no thorough study of extant textual and epigraphical sources about Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa exists so far, and archaeological material is mostly nonexistent or unpublished (Kimmert 2020; Klimburg-Salter forthcoming). Questions related to the historical significance of the town during the Śāhi period are therefore still unsolved. The present survey retraces how textual and epigraphical sources labeled the town and associated it with political authority. It also questions the designation of the town as a “capital” in later secondary literature and finally ponders the status of Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa as a political, administrative, and religious center connected to the Śāhi kings.

### WAYHIND/UDABHĀṆḌA IN SOURCES

#### History of an idea

In 1871, Cunningham (1871: 52-54) records that al-Bīrūnī (973-c. 1050), Rašīd al-Dīn (1247-1318), and Mirza Mogal Beg (1790) considered Wayhind the “capital of Gāndhāra.” Cunningham also refers to Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (1551-1621) who reports the attack of Maḥmūd against the fort of Wayhind and the Śāhi king Jayapāla (r. c. 964-1002 CE), thus connecting the town with royal blood. He then writes “Wehand, or Uhand as I believe it should be written, was the capital of the Brahman kings of Kabul” (Cunningham 1871: 54).

In the annotations to his English translation of Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Stein (1900 II: 337) explains that Udabhāṇḍa/Wayhind was described by al-Bīrūnī as the “capital of Qandhār, i.e. Gandhāra, situated to the west of the Indus and above its junction with the Kābul River at Attock,” and writes that the city was “the last foothold which the S’āhis retained across the Indus.” In addition, under the entry “Udabhāṇḍapura” of the index to his translation, Stein (1900 II: 546) brands the city “capital of the S’āhi kings.”

In a study published in 1893, Stein (1893: 198-200) discusses the significance of Udabhāṇḍa/Wayhind in Xuanzang (early 7th century CE), al-Bīrūnī (early 11th century CE), and

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<sup>1</sup> Online publication of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) project *Cultural Formation and Transformation: Shahi Art and Architecture from Afghanistan to the West Tibetan Frontier at the Dawn of the Islamic Era* (P-31246) directed by Univ.-Prof. Dr. Deborah Klimburg-Salter in collaboration with National Research Partner HR Doz. Dr. Michael Alam.

<sup>2</sup> The town is often referred in Sanskrit by the *tatpuruṣa* compound *udabhāṇḍa-pura*, literally meaning the “town (*pura*) of Udabhāṇḍa.” For this reason and due to its rendering in Arabic and Persian sources (see below) which only takes into account the first term of the compound, i.e., *udabhāṇḍa*, in this survey, I chose to omit *pura* to designate it.

<sup>3</sup> See the map on the following webpage: <https://shahimaterialculture.univie.ac.at/maps-and-archaeological-sites/>.

Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranṅiṇī* (12th century CE). Two of Stein's observations on these sources are worth mentioning below.

First, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Hwui Li reports that “[a]t this time the king of Kapiśa [...] formerly dwelt in the town of U-to-kia-han-ch'a [...]”(Beal 1911: 192); Stein (1893: 199) identifies Hwui Li's U-to-kiya-han-ch'a with Udabhāṇḍa/Wayhind. Second, the *Rājataranṅiṇī* by Kalhaṇa contains a narrative about this town in verses 152-155, volume V, as follows:

Like [the land of] Āryavarta is [located] between [the mountains ranges] Himālayas [in the north] and Vindhya [in the south, he was] between two rulers: that of the Dards [in the north] and of the Turks (*turuṣka*) [in the south] [who were] a lion and a boar.

In whose town of Udabhāṇḍa, [other] kings dwelled fearless, like the mountains in the ocean trembling because of the pain of having their wings cut [by Indra], he, whose fame spread greatly among the kings in the north, was just like the disc of the sun among the stars in the sky. That one was the glorious Śāhi Lalliya, being Alakhāna's support (i.e., a king of Gurjara).<sup>4</sup> Out of anger [of Śaṅkaravarman], he (i.e., Lalliya) did not obtain his (i.e., Śaṅkaravarman) service, because [the latter] repudiated [Lalliya] from universal sovereignty.<sup>5</sup>

The “king of Kapiśa” (i.e., Kāpiśī) referred to by Hwui Li may have been one of the local rulers known as the Khingalides, also known as Nezakides, who governed the region from the early sixth century up to 661 CE (Kuwayama 1999: 40-42; Inaba 2006: 1-2). If one accepts the identification of U-to-kiya-han-ch'a with Udabhāṇḍa/Wayhind, then this town was probably associated with a Kingalide king in the early seventh century CE. Lalliya (r. c. 880-902) was one of the Hindu Śāhi kings ruling almost two centuries later (Rehman 1979a: 107-114). The two passages—pertaining to two different periods—connect the town with kingship.

In addition, the two other passages mentioning Udabhāṇḍa in the *Rājataranṅiṇī* associate it with the Hindu Śāhi rulers. The first of them narrates how Prabhākaradeva, the minister of the Kashmiri king Gopālavarman (r. c. 902-904), defeated the Śāhi at Udabhāṇḍa (Kalhaṇa 1988: 80, v. 232; Stein 1900 I: 217). The second passage recalls that the Śāhi king Bhīma (r. c. 921-964) dwelt in Udabhāṇḍa (Kalhaṇa 1988: 145, VII. 1081; Stein 1900 I: 352; Rehman 1979a: 121). Bhīma is identified in the *Rājataranṅiṇī* with the predecessor of the king Jayapāla and the maternal grandfather of the Kashmiri Queen Diddā (r. late 10th century CE) (Khan 2017: 48; Kalhaṇa 1988: 97, VI. 176-178; Stein 1900 I: 249).

Thus, Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataranṅiṇī*, does not explicitly state that Udabhāṇḍa was the “capital” of the Hindu Śāhi kingdom. However, the compound *udabhāṇḍa-pura*, meaning the town or the city of Udabhāṇḍa probably indicates that Kalhaṇa considered it as the main city of the region, that is the capital. This convention is also found in Arabic sources, which sometimes refer to a capital city by the term *madina* (مدينة; lit. the city). In addition, Kalhaṇa clearly associated Udabhāṇḍa with royal blood, i.e., two of the Śāhi kings.

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<sup>4</sup> See verse 149 book V in Kalhaṇa (1988: 77) and Stein 1900 I: 205.

<sup>5</sup> *daraturuṣkādhipayora yaḥ kesarivarāhayaḥ | himavadvindhyaḥāśīd āryāvarta ivāntare || 152 || udabhāṇḍapure tasthur yadīye nirbhayā nṛpāḥ | pakṣacchedavyathātrastā mahārṇava ivādrayaḥ || 153 || nakṣatreṣu iva bhūpeṣu nabhasīvottarāpāthe | yasyaiva vipulā khyātir mārtaṇḍasyeva maṇḍalam || 154 || sa śrīmāṃllalliyāḥ śāhir alakhānāśrayaḥ krudhā | nirākariṣṇoḥ sāmṛājyāt tasya sevām na labdhavān || 155 ||* (Kalhaṇa 1988: 78, V. 152-155). The above English translation is largely based on Stein 1900 I: 206, while it also results from a brief discussion by email with Prof. Walter Slaje.

As for al-Bīrūnī, he writes that Wayhind was the “capital of Gandhāra” (see below), without explicitly linking the town with the Hindu Śāhi kingdom. Thus, due to a cross-examination of three textual sources, i.e., Hwui Li, Kalhaṇa, and al-Bīrūnī, Stein identifies Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa with the capital of the Hindu Śāhi rulers, in the annotations to his English translation of the *Rājataranṅinī*. Later, in 1944, Stein (1944: 7) writes that Udabhāṇḍa was the capital of the Śāhi dynasty from the ninth century until the early eleventh century CE.

Hargreaves (1926: 68; 70) appears to have regarded the historical city of Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa as an important one, based on a preliminary survey of archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic material, but he does not label the city as the capital of the Śāhi kings.

Minorsky, in his comments on the English translation of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (982/83), states that the author of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* regards the rulers of Kashmir and the “Shāhi kings of Gandhāra” as subjects to the king of Kanauj (Minorsky 1970: 238). This suggests that for Minorsky Gandhāra is the kingdom of the Hindu Śāhi rulers. In addition, Minorsky makes clear this association by writing that Wayhind “was the capital of the kingdoms of Gandhāra [...] which was ruled by the Hindūshāhī dynasty” (Minorsky 1970: 254). He also writes that Lalliya was the founder of the city but does not provide his source of information (ibid.).

Abdur Rehman (1979a: 4, n. 14) refers to Xuanzang in order to state that Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa was the “winter headquarters” of the rulers who preceded the Hindu Śāhi in the region, that is, the Turk Śāhi, also known as the Kābul Śāhi, although he does not cite a specific textual source for his remark. He appears to consider that the Hindu Śāhi maintained the pattern of shifting their capital according to the seasons, as their predecessors did before them, which is likely. The Hindu Śāhi would then however have left Kabul, their summer capital, after being subdued by the Ghaznavids. In addition, Rehman (1979a: 269) follows the implicit deduction made by Cunningham and Stein at the end of the 19th century CE about the status of Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa, when he writes that the town was “the famous capital of the Hindu Śāhis.” In 2002, Kuwayama (2002: 263) concurs with Rehman’s observations and, based on Chinese sources, writes about the two capitals of the Kābul Śāhi, the eastern one being Udabhāṇḍa.

Bosworth (1986: 460) regards Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa as the base of the Hindu Śāhi rulers and describes the city as the “centre of the powerful Hindu-Shāhi kings of north-western India” (id. 2011 III: 376).

Kuwayama (2002: 263) and, later, Inaba (2010: 448) recall the testimony of the accounts by the Chinese pilgrim Huichao and by the ambassador of the Tang dynasty Wukong. These textual sources testify that, during the first half of the 8th century CE, Gandhāra, and especially Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa, belonged to Turkic rulers, in all likelihood the Kābul Śāhi, and the town served as the administrative center of Gandhāra.

### **Early medieval textual sources**

Several early Arabic geographical and historical works written between the 9th and the 10th centuries CE do not mention Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa. These are: the *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (*The Book of the Conquest of the Countries*) by Balāḍurī (9th century CE), the *Kitāb al-masālik wa l-mamālik* (*The Book of the Roads and the Realms*, 9th century CE) by Ibn Ḥurdāḍbah, the *Kitāb al-masālik wa l-mamālik* (*The Book of the Roads and the Realms*, mid-10th century CE) by Iṣṭaḥrī, the *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*The Shape of the Earth*) by Ibn Ḥawqal (mid-10th century CE), and the *Mūruḡ*

*al-ḡahab wa ma'ādin al-ḡawhar* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*) by al-Mas'ūdī (c. 896–956).

Two works dating to the mid- and late 10th century CE however make mention of the town: the *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* (*The Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions*) by al-Muqaddasī (c. 945/46-991) and the anonymous Persian text *Hudūd al-'ālam* (982/83).

Al-Muqaddasī considered Wayhind as a provincial capital (قصبه) on which depended the towns of “Widhān, Bītar, Nūj, Lawār, Samān and Kūj” (Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 477; Collins 1994: 419; also referred to in Minorsky 1970: 254; Rehman 1979a: 17). Al-Muqaddasī relies on earlier authors to provide his account about Wayhind. As his sources of information, he mentions al-Iṣṭakhrī<sup>6</sup> and two unidentified learned men. The reference to al-Iṣṭakhrī by al-Muqaddasī contains an enumeration of towns of al-Hind, which, with the exception of Multan and Wayhind, are mostly located on the northeastern coastal area of the Subcontinent, for instance in present-day Gujarat and Maharashtra (Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 477; Collins 1994: 419). Al-Muqaddasī locates Wayhind between Sind and Kanauj, on an itinerary leading from Makrān to Multan, via Kanauj (Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 474; Collins 1994: 417). This localization indicates that al-Muqaddasī was not familiar with the geography of al-Hind.

However, al-Muqaddasī provides the following descriptions of the town:

Wayhind is an important capital (قصبه), larger than al-Mansura. It has numerous pleasant and pure gardens, placed on the level [ground], abundant rivers, great rains, and [other] various [things] gathered [there]. [It has] beautiful fruits, tall trees, an evident prosperity, cheap prices: three measures of honey are one dirham, in accordance with the cheapness of bread and milk. And don't ask! They have freed themselves from troubles and liberated from the diseases. Walnut and almond trees are intertwined around the [town]. There are numerous dates and bananas there, although its air is humid, and its heat is oppressive. Its constructions are of straw and wood, and sometimes there is fire in the constructions of sugar cane. It is like Fasā and Sābura, if there were not these shortcomings.<sup>7</sup>

This passage indicates that the town was seen as very prosperous. Al-Muqaddasī describes the town as being contrasted, seemingly with regard to its climate and people (Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 481; Collins 1994: 422). He writes that while the ruler of Multan is powerful and fair, those of Kanauj and Wayhind are unbelievers. He also specifies that the Muslims living in these latter two towns have their independent leader (Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 483; Collins 1994: 425). This last remark reveals that non-Muslims cohabited with Muslims in Kanauj and Wayhind in the mid-tenth century CE. The exact conditions of this coexistence are however unknown.

The Persian geographical work *Hudūd al-'ālam* appears to have had a better idea of the geographical location of Wayhind. This source lists the town between Dunpūr (near Laghmān) and Kashmir, and describes the city as follows:

[A] large town. Its king Jaypāl is under the orders (of the raja) of Qinnauj. In it live a few Muslims, and the Hindūstān merchandise, such as musk, precious things (*gauhar*), and precious stuffs, mostly come to this country (*jihāz-hā-yi H. bīshtar badhīn nāḥiyat uftadh az*

<sup>6</sup> The reference to al-Iṣṭakhrī, under his epithet al-Fārisī, by al-Muqaddasī is uncertain. The edition by De Goeje of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work does not contain any mention of Wayhind, but only of al-Sind and al-Hind (Al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927: 5, 6, 11, 29, 35).

<sup>7</sup> Al-Muqaddasī 1877: 479-480. See also Collins 1994: 421.

*mushk va gauhar va jāma-hā-yi bā-qīmat*) (Minorsky 1970: 92, also 63).

The description of the city as a place where Muslims live is noteworthy and substantiates al-Muqaddasī's remark about the coexistence of different religious communities in the same place. The two accounts, that by al-Muqaddasī and the one found in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, thus point to intercultural exchanges which might have taken place in Wayhind before the Ghaznavids entered the town.

The error of localization of Wayhind by al-Muqaddasī, in addition to his reliance upon others in order to give an account of the town, corroborates the observation that Wayhind was still little known among early medieval geographers in the tenth century CE, despite early contacts between Muslim and Hindu communities there. This lack of knowledge in turn also reflects the fact that this territory had not been conquered by Muslim armies at the time.

Nevertheless, the town of Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa enjoyed a certain reputation among these authors. This is evident from the fashion in which our two authors described it.

In the eleventh century CE, a few officials working at the Ghaznavid court wrote about the Ghaznavid rulers' achievements and conquests, and on the life at their court. Al-'Utbī, who was the Ghaznavids' secretary, composed a history of Sebūktigīn's and Maḥmūd's conquests, narrating events taking place in the period extending from 965 to 1020 CE, without however mentioning Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍapura in his book. The historian Bayhaqī (996-1077) whose narration focuses on the sultan Mas'ūd, i.e., Maḥmūd's son, refers once to the town as a possible refuge during winter for the royal Ghaznavid court in the years 1040/41, together with other cities of al-Hind such as M.r.manāra, Peshawar, and Girī (Bayhaqī 2011: 364). The function of these towns as winter residences for the Ghaznavids indicates that they became entirely included into their territory by that time.

Al-Bīrūnī provides the latitude of Wayhind in the *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind* (c. 1030) (Al-Bīrūnī 1958: 270.9; Sachau 1910 I: 317). In some other passages of the same work, he describes the city as the capital (قصبه) of Gandhāra located west of the Indus River, named Sindh by him (Sachau 1910 I: 206; Al-Bīrūnī 1958: 165.8-9), repeats this description of Wayhind as being the town (مدينة) of Gandhāra (Sachau 1910 I: 259; Al-Bīrūnī 1958: 215.7-216.1), and adds that the river of Wayhind is the Indus (Sachau 1910 I: 259; Al-Bīrūnī 1958: 215, table). In *Al-qānūn* (Al-Bīrūnī 1955: 562), al-Bīrūnī gives both the latitude and longitude of the city, while defining it as the capital of the district (قصبه) of Gandhāra located in the Indus Valley. In a later work, the *Gemmology*, al-Bīrūnī again described the city along the same lines: it is the capital (قصبه) of Gandhāra, and the Indus River passes by it (Al-Bīrūnī 2001: 236.8; Said 2001: 293). Al-Bīrūnī qualifies Wayhind as the capital of the district (قصبه)—or as the [main] town (مدينة)—of Gandhāra, and always associates it with the Indus River.

### **Inscriptions on Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa**

In addition, epigraphic material connects Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa with the Śāhi kings Bhīma and Jayapāla. An inscription known as the Hund Slab or Jayapāla Śāhi inscription (no. 10)<sup>8</sup> and carved

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<sup>8</sup> The numbering of the inscriptions used in this survey refers to a list collating inscriptions from Kāpiśī, Gandhāra, and the Panjab in proto-Śāradā, Śāradā, Arabic, Persian, Bactrian, Brahmi and Tibetan languages. This list, which is presently unpublished, is established in collaboration with the project *Cultural Formation and Transformation* and with the research project *Intercultural Exchanges and Cultural Changes* (Ambizione SFNS) conducted by the present

during Jayapāla's rule (c. 964-1002) describes the town as the abode of the two kings Bhīma and Jayapāla (Rehman 1979a: 128; 309-318; see also Rehman 1979b and Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 119-121).<sup>9</sup> The text honors Śiva under several of his epithets (Skt. *bhūtanātha*, *śarva*, *śitikaṇṭha*, *pinākin*, *umānātha*, etc.). It refers to the town Udabhāṇḍa (as *uḍhāṇḍa*) as located to the north of the Indus River (Skt. *sindhu*) and as housing learned men (Skt. *vidvajjana*). It also celebrates the waters of the Indus. This inscription is written in Śāradā script and bears the date *saṃvat* 146, corresponding to 989 CE according to Rehman (1979a: 246). The association of the town with the rule of Jayapāla corresponds to the abovementioned description made by the author of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*.

Rehman (ibid.) records another Śāradā inscription dating from Jayapāla's reign, known as the Barikot inscription (no. 13). Except the two first lines, its text is damaged. The existing readings are thus uncertain, although one can read the personal name of Jayapāla and the toponym Vajrāsthāna (Sahni 1931: 301; Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 124-125; Von Hinüber 2020).<sup>10</sup>

Four other known Śāradā inscriptions come from Hund. The first of them is designated as the Mahārajñī Śrī Kameśvarīdevī (no. 8) and dedicated to the construction of a temple (Sahni 1933: 97-98; Rehman 1979a: 246-247; Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 121-122). It lists several names involved in the establishment of this temple: the architect Jayatarāja, son of Upendra from Avanti (Malwa region), qualified as a *sūryadvija*, probably referring to a brahmin devoted to the cult of the Sun; the Brahmin Pillaka, having the title of *pañcakula*; the son of Vīrāditya; Bhogika the writer; and son of Vinhenda. It mentions the years when the construction of the temple was decided and done. Sahni (1933: 97). Rodziadi Khaw (2016: 122) records from Sahni's reading the years 168-169, while Rehman (1979a: 246, 314) deciphers the numbers 158-159 from the inscription. The latter based on his computation for the Hund Slab Inscription (see above: *saṃvat* 146 is 989 CE) gives the date 1002 CE for the Mahārajñī Śrī Kameśvarīdevī inscription (Rehman 1979a: 247), that is the last year of Jayapāla's reign. If one accepts the reading by Sahni, however, the date of the inscription would be 1012 CE, which falls during the rule of Trilocanapāla (1010-1021 CE), the grandson of Jayapāla.

The Śrī Pillaka Brāhmaṇa inscription (no. 9) probably dates from the same period as the Mahārajñī Śrī Kameśvarīdevī and also mentions the brahmin Pillaka and writer Bhogika. Although its reading is incomplete, it refers to the attacks of Turkic people (Skt. *turuṣka*), in this case, most probably, that of Maḥmūd, and mentions the husband of Pārvatī, i.e., Śiva (Rehman 1979a: 247-248; Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 122-124). According to Rehman (1979a: 248), it may belong to the same shrine area as the Mahārajñī Śrī Kameśvarīdevī.

Another inscription, known as the Īśvara inscription (no. 6), is also dedicated to the construction of a temple, possibly a temple of Śiva, with the epithet of Īśvara. It mentions the Indus river. Barring these elements, the text does not allow one to draw further information (Hargreaves 1926: 69; Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 126-127). The last known Śāradā inscription from Hund is the Vasantarāja inscription (no. 7). It is in a very poor state and only perhaps the name *vasantara* can be read.

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<sup>9</sup> On the military interactions and negotiations between Maḥmūd and Jayapāla, see Rehman 1979a: 143-147.

<sup>10</sup> See the inscription's image in the "Inscriptions" section of the following webpage:  
<https://shahimaterialculture.univie.ac.at/database/>.

The last inscription worth mentioning is written in proto-Śāradā and named the Narendrāditya inscription. It is dated between the 7th and 9th century CE. It records a meritorious deed and alludes to a temple. The name Narendrāditya could refer to a king or minister from Kashmir or to a Khingalide king (Rodziadi Khaw 2016: 90-91).

### **Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa as a political, administrative, and religious center in Gandhāra**

Thus, the town is alternatively described as the capital of Gandhāra, or as a capital alone. Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa is also connected to kings, among them three of the Hindu Śāhi: Lalliya, Bhīma, and Jayapāla. This connection shows that the town was then a political and administrative center of these Hindu Śāhi kings.

The evidence drawn from the accounts of Hwui Li in the early 7th century, Huichao, and Wukong in the early 8th century, al-Muqaddasī in the 10th century, al-Bīrūnī in the early 11th century, Kalhaṇa in the 12th century, and the epigraphic material, all suggest that Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa had been an influential and important town in Gandhāra for several centuries. In addition, the inscriptions found in Hund show that the historical Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa was also a religious center, at least at the time of Jayapāla's reign (r. c. 964-1002). Several of these inscriptions point to Hindu deities—notably the god Śiva—as being cult objects there.

The reign of the Kābul Śāhi rulers began during the second half of the 7th century CE, i.e., sometime between the year 661 and 666 (Rehman 1979a: 45-47, 61; Alram 2016). Their rule follows by approximately thirty to forty years Hwui Li's report which states that the town was governed by the kings of Kāpīśī, possibly the Khingalides. According to Rehman (1979a: 87), Lagatūrmān, the last Kābul Śāhi died in 820. Rehman then dates the beginning of the Hindu Śāhi rule in the year 843, i.e., half a century before the rule of Lalliya, who is mentioned in the *Rājataranṅinī*.

Based on the sources examined above, it appears that in the early 7th century CE, Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa may have already been the residence of kings, the Khingalides. In the 8th century, the town was connected to Turkic rulers, probably the Kābul Śāhi, and it began to be associated with the Hindu Śāhi, i.e., starting with the king Lalliya (r. c. 880-902), by the *Rājataranṅinī* from the end of the 9th century CE onward.

The lack of reference to Wayhind in Arabic and Persian sources that predates the mid-10th century CE may be explained by two reasons. First, this region became the focus of attention of Muslim rulers, such as the Ghaznavids Sebūktigīn (r. 977-997) and his son Maḥmūd (r. 997-1030), only from the end of the 10th century CE. Thus, this area, not being reached by their armies, was also mostly unknown among early Muslim geographers and historians (Verdon 2015: 38-40). An alternative reason may be that Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa, despite it being residence of the Kābul Śāhi, did not then benefit from the fame and commercial position that it would have during the later period, that of the Hindu Śāhi.

Its status as a royal center may have fluctuated at times, depending on local rulers. It appears, however, likely that Wayhind/Udabhāṇḍa became a more stable political and administrative center from the rule of Lalliya, i.e., from the late 9th-early 10th century, up to the reign of Jayapāla in the late 10th-early 11th century CE, that is for approximately one century.

### **Toponym, the phonetic changes**

The spelling of the city is *wyhnd* (ويهند) in the printed editions of the texts by al-Bīrūnī (973 - c.

1050).<sup>11</sup> It is *vbhnd* in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* (982/83) according to Vladimir Minorsky (1970: 63). The two spellings are transliterations from the original Sanskrit. The word *-pura* sometimes placed at the end of the Sanskrit *Udabhāṇḍa* simply means city or town. It has been omitted by the Arabic and Persian authors, who only transcribed the first part of the toponym, i.e., *udabhāṇḍa*.

The phonetic changes, to which the original Sanskrit *udabhāṇḍa* was subject, can be further explained through observations related to the systems of sounds of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages. The following analysis is based on the results of three studies (Sachau 1888; Chatterji 1951; Verdon 2019: 71-74) exploring patterns in the phonetical changes from Sanskrit into Arabic in al-Bīrūnī’s works.

First, the initial Sanskrit vowel *-u-* was transliterated by the letters *-w-* in Arabic and *-v-* in Persian, while the two syllables *-uda-* underwent a strong abbreviation turning into *-wa-* and *-va-*. Strong abbreviations occur for instance in al-Bīrūnī’s transliteration of Sanskrit words into Arabic, probably because a word was orally transferred to him mostly through an Indic vernacular language. For instance, he rendered the Sanskrit term *yamunā* as *jawn* (جون) in Arabic, which is also the Persian term for the river and which may have been transmitted through a *prakṛti* form of this term, i.e., *jaunā* (Sachau 1888: 24).<sup>12</sup> Other examples of strong abbreviation include the form *āho/āhū* (أهوى), beside *āśoka* (أشوك), for the Sanskrit personal name of the king Aśoka, and *Gaurī-ṭṛī* (گورتر) for rendering the name of the Hindu festival *Gaurī-ṭṛīya* (Verdon 2019: 69, 72-73).<sup>13</sup>

Further, al-Bīrūnī transformed at least once the Sanskrit voiced aspirated consonant *-gh-* into the Arabic aspirate *-h-* (هـ), in the same way as the voiced aspirated *-bh-*, in *-bhāṇḍa*, became an aspirated *-h-* of Arabic and Persian transliteration *-hnd*—the short vowels being unwritten in these classical alphabets. An example of this phonetic modification, together with a strong abbreviation, is found in al-Bīrūnī’s rendering of the Sanskrit term *caturdaśi-māgha* into Arabic as *cāmāha* (چاماهه) (Verdon 2019: 73).<sup>14</sup> It is thus possible to draw a parallel with the transfer of the original sound *-bh-* to the Arabic sound *-h-*, i.e., *-bhāṇḍa* becoming *-hnd*, while it was maintained in the Persian *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*, which transliterated the last part of the toponym as *-bhnd*.

If this is so, the phonetical changes were gradual, and they depended on the literary and vernacular languages through which the term was transmitted. Thus, when the name *udabhāṇḍa* was transferred into Arabic and Persian for the first time—by whomever it may be—, it was exposed to the same or similar phonetical changes as those described above, and eventually turned into Wayhind, or perhaps Wayhand (?).

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<sup>11</sup> On different names of the town, see Cunningham 1871: 52-53. Dey (1927: 208) names the town Udakhaṇḍa. See also Bhattacharya 1991: 295.

<sup>12</sup> Chatterji (1951: 93-94) provides examples of common phonetical changes from Sanskrit to Arabic via a middle Indian language.

<sup>13</sup> The festival *Gaurī-ṭṛīya* took place on the third and four lunar day (*tithi*) of the waning fortnight of the moon (*śuklapakṣa*) of the Vaiśākha month (April-May) according to al-Bīrūnī.

<sup>14</sup> See also the phonetical changes regarding the transmission of the term *candrabhāgā* into Arabic in Sachau 1888: 24 and Chatterji 1951: 93.



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