

HUND

The Forgotten City of Gandhara



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FIDAULLAH SEHRAI

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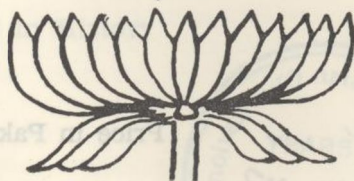
BY

FIDAULLAH SEHRAI

DIRECTOR

PESHAWAR MUSEUM

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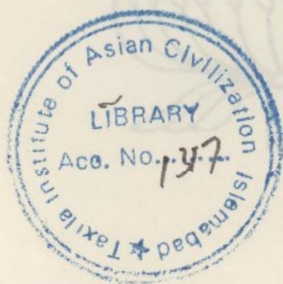
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Frontispiece:

*Rgffern from the island in the Indus on inflated
skin (Shinaz)*

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FOREWORD

Gandhara (Peshawar Valley) is known more abroad than to its own people. Its contribution to the Buddhist world in the field of art, architecture and religion is enormous and history most interesting. Each old stone, brick, mound, and monument in this region has a romantic story to tell but all of them are mute. But the historians and archaeologists make them speak to the visitors through their writings.

There are quite a large number of historical and archaeological sites in this region which are visited by visitors. A scholar knows them well but a common man desires that some one should explain to him their historical importance. He will find this book useful when he visits Hund.

This is the first guide-book to be published by the Peshawar Museum to Hund, an important site on the old crossing of the Indus in the Mardan district. Great historical figures of the world like Alexander the Great, Changiz Khan, Timur, Babur, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Ranjit Singh and Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi are associated with it. It was important during the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim periods and remained the capital of the Shahi kings of Gandhara whom Mahmud of Ghazni defeated in several pitched battles.

The Peshawar Museum will bring out more guide-books in future to important sites in this region for the benefit of the visitors.

The words may tell all that we know in historical literature but the panoramic view of Hund in the setting of the Indus background will alone open up a new picture of beauty and joy.

I congratulate Mr. Fidaullah Sehrai, Director, Peshawar Museum on the preparation of this guide-

book which I hope will create interest among the visitors for the rich cultural heritage of Pakistan.

S. IJLAL HAIDER ZAIDI,
Chairman,
Board of Governors,
Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.

19th, May, 1979.

P R E F A C E

When I was a Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Prof. A.H. Dani, the then Chairman of the Department took me to Hund, the most important historical site on the bank of the Indus in the Mardan district. He desired that I should write a guide-book to it for the visitors which I promised to do so in future.

S. Ijlal Haider Zaidi, Chairman, Board of Governors, Peshawar Museum and Chief Secretary, Government of the North West Frontier Province, is a patron of art, archaeology, and museums and responsible for bringing out my first book, *The Buddha Story in Peshawar Museum*. He remained the Deputy Commissioner of the Mardan district in the past and knew all its important sites. When I expressed the desire to write a guide-book to Hund, he encouraged me very much and advised me to start the work to create interest among the people for the rich cultural heritage of Pakistan so that they should not disturb such sites which were a part of our history. Thus the book, *Hund, the Forgotten City of Gandhara* is the result of Mr. Zaidi's encouragement.

Capt. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Secretary Education and Mr. Muzaffar Mahmood Qureshi, Secretary Finance, Government of the North West Frontier Province helped the Peshawar Museum in its publication and development programmes. They encouraged me very much and advised me to write such guide-books to other places also in this region to arouse public interest in them.

Prof. M.I. Sethi, Vice-Chancellor, University of Peshawar, Mr. B.A. Kureshi, Vice-Chairman, Board of Governors, Peshawar Museum, Prof. F.A. Durrani, Chairman, Dr. Abdur Rehman, Assistant Professor, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar,

Mr. Niaz Rasul and Mr. I.H. Nadiem, Assistant Superintendents of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan helped me in many ways in my work.

Mr. Niaz Ali Khan, Stenographer and Mr. Tahir Ali, Senior Clerk, both my colleagues in the Peshawar Museum typed the manuscript of the book.

Finally I thank my teacher Prof. A.H. Dani who always enlightened me whenever I discussed history, art, archaeology and culture of Ancient Pakistan with him. He went through the entire manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

19th May, 1979.

FIDAULLAH SEHRAI

POSTSCRIPT

Mr. Usman Ali Isani, the new Chairman, soon after taking over as Chief Secretary to the Government of the North West Frontier Province on 13th June, 1979, has been giving personal attention to the Peshawar Museum affairs. I am sure that under his guidance and patronage, the Peshawar Museum will make further progress.

8th, July, 1979.

FIDAULLAH SEHRAI

HUND

The Forgotten City of Gandhara

1. INTRODUCTION

Hund, the capital of the Shahi kings of Kabul and Gandhara stands on the west bank of the Indus in the Sawabi tehsil of the Mardan district in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. It is at a distance of about fifty miles to the east of Peshawar. The Buddha appeared as a great fish in his previous birth here and fed the people with his flesh. Alexander the Great relaxed here with his army, organised sports, offered sacrifices to the gods and then crossed the mighty Indus. The Chinese pilgrims, Sung-Yun and Hiuen Tsang visited this place. Muqaddasi, the first Arab traveller wrote about the gardens of Hund. Changiz Khan reached here in pursuit of Sultan Jalaluddin of Khwarizm. Timur and Babur pitched their camps here. Akbar built a fort here to check the Yusufzais while Ranjit Singh crossed the river to fight with them. Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi lived in the Hund fort to start the Holy War against the Sikhs. Many historic battles were fought here and the Indus carried together the blood of the victors and the vanquished. Through this place which was one of the most important cities of ancient Gandhara, passed the troops of other invaders also from Central Asia for the conquest of the Sub-continent. These are the glimpses from the historical drama set at Hund. Prof. A. Foucher, the French Archaeologist, in 1897 had rightly called Hund as "Dvar-e-Hind" i.e. The Gate of India.

The rivers have played an important role in the religious and economic life of the people in all the ancient civilisations of the world. The *Rigveda*, the oldest book of the Aryans which goes back to the second millennium B.C. mentions the rivers Indus, Kabul, Swat and Kurram. The Hindus call the Ganges as the Mother Ganges while the Pakhtoons call the Indus as Abasin i.e. Father Indus or Father of the Rivers. Downstream in the Sindh, there emerged the famous Indus

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Valley Civilisation in the protohistoric times while upstream in Gandhara, there appeared the famous Buddhist Civilisation in historic times on the west bank of the Abasin. Both of them died long ago but the village of Hund still stands as a firm rock against the onslaughts of the mighty Indus. Although much of the ancient city has been washed away by the river yet the historical importance of Hund has not diminished.

2. NOMENCLATURE

Hund was known as Udabhandapur in the ancient times. The name consists of the Sanskrit words Udak (water) bhand (pot) and pur (city). Thus the name reveals that the Indus was crossed at this spot with the help of the pots in the primitive days. A person learns swimming by turning the rim of the pot in water and holds it under his chest and then tries to swim. In this way the beginners and children learn swimming. One can still see the children swimming with the pots on the bank of the river in summer here. Now-a-days the villagers swim across the river at this ferry with the help of goat-skin, cow and buffalo-hides known as "*Shinaz*" in Pashto and the boats ply in winter when the water subsides. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who came to Gandhara in A.D. 629-645 calls Hund as Ou-to-kia-han-t'cha which Sir Aurel Stein rightly recognised the Udabhandapura to which the *Rajatarangini* refers as the winter capital of the Shahi kings of Kabul. The book was written in Sanskrit by Kalhana, the Kashmiri chronicler in A.D. 1150. Only the Chinese transcription suggests an optional form Udakabhandanda. Moreover, one cannot fail to recognise it in the Hund of today, for thus it is called by its present inhabitants — the more refined people pronounce it Ohind — the Wayhand of Alberuni, the Udabhandanda of the Kashmir chronicle and the Udakabhandanda of the Chinese pilgrim.

Besides Alberuni who uses the name Wayhand or Oaihand in A.D. 1030, Mirza Mughal Beg calls it Ohind in 1790, Rashid-ud-din names the place Wehand or Waihand in A.D. 1310 and Abul Fida also calls it Waihand. According to all these authors Waihand was the capital of Gandhara. The only native writer who uses

the abbreviated form of the name is Nizamud-din, who in his *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, says that Mahmud besieged Jaipal in the Fort of Hind in A.D. 1002. Waihand of the Muslim historians was wrongly identified by Firishta with Bithanda — a town which still exists in the Punjab hills under the same nomenclature. Sir Alexander Cunningham writes, "From all these examples I infer that the original name of Utakhand, or Ut-khand, was first softened to Uthand and then shortened to Uhand or Ohind". Thus it has become the Hund of today.

3. OLD ROUTE TO HUND

The four important cities of Gandhara were Pushkalavati (Charsadda), Pushpapur (Peshawar), Varushapur (Shahbaz Garhi) and Udabhandapur (Hund). These cities were linked together by a highway in the north of the Kabul river which started from Peshawar and ended at the Hund ford on the bank of the Indus. Peshawar gained importance in A.D. 78 during the reign of Kanishka, the Kushan Emperor who built over the relics of the Buddha a gigantic tower which was the wonder of the Buddhist world. Prior to this Pushkalavati was the capital of Gandhara. At the time of Alexander's invasion in B.C. 326, Astes was the ruler of Pushkalavati which was conquered by Hephæstion, the Greek General of Alexander after the siege of thirty days. Astes died fighting valiantly against the Greek army to save his Lotus City. Shahbaz Garhi lies on the crossroads and was an important city of ancient Gandhara where the travellers from all directions halted on their journeys. Here are the Rock Edicts of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka on a hill close to the old highway that ran from Peshawar to Hund. It was the meeting place of all the ancient routes and connected with Swat (Uddiyana i.e. Garden) by a road which deviated from the highway in the north at Shahbaz Garhi. It went through Rustam and Karakar pass into Buner and Swat. The other road was on the bank of the Muqam river to Jamal Garhi and over the Shahkot pass to the lower Swat valley and beyond to Dir and Bajaur. The former route was followed by Alexander the Great while the latter was used by

Babur, the Mughal Emperor on his first expedition to reach the Hund ford. After the construction of the Attock Fort by Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, this old route which existed in the north of Kabul river lost its importance. Thus the present road running to the south of the Kabul river became popular which connected Delhi with Kabul via Peshawar. But the travelers from Bajaur, Dir, Swat and Buner used the same old route of Shahbaz Garhi and Hund to reach Lahore. It was finally discarded when the British opened the Attock Bridge over the Indus in 1883 and the railway tracks reached Mardan and Dargai, in the foot of the Malakand pass.

4. *APPROACH TO HUND*

A tourist can visit Hund from Peshawar by travelling in a car or wagon on the Peshawar-Rawalpindi road upto Jehangira which is at a distance of about 40 miles. The tourist coming from Rawalpindi to Peshawar after crossing the Attock Bridge comes to Jehangira, about 6 miles from the bridge on the highway. Here he has to leave this road and turn north-east to cross a newly built bridge over the Kabul river which falls into the Indus at Khairabad near Attock. Prior to this there used to be a boat bridge at this spot which often got dismantled in the summer floods. The present bridge connects the Peshawar district with the Sawabi tehsil of the Mardan district, the land of the Yusufzai Pakhtoons. After crossing it, one has to continue his journey on Sawabi road. Jehangira village on the bank of the Kabul river owes its name to Jehangir, the Mughal Emperor who built a fort here to guard the boat bridge and ferry. The Sikhs also built a fort and stationed their troops to check the war-like Yusufzai Pakhtoons. The remains of both the forts do not exist at present. Jehangira is famous for its historical importance in most ancient times also. According to Sir Aurel Stein, the naval expedition ordered by Darius, the Achaemenian Emperor of Iran, and led by Skylax of Caryanda to explore the Indus, started from this point. After the submission of the exploration report by Skylax, Darius conquered the

Indus zone. Lahor is a small village on the left by the road side on way to Hund. It is the birth place of Panini, the celebrated Sanskrit grammarian who lived in about 5th century B.C. It remained a centre of Paninian studies for five hundred years. Hiuen Tsang, the Prince of Pilgrims visited Lahor and wrote, "The children of this town, who are his (Panini's) disciples, rever his eminent qualities and a statue erected to his memory still exist. Neither the statue nor the school exists at present but the name of Panini, the grammarian will remain alive in Sanskrit literature.

After reaching Ambar village, one leaves the main road, turns south-east and drives three miles to reach Hund. When we come closer to the village, the gate and bastions of the Mughal fort starts appearing. Here are the remains of Hindu and Muslim periods. The site was important during the Buddhist period also.

5. ENVIRONS OF HUND

Hund lies in a flat plain which gradually slopes down towards the Indus in the south. The land around it in the east, west and north is fertile and irrigated by the Pehur Canal taken out of the Indus in 1951, while the land out of the reach of canal water is irrigated by the Persian wheel known as *Rahat* in Pashto. The village ends in the south on the bank of the river which flows from east to west. The farmers obtain good crops of sugar-cane, maize and tobacco. In its north, behind the village of Ambar, is a chain of small hills. In between the two villages flows Badri, the hill torrent which rises on the southern slopes of the Mahaban (the Great Forest) range and falls into the Indus near Harian village in the southwest of Hund. It often brings floods in the summer in the rainy season and causes considerable damage to the crops. To the east of Ambar is the village of Shah Mansur, named after the Chief of the Yusufzais, whose daughter Bibi Mubarka was married to the Mughal Emperor Babur. The Emperor mentions both of them in his "*Memoirs*". In the east of Shah Mansur is the village and hill of Panjpir which rises to the height of 940 feet above the

Yusufzai plain. A good view of the Mardan district, Attock and the Khattak range is obtained from the top of this hill. Sawabi village which is tehsil also, reminds us of Babur's rhino hunting in its vicinity which was covered with thick forests at that time. In the south of Hund in the Indus are four islands known in Pashto as *belas* which are covered with reed and *shisham* trees. Two of them spread about three miles in the river and villagers take their cattle to them for grazing. On the opposite bank of the river is the Chach plain of the Punjab. Its main villages are Malla, Parmuli, Penda, Daman, Harun, Salim Khan, Yasin and others which face Hund. The gigantic Turbela Dam 13 miles upstream is visible from the bank of the river, at Hund.

6. THE VILLAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The area of the village is 6911 acres and population 3145 according to the census of 1972. There are 621 houses within the Mughal fort. Many houses have been built against the inner face of the old fortification wall. The houses are mainly built of mud though bricks and stones can also be sparingly seen. The stone is quarried from the hills behind Ambar. The road within the fort that runs from north to south and divides the village into two equal halves is almost straight. At one end it provides entrance to the village and at the other ends at the river bank. It is used by the villagers who take their cattle to the islands for grazing. Irregular houses have been constructed on the road that runs from the eastern to the western gate. These gates have been closed by their modern occupants. In the construction of the houses wood is fully utilised. The roofs supported by wooden pillars are covered with reed and thaches, easily available to the villagers from the islands in the Indus.

The people now living in the village are the Khan Khels, Habib Khels, Khattaks and Punjabis. It is interesting to note that it is a bi-lingual village in which Pashto and Hindko are spoken. The latter is the legacy of the people of Chach with whom the people of Hund

have good relations. They usually go to see one another by crossing the river with inflated skins. The Punjabis had come centuries ago and settled here. The Khan Khels are influential people who are divided into several families. The cultivable land belongs to them but there are exceptions also in which the other people too are land owners. Khadi Khan and Amir Khan of Hund were important chiefs of the area in the time of Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi. The main occupation of the people is agriculture but few of them work as traders, gold washers, shopkeepers, boatmen and fishermen also. Gold washing is done in winter when the water subsides and the boats ply from September to June on the banks of the river. The amusements of the people are hunting and fishing. They go to the islands to hunt patridges, ducks, wild boars, rabbits and quails.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT HUND

Hindu Period. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim described this village as being 20 li or 3⅓ miles in circuit with its south side resting on the Indus. The remains of a rubble fortification wall running parallel to the west bank of the river can be identified and two squarish bastions of diaper masonry in the same wall can be seen in a cliff on the river bank. The Indus has much eroded the village and the fortification wall of the Hindu period, due to change of its course and floods in summer in the last so many centuries. The fortification wall was built and rebuilt so many times and the last phase appears to be of Shahi period. Big gravels and stones have been used to raise this wall. From the remains it appears that one of the gates of the Hindu period existed towards the river bank only a little ahead of the gate of the Mughal times. Outside the Mughal fort to the west of the village is a ruined mound called Salamgarh by the villagers who say that it was the seat of Raja Hodi where the people used to go to salute the king. The site is much disturbed but the remains of a diaper wall and the presence of the *pipal* trees on this spot suggest that it was a sacred area, probably a temple of the Shahi period. The extent

of this great city can be determined by the mounds near it and the potsherds lying on the bank of the river and in the fields where the farmers, while ploughing still discover structures of the old times.

Inscriptions. Many interesting and informative inscriptions were discovered at Hund in the past. Sir Alexander Burns who in 1841 was informed about them got one on a white marble and sent to Prinsep at Calcutta to decipher it. Although it was much mutilated yet he translated it and assigned it to 7th and 8th century A.D. The Sanskrit inscription refers to the powerful Turushkas (Turks) as foes overcome by the nameless hero celebrated in the inscription. It is the early struggle of the people of this region with the Turkish tribes beyond them.

Inscription No. 8 in Peshawar Museum also comes from Hund. The stone measuring 10y x 7£" and containing ten lines was donated by the Khan of Hund. It is in Sanskrit language and many of the letters are obliterated. The date is given at the end and only the last portion is legible which mentions the construction of a temple. Inscription No. 9 in Peshawar M^m on stone measuring 18" x 16" x 12" in Sarda script was discovered by Maior E.H. Cobb at Hund. According to lr^m. who presented it to the Peshawar Museum, it w[^] set in the foundation of an oM wall. It contains eteht lines and refers to the construction of a temnle by MoVinrani Kameshvarv Devi and gives the name, of architect as .Tavant.araia who was a native of ^alwa. This inscription belongs to the 8th century, A.D.

Dr. Abdur Rehman has recently published a new inscription from Hund belonging to the time of Ja[^]pai. the Shahi ruler. It mentions the year 146 of an unknown era and admires Shiva, Jaipal, Hund and the Indus.

Sir Alexander Cunnineham in 1863-4 noticed that in the sands of the foot of the cliff, which were mixed with the debris of the ruined houses, the sold washers used to find numerous coins which revealed the pros-

perity of the old city. He remarks, "In a few hours washing I obtained two bronze buckles, apparently belonging to a bridle, a broken spoon, a female neck ornament, several flat needles for applying antimony to the eyes, and a considerable number of coins of the Indo-Scythian and Brahman princes of Kabul".

Muslim Period. The only monument belonging to Muslim period is the Mughal fort at Hund which was built during the time of Akbar, the Great. The story of its construction starts in this way. The Yusufzais had routed the Mughal army of Akbar in Buner in which Raja Birbal, Hasan Khan Bhattani and 8,000 soldiers lost their lives. The poet Abdul Fateh and Zain Khan escaped death in this expedition and reported the tragedy to Akbar who was at Attock at that time. In the meantime the news arrived that the Yusufzais were advancing towards Attock. Therefore, Zain Khan and Prince Murad hurried and defeated them in the plains with the help of the imperial forces. They built forts at strategic points in the plain of the present Mardan district to keep the Yusufzais in strict control who had always flouted the Mughal authority. "One of these was sited at the large village of Garhi Kapura, some six miles east of Hoti-Mardan another at the place called Langarkot now vanished but close to Torn and a third at or near Ohind or Hund, the Indus ford".

The Mughal fort at Hund has four gates in which small baked bricks have been used in its construction. The arches over them have crumbled down. The perimeter of the fortification wall is 1400 yards. It is square in plan and pierced in the centre of each face by a gateway, on each side of which are four regularly placed bastions. The southern gateway has almost entirely disappeared, but the traces of others still exist. The walls and bastions are of rubble masonry, the gateways where preserved, of small brick. The walls generally are much ruined. The present fortification is built of the larger stones of diaper masonry walls of earlier monuments, put together, however in the usual style of Muslim rubble constructions. The fortification wall in which the whole village is housed has

thirty-six bastions in all. The entry to the village is through the northern gate and the straight road which goes through the village ends at the southern gate on the bank of the river. The postholes for the heavy wooden jambs of the gate can be noticed at the northern gate. The stone wall is internally coated with small bricks at some places. Near the western gate two rooms for the guards can be recognised. The remains reveal that the Mughal fort is within the Hindu enclosure. The city lost its grandeur when Akbar installed the ferry at Attock and built a gigantic fort on the cliff to guard it. It was a death blow to the prosperity of Hund, the ancient Indus crossing where goods from all parts were exchanged and loaded to cross the Indus. The people of this great city of the past collected the toll and the boatmen did the job of transportation. Due to passage of time the whole population concentrated within the newly built fort by Akbar for military purposes.

Battle Scene in Carving. Two interesting and informative pieces of art were the wooden carvings published by Col. K.A. Rashid in his book, *Historical Dissertations* which he assigned to the Ghaznavide period. They were the shutters of a window in an old Hujra towards the southern gate. One of the carvings shows two soldiers holding spears in hands and advancing on horse back. From the opposite side four soldiers holding swords in their hand and waving them in the air are advancing on foot. Two other soldiers on horse back with spears in their hands are following them. Below them a few soldiers are swimming across the river. It is the river Indus because the carving was done at Hund.

In the second carving a man is holding a snake. In the same scene a horse is shown shaking hands with a monkey. The monkey and the snake are sacred to the Hindus and the man and the horse signify the elements of war. They appear to be offering prayers for the victory. Col. Rashid identifies this as the scene of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni's war with the Shahi rulers of Hund whom he defeated in the famous battle of

Ohind. It may be remembered however that the carving does not appear to be as old as Col. Rashid thinks.

Inscription. The stone measuring 25½" x 12" containing Arabic inscription in Kufic style was discovered at Hund in the wall of a well in 1894 which is now in the Peshawar Museum. It mentions the construction of a well by Abu Jafar Muhammad son of Abdul Jabbar son of Muhammad, a native of Jurian. The recorded date in it is Zil Qadah, 482 A.H. which corresponds to 1090 A.D. Hund was definitely a part of the Ghaznavide empire at that time.

8. THE SHAHI DYNASTY OF HUND

The Kushanas did not entirely disappear in the Kabul and Peshawar valleys after the disintegration of their empire. The reference to the "Daivaputra-Sahisahanusahi" in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta has rightly been interpreted to suggest that princes of the Kushana dynasty survived in the Kabul valley, Gandhara and the Punjab until about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Alberuni, a Muslim scholar of the 10th and early 11th century gives us more information. According to him, the descendents of Barhatakin, one of them being Kanik (Kanishka), whom he calls Hindu Turks, ruled Kabul for sixty generations under the title Shahiya, evidently a variant of Sanskrit Sahi or of the Kushan Shah. He may or may not be correct in stating that all these monarchs belonged to one family, or that their number was exactly sixty, but it seems probable that they were of Kushana stock and used the title Shahiya (Sahi). At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, the Kushanas who were foreigners were merged into the local population. Some of the Kushana kings had adopted Hindu gods and names. Hardly anything is known of the Turki Sahis except that they carried on intermittent wars with the Arab invaders from the seventh to the middle of the ninth century A.D.

The Turkish Shahiya family ruled the Kabul valley

and Gandhara for a long time in the 10th century A.D. The last ruler of this dynasty was Lagaturman who was deposed by Kallar, his Brahman minister. He ascended the throne and laid the foundation of the Hindu Shahi dynasty which is identified with Lalliya Shahi referred to in the *Rajatarangini*. Lalliya did not succeed in maintaining hold over the Kabul valley for a long time. Thus the Saffarid Yaqub ibn Lais, conquered it in A.D. 870. Lalliya, then fixed his capital at Udashanda, modern Hund on the west bank of the Indus. His kingdom is stated to have been situated between those of the Turushkas (Kabul valley) and the Drads (Kishanganga valley in Kashmir). Alakhana, the king of Gurjara was his protege. King Sankaravarman of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir invaded his kingdom and wrested from him the country adjoining the lower hills east of the Chinab. Next he invaded the territory of Lalliya but did not achieve any success. "Kalhana highly praises the valour and achievements of Lalliya and states that Lalliya's glory outshone that of all the rulers in the north, and many kings found safety in his town Udashanda" (Hund). After Lalliya's death, Samanta, a scion of the Shahi family usurped the throne. Prabhakar, the minister of Gopalavarman, the son of Sankaravarman, the ruler of Kashmir, plundered Udashanda, dethroned the rebellious Shahi and placed Toramana, the son of Lalliya on the throne. He gave Toramana a new name Kamaluka. He is mentioned by Alberuni as Kamalu and is called Kala-(Kamala) varman in an inscription of his successor. Muhammad Afi (c.A.D. 1211) mentions him as the Rai of Hindustan.

Bhima ascended the throne after the death of his father, Kamaluka. A stone inscription of his reign was discovered at Dewal, in the Gadun Area of the Maradan district. Didda, the famous queen of Kashmir, wife of Kshemagupta was his daughter's daughter. He had built a temple called Bhimakshava in Kashmir during her husband's reign. Jaipal was one of the important kings of this line who probably ascended the throne in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. A fragmentary stone inscription of his reign was found

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on a hill north of Bari Kot in Swat district. This proves that the Swat valley was included in the Shahi kingdom. He ruled over a large country extending from Sirhand to Laghman and from the borders of Kashmir to Multan. About this time a powerful Muslim kingdom was established in the immediate vicinity with Ghazni as its capital. From the time of Jaipal onwards the Muslims started putting pressure on the Shahis. The latter gradually lost their territories in Afghanistan. When Jaipal realised the designs of Subuktigin, he made a counter attack on him but was defeated and had to conclude a treaty on humiliating terms. After his return to the capital, he imprisoned the officers of Subuktigin. This enraged the Amir and Jaipal came out to fight with him with a combined force of the states of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar and Kanauj. In spite of this Subuktigin defeated him on the confines of Laghman. Subuktigin died in A.D. 997 and was succeeded by his illustrious and brave son Mahmud who resolved to lead every year an expedition to India. The next attack was made by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1001. Here too Jaipal was defeated. He was so much shocked that he handed over the throne to his son, Anandpal, and burnt himself on a funeral pyre. Mahmud did not remain idle and again invaded this part in A.D. 1008. Anandpal like his father received the support of the Hindu princes but in vain. The arms of Mahmud triumphed as usual. Six years later Anandpal was succeeded by Trilochanpal who lost again to Mahmud. At last Trilochanpal was killed in A.D. 1021 and his son Bhimpal ascended the throne. He also met the same fate five years afterwards in A.D. 1026. "The history of Jaipal and his successors is practically speaking, the history of a long-drawn struggle with this kingdom (Ghazni). They fought with valour and tenacity for nearly half a century, but in vain, and the great Shahi kingdom ultimately collapsed before the repeated onslaughts of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni".

Thus fighting valiantly at the gates of India against the Muslim invaders, the Shahis disappeared into the oblivion and were soon completely forgotten.

Finally Mahmud of Ghazni became victorious and hoisted the banner of Islam in Gandhara. Such is the history of the Shahis of Hund!

9. HUND IN HISTORY

Many historical dramas have been played on the stage of the Indus and around Hund in ancient and historical times. I reproduce some of the important acts from the books of Greek, Chinese and Muslim writers in their own style.

Arrian writes

"He (Alexander) then made Ora and Massaga fortresses to keep the land in subjection, and fortified the city of Bazira. Hephaestion and Perdiccas also fortified for him another city, named Orabat, and leaving a garrison in it marched towards the river Indus. When they reached that river they at once began to carry out Alexander's instructions in regard to bridging it. Alexander then appointed Nicanor, one of the companions, viceroy of the land on this side the river Indus; and in the first place leading his army towards that river, he brought over on terms of capitulation the city of Peucelaotis, (Pushkalavati, The Lotus city, near Charsadda in Peshawar district) which was situated not far from it".

"When Alexander arrived at the river Indus, he founded a bridge made over it by Hephaestion, and two thirty-oared galleys besides many smaller crafts. He moreover found that 200 talents of silver, 3,000 oxen, above 10,000 sheep for sacrificial victims, and thirty elephants had arrived as gifts from Taxiles as a reinforcement, and that prince sent word that he would surrender to him the city of Taxila, the largest town between the river Indus and Hydaspes (the Jhelum River). Alexander there offered sacrifice to the gods to whom he was in the habit of sacrificing, and celebrated a gymnastic and horse contest near the river. The sacrifices were favourable to his crossing" but how Alexander laid a bridge over the river Indus I cannot say, because those who served in his

army have said nothing about it. But I should think that the bridge was made as near as possible as I have described, or if it were effected by some other contrivance so let it be. When Alexander had crossed to the other side of the river Indus, he again offered sacrifice there, according to his custom. Then starting from the Indus, he arrived at Taxila, a large and prosperous city, in fact the largest of those situated between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. He was received in a friendly manner by Taxiles, the governor of the city, and by the Indians of that place; and he added to their territory as much of the adjacent country as they asked for".

Sung-Yun narrates

"Going west three days, we arrive at the great river Sin-tu (Indus). On the west bank of this river is the place where Tathagata (Buddha) took the form of (or became) a great fish called *Makara* and came out of the river, and for twelve years supported the people with his flesh. On this spot is raised a memorial tower. On the rock are still to be seen the traces of the scales of the fish".

Hiuen Tsang writes

"Going south-east from the temple of Bhima 150 li, we come to U-to-kia-hancha (Hund). This town is 20 li in circuit; on the south it borders on the river Sindh (Sin-to). The inhabitants are rich and prosperous. Here is amass a supply of valuable merchandise and mixed goods from all quarters.

"To the north-west of U-to-kia-hancha 20 li or so we come to the town of Po-lo-to-lo (Lahor village in Mar-dan district). This is the place where the Rishi Panini who composed the Chingming-lun (the *Vyakarnam*) was born and returning to U-to-kia-hancha (Hund), we cross at the south of the river Sin-tu. The river is about 3 or 4 li in width, and flows south west. Its waters are pure and clear as a mirror as they roll

alongwith impetuous flow. Poisonous *Nagas* and hurtful beasts occupy the cavern and clefts along its sides. If a man tries to cross the river carrying with him valuable goods or gems or rare kinds of flowers or fruits, or especially relics of Buddha, the boat is frequently engulfed by the waves. After crossing the river we arrive at the kingdom of Ta-cha-shi-lo (Taxila)".

On his return journey Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim lost his books and flowers and was nearly drowned in crossing the river on an elephant at Hund.

Muqaddasi describes

"It (Hund) is a capital city of great glory and is bigger than Mansura. Situated on a square open plain, it has many gardens clean and attractive. The river (Indus) is full of water. We also get rains. The fruits of both summer and winter seasons are plentifully available. Around the city are the gardens full of walnut, almond, banana, and date. The prices are low. Three maunds of honey could be bought in one *dirham*. Bread and milk are very cheap. Pestilent insects (like mosquitoes, bugs) are absent. People are free from incurable diseases. But the weather is comparatively humid and hot. The houses are built of timber covered with dry grass. It is therefore open to fire. Short of these dangers it could match with the best cities of Iran".

Muqaddasi was the first Arab traveller who mentioned Hund in his book written in the 10th century, A.D. Anandapal Shahi was the ruler of Hund at that time.

Al-Utbi

Al-Utbi writes about the victory of Mahmud of Ghazni near Waihand in his book, "*Kitab-i-Yamini*", in this way:

"The Sultan contrary to the disposition of man, which induces him to prefer a soft to hard couch,

and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate bosomed girls to well-tempered sword blades, was so offended at the standard which Satan had raised in Hind that he determined on another holy expedition to that land. On the last day of Rabi-ul-aknir of the same year, the Sultan prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihand, he was met by Brahmanpal, the son of Anandpal, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell like rain from bows, and the grinding-stone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the infidels were near gaining victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes and hills".

Ata Malik Jaweni

Ala Malik Jaweni, the author of the "*Jahan Kusha*" describes the chase of Sultan Jalaluddin of Khwarizm by Changiz Khan in this way:

"Changiz Khan detached a portion of his army, fully equipped, from Talikan, against Sultan Jalaluddin, and when he heard of his still further successes, he himself marched with such expedition that there was no difference between night and day, and no time for cooking food. On his reaching Ghazna, he ascertained that the Sultan had left it fifteen days previous, for the purpose of crossing the river Sindh, so he appointed Yelwaj with his contingent to the charge of Ghazna, and himself hastened like a cloud-impelling wind in pursuit of him.

"He came up with the Sultan on the bank of Sindh, and hemmed him completely in with his army, several curves extending one behind another like a bow, of which the river was the string. Changiz Khan ordered

his troops to advance, and enjoined that every attempt should he made to take the Sultan alive. Chagtai and Ogtai also arrived to his support from Khwarizm.

"When the Sultan saw that it was a time for exertion and action, he prepared for fight with the few men he had under him, galloping from the right to the left wing, from the left to the centre, and making furious onslaughts. But the army of the Mughals made good their advance by degrees, narrowing the field of battle, and the opportunity of escape, while the Sultan was fighting like an angry lion.

In every direction that he urged his steed
He raised dust comingled with blood.

"Orders were again issued that they should take him prisoner, and the army refrained from wounding with spear and arrow, in their anxiety to carry the commands of Changiz Khan into effect. Jalaluddin himself maintained his ground, and, mounting a fresh horse that was brought to him, made one more charge, and then retreated like the wind and like a flash of lightening upon water.

"When Changiz Khan saw that the Sultan had dashed into the river, and that the Mughals were anxious to follow him, he prevented them, and placing his hand in his mouth through excess of astonishment, exclaimed to his sons:—

This is one whom you may indeed call a man!
A true fighting elephant to tooth and marrow!
This he said, and looked in that direction
Where the Sultan went like a Rustam on his way.

"All his followers who were not drowned in the river were put to the sword, and the ladies of his household and his children were brought to Changiz Khan. He ordered with respect to all the males, even down to those who were sucklings, that the nipple of death should be placed in the mouth of their life, and that their bodies should be left to be devoured by crows.

"As all the property and wealth of the Sultan had been thrown that day into the river by his orders,

Changiz Khan directed divers to search for it, and bring out what they could. This transaction, which was one of the wonders of the time, took place in *Rajab*, of the year 618 H; in accordance with the proverb, "Wonders Occur in *Rajab*". Changiz Khan after the battle marched to the banks of the Jihun (Indus), and sent Ogtai to Ghazna. On his arrival they proffered their submission. He ordered all the inhabitants to be brought out into the plain and counted, and, after selecting artizans from among them, he ordered all the rest to be slain. He also destroyed the city, and Ogtai returned towards Hirat, after burrying the slain".

Timur writes

"When I had arranged the conquest and settlement of the country (of the Afghanis) and the measures for the protection of the roads to my satisfaction, and had exterminated the rebellious predatory tribes of the Aghanis, I mounted my horse and spurred forward in the direction of Hindustan, and on Friday, the 8th of the month, I halted on the bank of the river Indus in the very place where Sultan Jalaluddin, of Khwarizm, had swum the river to escape from Changiz Khan, and where the latter encamped when he refrained from following. There I pitched my camp and gave orders to the nobles and soldiery that they should collect boats, planks, etc and construct a bridge over the Indus. In obedience to my order they all set to work and in two days had constructed a bridge over this mighty river".

Babur's Memoirs

Babur describes his journey from Bajaur to the Indus in this way:

(Feb. 14th) Marching on next day, we dismounted between Katlang and Maqam (Shahbaz Garhi in Mardan district). A man of Shah Mansur's arrived. Khusrau Kukuldash and Ahmadi the secretary were sent with a few more to meet the baggage-train.

(Feb. 15th) On Wednesday the 14th of the month, the baggage-train rejoined us while we were dismounting at Maqam.

"It will have been within the previous 30 or 40 years that a heretic qalandar named Shahbaz perverted a body of Yusufzai and another of Dilazak. His tomb was on a free and dominating height of the lower hill at the bill (*tumshuq*) of the Maqam mountain. Thought I, "What is there to recommend the tomb of a heretic qalandar for a place in air so free?" and ordered the tomb destroyed and levelled with the ground. The place was so charming and open that we elected to sit there some time and to eat a confection (*ma'jun*).

(*h. Babur crosses the Indus for the first time*). We had turned off from Bajaur with Bhira in our thoughts. Ever since we came into Kabul it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan, but this had not been done for a variety of reasons. Nothing to count had fallen into the soldier's hands during the three or four months we had been leading this army. Now that Bhira, the border-land of Hindustan, was so near, I thought a something might fall into our men's hands if, riding light, we went suddenly into it. To this thought I clung, but some of my well-wishers, after we had raided the Afghans and dismounted at Maqam, set the matter in this way before me:—"If we are to go into Hindustan, it should be on a proper basis; one part of the army stayed behind in Kabul; a body of effective braves was left behind in Bajaur; a good part of this army has gone into Lamghan because its horses were worn-out; and the horses of those who have come this far, are so poor that they have not a day's hard riding in them". Reasonable as these considerations were, yet, having made the start, we paid no attention to them but set off next day for the ford through the water of Sindh. Mir Muhammad the raftsmen and his elder and younger brethren were sent with a few braves to examine the Sindh-river (*darya*), above and below the ford.

(*Feb. 16th*) After starting off the camp for the river, I went to hunt rhinoceros on the Sawati (Sawabi in Mardan district) side which place people call also Karg-khana (Rhino-home). A few were discovered but the jungle was dense and they did not come out of it. When one with a calf came into the open and betook itself to flight, many arrows were shot at it and it rush-

ed into the near jungle; the jungle was fired but that same rhino was not had. Another calf was killed as it lay, scorched by the fire, writhing and palpitating. Each person took a share of the spoil. After leaving Sawati, we wandered about a good deal; it was the bed-time prayer when we got to camp. Those sent to examine the ford came back after doing it.

(Feb. 17th). Next day, Thursday the 16th, the horses and baggage-camels crossed through the ford and the camp-bazar and foot-soldiers were put over on rafts. Some Nil-abis came and saw me at the ford-head (*guzar-bashi*) bringing a horse in mail and 300 shah-rakhis as an offering. At the Mid-day prayer of this same day, when every-one had crossed the river, we marched on; we went on until one watch of the night had passed (*circa 9 pm.*), when we dismounted near the water of Kacha-Kot".

YUSUFZAI RISING OF 1667

During the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Yusufzais again took up the arms against the Mughals. They had never acknowledged their reign and always fought with them since their advent into this region. They wanted to extend their territory and started making inroads on the Mughal borders. Their great hero was Bhaku who united the Yusufzais, installed Muhammad Shah as their king and received the blessings of Akhund Chalak, a religious teacher. Bhaku became *wazir*, organised a force of 5,000 clansmen, crossed the Indus at Hund and conquered Pakli in Hazara district through which the road led to Kashmir. They captured the fort of the local chief Shadman and levied rent from the peasants. The number of the Yusufzais increased and more Mughal outposts were attacked and the territory in the west of Peshawar and Attock districts was plundered. Aurangzeb took a serious view and ordered that the Yusufzai country should be invaded by three columns. The Yusufzais crossed the Indus and landed at the Harun ferry in the Chach plain of the Punjab opposite Hund to stop the Imperial army to cross the river. On 1st April, 1667, Kamil Khan the Mughal commander of Attock defeated them after a stubborn fight.

The Yusufzais fought gallantly with their meagre resources and armaments but were finally defeated by the Imperial Mughal army. Many of them were driven into the Indus, two thousand were slain, many wounded and many more drowned. Shamshair Khan, the Mughal commander arrived with a large detachment from Afghanistan to fight with the Yusufzais in May and fought many a battle with them and gained some success. He entrenched his camp at Hund and occupied the level country of Mardan district where the Yusufzais used to grow their food crops and destroyed their farms and homestead in the lowlands. "On 4th June, he marched out of Ohind (Hund) to attack Bhaku in his present position. Several villages were taken after hard fighting against heavy odds and with considerable losses; the houses were burnt down, the property looted and no vestige of cultivation left". The trenches of the Yusufzais at Shah Mansur and Panipir were destroyed in June, 1667. At the end of August Muhammad Amin Khan one of the highest grandees of the realm, arrived with a large force and took over the supreme command from Shamshair. The villages near Shahbaz Garhi and in the valley of Karamar were plundered while in the Swat valley, the village of Hijaz was destroyed (October). The Mughals pillaged the Mardan district, the heart of the Yusufzai country. Even this Mughal tyranny could not suppress their pride and valour until 1672 in which they rose their heads against the Mughals again.

The Sikhs also ruled this region for some time. The Yusufzais as usual did not like to be ruled by any other race or power. Thus they made up their minds to oust them from this region. They created troubles and fought many battles with them to liberate this region. Finally Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler decided to subdue the Yusufzais which resulted into the famous Battle of Nowshera. It was in March 1823 when the spring rains were late and the water in the Indus low. Ranjit decided to cross it by the historic ford at Hund which could be forded by determined horsemen in a favourable year. *Jehad* (Holy War) was declared against the Sikhs and different tribes assembled on the bank of the river in the Yusufzai plain to face

them. They shouted the war slogans and taunted the Sikh horsemen. The angry Sikhs rushed their horses into the stream and got across half-swimming, half-wading, with the loss of a number of men and animals swept away. "Ranjit then proceeded steadily with his main body, collecting boats and carrying the guns across on elephants. The *lashkars* of Yusufzai and Khattak tribesmen had now gathered to the number of 20,000 under the leadership of a well-known Sayyid, Akbar Shah, of the family of Pir Baba in Buner". The Battle of Nowshera was fought on the north bank of the Kabul river at the hillock of Tarakai near Risalpur. Azem with his Afghan troops marched from Peshawar to help the tribes and encamped on the south bank of the river. But he did not cross it and watched the battle from his camp. Thus the tribes were left alone to fight the Sikhs. The Yusufzais and the Khattaks were united this time and fought gallantly against a huge Sikh army which was well trained by European officers. Finally this small irregular force was defeated by the Sikhs who later ravaged the area upto Peshawar, committed horrible atrocities, destroyed the crops, gardens, orchards and beautiful monuments of Peshawar and forcibly collected the tax from the people. This reign of terror opened the worst chapter of history in this region. Even this barbarism could not wipe out the enthusiasm for freedom from the minds of the people of this region who continued their attacks on the Sikh posts at different places from time to time.

Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi was a great Muslim saint who came to this region from India with his followers to wage a Holy War against the Sikhs. His aim was to establish an Islamic State and many people flocked to his banner to achieve this sacred purpose. He was given a warm reception by the Khans of Hund and Zaida. He lived with his followers in the Hund fort for some time as the guest of Khadi Khan, assumed the title of *Amir-ul-Mominin* and declared the Holy War against the Sikhs. They marched against him from Peshawar. The Sayyed received great help from Khadi Khan of Hund and Ashraf Khan of Zaida. The battle was fought at Shaidu in 1827. The Sayyed fought

with great valour but was defeated and went to Batkhela. He never lost heart and continued his Holy War against them until he died fighting at Balakot in the Hazara district with his few faithful followers in May 1831. He was a soldier, scholar and reformer. He went from place to place with his followers and organised attacks on the Sikh forces. He was excited by the other Khans of the area who were jealous of Khadi Khan of Hund. When his differences arose with him, he stormed his fort, captured it, killed him and took possession of his fort and property. He was a great hero who had devoted his life to the cause of Islam and was much respected by the people who called him "Sayyed Badshah", i.e. The Sayyed King.

Abdul Ghafur, the Akhund of Swat commonly known as Saidu Baba also lived at Hund during the time of the Sayyed. He was also a great religious teacher and had many disciples. He lived at different villages in the Mardan district and was much respected by the people. Finally he left for Swat to settle there permanently from where he had actually come. The former rulers of Swat are his descendents.

It is the place with which the Buddha, Alexander, Sung-Yun, Hiuen Tsang, Changiz Khan, Timur, Babur, Akbar, Aurangzeb, Ranjit Singh, Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi and Saidu Baba of Swat are associated. None of them survive-today but the Hund fort and the Indus still live to tell the stories of these great men. Such is the history of Hund!

The days of poverty are vanishing and the old wealth of Hund about which Hiuen Tsang spoke is returning again after the completion of the Pehur Flow Irrigation Canal taken out of the Indus. The villagers are busy in tilling their old barani land now being irrigated by the sweet water of the Abasin which is kind to its sons who are living on its bank for generations. Outside the Mughal fort in the fields one can walk on the carpet of yellow mustard flowers and see the colourful poppies blooming in the air beneath the blue sky. And far in the distance the Indus water flows rhythmically murmuring the long-forgotten story of its companion city Udabhandapur.

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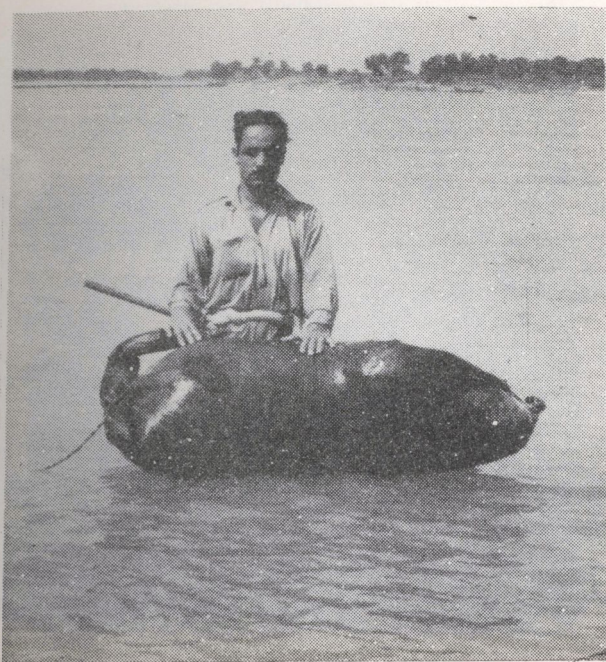
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PLATES

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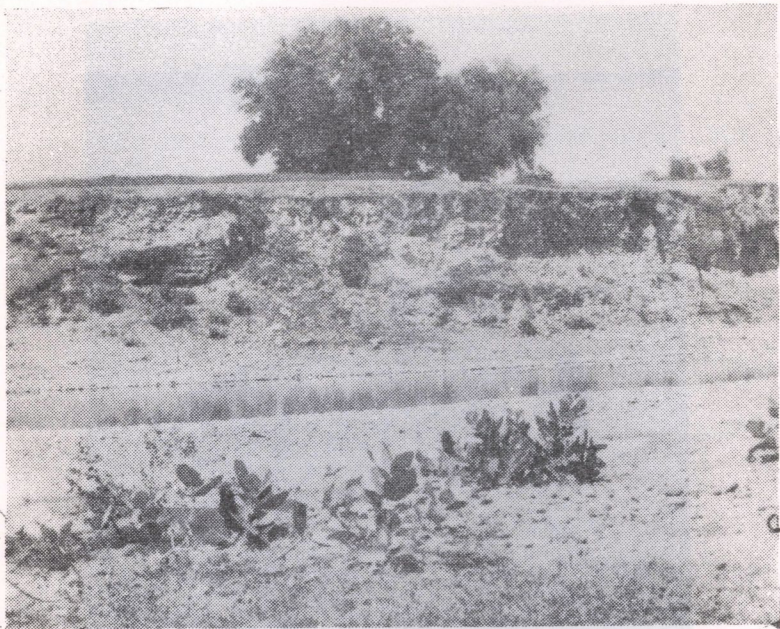
PLATES



1. Hund — The swimmer with
inflated skin on the river bank



2. Hund — Village Street



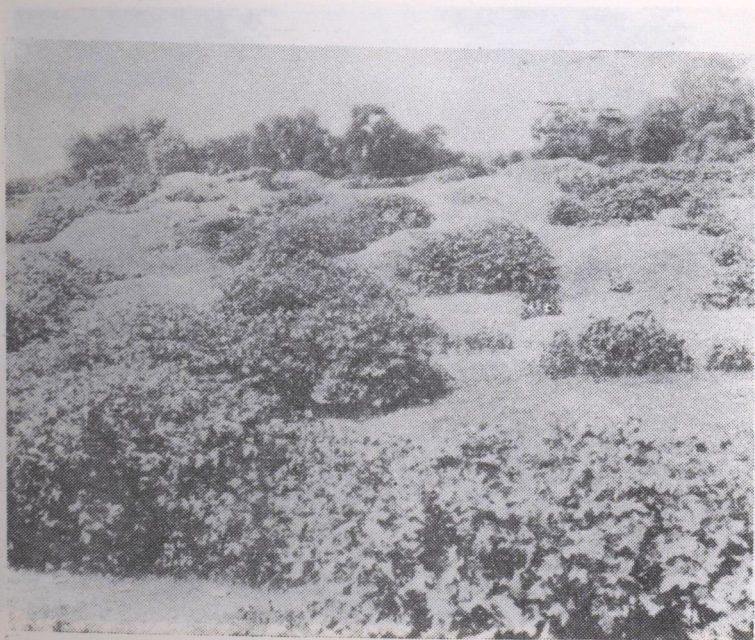
3. Hund — Pre-Muslim fortification wall on the river front



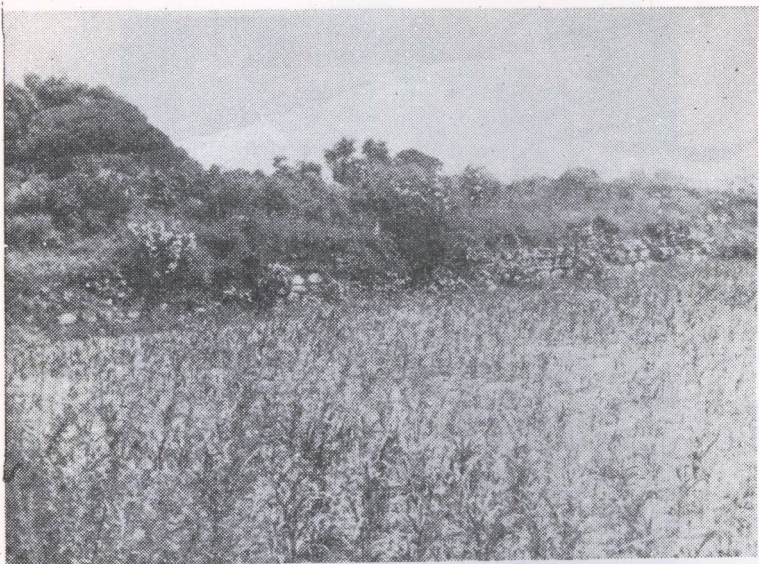
4. Hund — Remains of the bastions of the early historic period towards the river bank



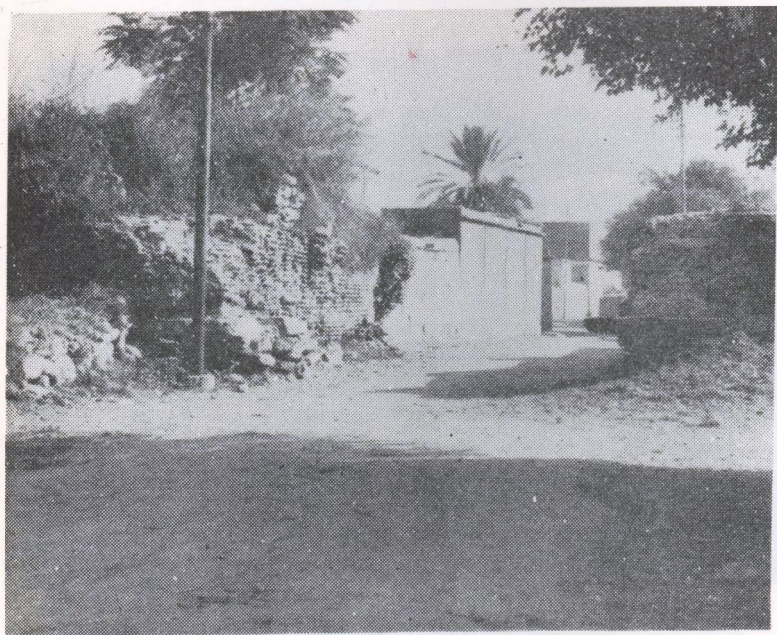
5. Hund — Paved path leading to the river in the south



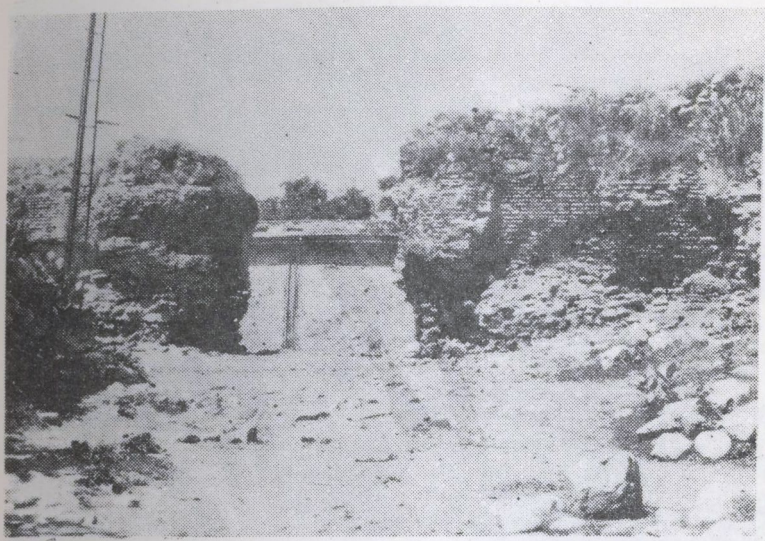
6. Hund — Disturbed mound at Salamgarh (probably temple ruins)



7. Hund — Pre-Muslim diaper masonry wall
at Salamgarh.



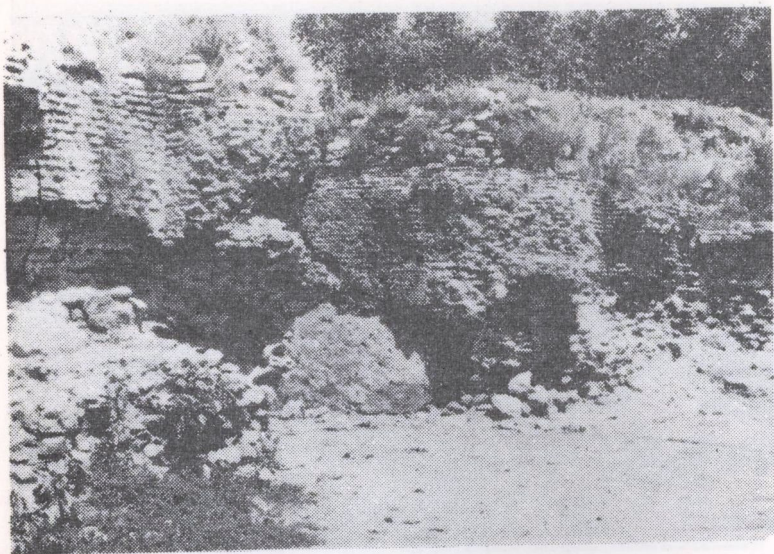
8. Huna — Northern Gate of the Mughal fort



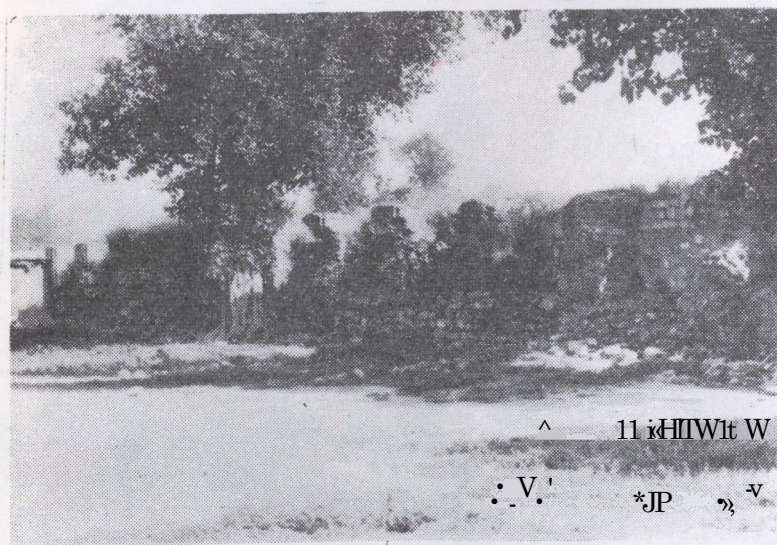
9. Hund — Southern Gate of the Mughal fort



10. Hund — Bastion of the Mughal fort



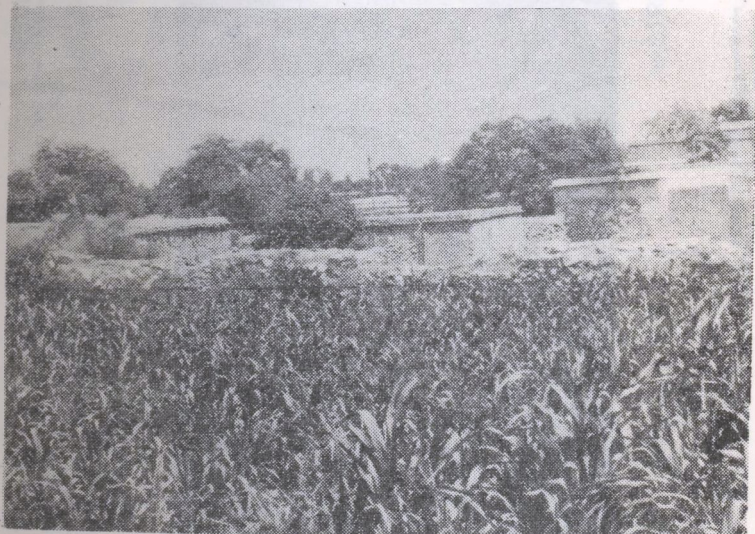
11. Hund — Remains of the Western gate of the Mughal fort.



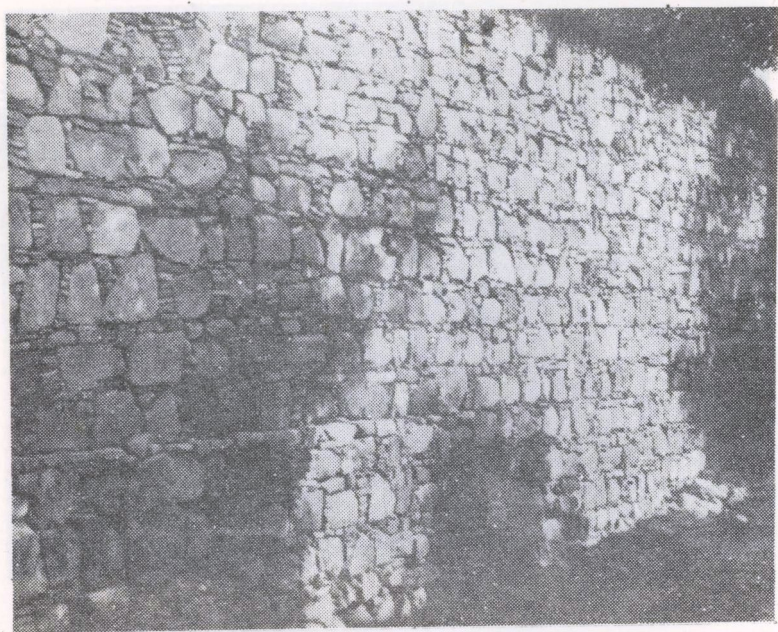
12 Hund — The inner view of the Mughal fortification wall



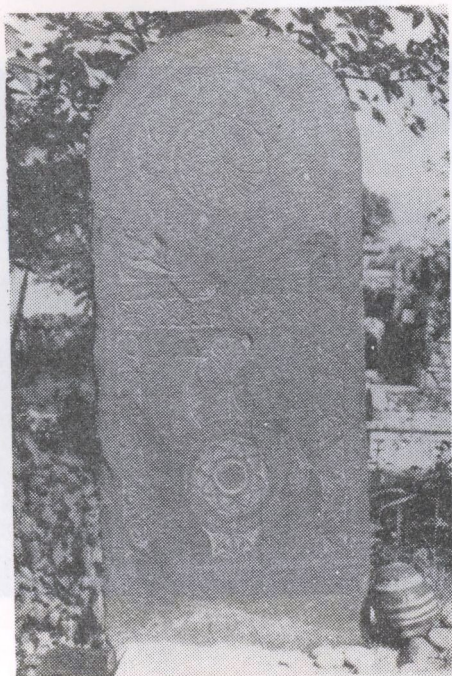
13. Hund — Guardroom inside the fortification wall



14. Hund Village within the fortification wall



15. Hund — Diaper masonry in a modern house



16. Hund — Tombstone

N PLAN OF HUND FORT

