

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER L'AFRICA E L'ORIENTE
ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION IN PAKISTAN

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

On Swāt
Historical and Archaeological Notes

ROME 1997

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With an Introduction by
DOMENICO FACCENNA

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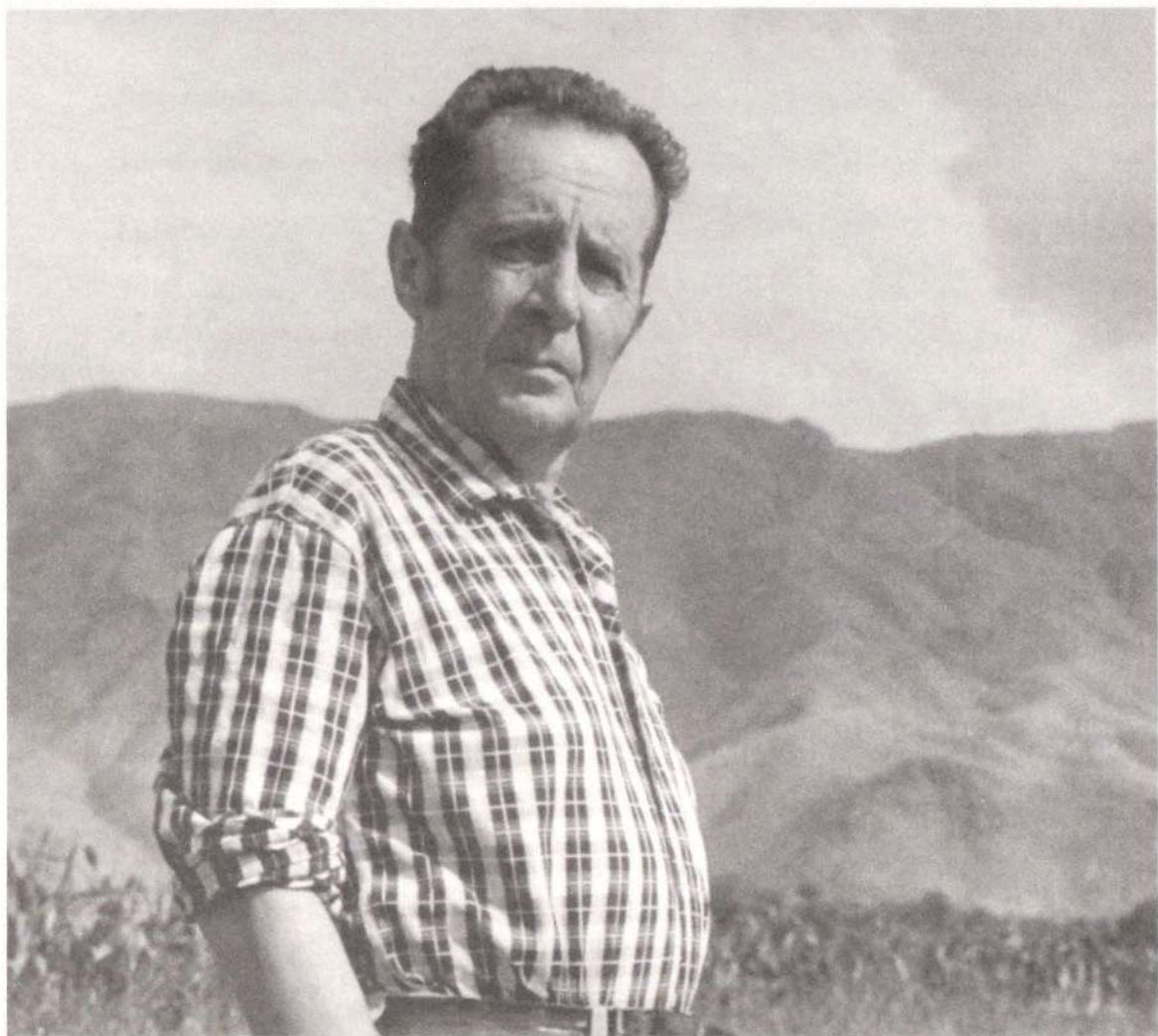
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Our thanks are due to the Publishers who have kindly allowed us to reproduce some of the texts



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INTRODUCTION

In Memoriam

The mountains of Kätelai and Rāja-Girā stand out against the clear transparent sky that grows pale as the shadows lengthen and evening falls upon Saidu Sharif nestling in a fold of the hills and Mingōra spreading out gently over the plain. There is quiet after the day's work: the air is filled with silence.

'...and through Tibet I came to Swāt.' It was with these words that Prof. Tucci often recounted the beginning of his research in Swāt, this northern region of Pakistan, as we sat in the garden in front of the house of the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO, at Saidu Sharif.

'It is Tibet that led me on to Swāt': in this way he also begins his report of the surveys that he made in 1955 and 1956.

Swāt was always present in Tucci's thoughts, ever since the time of his eight expeditions in Tibet between 1929 and 1948: his article on the travels of two Tibetan pilgrims in Swāt dates to 1940.

Swāt: Orgyan, Urgyan, Uḍḍiyāna, that appeared as a garden to travellers from the North. It is here that the history of Tibet leads us in its westward expansion towards Baltistan and Gilgit; it is here that its literature and religion lead us. Urgyan, where every Tibetan longed to go on pilgrimage, was the homeland of Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoce), the great thaumaturge and exorcist who arrived in Tibet in the 8th century. The region was known as *Uḍḍiyānapīṭha*, one of the most important tantric centres in the whole of India. King Indrabhūti wrote his tantric commentaries there. It was a place of magic spells and sorcery and of astrological studies (the King of Sarikol went there to learn the magic formulas). The *ḍākini*, keepers of the mystic sciences, dwelt there hovering in the air. In Urgyan Buddhism changed greatly: it went from Hinayāna to Mahāyāna, during which process it assumed more universal aspects, and then, with the spreading of Vajrayāna and in a turmoil of re-appearing local beliefs, it underwent a profound evolution in the direction of gnosticism, tantrism and magic. Urgyan, a land steeped in mystery: there was plenty to attract whoever in his yearning for knowledge was seeking after the causes and origin of events and deep-reaching processes and spiritual changes.

Desirous of learning and faith, spurred on by the unknown and the supernatural that arouse and enrich the imagination, just as the pilgrims of old had been, Tucci set out in their footsteps towards the holy land.

His aim was to cast light upon the state of Buddhism in this region: in its prime it had linked with these places events in the past lives of the Buddha, his last appearance and visits from his most famous disciples. The land was full of monasteries that were thriving when the Chinese pilgrims Faxian (c. 403) and Songyun (520) saw them; a century later Xuanzang (c. 631) describes them as being mostly deserted on account of the fact that the Buddhist faith was no longer understood, having been outplacced by magic skills that were highly esteemed. This is how they appeared to Huichao (c. 726) and Wukong (751/2 and after 768), who still mention the existence of a few monasteries, and these survived in name at least until after the coming of

Islam with Mahmūd of Ghazna, as is borne witness by the Tibetans O rgyan pa (after 1260) and sTag ts'añ ras pa (1600-1645) and perhaps the *sādhu* Buddhagupta (16th century).

The travel diaries kept by these pilgrims, especially Xuanzang, were Tucci's guide in his survey of Swāt, just as they had been 30 years earlier (1926) to Sir Aurel Stein, who was the first explorer to come to these places soon after they had been pacified and reunited under the Badshāh Saheb, Miāngul 'Abdul Wadūd Gul Shāhzāda, grandson of the great Ākhund of Swāt.

As was natural in Tucci, his interest soon shifted from religion to art, which is its visual expression. Art flourished here as a result of the wealth and prosperity that gave rise to the monasteries. Centres of production arose and developed during a long process of style and content that was connected with the preference for or pre-eminence of one image or another or of one episode or another from the life of the Buddha. There were sculptors, painters, stucco-workers, gilders, architects, masons and carpenters, who later went forth from Uddiyāna as far as China and Tibet.

The Gandharan art production recalled the historical events and the times of the Indo-Greeks, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Kushans, during whose succeeding reigns the Hellenizing spirit never ceased to be subtly present and ambiguously permeated that art, the expression of new faiths and ideologies – the spirit that had been revealed to these lands by the splendid adventure of Alexander the Great.

Alexander the Great – another name that re-echoes in these valleys from the steep and lofty mountains. In 327 B.C., while the greater part of his men were marching from Afghanistan along the course of the Kabul River towards the Indus plain, he crossed the mountains to the North to protect the army's flank from attacks by the warlike peoples of those regions. He went upstream through the Kunar Valley, crossed the Bājaur and Dir regions over the river Panjkōra and Lower Swāt with its river of the same name, gained possession of Massaga, Bazira and Ōra, and finally, having conquered the stronghold on the summit of Mount Aornos that had withstood even Heracles the son of Zeus, descended towards the Indus again.

Aspasioi, Gouraioi, Assakēnoi, Dadikai are the names of the peoples that lived here then. They opened up other historical and cultural worlds, going back in time towards the period that witnessed the arrival of the Indo-Aryans in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

With these thoughts, problems and images in mind Tucci planned the research project in Swāt, and immediately the region turned out to be full of monuments and works of art in spite of the widespread opinion to the contrary that had been influenced by the results of a hurried survey made by Barger and Wright in 1938.

The investigation that he carried out to find an answer to his queries was of an archaeological nature. Once it had begun it soon became the main type of investigation on account of the results obtained, these being a subject for study along many different lines.

The contents of the two excavations that were begun in 1956, the one in the Buddhist sacred area of Butkara I, the other in the ancient settlement at Uḍegram, are a clear indication of the two directions our research followed, and still follows: sacred and secular art and architecture, religious life and temporal life, in the reconstruction and understanding of the environment as a whole.

To this end it was necessary to carry out a detailed investigation that overlooked nothing, an accurate and complete analysis of all the evidence that came to light. And so it was that, with happy insight, he who was not an archaeologist, but perhaps reliving that passion that had fascinated him in his youth, wanted us to ask help from public and private institutions and call persons who could do the naturalistic and physico-chemical research and to establish with them an indispensable and advantageous relationship of cooperation. At that time, in 1957, the situation in Italy was certainly not ripe for such a request, as there were practically no structures of any type that were organized in this fashion and, above all, there was no 'sensitivity' towards such a unitary, interdisciplinary concept of the sciences on an executive level. Some unsuccessful attempts were made, and it was only later that they could achieve fulfilment.

From that time onwards archaeological investigation and digging took up a great deal of Tucci's time and energy and formed a large part of his studies.

In 1957 excavations were begun in Afghanistan and in 1959 in Iran, with lengthy campaigns being held each year. In order to coordinate these activities the Centro di Studi e di Scavi Archeologici in Asia was established at the IsMEO. Close upon the excavations followed the restoration work at Ghazni in Afghanistan, and at Isfahan and Persepolis in Iran. Although these new and fascinating subjects were proposed and put into practice by him according to a historico-cultural unitary Eurasian concept, it was Swât that was always dearest to him, on account of the origin and nature of the studies that concerned it.

Year after year the excavation campaigns in Swât were carried out with tenacity, patience and self-committal, subjecting well-known aspects to new criticism and often throwing light upon the as yet unwritten pages of this region's past. Research was concentrated within its geographical limits in order to understand the way of life that had gone on there for thousands of years and to reconstruct its innate unity.

The results have appeared in his writings that show the course followed by his research as they take up the various topics, go into them more thoroughly, broaden them, and generously give ideas and new material for others to study. Some points that must be mentioned are as follows: the identification of localities (principally that of Mengjieli with Mingōra and therefore of the sanctuary of Tolo with the sacred area of Butkara I); the confirmation of other identities (including Aornos with Ilam, Bazira with Barikōt, Ōra with Uḍegrām; the excavations at these localities having yielded fragments of pottery with graffito inscriptions in Greek dating to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.); the re-examination of the Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek and Latin sources, since he had an expert knowledge of these languages, and an interpretation of them in which all the topographical, linguistic, historical, religious and ethnographical aspects are closely linked over a span of thousands of years from the protohistoric to the Achaemenian and Greek periods, from Buddhist to Late Mediaeval (pre-Islamic) times, that witnessed the unravelling of complex situations and struggles between Dardistan, China and Tibet along the routes linking Central Asia with the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

It was while Tucci was in Pakistan in 1957 that the pages of the birch-bark manuscript from Gilgit were found, containing missing parts of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and, at the end, the *Sanḅhavedavastu*, the earliest surviving life of the Buddha in Sanskrit (6th century),

that were published by R. Gnoli in 1977. This inspired his book *Il trono di diamante*, that was illustrated mostly with photos of the sculptures from the excavation of Butkara I.

The results can also be seen in the excavations that have been carried out and in the abundance of evidence they have provided. The initial approach was twofold: the town and the religious centre in historical times. In connection with the first subject the main excavations are those at Uḍegrām of the so-called 'Bāzār' and the 'Castle' with its circuit of walls, and at Gogdara III and Bārāma, while the religious centres to be excavated were Butkara I, Panṛ I and Saidu Sharif I.

Quite soon the Mission, on the basis of Tucci's happy intuition, turned its attention to the protohistoric period. The excavation at Ghāligay with its uninterrupted sequence provided the time scale, that can be divided into seven periods, from the beginning of the 3rd millennium to historic times. By this scale are dated the excavations in the graveyards, mainly at Butkara II, Kātelai, Loebanṛ I (second half of the 2nd - mid 1st millennium B.C.), the excavations of the settlements of Loebanṛ III, Bīr-koṭ-ghwandai and then of Aligrāma and Kalako-dherai, which go from the 18th century B.C. to historical times.

In the Islamic field research was begun on the wooden architecture in the northern regions of Pakistan, particular attention being focused on the mosques with their attractively carved wide pillars and massive architraves.

Hand in hand with the excavations went the restoration of the wall-structures and monuments, as well as of the wall-paintings and objects recovered. In order to keep this material the Swāt Museum at Saidu Sharif and the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome were established.

Tucci desired that these discoveries and results be made known through exhibitions and these were held in Rome, Turin, Karachi and, then, in Peshawar in 1982 on the occasion of the 1st International Conference on Pakistan Archaeology; this last was also his wish, but he was not well enough to be present at its opening. He also saw to their publication, which he constantly stimulated, and founded for that purpose the series Reports and Memoirs, along with the journal *East and West*.

The extent of his activities, if we also consider those which were taking place at the same time in Afghanistan and Iran, is immense. The organization required to back up these activities was, as one may well imagine, considerable as regards both the number of persons who took part in the different fields and the necessary means.

In this fashion he was responsible for the formation of a school of Oriental archaeology that was practically non-existent up till that time. In the same way, previously, he had, with the founding of the ISMEO, set up the largest centre of Oriental studies in Italy and, with his teaching, established the present Italian school of indology.

It was he who set the wheel turning.

He brought to archaeology his vast experience as an explorer that had been perfected in so many expeditions in Tibet and Nepal, as he closely surveyed the ground during his journeys over the mountains and through the valleys. And to him who did not stint his time and energy the earth unstintingly gave up its treasures. He was present with us at the excavations, always

suggesting new subjects for research and pointing out solutions to the various queries, that were always projected on to a much vaster historical and ideological setting.

The nature of a stratigraphy or the sight of a sculpture coming to light were grounds for an extensive explanation in the desire to understand its meaning and its close connection with other similar evidence. This stimulated us to continue to investigate; it urged us to go still further in the logical process.

This is how I remember him, in month after month of work over the years in Pakistan, as well as elsewhere in Afghanistan and in Iran, and in Rome during the organization of expeditions and research and in the elaboration of the results obtained; and then at S. Polo dei Cavalieri where he retired in the latter part of his life, from where he could see the mountains standing out against the sky – mountains that I too am fond of because I was born there, but that to him recalled other, distant peaks.

Far be it from me to attempt to define here the complex personality of Tucci, dominated by characteristics that seemed to be poles apart, such as logic and practical nature, passion and imagination. It gives me greater pleasure to recall the results of his scientific work and his organization on the one hand and on the other recall him in moments of everyday life, sometimes generous sometimes cutting and fearful as a stormy sea that, however, is still calm in its depths, a calm that he had acquired through will-power and self-control, intolerant of all that was useless or personal. I remember him when he first arrived in Swāt in 1955, leading the way across the plain of Thānra towards the stūpa of Tōp-dara, ahead of Dr. R. Curiel, then Director of the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan, Mr. Waliullah Khan, Superintendent of the Northern Circle, and Dr. F. Benuzzi, First Secretary of the Italian Embassy at Karachi; or climbing up to the castle of Rāja-Girā. I remember him in the summer of 1956 (shortly after the conclusion of his expedition in Western Nepal that had led to the discovery of the Malla Kingdom), on his return from the long, hot surveys on foot with Dr. F. A. Khan, then Director of the Exploration and Excavation Branch of the Department of Archaeology, and Mrs. Francesca Bonardi Tucci; or else busy writing with the paper resting on his knees while he was waiting for us to come back from the dig. He alternated his work with walks in the mountains, climbing up by the shortest, straightest way with his quick untiring steps, often in the hottest hours of the day.

In a few phrases he would outline a new idea or a new research project, and this would immediately take on a precise aspect, even in all the details necessary for its fulfilment and in the contacts with the persons who could take part. He would then leave me free to carry out all the subsequent operations, but it was natural that he wanted to be kept informed about their doing in a spirit of mutual understanding.

This quickness of his in wording ideas or defining facts or judging people seemed to come from intuition, whereas it was really the result of a thought elaboration process and of a vast culture together with the fortunate gift of a capacity for putting together facts and information in a rapid process of deduction and induction in which comparisons, analogies and imagination worked together to produce a precise, concrete, ingenious result.

I like to remember him in the everyday aspects of life. In his stays at Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar. In his visits to the villages, in the bāzārs, where the people would recognize him

immediately and greet him and he would speak with them in their language. He was delighted with this contact and at his ease; it transformed him, freeing him as it were from the oppression of suffocating social and academic circles. I remember him with Francesca his wife, who worked as photographer in the field, as our peer without any special privileges; with all those who were at his side over greater or lesser periods of time; at the Mission house with the domestic staff who were well acquainted with his habits, such as the way he liked his coffee served, and were careful to gratify them; in the invitations to tea or to dinner with ordinary people or in the official invitations of the authorities, or on intimate occasions with persons who were dear to him: the Wali Sahab, Maj. Gen. Miāngul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, the Waliāhd Sahab, Miāngul Aurangzeb, Mr. Ataullah Khan, Chief Secretary of the Swāt State, Dr. F. A. Khan, Director General of the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan.

These friendships and connections gave rise to projects for research and for concrete works as well. One of these was the Swāt Museum, for which the Wali donated the land, the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan saw to its construction, and the Mission helped in the arrangement of the material, most of which came from its own excavations. It was inaugurated on 10th November 1963.

He had many dear friends in Pakistan, including political and cultural personalities, local people and workmen. All of them enjoyed his company; they remember him and mourn him.

The house of the Italian Archaeological Mission, where I am writing these lines, where we have stayed and worked for many years, is alive with his memory. Almost nothing has changed since he left, never to return. Everything speaks of him. It seems to me even now to hear his quick, short steps on the gravel in the inner courtyard, marked by a cypress that Francesca planted as a little shrub but which has now grown tall and proud, like a monument in dark green bronze. I seem to hear him come in, calling one of us, to the study, the drawing room or the godown, bringing information or asking about the results of the day's digging. I can see us sitting around the table, with him at the head recounting stories of facts and people. Until the state of his health and the breaking of his leg prevented him from returning to Pakistan, from seeing once more the mountains of Kātelai and Rāja-Girā standing out against the clear sky, while night falls and the stars begin to twinkle.

As was Tucci's wish, the Mission's activities continue in a composite organization, including the pre-protolithic sector and the historical ones, both pre-Islamic and Islamic. Excavations are now under way at Barikōṭ (Bir-kot-ghwandai), the Greek Bazira, where above the protolithic levels with their painted pottery of the Harappan tradition, the city is being brought to light with its layers of impressive buildings that represent a life-span going from Indo-Greek to Hindu-Śāhi times, and the line of fortifications with its square towers. At Udegrām, the Ōra of ancient times, the re-examination of the Islamic levels has led to the present excavation of an 11th-century Ghaznavid mosque outside the fortified line of Rāja-Girā. In order to clarify the link between the pre-protolithic cultures of Swāt and the Indus, a survey has been made in the Kalpāni River Basin, and an excavation in the Sanghao Cave (Mardān District). The exploration of the Darēl, Tangir and Kandyā Valleys has given us some knowledge of the transit routes linking the Peshawar and Indus plain with Swāt and the mountainous areas of Gilgit,

Baltistan and Central Asia, routes that were travelled by pilgrims, traders and armies. In the Northern Areas the Pakistani-German Study Group, led by Dr. A. H. Dani and Prof. Dr. K. Jettmar has obtained considerable results in its work. The Italian Mission considers these researches in close connection with its own, thus fulfilling Tucci's project of a study of the connections between Swat and Tibet: 'Thus the road which led me from East (Tibet) to West (Swat, Dardistan, Gilgit) must be inverted: West-East' (foreword to the Catalogue of the Peshawar Exhibition, p. XII).

This is the commitment of the Mission; this is the commitment of the IsIAO and its present President, Prof. Gh. Gnoli. This will be possible thanks to the complete, fruitful collaboration which has always existed between the IsIAO Mission and the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan.

It is my hope that these commitments may be kept and that this collaboration may continue successfully in memory of Prof. G. Tucci, according to his will.

Saidu Sharif, October 1995

* * *

The Mission wishes to honour Tucci by collecting his articles on Pakistan and in particular on Swat and the adjacent regions. These writings are closely linked with the creation of the Mission, which celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1996, and with its activity.

The series includes the articles that were published in scientific journals. The first of these was published in Calcutta in 1940 ('Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley'); a revised, expanded version was reprinted in *Opera Minora*, Roma 1971, without the Appendix containing the Tibetan text which has now been reinserted by Prof. L. Petech. In this article Tucci's interest in North-western Buddhism and the Swat region is already marked.

Most of the articles that he published in the Journal *East and West* are devoted to Swat, to the results of his surveys and research and those of the Mission's excavations. We shall mention the first of these, 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', dating to 1958, and the last of the series, 'On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems' of 1977. This, considered practically as a supplement to the first, may be taken as the summa of Tucci's elaborations, containing 'working hypotheses', 'some intuitions' 'some of the ideas which flashed upon me from meditation on Swat and its connected problems during its long period of existence' (p. 9, footnote). In reading it one gets the distinct feeling of sinking into an endless mine of ideas, from which can be drawn teachings, original ideas, ingenious opinions.

Taking excavation evidence or a piece of sculpture as his starting point, he collects all the possible material – written sources, artistic, historical or ethnographical evidence – that can be used to throw light on the cultural history of Swat, on the complex and therefore fascinating border situation of this Central Asian area where peoples of different race and traditions live

together. We have the article 'The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi' of 1963: these are the names of one and the same people in Sanskrit (*aśva*) and Prakrit (*assa*), i.e. 'horse', connected with the Aspasioi, that have the same name in the Iranian form (*aspa*), and this gives rise to a situation which needs investigating concerning the problem of the Indo-Aryan migrations in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

In the same year followed another extensive noteworthy article, 'Oriental Notes, II: An Image of a Devi Discovered in Swat and Some Connected Problems', on a stele from Guligrām showing an eight-armed female deity on a caprid, that can be dated to the 8th-9th century. Tucci takes it as a starting point for illustrating the aspects of a Vajrayanic religious practice that embodies local pre-Buddhist images and cults that persisted in these regions alongside Buddhism and, at its waning, came to the fore again. Another article on little known religious, ethnographic and cultural aspects is 'Oriental Notes, III: A Peculiar Image from Gandhāra' that appeared in 1968, about a sculpture with three figures which have a Shaivite meaning, from Gandhāra, that is to say, from a region that was also a centre of particular, non-Buddhist schools.

Other articles include one about a Gandharan sculpture in the Islay Lyons collection ('On a Sculpture of Gandhāra', 1958, reprinted in *Opera Minora*, Roma 1971) showing the figure of the Buddha with flames leaping from the shoulders which probably refers to the story of the conversion of Apalāla, one of the most popular stories localized in Swāt. Another article ('Oriental Notes, V: Preliminary Account of an Inscription from North-Western Pakistan', 1970) is about a Sanskrit inscription, transcribed by R. Gnoli, that can be dated to the 8th-9th century, with the mention of the foundation of a *matha* in the reign of Vijayapāladeva. In a brief note ('Himalayan Cina') in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, 1971, the second part ('Padmasambhava in Swat') takes its cue from some popular tales collected by Inayat-ur-Rahman (*Folk Tales of Swat*, ISMEO Reports and Memoirs XIII 1, Rome 1968; see now also Part 2, Peshawar 1984) and goes on to recall the figure of the Guru and the connections between Swāt and Tibet.

We have, of course, omitted the two books *La via dello Svat*, Bari 1963 (reprint, Roma 1978) and *Il trono di diamante*, Bari 1967. However, we have included the preface and introduction of the second book, translated into English. This translation, which had Tucci's approval, was done, together with Mr. Irshad Abdul Qadir, by a person who was dear to Tucci and to all of us: the late architect Emmanuele Lizioli. He and his wife Virginia and daughter Linda were amongst the first Italians we met in Karachi upon our arrival, and since then they have always been close to us, with discretion, affection and hospitality. May these pages, that associate him with his great friend, bring him the grateful thoughts of the Mission and myself.

Next comes the text of the lecture given at the University of Louvain, Belgium ('Explorations récentes dans le Swat', *Le Muséon*, 1966), followed by the booklet printed on the occasion of the opening of the Swat Museum (1963).

Finally there are articles that appeared in popular magazines, of which we have included a selection (*The Illustrated London News*, 1958 and 1964).

At the end of the series have been placed a biographical note by Prof. L. Petech, the list of the honours awarded in Pakistan and some articles that appeared in the Pakistani newspapers

upon the announcement of Tucci's death. These are by Dr. F.A. Khan, his friend who, forewarned, came to Rome to embrace him for the last time (*Dawn*), Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan, (*Dawn*) and Mrs. Kalyani Rahmat Ali (*Herald*). The obituary by Prof. M. Taddei, which appeared in Italy in the *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 44, 1984 (pp. 699-704) and has been reprinted in the *Journal of Central Asia* according to the express wish of Prof. A.H. Dani, is also included.

The life and work of Giuseppe Tucci was commemorated on 7 May 1984 by Gherardo Gnoli, the present President of ISIAO, and the relevant information has been published in Italian and English (*East and West* 34, 1984) as well as in the book by Raniero Gnoli, *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*, SOR LV, Roma 1985, containing a complete bibliography and a list of his academic titles and decorations. The complete bibliography was published also in *East and West* 34, 1984, pp. 23-42. A conference on Giuseppe Tucci's personality and scientific achievement was held in Rome in 1994 to commemorate the centenary of his birth. The proceedings were published in the volume *Giuseppe Tucci. Nel centenario della nascita*, a cura di B. Melasecchi, Conferenze IsMEO, 8, Roma, IsMEO, 1995.

This volume is offered in memory of Prof. Tucci by the Italian Archaeological Mission. Everyone contributed to editing the texts and to the other editorial tasks in affectionate memory of the Teacher.

L. Petech in particular is responsible for revising the Tibetan text of the article 'Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley'.

To all those who have in some contributed to this volume – V. Benedetti, B. Goss Gandolfo, G. Graziani, I. McGilvray, G. Silvestrini – we wish to express our heartfelt thanks. Special thanks are due also to the publishers of the original papers for their permission to reprint the texts.

DOMENICO FACCECCA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA.....	<i>Arts Asiatiques</i>
AAs.....	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
ActaO.....	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Copenhagen
ActaOH.....	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AI.....	<i>Ancient India</i>
AIUON.....	<i>Annali</i> (Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli)
AM.....	<i>Asia Major</i>
AO.....	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
AOr.....	<i>Ars Orientalis</i>
AP.....	<i>Ancient Pakistan</i>
ASIAR.....	<i>Annual Reports</i> (Archaeological Survey of India)
BEFEO.....	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BMC.....	<i>Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum</i>
BSOAS.....	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CAJ.....	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
CII.....	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
Ei.....	<i>Enciclopedia islamica</i>
EI.....	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
ESA.....	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua</i>
EW.....	<i>East and West</i>
HOS.....	<i>Harvard Oriental Series</i>
IHQ.....	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
ILN.....	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
InIr.....	<i>Indo-Iranica</i>
IsMEORepMem.....	<i>Reports and Memoirs</i> (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia)
JA.....	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB.....	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JPASB.....	<i>Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JRAS.....	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
MASI.....	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
MCB.....	<i>Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques</i>
MDAFA.....	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>
MIA.....	<i>Materialy i issledovanija po Arheologii SSSR</i>
MRDTB.....	<i>Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko</i>
NTS.....	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
NumChr.....	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OrA.....	<i>Oriental Art</i>
PKA.....	<i>Pakistan Archaeology</i>

<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
<i>SBE</i>	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i>
<i>SOR</i>	<i>Serie Orientale Roma (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Numbering in square brackets refers to the original numbering of pages and footnotes.

Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley

Opera Minora, II, Roma, Bardi, 1971, pp. 369-418.

[List of abbreviations:

- Dainelli, *Spedizione De Filippi*, I: G. Dainelli, *La esplorazione della regione fra l'Himàlaja Occidentale e il Caracorùm, Spedizione italiana De Filippi nell'Himàlaja, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese (1913-1914)*, I, Bologna, 1924.
- Fa-hsien, *Record*: J. Legge (trans.), *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms - Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D.) 399-414 in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*, New York, 1965.
- Francke, *Chronicles (of Ladakh)*: A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II: *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles*, Calcutta, 1926.
- Hsüan-tsang, *Mémoires*: S. Julien (trad.), *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, 2 vols., Paris, 1857-1858.
- Indo-Tibetica*: G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, 4 vols., Roma, 1932-1941.
- I. *mC'od-rten e ts'a-tš'a nel Tibet indiano ed Occidentale*, 1932.
 - II. *Rin-c'en-bzañ-po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, 1933.
 - III. *I Templi del Tibet occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico*.
Parte I: *Spiti e Kunavar*, 1934.
Parte II: *Tsaparang*, 1936.
 - IV. *Gyantse e i suoi monasteri*, 3 vols., 1941.
- Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kaśmīr: Kalhana's Rajatarāṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*. Translated, with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices by M.A. Stein, 2 vols., Westminster, 1900.
- Taranatha, *Edelsteinmine: Taranātha's bka' babs bdun ldan. Edelsteinmine, das Buch von den Vermittlern der Sieben Inspirationen*. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von Albert Grünwedel. Petrograd, 1914.]

PART I

INTRODUCTION

It is now accepted by all scholars that Uḍḍiyāna¹ must be located in the Swat Valley: in fact I think that the view of my friend Benoytosh Bhattacharyya², who still identifies Uḍḍiyāna with the western part of Assam, has but few supporters. It must be admitted that our knowledge of the country in Buddhist times is not scarce: our best informants are in fact the Chinese pilgrims, and the description which they have left of the place is detailed³.

It was left to Sir Aurel Stein to identify, in the course of his adventurous travels in the Swat Valley, the various places referred to by the Chinese pilgrims and to describe in a fascinating book⁴ the remains which have escaped destruction. The systematical exploration of this region is likely to contribute greatly to our knowledge of Buddhism and Oriental history. In fact, modern researches point to the great importance of the Swat Valley: not only it was very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia, but it was considered⁵ as the birthplace of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. There are many *Tantras* which were commonly acknowledged as having been first revealed in Uḍḍiyāna. One of the most esoteric [370] methods of Tāntric realisations relating chiefly to the cycle of the *ḍākini* was even known as the *Uḍḍiyānakrama*; the connection of the country with magic is alluded to in some Tāntric manuals which even to-day enjoy great popularity.

It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.

During my travels in Western Tibet I was fortunate enough to find two texts which are a kind of itinerary of the Swat Valley. We easily understand why this place became so famous as a kind of magic-land for many Tibetan pilgrims when we remember that it was considered to have been the birth-place of Padmasambhava. There are, in fact, besides India proper, other countries which greatly influenced the mystic literature of Tibet; when the intercourse with them became rare or came to an end for political reasons, those countries were transformed into a fairyland of which the geographical and historical reality faded and decayed: one of them is Śambhala and the other O rgyan, viz. Uḍḍiyāna.

¹ [1] Lévi, 'Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣas dans la Mahamayūri', in *J.A.*, 1915, pp. 19 ff.

² [2] *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, London-New York-Toronto, 1924, p. xxxii and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, London-Edinburgh-Glasgow, 1932, p. 45. But cf. Bagchi in *IHQ* VI, 1930, pp. 580-581.

³ [3] Fa-hsien, *Records*, p. 28; Hsüan-tsang, *Mémoires*, I, pp. 131 ff.; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, Paris, 1903, p. 128; Chavannes, 'Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhara (518-522 A.C.)', in *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 379.

⁴ [4] *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, London, 1929.

⁵ [5] Tucci, 'Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamaja', in *MCB* III, 1934-1935, p. 351, and *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, p. 79.

The various mystic revelations connected with the two countries were severally accepted by two different schools; O rgyan, the country of Padmasambhava and the place of the fairies (*dākinis*), became the holy land for the rÑin ma pa, and later on for the bKa' rgyud pa (specially for the sub-sects 'Brug pa and Kar ma pa); Śambhala was, on the other hand, changed into a paradise for the ascetics initiated into the mysteries of *Kālacakra*, still counting many adepts chiefly among the dGe lugs pa, viz. the Yellow sect. I think that Śambhala became popular in Tibet after O rgyan; that is the reason why we cannot find about it as much precise information as we can gather as regards O rgyan; nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Śambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the *Vimalaprabhā* or from the earlier commentators of the *Kālacakra Tantra* ⁶. Even the information about the [371] country of Śambhala which we gather from the commentary of mK'as 'grub rje contains nothing but mythology.

The only itinerary which has come down to us, viz. the *Śam bha la'i lam yig* ⁷ by the famous third Paṅ c'en bLa ma bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (1738-1780), as I have shown elsewhere, gives the impression of being nothing more than a literary compilation largely based upon mythic and fantastic traditions. From all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the Yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, viz. to the *Kālacakra*-paradise, which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy O rgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world; it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis.

On the other hand we know of many itineraries to O rgyan. One is that of Buddhagupta ⁸; it is rather late, but it shows that even as late as the 16th century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in his time was known under the name of Ghazni; that is, it belonged to the district of Ghazni.

But he usually mentions the country under its traditional name, showing that Tibetan O rgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna. 'on account', he says, 'of the similarity of sound between *ḍ* and *r*'.

⁶ [1] No great weight can be attached to a fragment published by B. Laufer, 'Zur buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren', in *T'oung Pao* VIII, 1907, p. 401, which seems to have been influenced by the mythological ethnography of Central Asian countries as preserved in the Chinese compilations such as the *Shan hai ching*. According to the *Vimalaprabhā* Śambhala would have been on the shore of the Sita river, its chief place being Kalapa.

⁷ [1] Edited and translated by Grünwedel, 'Der Weg nach Śambhala (*Śam bha la'i lam yig*)', in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXIX band, 3 abh., München, 1915.

⁸ [2] Upon his travels see Tucci, 'The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the Sixteenth Century', in *IHQ* VII, 1931, p. 683.

It must be mentioned in this connection that in Tibetan we are confronted with two forms of this name, some sources giving O rgyan and some others U rgyan. There is no doubt that both go back to a Sanskrit original: it is in fact known that in the Indian texts this country is called both Uḍḍiyāna and Oḍiyāna⁹. The first seems, anyhow, to be the right one.

But there are two older itineraries to the same country and much more detailed: the similarity between some passages of these texts containing the description of the place and the narrative of Buddhagupta leaves me little doubt that Tāranātha had one of them under his eyes when he wrote the account of the travels of his master.

[372] The two itineraries here studied are respectively that of O rgyan pa and that of sTag ts'añ ras pa. O rgyan pa means in fact 'the man of O rgyan' which implies that his travels were so famous that he was given the name of the miraculous country which he had been able to visit and whence he returned safe back to his fatherland. He was the most prominent disciple of a *siddha* or *grub t'ob* who still enjoys a great renown all over Tibet. I mean rGod ts'añ pa, born 1213. O rgyan pa (1230-1293) is mentioned in the *C'os 'byuñ* of Padma dkar po (born 1527), one of the most famous polygraphs of Tibet and the greatest authority among the 'Brug pa who call him *nag dbañ*, 'the master of the speech'¹⁰.

The inclusion of the biography of O rgyan pa in his chronicle depends on the fact that O rgyan pa belongs to the same *sampradāya*, viz. to the same mystic school as Padma dkar po, both being adepts of the 'Brug pa sub-sect, which has now its stronghold in Bhutan but is largely spread all over Tibet.

U rgyan pa¹¹ was born in Go luñ in the territory of Zur ts'o. His clan was that of rGyus. At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts'añ pa. Then up to the age of sixteen he learned many *tantras* of the *yoga* class along with their liturgy, such as the *Kila*, *Hevajra* and *Vajrapāni Tantras*. He became famous as a scholar and at the age of twenty he was ordained (with Rin c'en rtse of Bo doñ acting as *mK'an po*, bSam glin pa of Žañ as *slob dpon*, Acarya bSod nams 'od pa as *gsañ ston*) and was given the name of Rin c'en señ ge dpal.

'He made the vow of studying a single system for twelve years and of avoiding meat; he then perfected himself in the study of the *Kālacakra* at the school of Rin rtse of Bo doñ and of mDo sde dpal of Go luñ...'

Then the biography narrates how he happened to meet rGod ts'añ pa, who was able to give him the supreme inspiration of the *Kālacakra*. 'But he discovered also that he had no karmic connection with Śambhala, but rather with O rgyan, therefore O rgyan pa resolved to start; first of all he remained for nine months in the northern desert and then he went to Ti se, the country of Mar yul, Ga śa, Dsa lan dha ra. Then knowing that three of his five companions were not fit for the journey [373] he dismissed them and leading with him dPal ye šes he went to O rgyan...

⁹ [3] Now there is the village of Udegram, the same as Ora of the Greek authors.

¹⁰ [1] The full title being *c'os 'byuñ bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i ñin byed*. The biography of O rgyan pa is at p. 181.

¹¹ [2] Padma dkar po uses the form U rgyan pa instead of the more common O rgyan pa.

'He then returned to Tibet in order to accompany dPal ye šes and on the way back through Kashmir he was chosen by a householder as the family *guru*.

'By his great merits he made his catechumen the king of mNa ris with his people. Then he went to Bodhgayā in India where the king Rāmapāla was his benefactor and gave him the title of supreme master of the mystic assembly...

'Then he went to China. On the way he met Karma Pakši († 1283), who entrusted to him the charge of helping him in transmitting the doctrine; in China he was invited by the king Go pā la, but after one year he returned; in fact he did not receive even a needle. He passed away at the age of seventy'.

This short résumé of the biography written by Padma dkar po gives therefore the following points of chronological fixity; he was the disciple of rGod ts'an pa, contemporary with a king of Bodhgayā, Rāmapāla by name, with a king of China called Go pā la and with the famous Tibetan reformer Karma Pakši. The date of this last doctor is known; according to the chronological table published by Csoma de Körös and extracted from the *Vaidūrya dkar po* the date of his birth is to be fixed at 1204 d.C. As to the Emperor of China, there is little doubt that his name has been modified so that it might assume an Indian form: it is quite clear that it corresponds to Qubilai. Rāmapāla, king of Bodhgayā, was perhaps a petty chief of the place. Anyhow these chronological references are quite sufficient to establish the approximate date of our pilgrim. He lived in the 13th century. The fact that he was appointed by Karma Pakši as his assistant while he was on the way to China seems to imply that Karma Pakši (died 1283) was already old. Otherwise, there would have been no need of entrusting the school and the teaching to a probable successor.

So it seems quite probable that the travel of our pilgrim to O rgyan took place after 1260. The itinerary of O rgyan pa is to be found in a biography of this Tibetan *sādhu* which I discovered in the library of the monastery of Hemis when in 1930 I spent the summer there and under the guidance of the *sprul sku* sTag ts'an ras pa had the rare opportunity of investigating the large collection of block prints and manuscripts that it contains.

This biography is preserved in a bulky manuscript on paper which is very old but incomplete. The work seems to be very rare. I never found mention of it in other monasteries which I visited; the biography of O rgyan pa is not even included in that vast collection which is the [374] *dKar rgyud nam t'ar sgron me* or at least in the copy¹² which I possess.

This biography deserves special attention because it shows some peculiarities of its own: it has not been elaborated with literary pretensions; there are many terms in it which are absolutely colloquial, chiefly used in Western Tibet.

I cannot help thinking that this itinerary has not been revised; it looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of O rgyan pa himself. Not rarely he speaks in the first person. This fact augments the interest of the book. Of course there is a great deal of legend even in it. But this cannot be avoided; there is hardly any doubt that O rgyan pa really

¹² [1] *dKar rgyud nam t'ar sgron me*; *dKar rgyud* is here used for the more common *bka' rgyud*.

believed many of the things which he told his disciples. We must not forget the special spiritual atmosphere in which these *yogins* live; boundaries between reality and pure imagination disappear. Whatever happens in this universe is not due to natural events fixed by certain laws, but is the product of multifarious forces which react upon one another. The most natural facts appear to the *grub t'ob* as the symbol or the manifestation of inner forces which, though unknown to the rest of the world, are no longer a mystery to him – or upon which he cannot have his hold through his psychic powers. We may laugh when we read that every woman he meets appears to him as a *dākinī*; but we must not forget the psychology of this pilgrim who had gone to the fairy land of the *dākinīs* in order to experience there those realizations to which the *Tantras* contained so many allusions. Anyhow these magical and fantastic elements are few in comparison with the traditional biographies (*mam t'ar*) of the Tibetan saints; even in the short biography of O rgyan pa by Padma dkar po the historical and geographical data almost disappear under the growth of legends and dreams and visions. The greater the distance from the saint, the lesser the truth about him. The itinerary as it is has not been subject to this process. All this shows that the importance of the travels of our Tibetan pilgrim must not be denied. It is quite possibly an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality. Still, we can follow quite well his track, from Tibet to Jalandhara, then to India, to the Indus, to the Swat Valley, to the sacred mountain of Ilam, and then back to Kashmir through the Hazara district.

[375] There are some ethnological and historical data to be collected in these pages which are confirmed by Persian or European travellers.

They also show that at the time of the traveller Buddhism was still surviving in the Swat Valley though Islam had already begun to eradicate its last trace.

In this way O rgyan pa renewed, as it were, the old tradition of the *lotsāvas* who had gone to the sacred land of India in order to study there Sanskrit and to learn from the doctors of Nālandā or Vikramaśīlā the esoterism of the *Tantras*; of course, Buddhism had in the meantime lost in India its vital force and perhaps not very much work was left to the translators. But the contact with the holy land was still considered, as it is up to now among the Tibetans, to be purifying to the spirit and the cause of new inspirations. In the case of O rgyan pa it is quite possible that the travels of his master influenced him and led him to undertake the long journey to the far away country of Swat. In fact we know that rGod ts'ān pa went up to Jalandhara, which was another *pīṭha* according to the Buddhist tradition: it is one of the twenty-four places of *vajrakāya* as located by the *Tantras* within the Himālayas. It also gave the name to a famous *siddha*, viz. Jalandhara-pa¹³.

The short biography of rGod ts'ān pa in the *C'os 'byun* of Padma dkar po contains nothing more than the scanty information that he went to Jalandhara¹⁴; but I thought that perhaps in the

¹³ [1] Cf. Taranatha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 59.

¹⁴ [2] Even his biography which is contained as a separate chapter in the *dKar rgyud rnam kyī mam t'ar gyi sgron me* and which bears the title *rGyal brgod ts'ān pa'i rnam t'ar gnas bsdus pai sgron me* is far from being exhaustive.

original *mam t'ar*, if any ever existed, it would have been possible to find a larger account of his travels.

In my journey of 1933 I discovered in Spiti a manuscript containing a large biography of this saint¹⁵ and, as I expected, I found that it has preserved from page 43 to page 53 the itinerary which he followed in his pilgrimage to the holy *tirtha*. Since it is rather detailed and fairly old, in as much it describes a journey which must have taken place in the first quarter of the 13th century, I think it to be worthy of notice. I therefore give a translation of all the passages containing some useful data of geographical and historical interest; all portions containing mere legends or those devoid of any real importance have been suppressed.

[376] Though short, the text contains some useful information about the Himalayan countries and their ethnology. It also shows that the area where Buddhism had penetrated was more or less similar to that of the present day.

Spiti was already a centre of Lamaism: in its mountains rGod ts'an pa finds many famous ascetics. Lahul was Buddhist, but no outstanding personality was met by him: no mention is made of Trilokanath, and the Mon pa tribes – as he calls them – were rather unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Though he met a Buddhist *sādhu* on the way back from Chamba, the people there seem to have been specially Hindu and rather orthodox. Anyhow it appears that they were not yet accustomed to seeing Tibetan pilgrims and were therefore not liberal towards them: things changed later on and at the time of sTag ts'an ras pa there was a regular intercourse between Jalandhara and Tibet as there is even now. There is hardly any doubt that this was chiefly due to the travels of Tibetan pilgrims of the rDsogs c'en and specially of bKa' brgyud pa sects who used to visit the sacred places of Buddhist tradition. After rGod ts'an pa their number must have considerably increased: to-day there is a regular intercourse along the routes and the tracks of Western Tibet.

From there they descend to the holy *tirthas* of the Buddhist tradition, to Amritsar where the tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padmasambhava, to Bodhgaya, to Sarnath. It was through these routes that there came down to the Indian plains the Lama who inspired some of the most fascinating pages in the *Kim* of Rudyard Kipling. That was no fiction but a real happening; so I was told by Sir Aurel Stein in one of those interesting talks in which he poured as it were his unrivalled experience of things Asiatic.

The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan *sādhu*, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature. Rudyard was then still a boy, but so great was the impression he received on seeing the Himalayan traveller, that it never faded from his memory.

¹⁵ [3] The full title is *rGyal ba rGod ts'an pa mgon po rdo rje'i nram t'ar mt'on ba don ldan nor bu'i p'ren ba*.

'From the country of Žaṅ-žun he went upwards. Along this route there is the holy place of Tretapuri¹⁶ which corresponds to the physical [377] sphere in the list of the twenty-four places (of the *vajrakāya*)¹⁷. It is also the place where three valleys meet¹⁸; there from the root of a high mountain, the river Gaṅgā flows downwards¹⁹. Along its banks there are three divine abodes²⁰ of Maheśvara... He (viz. rGod ts'añ pa) remained there for a few days and his mind and his good inclinations greatly developed; great is the benediction one gets in that place. Then proceeding downwards he went to Mañ nañ of Guge²¹ in the country of Žaṅ-žun²². It was the residence of Atiśa and there is a miraculous spring. Then he went downwards to the temple mT'o ldiñ in Žaṅ-žun where he saw the residence of Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od, etc.²³. He went without hesitation through the big rivers, but his body enjoyed a very good health. Then, having crossed the whole country of Žaṅ-žun he went to Spiti, where, above Bi lcogs²⁴, he met the great *siddha* K'a rag pa who was unrivalled in the meditation of the rDsoḡs c'en system. Then, going upwards he found in a small monastery a naked monk who (continually) counted (while reciting it) the syllable *hum*. Proceeding further he met a great *siddha* called 'the man from Brag smug'. This master was continually sitting in meditation and did not speak a word to anybody...

Then he went to Gar śa where there is the mountain Gandhala²⁵.

¹⁶ [1] Viz. Tirthapuri of the maps, on the right side of the Sutlej to the west of the Kailasa. See below.

¹⁷ [1] As to the mystic equivalence of these places see below.

¹⁸ [2] The three valleys are that of the Sutlej, that of Missar and that of the river which flows into the Sutlej to the south of Tirthapuri.

¹⁹ [3] Gaṅgā means of course the Sutlej.

²⁰ [4] Lha brten (Lha rten) is, in this case, rather 'a divine abode' than temple: as I said elsewhere, every rock near the temple of Tirthapuri is supposed to be the abode of some god or Tāntric deity (Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milano, 1937, p. 120).

²¹ [5] Mañ nañ is to the south-east of Toling; it was the birth-place of the *lotsava* of Mañ nañ, one of the pupils of Rin c'en bzañ po. See Tucci, *Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddismo nel Tibet Occidentale intorno al mille – Indo-Tibetica*. II. I visited this place during my Tibetan expedition of 1935 and as I stated in the *Illustrated London News*, 28th January 1936. I found there three chapels, in one of which splendid frescoes by Indian artists of the 11th century still exist. See Tucci, 'Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples', in *Artibus Asiae* VII, 1937, p. 191.

²² [6] Although, as a rule, Žaṅ-žun is considered to be a synonym of Guge, this passage seems to show that Žaṅ-žun had a wider extension and that Guge was merely a province of the same. The same fact is pointed out by the travels of sTag ts'añ ras pa and by a very accurate biography of the Sa skya chiefs which I found in Shipki. *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par t'ar pa no mts'ar snañ ba*, p. 8, a: pu rañ. žaṅ žun, glo bo. dol po, gu ge.

²³ [7] On Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od, see Tucci, *Rin c'en bzañ po*..., pp. 17 ff.

²⁴ [8] Bi lcogs is perhaps: Pilche in the Lipak valley opposite Nako.

²⁵ [9] This seems to show that our pilgrim went from Spiti to Lahul (Gar śa, Ga śa or Gar ža) through the Chandra valley, which was formerly the usual route between the two provinces before the Shigri glacier collapsed. See J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1933, II, p. 449. Gandhala is Gandhola (Guru Ghantal). According to the tradition which was told during my visit to the place during my travels of 1931, another mountain was the abode of the famous *siddha* Ghañṭa pa

[378] This mountain is one mile high and he saw on its top the selfborn *stūpa* called *dharma mu tri*²⁶. On its four sides there are miraculous rivers and trees. It is a place blessed by all *dpa' bo*²⁷ and *ḍakinis*: it is also the residence of *yogins* and *yoginis* who have attained to perfection. It is a place absolutely superior to all others...

There was a kind of small monastery in a village high up; since he did not want to stop there, he went to the *lotsāva* of mGar²⁸ and informed him about his plan of going as far as Dsva lan dha ra (Jalandhara), but the *lotsāva* replied that he could not reach the place and that he would scarcely survive²⁹ ...

Then he despatched an interpreter with some provisions, who told everything to the minister of the king of Cam be (Chamba) who was called Su tu, and since this one asked him to lead along the two great ascetics, he replied that if the king gave the order they would come after due deliberation. Three days after, leaving Gar śa they reached the bottom of a high pass full of snow reflecting the sky like a mirror. It was so high that it seemed to rise to heaven³⁰. They were considering how it would have been possible to find a way there, when they met [379] many Mon pa³¹ who carried loads: 'so - they thought - if these get through, we also can get through'. Then those Mon pa with the help of the pick-axe began digging their track and went on; we also followed them. At midday we reached the pass. But the descent was even steeper than the ascent,

whose cave is still shown from afar; this explains the Tibetan name of the place Dril bu ri, viz. the mountain of the bell, viz. probably of the *siddha* Ghaṅṭā pā, upon whom see Grünwedel, 'Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer (Mahasiddhas)', *Baessler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Volkerkunde*, Band V, Heft 4-5, 1916, p. 192. This Dril bu ri is perhaps that alluded to by Taranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 17. On Gandhola and Dril bu ri there is a *mahātmya*: *gnas c'en dril bu ri dan ghan dho la gnas yig don gsal ba*. It is therefore evident that Dril bu ri and Gandhola are two different places. Dril bu ri is the Mountain called after the *siddha* referred to above and Gandhola is called after the temple of Bodhgaya. The *mahātmya* of Gandhola was translated by J. Schubert, 'Der tibetische Mahātmya des Wallfahrtsplatzes Triloknath', in *Artibus Asiae* IV, 1934, and V, 1935.

²⁶ [1] Perhaps, *dharmamurti*; every *stupa* contains the essence of *dharma* and is, therefore, the symbol of *dharma*.

²⁷ [2] This shows the connection of legends here located by the Tibetan tradition with the Tantric cycle of Śaṃvara (viz. Heruka) in which the *vira* (*dpa' bo*) and *ḍakinī* play such an important role. Upon this cycle vide Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, p. 42.

²⁸ [3] The village should be Gondla or Gundla. Is mGar for 'Gar'?

²⁹ [4] The statement contained in *History of the Panjab Hill States* by Hutchinson and Vogel, II, p. 478, that Gozzan (rGod ts'añ), Lama of Lahul, lived in the eleventh century must be corrected; nor was rGod ts'añ pa a man from Lahul, though his memory is still living in that country.

³⁰ [5] Is this the Drati pass (15,391 feet) now also dreaded on account of its stone avalanches? Vide J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, I, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XXXV, Calcutta, 1911, p. 23.

³¹ [1] Mon pa are called by Tibetans the tribes of the borderland towards India and in many places the aborigines of the provinces later on conquered by them (Dainelli, *Spedizione De Filippi*, I, p. 135; Laufer, *Klu 'bum hsdus pa 'i sñin po*, p. 94).

so that we began to be frightened, thinking how we could go through it. But one of the Mon pa, leading the way and being tied by a rope to the waist, dug some holes in the rock with his pick-axe so that we also went slowly after him. At dusk we reached the bottom of the pass... Then after about twelve days we came to the presence of the king of Cambhe. There all the mountains of the country of the Mon come to an end. The plain of India is even as the palm of the hand.

The king of the place is called Bi tsi kra ma³²; he commands seven thousand officers; each officer is appointed over seven thousand soldiers. Inside the wall (of the royal palace) the *Jotsāva* beat the *damaru* and all men of the palace and all people from the town came to see (the visitors). The king himself sat in a verandah and expressed in many ways his astonishment³³... They remained there about five or six days and were happy. Then in three days they reached Dsa lan dha ra. When they entered the town, a man came out from a crowd, went in front of the ascetic³⁴ and saying 'my master, my master' led him by his hand (to his house) and offered him good food. This country of Dsa lan dha ra is but one of the twenty-four (branches as represented by the twenty-four) places (of the *vajrakāya*)³⁵.

[380] As to the external twenty-four holy places in the Jambu-dvīpa they are the twenty-four miraculous appearances of Heruka assumed by him in order to convert the twenty-four kinds of gross people capable of being converted. The twenty-four secret places correspond to the circles (viz. the symbols) of body, speech and spirit in the *maṇḍala*. The twenty-four internal places are in one's own body...

In Dsa lan dha ra all the *dpa' bo (vira)* and *dākṛints* assemble as clouds. As to this country, it is as even as the palm of the hand and easy; *bodhi*-trees and palm-trees and pines of various kinds grow (in this country) and many medical plants, such as the three myrobalans, grow also there.

³² [2] Perhaps: *vicitra var ma*; one *Vicitravarma* is recorded by the *Vamśavali* of Chamba as the son of *Vidagdha* (11th century), but no king of this name of the 13th century is known to me.

³³ [3] Is this the meaning of *par pir smra ba*?

³⁴ [4] Called in the text, as usual: *Rin po c'e*, viz. 'the gem'.

³⁵ [5] According to various Tantric schools and specially that of *Samvara* the soil of India is considered to be the *vajra*-body of Buddha and it is divided into twenty-four limbs, each corresponding to a holy place (*pīṭha*) of famous renown. The 24 places are presided over by 24 deities called *dpa' bo* regularly included in the mystic *maṇḍala* of the 62 deities of the *Samvaratantra*. I have given the complete list and description of these deities in my *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, pp. 42 ff., where the Tibetan literature on this subject has been investigated. Our pilgrim, following evidently a Tibetan tradition, locates the *pīṭhas* of the diamond-body in North-Western India: so at the end of his travels to the Swat Valley *O rgyan pa* can boast of having made the tour of all the 24 holy places. The Tibetan tradition accepted by *rGod ts'an pa*, *O rgyan pa* and *sTag ts'an ras pa* is certainly more recent than the other alluded to in the rituals of the *Samvaratantra*. According to this passage of *rGod ts'an pa* there are:

(a) A series of 24 places geographically located in the supposed *vajrakāya*: they are supposed to be the mystic abodes of various manifestations of Heruka.

(b) The 24 places as reproduced in the symbolic spheres of the *maṇḍala*: they are secret in so far as their significance is explained by the *guru* to the disciple after a proper initiation.

(c) The 24 places in that *maṇḍala* which is one's own body: they must be meditated upon in the *adhyaत्मika-puja*.

To the left and to the right there are two big rivers which in their course meet; here along the bend of a mountain-spur in the shape of a sleeping elephant is the town of Nāga ko tre ³⁶ with five thousand inhabitants. On the spur of that mountain there is a great temple called Dsa la mu gi ³⁷ in which both believers and unbelievers offer their worship. Thirty villages are in charge of this temple. The very day the pilgrim arrived and went to Dsva la mu khe; in the night there were in the temple sixty or seventy girls, all undefiled, beautiful and charming like divine girls, dressed with five-coloured dresses and adorned with various ornaments such as the jewelled crown. Some of them carried in their hands flowers and other things for the *pūjā* such as incense, etc. The girls having covered their head with a cotton veil, entered the temple. The pilgrim followed them, but a door keeper of low class holding the door-bolt did not allow him to go farther; but he, without hesitation, pushed the door and went in. The other stood up but was unable to hit him, and (the pilgrim) went inside. One of the principal ladies said 'Sit down here, all these are *ḍākinīs*' ³⁸. Then [381] that lady began to sing some songs. The other girls sang as if they were either the sixteen mystic wisdoms (*vidyā*) or the twenty goddesses, made the offerings with the various ingredients of the *pūjā* such as flowers, incense, etc. They sang songs and danced accompanying the dance with gestures of the hands...

In front of that great town, downwards, there are five cemeteries ³⁹. The first is called Ka ma ku ldan sar, where Brahmins and others carry pure corpses. Then there is the cemetery P'a ga su. It is a hill upon an even plain. On the top there is a temple of the heretics. It is the place where Śaṃvara resides. Then there is the great cemetery called La gu ra of triangular shape. There are images of the Sun and of the Moon with the symbols of *āli* and *kāli* ⁴⁰. Between these two, on a kind of pillar, there is a self-born image of Bhaṭṭarika-yoginī. Then there is another great cemetery called Mi bkra sa ra which bestows great benediction upon those who dwell in it and is possessed of various propitious signs. Then there is the cemetery Si ti sa ra which is in turn a meeting place of the *dpa' bo* and *ḍākinīs*. If one resides for some days in these cemeteries one's own merits greatly increase, and the (good) inclinations develop by abiding specially in the two great cemeteries La gu ra and P'a ga su ra...

³⁶ [1] Viz. Nagarkoṭ, a name for Kangra: see below, p. 393.

³⁷ [2] Viz. Jvalāmukhi, 'believers (*p'yī*) and unbelievers (*nañ*)' are here respectively the Buddhists and the Hindus, but later on, at the times of sTag ts'añ ras pa, under the name of 'believers' both Hindus and Buddhists are included, the unbelievers then being the Muslims.

³⁸ [3] In spite of the corruption of the text it is easy to perceive that the sentence is in vernacular.

³⁹ [1] The most famous of these cemeteries seems to have been that of Lagura or Langura, referred to also by O rgyan pa and sTag ts'añ.

⁴⁰ [2] *āli* is the series of the vowels and *kāli* the series of the consonants, the two elements of all *mantras* and the symbols of cosmic creation. According to the *Tantras*, the two series are respectively encircling the sun and the moon, viz. the mystic circles in the *nabhipadma*, viz. the lotus of the navel-wheel at the junction of the veins *iḍā* and *piṅgalā*. Sun and moon are therefore symbols of the two aspects of the divine intelligence as it realizes itself in the reality of the phenomena. Bhaṭṭarika-yoginī is the symbol of the central vein, the *sūsumnā* corresponding to the *turya* state.

In that town there are many begging monks among the unbelievers as well as among the believers, either noble *yogins* or Brahmins.

As to the time for collecting alms (it is as follows). The mistress of the house gets up as soon as the sun begins to warm and after having well swept the house leads (out) the oxen and cleans the verandah. Their houses are cleaner than the monasteries and on the earthen walls many designs are painted. On one side of the kitchen they boil rice-pap and then the mistress of the house carrying a sesamum-oil-lamp burns some incense of good smell: then putting some hot rice-pap upon a plate of bell-metal she goes out, and when the family has bathed, she worships the sun and the moon, then the image of Śiva, the goddess [382] of the outer-door and the goddess of the inner door⁴¹. Then the mistress of the house goes inside and when the rice-pap is cold, she eats it along with the husband, avoiding any uncleanness. At that time the smell of the aromatic herbs spreads out and all beggars go for alms. The *yogins* blow three times their brass-bell and carrying in one hand the gourd and in another the *ḍamaru*, they reach the door of a house, make the *ḍamaru* resound in various ways and say, "Give alms and practise the law".

The country which is very big is called *Dsva lan dha ra*, but it has numberless towns; *Na ga ko te* means in Tibetan "The castle of the snake". He stopped in that place for about five months, but since the nourishment was unsubstantive and agreeable food was lacking, his body was in a very bad condition. Then he returned to Tibet. Avoiding the route he took formerly, he went by a short-cut since he wanted to visit the holy place of *Ku lu ṭa*. After two days along that route he met in a place called *Ki ri raṃ* a great ascetic called *Anupama* whom he asked for the explanation of the law. The other uttered "Homage to the Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the community", thus bestowing upon him the protection of the three jewels, and then he added: "We both are two *vajra*-brethren⁴², disciples of *Ācārya Nāgārjuna*. Go to Tibet, you will greatly benefit the creatures".

Then he went to the holy place (*tirtha*) of *Ku lu ṭa* which corresponds to the knees of the body included in the circle of the (*vajra*)-*kāya* as represented by the twenty-four holy places. The core of this place is called *Siddhi*, where there is a forest of white lotuses in flower; there, upon a stone, there are the foot-prints of Buddha⁴³. In that place one reaches quickly the best powers of the common degree⁴⁴, but one meets also many hindrances; in this place there are two venerable (*bhadanta*) and one *yogin*.

Then he went to *Gar śa*; then to the retreat in *Ga ndha la*. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in the autumn he reached the pass of *rTsañ ṣod* in *Spiti*.

⁴¹ [1] I do not know the name of the two gods of the door; for the protector of the door, see W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, London, 1926, pp. 98-99.

⁴² [2] Viz. fellow-disciples in the mystic school of *Nāgārjuna*, the most famous master of the *Vajrayana*.

⁴³ [3] Perhaps the same as the *stupa* alluded to by *Hsüan-tsang*, I, p. 131.

⁴⁴ [4] Viz. of the *prajñāparamita* class.

I must confess that these itineraries of the Tibetan monks are far from that exactness which we admire in the writings of the Chinese [383] travellers. As I said before, not only a great deal of legendary and fantastic elements permeates their descriptions, but the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another. Many reasons account for this fact; first of all proper names are spelt in the most arbitrary ways; there is no trace of the strict phonetic rule generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims. The Tibetan travellers try to transcribe into Tibetan letters the spelling of the various places which they happened to visit; but this transcription is often imperfect.

We cannot also forget that their works were for a long time copied by monks of various capacities, who never saw the places spoken of by the pilgrims. This is the reason why so many mistakes creep into these biographies, increasing the inaccuracies of the manuscripts which, as is well known to scholars, are, as a rule, far from being correct.

There are also cases, when the authors attempt to translate foreign names according to no fixed rule or according to some fanciful etymologies, which make very difficult the identification of the original. No criterion is also followed as regards enumeration of the places recorded in their narrative. In some cases the places are mentioned one after another; in other cases our pilgrims seem to forget the intermediate halts and record only the starting-point and the place of arrival. The direction is rarely given and even when noted it cannot claim to be always exact. Distances are never registered except in days: but this does not help us very much, because we do not exactly know the average length of their marches. As a rule the Tibetans are good walkers, but they halt a good deal during the day. So far as my experience goes, I can say that they march at the average of 10-15 miles per day. But in India they seem to proceed more slowly on account of the heat and the different conditions of the soil to which they are unaccustomed; on the whole, travelling in the plains is for them more tiring than marching through the highlands and the plateaus of their fatherland.

Records of speed are often mentioned in these writings, but we are confronted with exaggerations intended to show the miraculous powers of these *yogins* and their proficiency in those special *hathayoga* practices in which the *rlun pa* are said to be specially expert.

For all these reasons it is particularly difficult to locate the places mentioned in our itineraries; localization on the basis of mere similarity of spelling of names, when no distance and no direction is given, is particularly doubtful. I must also confess that my interest is rather centred upon other branches of oriental literature than history and geography; this increases the difficulty of my task. But my purpose has only been to place before scholars more qualified for this kind of research than myself certain texts which I happened to find and which [384] are still difficult of access. I leave them to draw the conclusions, if any, from the sources here made accessible. As regards these sources, I must add that of the Tibetan text from O rgyan pa I selected those portions of his vast biography which have a real historical or geographical significance; legends, dreams, prophecies which enliven the narrative have been suppressed. I did not think it necessary to add to the travels of O rgyan pa those of sTag ts'an ras pa, who is also known under the name of O rgyan pa Nag dba'n rgya mts'o and is the founder of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. His date is known, since we are told in the *Chronicles of Ladakh*

that he was a contemporary of king *Señ ge mam rgyal* (about 1600-1645)⁴⁵.

His biography is easily accessible as it is printed in the monastery of Hemis, and it seems to have been composed at the time of the same ruler mentioned above by *bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po*. It bears the following title: *Au ti ya ñag dbañ rgya mts'oi mam t'ar legs bris vai dü rya dkar po*. This section, which comprehends the biography proper, is followed by the itinerary of *O rgyan*: *O rgyan mk'a' 'gro'i gliñ gi lam yig t'ar lam bgrod pa'i t'em skas*, written, according to the colophon, by *sTag ts'añ* himself and printed in Leh under the patronage of *Señ ge mam rgyal* and the queen *sKal bzañ sgrol ma*.

The third section consists of songs of *sTag ts'añ ras pa* in the traditional style of the *dohākoṣa* and of the poems of *Milaraspa*, and bears the title: *O rgyan pa ñag dbañ rgya mts'o'i mgur 'bum žal gdams zab don ut pa la'i 'p'reñ ba*.

As a rule, place names in this itinerary are here better reproduced, but from the geographical point of view we are confronted with the same inaccuracy as has been referred to in other Tibetan itineraries; anyhow a good deal of other useful information is to be derived from the diary of *sTag ts'añ ras pa*.

The comparison of the two itineraries, viz. that of *O rgyan pa* and that of his later imitator, proves very interesting; we realize the progress done by Islam during the three centuries which approximately intervene between the two travellers; *sTag ts'añ ras pa* set off with the *lam yig* of his predecessor as his guide; so, at least, we read in his notes of travel. But very often he failed to find the places there mentioned: is this fact due to the inaccuracy of the redaction of the diary of *O rgyan pa* which he employed, or was it the result of historical events which in many a place had already altered the importance of old cities and villages and shifted the halting-places of caravans from one site to another?

[385] I feel rather inclined to accept the first view; comparing the lists of the places visited by both pilgrims, we easily realize that the spelling of names in *O rgyan pa's* travels was badly handled by the copyists; I subjoin a few instances. While the manuscript at my disposal reads 'Bhrarmila', the copy used by *sTag ts'añ* had 'Varamila': so *O rgyan pa's* 'Sila' seems to correspond to 'Hila' of *sTag ts'añ*; for another place our manuscript gives two readings 'Brahor' and 'Bhahola', while the copy of *sTag ts'añ* reads 'Hora'; so also while on the one side we have 'Na'ugri' or 'Na'utri' as the name of a big salt-mine, on the other side the itinerary used by *sTag ts'añ* reads 'Bain-hoti'. In this way it is clear that it is a difficult task for us to identify correctly the route followed by the pilgrims, as it was for *sTag ts'añ* to find out the places his predecessor went through. In fact comparing the lists here appended we must come to the conclusion that he followed a quite independent route; if we except the valley of Swat proper, where more or less the itinerary is the same, the places registered in the *lam yig* of *sTag ts'añ* are not to be found in that of *O rgyan pa* – the only exception being *Malot* and *Rukāla*: it can only be stated that *sTag ts'añ* went out of Swat, at least partially, by the same way by which his predecessor had entered; but this implies that *San dhi pa* and *Ka vo ka* correspond to *Ka bo ko*, *Ka'oka* and *Si ddha bor*.

⁴⁵ [1] L. Petech, 'Notes on Ladakhi History', in *IHQ* XXIV, 1948, p. 220.

The route also to Kashmir is through Jhelum and the Pirpanjal, and not through the Hazara district as in the case of O rgyan pa. The many adventures he met on the way compelled sTag ts'añ to take long detours and very often to retrace his steps. Anyhow in order to have a better idea of the two routes it is interesting to give the list of the places as registered in the two itineraries.

*O rgyan pa*⁴⁶

gDoñ dmar
 1/2 day
 North door of Ti se
 Ma p'am lake
 Kulu
 Maru
 Gar na ta ma mountain
 Jalandhara Naga Ko tre (Nagarkot)
 Lan gu ra cemetery
 20 days
 Chandrabhaga river
 [386]
 Indranila on that river
 Bhrarmila
 1 day
 Si la
 Town of the Mongols near a
 river flowing from Kashmir
 Brahor (Bhahola)
 1 day
 Na'ugri, Na'utri
 1 day (or 3 in the verses)
 Malakoṭe (Malakota)
 5 days
 Rukala
 4 days
 Rajahura
 Sindhu river

sTag ts'añ ras pa

Ti se, Myañ po ri rdsoñ,
 Pretapuri, K'yuñ luñ,
 Sarang-la, rNam rgyal, Pu
 Sa, Soran, K'yags,
 Su ge t'añ
 Dsya la mukhe
 Jalandhara- Kaṅgarkoṭ
 Lan gu ra cemetery
 1 day
 Nu ru p'u
 Sri na ga ra
 Pa ṭhan na
 Nosara
 Ka ṭhu ha ra
 Parurda
 Paṭhanmusur
 Sakiri
 Salau
 Bhets'arbhura
 Salakanṭhu
 Sotakoṭa
 Ghortsoraka
 2 days
 Balanagaratila
 Kashmir
 Varan

⁴⁶ [1] The Arabic numbers show the distance in days from one place to another, according to the itineraries. The spelling is that of the Tibetan texts.

<i>O rgyan pa</i>	<i>sTag ts'añ ras pa</i>
Kalabur	1 day
Bhik'robhasa	Mañe
1 day	Zañs dkar
Kaboko, Ka'oka	'Bar gdan
1 day	Ga śa
Bhonele, Bhenele	K'añ gsar Dar rtse
Siddhabhor	Skye nañ
1 day	Gusamañdala
K'a rag k'ar	2 days
Kodambar river	Re p'ag
Ilo mountain	1 day
(all together 7 days from Ka'oka)	Maru
1 day	2 days
Ra yi k'ar (near Lha ba pa's cave)	Pata
Mangalaor	Kotala pass
1/2 day	Pañgi
Dhumat'ala	Sura
Kama'onka mountain (to the W)	Naran-Kamaru
(Kamalaglupa cave)	2 days
Mañgala-paṇi (to the N of Dhumat'ala)	Tsambhe dam pa
5 days	7 days
Ghari	Hindutam
7 days	Nurup'u – as before up to
Ur śa	Gotsoraka
	big river from Kashmir
	(Varamila) ⁴⁷
[387]	15 days
3 days	Hila
Tsi k'ro ta	(Hora)
1 day	(Bañhoti)
Ramikoti (Rasmisvari)	3 days
9 days	Muraga river
rDo rje mula	3 days
Kashmir	Tsośara
Jalandhara	Dhodhośna
	Vavula

⁴⁷ [1] The names between brackets are those of the places searched for by sTag ts'añ as being in the itinerary of O rgyan pa but not found.

sTag ts'an ras pa

	2 days
Malotta	2+9 days
Salt lake	3 days
Rukāla	
Akkithial	
Bhahapur	
Mālapur	
Uts'alapur	
Sapunpur	
Reuret	
Atike – Indus	
Mats'ilkanathatril	
Pora	
Nosara	
Matāngana	
Mithapāni	
Mādha	
Atsimi	
Pakšili	
Dhamdhorī	
Kiṭuḥar	
Bhaṭṭhurvar	
Paṭhapamge	
Mutadni	
Kapola	
Kandhahar	
Hasonagar	
Paruka	
Nasbhala	
Sik'ir	
Momolavajra	
Sithar	
Bhayasahura	
Hasonagar again	
Paruba (before Paruka)	
Nyapala	
[388]	

sTag ts'an ras pa

Apuka
Killiula
Sikir
Momolavajra
Sinora
Pelahar
Muthilli
Muşambi
Muthiksi
Mahatilli
Satahulda
Kalabhyatsi
Sangiladhuba
Goṭhaiśakam
Pass
3 days
Dsmok'ati where all the waters
of O rgyan meet
5 days
Yalom pelom
5 days
K'arakşar
3 days
Rāyişar
3 days
Rahorbhyara (Maṅgalaor)
Rāyisar again
1 day
Oḍiyāna (Dhumat'ala)
Kamalabir mountain
Maṅgalapāni
Oḍiyāna again
Rāyişar
Midora
K'aragşar
Sandhibhor
Kavoka
Bhyatsabhasabhasor

sTag ts'an ras pa

5 days

Sindhu

Radsahura (not far from Antike)

2 days

Nila

Kamthe

[389]

Nepale

Nila'u

Lañka

Horaña

Aśakamni

Mahatsindhe

Ghelamri

6 days

Gorśala

2 days

Kalpa

Rukāla

Rahorbunḍa

Ravata

Sata

Hati

Tsiu

Ruta

Dselom

Sara

Bhebar

Nośara

Ratsuga

3 days

Lithana

Pirbañtsa

2 days

Kashmir

Varan

Maṭe

10 days

Zañs dkar

Mar yul

As to the names of places, they are, in general, no more accurate in sTag ts'an than in O rgyan pa; many of them have lost their somewhat archaic forms often purely Sanskritic and have become more or less similar to modern names; Jalandhara is also registered as Kangarkot, Malakot has become Malot, and so on. Whereas in O rgyan pa the Mongols are usually called Sog po or Hor, viz. the traditional Tibetan names for Mongols and Turks, in sTag ts'an they are known regularly as Mongol and as Pathan, though in his writings Pathan seems to have occasionally assumed the meaning of *jag pa*, viz. robber.

But as regards Kashmir, the names are so like the modern ones, that doubt may arise whether they have not been by chance given this shape in quite recent times, by some learned Lama of Hemis on the [390] occasion of the reprint of the itinerary. One might think that to the same elaboration of the text are also perhaps due the dialogues in Hindi often inserted in the book, and which seem to have a quite modern turn. But certain forms, as kindly suggested to me by my friend S. K. Chatterjee, are now obsolete and point to an early stage of Hindi: *hami*, *tumi*, *roṭi velā khai*, etc.

I subjoin two examples:

fol. 10 – When sTag ts'an escapes slavery in Momolavajra and is saved by a Brahmin in Sithar, the following dialogue takes place between the Tibetan pilgrim and that Brahmin (fol. 10, b): –

Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
sT. Hami bhoṭanti dsoḡi huva	I am a Tibetan ascetic (Tib. <i>rtogs ldan</i>).
Br. Kaśimiri bha (corr. bho) tanti aya	Are you a Tibetan from Kashmir?
sT. Hami Kaśimiri nahi; hamara mahā tsinṅa huva Kaśimiri thibaṅṅa pari daśa masi nighaya hayi	I am not a Kashmiri; I am from (the province of dBus and gTsañ) beyond Kashmir; I left after a ten months (journey).

When he meets the old Brahmin who with his caravan leads him to Rukāla (fol. 8, a):

Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
Br. Tu mi abo eham bhēsa roṭi vela k'a'i kyi na hi	Yo come here; sit here, do you eat bread or not?
sT. K'ahi k'ahi	I do eat it.
Br. Hami bramze huva; tumi t'orra bh'yat'a saṅgi rdono ho dsa	I am a Brahmin, wait a moment. Let us go together.

The comparison of the two itineraries is also interesting from many other points of view. It shows that at the time of O rgyan pa Islamic invasion had not yet completely destroyed the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. We find, in the account of his travels, hints of survival of small Hindu principalities in the Salt Range and in Uḍḍiyāna. As I said before, the names of places are still recorded in a Sanskritic form as can easily be realized even through the corruption that their spelling underwent in the Tibetan manuscripts. On the other hand, when

[391] sTag ts'añ undertook his travels, Islam had succeeded in establishing its supremacy more or less everywhere.

As to O rgyan it appears, from the account of the two pilgrims, that Udegram-Manglaor was considered the very core of the country along with the sacred mountain of Ilam already famous at the time of the Chinese travellers. But the kings of O rgyan did not reside there, but rather on the outskirts towards Hindustan. In the travels of O rgyan pa there is no mention of a king of O rgyan or of his capital; only a prefect is recorded as residing in a place called Ka bo ko or Ka'oka, perhaps three days' march before the Karakār Pass. This prefect, to judge from his name Rājadeva, was a Hindu or a Buddhist, certainly not a Muslim. At the time of sTag ts'añ ras pa the capital of O rgyan is said to be Dsamikoti. It was in a valley which collected the waters of the country of O rgyan, and at the same time one could reach from there the mountain Ilam in five days without crossing the Karakār Pass. This king was called Pañtsagaya. No mention is made of the religion he followed, but there is hardly any doubt that he was a Muslim, though very liberal and well disposed towards the Tibetan pilgrim.

These kings ruled therefore over a vast territory including, besides the Swat proper, even parts of Buner.

There is no record in the accounts of our pilgrims of monks or learned people who continued the tradition of Buddhist scholarship; if he had met any, O rgyan pa would not have failed to mention his name, as he did in the case of Kashmir.

Anyhow, at the time of O rgyan pa a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uddyāna had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing. But the old traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Śākyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely tāntric. Śaṃvara and Guhyasamāja have become the most prominent Mahāyāna deities; the place of Śākyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhūti and Kambalapa. These facts quite agree with the revival of Tāntric Buddhism in the Swat Valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhūti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now.

At the time of sTag ts'añ there is not the slightest trace of any survival of Buddhism but we have only the mention of ruins; even the *sādhus*, who were occasionally his companions of travel or whom he found in the country, do not seem to have been Buddhist since they belonged to the sect of the Nāthapanthiyas.

[392] PART II

TRANSLATION OF THE ITINERARY OF O RGYAN PA

Setting out from gDon dmar in Pu rañs ⁴⁸ in half a day we ⁴⁹ reached the north door of Ti se ⁵⁰, king of glaciers, and started meditating among a crowd of five hundred ascetics (*ras pa*) ⁵¹. Then we drank the water of the (Lake) Ma p'am ⁵².

Then we arrived at Kulu (Ku lu (a) or Maru ⁵³, which corresponds to the knees and the toes of the *vajra*-body divided into twenty-four great places.

At that time we did in one day the road which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit ⁵⁴. In this place a female *kṣetrapāla* dropping pus and blood from the nose, said (to us): 'First of all do not abide in front of the master. Then do not abide in the middle of thy companions. I stay here; I will procure (your) maintenance'.

Then I thought that somehow I could go to O rgyan ⁵⁵.

[393] Then during the hot months we resided in the great mountain called Garṇatama ⁵⁶ where many good medicinal plants grow; there are also five miraculous springs ... Successful discussion with an Indian ascetic ...

Then, along with many Indian ascetics, we went to Jālandhara ⁵⁷ corresponding to the top of the head of the twenty-four places (of the *vajra*-body).

⁴⁸ [1] Pu rañs is the easternmost province of Western Tibet. At the time of O rgyan pa it was under independent chiefs of the lDe family. See G. Tucci, *Rin c'en bzan po...* *Indo-Tibetica*, II, pp. 16, 22, and Tucci-Gherzi, *Secrets of Tibet*, London-Glasgow, 1934, p. 251. As to gDon dmar, it is unknown to me.

⁴⁹ [2] Viz. O rgyan pa and his companion d Pat ye.

⁵⁰ [3] Viz. Kailasa; Ti se is the aboriginal name of Kailasa; perhaps this name is to be related with Te se, known in Tibetan demonology as one of the nethern spirits (*sa bdag*). According to the Bonpos, the mountain is sacred to Gi k'od or rather to the Gi k'ods because, in some Bonpo manuscripts I found that the Gi k'ods are 360. The Buddhists consider the Kailasa as the mystic palace of bDe mc'og, viz. Śamvara: upon Śamvara see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II.

⁵¹ [4] *ras pa*, viz. 'a person wearing cotton clothes' is a common designation for all ascetics though it is specially applied to the *grub r'ob* of the bKa' rgyud pa sect.

⁵² [5] Ma p'am or Ma p'añ is the name for Manasarovar; it is also called: *g'yu ts'o* 'turquoise-lake' from the colour of its waters, or *ma dros pa* = *anavatapta*.

⁵³ [6] S. Lévi proposed to identify Maru with Chitral. From our accounts it seems that the Tibetan tradition, which must have some weight since it depends upon Indian data, located that country in Kulu or in the upper Chandrabhaga Valley, bordering Chamba; Maru, according to the *Vaṃśavali* of the Chamba kings, is the reviver of the solar race and practically the founder of the royal lineage of Chamba. See Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, I, pp. 81 and 91.

⁵⁴ [7] This refers to a special *yoga* practised by some Tibetan ascetics which is believed to develop the capacity of running at great speed. Those who practise this meditation are called, as we saw, *rlun p'a*.

⁵⁵ [8] O rgyan pa took that girl for a *ḍākini*.

⁵⁶ [1] Garṇatama cannot be located by me.

⁵⁷ [2] In the Ms. Dsva rar. As to this place see above, p. 379. Cf. Hutchinson and Vogel, *op. cit.*

At that place there is a great town called Nagarkete (viz. Nagarkot, Kangra). In a river there is a triangular⁵⁸ piece of land; digging of the soil there is forbidden; there is a cemetery⁵⁹ called Lan gu ra, where there is a boulder which looks like a skull; a self-made (image) of⁶⁰ Āryabhaṭṭarīka appears there. To the north there is a famous image called Jvālamukhi where on looking⁶¹ at the divine face everything blazes in fire. Near the royal palace there is a cemetery called Miṭapara where there is a cave of the Mahātmā Nāgārjuna called Miṭaglupa. In front of it there is one of the eight kinds of trees called *nilavṛkṣa*⁶². If you hurt it, you die immediately. So he said.

From that mountain, travelling one month we went to the south;
In the royal palace of the country of Jālandhara
There is a great bazaar where (one finds) goods (meeting) all wishes.
I was not able to carry away any handsome good.

After twenty days' march from Jālandhara we reached the Ghāṭali⁶³, i.e. a tributary of the Chandrabhaga, on whose banks there is the town of Indranila.

[394] To the east there is the plain of rGya skyags⁶⁴. One night we met (*lit.* there was) a woman who was putting, while singing, many weapons into a bag⁶⁵. Next morning we met four Hor horsemen and I was hit by one of them with the back of an axe; since I withstood him violently, he dragged me for half a day by the scarf I used in my ascetic exercises⁶⁶, kicked me in the chest and, then, I lost the sight. But at that time I collected the vital force (*prāṇa*) and the mental force in the wheel of the *bindu* and I let them go into the central vein⁶⁷.

⁵⁸ [3] *c'os 'byuñ* in this sense is not in the dictionaries but the glosses of Tson k'a pa on the *Guhyasamajāṭikā* by Candrakīrti, fol. 93,6 b, clearly states that it is a synonym of *zur gsum*, 'triangle'.

⁵⁹ [4] The correction *dur k'rod* for *k'rod* as in the manuscript is sure: rGod ts'añ pa and sTag ts'añ refer to the same place as a famous cemetery. So also O rgyan pa himself in this same page when he relates the story of the *ganacakra* which he and his companions held in this place (*La gyu ra yi dur k'rod*).

⁶⁰ [5] *rañ byon* for the more frequent *rañ 'byuñ*, 'self-born'.

⁶¹ [6] *bstan = mig lta ba*.

⁶² [7] According to the Tantric tradition, each cemetery is possessed of its peculiar characteristics, viz. its own tree, its protecting deity, its *naga*, etc. The lists from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources are given in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, pp. 173 ff.

⁶³ [8] Most probably the Ravi.

⁶⁴ [1] Unidentified, but perhaps a translation of Bharata.

⁶⁵ [2] According to O rgyan pa this woman must have been a *ḍakinī* for telling the impending danger.

⁶⁶ [3] *sgom t'ag, yogapaṭṭa*, the scarf used by ascetics for fastening together their limbs in some of the most difficult *yoga*-postures.

⁶⁷ [4] O rgyan pa refers to a *hathayoga* practice of preserving the vital force; mind-stuff, *sems* (Skr. *citta*), is believed to have *prāṇa* with its five-fold principal aspects as its vehicle. In the moments of deep meditation this mind-stuff is made to enter in the central vein (*avadhuti, caṇḍālī* or *madhyamā*), which is supposed to run from the top of the head to the *adhīṣṭhanacakra*, viz. to the wheel under the navel; a *t'uñ*, 'short a', is considered to be the symbol of the germinal consciousness as present in ourselves.

dPal ye ⁶⁸ thought that I was dead. Then, restored to my strength, I made a great noise and I overpowered him (the Hor) with the exorcistic magnetising look, so that he was unable to speak and began to tremble. All our companions said that I was a *siddha*.

From Intanila (viz. Indranila) we reached Bharmila ⁶⁹ in one day; from there we went to Si la. Then we arrived at a town of the Mongols whose name I have forgotten. From this place upwards Indians are mixed with Hor. Some are Hindus (that is, people of India); some are Musurman; some, being fused together and living in the plains, are equally called Mo go la.

At that place there is a river flowing from Kashmir ⁷⁰; we forded it and reached a town called Brahora ⁷¹ of 7,000,000 inhabitants (*sic*). The prefect of the town is a Tartar, Malik Kardharina by name. One [395] day's march from this town, there is a hill full of mineral salt; it is called Na'ugri; the salt (used in) Kashmir, Malo'o, Ghodsar, Dhokur, Jalandhara ⁷² is taken from there. Many salt-merchants come from this place even to Jalandhara. The big road to these salt-mines offers very little danger since one finds plenty of food, many companions and there are, usually, many bazaars. So he related.

From there we reached in one day Bhahola ⁷³.

From the river (which flows in that place) we went to the west for one day's march.

There is a mountain of mineral salt called Na'utri ⁷⁴.

I did not carry away a bit of salt.

So he said.

Then, in one day, we went to Malakote ⁷⁵, where we begged (food) from the queen (*rānī*) of that place, Bhu dse de bhi (Bhujadevi) by name, and she gave us food, provisions and clothes.

⁶⁸ [5] dPal ye is, as we saw, the companion of O rgyan pa.

⁶⁹ [6] According to the copy used by sTag ts'añ: Varamila. As to Si la (sTag ts'añ: Hila) it may correspond to Helan.

⁷⁰ [7] Viz. the Jhelum; the town of which this pilgrim has forgotten the name is perhaps Mong or Haria.

⁷¹ [8] The only big place on the route followed by O rgyan pa seems to be Pindi Dadan Khan, which formerly was one of the biggest salt-markets; of course the number of inhabitants is exaggerated. One may also think of Bhera, but this town is on the left side of the river. Nau-giri perhaps may be a corruption of Lavana-giri. The salt mountain must be searched for in the proximity of the Khewra mines.

⁷² [1] Malo'o is Malot, Ghodsar is Gujrat.

⁷³ [2] Evidently the same as Brahora on the river.

⁷⁴ [3] The same as Naugiri.

⁷⁵ [4] Malot. Its temples are well known. For references see V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd edition, London, 1927, p. 119. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, pp. 74 and 143. It is difficult to state why Malot is called the 'gate of the ocean'; perhaps this was due to the fact of there being some important market, to which caravans used to carry goods from the sea and the Indus mouth.

That place is famous as 'the gate of the ocean, mine of jewels'⁷⁶. There is a temple founded by king Hulahu⁷⁷. There great plants of *rtse bo*⁷⁸ grow.

Then three days' march to the west⁷⁹
 In the town of Malakoṭa,
 There is the gate of the mine of jewels (the ocean).
 He did not carry away even a bundle of medical herbs.
 All sorts of trees grown from the earth.
 So he said.

[396] Then we went for five days to the north-west to the town of Rukala⁸⁰. There a queen, Somadeva by name⁸¹, gave us provisions for the journey. Then in four days we reached Rajahura, which is one of the four gates to O rgyan. The other three gates are Nila⁸², Pur śo, Ka'oka.

In Rajahura (Rajpur) we went for alms; but as soon as we thought of eating (what we had collected), all fruits turned into ants and into worms. I showed it to dPal ye, who felt nausea and was unable to eat. Winking with the eyes I said 'eat' and the rest of what I had been eating turned into fruits and grapes. But he did not feel the inconvenience of being without food and was not able (to partake of that)⁸³. So he related.

To the west of this town there flows the river Sindhu. It is one of the four rivers flowing (from the Kailāsa) and it springs forth from the mouth of a lion in the Kailāsa⁸⁴. It flows through Mar yul⁸⁵ and then, from the country of 'Bru śa⁸⁶ on the north of Kashmir (which country

⁷⁶ [5] The Sindu-Sagar Doab.

⁷⁷ [6] As to Hulagu, it can hardly be, in spite of the similarity of spelling, the famous emperor who was almost a contemporary of our pilgrim; the temple alluded to must be a Hindu temple, as is proved by the statement of sTag ts'an ras pa that it was destroyed by the Moghuls; according to *Report for the Year 1872-73*, Archaeological Survey of India V, p. 185, it was founded by the Kauravas and Paṇḍavas.

⁷⁸ [7] *rTse bo*, viz. *rtse po*, *rtse po* is, according to Sarat Chandra Das, a plant called in Indian texts *kantakari*.

⁷⁹ [8] But, in the prose section, they reached Malot in one day only.

⁸⁰ [1] Rupwal; Nila is about ten miles to the north-west of this town.

⁸¹ [2] Either *raṇā* Somadeva or *raṇi* Somadevi.

⁸² [3] Perhaps the same as Nila on the Soan river to the east of Pindi Gheb.

⁸³ [4] The translation of this passage is doubtful.

⁸⁴ [5] Cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, I, p. 80. That is why the Indus is called by the Tibetans *Sen ge k'a 'bab*.

⁸⁵ [6] Mar yul is Ladakh; I have shown elsewhere (*Indo-Tibetica*, II, p. 15) that though in recent times Mañ yul has been also used for Mar yul, originally Mañ yul was a district to the east of Purang on the borderland between Tibet and Nepal. It has been stated, but I think on very poor grounds, that the so-called Mo lo so (Th. Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (629-645 A.D.)*, I, London, 1904, p. 299) corresponds to Ladakh; but the form Mar po suggested by Cunningham does not exist, at least to my knowledge.

⁸⁶ [7] 'Bru śa is Gilgit. Laufer, 'Die Bru-ža Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava', *T'oung Pao* IX, 1908, p. 3.

borders on Zañs dkar and Purig)⁸⁷, through sTag gzig⁸⁸ reaches O rgyan.

Taking hold of one another's hand we went to the ford of the Sindhu. I entered a boat and asked the boatman to pull the boat, but this man said: 'No objection, (but) on the other side of the river they say there are Hor; there is fear of being killed'. I replied that I was not afraid of dying and he pulled the boat. From this place upwards there is the country of O rgyan; there are 90,000 towns, but no other [397] place there except Dhumat'ala⁸⁹ is called U rgyan. At that time O rgyan had been just conquered by the Hor. So he related.

Having forded that river, there is (a town) called Kalabur (°pur). We reached there at sunset; all inhabitants, men as well as women, thinking that we were Hor, began to hit us with stones; then we took shelter among some trees and they, saying that that night we could not go anywhere else, departed. But that very night a great storm broke out and we ran away unnoticed from the village through a bypass.

He said that in the interior of O rgyan there were sTag gzig. Then met (*lit.* there were) a husband and wife who had run away from the Hor and were returning home, driving cows and sheep and carrying with them a small child. We said to them: 'We are two Tibetan monks going on pilgrimage to O rgyan. Having happened to meet you, let us accompany you as far as Dhumat'ala'⁹⁰. Then I carried the child and drove the cattle... Having forded the Sindhu we went to Bhik'robhasa⁹¹; then in one day's march we reached Kaboko⁹². In this town all people have a virtuous mind and a great wisdom. There are provisions in great quantities and mines of carminium. Its chief is called Rājadeva; he is the master of the greatest part of U rgyan.

One month to the west of that town⁹³
 To the west of the ford on the river Sindhu
 There is the town of Ka'oka,
 Where there are mines of carminium;
 But he was unable to carry away even a bit of it.
 So he said.

⁸⁷ [8] Purig is the district of Kargil.

⁸⁸ [9] sTag gzig corresponds, as known, to Tajig and is the usual name for Persia or Persian; of course Persia in our text refers to Chilas and must be understood in a broad sense as the countries depending upon Persia. This passage and the following statement point to the fact that the name of O rgyan was not confined to the Swat Valley, but included part of Buner and, roughly speaking, the territory between the Swat and the Indus.

⁸⁹ [1] This implies the equivalence of Dhumat'ala, often spoken of in the Padmasambhava literature, with U rgyan; the name of U rgyan, Uddiyana still survives in the village Udegram, the Ora of the Greek authors, upon which see Sir Aurel Stein, *On Alexander's Track ...* Cf. also, down below, sTag ts'an's itinerary.

⁹⁰ [2] Ms. Humata la.

⁹¹ [3] Perhaps Beka.

⁹² [4] Kotha?

⁹³ [5] The town referred to here is that mentioned in the previous verse, i.e. Malokota.

Then that liberal master gave in the country an entertainment and sent us a man to accompany us up to Bhonele (Buner), distant one day's march and, (as to the towns) beyond that place, (he gave us) a letter to lead us safely up to the holy place of Dhumat'ala (in which he had written): 'Let them be accompanied by such and such to such and such places'. From Bhonele we reached Siddhabhor (Siddhapur) and then, having forded a small river (the Burandu), we went in one [398] day to K'a rag k'ar⁹⁴. From this place upwards they say there is the boundary⁹⁵. There are good rice and wheat, and various kinds of good fruits get ripe; there are meadows green like the neck of the peacock.

(The country) is covered by soft herbs and by flowers of every kind of colour and smell; there is a river running through U rgyan called Kodambhar⁹⁶. To the east there is the mountain Ilo⁹⁷ which is the foremost of all mountains of the Jambudvīpa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. *Sarabhas* and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of gracious colours make a deep chattering.

From that country we went to the west for seven days;
Up to the mountain Ilo, the peak of K'a rag k'ar
In the mountain, *sarabhas* play
And there are gardens of grape in abundance.
I did not covet any thing.

Then in one day we reached Ra yi k'ar⁹⁸, which is said to have been the capital of King Indrabhote⁹⁹. Now it is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty. To the north there is a temple founded by king Indraboti and called Mangalaor, where there are various stone images of Buddha (Munindra), Tārā and Lokeśvara.

When I saw from afar the country of U rgyan, my (good) inclinations became very strong. Near Ra yi k'ar there is a small river; it can be forded by a man and it runs to the south. Having forded it (one finds) in a protuberance of a rock the place where the great *siddha* Lāvapā [399] used to stay. A *ḍākinī* let a shower of stones fall upon that (place), but Lāvapā showed the

⁹⁴ [1] The Karakar pass which divides Buner from the Tahsil of Barikot.

⁹⁵ [2] I am not quite sure that this is the rendering of *so t'añ*.

⁹⁶ [3] In this case (*O rgyan gyi c'u 'jug*) *c'u 'jug* must have the meaning of river only; therefore it refers to the Suvastu; otherwise it may be the Gandhak running to the east of Barikot.

⁹⁷ [4] This mountain has already been referred to by the Chinese pilgrims by whom it was called Hilo. Foucher, in *BEFEO* I, 1901, p. 368, n. 3, was the first to identify Hilo with the Ilam. Cf. also A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track...*, pp. 27 ff.

⁹⁸ [5] This place seems to be Rajgiri on the ridge above Udegram; on this locality and its archaeological importance see A. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39. It is called Rayiśar by sTag ts'añ.

⁹⁹ [6] Viz. Indrabhuti, the famous Tantric teacher and the spiritual father, according to the Tibetan tradition, of Padmasambhava. The two towns correspond to Gogdara and Udegram.

tarjanimudrā and the stones remained in the sky just as a tent. The *ācārya* turned with his powers the *dākinis* into sheep so that in that country all women disappeared¹⁰⁰; the men assembled went to their search but could not get (them). Then the *ācārya* shaved all the sheep and wore upon his body a woollen mantle (*Iva; kambala*); from this he was called *Lāvapā*, viz. 'the man of the woollen mantle'¹⁰¹.

Then they went to make homage to him and asked him to let them free. He asked: 'Do you make an engagement?' They agreed. Then he said: 'Wear the shoes upon the head; insert a ring in the nose; use (*lit. make*) a girdle (in the shape of) a snake'. This has become the custom of the country up to now.

A woman there said to me: 'You are *Indrabhoti*'. My disciple Śeś rin asked: 'Indrabhoti and *Lāvapā* did not live at a different time?' I said: '*Lāvapā* was not contemporary with the great (*Indrabodhi*). There were two *Indrabodhis*; I am like the Younger'. So he related¹⁰².

Near *Rayik'ar* there is the country of the *P'ra* men; all women know how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength. Then in half a day we arrived at *Dhumat'ala*¹⁰³. This is the core of the miraculous country of *U rgyan*. At the mere view of this country our cries (of joy) could not be counted. In front of it there is a self-appeared (image) of *Āryabhattachārikā* in sandal wood; it is called *Maṅgaladevī*.

I slept before it and I perceived that some trouble (*lit. hindrance*) was to come. I asked *dPal ye* to prepare a stick, but he would not hear. Next morning he went to three hamlets to the north and I went to the south to collect alms. I met some women, who threw flowers upon me [400] and put a dot of vermilion (on my forehead) making various symbols taught by the *Tantras*; so that my powers increased and my vitality greatly developed. But he¹⁰⁴ was surrounded by an armed crowd which was on the point of killing him; I ran to his rescue and when I said that he was my companion, they let him free. In this place there are about five hundred houses. All women know the art of magic and if you ask them: 'Who are you?' they reply: 'We are *yoginis*'. While I was lying down in front of *Maṅgaladevī*, one woman said (to me): 'Enjoy a woman', but I hit her with the stick and she ran away. The day after a woman met us both with incense and scattered flowers upon us and honoured us. It was the gift for having kept that gem which are the moral rules. In this place there is a woman who has three eyes; another has a flesh mark manifest on her forehead, viz. the coil of a *svastika* red as if designed with vermilion. She said: 'I am a

¹⁰⁰[1] Because, in this country, women were all considered to be *dākinis*.

¹⁰¹[2] This story is also related in the biography of the 84 *siddhas* (Grünwedel, 'Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer...', pp. 176 ff., and *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 56 ff.). See also the account of *sTag ts'ah ras pa*. But our text is rather obscure. Upon the local industry of rags *kambala* see Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁰²[3] All this passage seems to be a gloss or a later addition by some pupil of *O rgyan pa*. That there was more than one *Indrabhoti* is also accepted by *Taranatha*, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 109.

¹⁰³[4] Now *Butkara* near *Mingora*; for *Dhumat'ala* see what *Sung Yün* says concerning the most important sacred place of *Uddiyana*, called at his time *To-ta (tala, tara)*.

¹⁰⁴[1] Viz. *dPal ye*.

self-born *yogini*. I can make everything appear in view'. Then a Sog po said: 'If you are a self-born *yogini*, bring something from my country', and she immediately produced a bow and a Hor hat, so that the Sog po was amazed. He said that this woman was the wife of the king of Dhumat'ala¹⁰⁵.

Among the women of this town there is one who is said to be a *yogini*. Since it was difficult to recognise her, I took food from the hands of all women of the town and by eating it I surely got spiritual perfections from them. In the town of Kaboka¹⁰⁶ I took food from a woman called Saluṅtapuca and as soon as I drank a cup of soup (given by her), the place began to tremble...

The great *yoginis* famous in this place are four: Soni, Gasuri, Matangi, Tasasi.

Soni is (the *ḍākinī* known in Tibet as) 'Gro bzañ¹⁰⁷.

To the west of this place there is a snow mountain called Ka ma 'oñ ka¹⁰⁸ where they say that there is the palace of the *yoginis*. In its [401] interior there is a cave for ascetics called Kamalagupta, where there is the image of a *krodha* of blue colour, with ornaments made of human bones; it has three eyes and is shining with splendour like the rays of the sun: he has (in his hands) a sword and a skull.

dPal ye thought that it represented Śaṃvara.

To the east of this place there is a cemetery called Bhir sma sa¹⁰⁹, crowded by terrific assemblages as (thick as) clouds of dangerous *ḍākinīs* (in the shape of) boars, poisonous snakes, kites, crows and jackals.

A little to the north there is one of the eight kinds of trees called *okaśavṛkṣa*. A little to the south of that cemetery there is a self-made (image) in stone of a *kṣetrapāla*, called Dhu mun khu. In proximity of that tree, on a stone called Ka pa la bho jon, there are self-made images in stone of Brahmā, Rudra and other deities. There, there is a palm tree which is called *māṅgalavṛkṣa* that is 'the auspicious tree'. In its proximity a spring called *māṅgalapāṇi* (that is, the auspicious water) runs to the south¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁵[2] rGyu ma ta la is a mis-spelling for Dhumat'ala.

¹⁰⁶[3] It must be the same as the place already mentioned at p. 396. Though that town does not belong to the very centre of O rgyan which the pilgrim now describes, it is referred to again as being also a centre of those *ḍākinīs* whose powers O rgyan pa here praises.

¹⁰⁷[4] The *ḍākinī* 'Gro bzañ is famous all over Tibet. Her *rnam t'ar* or biography belongs to the most popular Tibetan literature.

¹⁰⁸[5] In the text only *gañs*, corr. *gañ ri*; below in the verses, Kamadhoka instead of Kama'oka. Evidently O rgyan pa did not proceed to that mountain, which is the Mankyal. It seems that apart from the supposed *ḍākinīs* O rgyan pa did not see many remains of the Buddhist period except for a few sculptures or rock engravings. Therefore, being disappointed, he shifted to O rgyan, at the foot of Mankyal. Dhumat'ala, if I am not wrong, is the valley near Mingora and Saidu. He did not see any other part of Swat.

¹⁰⁹[1] Viz. Bhiraśmaśana.

¹¹⁰[2] Perhaps the same as the tree and the source alluded to by Sung Yün, p. 410, as being near the footprints of the Buddha. If this is the case, the places here mentioned must be near Tirat.

To the east of this there is a big mountain called Śrīparvata, where many trees of *seni Idan*¹¹¹ grow. To the west of this, in the rivulet Maṅgalapaṇi there is a piece of land of triangular shape called Mulasa'ikota; there, there is an Āryabhaṭṭārikā spontaneously appeared. But now fearing the Hor soldiers she stays in Dhumat'ala.

In front of it many women assemble and worship it ejaculating *kilitsili*¹¹². Those who are deprived of strength or humiliated are (thereby) favoured (by becoming) fortunate.

This is the principal of the twelve Śrīparvatas of India. On its border there is a valley known as the valley of Śrī. While I was sleeping for some days in a temple built by Indrabodhi at the gate of U rgyan, many *ḍākinis* assembled and preached the law. This is the very miraculous country of U rgyan.

From that country he went to the west for four days;
 To the west of the 'stone without touch'
 [402] To the north of the river Kodambari
 To the east of the glacier Kamadhoka
 There is the miraculous country of U rgyan
 The *ḍākinis* of the three places assuming human shape
 Give enjoyments of inexhaustible pleasure.
 But I did not seek for great enjoyments.
 So he said.

In the miraculous country of Dhumat'ala there is the benediction of the Blessed one. He said: 'The individuals who are proficient (*lit.* good) in the *Tantras*, of the "father" and "mother" class¹¹³ obtain the instructions of the *ḍākinī* of the three places. Wherefrom the spiritual connection with the deep road can be arrived at?'

Then dPal ye said: 'I believe (in all this), (but) let us go back to Tibet'. I replied: 'From a country far away I reached this place without considering (the risk of) my life and I obtained a great benefit: the best could be to lay the head down here; if this is impossible, at least I want to abide here, at any rate, for three years'. Then he said, 'Even if you do not want to depart, (at least) accompany me up to Rajahura'. So we went. Our companions, who seemed to be merchants, said to me: 'This friend of yours does not understand the language and will not get any alms. Without you this man is lost'. Then I thought that it was a shame to leave in the way, among difficulties, a friend who had come to a holy place from a country far away and a fellow disciple of the same *guru*¹¹⁴; going downwards, we reached in five days (a place called) Ghari.

¹¹¹[3] Perhaps *khadira*, Acacia Catechu.

¹¹²[4] *Kili-tsili* is a *mantra* used in many a Tantric ritual.

¹¹³[1] This refers to a twofold division of the Buddhist *Tantras* into feminine and masculine (literally 'mother' and 'father'), according as the medium of their experiences is the *prajñā* or the *upāya*.

¹¹⁴[2] Viz. rGod ts'an pa.

Then in seven days we reached Urśa ¹¹⁵. Then, having as companions some merchants, we arrived to the gate of a terrific cemetery. When they saw it they were greatly afraid and said: 'Ghosts will come and men will die'. I said: 'Do not fear. I can protect you from the ghosts'; and then by the blessing of Daṇḍa ¹¹⁶ nothing happened.

From that place we went to the east for seven days;

A terrific cemetery is to the south.

In the fortunate kingdom of Urśa

[403] There is corn and no (land)lord, (so that) anybody can carry it away.

But I did not carry away a single grain.

Then, after three days, we arrived at Tsi k'ro ta ¹¹⁷; there is a great river (coming out) from a rock in the mountain. There a merchant, being inflamed by a disease, began to fight, killed two (of his) companions and wounded another. Then I evoked the meditation of Guhyapati and overpowered him by the magic look, so that he immediately died; otherwise by fighting at close quarters they would have killed each other. So he related.

Then in one day we reached Ramikoṭi. On the other side of the river (which runs there) there is Rasmīśvari ¹¹⁸, (one of) the twenty-four places (of the *vajrakāya*), which corresponds to the space between the eyebrows of the *vajrakāya*. There the space between the river coming from Kashmir and the water of a pond is similar in shape to the eyebrows.

Thence four days' march to the east

there is a place (called) Rasmīśvari;

in the house of a beggar they nursed (him) and boiled wine

but he did not carry away a single barley-paste ball.

¹¹⁵[3] Uraśa, viz. Hazara.

¹¹⁶[4] Perhaps Niladaṇḍa.

¹¹⁷[1] Perhaps in the proximity of Muzafferabad (is there any connection between Tsi k'ro ta and Charrota near this place?). The river along which the pilgrims reach Kashmir referred to below is obviously the Vitasta.

¹¹⁸[2] Rameśvara, as known, was and still is a famous *pīṭha* in South India, but in this Tantric cosmography, as accepted by the Tibetan writers, it has been located in the Western Himalayas, which are supposed to comprehend the whole of the *vajrakāya*; see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, pp. 43 ff. I cannot identify this Rameśvara referred to even by sTag ts'an ras pa; it is anyhow clear that it has no relation with the Ramaśrama which was a *pīṭha* in Kashmir, and with the Sanskritised name of Ramuch (Ramuśa) referred to in the *Nilamata-purāṇa* and the *Rajatarāṅginī*. See A. Stein, *Kaṭhāṇa's Chronicle of Kaśmīr*. This place is on the road from Supiyan to Śrinagar near Shozkroo.

(Marching) to the right of the river (flowing) from Kashmir, after nine days we arrived at a narrow valley called rDo rje mu la ¹¹⁹ and then reached Kashmir.

The surface (of this country) is flat like the palm of the hand and charming, stretching from east to west; in the north there is a lake pure [404] as the sky, called Kamapara ¹²⁰; (the place) is lovely on account of the beautiful flowers; it is thickly covered with excellent trees bent (under the weight of) their ripe fruits; it is adorned by all sorts of ripe crops, and furnished with every kind of riches. It is a mine of knowledge sprung forth from that gem which is the teaching of Śākyamuni; every creature practises the white *dharma*. It is the place to which refers the prophecy of the *Prajñāparamitā* when it says:

'it is the abode of many Buddhist *paṇḍitas*'.

From there (we went) to Śrīnagara, (formerly) a town of three million and six hundred thousand inhabitants; having been ravaged by the Hor now (they have been reduced) to no more than three millions ¹²¹. Then we went to Vatipur ¹²² where the saffron grows. Then we arrived at Bhejibhara ¹²³, which counts nine hundred thousand inhabitants. There he asked many sacred *mantras* of Śaṃvara and other *Tantras* of 'Bum mi śri la' ¹²⁴ and of other *paṇḍitas*. As they entered the town for alms, many children began to hit them with bricks; but two girls saved them, led them into a house, but gave them no food.

Then came an old man who was the householder and (said to us) 'If you do not stay (in my house) one day, it will be a shame to me'. Then, having paid homage to us, he asked: 'Who are you?'. We replied: 'We are religious men from Tibet and have gone on pilgrimage to U rgyan'. They felt some doubts and called for a student who asked: 'If you are men of the Law, what kind of Law do you know?'.

Since I replied that I knew the *Abhidharma* (*mñon pa*), we agreed upon logic and discussed together; he acknowledged that it was true (that I knew the Law).

Then he asked: 'Besides this system, what else do you know?' When I said: 'The *Kālacakra*' he replied: 'It is false', and was surprised ¹²⁵. I insisted that it was true; then they called a student in order to see whether I had said the truth or not, and after discussing the subject he recognised

¹¹⁹[3] rDo rje mu la (lower down 'Varamula') is a curious name half Tibetan and half Sanskritic: it evidently derives from a vernacular form of Varahamula (now Baramula) where the first part of the word was taken by O rgyan pa as a corruption of *vajra*.

¹²⁰[1] Kamapara is a corruption of Kamalasara = Wular lake.

¹²¹[2] The number is, as usual, exaggerated.

¹²²[3] Vatipur, farther below: Varipur, is a corruption for Avantipur; this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur.

¹²³[4] Vijayajeśvara, now Bij-behara, Bijbiara.

¹²⁴[5] Bhumiśila?

¹²⁵[6] The *Kālacakra* is still considered in Tibet as one of the most difficult Tantric systems.

that I was a learned man. Then they sent for [405] an old man who could recite by heart the *Vimalaprabhā* ¹²⁶; both the husband and his wife were famous for their learning all over Kashmir. I discussed with the wife and got myself out fairly well.

The lady said: 'O learned man, what (else) do you know or have heard?'

I replied: 'I have thrown away all objects of knowledge as grass, and having gone to O rgyan and to other holy places I have forgotten (everything)'. Then they agreed that I really was a Tibetan *paṇḍita* and were pleased. Since I was made known by the name of 'Hor' which I had formerly been given by the boy (who had thrown bricks at him), the king as soon as he was aware (of this fact) sent some policemen to catch me, and from midnight to the day-light (my host) said to the king that I belonged to another religion and was not a Hor. But he did not listen to him. Then the others having relinquished my protector, my protector said: 'It is better to escape'. Then, wearing Kashmiri dress we went to a ford of a big river, (but we found there) a group of about thirty Indian rascals, who said: 'The men whom we want are here', laid hold of us, and took off our dress. We asked: 'What will be done to us?' 'You will be led to the presence of the king and killed; until that, there is nothing to do'. – 'If we are to be killed before the king, we should be happy to die here'.

Then turning downwards we laid the head on the crossed arms and slept; (then they said: 'While they stay here, let us go to eat') and they went away.

We ran away very quickly without touching as it were the earth; but, since a great wind-storm arose, even our traces were not visible. Then, restraining our breath, we went to a river which was running very slowly, and with great facility, without sinking as it were in the water, we reached the other shore. That day we stayed with some young shepherds who happened to be there, and in the night we slept in a heap of grass; in the morning we went for alms and somebody gave us some worn clothes.

From that place after one month to the east
we went to Varipur, the steadfast throne of Kashmir;
in its fields saffron grows,
but I did not carry away even a pistil of that flower.

[406] When we reached a pass on the way from Kashmir among a crowd of women wearing furred coats, there walked about five hundred women who had the hair loose on the back. They asked: 'Wherefrom do you come? Whereto are you going?'; I replied: 'We come from O rgyan and go to sBud bkra' ¹²⁷. 'O great man, your enterprise is fulfilled'. So they said, and suddenly disappeared. Afterwards the *mK'an po bsGrub rin* asked me if those women were *ḍākinis* of that time, and I agreed that they looked so.

¹²⁶[1] This is the commentary upon the *Kālacakra*.

¹²⁷[1] The residence of rGod ts'an pa.

Then we reached Jālandhara, and after a few days some Kashmiri merchants happened to be there, and asked us: 'Where do you come from?' 'We are Tibetan monks gone on pilgrimage to O rgyan. On our way back we came to Kashmir and your king (wanted to) kill us both'. They looked astonished and said: 'Perhaps you are a *siddha*. When the king sent some men to catch you, a kind of rainbow in the sky gradually vanished'.

Greatly astonished they made me great honour and many offerings and I began to be famous even in Jālandhara as a monk from Tibet who had gone on pilgrimage to O rgyan and had got there miraculous powers.

Then we went to Mar yul ¹²⁸.

¹²⁸[2] The short-way for going to Mar yul (Ladakh) would have been to cross the Zoji la; I cannot understand why they took the long way to Kangra and Lahul.

PART III

TRAVELS OF S'TAG TS'AN RAS PA

(2, a) Even sTag ts'an ras pa starts from Tse and through Myañ po ri rdsoñ¹²⁹ and Pretapuri, a day's journey only from that place¹³⁰, enters the province of Guge¹³¹ in Žaň žuň – (*Žaň žuň gi yul Gu* [407] *ge*¹³²). He then reaches K'yuň luň¹³³ and after five days he halts at the bottom of the Sarang la¹³⁴. Having crossed this pass, he enters the narrow valley (*ron*) of Ku nu and through rNam rgyal¹³⁵, Pu, Sa, he arrives after two days at So raň and then sets out to K'yags¹³⁶; in five days he reaches Su ge t'an¹³⁷ and after three days more Dsva la mu khe. In the proximity, there is a warm rock which is said to have been the meditation-hut of Nāgārjuna (2, b). Then in one day, the pilgrim reaches Dsalandhara – one of the twenty-four limbs of the *vajrakāya*; it is also called by the Indians Kañkarkoṭ (Kangra) and by the Tibetans Nagarkoṭ (2, b).

To the east of this place there is a temple in the shape of a *stūpa*, in whose interior one can see a stone image called Mahādurkha¹³⁸, and it is said to be the abode of the goddess rDo rje p'ag mo. On the four sides there are four holes for the four magic *karma*: to the north there is a place for bloody sacrifices (*dmaz mc'od*).

¹²⁹[3] Myañ po ri rdsoñ is in the proximity of Dulchu gompa.

¹³⁰[4] Pretapuri is the same as Tirthapuri (see above, p. 376). In the *dkar c'ag* or *mahātmya* of the monastery the name is mis-spelt as gNas tre bsta puri, an evident corruption of Tirthapuri through the colloquial Tretapuri. This *mahātmya* is preserved in the monastery and its title is: *gNas tre bsta puri gyi gnas yigs* (= *yig*) *dkar c'ag* (Ms. c'ags) *gsal ba'i me loň* (Ms. loň). Pretapuri seems to be the original name, since Pretapuri is included in the list of 24 places presided over by the 24 *viras*. See Tucci, *Indo Tibetica*, III, Part II, p. 42; *Padma t'an yig*, Chap. V. The place was named Pretapuri perhaps on account of the hot springs of sulphur which are to be found there and were considered as being connected with chthonian deities. On Pretapuri – Tirthapuri see Tucci, *Santi e briganti...*, p. 120.

¹³¹[5] That points to Pal kye, where vast ruins are still to be seen. See Tucci, *Santi e briganti...*, p. 132.

¹³²[1] On the relation between Žaň žuň and Guge see above, p. 377.

¹³³[2] K'yuň luň (the valley of K'yuň), as I stated in the above work, was a very big town, still considered by the Bon pos as one of their holiest places: *mNul mk'ar*, 'the silver castle' of K'yuň, is still invoked in the prayers of the Bon pos.

¹³⁴[3] I hardly think that the distance between K'yuň luň and the Sarang la can be covered in five days.

¹³⁵[4] rNam rgyal is Namgyal of the maps at the bottom of the Shipki pass on the Indian side.

¹³⁶[5] Pu is of course Poo of the maps and Sa is Sasu between Poo and Kanam. So raň is Sarahan, the summer residence of the *raja* of Bashahr; perhaps K'yags is the same as rGya sKyags of O rgyan pa. See above, p. 394.

¹³⁷[6] Su ge t'an is, I think, Suket.

¹³⁸[7] Mahadurga.

Even sTag ts'an ras pa refers to a practice of the Hindu pilgrims mentioned by early Persian and European travellers: that on the eastern side people used to cut their tongues believing that it would grow again within three days ¹³⁹.

Then, to the south of this place, sTag ts'an ras pa went to Laṅgura ¹⁴⁰, one of the eight cemeteries with its peculiar tree; people used to offer bloody sacrifices to a *nagavrkṣa* which grows there. Not very far, there is a cave where the Tibetan ascetic rGod ts'an pa spent some time in meditation. Tibetan pilgrims use to reside there: in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the holiday which commemorates the miraculous exhibitions of the Buddha, all believers [408] (*nañ pa*) ¹⁴¹ of India assemble in the place and make offering. During the festival-ceremony after the new moon, *yogins* (*dso ki*), *sannyāsins* (*se ña si*), and Tibetan pilgrims perform their worship without distinction in the royal palace. In a piece of land between two rivers, flowing in that cemetery, there is a boulder looking like a skull, where one can see quite clearly the image of rNal 'byor ma. ¹⁴² sTag ts'an ras pa could not accept the local tradition which saw in the stone the miraculous image of Gaṇapati with the elephant's trunk (3, a). To the north of this place there is a hillock called Kha' nu ma o tre (Hanuman?).

The king of Kaṅkarkoṭ, which is a very pleasant and fertile country and inhabited by a good-looking people, is a believer; in his family there has been an incarnation of 'Kor lo sdom pa ¹⁴³, therefore, in the country there are many *sannyāsins* and *yogins*.

One day to the west of Kaṅkarkoṭ, there is Nu ru p'u; then the itinerary of the pilgrim runs through Śrīnagara, Paṭhanna Nosara, Kathuhara, Pa ru rda, Paṭhanmusur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhets'arbhura ¹⁴⁴, Sa la kan ṭha, So ṭa ko ṭa, Gho tso ra ka; within two days from this place he reached Ba la na ga ra ti la, the residence of many *yogins*. On the southern side of a hill in its proximity one can see upon the rock a very clear miraculous image of O rgyan. That is also the place where two famous *yogins*, Dsin ta pir ¹⁴⁵ and Dsāpir, disappeared into the earth. This return to Kashmir from Gujrāt seems to show that the pilgrims were afraid to proceed any further.

Then he went to Kashmir, of which he gives a general description very similar to that found in the *lam yig* of O rgyan pa. To the west, in a piece of land between two rivers, there is Rva me

¹³⁹[8] For European and Indian references on this subject, see J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 110.

¹⁴⁰[9] On this cemetery, see above, p. 381.

¹⁴¹[1] For sTag ts'an the word 'believers' seems to include not only the Buddhists, but also the Hindus as opposed to the Mohammedans.

¹⁴²[2] Viz. Yogini, in this case Vajaravahī.

¹⁴³[3] Viz. of *Cakra-Śamvara*. On this Tantric cycle see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴[4] Some places can be identified: Nu ru p'u is Nurpur. Paṭhanna perhaps corresponds to Pathankot, Kathuhara is Kathua or Kathlaur. Salau may correspond to Salathia. Sa la kan ṭa to Sialkot. Gho tso ra ka to Gujrāt; anyhow it is clear that sTag ts'an went from Nurpur to Jammu and from there proceeded to Kashmir.

¹⁴⁵[5] These two names seem to be mis-spelt, at least it is difficult to recognize the original form of them: the name 'pir', though specially used for Mohammedan saints, is also occasionally applied to Indian *sādhus*.

śva ra ¹⁴⁶, which corresponds to the eye-brows of the *vajrakāya*. To the east there is the *stūpa* of Pañ pu re ¹⁴⁷ in the middle of a lake. That *stūpa* was erected [409] in order to commemorate the miracle of the *arhat* Nī ma guñ pa (Madhyandina) who, sitting in meditation, over-powered the *nāgas* who wanted to disturb him; the fierce winds which they roused were unable to move even the border of his clothes, and the weapons they threw upon him turned into flowers; being unsuccessful in their attempts, they requested him to ask for whatever he wanted and he replied that he desired as much ground as was necessary for him to sit in *vajraparyāṅka* (3, b). So all the lake dried up and in the surface which thus emerged there is a town with three million and six hundred inhabitants ¹⁴⁸. There is also a grove, the Kashmirian residence of Nāropā.

The capital of Kashmir is a big town called Na ga ra ¹⁴⁹; there is a temple of the unbelievers called Bha ro ma tsi ¹⁵⁰ which is adorned by four hundred pillars. In Pa lhar sgañ ¹⁵¹ there is an image of sGrol ma inside a well. To the east there is a hill called sTag si li ma ¹⁵² said to be Gru 'dsin ¹⁵³.

Then in one day the pilgrim reached Puśpahari ¹⁵⁴ where he stopped for seven days (4, b). Then, leaving in Kashmir his three companions suffering from fever and anxious to go back, he went to see the rock Sen ta ¹⁵⁵, from where water runs from the fifteenth day of the fourteenth lunar mansion up to the fifteenth day of the eighteenth lunar mansion. This place corresponds to the fingers of the *vajrakāya* and was still in the hands of the believers.

Returning to his friends who were run down by disease, he went along with them to Varan ¹⁵⁶, but on the way to Maṭe ¹⁵⁷ one of his companions died and another, Grags pa rgya mt'so by name, passed away in Maṭe. So only Drañ po bzañ po was left (5, a). They spent there [410] three days and went up to a high pass ¹⁵⁸. sTag ts'añ halted in the evening on the top, but since

¹⁴⁶[6] See above, p. 403.

¹⁴⁷[7] Viz. Pampur.

¹⁴⁸[1] On this legend and its source see Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art*, London, 1926, pp. 233-235.

¹⁴⁹[2] Abbreviation for Srinagara.

¹⁵⁰[3] This is the Boromasjid.

¹⁵¹[4] I cannot identify Pa lhar sgañ; I suppose that it is to be identified with the Parvati hill.

¹⁵²[5] Takht-i-Suleiman.

¹⁵³[6] Potala, the abode of Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁵⁴[7] Also called in the Tibetan biographies of Nāropā, Marpa and Mīlaraspa: Phulahari, 'mountain of flowers'.

¹⁵⁵[8] This spring is sacred to the Goddess Saṃdhya and is called now Sundbrar. Stein, *Kathāna's Chronicle of Kaśmīr*, II, p. 469: 'The spring of Saṃdhya derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night'.

¹⁵⁶[9] Unidentified.

¹⁵⁷[10] I suppose Mutti on the river Brinvar.

¹⁵⁸[1] Perhaps the Shilsar Pass.

his companion did not arrive, on the following day he returned back thinking that either he had died or was unable to proceed; he met him near half-way below the pass, but on that day it was impossible to go any farther on account of the snow which fell heavily; next day they started and crossed the pass with great difficulty and having recourse (5, b) to some *yoga* practices; after fifteen days they reached the Tibetan *Zaṅs dkar*, where they met the great *siddha* bDe ba rgya mts'o who invited them to spend some time in retreat in the place where he used to meditate. Behind it, there is the magic shield ¹⁵⁹ of Nāropā; they spent two months in that place. Then, when their companions arrived from Nagarkot, intending to go to Ga śa ¹⁶⁰, the place of the *ḍākinīs*, they went to 'Bar gdan ¹⁶¹ and from there, having taken leave from bDe ba rgya mts'o and his disciples, they reached Ga śa. The king of this place, Ts'e riñ dpal lde ¹⁶², rendered service to them for three months. Then in K'añ gsar ¹⁶³ they were attended upon by the younger sister of the king with her son; she was called bSod nams. They explained various doctrines, such as the *mahāmudrā*, the six laws of Nāropā ¹⁶⁴, the *prāṇayoga*, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa and Dvags po rje ¹⁶⁵, the story of the law ¹⁶⁶, the *Mañi bka' 'bum* ¹⁶⁷ etc. They also visited the places near Lāhul, such as Gandhola, Gusa maṇḍala ¹⁶⁸, Re p'ag and Maru, corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya* ¹⁶⁹. In winter they [411] sat in retreat for six months in gYur rdsoñ. Then, for two months they went to Dar rtse ¹⁷⁰, where was the king. Altogether they spent an entire year in Ga śa. After that, while his companions remained there, he went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K'añ gsar, sKye nañ ¹⁷¹, Gusamaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluṭa corresponding to the knees of the *vajrakāya*; then in two days he reached Re p'ag, where there is the image of sPyañ ras gzigs

¹⁵⁹[2] The text has *p'ub*, but I think there is a mistake, the exact reading being *p'ug*, 'cave'.

¹⁶⁰[3] Ga śa = Garśa, the usual Tibetan name for Lahul.

¹⁶¹[4] This is perhaps Padam, the chief village of *Zaṅs dkar*, though in the *Chronicles* edited by Francke the name of this place is spelt on p. 164 Dpal ldem (p. 166: dPa gium).

¹⁶²[5] This king is to be identified with Ts'e riñ rgyal po, brother (Francke, 'Chronicles of Tinan', *ibid.*, p. 212) or son ('Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Tinan', *ibid.*, p. 216) of bSod nams rgya mts'o; perhaps the same as Ts'e riñ se grub of the document referred to *ibid.* at p. 218 (about 1569 A.D.).

¹⁶³[6] On the left bank of the Bhaga river.

¹⁶⁴[7] Viz. the *Naropa'i c'os drug*, the fundamental book of the bKa' brgyud pa and the guide of their *hathayoga* practices.

¹⁶⁵[8] This is the *sampradāya* of the first masters of the bKa' brgyud pa sect.

¹⁶⁶[9] *c'os 'byuñ*. This is the general name for any history of the holy doctrines.

¹⁶⁷[10] The famous work attributed to Sroñ btsan sgam po.

¹⁶⁸[11] Gus on the Chandra River.

¹⁶⁹[12] See above, p. 379.

¹⁷⁰[1] The first village to be met when entering Lahul after crossing the Baralacha Pass.

¹⁷¹[2] Viz. Ti nañ.

in the form of 'Gro drug sgrol ye śes ¹⁷². The image is made in stone from Ka ma ru ¹⁷³. Then in one day to Maru, in two days to Pata; then to the bottom of the Ko ṭa la pass; having crossed the pass full of snow, he reached Paṅgi and then Sura and after two days Na raṅ. This country is called Ka ma ru and corresponds to the armpits of the vajrakaya. Having crossed another high pass, he reached in two days the narrow valley of Tsam bhe dam ¹⁷⁴, which he traversed in seven days. Then he found himself in Hindutam ¹⁷⁵. The itinerary then runs through: Nurup'u, Śrīnagara, Paṭhaṅga Nosara, Kaṭhuhar, Pāturar, Paṭhanmosur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhetsarbhura, Salakanṭha, Sauṭa Kauṭa, Ghotsoraka ¹⁷⁶, in whose proximity a big river coming from Kashmir runs to the south. Since in the itinerary of O rgyan pa it was stated that on the other side of this river there is a place called Va ra mi la, he (7, a) marched for four days towards the south, but could not find that place. His companion Ži ba rnam rgyal lost any faith in the itineraries and advised him to return. But he did not listen to him and went to the north-west; after fifteen days through a desert country he reached a place called Hi la. He asked there for the town called in the itinerary of O rgyan pa Hora and said to have 700,000 inhabitants; nobody could tell him anything about it. Nor had he better results when he enquired about the mountain of mineral salt called Baṅhoṭi ¹⁷⁷. They said anyhow that there were many places where one could find mines of mineral salt (Salt Range), the nearest being those of Tsośara (Sakesar?); having traversed for three days a desert country, they reached Muraga. There they forded [412] a big river (Jhelum) and after three days more they reached Tsośara. It is a valley stretching from north-west, where it is very high, to the south-east, where it is low. On its northern side there are many ravines facing south where there is mineral salt in the shape of rocks. To the south of this place there is the big country of Dhagan and that of Dsamola ¹⁷⁸ where there are many believers and many sects of monks. They come to take salt there from Nagarkoṭ up to Lahor and Abher, on the other side up to Gorsala ¹⁷⁹ and Ghoṭhaiasakam. In the old itineraries it is written that the salt of this place goes as far as O rgyan; but at the time of the author this commerce had stopped; anyhow even in O rgyan there is mineral salt of blue colour like crystal ¹⁸⁰. From Tsośara (6, b) he went to Dhośna (Dandot) and Vavula, then after two days to Maloṭṭa ¹⁸¹, where there is a temple founded by king Hu la, ruined by the soldiers of the Mugal. In the itinerary of O rgyan pa it is

¹⁷²[3] See Schubert, in *Artibus Asiae* III, 1928-29.

¹⁷³[4] The high valley of the Chandrabhaga.

¹⁷⁴[5] Viz. Chamba.

¹⁷⁵[6] Mis-spelling for Hindustan.

¹⁷⁶[7] See above.

¹⁷⁷[8] Cf. above, and note how the spelling of these places is different: in O rgyan pa it corresponds to Bhrahora, Bhahola: perhaps Bhera.

¹⁷⁸[1] Dhagan is Dekhan, and Dsamola is the Tamil Country (Dramida, Dramila).

¹⁷⁹[2] Perhaps Gujarat.

¹⁸⁰[3] It is in fact sold in the market of Mingora.

¹⁸¹[4] Maloṭṭa is Malot; see above.

stated that to the north-west of this place there is Rukāla, but nobody could give any information about this town. Anyhow, marching towards north-west, they met some Hor who were salt-traders; he enquired from them about Rukāla, but they replied that the place beyond was desert and full of brigands who were likely to kill them. They could give no information about the road. Proceeding farther, they had a narrow escape from five or six salt diggers who wanted to kill them; the next day (8, a) they turned back, but lost the way, went to the east and after some time they met some salt-traders; among them there was an old Brahmin who became a friend of the Tibetan pilgrims. These went along with the caravan until after nine days they met a salt-lake ¹⁸², on whose shore there was a large pasture-land. The pilgrim confesses to have forgotten the name of this lake. The merchants there carried their trade of salt and butter and then went away with the younger brother of the Brahmin; sTag ts'an resumed the march and after three days arrived at Rukāla ¹⁸³; then they went to Akkithial, [413] Bhahupur, Malapur, Uts'alapur, Sapunpur, Reuret, Aṭike in front of which runs the *Seṅ ge k'a 'bab*. Crossing this river, there is a place called *Ma ts'il ka na tha tril*; then there is Pora, Nośara (Nowshera), Mataṅana, Miṭhapāṇi. It is a spring which has a salt taste and it is said to be derived from the urine of Padmasambhava. They went farther on along with that old Brahmin, three *yogins* and a householder, Atumi by name (8, b). After having been detained by a man called Tsadulhayi ¹⁸⁴, who expressed the desire to accompany them but delayed the departure on account of some clothes that he had to wash or of the bad weather, they started again on the journey; but the old Brahmin left them and returned (9, a). The itinerary of sTag ts'an runs then through Mādha, Atsimi, Pakśili ¹⁸⁵, Dhamdhorī, Kīṭhar, Bhaṭhurvar, Paṭhapamge, Mutadni, Kapola, Kandhahar, Hasonagar.

Then they forded a river ¹⁸⁶ and resumed the journey through Paruka, Nasbhala, Sik'ir. Proceeding farther for half a day they met about sixteen brigands who boasted to be from Kapur, viz. from O rgyan. They hit the pilgrim on the head, cut his hair, took off his clothes and then sold him as a slave, for some silver *taṅk'as* and some *payesa* to two brothers. After having met another group of six brigands and still another brigand and paid the ransom, in the evening he reached with his proprietors Momolavajra (9, b). He was given some work to do, but at the fourth part of the day (*t'un*) he began reciting the prayers loudly. The old father of the house, in a fit of rage, hit him twice on the head so that he lost consciousness, but he recovered after having

¹⁸²[5] This is the salt-lake near Kallar Kahar. It took our pilgrim so many days reaching this place because, we are told, he went astray.

¹⁸³[6] As I stated before (p. 396), I supposed that Rukāla is the same as Rupwal. As to the names which follow, if the identification Rukāla-Rupwal is exact, Bhahupur might be Bakhuwala to the north of Khaur; Malapur is perhaps a mis-spelling for Kamalpur, and Utsalpur seems to correspond to Uchar (to the south of Campbellpur). Aṭike must be Atok: this identification is sure on account of the *Seṅ ge k'a 'bab* said in our text to be flowing near that place. The *Seṅ ge k'a 'bab* is the Tibetan name for the Indus.

¹⁸⁴[1] Perhaps a Mohammedan name: Shahidullah.

¹⁸⁵[2] Pakśili perhaps is Bakshali, in which case Mādha could be identified with Mardan. But it seems as if the pilgrim went astray: from Nowshera the distance to Buner and Swat cannot cover so many halts; perhaps nobody could understand what sTag ts'an ras pa meant for O rgyan, Udḍiyāna.

¹⁸⁶[3] Perhaps the Barandu.

recourse to some *yoga* practices and to the meditation on his *guru*. He escaped and arrived at a place called Sithar where he was caught again by the people. He told a Brahmin who happened to be there that he was a Tibetan not from Kashmir but from Mahācina; with his help he was released and at the suggestion of that same Brahmin he went to Bhyasahura, where he met many *yogins*. The chief of them was called Buddhanātha. He was received by them with great joy and was given the name of Śamonātha (11, b). Those ascetics had holes in the ears and were called Muṇḍa. Living [414] near *guru* Jñānanātha sTag ts'an learnt many doctrines of the *yogins*, such as Gurganātha¹⁸⁷. During his stay in that place he could assist in some wrestling performances in great fashion in that town. There was there a famous wrestler who was challenged one day by a Hor officer who boasted to be very clever in that very art. This Hor began fighting, but was easily overcome by the other who, though often requested by his badly injured rival to stop fighting, did not cease until that officer was killed. In the proximity there is one of the eight cemeteries, viz. that called Ts'an 'ur 'ur sgrogs pa, where there is a thick wood. Both believers and unbelievers carry there their corpses, the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many *ḍākinis* black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts or intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. In this place there are also performances. They fight one with a shield and another with a sword. If one breaks the shield that is all right; otherwise even if he is wounded or dies it is considered to be a shame (12, a). In that place in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the big holiday which commemorates the great miracle of Buddha, there is a great *melā* where many *yogins* and *sannyāsins* meet. They told him that he would have seen a great *yogin* hailing from O rgyan (13, a). In fact, he met him and he was astonished to see that he knew everything about his having been captured by the bandits, etc.

This *yogin* told him that he was bound for Hasonagar but that he would return within ten days to take him to O rgyan. Therefore, sTag ts'an ras pa waited in Bhyasahura for ten days; then, since the *yogin* did not come back, he decided to start alone. The *yogins* assembled in Bhyasahura and the great *pir* Buddhanātha advised him to go wherever he liked, either to Dhagan or to Hindutam or to Lahor save O rgyan; there were there too many Pathans who would have killed him (13, b). So he requested them to show him the way to Hindutam, but in fact he went to Hasonagar, where he enquired about the *yogin* from O rgyan who was called Pālanātha and succeeded in finding him. That Pālanātha was a Pathan by birth who, after having been an unbeliever, became converted and spent many years in O rgyan. Then they joined a party of traders and went along with them upwards. They crossed a small river and then, through Paruba, Nyapala, Apuka, [415] Killitila, Sikir¹⁸⁸, Momolavajra, Sinora, Pelahar, Muṭhilli, Muṣamli, Muṭhikṣi, Mahāṭilli, Satāhulda, Kalabhyatsi, Saṅgiladhuba, Gothaiaśakaṃ¹⁸⁹ they arrived at a

¹⁸⁷[1] I cannot find the origin of Śamonātha: is it Śambhunatha? Gurganatha is Gorakṣanatha.

¹⁸⁸[1] But before Sik'ir.

¹⁸⁹[2] These names have nothing in common with the toponymy of today: this means that sTag ts'an ras pa was there before the Yusufzais entered the country or gave the places a Pashtu name.

high pass; having crossed it, they arrived in the country of O rgyan. After three days they reached Dsomok'ati¹⁹⁰ where there is the palace of the king. This king was called Parts'agaya. He holds his sway over the 700,000 old towns of O rgyan. This king was an intimate friend of Pālanātha and therefore he gave them a guide who knew well the country. After five days they arrived at the mountain Yalom pelom¹⁹¹, said to be one of the eight Śrīparvatas to the Jambudvīpa. At its bottom there grows a medical herb called *jāti* and on its middle there are thick woods of white sandal. On the top there are field of saffron. In their middle there is a tank, where the king Indrabhūti used to bathe and on the border of this tank there are many chapels beautifully carved and adorned with beams of red sandal¹⁹². The top of this mountain is higher than the Himālayas. He resided there for seven days (14, a). In a desert valley near that mountain there are many wild animals and every sort of poisonous snakes. Then they went to the other side of the mountain (* 15, a), where there is a valley in the shape of a full-blown lotus with eight petals, stretching towards the south-west. After three days they arrived at K'arakśar¹⁹³; then after five days at Rāyiśar¹⁹⁴. Up to that point the custom of the people of O rgyan is like that of the Indians. But after that place it changes. Both men and women have a girth of jewels; this girth sometimes is in the shape of a snake of black colour, sometimes of a snake streaked. They wear a black hat of felt in the shape of a toupet which is adorned with many jewels; the women wear a cap like that of Padmasambhava, but without the hem. Both men and women wear earrings, bracelets and anklets made either of silver or of earth properly prepared. To the south-west side of this place there is the palace [416] of Indrabhūti with nine stories (15, b). But at this time there were only the ruins¹⁹⁵. Not very far, to the north-west, there is the place where Padmasambhava was burnt; the soil turned into clay. But there is no trace of the lake spoken of in the biography of the saint. After three days' march to the north-west there is a big place called Rahorbhyara. This place is so situated, that it takes seven days from whatever part one wants to reach it, either from the west or the east or the north or the south. In its middle there is the *vihāra* founded by king Indrabhūti the great and called Maṅgalahor¹⁹⁶. It possesses one hundred pillars and still has many chapels. Specially worthy of notice is the chapel of Guhyasamāja with its *maṅḍala*. To the north-west of this locality there are many places, but there are no temples nor things worth seeing. Therefore, both sTag ts'an ras pa and Pālanātha went back to Rāyiśar.

¹⁹⁰[3] Dsomok'ati is said, farther below, to be the place where all rivers of O rgyan meet, and on his way back to Kashmir sTag l'saṅ went straight from that town to the Indus; from there he also starts for the mountain llam. I therefore think that Dsomok'ati is to be located in the Barandu valley.

¹⁹¹[4] llam mountain, on which see above, p. 398.

¹⁹²[5] Nothing of this kind exists on the llam except a big stone on which 'śrīram' is written.

¹⁹³[6] Which seems to be the Karakar Pass.

¹⁹⁴[7] Rajgiri.

¹⁹⁵[1] Raja Gira's Castle?

¹⁹⁶[2] Mingora; Rahorbhyara and Mingora seem therefore to be identical or to be very near; in that case Rahorbhyara might be an ancient name for Saidu Sharif or any other village near Mingora.

Behind that place there is a small river; they forded it and after one day they arrived at Oḍiyāna ¹⁹⁷ (16, a); it was a big holiday corresponding to the tenth of the third month of the Buddhist calendar. All people were assembled and singing and dancing they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction. This place is the very core of O rgyan (16, b). To the west of it there is a small temple, where one can see the miraculous image of a *yoginī* of red sandal. To the back of that temple there lives a *yoginī*, Hudsunātha by name, more than a thousand years old though she looks about twenty-six or twenty-seven. From that place one can see the mountain called Kamalabir ¹⁹⁸ (17, a); its top is always covered by the splendour of the rainbow, but when the rainbow vanishes it looks like a helmet of silver. According to the Tāntric literature this mountain is known as the *dharmagañja* (the treasury of the Law) or the miraculous palace of Heruka. In front of it there is a cave which is the sacred cave of the *vajra*; or according to the itinerary of O rgyan pa the magic cave of Labapa. All the Indians call it Hadsikalpa and it is the abode of K'otas ¹⁹⁹. Behind that mountain there is a lake known as the 'Sindhu-ocean' of Dhanakośa ²⁰⁰; in colloquial language the Indians call it Samudrasintu. It was distant only one day's journey; [417] but Pālanātha told him that there was no need of going any farther, because behind the pass there was no place to be seen except the lake. To the south there is a small mountain where there is a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi or in colloquial: Āyurpāṇi because it bestows immortality (18, a) ²⁰¹. Then, they went back and in two days they arrived at Oḍiyāna, also called Dhumat'ala; then through Rāyīśar, Midora, K'aragśar, where there was a woman emitting fire from her mouth and dancing and singing like a mad person, whom nobody dared approach, Saṃdibhor, Kavoka, Bhyathabhasabhasor, Dsomok'aṭi was reached. The king at that time was in the park where he kept all sorts of animals, such as Persian lions, boars, etc. under the supervision of special stewards. While Pālanātha remained with the king, sTag ts'an went on his way for five days guided by a man appointed for this purpose by the king. He then forded the Sintupani (the Indus). The itinerary then runs through Radsahura, after two days, Nīla, Kamṭhe, Nepale, (19, a) Nīla'u, Laṅka, Horaña, Asakamni, Mahātsindhe, Ghelamri after six days, Gorśala, then again after two days Kalpa, Rukāla, Rahorbunḍa, Ravata, Satā, Hati, Tsiuru, Rutā ²⁰², Dselom, Sara, Bhebar, Nośara, Ratsuga. After three days he reached Lithanna, then crossed two passes and reached a narrow valley. Having then crossed another high pass called Pirbañtsa ²⁰³, after two days he arrived in Kashmir, where he went to pay a visit to the famous place Puśpahari in the lower part of which there are fields of saffron. In the proximity of these there is

¹⁹⁷[3] Udegram, below Rājgiri.

¹⁹⁸[4] The same as the mountain Kama-'onka, Kamadhoka of O rgyan pa. Certainly Mankyal.

¹⁹⁹[5] The meaning or the Sanskrit equivalent of this word is quite unknown to me.

²⁰⁰[6] Makodan to the north of Upshu?

²⁰¹[1] Perhaps the sulphur spring near Kaṭelai to the west of Saidu.

²⁰²[2] From Ruta to Kashmir the route can easily be followed; it is the old route through the Pir Pañjal Pass, practically abandoned after the extension of the railway to Rawalpindi; Ruta is Rohtas; Dselom is Jhelum; Bhebar is Bhimber.

²⁰³[3] Lithanna is perhaps Thannamang. Pirbañtsa is evidently Pir Pañjal.

a bazaar called Spañpor²⁰⁴. After having bathed in the spring of the rock called Sandha²⁰⁵, he returned to Kashmir proper. At last, having crossed a pass, he arrived after two days at Varan; then he went to Mate and after ten days through a desert country he was in the Tibetan Zañs dkar. Finally, he reached Mar yul, where he was properly received by the king and his ministers.

In conclusion, we must say that we are here confronted with three itineraries which cannot always be exactly followed in the maps because many names are misspelt, as I said, no distances are given, and lastly many names are changed chiefly after the Moghul conquest and the Pashtu invasion in the North-Western Province.

[418] We can roughly say that rGod ts'añ pa went to Lāhul, Triloknāth, Chamba, Nagarkot (i.e. Kangra), Jvālāmukhī, Jalandhara; then on his way back he went to Kulu, Lāhul, Tibet. The itinerary of O rgyan pa is more detailed; we can roughly follow him from Kulu, Kangra, Jalandhara, the ford of the Chandrabhaga (Chenab), a place near Jhelum or Jhelum itself, Malot, the Salt Range; having crossed the Indus near Attock, he then proceeded to Buner (Bhonele), the Karākar pass, went to Rājgiri (Rayik'ar) and reached the very core of O rgyan, Kaṭelai, Saidu, Mingora. Then he returned to Tibet through the Hazara district and Kashmir.

We can gather from O rgyan pa that at the time of his travels some Hindu principalities had survived in Swat, though the country appears to be under the suzerainty of the Afghans as a vassal state, or various vassal states, if a king could give him a letter of introduction to the people of Swat. The Pashtu had not yet arrived.

sTag ts'añ ras pa follows the Sulej, Jvālāmukhī, Kangra, Gujrāt, Kashmir, Zañs dkar, Lāhul, Gujrāt. Then, though he seems to have used as his guide the *lam yig* of O rgyan pa, he went astray and only occasionally do we find, though with a different spelling, the names which we read in that same *lam yig*. The historical setting had changed, new names had been given to the old villages, the situation was less safe. Oḍḍiyāna is located near Rāyīśar which I think is Rājgiri, but in another place it is situated to the south. The centre of O rgyan remains anyhow Dhumat'ala, which must be Mingora (cf. T'a lo monastery of Sung Yün, and the name of the village of Te le gtum) misplaced. The only fact of interest which we can gather from the book of sTag t'sañ ras pa, is that the local people had not yet adopted the Pathan dress of today, and that this seems to resemble that of the Kafirs; therefore, we are at the very beginning of the Yusufzai invasion.

To sum up, we can gather no conclusive facts from these Tibetan pilgrims; the best diary is certainly that of rGod tsan pa, though limited in extent. That of O rgyan pa has a personal touch, but nothing important can be found in it concerning Swat. The only thing worth remembering, as I said before, is that we find both in O rgyan pa and in sTag ts'añ ras pa the reflex of a different historical situation, that the habits of the people were not yet completely islamized, that there were survivals both of Buddhism and Hinduism, and that the ancient monuments were in a far better condition than they are today, though it is a matter of regret that the Tibetan pilgrims did not think it worth while to write a more detailed description of them.

²⁰⁴[4] Probably Pampur.

²⁰⁵[5] Cf. above, p. 409, n. 8.

[The Tibetan text has been revised by Prof. Luciano Petech]

TIBETAN TEXTS¹*From the biography of rGod t'sari pa*

[87] (42a) *Zaň ŝuň gi yul nas yar byon pas, lam de na gnas c'en Tre ta pu ri bya ba yul űi ŝu rtsa bŝii naň nas skui ak'or lo ste. de yaň luň pa gsum (42b) adus pai mdo na, ri c'en yo gcig yod pai rtsa ba na mar la c'u bo Gaň gā aňab pa. dei gram na dbaň p'yug c'en poi lha brten gsum yod pa...der žag ŝas bžugs pas, űams daň dge sbyor ŝin tu aň'el bas, gnas de byin brlabs ŝin tu c'e ba gcig adug. De nas mar byon pa Žaň žun gi yul Gu ge Maň naň bya ba na, Jo bo A ti ŝai bžugs gnas dňos grub (43a) kyi c'u mig gton pa yaň adug ciň, de nas mar byon pas, Žaň žuň mT'o ldiň gi gtsug lag k'aň na Lha btsun Byaň c'ub 'od kyi bžugs gnas la sogs yaň ml'oň. C'u c'en po t'ams cad la ts' am ts'om med par rgal bas kyaň mt'ar žiň, sku lus kyaň ŝin tu gzo mdog bde bar byuň. De nas Žaň žuň gi yul de rgal nas, Pi ti Bi lcogs gi² stod na, grub t'ob c'en po K'a rag pa bya ba lo sum cu skyil kruňs ma žig par rdsogs pa c'en poi dgoňs pa la mňam rjes med pa daň mjal nas, c'os žus pas aňul ba dgos gsuň "ned sprañ po yin aňul ba med" byas pas, "aňul ba med na. gdam űag mi gter" gsuň; der yid kyis yan lag bdun p'ul bas, "da byas pas, mc'og pa adug" gsuň nas, k'yab³ gdal c'en po rNam par snaň mdsad kyi⁴ dgoňs pa, gsal la adsin med Mi skyod pai dgoňs pa, mňam űid lhun grub Rin aňyuň gi dgoňs pa, bde stoň blo adas, (43b) sNaň ba mt'a' yas kyi dgoňs pa, p'rin las lhun grub Don grub kyi dgoňs pa žes dgoňs pa lňai gdam űag gsuň. De nas yar ts'ad du byon pas, dgon c'uň gcig na, dge sloň sgres po hũm gcig po adreň pa gcig adug; k'oň gis hũm bgraňs pai dus su, mam rtog [88] t'ams cad raň aňags la aňro bai grub t'ob gcig adug; de nas yar byon pa na, grub t'ob c'en po Brag smug pa bya ba gcig daň mjal bas, bla ma de tiň űe adsin la dus rgyun du bžugs pas, mi la gsuňs skad cig tsam yaň mi smra.....*

(44a) *de nas Gar ŝar byon pas, de na ri bo Gandha la bya ba na, ri dpag ts'ad cig yod pa; ri dei rise mō na Dharma mutri bya ba mc'od rten raň aňyuň gcig bžugs pa gzigs. p'yogs bži nas dňos grub kyi c'u daň ŝiň yod pa dpa' bo daň mK'a' aňro rñams kyi byin gyis rlabs pai gnas, grub t'ob pai maľ abyor p'o mo maň du bžugs pa gžan las k'yad par du aň'ags pai gnas cig adug; groň ltag gcig na dgon pa adra adug ste; der bžugs sňuň ma adod nas, mgar lo tsa ba can du byon nas Dsva lan dha rar abyon pai lo rgyus gsuňs pas, k'yed p'yin pai mi yoň, aťs'o ba yaň dkon.....*

(44b) *der k'on gis rgyags kyaň bskur lo ts'a gcig kyaň btaň nas, Cambe rgyal poi blon po Su tu bya ba la sgrags nas, sgom c'en ađi gňis mgo t'on cig gsuň nas, bka' bgro legs par mdsad nas, byon pa yin gsuň. De nas Gar ŝa nas žags gsum soň ba na, gaňs la t'on po gcig gi tsar p'ebs pas, la rtsab po me loň adra ba mt'o bo nam mk'a' la sňeg pa adra ba adug pas, ađi la ci tsug⁵ byas*

¹ [1] In this Tibetan text I have adopted my usual transcription: 'a' for 'h' employed in the English text.

² [2] Ms.: *Gis Bstod*.

³ [3] Ms.: *K'yad*.

⁴ [4] Ms.: *Kyis*.

⁵ [1] Ms. *aji tsug*.

agro sñam pa byuñ bas, Mon pa k'ur pa mañ po adug ste; adi ts'oi t'ar na, ned ts'oi yañ t'ar yoñ sñam dgoñs nas, der k'o cag sta gris lam stegs brus nas, agro yin adug pas, ned kyis kyañ k'o. (45a) cag gi rjes la p'yin pas, ñi ma p'yed tsam la k'ar brtol⁶ bas, t'ur de bas kyañ rtsub par adug. adi la yañ ji ltar agro sñam adra k'um pa cig byuñ bas yañ Mon pa cig ston par byas, rked⁷ la t'ag pa btags te; sta gris⁸ tog k'un brus⁹ nas, agro yin adug ñed gnis pos kyañ go le p'yin pas, nam sros pa dañ lai rtsa bar p'ebbs....De nas, ñi ma bcu gñis tsam nas, Cambhe rgyal sar p'ebbs pas, der Mon yul gyi, (45b) ri t'ams cad zad nas, rgya gar gyi t'añ [89] lag mt'il ltar sñoms par adug; mi abru dañ k'a zas dgo¹⁰ ba la sogs pa šin tu bzañ po, bur šin gyi ts'al sño liñ ne ba šin tu mdses pa ñams dga' bar adug. De na rgyal po Bi tsi kra ma bya ba la blon po bdun stoñ yod pa; blon po re re la yañ dmag bdun stoñ bdun stoñ yod pa adug gsuñ. Dei lcags rii nañ du lo tsts'a bas da ma ru bkrol ba dañ po brañ dei mi dañ groñ k'yer mi t'ams cad nas blta žin adug, rgyal po k'oñ rañ yañ bsil k'añ gcig gi steñ na bžugs nas, par pir mañ po smra yin adug.

(46a) Der žag lña drug tsam gcig bžugs pas šin tu skyid par byuñ gsuñ. de nas ñi ma gsum byon pas, Dsā lan dha rar ap'ebbs pas, mi mañ po gcig gi¹¹ gseb nas skyes pa gcig Rin po c'ei sñon du 'oñs nas, "gu ru gu ru" zer p'yag nas k'rid nas, gsol ba bzañ po gcig žus pa yin gsuñ. De yañ Dsā lan dha ra žes bya ba de yul ñi šu rtsa bžii yal adab yin žin p'yi rol gyi yul ñi šu rtsa bži ni adsam bu gliñ na adul bya rags pa ñi šu rtsa bži la adul bya kyi sprul pa He ru ka ñi šu rtsa bži yod; gsañ bai yul ñi šu rtsa bži ni dkyil ak'or gyi sku gsuñ t'ugs kyi ak'or lo la yod; nañ gi yul ñi šu rtsa bži ni rañ gi lus la yod de.

(46b) Dsa lan dha ra na dpa' bo mka' agro sprin t'ibs pa bžin du gnas so. de yañ gnas dei bkod pa ni, t'añ lag mt'il ltar mñan žin bde ba la byañ c'ub kyi šin dañ ta la dañ t'añ šin la sogs pas šin sna ts'ogs skyes pa, ar bar skyur gsum la sogs pai sman sna ts'ogs skyes pa, co li dañ ño li¹² k'am bu dañ star k'a la sogs pai šin t'og¹³ sna ts'ogs pa, pad mo dañ ku mu ta puñda ri ka la sogs pai me tog sna ts'ogs skyes pa; rma bya dañ ne tso dañ k'ruñ la sogs pai adab c'ags mañ poi sgra brñan sgrog pa, k'ri brñan dañ ru ru stag dañ guñ la sogs pai mdses pai ri dags mañ po ak'rol bai gnas de p'yi rañ bžin gyi gžal yas k'añ du yod pa, nañ bcud lha mor gnas pa; de yañ gyas gyon gñis na c'u bo c'en po gñis rgyug ciñ [90] adus pai gsum mdo. (47a) ri deu c'en po glañ po ñal ba adra ba gcig gi mk'al k'uñ na, Na ga ko tre žes bya bai groñ k'yer stoñ ts'o lña yod ciñ; ri bo dei sna la, Dsa la mugžes bya bai gtsug lag k'añ c'en po žig yod do. de la p'yi nañ gñis kai mc'od pa abul žin; de na groñ k'yer sum cu rtsa tsam dkon gñer adug Rin po c'e pas p'ebbs pai ñin mo Dsva la mu k'er¹⁴ byon pas, dei nub mo groñ pai c'os gyis ma gos pai bu mo drug bcu

⁶ [2] Ms. *brtel*.

⁷ [3] Ms. *skyed*.

⁸ [4] Ms. *sta ris*.

⁹ [5] Ms. *grus*.

¹⁰ [1] Ms. *go*.

¹¹ [2] Ms.: *gis*.

¹² [3] Same as *ña ti*.

¹³ [4] Ms. *t'ogs*.

¹⁴ [1] Ms. *Dsvala mu šer*.

bdun bcu tsam mdses šin yid du 'on ba lhai bu mo dan adra ba mts'on sna lna las byas pas, na bza' gsol ba, rin po c'ei dbu rgyan la sogs pa rgyan du mai rgyan adug cin; de t'ams cad kyi p'yag na, la la me tog, la la bdug spos la sogs pai mc'od rdsas mam pa sna ts'ogs t'ogs pas, bu mo mams lha k'añ gi nañ du ras kyis mgo bo gtums nas agro yin adug pas; der Rin po c'e bas kyañ byon pas, rigs nan gyis sgo bsruñs kyi dbyug pa t'ogs nas byon du ma bcug pas, der ts'am ts'om med par sgo p'ul nas, nañ du p'yin pas, k'o rañ greñ nas brdeg ma nus par nañ du byon pa dan gtso mo gcig pa (47b) na re; iddhi bhei ša idha da ki ai, zer "adir sdod adi ts'o mk'a' agro yin" bya bar adug der gtso mo des glu skad bsgyur ba dan snar gyi bu mo ts'o rig ma bcu drug gam lha mo ni šu ltar du me tog dan bdug spos la sogs pas mc'od rdsas sna ts'ogs kyis mc'od cin nag gis glu len p'yag gis gar sgyur žabs kyi bro brduñ.

(47 bis, a) groñ k'yer c'en po dei mdun na mar la dur k'rod c'en po lna adug, dur k'rod dan po de Ka ma ku ldan sar bya ba na bram ze la sogs pa ro gtsañ ma skyel ba cig adug. Dei 'og na P'a ga su bya bai dur k'rod gcig. (47 bis, b) de yañ t'añ bde žin sñoms pa la ri deu abur ba gcig adug. Dei k'a na mu stegs kyi lha k'añ cig adug, bcom ldan adas bDe mc'og gi bžugs gnas yin. dei 'og na dur k'rod c'en po La gu ra bya ba adug ste De yañ c'os abyun gi dbyibs su adug. a li ka li mts'on pai brdar ni ma dan zla bai zgugs brñan yod pa. de gñis kyi bar na ka ba adra ba gcig la rje btsun mal abyor [91] mai rten rañ byuñ du byon pa gcig bžugs. dei 'og na dur k'rod c'en po mi bkra (48a) sa ra bya ba byin brlabs šin tu c'e bai gnas bkra šis pai mts'an ma du ma dan ldan pa gcig yod. dei 'og na dur k'rod Si ti sa ra bya ba dpa' bo dan mk'a agro rim kyis adu ba. Dur k'rod c'en po de mams su žag aña' bžugs pai dge sbyor ap'el bar abyun žin k'yad par du La gu ra dan P'a ga su ra gñis su mañ du bžugs pas bogs šin tu c'e bar byuñ. [groñ k'yer de na mu stegs pa dan nañ pai mal abyor pa btsun pa dan bram ze la sogs pai bsod sñoms pa mañ po adug. bsloñ bai dus ts'od ni k'yim gyi bdag mo de ni ma dro¹⁵ tsam la lañs nas, k'yim la p'yag gdar legs par byas ba, (48b) glañ ajud pas sa ts'un c'od la p'yag gdar byed. lar k'on gis k'yim t'ams cad dge adun gyi kun dga' bas kyañ gtsañ ba, gyen la sogs la ri mo sna ts'ogs bris pa, gyos k'añ re logs na byas nas, der abras c'an btsos pa dan k'yim bdag mo dei til gyis mar me bzañ po re k'yer, dri bzañs kyi spos me re btañ mk'ar sder gcig tu abras c'an¹⁶ ts'um pa re k'yer, p'yi rol tu 'oñs nas bza' ts'o k'rus byas nas ni ma dan zla ba la mc'od pa p'ul; de nas dbañ p'yug c'en poi rten dan p'yi sgoi lha mo dan nañ sgoi lha mo la mc'od pa p'ul; de nas nañ du 'oñs nas k'yim bdag mo des abras c'an grañs nas, bza' mi gcig la gcig abags rtsog med par byas nas gza.' dei dus sman dri p'yin byuñ ba dan bsod sñoms pa ts'o sloñ du agro ba yin te; de yañ dso gi ts'oi zañs mai duñ lan gsum bus nas, p'yag ya gcig tu ku ba k'yer, ya gcig tu da ma ru k'yer nas, sgo rtsa gcig bcañs 'oñs nas, da ma ru de skad mam pa sna ts'ogs pa gcig bsgyur bas, bhi kšā dhe dha rma kra kar sai žes brjod pa.

(50a) Dsva lan dha ra bya de yul k'ams c'en po gcig gi miñ du adug pas groñ k'yer gyi grañs mi adug. Na ga ko te bya ba de Bod skad du klui mk'ar bya ba yin. gnas der zla ba lna tsam

¹⁵ [1] Mss. bro.

¹⁶ [2] Ms. ts'an.

bžugs pas zas bcud c'uñ¹⁷ ba dañ [92] yañ na nom¹⁸ par gsol rgyu med par sku lus šin tu ñan agyur žiñ, de nas Bod du byon te; k'a siñ gi lam de ma yin pas, ñe lam gcig nas byon pas, gnas c'en Ku lu ta žes bya ba gzigs par gžed nas; ñe lam de la ñi nua gñis byon pai sa na, Ki ri ram bya bai gnas na, grub t'ob c'en poA nu pa ma dañ mjal nas, c'os ašrel žus pas, "na mo buddhaya namo dharmaya namo sanghaya" ces pas, dkon mc'og gsum gyi¹⁹ skabs sgro gnañ (50) "k'yod dañ na gñis slob dpon Klu grub gyi slob ma, rdo rje spun yin; Bod du soñ cig, sems can gyi don dpag tu med pa a grub pa yin."

Der gnas c'en Ku lu tar p'eps pas, gnas c'en de yul ñi šu rtsa bžii skui ak'or loi nañ lus la bkod na pus mo yin žiñ; de yañ gnas kyi ño bo si dđhi bya ba me tog ku mu tai ts'al c'en po yod ciñ, rdo la sañs rgyas kyi žabs rjes bžugs pa; gnas der mc'og t'un moñs kyi dños grub myur pa yin pas, bar c'ad kyañ c'e. gnas de na btsun pa gñis dañ mañ a byor pa cig bžugs ađug, de nas Gar šar p'eps pa; de nas Ga ndha lai ri k'rod byon nas dbyar de ru bžugs pai dge sbyor la bogs šin tu c'e ba byuñ; de nas ston la Pi ti rTsañ šod la t'on yoñs.

2

Travels of Orgyan pa

[P. 9. a] Pu rañs gDoñ dmar nas p'yin pas. Tise byañ sgor ñi ma p'yed la sleb byuñ. gañs dkar gyi rgyal po 'Tiser ras pa lña brgyai nañ du bsgoms. De nas Ma p'am gyi mts'o la c'u at'un mžad.

De nas, yul c'en po ñi šu rtsa bžu bye brag rdo rjei lus la pus mo dañ rkañ pai mt'e bon²⁰ Kuluža žes pa'añ Ma rui gnas la byon. dei dus su, p'al pai ñin lam bdun bdun ñed kyis ñi ma re la bcad ađug ste, lus sems la dal ba dañ dub pa rañ med. gnas dei žin skyoñ bud med sna nas mag k'rag mar k'ur ađsag pa gcig na re

[93] "k'yod dañ po bla mai druñ du ma sdod.

de nas mc'ed grogs kyi nañ du'n mi sdod.

ña ađir sdod nas ašs'o ba sbyar gyi lo."

der, na U rgyan la cis kyañ agro mnos so. de nas, byar po de, ri bo c'en po Gañja ta mar bsdad; de na, sman bzañ po du ma skyes, dños grub kyi c'u mig lña yod. de na. Bya rgod ces pa rgya ras pai sgom c'en smra ba bzañ po byas pa gcig ađug. ñas kyañ t'eg pa sna ts'ogs kyi ađrel²¹ dam t'ogs med du byas pa, der bžugs pai sgom c'en t'ams cad dgyes ađug...rGya ras pai sgom c'en

¹⁷ [1] Ms. c'uñs.

¹⁸ [2] Ms. non.

¹⁹ [2] Mss. gyis.

²⁰ [3] Ms. non.

²¹ [1] Ms. abrel.

mañs po dañ sdoñs nas, yul ñi šu rtsa bžiī spyi gtsug Dsva rar p'yin; de na šri nagara keče žes bya bai groñ k'yer c'en po yod. c'u kluñ gcig na sa c'os abyuñ lta bu yod. de la rko log²² bya mi ruñ zer. dei dur²³ k'rod lañ gur žes pa na p'a boñ t'od pa ađra ba la rJe btsun ma rañ byon bžugs. dei byañ na, Dsālamukhe žes pai lha gdoñ bstan na, t'ams cad me ru ađar grağš pai rten yod. rgyal poi p'o brañ dañ ñe bo na, mi ta pa ra žes pai dur k'rod na mi ta glu pa žes pai bdag ñid c'en po klu grub²⁴ kyi p'ug yod. dei mdun na ni la brig kša ces pa šin rgyad kyi ya cig²⁵ yod. de la gnod pa byas na, ap'ral la ač'i žiñ ađug gsuñ no.....

ri de nas, zla gcig lho ru p'yin
gnas Dsva lan dha rai p'o brañ na
zoñ ađod dgu byuñ bai ts'on ađus yod
nor sñiñ sdug gcig kyañ k'yer dbañ med.....

Jā lan dha ra nas žag ñi šu p'yin pa na, Tsa nđa bha ga žes pa Gha ta li c'u ađug gi agram na I ndra nila ces pai groñ k'yer yod. dei šar du rGya skyags kyi t'añ du ađug. Yañ nub gcig bud med gcig gis mts'on mañ po sgyi'u gcig tu glu bas ađog gin ađug. Nañ par sog poi rta pa bži dañ p'rad. cig gis ste ltag gcig gis brduñs pas, ñas brtul šugs btsoñs pas k'os ña rañ gi sgom t'ag gis skye ñi ma p'yed [94] tsam bskyigs. brañ la rdog t'os bter der mig gis ci yañ mi mt'oñ bar soñ; dei dus rluñ sems a t'un²⁶ la bsdus pas dbu²⁷ mar ts'ud ađug. dPal yes bsam pa la ši ađug bsam pa byuñ ađug. de nas, yañ ñar bskyed nas, 'ud mañ po btañ smod²⁸ pai lta stañs kyiš gzir bas. k'o k'a žol soñ nas, ađar žiñ ađug. grogs ts'o na re: ađi grub t'ob gcig ađug.

In ta ni la žes pa de nas ñi ma gcig gis Bhrar mi lar sleb. de nas, si lar sleb. De nas Sog poi groñ du sleb ste; miñ rjed ađug. Sa de yan c'ad rgya sog ađres par ađug. La la na Hin dhu žes pa rgya gar pa yod; la la na Mu sur man žes pa Sog po yod. k'a cig na ađres pa 'ant'añ la yod pa kun Mo gol la do blta ba ađug. De nas K'a c'ei c'u bžugs gtsañ po gcig yod. De rgal nas Bra ho ra žes pa groñ k'yer ađum p'rag bdun bcu yod zer par sleb. De na groñ dpon sog po Ma lig kar dha ri na žes ađug. De nas ñin gcig gis Na 'u gri žes pa sman ts'ai ri c'en po ađug. De nas K'a c'e, Ma lo 'o, Ghodsar, Dho kur, Dsāla dhar mams kyi ts'a ađro zer. Dsā la dha rar yañ de nas ts'a ts'oñ mañ po 'oñ žiñ ađug. Ts'a 'oñs sa de gžuñ lam ađjigs pa ñuñ ba ač's'o ba mod pa grogs mañ ba p'al c'e ba na ts'oñ ađus kyañ yod par ađug gsuñ.

²² [2] Mss. *blog*.

²³ [3] Ms. *k'rod* only.

²⁴ [4] Mss. *klu gru*.

²⁵ [5] Mss. *gya kyi gya cig*.

²⁶ [1] Ms. *ač'un*.

²⁷ [2] Ms. *đbus*.

²⁸ [3] Ms. *smods*.

de nas, ñin gcig gis Bha ho lar sleb
 c'u de nas žag gcig nub tu p'yin
 Na'u tri sman ts'ai ri bo yod
 ts'a ts'od gros gcig kyañ k'yer ba med

gsuñ de nas, ñin gcig gis Ma la ko ter sleb. der, ra nii Bhu dse te bhir žes pa la blañs pas, zas rgyags gon rgyu la sogs ster gin adug. de mu tig abyuñ bai rgya mts'oi sgor grags. de nas, rgyal po Hu la hui lha k'añ bžeñs adug. der rtse bo c'e yañ skye.

De nas žag gsum nub tu lam,
 Ma la ko tai groñ k'yer na
 rin c'en mu tig abyuñ bai sgo
 šin kun sa las skye ba yod
 sman t'un gcig kyañ kyer med

[95] gsuñ de nas, byañ nub tu žag lña p'yin pa dañ Ru ka la žes pai groñ yod. de na, Ra ni so ma dhe ba bya bai lam rgyags ster ba yod. de nas, žag bžis Ra dsa hu ra du sleb. de U rgyan gyi sgo bžii gcig yin zer. gžan Ni la dañ Pur šo dañ Ka 'o ka žes pa yod zer.

Ra dsa hur du bsod sñoms byas nas, bza' bsam tsa na, ašras t'ams cad grog mor soñ, yañ t'eb gcig abu ru soñ adug. dPal ye la bstan pas, skyug bro nas, bza' ba ma byuñ. mig btsums la "zo" byas pas, ñas zos pai lhag ma ašras dañ rgun ašrum du soñ adug. K'oñ gis ma gsol bai bar c'ad ma ts'or žin mi t'ub pa byuñ gsuñ. groñ dei nub p'yogs na Sindhur ašab. de Tisei señ ge k'a nas ašab pai c'u bži ya²⁹ cig yin zer. De nas, mar yul nas žugs te, Zañs dkar dañ Pu rig dañ stabs su K'a c'ei byañ ašru šai yul nas byañ ste, sTag gzig nas rgyud U rgyan du 'oñ zer. gcig la gcig ašus nas, c'u bo Sin dhui gru k'ar³⁰ byon pas gru nañ du 'oñ, ñas bcug ñan pa la "gru t'oñ" byas pas des "c'og ste, c'u t'on nas Hor du adug zer; gsad dogs yod" zer ned ac'i pas mi ašjigs byas pas btañ ño. De yan³¹ c'ad U rgyan gyi sa c'ar byed; de la groñ k'yer k'ri p'rag dgu yod do. De rañ na Dhu ma t'a la las gžan la U rgyan mi zer la adug. de dus U rgyan de Hor gyis bcom ma t'ag gcig tu adug gsuñ. c'u de t'on nas Ka la bur bya bar adug. der srod la p'yin pas Hor du adug zer nas p'o mo kun gyis rdo c'ar byas; der šin sdoñ gcig gi gseb³² tu yib pas do nub gañ du'añ mi ašro zer t'ams cad bkyes soñ. de nub c'ar c'en po byuñ ste mi k'yim gañ gis kyañ ma ts'or bar srañ k'a nas p'ar bros p'yin. U rgyan nañ gi sTag gzig yin gsuñ. De nas Hor las³³ bros nas yul du ldog pas bza' mi gñis bu c'uñ gcig k'ur. ba glañ dañ ra lug ts'an cig ded ašro yin adug: "ñed Bod kyi c'os pa U rgyan skor du ašro ba yin. k'yed la babs byas nas Hu ma t'a la ts'un c'ad nas skyel t'ub kyiš zer.

²⁹ [1] Ms. *gya*.

³⁰ [2] Mss. *glu k'ar*.

³¹ [3] Ms. *yañ*.

³² [4] Ms. *bseb*.

³³ [5] Ms. *la*.

[96] Sindhu aṭ'on nas Bhi kro bha sar sleb. de nas ŋin gcig gis Ka bo kor sleb. groṅ dei mi t'ams cad dge sems šes c'e aṣ'o ba mod; sindhu ra rañ aḅyuiṅ ba aḅug. dei dpon la Ra dsa de va bya ba aḅug. De U rgyan p'al c'e ba la dbaṅ byed pa aḅug.

Groṅ de nas zla gcig nub tu lam
C'u Sin dhu brgal bai nub p'yogs na
Ka 'o ka yi groṅ k'yer na
Sindhu ra yi aḅyaṅ gnas yod
krik gcig kyaṅ k'yer dbaṅ med.³⁴

de nas yon bdag de pas yul du ston mo bzaṅ po byas Bho ne le žes ŋi ma gcig gi bar du skyel mi btaṅ. de yan³⁵ c'ad la k'oi yi ge mi aḅi daṅ aḅis sa c'a aḅi daṅ aḅir skyol žes pa Dhu ma t'a lai gnas mc'og tu legs par skyal lo.

Bhe ne le nas Siddha bhor sleb. de nas la c'uṅ gcig brgal bas, ŋi ma gcig gis K'a rag k'ar sleb. De yan c'ad la so t'aṅ žes zer. aḅras sa lu bzaṅ po daṅ šin t'og bzaṅ po du ma skye; aḅru sna sna ts'ogs smin, rgyun du rma byai mgrin pa ltar sno žir aḅam pai rtsa daṅ dri daṅ k'a dog p'un sum ts'ogs pai me tog gis k'ebś pa yod. de nas Ko dam bhar U rgyan gyi c'u aḅug yod. De šar p'yogs na l lo par pa ta ces pa aḅsam bu gliṅ gi ri mams kyi mc'og sman sa las skye ba la aḅi na mi skye ba gaṅ yaṅ med. rtsa ba daṅ sdoṅ po daṅ lo ma me tog gis mdses pa Sa ra bha la sogs ri dags³⁶ yaṅs su rgyu ba. rgun aḅruir gyi gnas ts'al p'un sum ts'ogs pa. Yid du 'oṅ bai bya sna ts'ogs sṅan pai mdaṅs kyis zab mo sgrogs na grub pa

Sa de nas nub tu žag bdun lam
K'a rag k'a snai llo la
Sa ra bha ri la aḅ'rol ba daṅ
rgun aḅrum gyi nags ts'al aḅ'rigs pa yod.
nas rdsas la žen pa byas pa med.

de nas žag gṅis kyis Ra yi k'ar sleb lo. de rgyal po In dra bhoṭei k'ab šal yin zer. da lta groṅ gṅis su c'ad aḅug. [97] gcig ni mi k'yim drug cu tsam aḅug; gcig na bži bcu tsam aḅug. dei byaṅ na Maṅ ga la 'or bya ba rgyalpo In dra boṭis bžeṅś pai gtsug lag k'aṅ t'ub dbaṅ daṅ sgrol ma daṅ aḅig rten dbaṅ p'yug gi sku rdo las bsgrub pa du ma gžugs pa yod. nas rgyaṅ nas mt'oṅ U rgyan gyi sa c'a bags c'ags aṭ'ug par³⁷ aḅug. Sa de mams su t'a mal gyi rtogs pa re re tsam byuṅ ma k'ad la p'ra men ša zai mk'a' aḅro ma du ma mdun du reṅś la sleb bzai zer ba aḅug. Ra yi k'ai rtsa na, c'u bran mis t'ar ba tsam cig lhor aḅab ciṅ aḅug. de brgal pas brag sna gcig la grub c'en

³⁴ [1] So Ms., but the verse is defective; perhaps: *k'yer bar*.

³⁵ [2] Ms. *yaṅ*.

³⁶ [3] Ms. *dag*.

³⁷ [1] Ms. *apar*.

Lā ba pai bžugs gnas yod. dei steñ na mk'a agro mas rdoi c'ar p'ab pa la sdigs mds³⁸ bstan pas rdo ba nam mk'a' la c'ags pa spra tsam du adug. de nas slob dpon kyis mk'a' agro ma lug tu byin kyis brlabs pas yul k'ams der bud med ma byuñ nas skyes pa kun adus btsal bas ma rñed. slob dpon lug ats'o bal bregs nas Lā ba sku la gsol bas Lā ba pa žes grags pa adug. der p'yag p'ul nas, gtor bar žus pas, "c'ad ma k'as len nam" gsuñ, "len" byas pas, "mgo lham gon, sna la sna leu c'ug sprul gyi ga ša gyiž gsuñs pas, yul c'os su soñ, da lta de bžin adug. na la der bud med gcig na re: "k'yod l ndra bhote yin" zer byuñ gsuñ. ñe gnas Ses rin na re: "In dra bhote dañ Lā ba pa gñis dus mi mts'uñs sam" žus pas "c'en po dañ mi mts'uns te, Indrabhodhi gñis byuñ adug. na c'uñ ba yin pa adra" gsuñ.

Ra yi k'a ts'un c'ad, p'ra men gyi gliñ du adug; bud med t'ams cad kyis gañ adod sprul agyur šes par adug, ša k'rag la dga' žin, skye dgui srog dañ mdañs ap'rog nus par adug.

De nas, ñi ma p'yed kyis, Dhu ma t'a lar sleb. de U rgyan sprul pai gnas kyis ño bo. gnas de mt'oñ ba tsam gyis, 'ur nas rtsis med la soñ adug. Dei mdun na, Mañ ga la dhevi bya ba tsan tan las rañ byon pai rje btsun ma gžugs. dei druñ du ñal pas bar c'ad cig 'oñ bar šes nas, dPal ye la "dbyug c'os cig bya yis šog" byas te ñan ma [98] adod. Nañ par, srañ k'a gsum du gnas nas byañ la k'oñ soñ. Lho la nas p'yin pa, bsod sñoms byas pas, na la bud med du mas sñon bsu me tog dor sin dhu rai krik adebs rgyud sde nas gsuñs pai brda byed ciñ nus pa bton la ats'o ba šin tu mod par abyuñ. k'oñ la mts'on t'ogs na mañ po's skor nas de gsad byas adug. nas rgyug nas p'yin, ñai grogs yin byas nas btañ. gNas de la mi k'yim lña brgya tsam adug. Bud med t'ams cad kyis sprul bsgyur šes. "k'yed su yin" byas "mal abyor ma" žes zer adug. Mañ ga la dhevi druñ du ñal bsdad nas, bud med gcig nare "mo la adod pa sten lo" nas dbyug pa gcig brgyab pas broš soñ.

Nañ par mos, ñed gñis ka la spos kyis bsu me tog gtor mc'od pa byed ciñ adug; de ts'ul k'rims rin po c'e bsuñ bai p'an yon du adug. gnas der, na c'uñ gcig la mig gsum yod pa gcig adug. yañ gcig la ša mts'an dpral ba na gyuñ³⁹ druñ ak yil ba mts'al gyis bris pa lta bu dmar señ de yod pa gcig adug. de nare "rañ abyuñ mal abyor ma, na rañ las t'ams cad byuñ ba yin" zer bas sog po gcig na re. "K'yod rañ byuñ yin na, ñai yul nas ka c'a gcig loñ" dañ zer bas de ma t'ag mda' gcig dañ Hor žva gcig blañs byuñ bas, sog po ha las adug. bud med de rGyu ma ta lai rgyal poi btsun mor adug gsuñ. Groñ dei bud med mams kyis nañ nas gcig mal abyor ma yin zer ba adug. de ño šes dka' na 'ñ groñ k'yer gyi bud med ma lus pai lag nas zas re slañs zas pas dños grub re abyuñ ñes par adug. nas Ka bo kai groñ du, bud med Sa luñ ta pu tsa žes pa gcig la blañs pas, t'ug pa p'or gañ byuñ ba at'uñs pas, de ma t'ag la, sai dkyil ak'or gyos,.... gnas de na, mal abyor ma c'en mor grags pa So ni dañ Ga su ri. Matañgi, Ta sa, si žes pa bži adug. So ni aGro bzañs su adug. gnas dei nub, Ka ma 'oñ ka žes pai gañs mal abyor ma t'ams cad kyis p'o brañ yin zer ba adug. dei nañ na grub pai p'ug Ka ma la glu pa bya ba adug. dei nañ na k'ro bo sku mdog mt'in k'a rus pai rgyan can [99] spyau gsum ñi mai zer ltar gzi brjid ahar ba gri t'od adsin pa adug. de dPal ye bDe mc'og yin pa adra. gnas dei šar la Bhir sma ša žes pa dur k'rod brgyad kyis ya ba,⁴⁰ p'ag rgod dañ dug sprul dañ dur bya dañ ka ka dañ lce spyau la sogs pa gdug pai mk'a agro sprin ltar adu pa ajigs su ruñ ba skyi

³⁸ [2] Ms. *sdig adsub*.

³⁹ [1] Ms. *gyu*.

⁴⁰ [1] Ms. *gya ba=ya cig*.

buñ byed pa yod. de nas byañ cuñ⁴¹ zad na o ka ša brikša ces pa šin brgyad kyi ya gcig yod. dur k'rod de las cuñ zad lho na Dhu mun k'u ces pa žin skyoñ rdo las rañ byuñ ba yod. šin dei rtsa na Ka pa la bho jon žes pai rdo gcig la Ts'añs pa dañ Drag sogs rdo la rañ byuñ du byon pa yod. de nas Mañ ga la brikša ces pa bkra šis kyi šin yin zer ta lai sdon po gcig yod. dei rtsa ba na Mañ gha la pa ni ces pa bkra šis pai c'u mig lhor abab pa gcig yod. dei šar na šri par ba ta ces pa señ ldan gi nags skye pai ri c'en po ts'am min pa cig adug. dei nub na, Mañ gha la pa ni c'u ajuñ la, Mu la sai ko ta ces pa sa gru gsum cig yod. de na rje btsun ma rañ abyuñ de bžugs par adug ste. Hor gyi dmag gi ajigs da lta Dhu ma ta la na bžugs adug. dei druñ du, bud med mañ po adus nas mc'od pa byed ciñ ki li tsili sgra sgrogs, nus pa dañ mi ldan pa mams dpa' skor žin skal pa can rjes su adsin par adug. aDsam bui gliñ na dPal gyi ri bcu gñis yod pai rtsa ba de yin zer, dei gram gyi luñ pa la 'n šri luñ zer ba sñan gsuñ. U rgyan gyi sgo na, rgyal po Indra bodhis bžeñs pai gtsug lag k'añ gcig tu žag aga' ñal bas, mk'a' agro ma adus, c'os ston pa. de U rgyan sprul pai žin rañ du yod. de ru bsdad nas

Sa de nas žag bži nub tu p'yin
 rdo reg pa med pai nub p'yogs na
 c'u Ko dam ba ri byañ gi p'yogs
 gañs Ka ma dho kai šar p'yogs na
 gnas U rgyan sprul pai žin k'ams yod
 gnas gsum mk'a' agro mi gzugs can
 zag med bde bai loñs spyod ster
 ñas adod yon c'e du gñer ba med
 [100] gsuñ Sprul yul Dhu ma ta la⁴² ru
 bcom ldan adas byin gyis brlabs.
 gañ zag brgyud pa ma lags pas⁴³
 gnas gsum mk'a' agroi gdams pa t'ob,
 zab lam rten abrel ci la ac'ug.

ces gsuñs. de nas, dPal ye na re. "Yid c'es so. rañ re Bod du adeñ zer bas, ñas "Sa t'ag riñ nas, lus srog la ma bltas par, gnas adir sñags te, sñags riñ mc'og⁴⁴ par byuñ, ña ni t'od pa ađi ru abogs; min kyañ, lo gsum cis kyañ, bsdod" byas pas "ñid mi agro na, da Ra dsa hu ra t'ug cis kyañ skyol" zer nas 'oñs pas grogs ts'oñ pa adra yod na re "k'yed kyi grogs adis skad mi šes. bsdod sñoms kyañ mi k'ugs adug. k'yod med na, adis go mi cod" zer nas bla ma gcig gis bsdus pai grogs gnas c'en po la 'oñs nas; da bar c'ad la lam du šor na, no ts'a sñam nas, mar 'oñs žag lña nas Gha rir sleb. de nas žag⁴⁵ bdun gyis Ur šar sleb. de nas ts'oñ pa adra dañ agrogs nas, dur k'rod gtum⁴⁶ drag gi sgor

⁴¹ [2] Ms. *byuñ*.

⁴² [1] Ms. *ta ma*.

⁴³ [2] Ms. *pai*.

⁴⁴ [3] Ms. *c'og*.

⁴⁵ [4] Not in the Ms.

⁴⁶ [5] Ms. *rgyun*: but in the following verses; *gtum drag*.

šleb pas. k'on mams ltas, "abyuñ poi gnod pa 'oñ, mi mams ač'i" zer skrag c'es ađug. ñas "ma ajig šig: gnod pa nas bsrñs pas c'og" byas, dbyug pai byin rlabs byas pas ci yañ ma byuñ.

gnas de nas, žag bdun šar du lam
 dur k'rod gtum drag lho yi c'ar
 Ur ša dpal gyi rgyal k'ams na
 abru bdag po med su dga' k'yer
 abru rdog po gcig kyañ k'yer ba med gsuñ.

de nas žag gsum gyis Tsi k'ro ta žes par šleb nas, ri brag gi c'u c'en po cig yod. der ts'oñ pas nad na rigs ts'an cig ať'ab nas, gñis gšad gcig rmas ađug. der nas gsañ bai bdag poi tin ne ađsin gsal btab nas, lta steñs kyis gzir nas, p'ral gum soñ. de min na, p'an ts'un k'a bzuñ nas, t'ams cađ gsod par ađug gsuñ de nas ñin gcig gis Ra mi ko [101] ťir šleb. dei c'u p'ar ga na,⁴⁷ yul ñer bžiñ Ra smi svari rdo rje lus la. Smin mai dbus te, de ru šleb. dei k'a c'ei c'u bžugs. dañ sa mđai c'u ađsom pai bar smin brag ađra ba cig yod.

de nas⁴⁸ žag bži šar du lam
 Ras smi svari smin mai gnas
 sprañ k'yim du gsos nas c'añ du ať's'od
 Zan spags gcig kyañ k'yer med ces

gsuñ. de nas, K'a c'ei gsañ po gyas su bcug nas rDo rje mu la žes bya ba luñ pa dog po gcig la, žag dgu 'oñs pas K'a c'er šleb te. sa gži lag m'it lta mñam pa mdses pa, šar nub tu rin ba; byañ p'yogs la Ka ma pa ra zes pai nam mk 'a' ltar dañ bai mts'o gnas pa, me tog yid du 'oñ ba du mas mdses pa smin pai aťbras bus dud pai⁴⁹ ljon šin p'un sum ts'ogs pas ak'rigs pa, lo tog snať ts'ogs smin pas bkod pa, loñs spyod du mas aťyor pa, rig pai abyuñ gnas t'ub pai stan pa rin po c'es c'ags pa skye dgu kun kyañ dkar poi c'os kyi spyod pa, sañs rgyas pañđita mañ po bžugs pa stoñ pa ñid kyi luñ bstan pai gnas ste⁵⁰. de nas Šri na ga ra žes pai groñ k'yer sñon aťbum p'rag sum cu rtsa drug tu grags. da Hor gyis bcom nas, sum cu las med lo. de nas, Va ti pur žes pa gur kum skye bar šleb. de nas Bhe ji bha rar šleb. de la aťbum p'rag dgur grags.⁵¹ der pañđita aťBum mi Šri la sogs pa la bde mc'og la sogs gsañ sñags mañ du žus. groñ k'yer du bsod sñoms la p'yin pas, byis pa mañ pos so p'ag gis bted. Na c'uñ gñis kyis skyabs nas k'añ' par k'rid za ma sbyin⁵² pas, de k'yim bdag rgan po cig 'oñs nas, "žag gcig ma bsdad na ned ño ts'a lo" bsñen bskur byas

⁴⁷ [1] The proper form would be: p'ar k'a na.

⁴⁸ Ms. gnas.

⁴⁹ Ms. dud pas.

⁵⁰ Ms. dhe.

⁵¹ Here the Ms. inserts: *der pañđita aťbum p'rag dgur grags* which looks as a repetition of the former sentence—or shall we translate: *and as many pañđits?*

⁵² Ms. byin.

nas, "k'yed ji adra yin lo" "ñed Bod kyi c'os pa, U rgyan bskor du p'yin pa yin" byas pas k'o c'a t'e ts'om [102] cig skyes nas, ban c'uñ cig bkug byuñ. "c'os pa yin na, c'os gañ šeš lo" "mñon pa šeš ts'ad ma mñam byas nas, abrel gtam byas pas, bden par adug bzañ. "de min ci šeš zer "dPal dus kyi ak'or lo šeš byas pas brdsun zer te pa las adug. bden byas pas bden brdsun blta ba ban c'uñ gcig bkug byuñ gleñs pas na ños mk'as par byuñ. Yañ rgan po gcig bkug byuñ. dei blo la Dri med 'od k'a ton⁵³ byed pa cig adug. dei k'yo k'a c'e tsam na mk'as ces grags. Mo dañ abrel gtam byas pas, na dkar ap'rañ min pa byañ po ma byuñ. Mo na re "mk'as pa ci šeš sam ñan adug" zer. ñas "šeš bya t'ams cad rtsa bžin dor nas, U rgyan la sogs gnas c'en sñegs pa yin brjed adug pa" byas pas, bden Bod kyi pañditar adug bzañ re gda' lo..... sñar gyi byis pa de pas, llor gyi rtogs miñ bsgrags pas, rgyal pos gsan nas adsin mi btañ adug pas⁵⁴ nam p'yed pa nas nam ma lañs bar la, rgyal po la "gžan c'os. Hor ma yin žuš te ma ñan. der yon bdag la gžan mams kyis bya yañ yañ btañ pas, yon bdag na re. "bros pa grag" zer te K'a c'e pai c'as su bžugs nas, c'u c'en po cig gi gru k'ar sleb pas, a tsa ra sño hrñs se ba⁵⁵ sum cu tsam adug pa na re. 'u cag adod pa adi ru byuñ" zer te gñis ka bzuñ gos bšugs "ñed la ci byed pa" byas pas "rgyal poi sku druñ du gsod, der ma sleb par ci yañ mi byed lo" der, rgyal poi druñ du gsod pa pas, adir ši ba skyid byas te. gñis ka k'a bub tu k'u ts'ur brtsegs pa la mgo bžag nas, ñal pas, k'o pa rañ "adi litar byas adug, rañ re zan za adon" zer nas soñ bas. bros pas, 'ur nas sa la mi abab pa lta bui mgyogs pa byuñ, rluñ ats'ub gcig byuñ bas, rjes kyañ ma mñon; c'u dal ba gcig la rluñ bzuñ nas p'yin pas, c'u la mi byiñ ba lta bui sla pas, p'ar k'ar sleb. Der ba glañ rdsi byis pa mañ poi gseb tu de ñin bsdad. mts'an mo rtsa gseb tu ñal nas, nañ par bsod sñoms la p'yin pas, gos dug adra ster mk'an byuñ.

[103] gnas de nas zla ba gcig šar du lam
K'a c'e k'ri brtan Varipur
gur kum žiñ du skye ba yo
ge sar gcig kyañ k'yer ba med

K'a c'e nas, la gcig 'oñs pai ts'e, jo mo sle t'uł gyon pai gseb na bud med skra lo can t'o re ba lña brgya tsam agro yin adug. "K'yed gañ nas gañ du agro" byas pas: "U rgyan nas sBud bkrur agro" "Skyes c'en, k'yed kyi p'rin las bsGrub pa yin lo", de ma t'ag mi snañ bar soñ. dus p'yis mk'an po bsgrub rin na re: "Jo mo adi mams dei dus kyi mk'a' agro ma kun legs se" žus pas, "yin pa adra" gsuñ.

de nas. Dsa lan dha rar sleb; žag aga' nas, K'a c'ei ts'oñ, pa byuñ. "K'yed gañ nas 'oñs lo" "ñed Bod kyi c'os pa U rgyan skor du p'yin"; ma lam K'a c'e la 'oñs te, k'yed kyi rgyal po des ñed gsad" byas pas, ño mams ño mts'ar skyes. " 'o na k'yed grub t'ob tu yod par adug; rgyal pos adsin tu btañ bas, nam mk'a' adsa' bžin yal bžin yal soñ." zer. ño mts'ar c'e žes bsñen bkur dañ abul ba bzañ po byas pas, Dsa la dharar kyañ "Bod kyi c'os pa U rgyan ak'or ba rdsu ap'ruł t'ob pa adug ces grags pa byuñ.

De nas mar yul du p'ebis.

⁵³ Mss. *k'a don*.

⁵⁴ Ms. *pai*.

⁵⁵ Perhaps for *gseb=signum pluralis*.

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East and West, IX.4, 1958, pp. 279-328.

[List of abbreviations:

Grünwedel (transl.), *Edelsteinmine: Taranatha's bka' babs bdun ldan. Edelsteinmine, das Buch von den Vermittlern der Sieben Inspirationen*. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von Albert Grünwedel, Petrograd, 1914.

MSV: Mājasarvastivādinaya.

Rajatarāṅgiṇī (Stein transl.): *Kaṭhāna's Rajatarāṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīr*. Translated, with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices by M.A. Stein, 2 vols., Westminster, 1900.

T.: Taisho]

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF SWAT

Apart from the fact that studies necessarily entail the enlargements that research work calls for, one enquiry leading inevitably to others so that the field widens out little by little as the result of an uninterrupted concatenation of events, I must here state that in passing from Tibet and Nepal to Swat, I have not been unfaithful to my customary studies. On the contrary, it is Tibet that has led me on to Swat, as in Tibetan literature one is always coming across allusions to Urgyan, Orgyan, Udđiyāna¹.

¹ Prof. R. Stein, in *JA*, 1956, pp. 343 ff., supposes that the form Orgyan is derived from a corruption of the original spelling Odyan which we find e.g. in the generally very precise *dPa' bo gtsug lag p'reñ ba*, in the sense that *dy*, written with the reversed *đ* was misread as: *rya*, *rgya*. This is quite acceptable but another suggestion is also possible.

Orgyan and Urgyan can be explained if we suppose that to the Tibetans the name Udđiyāna sounded as: Urđyāna, Udriyāna; the possibility of such a form is testified by spellings like *śadrayadana*, *padriyamśae*, etc., of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions (S. Konow, *CHI*, II, s.v. *pratiñhavitra*, p. 4 etc.: this seems a common feature in the Bajaur Casket inscription of the reign of Menander, *EI XXIV*, p. 7).

It should be added that the same *r* already appears in the name of the country as quoted by Katyayana (*Varttika* on IV, 2, 99): Urđi and Aurđdayani. We may therefore surmise that the Tibetans noticed a *r* in the current name of Udđiyāna 'Urđyan, Udriyan', and accordingly transcribed it in Urđyan, Urgyan (the last passage has been facilitated by the similarity in cursive script between *rgya* and *drya*).

This fact was also noticed by the Śadhu Buddhagupta whose biography was written by Taranātha and studied by me (*IHQ VII*, 1931, p. 683 and *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 5: 'the name Orgyan is derived from Udđiyāna on account of the similarity between *đ* and *r*') [see this volume, pp. 4 - *Ed.*].

Similarly the Greeks transcribed as Ora the name of the town captured by Alexander the Great and definitely identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the village of Udegram, Hudigram, Udigram.

Much information on Swat can be gathered from Tibetan sources, chiefly from the works of Taranātha or the biographies of the *siddhas*, included in the *bsTan agyur*: but they contain very little of historical value. In the biography of the 84 *siddhas* (A. Grünwedel, 'Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer', *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, Heft 4-5, 1916, pp. 138, 185-86) we read that Udđiyāna was divided into two parts, one was called Sambola (but my Narthang copy - in sDe dge ed. this work is missing - seems to read K'am pa la) of which the ruler was Indrabhuti; the other was Lanċapuri, the king of which was Jalendra. Lanċapuri is, as known, Laghman: so that the tradition preserved in this book seems to refer to the unification of Swat and the district of Jalalabād in as much as Udđiyāna had fallen as a vassal state under Kapiśa; this event is testified by Chinese sources as having already happened in 745 (see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, Paris, 1903, p. 131, n. 3 and p. 132. Cfr. A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Paris, 1942, p. 250). This could give us a fixed terminal for the date of Indrabhuti (quoted e.g. in *Sekoddesaṭṭika*, ed. M. Carelli, p. 78 *Dohakośa*, ed. P. Ch. Bagchi, p. 62), though the Tibetan tradition speaks of an elder and younger Indrabhuti and even of a middling Indrabhuti. On some *Tantras* which are supposed to be connected with Indrabhuti and generally with Swat I refer to what I said in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma, 1949, I, p. 212. All these facts are being reconsidered with the help of new material in my new edition of *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims* etc. It is very difficult to draw any conclusion from the chronological statements contained in the *bKa' babs bdun idan* of Taranātha (transl. by A. Grünwedel, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 20): but one could suppose that the king Kun tu dge ba, Samantaśubha king of Udđiyāna is the same as Samantadeva whose coins are very common in Swat (on him see *History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 112, 117).

Another reference which we may retain is that in Udđiyāna there was a mountain, Muruṇḍa, which was the theatre of a magical contest between Kambala and Kukkuripa, two *siddhas* connected with

Tibetan scholars know quite well that the mere name of Urgyan, Orgyan, has always inspired Tibetans with a feeling of awe because it was held to be the birth place of a second

Indrabhūti. This mountain of difficult ascent is called Muruṇḍaka, (Tāranātha, Schiefner's transl., pp. 191, 192), the known title of Śāka chiefs, Śāka-muruṇḍas (see S. Lévi, 'Deux peuples méconnus', in *Mémorial Silvain Lévi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 235 ff.; S. Konow in *CHI*, II, p. XXI).

In this name we may see a trace left by the Śāka domination in the country, but the location of the mountain is doubtful. As it appears to be a mountain particularly famous in the country one might think of mount Ilam, the sacred mountain of Swat.

It should be remembered that Uḍḍiyāna, whatever the political events to which it was subject may have been, was most probably and for the largest part of its history dependent on the different rulers who alternated on the political horizon of India. The country was considered as a separate entity geographically and ethnically. Uḍḍiyāna was not included in Gandhara, though the chiefs of Gandhara may have kept under control Uḍḍiyāna or both countries may have been ruled over by other kings like the Shahis of Kabul or the kings of Ohind; but Uḍḍiyāna was a well defined province with its own geographical features and the peculiarities of its people. What the real extension of the country was cannot be stated with accuracy. Approximately one may say that it coincided with the present Swat State, its southern borders being near Landakai. We know that the country between Landakai and Malakand was inhabited or was under the control of the Assakenoi whose king opposed Alexander the Great and who was besieged and killed by the latter. The Assakenoi are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, I, 110 and IV, I, 99) as Aśvayāna, and Aśvakāyāna: the capital of the latter tribe was Massaga (cfr. Maśakavati, the river, *Kāśikā*) and cannot be dissociated from the Aspasioi living in Bajaur, the difference in name being only apparent, as Aspasioi is derived from the Iranian form *aspa*, and Assakenoi from the prakritic form *assa* corresponding to Sanskrit *aśva*; but this does not imply that these tribes extended as far as the northern part of the country. There is reason to believe that the northern neighbours of them were the Aurdi, above mentioned, and whose chief town was Urdi, Ora. No reference in Arrian authorizes the conclusion that the people of Bazira and Ora were the same as the Assakenoi. It may also be that the Urdi had descended from the North, a fact which may be corroborated by the record left by Hsüang tsang that the capital of Swat was once in Darel (cfr. *T'ang shu*, ch. 221, in Chavannes, *Documents...* p. 128). Thus seems certain that the Aspaka, Assaka, Asmaka, Aśvaka, Assakenoi, Apasioi did not inhabit Swat proper though they reached its boundary. Later also the boundary between Gandhara and Uḍḍiyāna proper, though it may have fluctuated according to the political events, or the fortunes of the tribes, probably ran near Landakai which marked the southern geographical limit with Uḍḍiyāna. As regards Buner, it may and may not have belonged to Swat. It is true that Hsüang tsang includes the description of its monasteries in the chapter dedicated to Uḍḍiyāna, descending there from the Ilam mountain, but as soon as he comes back, he refers again to the river and to the capital of Uḍḍiyāna to resume his account after a side journey to Buner. This is one of the not infrequent digressions which we find in the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim. We cannot infer very much from the vague statement of Sung Yün that it bordered the Ts'ung ling mountains, viz. the Pamirs; anyhow it appears that Swat approached Chitral and Darel including the Indus Kohistan. To the East the Indus was the natural boundary and to the West the mountains of upper Dir at that time may have been as today the natural limits.

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A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, London-New York, 1929.

A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, MASI 42, Calcutta, 1930.

St. Julien (trad.), *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, 2 vols., Paris, 1857-1858, I, pp. 139 ff.

Ibid., V. de Saint Martin, *Mémoire analytique*, II, pp. 314 ff.

Buddha (according to Tibetan lore there are two 'second Buddhas, *sañs rgyas gñis pa*'; one is Padmasambhava for the *rñiñ ma pas*, and the other Tsoñ k'a pa, for the *dGe lugs pa*). Padmasambhava, the exorcist, consecrated the temple of *bSam yas*, and freed it from the impediments placed in its way by the former non-Buddhist deities ².

But the story of Padmasambhava is well known and this is not the place to dwell on it. We shall reconsider it when dealing with the cultural history of Swat and the evolution of Buddhism that took place there ³. We know very little about the expansion westward of Tibetan Empire during its period of prosperity, but it is certain that after reducing *Žañ žuñ* to vassalage, Western Tibet, which perhaps at that time extended further than the present province of Guge ⁴, brought under its control not only Ladakh but also Baltistan and Gilgit ⁵. This last country, known to the Tibetans as *Bru ža*, one of the places whence many Bon masters hailed, lies very near to the Upper Swat. We do not yet know if the Tibetans advanced further than is now believed in this part of the world, even if only for a short time.

It must however be remembered that on this account, Uryyan, Orgyan, was looked upon in Tibet as a very holy place, a kind of Holy Land, to which, had historical conditions made it possible, every Tibetan yearned to go on pilgrimage. It shared this privilege with the other blessed land or paradise, *Šambhala*, where the revelation of *Kālacakra* took place.

As the *Kālacakra*, after arousing the immediate interest of the *Sa skya pas* and the *Ža lu pas*, was accepted and studied more especially by the followers of Tsoñ k'a pa who took it as their spiritual guide, so *Šambhala* attracted the special attention of the *dGe legs pas*, *dGelugs pas*. The locality was always wrapped in an atmosphere of enchantment and mystery which will, however, certainly be dispelled by the investigations of our colleague Helmut Hoffmann.

Uđđiyāna continued down the centuries to arouse mystic fervour in the *rñiñ ma pas* and the *bKa' rgyud pas*, who boast of direct connection with Padmasambhava, the miracle worker, born in those parts.

S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (popular edition), London, no date.

H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, London, 1923.

J. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.*, 2 vols., London, 1904-1905, I, p. 227.

E. Chavannes, 'Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhara', *BEFEO* III, 1903, pp. 379 ff.

G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940.

E. Barger and Ph. Wright, *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan*, MASI 64, Delhi-Calcutta, 1941.

² G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, SOR IX, Roma, 1958, pp. 26 ff.

³ Which I will write as an introduction to the 2nd edition of the *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* [in *Opera Minora*, II, Roma, 1971, pp. 369-418; reprinted in this volume, pp. 1-57 - Ed.], in preparation.

⁴ *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, SOR X.1, Roma, 1956, pp. 92 ff.

⁵ Gilgit, in Tibetan *Bru ža*, *Bru ža*, was for a certain time subject to the Tibetans: T.H. annals register the submission of the king of *Bru ža* in 737; in 739, one of the daughters of the *bTsan po* was given in marriage to the chief of the same place. On some rulers of Gilgit (Skr. *Gilagiitta*) see N. P. Chakravarti in *El* XXX, pp. 266 ff., and E. Chavannes, *Documents...*, p. 151.

On the other hand, Uḍḍiyāna, whose identification with Swat is certain, acquired such a hold on believers by the sacred character conferred on it by that miraculous birth and by the presence of the *ḍākini*⁶, the jealous [280] guardians of the mystic sciences, hovering in the air, that a considerable number of ascetics, seized with wonder and indifferent to the fatigues of a long journey, used to go there on devout pilgrimages, beginning with that Urgan pa who went there in the first half of the 13th century, down to sTag ts'añ ras pa, who followed on his track and founded the great monastery of Hemis in Ladakh⁷. Both of these pilgrims wrote down their itineraries and kept diaries of their jourmies.

Urgan, Orgyan of the Tibetans has the great advantage over Śambhala of being geographically located with certainty; it is the same Uḍḍiyāna of Sanskrit sources, which, as was rightly shown by S. Lévi⁸ and other scholars, corresponds beyond any doubt to Swat. In fact, I think very few could now accept the theory advanced by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya⁹ who placed Uḍḍiyāna in Bengal.

I have thus reached, so to say, Swat through the Tibet, and my Tibetan studies have shown me the path along which I had to journey, following the tracks of those pilgrims, with the intention or hope of throwing light on the conditions and situation of Buddhism in this country. Swat, in the 8th century, sent to Tibet, already on its frontiers – either directly (Yasin and Gilgit) or through allies (Chitral) and only for a while checked in its policy by the ephemeral victory of Kao Hsien chih (750) – the celebrated exorcist Padmasambhava; in Swat also Indrabhūti, no less celebrated, wrote Tantric commentaries; the country is generally introduced to us both by the Buddhist and Hindu tradition, as the centre of exoteric doctrines, a place of magic and philtres, of sorcery and *ḍākini*, fairies¹⁰.

The special situation of Buddhism in Uḍḍiyāna in the 7th and 8th centuries, as attested by the Chinese pilgrims who deplored the esteem in which the magic arts were held throughout the country¹¹, must have been such that the place became one of the four most famous Tantric centres of all India, the *Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha*.

Swat is a very prosperous country even nowadays. It grows besides maize some sugar cane, fine fruit like pears, apples and peaches. But the cultivation which is intensive in the irrigated

⁶ On the meaning of this name see now W. Wüst, *Ṭhakkura - m. zur Problematik der indoarischen Zerebralization und des Lehn Sprachen-Einflusses*, 'Pflanz III, München, 1957, pp. 28 ff.

⁷ G. Tucci, *Travels...*

Another Tibetan who went to Urgan was aK'ru'ul žig rin po c'e, about whom see G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Parts I-II, Calcutta, 1949-53, p. 962. Urgan pa, 'the man of Urgan', was Rin c'en señ ge dpal (1230-1309). sTag ts'añ ras pa was a contemporary of Señ ge mam rgyal, king of Ladakh: A. M. Francke, *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (Antiquities of Indian Tibet, II)*, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 108 ff.

⁸ S. Lévi, 'Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahamayūri', *JA V* (11^e Série), 1915, p. 105; B. Ch. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 132.

⁹ Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, London-New York-Toronto, 1924, p. XXI and Introduction to *Sadhanamala*, II, Baroda, 1928, pp. XXXVII ff.

¹⁰ A *Ḍākinitantra* is already quoted by Dharmakīrti in his *Svavṛtti on Pramaṇavarttika*, ed. Rahula Saṃkṛīyayana, Allahabad, 1943, p. 578, 1, 1.

¹¹ The conditions of Buddhism in Uḍḍiyāna according to some Chinese sources are as follows:

valleys is poor in the hills where small fields climb in terraces, opening wide clearings in the woods. In former times the wealth of the country was certainly greater.

We will not follow the linguistic speculations of the pandits or of the pilgrims but it is certain that Uḍḍiyāna must have appeared to the visitors coming there from more desolated lands a prosperous garden. Its wealth is testified by the great number of its monasteries. Perhaps Hsüan tsang visiting the country when it was no longer in its most prosperous times, accepted with less criticism than it deserved the hearsay of his informants that there were once in Uḍḍiyāna 1400 monasteries; but even the more modest number of 500 recorded by Fa hsien gives a hint not only of the religious fervour of the people, but also of their munificence and wealth. Whatever the property of the monasteries may have been, there is no doubt that they depended largely on the donations of the princes and generally of the laymen. The report of Sung Yün that on the monastery of T'a lo ¹², most probably now Butkara – there were six thousand gold images, that is, to reduce this statement to more modest proportions, gilded images – ¹³ is confirmed by many

	Fa hsien	Sung Yün	Hsüan tsang
Boundaries		N: Ts'ung ling (Pamir) S: India	
agriculture, economic conditions		prosperous	crops are not many; grapes abundant; scanty sugar-cane; gold and iron, saffron
people			pusillanimous and deceitful, fond of magic formulae
language	like that of Middle India		different from but with similarities to that of India
capital			Mêng chie li
monasteries	500	T'o lo. in the N of capital	1400 monasteries devastated and abandoned
Monks and Buddhist schools	Little Vehicle; Buddhism is universally honoured	perfect conduct	Great Vehicle; monks love learning but have no application: they recite books but do not understand them; they are expert in magic exorcisms

¹² Ancient pronunciation *d'ala = *Dhara, *Dara, *Ḍara. It may be that the modern name Butkara where the second element has not plausible meaning in Pashtu (*but*, as known, means 'idol') preserves a corruption of the original name modified under the influence of Pashtu 'kara', locative from 'kooṛ', house.

¹³ So also A. C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, Ascona, 1959, p. XV, interprets as a rule the Chinese expression.

stone or stucco images found in that place which preserve traces of the gold-wash which once covered them. There is no doubt, to judge from what has been preserved, that donors were far from miserly. They wanted the monasteries or *stūpas* to be large, of great proportions, well ornamented. This must have been therefore the stimulus to great artistic activities not only of masons and craftsmen but also of artists proper, either architects or painters or modellers of images, if there was a demand for artists from Uḍḍiyāna even in China.

In fact, to give a few instances, China which has been so prodigal in historical information concerning this country, has preserved the names of some artists of Uḍḍiyāna working in or for the monasteries of Loyang¹⁴. What was the source of this wealth it is difficult now to say; most probably agriculture represented the chief resource of the country as it does today, but we must also take into account the fact that Uḍḍiyāna could derive great advantage from its geographical situation as a barter market for the surrounding mountainous regions (Sung Yün: five cereals, five fruits, many fruits; Hsüan tsang: crops are not very rich but various cereals can be found, flowers and fruits abundant). If we are to believe the Chinese pilgrims¹⁵ it possessed also mines of gold and iron which may have greatly contributed [281] to the prosperity of the country. We also gather from Sanskrit sources that it produced a much appreciated quality of blankets, the *kambalas* of Uḍḍiyāna which circulated widely all over India¹⁶. Nor should we forget the quarry of grey stone which supplied the material for the decoration of the monasteries and *stūpas* as well as for sculptures which adorned the shrines and were most probably exported to the neighbouring countries. There is no doubt that this large number of monastic settlements may have been a great burden to the country and to its resources, but it is also certain that in return it contributed to the prosperity of the same. Not only artisans and craftsmen were kept busy, but the monks tried their utmost to praise the sanctity of the holy places of Uḍḍiyāna linking them with the former lives of the Buddha or some events of his last appearance. Thus by the promise of undoubted acquisition of merits they attracted great numbers of pilgrims and visitors. Roads and tracks linked up, as we shall see, the various places of pilgrimage and were marked as it were by stelae and rock carvings filling the hearts and minds of visitors with expectation and hope. Now the ruins scattered along the slopes of mountains or hidden in

¹⁴ Such was e.g. the monk Sēng Ma-lo (reconstruction of the original name doubtful) who came from Uḍḍiyāna to Lo-yang in the monastery of Fa-yün ssu and built a monastery on the pattern of the Jetavana in which the Buddha hall and the dormitories were all plastered and ornamented with paintings of the most beautiful colours. See A. C. Soper, 'Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China', *OAR*, 1949, p. 29 and the volume of the same title, p. 109; from *Lo yang chie lang chi*, *Taishō*, LI, n. 2092, p. 1915, a.

Among the most celebrated monks from Uḍḍiyāna in China the following may be recorded: Vinitaruci, Narendrayaśaḥ who left the country at the time of the Hephtalites, Mrgaśikha (see P. Ch. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, Paris, 1927-1938, pp. 441, 442, 552).

¹⁵ Cfr. also *T'ang shu*, ch. 221; Chavannes, *Documents...*, p. 128.

¹⁶ The *kambala* from Uḍḍiyāna are well known: mention of them is made also in *Jataka*, IV, 352. *Ibid.*, VI, 500, *paṇḍukambala* from Gandhāra (*Jat. Comm.*, VI, p. 501); cfr. *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, II: these red blankets were used for war chariots or thrones of kings. Cfr. S. Lévi, 'Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa...', *JA*, 1915, p. 105; V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 150 and 232; H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen, 1940, p. 493.

secluded valleys, where tiny springs and a few trees still suggest the meditative life of the communities once animating that solitude, are the only survivors of the past. The villages and the houses of the commoners made of *pisé* or sun dried bricks on basements of stone have all been washed away by the floods which repeatedly devastated the country and only the remains of the religious buildings or of the castles of the feudal lords survive.

Swat appears at the start as a great centre of Hinayāna, which arrived there perhaps shortly after the time of Aśoka, who had left near Shahbazzarhi the memory of his presence and his faith. Buddhism had already spread far and wide in these lands making a deep impression there in the days of Kaniška, who so favoured the community that he became the subject of a prophecy contained in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptas, Mahiśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas and Mahāsāṃghikas was followed there until the period of Hsüan tsang and I ching. With the progressive advance of Buddhism towards the North-West, the law spread so widely in Uddiyāna, and the monasteries there were so prosperous that the *Bhāiśajyavastu* of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins includes several Swat localities in the peregrination to the North-West made by the Buddha, who flew there in the company of Vajrapāni. This celebrated passage which Przyluski¹⁷ first made known in full, confirms the desire felt to confer nobility on a region where Buddhism must have been in full expansion. The passage tells how the Buddha sanctified the region by his presence, and subdued the *nāga* Apalāla¹⁸,

¹⁷ 'Le Nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le *Vinaya* des Mūlasarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés', *JA*, 1914, pp. 493 ff.: only a fragment is preserved in Sanskrit, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar, 1939-1943, Vol. III, p. I, page not numbered (before pag. 1).

¹⁸ Apalāla is a name which has been variously translated into Chinese as 'without sprout', 'without straw or stalk' (also: no rest); it is therefore interpreted as *a-palāla*, but of course this is a learned etymology of the translators who could not guess the exact meaning of the name of this *Rakṣasa*: it is perhaps related to the Aravaḷa, Aravaḷa, a *nāga* king of Kāśmīra converted by Majjhantika Thera (*Samanta-pasādika*, I, 65; *Mahāvamsa*, p. XIII, 9-20), without name in *A yu wang chuan* (J. Przyluski, 'Le Nord-ouest...', p. 552).

Apalāla is not mentioned in the, I would say, 'canonical' books but the story of his conversion occurs, as I said, in *Samanta-pasādika* and is recorded in *Mahāvamsa*: generally he is located in Uddiyāna (*Vinaya* of Mūlasarvāstivādins: Przyluski, 'Le Nord-ouest...', pp. 510 ff.; *T. 1448*, p. 40, b.; *A yu wang chuan*, *T. 2042*, p. 102, b; Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka*, Paris, 1923, p. 245; *T. 2042*, p. 102, b).

But the localization was not beyond dispute; in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Przyluski, 'Le Nord-ouest...', p. 512) after his conversion, the *nāga* is requested to see to it that the people of Magadha may be exempt from fear.

The two references in *Divyavadāna*, p. 348, 1.20 and p. 385, 1.3 do not authorise a different localization of the legend of Apalāla, because it is only stated that the Buddha returns to Mathura after that conversion (cfr. *Tsa a han*, *T. 99*, p. 165, b).

The *Fen pien kung te lun* (*T. 1507*, p. 5) located the conversion of the *nāga* 'no leaves' in Magadha; the passage has been translated by Watters, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 340 and Przyluski, 'Le Nord-ouest...', p. 559; but, as was noticed by Przyluski himself, the translation of 'no-leaves' by *apalāla* is doubtful: it may be *aparna*. The only text which locates the legend of Apalāla in Rājagṛha is the *P'u sa hing ching*, *T. 155*, p. 116, though the story is quite different and is placed in other surroundings.

Thus, after all, the tradition which locates Apalāla in Magadha is not documented in pali canonical literature, and it appears only in a different setting in the last mentioned book. On the other hand the invitation made to the *nāga* by the Buddha to protect Magadha contained in *MSV* seems to imply a

of whom the canonical writings in the pāli language make no mention; the lineage of its kings was also linked with the family of the Śākyaas themselves like that Uttarāsena whose history is

relation with the last named place. Everything leads to the conclusion that Swat knew of a *naga* who was the cause of terrific floods that produced great ravages to the country and that a connection was found by the compilers of the *Vinaya* between that country and its dragon and the birthplace of Buddhism in order to glorify the north-western regions of India.

The legend might have a foundation in the melting of the glaciers of Mankial mountains and in the periodicity of these calamities from which, even after the conversion, the country could not escape (see the story narrated by Hsüan tsang: every twelve years the *naga*, in order to maintain himself, requests the Buddha to be allowed to 'have one gathering'). It is also a fact that these floods are evidenced by the survey of the country: just to quote an example, I was one day walking along the slopes of the hill which overlooks the plains of the Jambhil; the soil is eroded by deep ravines which sometimes attain and even surpass 20 meters in height. In one of these ravines I discovered some well preserved ruins of the so called 'diaper work' coming to light just at the very bottom of the deepest of them: it was buried under a heap of alluvial soil more than 15 meters high. As is known, floods are always attributed in most of India, Tibet and China, to dragons, and the people of Swat so subject to periodical disasters, caused by such floods, certainly attributed them to an angry dragon, living near the very source of the river Swat. All the 'mahayanic' sources and Chinese travellers locate the legend in Swat or generically in NW India. So the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* (in the North, in the country of the Yüeh chih: Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nagarjuna*, Louvain, 1944-1976, p. 547), Fa hsien, Sung Yün, Hsüan tsang (Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229) and Ksemendra, *Avadānakapalātā*, 54-57 (P. Demiéville, 'Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha', *BEFEO* XXIV, 1924, pp. 36-43). Such legends are common in those parts of the world: cfr. besides the already quoted Aravala, the story of the *naga* Suśrava and his sister Ramanyā in *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* (transl. by A. Stein), I, pp. 35 ff.; Foucher, in *JA*, 1903, p. 185.

As to the locality where the conversion of Apalāla took place Fa hsien is undetermined; the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* (in L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu*, Roma, 1950, p. 62) is imprecise; it speaks of the whirlpool of the *naga* Ho pu lo where the Buddha washed his robe: so, if the text is not corrupt, there is no mention of the storm or of the stone where the Buddha dried his robe.

For convenience of the readers I think it useful to summarize the localization of the Apalāla legend and of the other relics in the following table.

<i>Shih-shih Hsi-yü chi</i>	Fa hsien	Sung Yün	Hsüan tsang
ten <i>li</i> from... (text incomplete) whirlpool of the <i>naga</i> Ho pu lo. There the B. washed his robe.	foot prints; stone in which the B. dried his clothes. The spot where the B. converted the wicked dragon (no distances are given).	East of the river the place where the B. dried his clothes after the conversion of Apalāla. To the west of river a pool occupied by a Nagaraja; 80 <i>li</i> to the north of the capital, footprints.	250-260 <i>li</i> to the NE of the capital in a mountainous gorge spring of Apalāla and source of the Swat river. About 30 <i>li</i> to the SW of that spring on the north side of the river footprints; 30 <i>li</i> downwards the stone where the B. washed his clothes.

I do not see any reason for identifying that pond or pool of Sung Yün (Ch. *ch'ih*, 'pool', not a lake) with the Lake Saidgai to the west of the watershed between the Swat and the Panjkora river as suggested by Stein, *An Archaeological Tour...*, p. 57. The texts of the *Shih-shih Hsi-yü-chi* and of Sung Yün refer evidently to the same whirlpool where the Buddha washed his clothes and though the pool is said by Sung Yün to be inhabited by a Nagaraja (*the* Nagaraja?) without further specification, the identification of this

told by Hsüan tsang¹⁹.

All this can easily be explained by the wish of the compilers of these books to find a link between the north-western part of India and the places where the Buddha was mostly active – with the purpose of showing that those distant provinces were strictly connected and formed a unit with the ‘holy land’.

Though the sociological and religious background for the outcome of Mahāyāna as a frame of mind, if not as a literary expression, which was certainly later, is very old, there was hardly any other place where so favourable a situation could develop for Mahāyāna to take a more definite shape than this part of the Indian subcontinent along the routes linking east and west, so well illustrated by Foucher. It was here that Buddhism became in a certain sense westernised and was translated into terms artistical as well as dogmatical more universally accessible, without losing of course the fundamental inspiration of the Master. But as regards the origin of Vajrayāna, the question is more complicated. The aboriginal ideas, cults, superstitions and practices which Buddhism had found in Swat, had never completely died out; they had been checked by the presence of the big monastic centres until these were a source of learning and active teaching. The monasteries represented a kind of bullwark against the resurrection on a large scale of those beliefs. The monks – and some of them must have been great personalities – were always there to control the integrity of the faith, to blame, to moderate, to contain within the dogmatical frame a world uncongenial to the highest truths of Buddhist philosophy and theology. But as soon as the monasteries collapsed, a calamity or an invasion or both together brought about the destruction of the monasteries to an extent which did not allow of recovery, the country was no longer in a condition to maintain them, the favour of the [282] princes was not so liberal as before, the population decreased, learning came to an end, then the aboriginal beliefs which had been kept under control came again to light with all their force; Buddhism, now unable to resist their impact, was overcome by them. It is a process which goes *pari passu* with Buddhism losing its creative power, stagnating in formal logic and following the same ideas as those which were then taking hold of Hinduism.

Let us insist for a while on this point. I am certain that great disasters had ravaged Swat and had been the chief causes of serious economic ruins which could not avoid influencing the religious situation. The preliminary study of the soil which will of course be controlled by the

Nagaraja with Apalala seems to be implicit. Why then Hsüan tsang shifts it to the supposed source of the Swat river, at the confluence of the Utror and Ushu rivers? His description of the places is liable to criticism: the boulder where the Buddha dried his clothes is not so far away from the stone where he left his footprints, the distance between the two being of only five or six kilometres. All the distances registered by Hsüan tsang are here wrong: while the eighty *li* of Sung Yün between the capital of Swat and the foot prints is fairly exact, 250 or 260 *li* between that town and Kalam is greatly exaggerated: on the other hand the distance between Kalam and the footprints is far too little. Such inaccuracy may be explained supposing that Hsüan tsang did not visit the place and relied in some reports collected on the spot. Anyhow even if the legend, because of the better accessibility of the places, had been shifted to the north, at the source of the river, since the Buddha was perhaps supposed to fly miraculously the distance from the place of the conversion to other where he dried his clothes, all this is irrelevant.

¹⁹ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, pp. 166 ff.

excavations, has already convinced me that natural calamities such as earthquakes and terrific floods have been greatly responsible for the destruction of the largest parts of the monuments and palaces. We do not know as yet how many invaders came up here, but it is very likely that the country was subject to the same historical events which took place in the neighbouring Gandhāra. It may be that the monasteries were looted more than destroyed. Destruction implies a religious intolerance which, except in the case of Mihirakula, we are not authorised to suppose in the Śakas, Pahlavas, Kuṣāṇas; these may have taken away whatever might have been of any value, but I do not think that they had any particular reason to destroy the monuments.

A country, as presumably Swat was, ruled by feudal chiefs who were too weak not to depend on major powers and could not develop an independent policy, had perhaps the advantage of coming to terms with the invaders. Its chiefs could pay heavy ransoms and tributes and be given the chance to preserve in this way their states from utter destruction. It was for them a mere change from one master to another, even if the beginning was full of dangers. I therefore think that as far as Swat is concerned we must be cautious before attributing all the ruins to invaders, especially as we have ample and visible documents of natural causes of destruction.

Under the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, Uḍḍiyāna, located, on the one side, on the edge of the roads that connected Laghman with the Indus, passing through Chakdara and Buner, and, on the other, linked with Central Asia by Chitral and the valley of the Indus, profited greatly by the trade that the Kuṣāṇa Empire, astride between Central Asia and the Indian ports, favored and monopolised.

But what happened to that country, what changes took place there, or what were the events by which it not only became Mahayanist (which would not have been surprising) but one of the most important centres of some of the most esoteric schools of Vajrayāna? Something had occurred between the visit of Sung Yün, who found traditional Buddhism prospering there, and the visit of Hsüan tsang. When that pilgrim arrived there he found most of the monasteries abandoned (he speaks of 1400 monasteries, whereas Fa hsien speaks of 500 only), while the monks had become incapable of understanding the holy scriptures.

This means, as I said, that an economic disaster had been followed by cultural changes. The establishment of esoteric schools, following definite directions, suggests a general lack of confidence in traditional religious forms, a yearning desire for redemption, a contrast between the wicked world and the Supreme Being, a hope that it will be possible to find in ourselves once more the essential reality, or else the earnestness required for rekindling the fire of gnosis, languishing in the depths of the inattentive soul. The motives are the same as those we find in the western gnosis which for several centuries spread throughout most of the cultured world under different aspects, in keeping with different spiritual and historical conditions.

The conditions prevailing in Swat were very favorable to the convergence of ideas, situated as it was on the margin of the great thoroughfares which brought the West into contact with the East, with Central Asia and India, and where met, not to repel but to approach one another, the most active religions of those times: Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, each laden with the spiritual and intellectual traditions of its country of origin and of adoption.

(It was from Gilgit, a place very near to Swat, that several of those masters came who conferred a literary form on those beliefs, rites, practices, largely Shamanistic, which formed

the primitive Tibetan Bon into which these teachers introduced many foreign elements).

It would seem as if in those regions, when once the restraints placed by a humanly severe [283] religion were relaxed, and when the barriers raised by an austere code of ethics, in which the inviolable law of *karman* ruled, were removed, imaginative fancies had free course with all the terrors and anticipations proper to a violent and impetuous religious temperament; it was almost a way of bringing back to life a past, lying latent but not extinguished in the sub-conscience, or surviving among the lower strata of the population, a past unknown to us but which revived freely under favorable circumstances, a past which we should like to be able to ascertain.

I would add in this connection that the scarcity of Buddhist monuments which I noticed in the western portion of Swat is worth considering. Is it due to the fact that the monuments such as *stūpas* and other buildings were all destroyed? On the left bank also, monuments suffered great destruction, being used as quarries for building new villages, but in spite of that many of them survived though the largest villages are just on this side of the river. Of many others, though utterly ruined, the remains are still preserved. I saw that many mounds, easily located everywhere, still point to their existence; but the same cannot be said of the western side, except in Gumbatuna. No visible trace of *stūpas* is there left, though in a few cases their existence is ascertained by the occasional discovery of some sculptured fragments (e.g. Garo, Meramai). The places where the fragments were discovered have been examined by me and traces of *stūpas* have indeed been found but of small proportions. The impression that I could gather is that Buddhist monuments in the western part of Swat are more scarce than in the eastern one and certainly of not the same imposing grandeur. This fact is important because, though the western part was not so thickly populated as the eastern one, still many big centres once flourished there as is proved by the extensiveness of the archaeological sites and as witnessed by the immense quantity of potsherds spread all over the plain. Only excavations and further researches can lead us to a definite conclusion, but I am inclined to think that the different proportion of peculiarly Buddhist monuments between the eastern and western parts of Swat, may be indicative of a very important fact, that is that Buddhism did not completely dominate the country and that in some parts and side valleys, non-Buddhist beliefs, which we may designate for convenience sake as Hinduism (because Hinduism covers a very large variety of religious experiences) survived. In fact, Hsüan-tsang tells us of the existence in Swat of some [non-]Buddhist temples (about ten) though he does not say where he found them.

In this connection I would also add that Udegram, a place of which we shall speak later, seems so far to contain no trace of big *stūpas* as those of Mingora or of the other places in the eastern part of the valley, though of course this fact can very well be explained supposing that during the Kuṣāṇa period the place had lost most of its ancient importance in favour of Mēng chie li and that it never recovered until the course of the political events led to its revival on account of its strategic situation.

What then, we may enquire, are the traces left by this esoteric Buddhism in a country which took so active a part in it, where, according to Sung Yün, the king of Sarikol went to learn the magic formulae²⁰ and which boasts of having given birth or hospitality to celebrated *siddhas* such as king

²⁰ Along with magic the people of Swat cultivated astrology too. See *Wei-shu* (K'ai-ming-shu-tien), ch. 102, p. 2129/III. and *Pei-shih* (K'ai-ming-shu-tien), ch. 97, p. 3043/IV.

Indrabhūti, Padmasambhava, Kambala, Lakṣmīkāra; a country which was referred to as the land of the *dākinīs*, the witches who fluttered in the air, *mk'a'agro ma*, as the Tibetans translate their name, which harmonises well with a place whose name was traced back to the root *ḍī*, 'to float in the air'?

The matter is one of interest not only to the Buddhist community; during this lapse of time Buddhism and Śaivism were converging into a symbiosis in Swat too, where exchanges of thought took place between the two schools, an approach being thus made towards that syncretism of which the more belated philosophy of Abhinavagupta will afford a luminous example. In Uḍḍiyāna not only were the Tantric liturgies and precepts fashioned which were to give their names to the *Uḍḍiyānakrama*, but the *Krama* system, codified in the *Mahānayaṅprakāśa*, originated there, or at least Uḍḍiyāna was one of the most active of those centres which the texts themselves place in the *Uḍḍiyānapīṭha*²¹. It was a system which tended to produce an immediate revulsion in the primary consciousness of the mystic; by its classification of mental conditions as a wheel with twelve spokes it represents the counterpart of the astro-psychic theories of *Kālacakra* which must have arisen in places not far from Swat. The *Krama* system also places the goal of spiritual asceticism in the *kālagrāsa*, the devouring activity of time, that is to say of [284] actuated consciousness. Among the first to reveal this system was Khagendra, 'Lord of those who float in the air', the Śaiva match of the Buddhist *ḍāka*, and it reveres among its ancient teachers three women just as the Buddhist tradition ascribes, as we know, to women chiefly the monopoly of the Tantric revelation and of Tantric precepts in Swat²².

It is known on the other hand that Tantras, and therefore Vajrayāna, revived in a certain manner the popular beliefs, accepted very many local demons, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, etc., though interpreting them, according to the tenets of Buddhist gnosis, as symbols of the various degrees of spiritual palingenesis that Vajrayāna was supposed to accomplish.

Considering therefore that very little is known of the local beliefs of these parts of the world before Buddhism, the investigation of that Tantric literature, which, we can ascertain, developed in Swat, may help us to get a glimpse of the religious situation of the country before Buddhism spread over it.

When, however, one draws one's attention on this religious atmosphere, which has permeated Swat ever since the 7th century, one is surprised that no artistic manifestations have been found that reflect it. The stelae or the rock carvings of which some are reproduced in this report are certainly Mahayanic: they represent Bodhisattvas, chiefly Lokeśvara, but none of them can be called Vajrayanic. This should be ascribed to the fact that those religious schools, which were responsible for a very large Tantric literature and gave Buddhist shape to pre-

²¹ *Mahānayaṅprakāśa* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 8, v. 370): *tatodḍyanam* (ed. wrongly *tato dhya* [*nam tam*]) *tu tatpīṭham sarvapīṭhottamam bahiḥ*; cfr. *Tantraloka* III, pp. 188 ff., where the *Krama* system is explained and the *sampradāya* described, especially p. 192; *Tantrasara* pp. 29 ff.

²² The belief in fairies and witches is still surviving in many places of Northern Pakistan, Gilgit, Hunza, Chitral: this belief has not been completely abolished by Islam and it represents the survival of older traditions which must have been largely widespread in this part of the world. See e.g. the *peri* and specially the *ruī*, D.L.R. Lorimer, 'The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region', *JRAS.* 1929, p. 507.

Buddhistic cults, secluded themselves in a vigilant esoterism which kept away the uninitiated from the jealously guarded secrets of their mysteries.

Another reason may be found in the fact that the effigies of their symbols (representing the scheme in which these schools expressed the action of the powers through which the light of the absolute conscience spreads and realises itself in the cosmos, or else to which the cosmos flows back and annuls itself) must have been painted on the walls of chapels and temples closed to all but the initiates. This is still the custom practised in Tibet, above all in the chapels in which the *dban skur*, the initiation, is imparted. Such were the paintings that Urygan pa was still in time to see on the ruined walls of what he calls the palace of Indrabhūti.

Until now not a single bronze statue of Tantric character has been brought to light, and the only figures that depart from the human attitudes of the Gandhāra art and represent many-armed divinities, are those engraved on a stele that I found in the environs of Salampur (see p. 314), and another with six arms, placed in a strange way between a female divinity of the Palmyrean type – a royal fortune or polyad divinity – and two figures with spear and Phrygian cap, which look like the Dioscuri, as found on some Indo-Greek coins, carved on the jambs of a doorway brought to light during the first campaign of excavations at Mingora.

And here several obscure or doubtful points arise; several problems occur to the mind if one is desirous of penetrating deeply into the cultural developments of this country.

The study of the few and contradictory texts is insufficient for supplying an answer to these questions and for placing the problems that arise in their right perspective. One must question the country itself, seek out the works of art that bear witness to the passage from one form of Buddhism to another, and above all undertake excavations having in view the discovery of documents or monuments that have not been ruined or destroyed and which tell of the events that occurred in a region whose very position makes it one of the most interesting in Asia. And yet another reason induced me to persist in my determination. From those places come some of the finest specimens of Gandhāra art, found by clandestine diggers and now dispersed among private and public collections the world over; carefully conducted excavations made in these same territories offer good means for acquiring positive knowledge on the disputed question of the succession of styles and stages, and the origins of the art of Gandhāra. The material now in our possession is uncertain, contradictory or indefinite, as many of the works are of doubtful origin or difficult to date by relating them to reliably ascertained stratifications. Our views on the art of Gandhāra, on its developments and successive periods, can only be provisional, or else must justify the scepticism of our much regretted colleague, Deydier.

Having made up my mind on this point, and before undertaking excavations which everything suggested will take a long time, I made in 1955 a preliminary survey of Swat in order to select the places for starting our researches. For this purpose I came to the necessary agreements with the Archaeological Department of Pakistan. The then Director, [285] Mr. R. Curiel, now Adviser for Archaeology to the Government of Pakistan, did all he could to assist me: I have been equally favoured with the help of other Pakistani Authorities, the Minister of Public Education and his collaborators. I must extend special thanks to H. E. Ambassador S. K. Dehlavi, who has given to the enterprise the full support of his authority and official capacity.

2. PROGRAM OF THE WORK TO BE UNDERTAKEN

The Wali Sahib of Swat, Jahanzeb Khan, afforded me every facility, and made me feel quite at home during the four months I spent in the country. This impression was enhanced by the courtesy and hospitality of the people and the beauty of the scenery which, in many of its aspects, reminds me of some parts of Italy. I had decided to start the excavations at the beginning of October, 1956, but I thought it necessary to undertake a preliminary survey of the country, and to precede the archaeologists so that they might begin their work as soon as they arrived. With the kind assistance of the Chief Secretary of the Swat State Ataullah Khan, I rented two houses, furnished them and then set off on my tour, undertaken in the pleasant company of Doctor F. A. Khan, then in charge of the Exploration and Excavations Department of the Archaeological Service of Pakistan, and now Director General for Archaeology. It would have been difficult to find a better, more learned or more enthusiastic companion; he had undertaken many excavation campaigns in Pakistan, and he has an expert eye and a deep knowledge of archaeological problems.

Miss F. Bonardi, who had already been with me in Nepal and who besides standing the hardships of mountaineering, is an excellent photographer, was deputed to the photographic documentation of the tour, an essential task involving much responsibility, as on account of the short time I could spend in Swat I had to rely on uptodate and rich photographic records. The photos here published are hers.

I must acknowledge that there is nothing in Swat which could be compared with the long and toilsome journeying in Nepal: neither high passes nor the difficult and exhaustive up and down hills of Nepal and Tibet.

The Badshah Miangul A. W. Shahzada, the founder of the Swat State, and his son, the present Wali Jahanzeb Khan, have spared neither money nor efforts in providing the country with a most efficient network of roads so that all the most important places are within easy reach. Leaving at sunrise one can reach by car or jeep the various valleys which open on either side of the Swat river and then proceed by foot to the villages where ruins or rock-carved images are preserved. The distances are only a few miles and the not too steep ascents might be pleasant in winter, but we had unfortunately to make them about the end of August and during all the month of September, under the most unfavourable conditions, when the climate is hot and sticky. However, we withstood these hardships in good spirits.

3. SCOPE OF THIS REPORT

In this report I expound the results of the preliminary survey of 1955. I give here where necessary some new details about the places mentioned by Stein ²³ in his two books and produce when needed new photos of the extant archaeological remains. I describe summarily

²³ See for his works note 1.

new sites which I happened to identify and propose some new identifications, one of which, at least, seems certain, that of Mêng chie li of Hsüan tsang with Mingora instead of Mangalaor. In order to give a topographical arrangement to my notes I have divided the monuments, ruins or sites according to their location in or along the main roads and their branches. In the report I shall summarily discuss the relics discovered. All the more so, as pioneer work has been done in this country by that unrivalled explorer who was Sir Aurel Stein; he was there in 1926, just a few years after that formerly inaccessible country had been pacified; he travelled in a more favourable season, but in worse conditions, because at that time Swat did not possess the roads which now cross it in every direction. The report, of course, does not deal with the results of the excavations begun in the Autumn of 1956, and since carried out with great success.

4. MÉNG CHIE LI = MINGORA. DHANYAPURA AND NAITARĪ LOCATED IN DAN-GRAM AND NAT-MERA

I had applied for permission to undertake excavations in Mangalaor and Udegram because it seemed that those two places had been [286] at different times, or under different dynasties, the two capitals of Uddyāna. In Udegram I had proposed to excavate the mound on top of the hill below Rajgira's castle, and to make trial trenches so as to have a first idea of the various occupations of the town.

In Mangalaor I intended to bring to light the big *stūpa* to the NW of the town, which had been identified by Stein with the *stūpa* commemorating the *Kṣāntivādi-jātaka*, and then to search for the *vihāra* and the town which must have been close to it.

I therefore undertook a careful examination of both places, reading attentively the description of the country made by Sung Yün and Hsüan tsang. As is known and generally accepted, Mêng chie li of Hsüan tsang is supposed to be a transcription of Maṅgala (pura); it was thus natural to identify this place with Mangalaor, obviously a corruption of Maṅgalapura. The two names seemed to correspond perfectly.

Anyhow it seemed that this identification of Mêng chie li with Mangalaor, suggested by Vivien de Saint Martin and then universally accepted, could not be rejected. But in rereading carefully Hsüan tsang, I began to feel some doubts about the correspondence of the Chinese transcription with the name of Mangalaor. Apart from the fact that if Mangalaor is derived from Maṅgalapura, no trace of *pura* is found in the Chinese transcription, as this word is not essential, it seemed to me that the correspondence of the Chinese to the supposed Sanskrit original was not beyond dispute. In that Chinese name I seemed to see an original Maṅgari or Maṅgali²⁴, which, even assuming that it had been Sanskritised by the pandits into Maṅgala had

²⁴ It is interesting to note that we find a Mangali in Hazara, where, according to tradition, fled the Swatis when their country was invaded by the Pathans and they were driven away (Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey of India, 1923-24, p. 67). As to the language of Swat it must have been greatly Iranised: Uddyāna seems to have been included in the area of *paīsaci*. As known *paīsaci* was the language adopted by some Buddhist sects of this part; see Lin Li-kouang, *L'aide mémoire de la Vrai Loi*. Paris, 1949, pp. 208-16.

Mêng chie li. *Mangari. *Mangali, was not the only name of the town, which was for some time

perhaps nothing in common with Sanskrit. The presence of so many place names having a similar form, such as Mankial, Manjur, Mangalhan etc., may support the hypothesis that Maṅgala is a learned rendering into Sanskrit of some ancient local toponomy. My doubt of the

the place of foremost importance, nor was it always the town of paramount importance in the country. There are reasons to believe that the chief town was also known under different names or was for some time other than Mēng chie li: in fact the itinerary of the journey of the Buddha to the NW of India, preserved in the *Vinaya* of the Mulasarvastivādins after the conversion of Apalala, runs through a place commanding a view, from afar, of Kashmir (Kāśmīramaṇḍala); then through Bhraṣṭālaya (yul gñis grogs, Tsu lu tsiu lo), Kantha (Yul kan tha, Ch'ien t'o tsiu lo), Dhanyapura, (abras kyi groñ k'yer, not Kūtagara as restored by Przyluski, l. e. p. 513), (Tao ku lu ko ch'eng), Naitari (Yul dbañ ldan, Li yi to ch'eng), Śādvala (gSiñ ma can, Lu so ch'ing), Palitakūta (in the text: koṭa, brtsegs skyoñ, Hu si ch'eng), it reaches Nandivardhana between Jalalābād and Peshawar. The text of N. Dutt is here corrupt: apart that the name Bhraṣṭālaya does not seem to correspond either to Ch. or to T. and therefore may be due to an erroneous reading or to a mistake of the text itself: instead of [dhanyapure senarājah paramasatyēṣu pratī] sṭhāpitaḥ one should read [dhanyapure uttarasenasya rajño mata satyēṣu pratiṣṭha] pita; instead of: palitakoṭo nagapalaśca read: palitakūte palitakūto nagapalaś ca (bKa' agyur, adul ba, k'a, p. 224).

This passage has been well analysed by Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka*, pp. 305 ff. and by E. Lamotte, 'Alexandre et le Bouddhisme', *BEFEO XLIV*, 1947-1950, pp. 154 ff. The order of the itinerary shows that the Buddha is supposed to have followed down stream the river Swat from the abode of Apalala up to a town whence he had to turn west in order to reach Jalalābād.

In Dhānyapura, 'the town of the rice', the B. converted the mother of king Uttarasena: now this king is placed by Hsüan tsang (Beal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 126 ff.; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 238) in Swat. On the other hand one *sadhana*, published by Foucher, *Études sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900, p. 121, refers to Vajrapāni, 'in Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyana' and to the image of the deity as reproduced in the mss.: *maṅga* has been related by Foucher and Lévi (*JA*, 1915, p. 107) to Mēng chie li, the capital of Swat, visited by Hsüan tsang and *koṣṭha*, granary, store house, has been related to the town of Koṣṭhaka, Sthūlakōṣṭhaka, mentioned by *Divyavadāna* p. 433 and as Thullakotṭhita in some Pali texts: *Majjhimanikāya*, ch. 82 (so also in the Chinese translation) and in the *Theragāthā*, which text places the town in the north, among the Kuru (for other references see Malalasekera's index, s.v. and M. Bode, *The Legend of Rāṣṭrapāla and Avadānaśataka*, ed. Speyer, s'Gravenhage, 1958, II, p. 118, where the king of this place was Kauravya). In the *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣeccha* the meeting with Rāṣṭrapāla takes place in Rājagrha (cfr. for other texts Demiéville, 'Versions chinoises...', pp. 44 ff.). So Dhānyapura, Maṅgari, Sthūlakōṣṭhaka, Koṣṭhaka have been related to one and the same place.

The identification of Dhānyapura with the village of Dan-gram, extremely rich in archaeological remains, appears to me quite certain: more doubtful is perhaps the identification of Koṣṭhaka, Sthūlakōṣṭhaka with the same place: the indication of the texts are too vague and imprecise: *dhanya* is not *koṣṭha*: the relation between the two words is that of contained and container: they express two different ideas: as to Maṅgakoṣṭha of the mss. of the *Sadhana*, *maṅga*, as I said, is a name which occurs too frequently in the toponymies of Swat to allow any definite conclusion and so *koṣṭha*: this latter form does not imply a necessary connection with Koṣṭhaka, Sthūlakōṣṭhaka of the older texts: nor is *koṣṭha* necessarily 'granary' but may also mean 'surrounding wall' (*koṣṭhaka*). Moreover Koṣṭhaka is the abode of a *yakṣa* called Daṃṣṭranivasin who was a devotee of the Buddhist Law and therefore abstained from harming anybody. Now of this *yakṣa* 'living near the tooth' (but the *A yu wang ching* interprets 'the *yakṣa* who was the custodian of the tooth of the Buddha') there is no record in the travels of the Chinese pilgrims which, on the other hand, contain so many legends concerning the same country.

Another point is worth consideration. We are inclined to connect the revelation in India of the *Kalacakra* with Dhānyakātaka, abras spuñs, and this Dhānyakātaka has been identified with the famous Dhānyakātaka in South India, consecrated by the supposed presence of Nagarjuna. But in the Tibetan

accuracy of the identification of Mêng chie li with Mangalaor was only strengthened by a careful examination of the ground around Mangalaor, bare as it is of ruins and archaeologically very poor compared to the many places in Swat. One finds there hardly any traces of those fragments of pottery of various colours and different thickness which, more especially after the rains, redden and color the yellowish surface of the fields with mosaic-like tints. Nor can it be said that the present village is built on the old capital, as we know that this was very large, 16 or 17 li in circuit according to Hsüan tsang (about 8 kms). No traces of walls or other remains were found by the peasants tilling the adjacent fields except near the big *stüpa*.

The situation was very different in the environs of Mingora, the most important bazaar of the region, two kilometers to the north of Saidu Sharif.

The Swat valley is here very wide indeed and two smaller valleys debouch into it, those of the Jambhil and, further south, of Ilam, also known as the Saidu Sharif river. These valleys are narrow but fertile and they skim rocky hills now covered with stunted bushes, but formerly green and well-wooded. For a long stretch the plain and foot-hills are scattered with more or less dilapidated *stüpas* and with those characteristic mounds that hide sunken ruins. The paths along which pilgrims and pious people travelled are still marked by engravings on the rocks and by stelae dispersed over the fields, representing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; and everywhere there is an incredible lot of potsherds of all kinds, shapes, and colors. Moreover, along the left banks of the Jambhil, just opposite Mingora, the river, which in the dry season shrinks to a small stream, but swells and flows impetuously when the rains come, has hollowed out for the length of more than a kilometer the foundations and superstructures of walls several yards high, which, in the part thus laid open by the action of the waters, reveal the work of destruction and reconstruction that has been going on for centuries.

In the village of Mingora whenever work is started to lay the foundations of a house, ruins and ancient walls are brought to light. All this very extensive archaeological area, which stretches over several square miles, is overlooked to the south-west by a craggy hill separating

tradition concerning the *Kalacakra* there is no sure indication that Dhanyakataka was so far south: on the other hand we know that Śambhala was in the north and that only in the north is it possible to speak of Muslims harming and opposing the Law to be again expelled by some Kulika. These facts point to a country not far from Swat. Is there any connection between this Dhanyapura in Swat (where astrology, as we saw above, n. 20, was much studied) and Dhanyakataka? We expect Prof. H. Hoffmann will solve this problem [as regards this passage see 'On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems', note 105, in this volume - Ed.].

As to the other places mentioned in the above itinerary the identification is even more uncertain. The place from where B. got a glimpse of Kashmir, from afar, may be one of the passes and ridges through which the tracks ran when the valley was flooded and from which a view can be had of the mountains of Kashmir, as for instance the Shangla (which leads from Swat Valley to the Indus Valley). Bhrasjalaya (if the reading is correct) and Kantha can be located in any place between that locality and Shakhorai or Mangalaor. As to Naitari see pp. 288 and 316.

It is possible that the town referred to by Sung Yün as the residence of the prince of Uddyana is the same as Mêng chie li of Hsüan tsang: but it is a mere suggestion, and theoretically nothing prevents us from believing that at that time the ruler was residing in a different place. Most probably Mêng chie li is the same as Mang o po (but is the transcription exact?) of Wu k'ung.

the valley of the Jambhil from that of the Ilam; on its summit gigantic ruins of walls extend for nearly a kilometer, widening out into bastions, or else heap up to form the bases of towers. It is up there that the citadel must have stood to keep guard over the great city that lay at its foot.

The ruins of the great city below seem to converge towards a mound of greater height which has withstood the ravages of centuries, weighing on all the monuments, as it has been used as a quarry by the nearest village. This place is called Butkara, and it is there that [288] clandestine diggers brought to light the specimens of Gandhara art with which they have supplied the antiquarian shops. It seemed to me there could be no further doubt that Mêng chie li corresponds to Mingora and not to Mangalaor and that the capital mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims must have stood on this site, where all the roads met, surrounded as it was by luxuriant valleys, with a hinterland that could feed a dense population.

Butkara was therefore the place where our excavations should start; characterised as it was by extensive and striking ruins it might well be the site of that T'a-lo²⁵ monastery mentioned by Sung Yün: the largest and richest of the whole region, where each year the king assembled the monks who came there in large numbers from all parts of the country. In that monastery, the same pilgrim tell us, there were six thousand gold statues. I should not like to correct the number into sixty, as has been suggested by Chavannes, for the number seems to indicate, as does the Tibetan expression *kumbum* (sku abum, 100,000 images) a wealth of statues and images not of gold, but gilded, like those that Major Dean had already noted as coming from Mingora. In fact, the *Taisho* edition and two new editions of the *Lo yang ch'ie lang chi* which I have all read: six thousand²⁶. The excavations we have undertaken have already brought to light some statues, in which the traces of gilding applied to the *bolus* laid on the stone are still visible.

As many a place has been localised by Hsüan tsang, starting from Mêng chie li, it follows that the new identification I proposed, and of which there seems no longer to be any doubt, is likely to change the location of other sites. Two other places can also be located with great probability: Dhanyapura and Naitari of *Vinaya* seem to me to correspond reciprocally to Dan-gram and to Nat-mera (see below, p. 316 and n. 24).

5. THE ROCK-CARVINGS AND THE ANTIQUITIES OF UDEGRAM

The other place which I selected for the excavations is Udegram. The two places, Mingora and Udegram, have in fact been chosen with a view to finding new material which may help to solve two different sets of problems.

The purpose of the excavations at Mingora is obvious; they are to throw light on what would seem to be one of the most remarkable religious edifices of the whole region, and if not the most

²⁵ See n. 12.

²⁶ *Lo-yang-chia-lan-chi-chiao-chu*, edited by Fan Yang-yung (Shanghai, Ku-tien-wên-hsüeh-ch'u-pan-shé, 1958); *Lo-yang-chia-lan-chi-chiao-shih*, edited by Chou Tzu-mu (Peking, K'o-hsüeh-ch'u-pan-shé, 1958).

remarkable, the center of worship for many centuries. We trust that these stratigraphic excavations will enable us to obtain a clear idea of the successive styles of the art of Gandhāra, its first appearance in this country, and, if possible, the period in which that art flourished and its vicissitudes in Swat. Our studies will, of course, be confined within the precise geographical limits of this part of the territory of Pakistan, for obviously we cannot speak of Gandhāra art in general, as if it were uniform and constant in its expression. We should seek rather to recognise and identify the different styles included under that general name, corresponding to the artistic traditions and tastes of the several places to which that style spread and which no *koiné* can quite efface.

We may find at Mingora favourable conditions for studying the successive styles and periods of Gandhāra art as it developed in Swat. As I have already said, the monuments were on several occasions injured by natural causes, earthquakes or floods, the greatest harm being done by a disastrous flood which buried them under the rubble and the boulders brought down by the river in spate, or fallen from the surrounding mountains.

On the other hand, the excavations in Udegram raise a very difficult problem. As Sir Aurel Stein had already shown, Udegram is the Ora of Arrian; very probably it gave its name to the country of which it was for some time the capital. There is no doubt that Swat never formed a real political unit; we find it partitioned up among several princes, barricaded in their respective fortresses on the summits of stony hills which could be easily defended (Hsüan tsang speaks of four or five such citadels. Cfr. *T'ang-shu*, in Chavannes, *Documents...*, p. 221: five towns).

Udegram, Barikot, Mingora, Najigram, the ruins of Aligram on the left bank of the Swat, the ruins of Surai Tange and many others bear witness to the presence of large inhabited fortified places, centering round the citadel of the prince on the highest point, surrounded by several orders of walls. By turn, one or other of these princes acquired mastery of the others and became a kind of *primus inter pares*, giving rise probably to inevitable jealousies and hostilities.

The fact that until our day no trace has been found of a local coinage leads us to think [289] that this country never acquired its independence, the different feudatories having to submit to the suzerainty of the major empires alternating on their borders: Indo-Greek, Śāka, Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, Shāhi, Kashmir, Ohind, which alternated with one another, as is shown by the great collections of coins that have been found in that country. It was only when these powers were at their lowest, that one or the other of the princes may have succeeded in gaining the mastery. Such would be the case of the prince mentioned by Sung Yün or Hsüan tsang who resided in Mingora, or of that Ta mo yin t'o ho se, on whom China conferred the title of king about one century before the country passed under the rule of Kāpiśa.

Such short periods of independence, at least relative, can be reconstructed on the basis of the information contained in the Chinese sources which register some missions to the Chinese court by the rulers of Uḍḍiyāna. Some of them are recorded within the first quarter of the 6th century. They took place in the [290] years 502, 511, 518, 521, when the White Huns were threatening the country. In the absence of a great power upon which to rely in the general chaos in which North Western India, Gandhāra and the adjacent countries had fallen, it is understandable that some chief of Swat had acquired an ephemeral supremacy upon his folk and had sent embassies to China in the hope or the illusion to find some help against the

incumbent danger. It is about at the time of the last mentioned embassy that Sung Yün was in Uḍḍiyāna and speaks of a king ruling the country (year 520). Then the dynastic histories for a long period do not record any such embassy evidently because the country had fallen under the invaders. Only towards the end of the first half of the seventh century and precisely in 642 – approximately when Hsüan tsang tells us of a chief of Swat ruling from Mêng chie li – do we find again mention of another mission. But it is worthy of notice that such an embassy came together with that of Kāpiśa, as if the two states acted in full agreement. Then a new danger arose and this time it came from the Arabs, alliance with whom had been sought by the Tibetans anxious to wrestle from the Chinese the possessions of Central Asia: at that time the Arabs whose aggressive power had found a leader in Quṭaiba, were renewing their attacks; on this side they had also approached the eastern borders of Uḍḍiyāna (so the text, corrected by Chavannes, *Documents...*, p. 129 into 'western border', but A. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 20, maintains the original reading: taking into consideration the raids of the Arabs in Sind up to the Indus). The local ruler supports the policy of the Shāhis, being under the same impending danger and refuses to accept the offers of the Arabs. The emperor Hsüan Tsung rewards him and some minor neighbouring chiefs, and confers upon him the title of king in the year 720, as he had done with the kings of Kāpiśa.

But somehow the Shāhis resisted the islamic pressure. Swat lost again its short lived and perhaps nominal independence; in 745 the Shāhi Pu fu chuan is recognized by the Chinese as the king of Kāpiśa and Uḍḍiyāna (see S. Lévi and Éd. Chavannes, 'L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong (751-790)', *JA*, 1895, p. 348; Éd. Chavannes, *Documents...*, pp. 128 ff.) which means that Uḍḍiyāna had coalesced into the Shāhis' state. So with the exceptions above recorded we may conclude in a general way that the country was always under a feudal regime.

Unlike Mingora, where for the moment I [291] propose to study the events and the successive phases of a school of art, Udegram with its impressive ruins brings the historical problem of Swat to the fore in all its importance. One can glimpse these ruins under the undulations of the soil, in a valley overlooked by a circle of mountain massifs, below which flows the Swat river, broad and calm, winding through green fields. Then the ruins climb up the slopes in such a dense tangle of walls that the slopes themselves seem indented as though by a gigantic staircase. The ruins, mounting upwards, press round the bastions of a huge fortress, on the outer walls of which opens one of the gates of the city which still stands; then they fall into a ravine where an inexhaustible spring of water still spouts; they skirt the summit of the massif, and mount to the highest peak on which the castle of Rajgira stands.

This impressive ruin has given rise to the legend, which has come down to our days, according to which this grim fortress, after resisting the vain and repeated assaults of Mahmud of Ghazni, was at last stormed because the king's daughter, having fallen in love with one of Mahmud's generals, revealed the place through which the water supplies passed.

The ruins are there to prove that this castle did not end with Alexander but was further enlarged under the Kuṣānas and the Sasanians, but was unable to withstand the assault of Mahmud; this is also shown by the objects and coins discovered in this place, which bring the record to the age of the Ghaznavides.

We are thus able to collect here at Udegram accurate chronological data. We know that the city was destroyed by Mahmud or his generals: that important public buildings stood there in the time of the Kuṣāṇas whose date can be ascertained by the building technique used, that Alexander reached it, besieged it, and conquered it.

That the origin of this site goes much further back is proved by carvings on the rocks which I discovered on the occasion of the survey I made of the spur of a mountain which closes the valley of Udegram, dividing it from that of Gogdara. The whole side, above which towers on the right an image of the Buddha, is carved with drawings of wild or domestic animals, of various size, some of them truly remarkable. These are not only graffiti, but deep-cut engravings of which some are hollowed in the rock by the use of a yet harder stone, so that the surface thus excavated seems [292] to be polished; the feline animals are recognizable by the stippling scattered over their bodies, imitating their spotted skins (fig. 1). The drawing and the *ductus* of the body consists of two triangles whose apexes touch, while the tails of the animals end in a spiral. These carvings are very like the paintings of animals on the vases of ancient Iran.

Whatever may be the conclusions to which we shall be led when all the rock drawings are brought to light and when the yet untouched soil is uncovered, there would seem room for believing that we have here come to the dawn of the life of Udegram, and that these documents date back to proto-historic times. This would show that a pluri-millennial period came to an end on this site, leaving behind it in the stratigraphy these documents which give so clear an idea of the events.

Having thus ascertained that *Mêng chie li* corresponds to the town of Mingora of to day and not to Mangalaor, and having chosen that place as well as Udegram as those to which precedence should be given, I passed on to examine the various localities to see if any other important site was to be added to those discovered or described by A. Stein or if some new document could be made available.

We shall now pass to the description of the various places or monuments classified by the direction in which they are found.

I am afraid this part of my report cannot but be a mere topographical skeleton or a sketchy illustration of the archaeological map. Each locality is a problem, each stele needs a study by itself, but, I repeat, this article is a preliminary report meant to explain how I came to think that Swat deserved particular investigation.

For practical purposes I divide the itineraries into two groups, A and B: itinerary A includes all the route and sites on the left [293] of the river, itinerary B those on the right.

A is again divided into various subgroups, A, AA - A1, each corresponding to a particular valley or route.

Route A, on the left of the river.

Route A, A: Mingora-Udegram-Landakai

Route A, B: Mingora-Mangalaor-Kalam

Route A, C: Mangalaor-Shakhorai

Route A, D: Charbagh–Mangalthan

Route A, E: Mangalaor–Azgharai

Route A, F: Mingora–Jambhil

Route A, G: Mingora–Saidu–Ilam

Route A, H: Barikot–Karahar pass

Route A, I: Barikot–Najigram–Abba Saheb–China

Route B, on the right of the river.

Route B, A: Barikot–Gumbatuna (by ford)

Route B, B: Mingora bridge–Aligram–Kabel

Route B, C: Aligram–Tutan Bande–Arkot Qila

Route B, D: Mingora bridge–Bar Bande–Shakardara–Bar Shor

Route B, E: Surai Tange

6. ROUTE A, A: MINGORA–UDEGRAM–LANDAKAI. NEW LOCATION PROPOSED OF THE SO CALLED STUPA OF UTTARASENA. IMAGE OF A KING (?). BARIKOT = VAJĪRASHĀNA

The road Mingora-Thana has been well described by Stein and only a few additions or corrections can be made to what he has said. Though this route abounds in innumerable sites and therefore testifies a far greater population than now, the most important inhabited centres to be mentioned are: Katelai A, B, Kamar, Udegram, Gogdara, Tindo-Dag, Ghalegai, the so called *stūpa* of Uttaraseña, Barikot.

Facing Saidu and also looking down on the road to Malakand there is a mountain which gradually descends towards the plain. It is called Katelai, a name which is given to the mountain itself and to the narrow valleys which open at the foot of its slopes in front [294] of Saidu (Katelai A) as well as of the police station of Serkanai (Katelai B).

In both places there are ruins which have been greatly damaged.

In Katelai A, along the slopes, there are many traces of walls in diaper work with the water drainage in some places still preserved. Above the ruins, under a tree, there is a sulphur well (now called Ska China), which is reputed to possess great medical qualities; sick people go there to bathe because the water is said to be specially efficient in cases of skin diseases. Most probably it is the *ayuhpāni* which U rgyan pa mentions in his description of Swat. Ruins – some of which are evidently the remains of a *stūpa* – and fragments of sculptures have also been found everywhere. They are distributed in four successive terraces gradually ascending the slopes and connected by a road of which traces are in some place preserved: they seem to converge towards the summit where the most important *stūpa* was built: a few fragments have been found. One (fig. 2) of them represents a warrior in the act of drawing his sword out of the scabbard; another is a frieze much damaged: on the left the Buddha and Vajrapāni between two ascetics in a hut, probably the first meeting with Brahmins; the head of a donor; stepped

merlons, a frieze with floral motives on the side (the *pippala* leaf is predominant) (fig. 3); two donors. The rock carvings are much effaced: one represents a Buddha between two standing Bodhisattvas with *mukuta*; another a Bodhisattva in *rājalīlāsana* holding a lotus with a long stalk and flower (fig. 4) in his left hand, representing Lokeśvara.

Ruins even more dilapidated are found in Katelai B; a few fragments of sculpture have been discovered during occasional diggings: among them a seated Buddha (fig. 5).

Qambar is a small village near Katelai B. That there was a religious settlement there is testified by the occasional discoveries of sculptured pieces. One of them has been recently found which represents the Buddha meeting an ascetic; it follows a well known pattern. The work is finely executed.

Of Udegram we spoke before.

In Gogdara and in Ghalegai new photos have been taken; in Ghalegai we found also some new carvings which were probably not noticed by Stein.

Another site of notable interest is Tindo-Dag; on a hillock at the end of the well-protected valley there are extensive ruins: the site looks archaeologically very rich and its importance is marked by some rock carvings which testify to the existence in this place of some religious settlement.

The big image of Buddha (fig. 6), of which only the head was visible to Stein, has been unearthed by order of the Wali Saheb; it is doubtless one of the most beautiful rock carvings of Swat, along with the other of Shakhorai and the Padmapāṇi of Jare. A path has been made by order of the Wali Saheb to reach the other images formerly of difficult access above the Buddha: but they are so placed that even now it is far from easy to take photos of them.

The image in barbaric dress (fig. 7) which to Stein seemed to represent Uttarasena, because he believed the *stūpa* in the proximity of Ghalegai to be the one referred to by Hsüan tsang as being built by that king, presents some difficulties of interpretation. First of all, as we shall see, this identification of the *stūpa* with that of Uttarasena is very uncertain. Moreover the image is not isolated. We find it again [295] at Kota and at Shandala (see below, pp. 300, 313) in a side valley of the Ilam river. The image bears a great similarity to those of the Kuṣāṇa kings in the Kuṣāṇa coins and the famous image of Kaniška of Mathurā. We are here confronted with a group of four personages surrounding a major figure as it reappears in the usual arrangement of Mahāyānic cycles: a central deity with his four accolytes on the four sides. In Ghalegai he has the *prabhāmaṇḍala* around his head. In the stele of Shandala the sword on the left side can be seen. This image may represent either the local deity with his attendants or a king of the Kuṣāṇa period with his retinue. Since the *prabhāmaṇḍala* appears in the coins of Huviška and disappears with Hormizd (Göbl in Althelm - Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt a. M., 1957, pp. 198 and 221) the image, if it represents a king, should be dated accordingly. It must be added that such a figure appears not only on the coins but also in the *graffito* of Kalatse²⁷ of Vima Kadphises.

²⁷ Since the photo I took of this inscription during my journey to Ladakh in 1928 is perhaps better than that published in *CHI*, I think it interesting to publish it here, fig 8.

Barikot was certainly one of the most important places of Swat and it was destined to be so for many reasons: its position in a wide valley, the proximity of the river, the rocky and steep hillock which represented in case of [296] war a formidable protection, the confluence there of many roads. The Swat river here also, just as in Mingora, is fordable in all seasons, occasionally with the help of buffalo skinboats. The place therefore for its situation had great importance from the very beginning of the history of Swat; and, as shown by Stein, it corresponds beyond doubt to the Bazira of Arrian: its name in Sanskrit was Vajirasthāna²⁸; the very extensive plain is dominated on the east by two big *stūpas*, greatly damaged, and on the west by the Barikot Gundeī which towers abruptly on the Swat river. All this wide plain where in spite of its present aridity, crops could grow plentifully, is for some square miles covered by potsherds mostly of the Kuṣāṇa period. Moreover, along the banks of the streamlet which flows into the Swat, running through the Barikot village, remains of old walls are visible; they [297] can easily be seen scattered all over a large area as far as the two *stūpas* on the spur dividing the Najigram and the Kandak valleys. There is no doubt that we are in front of an archaeological site of the greatest interest and a place formerly thickly populated. The potsherds of the best Kuṣāṇa type continue to spread over the eastern slope of the Barikot Gundeī hillock and reach its very top. This fact was noticed by Stein and perhaps induced Barger and Wright to make Barikot the centre of their investigations, which were unfortunately carried out in such a haphazard way that no positive result can be drawn from them. But on the slopes of the hills to the NE, right to the very top, other extensive ruins are to be found.

There is hardly any doubt that, just as in Udegram, here too the bazaar stood in the plain described above, dominated by the hill of Barikot Gundeī and its fortification, so well described by Stein. The only thing about which I am doubtful is whether the fort on top is as old as one might think. To judge from their [298] structure, the walls seem to be much later than the Kuṣāṇa period.

The fortress of which the remains are now extant on the Barikot Gundeī is architecturally different from what we generally find in Swat; it was built with the material at hand and *in situ*, thus destroying all traces of former occupations; but the huge quantity of Kuṣāṇa potsherds, the coins of that and the preceding periods found there and the remains of some walls of Gandhāra type here and there occasionally preserved between rock and rock, or brought to light by slides in the slopes of the hill, testify to the existence of previous settlements. We do not know what exactly stood on top of this hill during the Kuṣāṇa and previous periods; but we may presume that it was the acropolis, the *basileion*, the citadel, a fact which does not exclude the presence of some religious monuments as [299] well, probably a *stūpa*. That a *stūpa* was here is quite possible, because *stūpas* were erected in high places, and could coexist with fortifications, being considered as a protection in case of danger.

²⁸ The identification Bari-kot, Bir-kot is beyond any doubt; in fact we know from a Sanskrit inscription discovered in that locality and contemporary with Jayapaladeva, 10th century A.D., that the name as was heard by the Greeks survived also at the times of that king; it is in fact called in that inscription: Vajirasthana, the place Vajira. See Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Shastri, 'Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum', *EFXXI*, p. 301 (the editor identifies wrongly Vajirasthana with Waziristan).

That near the hillock there was a sacred place is shown by some rock carvings at its base representing Lokeśvara, and we know that these images always mark the routes of the pilgrims. A great mound exists near by, which was used for centuries by the Moslims as a cemetery: it is at present called Babadheri, and is just near the river.

I take this opportunity for questioning the identification of the *stūpa* of Uttarasena with the well preserved *stūpa* near the road half a mile north of Barikot and in proximity of Ghalegai. The identification was made by Major Dean and was accepted by Stein: but I am not convinced of its accuracy.

Hsüan tsang says that the Uttarasena *stūpa* was 60-70 *li* SW of Mêng chie li, to the east of the great river, viz. the Swat. But then he adds that 'by its side on the bank of the great river there is a large rock: its appearance is like an elephant'. Again he adds that on the very spot where the white elephant that had carried the relics of the Buddha halted, the king Uttarasena built this *stūpa*. Stein identified this rock with one in proximity [300] of Ghalegai. I found the place referred to by Stein and of which he also reproduces a photo. I examined it carefully and in every direction but I failed to recognize in it the even remote image of an elephant: so did my friends. Moreover there are serious objections to that identification. First of all, the *stūpa* of Uttarasena should stand on the bank of the river: but the *stūpa* now identified with it rises in a small side valley, which cannot be said to be on the bank of the river, but we cannot insist on this because the river may have changed its course. More important is the fact that the rock, supposed to be the elephant rock, is more than one kilometre to the north from this place.

In addition, this *stūpa* was said to contain the relics of the Buddha; all the story narrated about it shows that it was one of the most sacred places of the Swat: there must have been religious settlements near it. The so-called Uttarasena *stūpa* is, on the contrary, isolated by the side of the old road leading to the capital: there are no traces of ruins near by. Further, Uttarasena is said to be the king of Uḍḍiyāna: he brought back the relics of Buddha no doubt to his territory; as soon as the white elephant had completed its mission, that is to say had reached Uḍḍiyāna, it died; the *stūpa* must then have been erected when it reached the place of its destination, which cannot be other than a place near the boundary of the state itself.

For all these reasons, I think the identification of this *stūpa* with that of Uttarasena should be abandoned. Where should we then locate the *stūpa* of Uttarasena? If, as seems now certain, the capital of Swat visited by Hsüan tsang was not situated in Mangalaor but in Mingora, we must look for the *stūpa* somewhere down the river at a distance of approximately 30 kilometers from Mingora. This locality most probably is to be identified with the hamlet of Nawekalai, about 500 meters to the north of Kota. On a rock a few yards from the school some carvings represent the usual Bodhisattvas and a standing figure very similar to that of Ghalegai referred to above (p. 294). On the ridge of the spur descending towards the valley many ruins of imposing buildings are extant. They are placed at different levels of three natural platforms cutting large steps, so to say, in the ridge itself. Though very much dilapidated, these ruins no doubt belong to [301] some *stūpas*. The plain below as well as the slopes of the hillock are full of potsherds and worked fragments of the best quality of green stone. The ridge overlooks the valley where at a short distance from the road the river runs. Since the course of the Swat river

changed very often as it does even nowadays, it is quite possible that once it lapped the rocks described. When Hsüan tsang tells us that the place where the *stüpa* was built by king Uttarasena had the shape of an elephant this only means that the local people saw the image of an elephant in some hillock which when looked at from some particular angle could be taken as a lying elephant. The thing is not new.

Those who have some acquaintance with things Tibetan know how fanciful are these analogies of some localities with animals or flowers. In Tibet also most of the monasteries have been built on places which seemed most propitious because they looked like an elephant, or an eight-petalled lotus, though only by an effort of the imagination can one [302] really see in them what the pious founders believed. In this case also it is vain to search for a real and evident similarity of some rock with the figure of an elephant, all the more so because after so many centuries the rocks as a result of erosions or other causes have certainly changed their old appearance.

That the locality was not isolated but in proximity of a large centre is shown by the vastity of the archaeological sites; all round, the valley from Landakai to Kota, which ends at the bottom of wooded hills, is full of antiquities and the soil scattered with an extremely large quantity of potsherds. All this shows that the locality was thickly inhabited and that a big town was also situated there. Many ruins of castles, houses, religious settlements are still to be seen all along the slopes of the hill surrounding the valley.

7. ROUTE A, B: MINGORA-KALAM

Another route starts from Mingora, and passing through Charbagh, Kwajakhela, Järe, reaches Kalam. This route is marked by three principal places of pilgrimage. First of all, the source of the Swat, in which in later times the legend of Apalāla was located, near Kalam, from where the route proceeds to Chitral on the west and to Gilgit to the east. The other two places are on the right bank of the river; the former locality lies between the villages of Morpandai and Tirat; there are the foot-prints of the Buddha, discovered by Stein (fig. 9); the Kharoṣṭhi inscription on it was published for the first time by Bühler, and then by S. Konow in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (vol. II, p. 8). The boulder on which the footprints are engraved is still in its place: the footprints are much larger than one would expect and that was the reason why the Chinese pilgrims, recording the local tradition, tell us that they appeared large or small according to the merit of the observer: thus everybody could be satisfied that his merits were not despicable, since the prints were so big as to appear to everyone much larger than the normal footprints of common men. That there was a *stüpa* near that place, as mentioned by Sung Yün, is testified by the local tradition of a 'gumbat' existing there, now almost completely decayed, but still visible at the time of Stein (p. 60), and chiefly by some [303] fragments of Gandhāra sculptures which we were so lucky as to discover *in situ*. One of them is the cover of a reliquary, the vase itself having been broken by the discoverers who told us that five more pieces of sculpture were used by them as material for building their house. Another one represents the Buddha protected by

the extended hood of a snake. The place was certainly thickly inhabited, as is proved by the large quantity of pottery which from below Tirat extends up to the second, not less famous place, the boulder where the Buddha dried up his *saṃghāṭi*. The locality is also situated along the right bank of the river, and the place was discovered by Stein, following the description of Sung Yün: we tried to take photos of the many inscriptions which, though much effaced, can be seen roughly engraved on the boulder and belong to different periods.

This place, which must have been one of the most sacred pilgrimage centers of Swat, was no doubt accessible to the visiting pilgrims travelling on the left bank either by a suspension bridge or a ferry, which in spite of the violence of the river which here narrows and runs at a tremendous speed, is still occasionally operated by means of buffalo-skin rafts. The existence of the ford in old times [304] is proved by the presence on the left bank – about two hundred metres to the south of the boulder already referred to – of a huge and well preserved image of Avalokiteśvara (fig. 10) in the usual *rājajilāsana* posture: the photo of the visible part of it was published by Stein, but we had all of it dug out. It is a colossal and extremely well-executed image to which the pilgrims certainly paid homage before the dangerous crossing, as is still customary in Tibet. Avalokiteśvara is the god of mercy who always comes to the rescue and help of devout persons, and who like Tārā can preserve men from all sorts of dangers, fire, water, brigands etc. The locality in which this beautiful image is preserved is that of Jāre.

On a boulder near by some rock *graffiti* represent a warrior.

Besides Charbagh, a big archaeological site was discovered near the village of Titabad; leaving the main road and turning to the right, one reaches after one mile a locality called [305] Kuchla in which for more than one or two square miles numbers of potsherds and ruins are found. A local tradition survives of a castle which in ancient times existed there and was later destroyed by a rival prince. The site looks like one of the most important and largest in Upper Swat: we found in this place one of the so-called toilet disks, which though badly damaged shows very fine workmanship: moreover the villagers confirmed that gold objects were found some years ago in the same spot, and were then sold in the bazaar. In the village of Langra, not very far from Titabad, we found hidden in the grass, along an irrigation canal, a badly damaged stele representing Lokeśvara.

8. ROUTE A, C: MANGALAOOR–SHAKHORAI; PROBABLY THE ADBHUTA-STŪPA IS TO BE LOCATED IN SHAKHORAI

After the identification of Mēng chie li with Mingora it appears that the *Kṣāntivādin-stūpa* said to be four or five *li* to the east of Mēng chie li, can with all probability be located in Sheralai or Loe ban and identified with the extensive ruins of a *stūpa* and other religious settlements still visible in that place.

On the other hand, I think that the stone *Adbhuta-stūpa*, 30 *li* or so to the north-east of the capital, viz. about 15 km from the capital – is to be located in Shakhorai: this village is situated to the north-east of Mangalaor, [306] at a distance of approximately five kilometers from that

place. Shakhorai was certainly a very holy place as is proved by the huge rock image of Buddha already published by Stein (fig. 11), and by the minor carvings scattered over the boulders near by, but chiefly by a huge stone in which a kind of natural niche is excavated most probably sheltering an image.

In this locality, according to the tradition recorded by Hsüan tsang, the Tathāgata preached the law to men and Devas and as soon as he left, from underneath the soil the big stone *stūpa* arose: the boulder of which I speak is just dome-shaped like a *stūpa* and hence its name of the 'miraculous stone *stūpa*' probably arose (fig. 12).

Moreover, on a rock near by there are inscribed three stanzas containing Sanskrit versions of *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, VI, 16, and *Dhammapada*, 182 and 281, in characters of the 3rd century, published by Bühler (*EIIV*, pp. 133 ff.).

On the top of the rock on which the image of Buddha is carved there are ruins of a small *vihāra* and the foundation of a *stūpa*.

Leaving the main road from Mingora to Mangalaor, just in front of Sanghoṭa dheri, one traverses a plain which rises up in terraces in which the potsherds testify to the archaeological importance of the place; then a steep climb leads to Sherna, high up on top of the mountain. The path winds up along the ridge and makes its way through ruins of buildings, probably remains of the fortification. In the village of Sherna itself no ruins are visible now but they are still extant, though in a very dilapidated condition, on the top of the mountain. The villagers have shown us some coins of Kanīṣka and Vasudeva. All along this slope the potsherds are again very frequent and occasional traces of walls appear.

A place of far greater importance is the valley of Shaldara. This valley was the seat of a flourishing monastic centre. It is enclosed by the surrounding mountains and slowly descends towards the plain of Mangalaor. Under a tree a spring gives rise to a streamlet which glitters and mutters among the rocks. On the slopes imposing walls can be seen from afar, [307] but a hillock quite in the middle of the valley deserves special attention. It was once surrounded by impressive buildings; the steps leading to it are in some places preserved up to the entrance of the *pradakṣiṇā* which encircled four *stūpas*, two of which are of higher proportions. The largest *stūpa* clearly shows that it was built upon another one of smaller size in diaper work. To the north-east a seated image of a Bodhisattva is carved and nearby among scattered ruins a well is excavated in the rock. Many blossoming oleander trees enhance the beauty of the valley which seemed specially fit to ensure silence and ease of mind to a contemplative community. The locality is bound to yield important materials.

9. ROUTE A, D: CHARBAGH-MANGALTHAN (STEIN: MINGVALTHAN)

This route runs from Charbagh to the NE. There are in it two sites of archaeological interest: one is Jampur dheri, which was surveyed by Stein and where hasty excavations were made by Barger and Wright. It faces the *stūpa* which was described by Stein and which I found falling into ruins. Another very important center, judging from the ruins which are scattered over a

large area, was close to the hamlet marked on the map as Bagolai, but which our informants call Baludin, though the general designation of the place seems to be Zendalai. On the top of the hills running on [308] the left bank of the stream the ruins extend from that locality up to the other called Mangalthan, visited by Stein and where remains and potsherds are found in plenty. It was near Baludin that I was informed of the existence of a huge boulder with some images. It was completely hidden under thick shrubs and we had to ask for the help of the local peasants to clear it out. It is a very large slab of stone on which is carved the image of a standing Bodhisattva surrounded by minor figures: at the bottom are represented the donors in act of worship.

10. ROUTE A, E: MANGALAOR—AZGHARAI

This route runs through the valley of the Kolam Khwar to the SE of Mangalaor. At about one mile and a half from Mangalaor there are the remains of a big *stūpa*, surrounded by a wall in many places well preserved. In its proximity other ruins testify to the importance of the place. All the valley preserves traces of having possessed important religious centers. In fact, crossing the river just beyond that *stūpa* and proceeding along the slopes of the hills which descend towards the Kolam, in a field near a poor hamlet almost opposite Azgharai, inhabited by some Gujars, I was shown many images carved on rocks (fig. 13); others are also found farther up near Gurtai: they are engraved on a huge block but they are unfortunately greatly damaged.

The images which predominate are those of Lokeśvara in *rājatilāsana*, but in one of them there are Buddhas sitting in *padmāsana* and the figures of some donors (figs. 14-15).

There are ruins in both places. Other carvings are found further up near the village of Gidakot on the left of the river. Then on the right of the same river, near the village of Banjot, I discovered a good archaeological site and a beautiful rock carving representing Maitreya. Other images are said [309] to be in Divanbut along the route to Chakesar and Buner.

11. ROUTE A, F: MINGORA—JAMBHIL

Of greater importance was certainly the valley of the Jambhil. This is one of the places richest in archaeological remains, be they rock carvings, stelae or *stūpas*. The search for antiquities in this valley took us many days because those remains are scattered on both sides of the river, and we were compelled to toil up and down along winding paths, tiresome explorations in the maize fields where the stelae or the carving are often hidden.

Suppose that we leave Mêng chie li, where it has now been located, and that we follow the main route to Kukarai. On the right bank of the Jambhil almost opposite Butkara (not noticed by the way by Stein) from the road to Kukarai departs an old path leading to Mangalaor; just at the junction of the main route with this path, our way is indicated by a carving right up in the rock, to our left: proceeding in a NW direction, surpassing the ruins of three *stūpas* noticed by Stein about half a mile farther up the valley of the Pan streamlet, in the vicinity of a small

house, there are extensive ruins of a *vihāra* surrounded by many *stūpas*. Casual digging in the course of the usual agricultural work brought to light the foundations of large buildings, basements of many *stūpas*, fragments of Gandhāra sculptures and a small casket in steatite with a cover which when found contained some ashes and a pearl. More extensive ruins are still extant further up at the foot of a sandy hillock where long caves used as godowns of some religious settlements have been recently discovered.

Many ruins or rock carvings scattered in the valley and hills on the left bank of the Jambhil river have been described by Stein, the most impressive ruins of *stūpas* being in Loe ban and Shararai, now known by local people as Arap khan. The *stūpa* of Loe ban has been described by Stein: [310] it is built with huge stones. Shararai is particularly interesting because the ruins are scattered over a very large area and testify to the existence in this place of a very extensive religious settlement, built near a spring still flowing with perennial water.

The importance of the locality is testified not only by the ruins of buildings and the remains of the five *stūpas* but also by the rock carvings: these are more numerous than those referred to by Stein. One of them was partly covered when Stein noted it, but now it has been completely unearthed and it is certainly one of the most interesting to be seen in the country: the main group represents a Buddha on *śimhāsana* between two Bodhisattvas standing on a lotus (fig. 16).

Now the jeep and truck road ends at Kukarai, and if one wants to reach the village of Jambhil one must follow one or other of two tracks separated by a large hillock. The track to the north passes through the village of Kukarai where an image of Lokeśvara is now used as the support of a small bridge over the streamlet running through the village. The door of a house has been decorated with a fine keystone said to have been excavated at a place called Galikodheri. This site is about one kilometre to the east of the village; it is an extremely huge mound, one of the most extensive of the country, on the top of which there was a *stūpa*, whose basement is still noticeable. Not very far off there is a stele representing a standing Bodhisattva which has been brought within the precincts of the bungalow of the mission, pending the building of the Museum. To the north, on top of a barren hillock, other ruins are said to be the remains of the castle of Galiko.

The other track to Jambhil runs to the south of the same ridge.

At the very end of the Jambhil valley, near [311] the village of the same name, on a rock are three badly damaged images of a Bodhisattva (Lokeśvara?).

In Kukarai I was told that on the left side of the river Jambhil were to be found stelae and rock carvings and also ruins of ancient buildings. I therefore crossed the river and after one mile and a half of gentle climbing I was shown by a very obliging native tiller a rock hidden in the shrubs on which two beautiful images of Lokeśvara are carved (fig. 17). The locality is called Arabut. Not very far from there we could note traces of old buildings and many stelae, some of them damaged. While halting near a poor hamlet I noticed on the ground a big stone which appeared to me to be a stele lying on the engraved side. I then asked for the help of some peasants and in spite of the heavy weight of the stone we succeeded in turning it upside down, and to my satisfaction I found that my guess had been right (fig. 18). On the stele a very fine image of a standing Buddha had been engraved; I gave orders that it should not be damaged and

then asked the Wali Saheb to have the stele removed to the godown of our quarters where we collect our findings which in due time will be shown in the Swat Museum. The locality had certainly had great religious importance as we can judge from the many rock carvings or stelae which abound all over the place. One of the stelae represents a Buddha in *padmāsana* between two standing Bodhisattvas with *mukūṣa*. Two others represent two standing Bodhisattvas: the right arm stretched along the side, with the palm of the hand open towards the spectator in *varadamudrā*, in their left hand they hold a kind of sceptre not clearly discernable (fig. 19); such images have been found in large quantities and rival in number those of Lokeśvara.

Not very far, in the locality Shang-lai, also called Baghdheri, among various ruins [312] and remains of walls are lying in the fields four stelae: one very big but in fragments represents the upper part of a huge Bodhisattva; the second and the third a sitting Lokeśvara; the fourth one shows the same Bodhisattva sitting on his throne; to his right a *stūpa* is seen with umbrellas, under the throne there are some carvings so effaced that their subject cannot be identified (fig. 20). In another stele the sitting Bodhisattva holds in his left arm an instrument which seems an upright double *vajra*. The image should therefore represent Vajrapāṇi (fig. 21).

Crossing a streamlet which separates the territory of Kukarai from that of Dan-gram one finds to the right the ruins of a *stūpa*. Then returning from Kukarai towards Dan-gram for about two km a projection on a rock shows in the middle the usual image of Lokeśvara: to his right another image of the same Bodhisattva and to the left a Buddha (or Bodhisattva) with *mukūṣa* on a *siṃhāsana* throne. Almost resting on the lotus of Lokeśvara is a small image of Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*.

A little to the north there are traces of mounds and two stelae lying on the ground and much damaged. Near Dan-gram stand other two stelae representing two standing Bodhisattvas (fig. 22).

Then, always proceeding towards Mingora, at Badama which takes its name from a house about half a mile from Pan, there are traces of a *stūpa* almost completely wrecked: on a rock a sculpture represents a Buddha between two Bodhisattvas and a Lokeśvara.

Some fragments of an image of Buddha were shown us by the peasants.

Not very far from this house there are extensive ruins, mostly belonging to a *stūpa*: but clandestine excavations have been made by treasure seekers. The *stūpa* was covered with plaster or stucco: the house of Badama is built on the ruins of a big edifice, most probably a *vihāra*; nearby are the traces of a big tank.

12. ROUTE A, G: MINGORA—ILAM. AN IMAGE OF ŚIVA

From Mingora a track starts, which following the course of the Saidu river reaches the holy mountain of Ilam passing by the present-day villages of Kukarai, Miana, Murghzar, and Ilam.

Not very far from Murghzar, the jungle track began which leads also nowadays to the Ilam and also to the village of the same name which is at the bottom of the sacred mountain. One may be surprised at the distance of 30 *li* between Ilam and the capital given by Hsüan Tsang, if this capital was located in Mangalaor, but if the identification I propose of Mêng chie li with

Mingora is, as I am convinced, exact and the pilgrims route from Mêng chie li to Ilam ran through the actual village of Salampur, passing through Miana and Murghzar, the present summer house of the Badshah, such a distance seems accurate; all the more so if Hsüan tsang had in his mind the very bottom of Ilam proper or the road of access to the mountain: the distance by this route from old Mêng chie li through Salampur to Murghzar where the real jungle track starts is about six, seven miles.

This is certainly the easiest way to the holy mountain and it was followed up to some year ago by the Sikhs or the Hindus going on pilgrimage to Ilam every year. The road skirted some places of religious importance.

If one wants to meet this track from Saidu, on the left of Ilam river, one is shown the remains of two *stūpas* in a very ruined condition because they were used up to recent times as a quarry; near the first the basement of a big habitation, probably a *vihāra*, is still to be seen. This locality is called Prang Tangei and extends along the north-eastern slope of the mountain which joins that of Rajgira; it is cut in two parts by two deep ravines excavated by the violence of two torrents which bear testimony in their sites to the floods which devastated the country. In a place, right on the same level as the present bed of the river, there are traces of ruins which have been buried under many meters of *débris*. In the Prang Tangei there are two springs particularly good, though certainly now the flow is not so abundant as it was in former times. Then mention should be made of the *stūpa* of Topdara (evidently: *top* from *stūpa*) up a Nullah to the west of Guligram, in the proximity of a cool spring where people gather in summer, nowadays also. The *stūpa* of great dimensions was based, as usual, on a large plinth but it has now been largely demolished, and is at present used as a limekiln.

A few yards away, a heap of stones perhaps indicates another *stūpa* or a shrine. On the top of the surrounding cliffs well-preserved ruins are visible: the settlement was extensive, the buildings on top of the steep slopes of [313] the mountain could easily be turned into fortresses in case of war, taking advantage of their strong position; the inhabitants could also feel reassured looking from their dwellings at the imposing wall of Rajgira's castle dominating from the SW this narrow valley.

At Shandala, also near Guligram, of the once existing *stūpa* only the ruins remain: but from this locality many fragments of stelae have been found and specially that referred to above at p. 294 (fig. 23).

The sacred character of the place is marked by the other huge *stūpa* always on the left bank of the river, towards Murghzar; it is the *stūpa*, already noticed by Stein, of Shanesha, on the slopes of the mountain Tarkhana, now greatly damaged and from which many images are said to have been dug out by treasure seekers. On the occasion of my visit, I found two fragments, one of which represents the adoration of the Triratna placed on a pillar. The fields from the village of Batora up to the *stūpa* are full of potsherds. On a rock near the *stūpa* an image of Lokeśvara with a standing Bodhisattva on his left is carved.

At Kukarai three roads meet: one coming from Saidu along the Ilam river, another from the same locality but passing through Salampur, and the third one proceeding to Murghzar.

At Kukarai the two rock carvings, noted by Stein, representing two Bodhisattvas, are almost

effaced; but they are not the only images to be seen in this valley. That nearby there was a religious settlement is proved by the existence of large ruins of Gandhāra type on which at present the tillers have built their poor hamlet. In the proximity of Salampur and in the village itself the archaeological sites are numerous: everywhere there is a great quantity of potsherds. Many rock carvings representing the well known type of Lokeśvara are in the locality Balan about half a mile east [314] of Salampur. Another rock carving has been found on the left bank of the streamlet flowing down from Salampur into the Saidu river, in the locality called Manichinar; a stele representing a standing figure with four arms is lying on the other bank of the same torrent, in the middle of a maize field. Some symbols are visible: right upper arm *triśūla*, left upper arm *ḍamaru*, left fore arm *kamaṇḍalu*; it certainly represents ²⁹ Śiva (fig. 24).

²⁹ This representation of Śiva is similar in his main aspect to the central image of the so called 'Trimurti' of Peshawar Museum (Ann. Rep. Archaeol. Survey of India, 1913-1914, pp. 276 ff.): the only difference being that in the Peshawar sculpture the lower right hand is raised to the height of the breast. Though our stele is badly damaged it appears that the god had necklace and earrings, *kuṇḍala*. Our image of Śiva in spite of its poor workmanship is very important because it is so far the only relic of that non-Buddhist religion the existence of which in Swat is testified by Hsüan tsang. Our knowledge of the non-Buddhist art of Gandhāra and neighbouring countries is very scanty: references to its remains may be found in H. Goetz, 'Two Early Hindu Śahi Sculptures', in *Sarupa Bharati, Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume*, Hoshiarpur, 1954, p. 216 and Id., 'Late Gupta Sculptures in Afghanistan - The Scorretti Marble and Cognate Sculptures', *Arts Asiatiques* IV, 1957, pp. 13 ff. For Afghanistan J. Hackin, *Recherches Archéologiques au col de Khair Khaneh*, MDAFA VII, Paris, 1936, pls. XI-XVI; D. Schlumberger, 'Le marbre Scorretti', *Arts Asiatiques* II, 1955, p. 113.

I take this opportunity to publish here an image worshipped in the hindu temple of Kabul, the photo of which was given me by my friend Scorretti there in the Italian Legation (fig. 32). It represents, as can be gathered from the inscription, Mahāvināyaka, a special form of Gaṇeśa. The god is represented in *alīḍha* posture, with diadem (*kirita*) upon which one sees the figure of a half moon. He is represented with a huge belly, *lambodara*, *mahodara* and in state of erection. The image appears to have had four arms which are now missing: he wears a *dhōti*, a lion skin and the *nagayajñopavita*. As regards the posture of his hands or the things which they grasped it is difficult to say what they were; according to the *Vighnanivārakam gaṇapatistotram* (*Bṛhatstotratānakara*, p. 38) they were *paśa*, *aṅkuśa*, lotus and *paraśu*, but in the *dhyana* contained in the *Mantramahodadhīh*, ed. Nirmayasagara, Bombay, p. 14, they are *padma*, *aṅkuśa*, *abhaya*- and *varadamudra*. This form of Gaṇeśa is said in the *Merutantra*, as quoted in *Puraścaryāṇava* of Pratisiṃha, II, p. 695 to be proper of the Northern school *uttaramnaya* and the formula with which the *sadhana* should start is *hasti piśāci* (*Merutantra*, p. 475). Then the *dhyana* (not in the *Merutantra* but quoted according to the same encyclopedia from *tantrantara*) describes him as *ucchiṣṭagaṇa nāyakam*.

His *sadhana* is for the impure ones: cfr. *tatkarma kuryād aśucir japādīn*, *Tantrasarasamgraha*, Madras, p. 348: in fact many references are here made to the *pañcamakara*.

There is no mention of his being *urdhvaliṅga* (but cfr. *utthapitadhvaja* of the *Dhyana* of the *purvamnaya gaṇeśvara* - *Merutantra*, p. 418, v. 16).

Let it be as it may, there is no doubt that this image represents a particular form of Gaṇapati invoked as Mahāvināyaka.

The inscription is written in characters which seem to be of the end of fifth and beginning of sixth century.

1) Om saṃvatsare aṣṭatame sam 8 jyeṣṭha-masa-śukla-pakṣa-tithau tṛayodaśyam śudi 10 - 3 rikṣe

That those hillocks at the bottom of the high mountain were thickly populated is proved by the existence of many ruins scattered all over the locality, and by the great abundance of potsherds.

[315] Huge remains of a big settlement with a large quantity of potsherds are found on a hillock on the left of Ilam a kilometer before reaching Murghzar: on the opposite bank in the locality called Meragai there is another very large archaeological site: and on the rock a fine carving of Padmapāni in *rājatilāsana*.

13. ROUTE A, H: BARIKOT-KARAHAR PASS

Two valleys converge on that of Barikot/Birkot, one is the Kandak valley, where stand the huge ruins of Kanjarkot, a place described by Stein and where diggings were made by Barger and Wright. The other one at Nat-mera is divided into two minor valleys by the Najigram ridge: from the first valley departs the track which through Nawagai and Amlukdara³⁰ leads to Ilam. It has been described by Stein and I could find in it nothing new. The main road proceeds to Nawagai and through the Karahar Pass to Buner.

viśakhe śubhe simhe ci..

2) .. mahat-pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahavināyaka-paramabhaṭṭaraka-maharājadhira-śrī-śahi-
khimṅalo-tyāna-śahipadai[h]

So from the inscription it appears that the image of Mahavinayaka was consecrated by a Shāhi king named Khimṅala in the 13th of *tithi* of the white fortnight of *jyēṣṭha* under the *nakṣatra* (in the text: *rikṣe* for *ṛkṣe* = *nakṣatre*; in the Gilgit Ms. always *riṣi* for *ṛṣi*, etc.) Viśakha and the *lagna* of the lion. It is impossible to know to which era this inscription refers.

In the last line I am not absolutely sure about the reading: otyāna; it could also be odyāna or odyana. Doctor B. Ch. Chhabra, whom I had the privilege of consulting during his recent stay in Rome, also inclines to this reading. A good rubbing can settle the point. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udyana, Uddyāna (cfr. the form Uddyāna of *Mahanayaprakāśa* referred to in n. 21).

The king Shāhi Khimṅala is not unknown, since there is no plausible reason to dissociate him from the *Deva Śahi Khing[la]* on a coin published by Cunningham, 'Later Indo-Scythians', (*NumChr*, 1893-1894), Indian repr., pp. 97, 110, pl. VII, fig. 11; V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford, 1906, pp. 265, 267; V. A. Smith, 'History and Coinage of the Gupta Period', *JRASB* LXIII, 1894, p. 189. It seems reasonable to suppose that such a king is the same as the Khimkhila of *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 364 (transl. by Stein, I, v. 347 n. and 107 n.) alternate name of Narendraditya I. Nothing precise is known about him except these two references, one from numismatic sources and the other from the famous chronicle of Kalhana. In this book it is written that he consecrated shrines to Bhūteśvara, just as the old king Aśoka who when the 'country was overrun by Mlecchas obtained from [Śiva] Bhūteśvara a son, in order to exterminate them'. That is he asked for protection from a god who like Mahavinayaka was usually invoked in order to expel all sorts of dangers.

The date of this king is still subject to doubt: according to the *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* he was a successor of Mihirakula, according to other authorities (cfr. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka*, Paris, 1935, p. 14; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 29) he could be anterior to Toramaṇa.

³⁰ The plans here published [omitted in this reprint - Ed.] have been drawn by prof. V. Caroli.

In Nawagai, on top of a steep and rocky hill, there are extensive ruins of a huge fortress, which extend all over the ridge. On the same pass of Karahar near the police post, there are ample remains of walls in diaper work: in some places the plaster is still preserved: on the very top the basement of a *stūpa* is visible.

From Karahar Pass one can enjoy a most beautiful view of the Buner plain surrounded by pointed and wooded hillocks strangely evocative of some Chinese painted landscapes. In that plain many small villages are scattered the largest of them, which can be seen from the pass, being that of Jowar. The village owes its name to a big tank which once was there but is now practically dried up. The surrounding country is archaeologically very rich as witnessed by the numerous potsherds scattered all over the fields. About a mile off, on the ridge of the hill now called Babahpa, there are huge ruins of a series of *stūpas* and of a monastery; the great *stūpa* towers on top, but completely crumbled down and as it has been used as a quarry by the villagers only the basement is left. From it one can well distinguish a small lane which climbed along the crest of this spot passing through the monastery. The walls of the monastery are well preserved [316] and one can get the idea of its original plan. It consisted of six cells, three on each side.

At Nat-mera, where a fine view of the Ilam mountain can be enjoyed, traces of old and imposing buildings exist; a high wall attracted our attention, because it might well have been the plinth of a *stūpa*. Here also potsherds are in great numbers.

The antiquities in these places are more extensive than was perhaps noticed by Stein.

I think there is hardly any doubt about the identification of this place with a locality mentioned in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (page not mentioned in Dutt's edition), viz. Naitarī where, according to that same book, the conversion of the potter took place.

The village is recorded immediately after Dhānyapura which, as we saw, is the same as Dan-gram of our times.

14. ROUTE A, I: BARIKOT–NAJIGRAM–ABBA SAHEB–CHINA

The second valley is entered at Najigram in which very important archaeological sites can be recognized. They are Najigram, Tokar, and Abba Saheb-China; in the last two places some occasional excavations were begun by Barger and Wright.

After Nat-mera, the ruins of Najigram come in sight, consisting mainly of walled terraces of Gandhāra type. Following the ridge of the hill one finds after climbing up the rocks the ruins of a big *stūpa*, and one enters the old street which passes through a narrow gate; in some places the steps are preserved. To the left, a wide square space is delimited and supported by huge walls in diaper work. Since there is no trace of any building and the walls end abruptly, my impression is that a big water reservoir was there: this impression [317] is corroborated by the local tradition, according to which right at the corner of the opposite slope there was, until a few years ago, a spring now dried up. But the trees which always shelter the spring are here still, generously bestowing their shade. Of course the real destination of the ruins will be

disclosed by the spade of the archaeologist. A little higher up are the ruins of a *stūpa*, greatly damaged. Extensive remains are scattered all over the slopes of the steep hill.

To the SW of Najigram, at a distance of about two km, stands Tokar. In this locality I was much impressed by the barrage works, but what surprises one is rather the extensiveness of the remains. In Togar, Tokar we find two big *stūpas*; one of them is well preserved, while of the second to the south-east only the plinth and the basement remain, although it is clear that this also was of huge proportions. Between the two ruins the *vihāra*, the north-western wall of which presents a row of square rooms, all vaulted: then we find the high walls still extant of a big room which was probably the Assembly Hall. A little below the big *stūpa* the ruins of another *stūpa* are visible. In the narrow valley enclosed by the steep slopes of the towering mountain there are many ruins of small buildings.

The place is certainly one of the greatest monastic settlements of the whole Swat. Below, stretches a fertile valley gently sloping towards the river; foundations and walls are everywhere visible.

That the Najigram settlements and *stūpas* were of considerable interest, is shown by a well-preserved casket in steatite which was found among their ruins, containing a small golden box with some relics, and also it seems a birch-tree leaflet which has since disappeared: according to what I was told the casket was given to the Wali Saheb. To finish the description of the Najigram valley, mention should be made of an isolated *stūpa* on the left bank of the Najigram village: it is called Sperki Gumbat and it is surrounded by many ruins: all over the fields potsherd, chiefly of the Kuṣāṇa period, abound.

Another very important archaeological site lies near a spring about three miles to the south-east of Najigram. The spring is in a lonely and most pleasant valley winding up to the Mandara Nullah, a torrent which flows into the Najigram stream. The spring possesses [318] healing powers and the locality was certainly thickly populated: on the steep cliffs dominating the valley vast ruins of two storied building are well preserved: I am glad to publish here the plan drawn with his usual ability by Prof. V. Caroli of our Mission [omitted in this reprint - Ed.], representing *stūpa* A, *stūpa* C, a domed chapel, the major building, with staircase.

On the slopes, small dwellings of hermits and monks testify to the intense spiritual life which once drew inspiration from the beauty and mystic silence of this place. The peculiar feature of this settlement is to be found in the domed chapels near the *stūpa*, evidently containing some images. The locality is called by its new name Abba Saheb-China (figs. 25-28). The site of Abba Saheb-China is full not only of Kuṣāṇa pottery but also of *débris* of Gandhāra sculptures (one was found on the spot); unfortunately it has been unskillfully excavated to satisfy the greed of treasure seekers and dealers from the plain, and also of some Sahibs who for a few rupees induced the local people to undertake clandestine excavations. Now all this has been brought to the notice of the Wali Saheb, who also possesses a fine collection of Gandhāra pieces and other antiquities and has taken a great interest in preserving the archaeological treasures of his country, assisted in this task by his son, Prince Aurangzeb, and by the Chief Secretary, Ataullah Khan. Following this stream downwards, and reaching again the Najigram river, if one turns to the right along the upper course of the same river one sees,

in the middle of a graveyard, another imposing *stūpa* supported by a huge basement. The locality is called Jerando dag.

In Najigram we learned that some local families still know the art of curing snake bites. They showed us some herbs: one of them is called *akh* (or *ānkḥ madār* in Urdu, in Pashtu *spalmāi*). Another one they call generically *taryāk* which is a Persian word meaning antidote. But the most important thing is that the medicine in order to produce its effect must be accompanied by the uttering of some formulae, which cannot be divulged. However, when Dr. F. A. Khan insisted, being afraid that their orthodoxy might be questioned, they said that their formulae are not *mantars* like those of the infidels and the *yogis*, but verses taken from the *Asman Kitab*, the Quran. The art of healing snake bites is therefore still flourishing in this place and most probably it continues a tradition which connected this locality with serpents (it should be remembered that one famous monastery located by Stein in Buner – but not beyond contention – was called *Sarpa-oṣadhi*). Traditions are hard to die even in a country where so many historical events have cancelled all connections with the past; Aurel Stein noted many survivals of ancient beliefs which Islamic tradition could not completely blot out.

15. ROUTE B

The routes to the right of Swat were certainly of less importance than those which have been briefly described so far: the reason is to be found in the fact that, with the exception of a few valleys, this part of Swat is not so fertile as the other: it is more barren, the soil is stony, the streams are extremely impetuous during the rains and cause great damage. But a first exploration of some parts of this zone shows that here also sites of archaeological interest abound.

16. ROUTE B, A: BARIKOT–GUMBATUNA (BY FORD)

If one fords the river at Barikot by means of the usual raft, one arrives at a site which is generally called Parrai: in the valley, on the lower slopes of the hills, ruins are very extensive and they grow in number in the locality Redawan and near the *stūpa* of Gumbatuna already described by Stein. Of special interest is a square building on the top of a hillock, with four round turrets at the four corners as in the fortifications of Udegram.

17. ROUTE B, B: MINGORA BRIDGE–ALIGRAM–KABEL

Let us cross the Swat on the Mingora bridge, and join the route which runs almost parallel to the river on its right bank.

Where the Deolai Khwar flows into the Swat, rises the village of Aligram at the foot of a ridge which separates the valley of the Deolai Khwar from that of the Sigram Khwar: the spur

of the ridge up to the very summit is covered with imposing ruins which are the remains of a large fortified place: according to local informants, many coins and also some bronze images have been found there.

If we descend in the direction of SW [319] to the village of Akun Kalai, we come across the Katelai stream which descends from the village of the same name. Following upstream on its left bank, we shall notice that the locality, now for the most part barren and strewn with stones and pebbles carried down by the rains, abounds in potsherds of the redware type, which generally belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. The remains are found over a very large area and show that the place was once thickly populated.

18. ROUTE B, C: ALIGRAM—TUTAN BANDE—ARKOT QILA

Proceeding along the same route and turning to the right after Aligram, about one mile before reaching Galoch, one comes to the village of Tutan Bande, where I was shown some Kuṣāṇa coins and two iron arrow-heads; I was also able to ascertain that the village is built upon a large mound where potsherds of redware are plentiful. Other mounds and ruins lie all around on the top of the adjoining hills and I was told that native peasants have discovered in great quantities glass and paste beads. The two mounds which yield the greatest amount of fragments of pottery and where ruins exist, are called Manjahei and Pakkadheri.

Coming back to Galoch one can proceed towards the village of Kalakhela until one reaches the dry bed of the Makan stream: beyond it a very important archaeological site begins, characterized by a great quantity of fragments of redware. If one climbs for about one km up to the top of the rather steep hill where the forest begins, one will find on an isolated peak the foundation of a *stūpa*: in this place a fragment was discovered a few days before our visit and presented to the Waliahd Saheb (13 Sept.).

The locality is called Girban or Managosar. Taking again the road which runs along the [320] Deolai Khwar, we reach another of the most extensive sites on the right of the Swat. The place is called Arkot Qila from the fort which is built there, towering above the road; the fort itself has been built upon a huge mound, and the locality up to Tutan Bande, which is here plainly visible to the SW, is marked by mounds and ruins. I was shown many coins, chiefly of Kanīṣka, paste beads and a toilet disk in steatite.

19. ROUTE B, D: MINGORA BRIDGE—BAR BANDAI—SHAKARDARA—BAR SHOR

Let us now take the main road to Bar Bandai, where a wide valley opens to the north-west. Before it narrows one sees to one's right, on the top of a hill, Jakot, a small hamlet of Gujars. Though it cannot compete with the other places, this too is an archaeological site of considerable interest.

The village of Shakardara, on the main route near the Swat river, is built on a huge mound, and in the village itself many walls of the characteristic so-called diaper work are still extant.

A few miles to the north of Shakardara the road reaches the valley of the Harnai Khwar, which leads to the State of Dhir. In this valley two places attracted my attention: one is Dang Arkot, built on a mound of great proportions and within a short distance from many other sites: Kuṣāṇa coins and beads were shown to us and the soil abounds in potsherds. Then the road winds up the valley, which narrows and acquires a beautiful alpine character: almost at the foot of the mountain, where there is the pass leading to Dhir, one arrives at the village of Kuz Shor, a few miles before the frontier post of Bar Shor, where stands a large fort. On the slope and on the top of the hill above the small village there are many ruins, now mostly covered by shrubs and hidden in the forest: they are very extensive and show that the place was fortified. In the rock some deep holes have been dug, of the same kind as those found in Udegram and elsewhere, which were used as water reservoirs.

20. ROUTE B. E: SURAI TANGE

The fortified place of Surai Tange near Baidarra has been described by Stein. I must add that to my mind it is the strongest and [321] largest fortification of Swat, after that of Udegram: the ruins run along the ridge of the mountain, and remains of buildings are found all along the slopes. The valley, which slowly descends towards the river, is now almost barren. Except for a few hamlets of shepherds the place is almost abandoned; there is only a tiny spring feeding a small pond swarming with insects and leeches. In this case a change has no doubt occurred in the conditions of the soil due to shortage of water: no large town like the one shown by the ruins could have prospered here in former times if conditions were such as they are today. But that the place was populous is proved by the enormous quantity of potsherds scattered all over the valley and along the slopes of the hill.

Almost facing the spring, there is the opening [322] of a corridor or tunnel which is said by local people to go very deep into the mountain. Its access is now made difficult by heaps of rubble, but it was high enough to allow a man to walk in standing upright (figs. 29-30).

The last site which I could identify on this side of the Swat was at Meramai. This is a small hamlet about three miles west of Ashari, a big village near Duskhela: it was when visiting Ashari that I found in the house of a prominent personality some fragments of Gandhara sculptures which I was told were discovered in a wall at Meramai.

I therefore set out for that village and located the spot where the fragments had been discovered (fig. 31): there are many ruins, walls of the usual diaper work and the remains of a big *stūpa*. Near them a spring still flows.

21. THE ROCK CARVINGS, THE STELAE AND THEIR SUBJECTS

Now we shall consider the subjects represented by the rock carvings or on the stelae marking the itineraries of the pilgrims.

The rock carvings represent either a Buddha, standing or sitting, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied on both sides by a Bodhisattva, also standing or sitting. The representations of a peculiar Bodhisattva far exceed in number those of the Buddha or other Bodhisattvas and lead one to believe that the former represented, at least during a certain period, the most popular deity of the country, a kind of protecting or patron God. This Bodhisattva is generally found in two forms: one is that of Lokeśvara in *rājalāsana*, i.e. with left leg gently hanging from the throne and the lotus in the left hand; much more rare is the image of the same god standing.

We know that Lokeśvara was especially worshipped in Swat: Hsüan tsang is the first to mention an image and a temple to him on the right bank of the river which I have been unable to locate so far.

The *Sādhana-mālā* contains some *sādhana*s of Lokeśvara according to the *Uḍḍiyāna-krama*, pp. 80 and 83. This variety of Lokeśvara is called Trailokyavaśaṃkara-lokeśvara, and two *sādhana*s dedicated to him have been written by Sarahapāda; in this form the Bodhisattva has two hands and three eyes, and his symbols are the *vajrāṅkitapāśa* and the *āṅkuśa*.

The images of this Bodhisattva are sometimes most beautifully executed, other times they are rather rough and not well proportioned. It would not be very wise to draw any conclusion as regards their chronology from the style, because we must take into account the fact that some of these images may have been carved by gifted artisans and others by less skilled village workmen. However, in spite of this, it is undeniable that a chronological difference must be assumed to exist among some of them, which show the gradual decay of the ability of the artists and the impoverishment of their style.

A second type of Bodhisattva is standing with his right arm stretched down his side and his hand in *varadamudrā*; in his left hand he holds a kind of stick which may be a sceptre.

Other deities were likewise popular in Uḍḍiyāna³¹. First of all Vajrapāṇi of Mangakoṣṭha, right hand in *abhayamudrā* and left hand with lotus and *vajra*, as described in a *Sādhana* of a manuscript in Cambridge (Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, Pl. VI, n. 5 and p. 193, n. 22). Most probably we must see this Bodhisattva in the image reproduced above (fig. 21).

But, as I said before, what really surprises me is the almost complete absence of Vajrayanic deities in a country which was considered as one of the birth-places of Tantrism and one of the four *pīṭha*, along with Pūmagiri, Kāmākhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa.

There is so far, as we saw, only one image with four hands, but it does not represent a buddhist deity but Śiva.

To conclude, these stelae express not only different contents from the sculptures or the stucco images of the previous period but also a new style. The images of Buddha become rare and, when he is represented, the artist does not seem to refer to any particular moment of his life. He is the symbol of the teaching, the master sitting in meditation so as to evoke the fundamental moment of his earthly career. If he is standing, he is represented in the *abhayamudrā*,

³¹ Many Mahayanic deities as worshipped according to *Uḍḍiyānakrama* are mentioned in the *sādhana* literature: f.i. Martini, *SM.*, pp. 83, 86, 88, 286, 288 (Vajravaraṇi p. 439, Kurukulla p. 361 etc.).

to signify that those who follow his path are sure to obtain liberation. If he is accompanied by some other figures these are not of monks but of Bodhisattvas. Evidently the Mahayanic Buddha is here intended, though the bad condition in which the stelae are generally preserved does not, as a rule, allow further identification. In some cases, it is impossible to establish if the image represents [324] a Bodhisattva or one of the *Pañcatathagatas*.

Generally, therefore, the Bodhisattvas predominate especially he who was conceived as ready to answer promptly the invocation of the pious devotees that is *Lokeśvara* but, so far, no representation of *Tārā* has been discovered. As I said, these images, either stelae or rock carvings, represent the deity alone or with acolytes, standing or sitting. In the latter case the posture which prevails is *rājatilāsana*. When standing the figures are elongated and slim, the body has a certain gracefulness and the features, when – as rarely happens – they have escaped abrasion, are finely reproduced. The body is gently bent in a not very accentuated *dvibhāṅga* posture. One has the impression that with the change of the religious contents the style also was greatly modified and one is inclined to see in this style the influence, even if remote, of the aesthetic ideal which developed in India during the Gupta period and which make the statues of Swat the westernmost though independent counterpart of those of the Pāla Art. As I said, it is difficult to place these images chronologically, because they are of different workmanship and they may spread over a great space of time, but I should say that generally they cannot be older than the seventh century and later than the tenth. Unfortunately no inscription has been found so far.



Fig. 1. Graffiti and engravings at Gogdara.



Fig. 2. Katelai A: fragment of a relief representing a

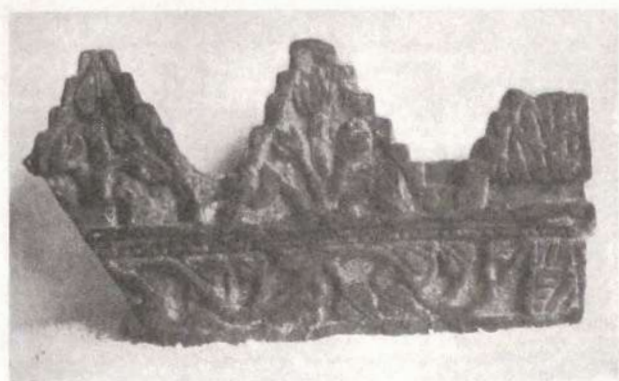


Fig. 3. Katelai A: a Gandhara frieze.



Fig. 4. Katelai A: rock carving representing Lokeśvara.



Fig. 5. Katelai B: fragment of a relief with a seated Buddha.



Fig. 6. Ghalegai: a big image of Buddha.



Fig. 7. Ghalegai: Kuṣāṇa King or local deity with attendants.

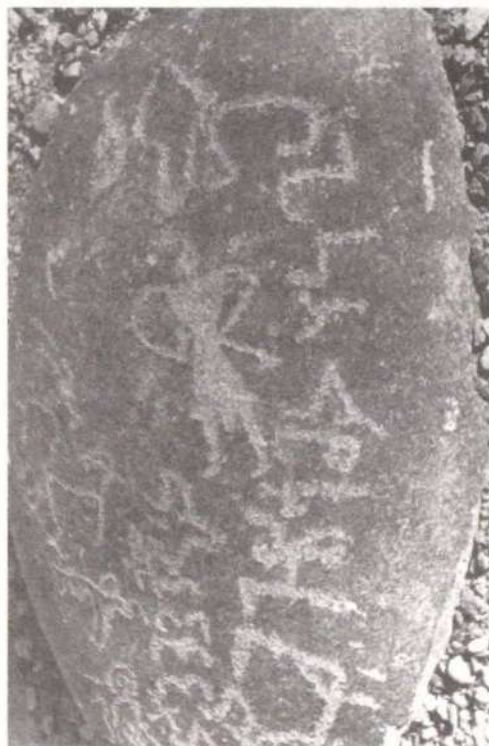


Fig. 8. Kalatse: graffito and inscription of Vima Kadphises.



Fig. 9. Tirat: foot-prints of the Buddha, now in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif.



Fig. 10. Jare: rock carving representing Avalokiteśvara.



Fig. 11. Shakhorai: a huge image of Buddha.



Fig. 12. Shakhorai: a dome-shaped boulder (the "Miraculous Stupa").



Fig. 13. Route A, e. Mangalaor-Azgharai: a seated Lokeśvara.



Fig. 14. Route A, e. Mangalaor-Azgharai: a stele with standing Lokeśvara and donors.



Fig. 15. Detail of fig. 14.



Fig. 16. Arap Khan: rock carving representing a seated Buddha with Bodhisattvas.



Fig. 17. Arabut: two images of Lokeśvara.



Fig. 18. Arabut: a stele with a standing Buddha.



Fig. 19. Arabut: a stele with a standing Bodhisattva (Vajrapani?).

Fig. 20. Shang-lai: a stele with a seated Lokešvara.



Fig. 21. Shang-lai: a stele with a seated Bodhisattva (Vajrapāni?).



Fig. 22. Dan-gram: a stele with a standing Lokeśvara.



Fig. 23. Shandala: a stele with a male figure in barbaric dress.



Fig. 24. Manichinar: rock carving representing a four-armed Śiva.



Fig. 25. Abba Saheb-China.



Fig. 26. Abba Saheb-China: a domed chapel.



Fig. 27. Abba Saheb-China: small dwelling rooms.

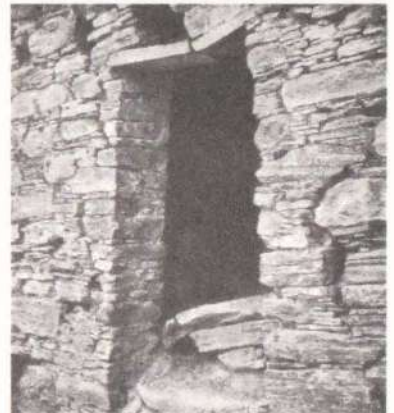
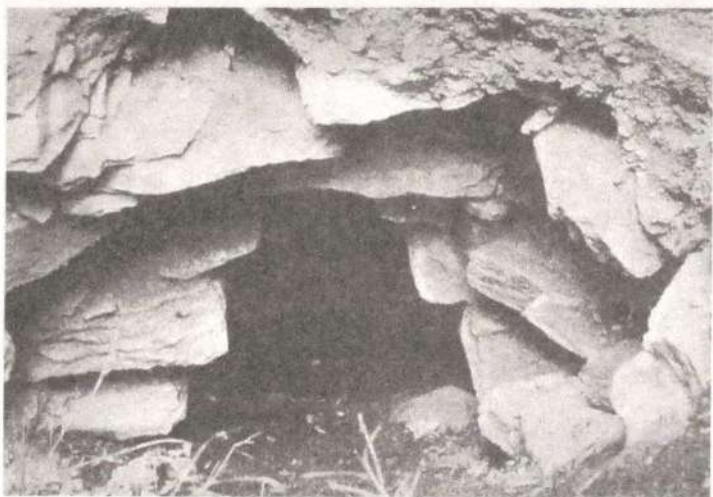


Fig. 28. Abba Saheb-China.



Figs. 29, 30. Surai Tange: the opening of a corridor or tunnel.



Fig. 31. Meramai: a Gandhara frieze.



Fig. 32. Kabul: a Mahavinayaka image.

The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi

East and West, XIV.1-2, 1963, pp. 27-28.

A history of Swat based upon literary sources, Sanskrit, Greek, Chinese, Tibetan etc., as well as on the material discovered in the course of the excavations, which I began to write a few years ago, is almost ready for publication: in it I have also discussed in detail the problems connected with the cultural and historical evolution of the country. Meanwhile I would like to add a short note to the preliminary report by Dr. C. Silvi Antonini ['Preliminary Notes on the Excavation of the Necropolises found in Western Pakistan', *EW*, n.s., vol. XIV, nos. 1-2, 1963, pp. 13-26 – *Ed.*] and say a few words concerning the people to whom we attribute the cemeteries described in the preceding article.

The necropolises so far explored are not the only ones existing in Swat and neighbouring countries. I discovered other extensive graveyards of the same kind and containing the same pottery and grave furniture in Chakdarra, Gogdara, Gumbatuna, Charbagh, along the route to Kalam; pottery of the same type, though coarser and more primitive, has been found along the Indus river.

The problem which now obviously arises is: to whom can these necropolises be attributed? The fact is certain that they are prebuddhistic. That Buddhism found in Swat a preexisting religion is evident; it is also documented by the excavations at Butkara II, and by the fact that many of the stūpas still existing in Swat have been built on or near the graveyards, as a mark, so to say, of the occupation by the new religion of previous religious centres. That some of these cemeteries were located near sacred places is proved e.g. by the necropolis of Loe Ban, where they are situated at the bottom of a hillock on top of which there is a flat surface which appears to me to have been a sacrificial area. The continuity of life in these places for many centuries is proved by the lithic implements found in various spots.

The identification of mesolithic and neolithic settlements will be undertaken by Prof. S. Puglisi, during this year's work season; the problem with which we are at present concerned is that of sorting, if possible, the various layers of occupation and of identifying the traces left by the various cultures which followed one another, before the introduction of Buddhism.

Returning to the subject of cemeteries, it seems to me that it can hardly be doubted that they should be attributed to the Assakenoi of Alexander's historians. The Assakenoi are in fact the peoples which Alexander found after crossing the Panjkora and with whom he was compelled to fight hard.

Their most important places were Massaga (not yet located with certainty, but which must have lain somewhere near Chakdarra), Bazira = Vajira, Vajirasthāna in an inscription [28] of Jayapāladeva (*EI* XXI, p. 301), now Barikot, Ora (Uḍegram), Dyrta (not located). These were the cities of the Assakenoi, Āśvakāyana and allied tribes, because we have certainly to speak of a federation of tribes: Aspasioi-Āśvāyana, Assakenoi-Āśvakāyana (Kātyāyana, VI, I, 99) and Aurdāyana, from Urdi (Ora), mentioned by Kātyāyana on IV, II, 99.

The name of the last tribe cannot be separated from Oḍḍiyāna < Aurdīyāna, Audriyāna¹.

¹ G. Tucci, 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', *EW*, vol. 9, n^o. 4, 1958, p. 324, n. 1 [in this volume – *Ed.*].

This means that the Aurdāyana superseded in power, or prestige, at a certain time, the other tribes (what I have written in the above quoted passage of the 'Preliminary Report' should be understood in this sense), especially the Āśvakāyana, or at least, that after the destruction of Massaga, the capital of the federation became Ora (Urđi, Urda, Udra, Uđa, Ođa) thus giving its name to the country. Further researches will determine if, at that time, there was another immigration from the north, as I now presume. The fact is certain that in the geographical lists of the *Purānas* the Āśvaka disappear completely (though sometimes they may have been confused with the Āśmaka). But the name Ođđiyāna was to have a long history.

The Assakenoi are undoubtedly the same as the Āśvakāyana, mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, I, 99), both names being derived from Skr. *aśva*, Prakrit *assa*, horse². In this respect, the burial of the two horses in Katelai and the horse-shaped handle of a funeral urn in Loe Ban deserve special attention.

The Āśvakāyana, Assakenoi, as suggested by V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini* (pp. 453-54) can hardly be separated from the Aspasioi, who seem to be the same as the Āśvāyana, also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, I, 110), located along the Panjkora; all these must have been related tribes, with the difference that the name Assakenoi is derived from the Prakrit form of *aśva* and Aspasioi from the Iranian form: *aspa* (see E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1958, p. 115).

All of these peoples, if we are to judge from the material found in Chakdarra, Swat, Chitral, Darel, Buner, were most probably ethnically, or at least for a certain time, culturally related. Further researches in this part of the world will determine the connection, if any, of their culture not only with that of Iran but also with that of Turkestan, and the old centres north of the Amudarya (can any relation be assumed to exist between Massaga, Maśakavati, VI, III, 119; and the Massagetae?). Most certainly new elements will thus be gathered concerning the problem of migrations of Indo-Aryan tribes into the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

² Cfr. the *vatasvaka* coins: J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India (British Museum)*, London, 1936, pp. CXXX, CXXXIII, CXLVI; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, pp. 161 ff.

**Oriental Notes, II: An Image of a Devi Discovered in Swat
and Some Connected Problems**

East and West, XIV.3-4, 1963, pp. 146-182.

As I have written in the preliminary report on the archaeological excavations in Swat, there are scattered all over Swat rock-carvings which chiefly represent either the Buddha or some Mahayānic Buddhist deities, generally Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. Occasionally, traces of Hindu worship are also found¹; in the campaign of 1962 a big stele was discovered near the village of Guligram on the left bank of the Ilam river; it represents a peculiar deity (figs. 1-2). The image is broken in two pieces and badly damaged; the head has been erased but traces of the *jaṭāmukuta* are visible. An undulating ribbon (*paṭṭa*) is tied to the *jaṭāmukuta* itself; the deity is in the *aliḍha* posture, placing its right foot on the hip of an animal lying on the ground with its four legs bent towards the body. It is eight-armed, and, with only two exceptions, the weapons (*praharaṇa*) which it carries can be identified. Following the *pradakṣiṇa*-reading of the symbols, we see that in the four right arms the deity carries a trident (*triśūla*) with which it hits the above-said animal, a quiver (*tūṇa*) full of arrows, a *cakra*, and a sword. In the four left arms it carries a bow (*dhanus*), and a small shield (*kheṭaka*): of the third arm nothing seems to be left. The fourth arm seems to carry an implement with a handle and a noose (*pāśa* or an *aḥṣamālā*?): one may think of an axe (*paraśu*) with which it strikes the animal on the back. But on account of the image being badly preserved it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion: a kind of broken handle is certainly visible, though it is impossible to say if the protuberance on the back of the animal was connected with it. But this is a mere surmise; one may think that this protuberance is the hump of the *bos indicus*, but two facts stand against it: first, the hump of the *bos indicus* does not stay in the middle of the back of this animal, but near the neck; second, and most important, the animal is not a bull but a caprid, as is evidenced by the head severed from the body and placed beneath the animal itself.

[147] The deity wears *keyūra*, but no *kaṭakavalayas* are visible. It is therefore represented in the same posture as Durgā Mahiṣamardanī as she appears in most of her images. The animal which it tramples under its feet has been beheaded and the head is represented at the bottom of the stele.

An image can be read iconographically or iconologically. From the mere iconographic point of view we notice, in addition to the peculiar aspect of the goddess as a killer of an animal, some symbols among which the most prominent are the bow, the *triśūla*, the small shield, the *cakra*, a sword. First of all, as regards the sex of the deity, there is hardly any doubt that it represents a goddess. Though the upper part of the image is broken or corroded one can see on the left side slight traces of the uprising breast. The upper part of the body is naked but a

¹ G. Tucci, PR, EW IX, 4, 1958, pp. 279-328.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS: *Mbh* = Mahabharatha, *Śivasahasranama*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, adh. 48, Kumbakonam ed. – *MBH* = Mahabharatha, critical edition. – *LP* = *Līṅga-purāṇa Śrīmaliṅgapurāṇāntargata-śivasahasranamastotra*, ed. Khemaraja, Venkateśvara Press, Bombay. – *SP* = *Śiva-purāṇa*, ed. Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Baṅgabaśī ed., Calcutta, *jñānakhaṇḍa* LXXI. – *AV* = *Atharvaveda*. – *RV* = *Rgveda*. – *TA* = *Tantraloka*. – *PR* = 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', *EW*, vol. IX, no. 4, 1958, pp. 279-328 [repr. in this volume – Ed.]. – Foucher, *Route* = A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, MDAFA I, Paris, 1942.

dhoti covers her belly: it is a *dhoti* and not the skin of an animal, e.g. the *vyāghracarma*, the tiger skin, frequently worn by terrific deities. One can well distinguish the pleats of the dress and on the right side the weaving hem of the garment. The first thought which may come to the mind of the observer is that this goddess represents a peculiar aspect of Durgā, called Mahiṣasuramardini, killer of an asura who has taken the form of a buffalo, inspired by a well known myth told in the famous *Durgāsaptāśati* or *Mārkaṇḍeyacaṇḍī* contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna*. We know that Durgā Mahiṣasuramardini was worshipped in Gandhāra and neighbouring countries. The famous Scorretti marble furnishes new documentary evidence of it². One of the names of the Devī, derived from the country in which her cult was widespread, is Gāndhāri, 'the Devī from Gandhāra'. She already appears under this appellation in the *Vanaparva* of *MBH*, 232, v. 22: *gaurī vidyā gāndhāri... sāvitryā saha*; nevertheless Gāndhāri is not mentioned in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, commented upon by Bāskara Rāya, and the name Gāndhāri referred to by the same writer in his commentary on the *Mārkaṇḍeyacaṇḍī* (p. 69, Veṅkateśvara Press ed.) is taken in a different context (*Gāndhārasvarasamśrayā*). The Devī is named Gāndhāri in other books dedicated to her, e.g. in some Jaina *stotras*: *Śrīpadmāvatisahasranāmastotra*, a Jaina work, and *Devycaranakramādhikāra*, another Jaina work of Yaśobhadra (p. 5, v. 34)³; Gāndhāri is the name of one *yoginī* in the temple of Bheraghat (A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey, Annual Report IX, 1909-10; R. D. Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 78).

Moreover we know of a *Gāndhāri-vidyā*: this word can only be understood in the sense of a magical formula connected with or placed under the control of Gāndhāri: reference to it is found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādivinaya*, *Saṅghabhedavastu*: *bhūtapūrvam*, [148] *bhikṣavo*, *Vārāṇasyāṃ nagaryāṃ brahmadatto nāma rājā rājyaṃ kārayati... tasya cāṇḍalavidyādhāro vidyāmantrakuśalaḥ; sa gāndhārividyāṃ parivartya ṛdhyā gandhamadanāt parvatād akālartukāni puspaphalāny ādāya rajñe brahmadattāya upanayati*.

The connection of the *Gāndhāri-vidyā* with Gāndhāridevī seems to me certain because each *vidyā* is related to a god or a group of gods, and this takes us back to a magic world placed under the name and the sway of that very goddess⁴.

² D. Schlumberger, 'Le marbre Scorretti', *AA II*, 1955, p. 113; Goetz, 'Late Gupta Sculptures in Afghanistan. The Scorretti Marble and Cognate Sculptures', *AA IV*, 1957. Cfr. the image from a mould in the Peshawar Museum reproduced in J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, Pl. XLII.

³ M. B. Jhavery, *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrashastra*, Ahmedabad, 1944.

⁴ Also among the Jainas the Gāndhāri is considered one of the most important *vidyā*, or magic sciences along with Gaurī etc. (*Sutrakṛtāṅga*, 2, 2, 15). Gāndhāri is the *śasanadevatā* of Nami (*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* or *the Lives of Sixty-three Illustrious Persons*, by Acārya Śrī Hemacandra, transl. by Helen M. Johnson, vol. IV, Baroda, 1954, p. 360). For other references see Umakant Premanand Shah, 'A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jain Literature', *Bhārata-Kaumudi. Studies in Indology in Honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji*, Part II, Allahabad, 1947, pp. 839 ff. Cfr. *MBH* quoted above.

Mention of the same goddess is found in other well-known texts, e.g. the *Śrīvidyāmava* (Śrinagar, 1937, p. 372)⁵. On the other hand, in the *Kālikapurāna* (Vaṅgavaśī ed., *adhyaya* 18, v. 42 and v. 50; *ibid.*, p. 79) Kātyāyanī is said to be a peculiar form of the goddess worshipped in *Uḍḍiyanapīṭha*: *kātyāyanī coḍḍiyāne*, because in Uḍḍiyāna fell the *ūruyugma*, the two thighs, of the Devi; it is true that in chapter 64, v. 43, p. 410, instead of Uḍḍiyāna the text reads *Oḍra-pīṭham*, but though Oḍra is often used in later texts for Oḍḍiṣā, Orissa, in this case there is no doubt that Oḍra = Uḍḍiyāna, because the *Oḍrapīṭha* is located in the west, *odrapīṭham paścime* and Oḍra is the same as Urḍī of the *Vārttika* on IV, 2, 99. A Śakta tradition located therefore Kātyāyanī in Oḍra, Uḍḍiyāna^{5a}. From the *Padmāvatisahasranāmastotra* (ed. Jhavery, *op. cit.*, *parīśiṣṭa* 8, p. 50, Kāmadāśatam), we gather that a form of the Devi worshipped in Kashmir was associated with *kuṅkuma*, saffron:

*kuntalā kanakabha ca
kāśmīrā kuṅkumapriyā.*

It is possible that this association was found in other places famous for their production of *kuṅkuma*, e.g. the country of Jāguḍa of which we shall speak below. The connection of a goddess with the source of wealth of a country, be it a plant or a mineral, is well documented by the texts: such is the case of Hīṅgulā; *hīṅgulā* is cinnabar, largely used as *materia medica* in India: I do not think that we can separate the two words *hīṅgula*, cinnabar and Hīṅgulā-devī:

*brahmarandhram hīṅgulāyām bhairavo bhīmalocanaḥ,
koṭṭari sā, mahādeva, triguṇā yā digambarī.*

(*Pīṭhanimāya*, v. 4, ed. D. Ch. Sircar, in *JRAS* XIV, 1948, p. 4).

[149] She is now worshipped at Hinglaj in Baluchistān and is called Bibī Nānī. In Nānī Sircar wants to see a survival of ancient Nānaia, which fact is not impossible when we remember that Umā already in the Kushana coins is called Nana and is associated with Śiva, as we shall see below. But it should not be forgotten that in *Jātaka* V, p. 415, 1, 23 Hīṅgula-parvata is included in the Hīmalāya-pradeśa. Nor can we forget that we have too a Kambojīnī, the *devī* presiding over the Kambojas⁶, a people well documented and located in Western Afghanistan (*Śrīpadmāvatināmastotra*, p. 51, v. 12).

⁵ On the iconography (though not complete) of the gods mentioned in this very important text see S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri, *Iconography of the Sri-Vidyāmava-Tantra*, Bangalore, 1944.

^{5a} According to *Devīpurāṇa*, Uḍḍiyāna is one of the places where the Devi always remains (R. Ch. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 50).

⁶ On the Kambojas see C.A. Lewis, 'The Geographical Text of the Purāṇas: a Further Critical Study on Purāṇa', *Purāṇa*, vol. IV, no. 1, 1962, p. 133 and V. S. Agrawala, 'Bhuvanakośa Janapadas of Bharatavarsha', *ibid.*, vol. V, no. 1, 1963, p. 161; D.C. Sircar, 'The Land of the Kambojas', *Purāṇa*, vol. V, no. 2, 1963, pp. 231 ff.

It is also a well-known fact that Bhīmā Devī was worshipped in the proximity of Shahba-zgarhi at the time of Hsüan-tsang.

To conclude, indications of all kinds point out a cult of the Devī in Gandhāra and adjoining countries.

As regards the symbols that characterize our goddess and to which I referred above, they are secondary in comparison to the animal she kills; the most peculiar ones of them, which stress the warrior-like character of the deity – bow, sword, *cakra*, *triśūla*, axe (?) shield – are shared with other and well-known aspects or epiphanies of the Devī: to quote a few instances besides Mahiśasuramardini: Vanadurgā, Kātyāyāni ⁷ etc. One may therefore quite well think of Kātyāyāni whom, as we saw, the *Kālikapurāna* places in the *Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha* (in the *Śrīvidyār-nava*, p. 207, vv. 3, 50 she has four hands, is said to be *pātitanekadaityā*), or of a peculiar form of another goddess called Kurukullā, who enjoyed a certain popularity among the Buddhists in Vajrayāna, and especially in the country of Uḍḍiyāna; as it happens in the case of the many-sided aspects of the Devī, Kurukullā too is a survival of ancient religious experiences originally foreign to Buddhism; her worship was widespread also among the Hindus. But her iconography, at least so far known to us, is different. In the Buddhists *sādhanas* of the [150] *Sādhanamāla* ⁸, which we know, she is left with only one of the attributes quoted above, i.e. the bow; but in some other *dhyānas*, to which I refer below, she still retains the bow and the

⁷ These are some of the forms of Durgā which may have the bow and arrow, shield, *triśūla*, *cakra*, sword; see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914-16, vol. I, part II, p. 343:

a) Vanadurgā: eight arms:

r.		l.	
<i>tarjani</i>	<i>śankha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>khaḍga</i>
<i>khetaka</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>dhanus</i>	<i>śūla</i>

b) Mahiśasura-mardini: eight arms:

r.		l.	
<i>triśūla</i>	<i>paśa</i>		
<i>śaktyayudha</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>		
<i>cakra</i>	<i>khetaka</i>		
<i>dhanus</i>	<i>paraśu</i>		

c) Kātyāyāni: ten arms:

r.		l.	
<i>triśūla</i>	<i>khetaka</i>		
<i>khaḍga</i>	<i>paśa</i>		
<i>bana</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>		
<i>cakra</i>	<i>ghaṅṭa</i>		
<i>śaktyayudha</i>	<i>paraśu</i>		

⁸ *The Sadhanamala*, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, 2 vols., Baroda, 1925-28.

kheṭaka, the small shield. We cannot anyhow exclude that other *sādhana*s of this popular goddess existed which might have represented her in a different form. However that may be, it will not be out of place to say a few words about this peculiar *devī* who has the advantage of having been, as I said, much worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna, Swat (*Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukullāsādhana*, *Sādhanamālā*, p. 358); another *sādhana* written by Indrabhūti, a ruler of Swat, is preserved in the *Sādhanamālā*, p. 351 (*Aṣṭabhujākurukullā*).

The goddess is connected with mountains; her abode lies on a mountain called Kurukullā or in mountain caves, *kurukullādriguhāntasthā*, *kurukullāparvatodaravasini* (*ibid.*, p. 343). She is referred to also in the *Hevajratāntra* (D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajratāntra*, part I, London, 1959, p. 16 and p. 54, n. 1).

There existed a Kurukullāvihāra, a monastery, where Āryavimuktisena wrote his famous commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*; that monastery gave its name to a school. In the Tibetan colophon of the commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* by the same author, it is written *ku ru ku lai sde pa*⁹. In the Nepalese mss., we find: *kurukullāryasammatīya*¹⁰. Buston states that Vimuktisena belonged to the sect of the Kurukullas¹¹.

The references on this sect have been collected by a A. Bateau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Publications de l'E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVIII, Saïgon, 1955: p. 19, Kurukulika; p. 21, Kurukula (Saṃmatīya); p. 25, Kaurukullaka (? - Saṃmatīya); p. 26, Kurukulla (Saṃmatīya); p. 40, p. 122 etc. Bateau thinks that 'Kurukula' should be interpreted as 'those belonging to the Kuru family (*kula*)' (Kurukula often in the *MBH*) and thinks that Kurukula should be placed in or near the Kurukṣetra (*ibid.*, p. 122). It is difficult, on account of the uncertainty of the spelling in the available sources, to solve the question whether the original name of the monastery derived from Kurukula or from Kurukullā: the first instance has against it the fact that Kurukula, 'family of Kuru' seems inappropriate to a place, this name being applied to persons (*kurukulodbhava* in *MBH* often). On the other hand, in earlier times, Kurukullā as a goddess does not seem to have acquired such a prestige as to give her name to a *vihāra*: we have ascertained, however, that Kurukullā was the name of a mountain. An illuminated ms. of *sādhana*s, studied by Foucher¹² and reproducing her image, places her [151] place of worship, at least in the form represented in the same ms., on the top of Kurukullā mountain, Kurukullāśikhara in Lāṭadeśa, Gujarat, where I-ching¹³ still found the Saṃmatīyas of whom the Kurukulika were a branch. Therefore it seems likely that the *vihāra* took its name from a mountain and that it was located in Gujarat. To judge from the *sādhana*s dedicated to her and preserved in the *Sādhanamālā* the goddess had a mixed aspect, *śānta*, peaceful, and *ugra*, terrific; some symbols and characters of hers, the bow made of flowers (*kusumacāpa*), upon

⁹ H. Cordier, *Catalogue du fond tibétain*, troisième partie, Paris, 1915, p. 274.

¹⁰ In course of publication by Dr. C. Pensa [*L'abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya Vimuktisena*, SOR XXXVII, Roma, 1967 - Ed.]

¹¹ *History of Buddhism*, transl. by E. Obermiller, II part, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 155.

¹² Cfr. A. Foucher, *Études sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1905, p. 74, Pl. VIII, 2.

¹³ *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, transl. by I. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 9.

which the rope is placed, consisting in buds of red lotuses, as the god of love Māra, her being accompanied by Māra and his spouse standing in their turn on Rāhu, clearly show that she is connected with Māra, the god of Love; her mood is that of love, *śṛṅgārasopetā*; in fact she is very generous with her devotees to whom she grants possession of women, *stṛisaṅgama*, even of divine damsels (p. 350): when one has accomplished the prescribed rituals, one may ask her to submit to one's own wishes the women one wants, *amukim me vaśam ānaya*.

Just as with the god of Love, there are bees which, in the ecstasy in which the conjurer is bound to fall, are supposed or imagined to actuate her power or to establish supernormal connection with her and the *sādhaka*. At the same time she may be terrific: her necklace can be made of human heads strung together (*muṇḍamālālaṅkṛtahāra*, p. 356); she may be represented in the midst of graveyards; she may stand on a corpse, *śavārūḍhā*, and be depicted according to the iconography of the terrific deities. When duly propitiated, she can heal all sorts of diseases (*rogādyupaśama*, p. 349), but she especially subdues the *nāgas* and therefore cures their bites and eliminates poisoning. As an indication of this power her ornaments are the eight most famous snakes. This is a character which has entered also into some tales which Tāranātha mentions in his history of Buddhism (Schiefner's transl., p. 102). Foucher (*Études...*, p. 72) considers her as a form of Red Tārā: she is not properly Tārā but she is born out of Tārā (*tārodbhūtā*, p. 345); which means, in our terminology, that she was assimilated to Tārā; yet she was originally one of the numberless local deities, and like many of them bivalent: cruel and orgiastic, terrible if not propitiated, helpful if duly invoked and worshipped. She then entered Buddhism as an emanation of Tārā (she has on her *mukuta* the image of Amitābha), but this was a process which took place when Buddhism began to decline and Vajrayāna in its many-sided aspects prevailed. On the contrary, as soon as Buddhism collapsed, even in its Vajrayanic expressions, she continued to live her own life in Hindu surroundings. She is mentioned among the *devīs* in *Śrīvidyārṇava* (p. 62) and the *Devīstotra* published by M. B. Jhavery in the appendix to the above quoted work (p. 85, v. 42). A more detailed reference to her is found in another Tantric text of the Śāktas, i.e. the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*: [152] this *tantra* is not very ancient, it was most probably written in the 16th century, but it contains interesting materials. In the 14th *paṭala* of the *Sundarikhaṇḍa* Kurukullā is listed among the *vidyās*: she comes after the *vidyā* called *kullā* and her name is explained in a strange way: the *vidyā kullukā* is so called because she is worshipped by the *kula* of the *vidyā*, but since Kurukullā is worshipped by Kullā too, she is called Kurukullā (vv. 3, 4), which, of course, is another example of the fantastic etymologies in concocting which some Indian pandits have been so clever. The text, after having explained the *mantra* by which she must be invoked and evoked, proceeds to her *dhyāna*, the formula of meditation (vv. 19-22). She sits on a corpse, is adorned with a garland of severed human heads; she has four arms, two of which hold the *kapāla* and the scythe (*kaṭṭaka*), and the other two a sword and a shield (*kheṭaka*); she is black, with dishevelled hair, rolling her eyes on account of the intoxicated liquors she has drunk, in love. The best places to conjure her are a corpse, a grove, a grave, a forest crowded with the *bhūtas* who haunt it.

The conjurer, according to the ways of evocation or the substances used in the ritual, can destroy his enemies or submit the women he loves, and so forth. It is clear that in spite of the

centuries which intervene between the Buddhist *sādhana* and the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*, the character and peculiarities of the goddess remained essentially unaltered.

Having wandered from our main subject, for a digression, which has taken us for a while away from our stele, we must confess that we have not proceeded very far concerning the identity of the goddess it represents; her symbols have been of no help to us, and the only conclusion is that she must be a goddess in her fierce aspect with eight arms, an *aṣṭabhujā-mūrti* which has great similarity with *Aṣṭabhujā Durgā*, or a goddess of this kind, but she is not *Aṣṭabhujā Durgā Mahiṣasuramardani*. She is not, because the animal which she kills is certainly not a buffalo: but doubtless a caprid.

Prof. V. Caroli, a member of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat who has a good knowledge of zoology, as soon as the stele was carried to the godown of the Mission in Saidu Sharif, identified the animal with a wild goat or an ibex; such an identification has been confirmed by a thorough examination of the photo of the stele by Prof. G. Bini.

Now, in no *sādhana* whatever known to me, is there any trace of a *devi* much less of *Durgā* killing a wild goat or an ibex: we must therefore conclude that in spite of the evident iconographic contamination with certain forms of the Devi in her aspect of *Aṣṭa-bhujā-mūrti* and the other ones referred to above, our goddess must represent a peculiar local variety of some homologous religious entities, accepted, as I have stated earlier, by Hinduism and by Buddhism as well. It is useless to add that these entities were expressed [153] and read in a different way by the two trends of thought, their implications being therefore different too. We cannot give as yet a name to this goddess nor do we know the myth which is behind her representation; anyhow what is important to us is that the goddess is killing a wild goat which is so widely represented all over Asia in rock engravings¹⁴. The ibex was and still is a game pursued by hunters, thus giving support to the suggestion that the prominent character of the goddess was that of a hunting goddess, or – which is the same – a goddess peculiar to a hunting society or class. If we want to better understand her significance, we should refer to some beliefs or practices still existing in the Hindukush, as mere survivals of much older ideas, which Islam has not yet been able to completely cancel. In fact in the part of the world from Gilgit to Swat we find traces of the cult of a goddess, worshipped by hunters and considered to be the overlord of all ibexes; the goats belong to this goddess or to the fairies, these being some of her many manifestations. The goddess *Murkum* in *Haramosh* is believed to appear as a she-ibex: but a goat should be offered to her in some gatherings in which only women participate, with the exception of a man who should kill the ibex.

¹⁴ A. M. Tallgren, 'Inner Asiatic and Siberian Rock Pictures', *ESA* VIII, 1933, pp. 187 ff. and figs. 17-22; A. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, Pl. XLIV; G. Tucci, 'On Some Bronze Objects Discovered in Western Tibet', *AAAs* V, 1935, p. 116; A. Foucher, *Route*, pp. 378 ff.; R. C. F. Schomberg, *Between the Oxus and the Indus*, London, 1935, pp. 56, 137. On the ibex see the fundamental researches of Jettmar quoted in the text.

I do not insist on these facts because they have recently been collected and admirably discussed by K. Jettmar¹⁵, to whom I refer the reader.

I shall quote only a few lines from his conclusions:

'The great thrill of the investigations I made in the Haramosh valley was finding a sanctuary of the Murkum in good order and even in use, in spite of two hundred years of Islamic past. It lies almost 3,000 m. above sea level near the summer village of Guré, just in front of the tremendous flank of the Haramosh, and this is no accident, as the mountain was considered the proper home of the Murkum. On the steep slope there is an altar built of boulders dominated by a cliff as big as a house with a juniper tree growing beside it. Next to it is a spring. Below the altar, crude benches of stones were erected for the annual meeting of the women. Nut trees grow between them. Even they are considered holy and no branches were ever broken off.

'I was told that, when the village was founded, the goddess appeared in the shape of a she-ibex on that cliff promising happiness and fertility. Every year the women were to gather here. Then she herself would send the sacrifice – a she-ibex.

[154] 'One man only was allowed to join in the ceremony, the priest of the Murkum, the "zhabán". It was his duty to kill the ibex and to divide up the meat on the altar. This was eaten by the women sitting on the benches below. Then the priest danced before the goddess (without clothes, as some audacious people maintained) taking liberties with the surrounding women. The women, however, would beat him and torment him to their hearts' content. No man was allowed to oppose the behaviour of the zhabán. It seems that he even had full sexual rights on all women of the valley. He was called "buck of the women-flock".'

We are here moving in the same religious and social background which appears to have been predominant in old Swat too, where goddesses and fairies, *ḍākinīs*, played such a great rôle and the belief in them was so deeply rooted in the people that it could for many centuries survive Islamisation.

Some wooden images from Kafiristan represent a woman riding on a caprid (Lennart Edelberg, 'Statues de bois rapportée du Kafiristan à Kabul', AA VII, 1960, p. 250, figs. 7, 8, 9). Among the Kafirs the goddess of mountain wildnesses assumes the shape of a goat (G.S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of Hindu-kush*, London, 1896, p. 384). The legend that *ḍākinīs* could change themselves into sheep was known also in Swat and is hinted at by a story narrated by Orgyan pa, who tells us how Kambalapa being disturbed in his meditation by the stones that the *ḍākinīs* rolled down from the overlooking mountain, changed them into sheep (G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 52 (in this volume – Ed.)). Robertson was informed that Krumai used to cause harm to men behaving in the same way, but 'she is adjured to behave better. She thereupon assumed her proper shape, came down, and subsequently entertained them' (p. 384). Evidently the two stories are parallel and derive from the same cultural background.

¹⁵ K. Jettmar, 'Urgent Tasks of Research among the Dardic People of Eastern Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan', *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Researches*, no. 2, 1959, p. 85; Id., 'Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958, Preliminary Report', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 105, 1961, pp. 79 ff.

The importance of our image lies in the fact that it gives a shape, one of her shapes, to a goddess of whose original concrete personality we find now-a-days mere fading glimpses. While the image is, so to say, vivified by these late and now vanishing survivals, the opposite is just as valid: these same survivals afford us a clue for an understanding of the image itself.

Behind the image of our stele there is hinted at most probably a myth, but its essential feature is, to my mind, the fact that the goddess is a huntress: she kills an animal. This animal may be interpreted as a demon which means that there may be a mythical background colouring this peculiar trait of the goddess. However, the connection with hunting and hunters, when we recollect the above-quoted investigations of the ethnologists, is certain. In a word, we find here too the same social and religious surroundings which had already brought the hunting Artemis to accompany Nanaia, and [155] Anahita to the border of Hindukush and the Pamir, to join there her ancient congenial sisters.

Be that as it may, the stele confirms, it appears, what I anticipated in PR that Buddhism did not succeed in completely overthrowing the original belief of the inhabitants of Swat and surrounding countries: on the contrary, the *dākinīs* and the *dākas*¹⁶, now known under the name of *shisha*, *peri*, *hapidei*, *rū-ī* or *daiyals* (when male), are but the last remnants of old, prebuddhistic cults which resisted what I should call traditional Buddhism to such an extent that, when it began to collapse, they took again the upper hand and found their way into Vajrayāna. Buddhism developed along the main routes, in the trade centres and in the towns: but in the villages, in the far-off places and in the mountain hamlets the older ideas were not driven out by its impact. This holds true chiefly for the mountainous parts of Swat, where its population, half-nomad, half-agricultural (because some of it attempted, in the hot season, the cultivation of the terraces set up with great toil along the slopes of the hills, like the Gurjars of present days), was but scarcely or superficially influenced by the agricultural and trade-centers of the valley. This does not mean that the farmers and the shepherd-nomad-semi-agricultural groups did not intercommunicate, or were definitely living apart or isolated. There must have been, on the contrary, continuous interchanges and reciprocal borrowings. Seen in this light, some terracotta handles representing a ram (figs. 3-4) and found in Mingora and Udegram cannot, to my mind, be considered a mere decoration: it is a decoration no doubt, but at the same time it must have possessed some peculiar implication which made the artisan choose just that very image instead of another; the handle is not only functional, but indicative of some

¹⁶ See PR, p. 282.

Besides the articles, already quoted, of Jettmar cfr. chiefly D. L. R. Lorimer, 'The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region'. *JRAS.* 1929, pp. 507 ff.

I have assisted to a performance of a *hapidei* in Swat: it is a fact of possession in which the woman believes that a *jin* enters into her. Before falling in trance or when they wake up again they yawn, stretch the arms as a person who is going to fall asleep or just awakens. The *jin* speaks through them and one may put questions to them to which they usually reply. There is no special rite to be performed except the burning of some leaves so that smoke is produced at the beginning and at the end. They say that this smoke is provoked as a homage to the *jin*: it is most probably the survival of the *suffimentum* through juniper tree still used for this purpose in Gilgit and Chitral area, and an essential element in the Tibetan *bsans* ceremony either Bon po or Buddhist.

religious background. Unfortunately it is only a handle; we cannot therefore say for certain if the vase of which it was a part might have been a liturgical vase.

The wild goat is represented also on the rock carvings of Gogdara (fig. 5), where it is preminent among other animals; in that place only preliminary researches have been undertaken and we are therefore not in a condition to date them with certainty, so much so because they have no relation with the rock carvings so far known in the Subcontinent. But there is no doubt that they go back to proto-historic periods, as confirmed by the [156] scanty material discovered in the trial trenches excavated so far. The excavations in that place will be undertaken on a large scale this very year.

In conclusion, I quite agree with Jettmar that we must consider with closer attention the culture of the shepherds and hunters spread along the mountains from Caucasus and the Hindukush, the Pamir and even beyond.

This culture preserved peculiar features which point to far-reaching old links between West and East along the mountain-chains ranging from the Caucasus to the Himālayas.

Our attention has been so far concentrated chiefly on the low-lands and the big trade routes, and thus the mountain cultures to their north have been rather neglected, for the simple reason that those regions, up to recent times, have been not easily accessible, geographically as well as politically. Fortunately, things have now changed and great prospects are open to scholars and investigators. After the studies of R. Heine Geldern¹⁷ and of K. Jettmar, B. Goldman¹⁸ has recently shown certain striking similarities between some bronzes of Luristan and even Etruscan bronzes, with other objects discovered by myself in Western Tibet¹⁹. The rapprochement proposed by Goldman, though limited to some aspects only, is not farfetched; it is based on undeniable similarities which at least point to a centre of diffusion of certain motifs both eastward and westward, but specially eastward, and underline the role played by the culture of the shepherds and hunters dwelling on the mountainous ranges from the Caspian Sea up to the Manasarovar Lake and its bordering countries.

Very interesting from this point of view is a dark-grey pot which has been discovered in the excavation at Gogdara (Swat, near Udegram). It cannot be properly located stratigraphically because it came to light in a ditch where only stray objects have been found at the bottom of the hill, most likely fallen down from the top. Meanwhile I reproduce what Dr. C. Silvi Colucci, who is at present studying it, writes to me on the vase:

'The vase under reference has been found in Section K9, at a depth of mt. 2.55; it is grey-black in colour, slip painted and polished with a flat board. The shape, with double carenation, may on the whole be defined as globular; the decoration is incised and punched.

¹⁷ R. Heine Geldern, 'Das Tocharer - Problem und die Pontische Wanderung', *Saeculum*, Band 2, 1951, pp. 234 ff.

¹⁸ B. Goldman, 'Some Aspects of the Animal Deity: Luristan, Tibet and Italy', *Ars Orientalis* IV, 1961, p. 187.

¹⁹ G. Tucci, 'On Some Bronze Objects...', p. 105; M. Bussagli, 'Bronze Objects Collected by Prof. G. Tucci in Tibet', *AAAs* XII, 1949, p. 331.

After comparing it with grey ceramic manufactured in an almost similar way, it ensues that analogies proper with the Gogdara vase are not to be traced in the Indo-Pakistani [157] sub-continent. For the moment, we can state that the decorative motif, if followed beyond its possible transformations, might be brought in line with the culture of Tazabag'jab and that of Andronovo.

The technique of punching is in use in the Apennine civilization, as well as in that of Anatolia and Thessaly, and extends as far as the Hispanic Meseta. The filling of white substance has been met with in India, in Thessaly, in Palestine and Cyprus. The shape of the vase reconnects itself to the Russian Talish, and to Bosnia.'

No less important is the discovery of many proto-historic necropolises in Swat showing links with Iran (Tepe Hissar II, B); their main features have been discussed in the first preliminary report published in the previous issue of this magazine [C. Silvi Antonini, 'Preliminary Notes on the Excavation of the Necropolises found in Western Pakistan', *EW*, n.s., vol. XIV, nos. 1-2, 1963, pp. 13-26 - *Ed.*].

In a note added to the report written by Dr. C. Silvi Antonini, I have argued that the cemeteries found and so far excavated in Katelai, Butkara II, Loe Banr must be attributed to the Assakenoi of the Greeks, the Āsvakāyana of the Sanskrit sources ['The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi', repr. in this volume - *Ed.*]. I think that such a statement admits of no doubt: the graves belong to the same people against whom Alexander fought. We are here confronted with tribes who shared a common culture and who were most probably allied, recognizing in case of necessity the chief of one tribe as their leader. Such a leader was at the time of Alexander the chief of Massaga; when this town was captured the supremacy passed over to the Urdi, the inhabitants of Ora of Arrian (the Nora of Curtius Rufus is evidently a mistake), who then gave the name to the country: Urdi, Udri, Udī, Uđđiyāna. But though these peoples had a common culture, from the study of the graveyards we can also draw the conclusion that there were peculiarities among them. Some difference can be found in the urns containing the cremated remains of the body; cremation goes alongside with inhumation and secondary burials, i.e., in some cases the bodies were exposed, then the bones were collected and laid in the grave.

Except for a very few cases, there are no traces of stone *semata* being placed on the tomb, and even those few cases are not indisputable. But a passage of Curtius Rufus seems to indicate that those peoples used wooden structures to cover their tombs, or to mark or decorate them. I refer to the passage in which it is related that, when the Greek army was encamping near Nysa, the wooden tombs were burnt up and produced a great fire (VIII, X: '*Quae (flamma) lignis alita oppidanorum sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt*').

In the first place I should say that I do not believe the story of Nysa.

Dionysos was the god of Nysa and had his seat on the mount Meros in the vicinity of that town. The story is related after the conquest of Ora and Aornos and there is no indication that the town of Nysa should be between the Kunar and the confluence of the Panjkora into Swat (as Foucher seems to think). In fact Arrian says only [158] that Nysa was located between the rivers Kophene and Indus: the vagueness of this location, and the fact that the same author

quotes from Megasthenes, may suggest that this incident is not a part of the narrative of the expedition, but was inserted here in connection with the legends extolling the Macedonian and comparing his deeds to those of Dionysos.

There is another reason to believe that Nysa is here out of place; it is known that a town or a mountain of this name has been connected with the myth of Dionysos and that in fact there have been many Nysa: this place where the god was grown up has been located in Egypt, in Libya, in India and elsewhere, but it has remained a mythic place, referred to many localities connected with that god, a city of a mythic geography which has no relation with the physical geography (H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos, Histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Paris, 1951, pp. 349-50, 353).

However, the story shows that in those parts of the world the tombs were largely made of wood or decorated with wood. We do not know what the shape of these wooden tombs was like, nor their decoration. But I cannot help recollecting the decorations of the tombs of Chitral and Nooristan and also the Islamic tombs in many parts of Swat, and Swati Kohistan. It is a well-known fact that in Chitral the dead man is often represented on horseback: on the other side in Swat, chiefly in upper Swat and among the Torwalis, the decoration of the tombs represents occasionally two stylised horse-heads laid at the two ends of the tomb itself instead of the usual stones, which represent the general feature of the Islamic tombs or mosques (fig. 6). In lower Swat too, in some rare cases, the stones take the form of the two very stylised horse-heads on long necks. This means that in a very large area, from Swat up to Nooristan and Chitral, the horse represented a peculiar ornament of the tombs, and that there ensues a sacred implication in the horse and its connection with the grave and the dead. I cannot refrain from referring here not only to the skeletons of two horses which have been found in the necropolis of Katalai in Swat but also to the horse-shaped handle of a cremation urn found in Loe Banr. These scattered elements and survivals pieced together seem to me to go back to the ethnical strata which inhabited all these parts of the world: they were the Kambojas, in Eastern Afghanistan, known for their horses, the Aspasioi to the east of Kohaspe (Hu-asp, the river of the good horses) who still retained their Iranian name, the Āśvakāyana to the east of the same river already indianized. I think that this working hypothesis, which is confirmed also by linguistic facts, may, if properly worked out, lead to the conclusion that Nooristan, Chitral, Eastern Afghanistan, Dir, Kunar and Panjkora valleys, Swat were inhabited by related tribes, most of them pertaining to the Iranian group, whose peculiar habits survived notwithstanding so many historical and cultural changes.

[159] It may even be that at least in these parts of the world – Southern Afghanistan, Swat – the local tribes incremented the importation and trade of iron, before the Achaemenians (as Sir Mortimer Wheeler thinks), though of course the iron, ornaments or weapons, from the very fact of being imported through nomadic traders from afar, appear to be for a certain time rather rare and precious. The iron objects found in the tombs of Swat are in fact very few.

The goddess killing a wild goat necessarily recalls, to our mind, a god who has been always associated with the Devi, though this association is not a primary one, being rather the result of a long religious evolution: I mean Śiva. He too or, to be more precise, some aspects of him, is connected with Gandhāra. We know from the *Sahasranāmas* dedicated to Śiva and contained in

MBH, LP, SP, that Śiva is called Gāndhāra, just as the goddess is called Gāndhārī: such names may have been taken occasionally in a different meaning. e.g. it has been referred to the *gāndhārasvara*, a musical tune or better one of the fundamental tunes; this fact can easily be explained if we remember that Śiva is also the god of music and dance and that orgiastic music was played in his honor, or during the festivals dedicated to him. It was just one of the facts which led the Greeks to discover in him Dionysos. It is also quite possible that the music so well played by the present-day Pathan dancers and singers who dance to the beating of big drums is but a survival of some ancient orgiastic dances (Śiva is called *unmattaveṣa* in LP, v. 5, and in MBH, 12, 284, 93 *nātyopahāralubdhā*, 'fond of offerings of dance') which Islam could not suppress; it only deprived them of all religious significance and left them as mere merriments to be played chiefly at nuptials. We know how Indians take delight in playing with words: a primary meaning is carrying with it other secondary meanings (*lakṣaṇā*) which the commentators are at great pains to discover. Unfortunately I have now at my disposal only elementary commentaries (*balabodhini*) of those *sahasranāmas*, which are of no great use, but there is hardly any doubt that the primary meaning of Gāndhāra as applied to Śiva is the just one: 'the god from Gandhāra' and that the other possible meanings are merely secondary. Gandhāra as a name of Śiva is mentioned e.g. in *Mbh*, v. 117, and LP, v. 86. It is also interesting to recollect the story told by the *Saurapurāṇa* (chapter 47, Ān. S.S., p. 180) about a former birth of Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera, king of the *yakṣas*. It is there told that a man who had stolen a lamp from a temple dedicated to Śiva, having been killed for that mischief by the royal guards, was reborn in Gandhāra as king Sudurmukha; he liked only to enjoy himself, was fond of songs and music, *gitavādyarata*, and extremely sinful, *sarvadharmabahīkṛta*. But since he used to pay regular worship to the Śivaliṅga transmitted with the kingdom (*rājakramāgata*), when he lost his life in a battle with his enemies, he was reborn as Vaiśravaṇa.

[160] It is useful to recollect in this connection that to the Greeks (Hesychius) too he was known as Gandaros: Γάνδαρος; ὁ ταυροκράτης παρ' Ἰνδοῖς (cfr. the coins of Puṣkalāvati).

A connection of Śiva with Gandhāra is therefore well ascertained: and it is well-known too that on the Kushana coins he is represented as carrying in one of his four arms a horned animal. N. Banerjea (*The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, p. 123) calls it an antelope; R. B. Whitehead (*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford, 1914, p. 187) calls it a goat (a ram is represented also on the famous two-armed Śiva in the Śivaliṅga of Guḍimallam: see A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 39, Pl. XVIII, n. 66).

However the important fact is that the animal is held by the god in his arms, which shows that it is dead, it has been killed (in many south-indian representations of Śiva the antelope, *mṛga*, *hariṇī*, is one of the attributes of Śiva, but generally the antelope is jumping on the palm of his hand)²⁰.

²⁰ Candrasekharamurti (Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. I, Pls. XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII) and also other forms, e. g. Somaskandamurti (*ibid.*, pl. XXII). On the representation of Śiva or his symbols in coins of the Śaka-Pahlava kings see G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, 'The Coin-types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 4, Varanasi, 1957, p. 3, no. 27 (uncertain); p. 10, no. 26 (uncertain); p. 17, nos. 2, 3; p. 35, no. 3 (of Jivadaman, only humped bull).

Of course the two entities, the Goddess in her infinite forms and Śiva in his equally infinite epiphanies, go as a rule together: they have a distinct origin and belong to different cultural backgrounds, but they tend to coalesce and to become companions of one another. In some coins of Huvīška (e.g. R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 135) they will appear together: Nana - Oešo; they have become already the couple which as Umā-Śiva, Pārvati-Maheśvara, *jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau. Raghuvamśa*, I, 1, will represent an indissoluble pair that later speculation will understand as the two essential agents of cosmic manifestation. But here too the Devī is not yet called by her Indian name: she is assimilated with Nana, Nānaia, which means that some local *devis* had been interpreted in the sense of an already well-defined entity in that borderland in which the religious experiences of various countries met and intermingled, which shows that we are confronted with a process tending to give unity and concreteness of expression to a religious world still fluctuating, such as the Kushana met while extending their dominions.

Side by side with the Goddess, in all her many-sided implications, there was therefore, in that part of the world which included Gandhāra and adjacent countries corresponding to Central and Eastern Afghanistan, and North Pakistan up to the Indus, a male god later identified with the polymorphic Śiva²¹. The Greeks were impressed [161] by him and his cults and interpreted him as a form of some of their most popular gods²². At that time a theology had not yet perhaps developed round him, but he was rapidly to become one of the most complex and attractive religious entities of India, not only for his many-sided and often contradictory aspects, but also for the philosophical urge which was inspired by him.

In fact it is not exaggerated to say that after Buddhism, the highest speculation was perhaps enflamed in India by Śaivism in a sparkling process of disintegration of a remote and crude mythology, the symbols and tales of which became the mere scaffolding of a most complicated, abstruse and soteric architecture of philosophy and mysticism. This is certainly not the place to discuss such a vast and difficult problem²³, but I must be forgiven if the trends of thought lead me to shift my attention from the Devī, the Gāndhārī, to her consort equally called Gāndhāra: it is the village image of Guligram which has drawn my attention for a little while to this fascinating subject.

It is an accepted fact that Rudra-Śiva, as he appears to us in later literature, is the result of a long evolution. In the Vedic texts Rudra is a terrific god: he was the deity haunting the forests and the mountains, and he was therefore a hunter too, and the Lord of the forest animals (AV, II, 2, 24 ff.) Śiva, before becoming one of the foremost and then – at least in wide circles of believers – the foremost God, was one of the folk deities, *laukika devatā*, and a sect of his

²¹ W.W. Tarn. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, *passim*. M. Th. Allouche-le Page, *L'art monétaire des royaumes bactriens*, Paris, 1956, *passim*. R. Göbl, in F. Altheim - R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt a. M., 1957, pp. 170 ff.

²² According to *Śatapathabrahmana*, II, 6, 2, 5 (transl. J. Eggeling, SBE, Oxford, 1882, vol. I, p. 438) his quarter is the Northern Quarter.

²³ See now the best treatment of the subject in J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, *Veda und älterer Hinduismus*, Stuttgart, 1960, pp. 88 ff. and 254 ff.

devotees must have soon acquired a certain notoriety if Patañjali already mentions the Śivabhāgavatas^{23a}. One of his first and pre-eminent characters was his being a village deity (*grāma*: *Mbh*, v. 115; *LP*, v. 84), the god of shepherds or cowherds: he is connected with cow, buffalo, sheep in the *Āṅgavijā*²⁴ which is, at least in its bulk, a very old book containing much which may go back to the Kushana times as the editors suggest; as a cowherds god Śiva is long-lived and as such he survives in mediaeval Bengal²⁵.

The same idea appears in the *Śivasahasranāmas* (*Mahābhārata*, *Līṅgapurāna*, *Śiva-purāna*, etc.); in these texts, on the track of the Vedic Paśupa (*RV*, I, 114, 9) or the lord (Bhava and Śarva) who rules over bipeds and quadrupeds (*AV*, IV, 281), he is called e.g. *gopati* (*Mbh*, v. 115), *gopālin* (*LP*, v. 84; *SP*, v. 16) and *gocarmavasana* (*Mbh*, *ibid.*; *LP*, v. 84), which last term points to a character of impurity, and to surroundings which are out of the pale of Brahmanic orthodoxy. The *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* [162] (I, VII, 3, 8), in the attempt at identifying local deities (later converging in Śiva) like Śarva and Bhava, Paśupati, Rudra, states that Bhava was worshipped by the Bāhika. These have been located in Panjab (S. Lévi, 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa', *JA*, 11^{me} Série, XI, 1918, p. 113. Cfr. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, I, *The Vedic Age*, pp. 257-258).

There is no doubt that they are the same as the Bāhlika of *Mahābhārata*, *Kaṇaparva*, VIII, 30, 11 (*pañcānām sindhuśaṣṭhānām nādīnām ye 'ntarāśritāḥ / tān dharmabāhyān aśucin bāhlikān parivarjayet*); so reads the critical edition; but I suppose that it is better to follow the old reading: *bāhikān*; the new reading may have been influenced by the fact that the Bāhika were slowly forgotten while the historical situation made the Bāhlika better known; the Bāhika too were considered out of the pale of orthodoxy and were said to be the descendants of two *Piśāca* (see D. Ch. Sircar, 'The Vāhlikas of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription'. *A Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane*, S.M. Katra and P.K. Goda eds., Poona, 1941, pp. 469 and 471). This eterodoxy remained for long time a peculiar trait of Śiva, and is suggested not only by the fact that the *śulagava* sacrifice dedicated to him ought to be accomplished outside the village²⁶, but also by the story of his being precluded from participating in the sacrifice of Dakṣa. As a hunter he is already invoked by *AV*, IV, 28, 2 as the best shooter (Bhava and Śarva) among arrow bearers and is called *mrgabānarpin* (*Mbh*, v. 38), or *bānahasta* (*ibidem*, v. 43): the animal, goat or ibex, which he holds in his hand on the coins hangs stiff as a dead animal, which shows it has been killed. Hunting supposes wilderness and mountains; the aspect of mountain-god becomes the predominating side of his personality; in classical literature his abode lies more generically in the Himālayas – specifically the Kailāsa or such like peaks – or mountain caves. As such he is called *merudhāma*, *giriśa*, *giriṛuha*, *guhāvāsin*, *guhāpāla* (*Mbh*,

^{23a} B.N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, Bombay, 1957, p. 188; V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, p. 381.

²⁴ Prakrit Texts Series, ed. Manipuṇyavijaya, Varanasi, 1957, p. 205.

²⁵ T.W. Clark, 'Evolution of Hinduism in Medieval Bengali Literature', *BSOAS* XVII, 1955, p. 506.

²⁶ According to *Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* the sacrificial animal in the *śulagava* ceremony is a cow; a good resumé of the *śulagava* is in Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 431 ff.

vv. 91, 41, 61; *LP*, vv. 2, 78); *gīricara, naga, parvata* (*LP*, vv. 22, 63, 74); *nagālaya* (*LP*, v. 53); *acaleśvara* (*SP*, v. 29); *adri, adryālaya* (*SP*, v. 36).

In this connection it is of some interest to focus our attention to a peculiar character of Śiva, of which reference is made in the Epics and in classical literature, and that I should like to connect with what I have said concerning the wild goat – considered a form or epiphany of the Goddess, among the Dards – and the coexisting impurity of the cow. There is a tale in the *MBH* (XIII, 112, B. XIII, 77) according to which Śiva became infuriated when Dakṣa created the cows: in order to placate the god, Dakṣa offered him the bull which, since then, became his *vāhana*: the dislike of Śiva for the cows makes us recall the impurity which they held for the Śin and other Dardic people, who objected to drinking milk or to touching a cow. Nowadays, according to the investigations [163] of Jettmar, this habit is disappearing and it is respected only by the shamans before undertaking a ritual or a ceremony, when they are therefore in need of a sacral purity. This impurity, according to the same author, presupposes the counterpart of the wild goat-worship, or sacrifice not yet extinct among the same people.

I have here recollected some of the most outstanding aspects or characters or situations of Śiva, not because my purpose is that of writing a monograph on Śiva, but because I should like to sort out some of his traits which may not be in contrast with what we already know – though not very much indeed – of the religious panorama of Gandhāra and adjoining countries before the spread of Buddhism, and which we must presume continued to coexist side by side with it. There is a reason why I have centred my attention not on the philosophical texts but mostly on the *Sahasranāmas*: these litanies preserve very little from a philosophical point of view but they rather represent the end and the conclusion of a long process of synthesis, during which the local infinite forms of a divine power, varying in names and in attributes, but fundamentally expressing the same archetype, by force of this essential analogy were driven to converge into a unique symbol. These thousand names are epithetons, but refer to some concrete expression, emphasize a peculiar aspect, and are very helpful in tracing back the later synthesis to its various components. Let us pass by the town of Śivapura located somewhere near Peshawar (the descriptions of the Siboi and their habits which led the Greeks to call them descendants of Herakles need not to be mentioned because the Siboi were not in Gandhāra); more important are the images on the Indo-Greek coins which, though purely Greek iconographically, are related to local gods, some of which are certainly homologous to Śiva; on the other hand, fine pieces of the Hindu Shahi period – consequently many centuries later – testify to the cult of Durgā and Śiva in the same regions. We can therefore thus safely assume that the Devi and Śiva in whatever shape and symbols were worshipped in Gandhāra and neighbouring countries, even if they had peculiar names; they might have been worshipped as *yakṣa*, as *naivāsika* or *laukika* or *grāma* godlings and gods; but their presence there is certain. I seize this opportunity for supporting my point in the fine pages written by A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, MDAFA I, Paris, 1942, vol. I, p. 258: 'Le Grand Seigneur de la montagne'. In this chapter he has insisted in his usual brilliant way on the important role played in those parts of the world by a mountain-god, and I too believe that the connection with mountains is one of the predominant sides of that composite religious entity which was configured in the form and

under the name of Śiva. In this connection, the importance of a recent study by Prof. M. Bussagli cannot escape our attention: the God Žun(a), Sun(a) that is the main object of his researches leads us to the same geographical surroundings and I think to an analogous religious background. This god Žun(a), [164] Sun(a) is mentioned by *Sui-shu*, ch. 83, as Shun T'ien shên 順天神 and by Hsüan-tsang, under the name Sou-na 楊那 (天), as specially worshipped in the country of Ts'ao-chü-cha²⁷.

The country of Ts'ao-chü-cha corresponds to skr. Jaguḍa, now Jagurī, Jagaṭu, and at present is the main homeland of the Hazāras²⁸; but there is evidence that the Hazāras extended far beyond the limits within which they retired on account of many historical events and specially of the pressure of the Pashtu tribes. Jaguḍa included in ancient times also Ghazni²⁹ (though there are some phonetic difficulties which render uncertain, but do not exclude the

²⁷ M. Bussagli, 'Cusanica et serica: I, La fisionomia religiosa del dio Žun (o Shun) di Zabul', *RSO* XXXVII, 1962, pp. 79 ff.; P. Daffinà, 'Gli eretici *chi-to* e la divinità di Zābul', *ibid.*, pp. 279 ff.

Principal literature on this god:

Hori, Kentoku, *Kaisetsu Saiiki-ki*, Tokyo, 1912 (p. 940 interprets *hsi-slo* = Iranian *hilla* = skr. *śira*).

Shiratori, Kurakichi, *Saiiki-shi Kenkyū* I, pp. 450-436. He takes Shun T'ien shên as Viṣṇu, on the basis of the fish in front of the temple of the god, considered as a symbol of the Matsyāvātara.

R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Le Caire, 1948, pp. 120-124, equalling Shun(a), Žun(a) with the Sun.

F.C. Martin, 'Some Coins of the Napki Malka Class Restruck by Shahi-Tigin', *JPASB*, N.S., XXX, no. 3, 1934, *Numismatic Supplements* XLVI, pp. 6-7 (sun-god); but see on that K. Enoki, article quoted below.

J. Filliozat in *JA*, 1948, pp. 316-317 (a śaiva god, or analogous to Kumara).

Enoki, Kazuo, 'On the Nationality of the Eptalites', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 18, 1959, pp. 46 ff.

The best collection of references on Zabulistan (= Jaguḍa, equivalence not recognized by him) is to be found in J. Marquart und Johan Jakob Maria de Groot, 'Das Reich Zabul und der Gott Žun vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert', *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 248 ff.

²⁸ Already Watters identified the Chinese term with Jaguḍa: in detail S. Lévi, 'Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahamayūri', *JA*, Tome V, 1915, pp. 83-85; cfr. B. Laufer, 'Loan Words in Tibetan', *T'oung Pao* XVII, 1916, p. 458, n. 57. Jaguḍa is the name of the country and of its chief product: *jaguḍa* = *kuṅkuma*, *crocus sativus*.

Besides *MBH*, quoted by S. Lévi, the geographic lists of the *Puranas* include Jaguḍa among the north-western tribes: Lampaka... Jaguḍa... Kāśmīra. See W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn und Leipzig, 1920, p. 73, and Id., 'Bharatavarsa' *Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte*, Heft. 6, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 45:

lampakas talaṅganaś ca cuḍika jaguḍaiḥ saha.

The country from its product, *usafoetida* = *hingū*, was also known as Hingūvardhana (see S. Lévi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 84-85).

On *yu-kin* = *crocus* (the Tibetan translation of Hsüan-tsang interprets: *kuṅkuma*) cfr. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago, 1919, p. 321 and on *hingū* *ibid.*, p. 361.

²⁹ On the name of Ghazni see H. Benveniste, 'Le nom de la ville de Ghazna', *JA*, 1935, pp. 141 ff. and A. Bombaci, 'Ghazni', *EW* VIII, 1957, p. 255.

equation Ho si na, 鶴悉那 *yak siet na of Hsüan-tsang = modern Ghazni, Ghazna, the equation is geographically certain). When speaking of this country the same Chinese traveller tells us that Jäguda besides Ho si na had another capital called Ho so lo, 鶴薩羅 *yak sa la, where: la, as known, may be = la and ra³⁰.

[165] The Chinese transcription presupposes an original *Ga sa ra which more than the problematic Azara of an uncertain pazand text discussed by H. W. Bailey (*BSOS* VI, 1930-32, p. 948) recalled by A. Foucher (*Route*, p. 189, n. 5), leads us to the conclusion that between the present-day Hazâra, interpreted now as 'the thousand ones', and the old name of the capital of the country of Jäguda mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, there stands a phonetic relation in the sense that a well understandable name Hazâra has been grafted upon an analogous or approximated ethnic name.

The problem of the Hazâras is still open and, to my mind, it cannot be solved only in the light of the legend current in Afghanistan and among the Hazâras themselves, that they are descended from the Mongolian settlers at the time of Gingiskhan. That among the Hazâra tribes there are traces of a stray Mongolian infiltration or influence is true and documented; but the fact cannot be generalized and the problem cannot be definitely solved before a thorough anthropological, linguistic, toponomastic and archaeological research is undertaken on a large scale.

These are also the conclusions at which H. F. Schurmann³¹ arrives in his recent book on the Mongols of Afghanistan, where he states that the Hazârajât Hazâras may be 'a mixed population formed by a fusion of an aboriginal Iranian mountain people with invaders of Mongol affinities' (p. 141). But at the same time he adds that 'as regards race no definite statement can be made as long as there has been no anthropometric survey' (p. 111).

In other words I am inclined to think that the identification Ho sa lo with Hazâra proposed by Vivien de Saint Martin and rejected by Cunningham still holds good, and that the name Hazâra, by which the inhabitants of the Hazârajât are now known, has nothing to do with *hazâra* = Mong. *minghan*, 'one thousand'; it can be the remnant of an older name appearing in the Ho so lo mentioned by Hsüan-tsang and on which the Iranic Hazâra was later grafted. Let us go back to the god Žun(a), Sun(a) worshipped in Ts'ao-chü-cha. Prof. Bussagli too rightly remarks that the pre-eminent character of Žun(a), Sun(a), is that of a mountain-god, as already indicated by Foucher: he is even inclined to find a connection between that deity with the mountain-god-ancestor of the Tibetans, as it can be visualized from the extant Tibetan sources³². The fact is

³⁰ In a passage of the *T'ang-shu* the name of this second capital as noticed by E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, Paris, n.d., p. 161, is given differently: A so ni 阿娑你 which supposes an A sa ni (*T'ang-shu*, Pe-na pen ed.). It may be that ni is a mistake for: li, ri, 利. On the problem of Haso lo cfr. also Hori, Kentoku, *Kaisetsu Saiiki-ki*, p. 938. If so, an alternate reading is implied without aspirated initial.

³¹ H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*, 's-Gravenhage, 1962.

³² G. Tucci, 'The Secret Characters of the Kings of Ancient Tibet', *EW* VI, 1955, pp. 197 ff.

theoretically possible. I too agree with Foucher that there might have been in that part of Afghanistan some migration, or at any rate the presence of a people akin to the Tibetans (A. Foucher, *Route*, p. 179): 'nous avons pour notre part cru reconnaître dans la souche ancienne de l'Hazârajât (les quels, d'après les descriptions des livres classiques, n'étaient ni iraniens ni indiens) le rameau le plus occidental de la race mongoloïde [166] qui peuple, entre le plateau Tibétain, ses prolongements de l'Hindûkush et des Pâmirs. Cette branche de la souche Tibétaine aurait été détachée du reste par la coupure de la grande-route des invasions et peu à peu refoulée dans ses montagnes, où des éléments ethniques congénères amenés par les invasions hephtalites et mongoles sont venus depuis s'amalgamer avec elle' (cfr. n. 5, p. 189). But at present this is a mere assumption, the validity of which may only be solved by anthropological and archaeological investigations. What was this god Žun(a), Sun(a)?

If we piece up the information that can be collected from various sources, Chinese and Arabic, concerning this god Žun(a), Sun(a), already known and all investigated by Marquart, which are the facts that we can gather? Essentially these facts are: his name Žun(a), Sun(a)³³ (the credit goes to Dr. P. Daffinà for pointing out this alternative); that he was connected with a mountain of Jāguḍa; that his temple was on a high mountain; that he arrived there from some other places after a short stay in Kāpiśi; that near his temple there lay a vertebra of a gigantic fish; that the king wore the image of a fish in his crown; that the statue of the god was made of gold and possessed two rubies for his eyes; that the king who built the temple was carried on a throne by 12 men. None of these elements points to a specific Tibetan character except the relation between the god and the mountain. The story goes that the god Žun(a), Sun(a), scornful for having been ill-treated by the mountain in A lu no (which does not mean red, but reddish-brown, tawny, then the sun at dawn, and finally the sun) went to this country of Ts'ao-chü-cha and properly in the mountain Sou na hsi (hi) lo 四羅³⁴. Žun(a), Sun(a) is the name of the god. The second part of the name of the mountain is: hi lo (hsi lo). Watters thinks that this word might correspond to Sanskrit: śi lā; but I suppose that hi, hsi lo cannot be dissociated from the other, now homophonous, hi lo. 醴羅, old pronunciation χiei la, used for the locality now called Haḍḍa and from the same hi lo transcribing the name of a famous mountain in Swat, the present-day Ilam: Orgyan pa, a Tibetan pilgrim who visited Swat in the 13th century calls it: *i lo parvata*; so too dPañ ldan Ye šes, obviously after the book of Orgyan pa³⁵. The two forms: χii la for the mountain sacred to the god Žun(a), and χiei la for the Ilam and the locality now corresponding to Haḍḍa are phonetically similar; the slight difference which Hsüan-tsang certainly noticed and remarked, because he used two different characters, may be explained as a local variation: thus they can hardly be considered as different or unrelated: moreover they

³³ On the Chinese transcription see P. Daffinà, *op. cit.*

³⁴ See P. Daffinà, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³⁵ G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 33 and p. 51 [in this volume - Ed.].

certainly indicate a mountain. Thus this mountain was in Jāguda, to-day Jāguri. Jāguri, as I said, is a wide country to the west and [167] south-west of Ghazni, immediately bordering this town up the Arghandab. It starts as a wide plateau, near Ghazni, now rather barren, but it soon branches off into two valleys, diverging respectively one towards Chakar and the other mounting to Kakrak; to the NE of Kakrak there is Jāgatu, where a preliminary archeological investigation was made by Prof. U. Scerrato in the year 1958. On that occasion he dug some trial trenches and discovered among other things an inscription in the cursive Greek of the later Kidara and Hephtalite period, containing only an invocation to Buddha. In the Chakar valley too there spread large mounds, the most imposing one lying at less than half a mile from the village itself. This valley is dominated by a mountain which can be seen from Ghazni and is called Turpardai (the black tent). In this district, at the time of Hsüan-tsang, the people used to speak a language different from that of other places³⁶; it was ruled over by a local king who was a fervent Buddhist though other religions were followed in his country, chiefly by worshippers of the God Žun(a), Sun(a).

In 1962 I surveyed the Chakar valley and visited a village a few miles away, called Haft-*asia*, 'the seven mills', on the way to Kakrak.

At the start, the country is barren and unfit for agriculture, except for a few valleys, then it narrows. Other small valleys converge into it from the surrounding mountains; vegetation increases and huge mounds can be seen in great quantity all over the territory. The village of Haft-*asia* lies in a fertile and irrigated valley in which almond trees grow in great abundance. It lies at the bottom of a rocky and dark mountain on which some wild almond trees strive against the barrenness of the stone and the land-slides: in spite of the unfavourable soil some of them are so bold as to reach the top of the mountain. A hillock emerges suddenly at the very border of the village and it can be seen from afar on account of its yellow colour, which greatly contrasts

³⁶ Both J. Marquart (*loc. cit.*, and *Id.*, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Erānshahr*, Roma, 1931, p. 89) and Schurmann (*op. cit.* p. 167) think that in this country an Iranian dialect was spoken. This is possible but not certain. The question of the language spoken in this part of Afghanistan must be taken up again. I am not so sure that in Jāguda was spoken an Iranian dialect. Hsüan-tsang says that the ways of writing and speaking of that country were different from those of the (other) countries (plural in the text). Are we to think, being Hsüan-tsang on his way back, that here the Chinese pilgrim finds a new linguistic area after Gandhara and the Indian speaking countries? Or does he recollect what he found in Kapiśi, where the official language was Tokharian with local vernacular varieties (cfr. names such as: Si pi to fa la zu, Pi lo so lo etc.)?

In the first case Jāguda would be the first place where the Indian area comes to an end; in the second case we should conclude that in Jāguda was spoken a dialect of its own.

This conclusion seems confirmed by the statement of Huei-ch'ao (P. Pelliot in Godard et Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan*, MDAFA II, Paris, 1928, p. 83 and W. Fuchs, 'Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726', *Sonderausgabe Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1938, XXX, 1939, p. 448), who states that the habits, dress etc. are similar to those of Kapiśa, but 'the language is completely different'.

A statement which however does not agree with what the same author says concerning the population, which, according to him is Hu, like that of Kapiśi, Bamiyan etc. But Huei-ch'ao is not such an acute observer as Hsüan-tsang.

with the dark-brownish rocks of the overlooking mountain; it has assumed this yellow colour because the buildings which covered it and were made of sun-dried bricks, based upon a foundation [168] of stone, have collapsed. There are still visible the traces of staircases leading to the top, and through a hole made by local people one can still see some well-preserved walls of dried bricks.

It is difficult to identify the purpose of the building, so utterly destroyed: it is necessary to wait for future excavations. For the time being, it seems to me that there is no clear evidence of its having been a *stūpa* or a Buddhist monument. In those parts of the world the visitor thinks, as a rule, he is always confronted with Buddhist relics; we have so deeply rooted in our minds the records of the Chinese pilgrims mainly concerned with Buddhist monuments that even unconsciously we run the danger of seeing Buddhist buildings where there are none.

Of course, I thought also of the possibility that those ruins might belong to a watch-tower or a small castle. However, a watch-tower in order to serve its purpose should have been placed a little farther away, just where the valley narrows. In such cases, I always try to find out if there is any local surviving tradition which might have preserved some traces of previous times. I must add that what led me to start those enquiries was just the location of the ruins: the hillock connected, so to say, by a rocky isthmus to the mountain itself, the awe-inspiring aspect of the place and, last not least, some very ancient-looking rock-engravings on some huge boulders scattered over the valley near the village itself (fig. 7). I have many times verified that living traditions are one of the best clues or suggestions in interpreting or guessing the real significance of some monuments or places; those traditions are so deeply rooted that the course of time or the change of ideas and religion cannot suppress them. The story goes that on top of the hill there was a pit: if a dog was made to descend into it, tied to a rope, when it was drawn out, it was found to be beheaded.

The Tepe is called Shah mar which means 'the king of snakes'. This in skr. would be: *nāgeśvara*, the name of a famous *līṅga* and a Śaiva place of worship referred to by *SP*, *jñāna-khaṇḍa* XXXVIII, 19; *ibid.*, LVI, 14 ff., where the *mahātmya* of the *mahēśalīṅga* is contained; under it there is a great treasure. The present day name of the overlooking mountain is Kōh i mazār, the mountain of the *ziyārat*.

The almond trees which grow on the slope of this mountain are considered sacred; nobody is allowed to cut or damage them. Many pilgrims still climb on top of the mountain; it is believed that there is a *ziyārat*. We discover in a word, in this tradition, survivals of the sacrality of the place, of the building, of the mountain with a special accent on some Śaiva marks (king of snakes). It is worth noticing that the tradition is alive in a village now inhabited by Pashtu of the Musakhel. These people have taken possession of the locality not long ago from the original inhabitants who were Hazāras: in this replacement [169] of one group by another, elements of the legend might have disappeared, but the legend was so vivid, and it so captured the newcomers that it could not completely disappear.

Thus in Haft-asia too we find indications of mountain worship, mountain-god, snake worship, sacred trees; these are elements which we know to be coexistent with Śiva, or some of his many collateral aspects. As regards the legend of the dog, it should be remembered that one

of the names of Śiva is also *śringālamukha*. The dog is in some cases the vehicle of Bhairava (and the jackal of Cāmunda) associated with him. This does not contradict but rather supports our views about the presence in Gandhāra and the neighbouring countries of a god, specially a mountain-god, akin to Śiva; he may also be 'the ancestor', if the image on a coin of Vimakadphises represents the king (or the god himself) standing on a mountain (Göbl in F. Altheim - R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, p. 236). On account of the scarcity of information we cannot state if the homology extends to details, all the more as the mountain cult is a widespread archetype found in the most different religions. However it seems to me that in Sun(a), Žun(a) peculiar characters are implicit: he already appears to possess a more complex aspect than the mountain-ancestor of the Tibetans, and this very complexity brings him nearer to Śiva than to the Tibetan gods. There is no historical event which could explain the introduction from Tibetan surroundings of such a cult: moreover the Tibetan configuration of the mountain-god is strictly connected with a territory in which a tribe lives, and its herds pasture. The most probable solution is to suppose that whatever might be the background and the origin of this god it was grafted on a mountain and a mountain-god already existing and that this was due to a collusion with some Śaiva doctrines or worship. I am afraid that I may look as being possessed by a Śaiva complex, but I cannot refrain from adding that if there is a homology between the king of Zabul and the god Žun(a); if that king was assimilated with the god himself or he considered himself descended from the god – as rightly suggested by Prof. Bussagli – the fact that his throne was carried by 12 men may impart on the god-king a peculiar significance. The 12 men must have here only one meaning: they are supposed to represent the twelve months or the twelve zodiacal signs; this leads to the conclusion that the god-king was considered as the 'centre' round which time accomplishes its rotation; Śiva too is unshakeable, being a mountain-god; he is a Meru, Śiva is called *merudhāman* (*Mbh*, v. 91), as standing on the Meru he is also the centre. He is the pivot or immoveable centre, *sthira*, *sthānu* (*Mbh*, vv. 31, 64; *LP*, v. 3), *dhira*, which word means also the polar star; the twelve zodiacal signs should therefore go round it. Śiva is also called Prajāpati which is the year (*Mbh*, v. 59); in fact Śiva is also known as *sarvatsara* (*LP*, v. 10); therefore, Śiva is the master of planets: *grahapati*, *candra*, *surya*, *śani*, *ketu*, *graha* (*SP*, v. 35). The assimilation [170] with sun and moon, the two luminaries regulating the course of time, is easy; Śiva is called *ravi*, *vairocana*, *ravilocana* (*SP*, vv. 56, 57).

If we want to go still more into details, the fact that the image of the god Žun(a) was of gold, that he was sitting on a golden throne, and that treasures were offered to him, finds a correlation with what we know of Śiva, called *hiraṇya* (*SP*, v. 55), *hema* (*Mbh*, v. 14), *hemākāra* (*LP*, v. 35), *kanaka* and *kāñcanasthita*, sitting on gold (*LP*, v. 61).

The reference to the god Žun(a), Sun(a) contained in the *Sui-shu* (83, fol. 16) and the *Pei-shih* (97, fol. 3) is very interesting; they say that in front of the temple of the god there was a vertebra of a fish; what this vertebra can be is difficult to say. I imagine that it must have been suggested by some erosion in the rock, as it can frequently be seen in the mountains of Afghanistan and elsewhere. The cavity through which the sky could be seen in its splendour might have inflamed the enthusiasm of the simple believers or pilgrims and suggested to their minds the image of the vertebra of some giant fish. Be that as it may, we must remember that

the connection of fish-Śiva is not out of the question: one of the characters on which the *Sahasranāmas* insist is the relation of Śiva with waters. He is called *jalaśaya*, *payonidhi* (*Mbh.*, vv. 99, 88), *jalacāra*, *mahānavanipātavit* (*LP.*, vv. 30, 55, 93), *mahāhrada* (*SP.*, v. 26), *nadidhara* (*SP.*, v. 32), *jaleśvara* (*SP.*, v. 106).

In the *Mahābhāgavatapurāna* he is called: *matsyapriya*, fond of fish (R. Ch. Hazza, *The Upapurānas*, vol. II, Calcutta, 1963, p. 274).

Prof. Bussagli rightly refers in a note to Dharmaruci. Dharmaruci was shown by the Buddha the remains of one of his former incarnations when he was born as a *timīṅgila*. In *Mbh.*, v. 94, Śiva is called *makara*, and *timīṅgila* is synonymous with *jalajantu* (e.g. *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana*, Poona ed., p. 6a, v. 20).

It is interesting to recall in this connection that in an inscription of the 6th century A.D. found at Gilgit (Gilgitta) we find, in a purely Śaiva context (Nandideva) rightly pointed out by its discoverer A. Stein, an officer called Makarasimha, a canal called Makaravāhini, a town Abhinavamakarapura (Sir Aurel Stein, 'Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region', *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 5, and N.P. Chakravarti, 'The Gilgit Text of the Vajracchedika' in G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, I, SOR IX, Roma, 1956, pp. 179 ff. and *EI* XXX, pp. 226 ff.).

The connection of fish with Śiva is well-known. Both the Śaiva, the Krama and Kaula schools considered Matsyendra, Macchendra, 'the lord of the fish', as one of the transmitters of the revelation of the secret doctrine. How Matsyendra came to hear that revelation, while he was in the belly of a gigantic fish, is narrated in the *Skandapurāna*, *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* chapter, 263 (Baṅgabaśi ed.). Here Śiva is said to have descended on the top of a mountain in the Śvetadvīpa and then to have taught Pārvatī the *jñānayoga*. Then continuing on their journey they saw in the ocean a big fish and Śiva requested it [171] to say who it was. The fish or rather the man inside the fish (Matsyodara) related how he had overheard the talk between the god and the goddess, and how he had then acquired *jñānayoga*.

The Krama school, which is said to have prospered in the *Uddiyānapīṭha*, that is Swat³⁷, is considered to have been revealed in the four *yuga* (*TA.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-297, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, Kashmir SS. 3, p. 115; Trivandrum SS, p. 46) by four *nāthas*. These being revealers cannot be but forms of Śiva, the last being Matsyendra, Macchinda: they all have names of animals: Khagendra (*kṛtayuga*), the king of birds, evidently alluding to the *ḍākas*, the male counterpart of the *ḍākinis* flying in the air; Kūmanātha (*tretāyuga*), the revealer in the shape of a tortoise; Meśanātha (*dvāparayuga*) as a ram; Macchanda (*kaliyuga*), the revealer in the shape of a fish (*Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 46, v. 12); for a mystic interpretation of the four stages of realizations corresponding to the four *nāthas* see *Cidgaganacandrikā*, ed. A. Avalon (*Tantric Texts*, vol. XX, Calcutta-London, 1913, p. 32, vv. 158 ff.). Thus the terms Śiva, water, fish occur together. If Matsyendranātha became later an initiatic name and *matsya* was taken to mean 'senses'³⁸ in the

³⁷ The text of *Mahānayaprakāśa* ed. by Sambaśiva Śāstri reads: *tato dhya (naṃ tam) tu*, but the correction in *uddiyanam tu tat pīṭham* is evident. Cfr. Kashmir ed., pp. 49 and 61.

³⁸ E.g. *macchah paśah samakhyatāś capalās cittavṛttāyās; cheditās tu yadā te macchandās tena kirtitah;* so Rājanaka commenting on *Tantraloka*, I, p. 25; see G. Tucci, 'Animadversiones Indicae', *JPASB*, N.S., XXVI, 1930, pp. 133 ff.

paribhāṣā (the technical terms) used in the esoteric schools, this usage came no doubt at a later date. The symbolic and initiatic interpretation comes after a mythic stage: in other words we have just a myth, a cult, then a gnosis. These myths contain evident traces of ancient cosmogonies, too; the incarnation of the god as a tortoise, as a ram, as a bird, etc. The passage is thus clear: cosmogonic myths, the same myths converging into some gods of increasing importance, the development of a speculation which reinterprets, in the light of knowledge and salvation, primitive materials.

In this connection, because many aspects of some local mountain-gods – later converging in Śiva – have been recognized in that god whom the Greeks identified with their Dionysos, it is not out of place to add a few words concerning a place which Alexander reached in the course of his campaigns in India. The story is related by Megasthenes, then by Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Curtius Rufus and Justinus, in connection with the conquest of the Aornos. While Arrian, *Indike*, 5, 7, writes: ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄορνον γὰρ πέτρην, ἦντινα Ἀλέξανδρος βίη ἐχειρώσατο ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν... and Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 85, 1: λέγεται γὰρ το παλαιὸν Ἡρακλέα ταύτην τὴν πέτραν ἐπιβαλόμενον πολιορκεῖν ἀποστῆναι διὰ τινὰς ἐπιγενομένους σεισμοὺς μεγάλους καὶ δισσημείας; Justinus, XII, 7, is more diffuse: *peragrata India cum ad saxum mirae asperitatis et altitudinis, in quod multi populi confugerant, pervenisset, cognoscit Herculem [172] ab expugnatione eiusdem saxi terrae motu prohibutum. Captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare cum summo labore ac periculo potitus saxo omnes eius loci gentes in deditioem accepit.*

Undoubtedly, we here find a tale which presents striking similarities to that narrated by Hsüan-tsang regarding the Aruṇa mountain: the god Žun(a), Sun(a) wanted to take possession of it but could not do it because that mountain began to shake. The theme is the same: here Hercules attempts to get possession of a mountain of another god but he is prevented from establishing there his seat by an earthquake; the Chinese pilgrim adds only the migration to other places, which is implicit.

Now, if we come back to Hsüan-tsang, the most important element in the legend told by him is that the god Žun(a), Sun(a) had come from afar; not having received the welcome which he expected from mount A lu na, Aruṇa, in the proximity of Kāpiśi, that god went to Ts'ao-chü-cha. This implies that in the country of Jāguḍa he was not considered as being of that place, but imported.

This would show that we are not confronted with a local cult, but with the cult of a foreign god who somehow became predominant in Jāguḍa and a kind of patron of the country or rather of the ruling family. Thus we cannot expect to detect in the god Žun(a), Sun(a) the context of the mountain-gods of the clans of Tibet; there is no indication that he came thence: there is a connection, though a secondary and momentary one, with Kāpiśi. He arrived there from afar and there went to Jāguḍa: Kāpiśi, we know, had been opened to the impact of Indian culture. When a legend speaks of the god in the terms told by Hsüan-tsang it is clear that we have to deal with the diffusion of a cult; in other words I can read the tale of Hsüan-tsang in the sense that a cult of a certain god was introduced into Kāpiśi and that his abode – that is, his temple – lay for some time in the Aruṇa mountain; from there, for reasons which we do not know, perhaps some invasions, his cult suffered a setback, and his believers took it over to Jāguḍa.

When he was again located in a mountain – that is to say, his temple was built in a mountain – the rulers of the place assimilated themselves with him, according to a process of which we have so many examples, from India to Greater India. Therefore, the problem may also be put quite differently from what has been done so far: nothing prevents us to believe that Žun(a), Sun(a) was taken as a form of Śiva or an adaptation of Śiva to a local god, introduced from India to Kāpiśi and then transferred to Jāguḍa. In other words a reintroduction of a god who, though he had many prototypes in Gandhāra, had now assumed a definite shape on account of Indian speculation.

At this point we must in fact recall that the mountain Aruṇa is not unknown to Indian tradition: it is mentioned in the cosmographic section of the *Purāṇas* as being situated to the west of the Kailāsa: Aruṇa *parvata* to the west of Kailāsa, *parvataśreṣṭha* [173] *rukmadhātumaya* (W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude. Die Kosmographischen Texte der Purāṇas*, Bonn, 1954, p. 128, V, 17). It is the mountain dear to Bhava (*ibid.*, V, 18) a name, as we have seen, of Śiva among the Bāhikas, Bāhlikas; more explicitly (*ibid.*, V, 20) it is the abode of Giriśa, Śiva, the Lord of mountains.

The tradition was also known to Alberuni who records it. In these texts it is also said that the river Śailodā, well-known to classical sources, flows from that mountain. This river seems to correspond to the Jaxartes, but we must remember that this identification is extremely vague. Though the geography of the *Purāṇas* has certainly some foundation on the reality of facts, it is mainly a part of a mythological literature; too vague to allow to draw a definite conclusion from its statements. We can only say that this Aruṇa was a mountain supposed to be to the west of Kailāsa, to be equally sacred to Śiva, because it was his abode, and that the Śailodā river is connected with some peoples located in Afghanistan or near to it, like the Pārada, and the Taṅgana (see S. Lévi, 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana' (*cit.*), p. 133; *Id.*, 'Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa ...', p. 104).

This mountain Aruṇa recalls to our mind the Aruṇācala – the Aṅṅāmalai of our days – between Madras and Bangalore. It is considered one of the most sacred places of the Śiva cult and to it a well-known *mahātmya* of the *Skandapurāṇa* is dedicated (I, III). Just as the Kailāsa, the seat of Śiva, gave its name to many mountains or temples of India, we may equally suppose the same connection between the Aruṇaparvata, seat of Giriśa of the Puranic cosmography, and the Aruṇācala of South India.

Therefore, the connection of Aruṇa with Śiva seems to be beyond dispute. But we may now ask, why did a god try to take the seat of the other, or rather to share the same seat with him? Why did the new comer expect to be welcomed by the local god? This fact can only be understood if we suppose that the two gods were in a certain way related; in other words, the legend told by Hsüan-tsang may express in terms of a myth the opposition of two related sects; an old local religious entity with its own methods of worship, a context of myths and beliefs, and well-established cults, and then the intrusion of a new sect trying to introduce different trends of rituals and thoughts.

Then the rivalry of two different sects or schools was expressed in the terms of the myth narrating the combat of two different gods for the conquest of a mountain, a myth which seems

to have existed in those parts of the world from ancient times as shown by the above quoted references to it by classical authors.

The same Śaiva context of the god Žun(a), Sun(a) appears both in the *Sui-shu* (book 83, 16) and in Hsüan-tsang: that T'ien shên is 'the heaven spirit', his moods are ambiguous, because he may be good or bad and causes (i.e. if not properly propitiated) calamities; those who believed in him used to control their mind and to practice hardships [174] (*duṣkaracaryā*). When the god was propitiated he handed them (that is, suggested to them) magic formulae with which they could fight disease and recover.

The hardships which the believers in the god Žun(a), Sun(a) were supposed to undergo in order to receive from him the magic formulae and the control of their mind were a necessary preliminary to get that boon from the god, and point to practices quite peculiar to the Śaiva schools; so are also the magic formulae, meant chiefly for treating diseases: all this shows that his adepts were akin to the *yogins* and *sādhus*, while the reference cannot pass unnoticed to the great quantity of animals offered to him (not killed, as far as we can judge from the context) and which nobody could venture to touch; in this fact we might detect a hint to the peculiar character of Śiva: as lord of the beast, Paśupati.

As a confirmation of what we have said we may add that we know from Hsüan-tsang (chap. I, *Taishō* 2087, p. 873 c.) that besides Buddhism other sects flourished in Kāpiśi. The Chinese pilgrim mentions among them certain sectarians who used to besmear the body with ashes and joining together human skulls made them into their head ornaments (cf. Bhavabhūti *Mālatīmādhava*, ed. R.S. Bhandarkar, p. 197, where Kapālakunḍalā is described as: *ullolaskhalitakapāla-kañṭhamālā* and *ūrdhvaṃ dhūnoti vāyur vivṛtaśavaśiraḥśreṇikuñceṣu guñjan*).

These ascetics alluded to are evidently the Kāpālikas, a peculiar Śaiva sect which indulged in the most gruesome practices and habits and was mainly centred in the cult of the orgiastic and fierce aspect of Śiva as Bhairava. That the temple or the seat of Śiva should be in a mountain is evident: the temples of Śiva-giriśa, lord of a mountain, were frequently called Kailāsa.

It may even be that this story could be traced in the *Sahasranāma* of Śiva contained in *LP*, v. 40 (cfr. *PS*, *jñānakhaṇḍa* LXXI, v. 31) *akṣuṇṇah*, *kṣuṇṇarūpaś ca* 'he is the un-crushed one and he has the form of the crushed one' (*kṣuṇṇa* from *kṣud*, to crush, to trample upon, to bruise, but also injured, unsuccessful: so Edgerton). The *Śiva-toṣiṇī* interprets *akṣuṇṇa* as '*pralaye* 'py *asaṃpiṣṭa*', 'even in *pralaya* when the universe is re-absorbed in its embryonic stage he is not crushed, dissolved (as the material existence)'; *kṣuṇṇa* means: that whose form is crushed. Of course here there may be an implication referring to the two stages of Śiva: that of pre-emanation and that of *kṣobha*, the commotion which like ripples on a sea sets in motion consciousness; but the names contained in the *Lingapurāṇa* do not refer to speculation, they are rather mere epithetons, or indications of attributes.

The form *kṣuṇṇarūpa* may also contain a reference to some legends like that of the assault by the demons which left Śiva undisturbed (e.g. the rebellion of Rāvaṇa, who vainly tried to shake the Kailāsa). Though his nature is unshakeable he appeared (on [175] account of the assault of Rāvaṇa) as shaken. But we cannot exclude a *priori* that in the pun there is an attempt by the compiler of the '*One Thousand Names of Śiva*' to adapting to Sanskrit a foreign name, just as

Paulus became Pauliśa, Antiochus Amtiyaka etc., and an allusion to the story related above.

Be that as it may, I believe that both the Chinese and the classic tale go back, though written at a different time, to some local myth in which a combat was narrated of two gods, accompanied by the defeat of one of them, and the earthquake which prevented its real victory; but the story was later adapted to the rivalry of some sects for the possession of a sacred mountain and its sanctuary. Thus the sentence 'from afar' of Hsüan-tsang does not necessarily imply a reference to a migration from the north, but may equally well point to a penetration from lower Gandhāra and adjoining countries into Kāpiśi, and from there to Ts'ao-chü-cha.

In any way, whatever may be the origin of God Žun(a), Sun(a), it seems that the few references to him show a context not much different from that of Śiva, the same complexity, with a special stress on his being the lord of a mountain, the cosmic pivot, the ruler of time.

I have used throughout this discussion the form Sun(a), Žun(a) instead of the form Sun, Shun of the *Sui-shu* and the *Pei-shih*, because Hsüan-tsang was certainly a good linguist though he had the inclination to sanskritize many of the local words: his transcription of the name of the god supposes an ending in a; until new material is found there is no reason why we should call our god Shun instead of Suna, Žuna. The best solution is therefore to follow Dr. Daffinà who regularly transcribes Sun(a) and Žun(a).

It is known that Watters (I, p. 122) commenting on the name Žun(a), Sun(a)-hi lo thinks of the Vedic *śunāsīrau* (for *śunāsīrau*: A.A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Mythology', in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, III. Band, I. Heft A., Strassburg, 1897, p. 155; A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, HOS XXXI-XXXII, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, II, p. 323; Id., *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas: Aitareya and Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇas of the Rgveda*, HOS XXV, Cambridge, 1920, pp. 375 ff.). But it is evident that no possible relation can be found between the name of the mountain and *śunāsīrau*. Anyhow, pending the solution of the problem concerning the language spoken in the country where that mountain is located and remembering that the god was not aboriginal but, so to say, re-imported, we must not forget that the word *Sūna* occurs, as a name of place, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (JA, 1915, p. 40, v. 38 and p. 91); this place could not be located by S. Lévi nor have I anything to suggest (the fact that this place comes near to Māthurā is not pertinent, because the order of that book is not strictly geographical; in fact Māthurā is preceded by Lampāka and followed by Laṅkā).

In the *Bhāgavatapurāna* (I, 17, 38) *Sūna* indicates the country of Kali, and in *pañcasūna* (also written *śūna*) the five obnoxious things, then *śunā* is the slaughter house, and generally the act of destroying. There is therefore inherent a connotation of death, killing, [176] quite befitting terrific places or entities. On the other hand in *Brahmaṇḍapurāna* (III, 7, 35) we find mention of a *nāga Sūnamukha*.

Moreover *Sunāsira* is the name of Indra, evidently connected with Vedic *Śunāsira*. But this name and the supposed connection of Kāpiśi with Indra from where the god Sun(a), Žun(a) went to his mountain in Jāguḍa must not lead us astray and revert to the hypothesis of Watters. It has been said, it is true, that the god represented as Zeus on the coins of Kāpiśi and therefore assimilated to him and accompanied by the symbol of a mountain (?) and the head of an elephant (Rapson, *CHI*, p. 535) may be Indra (M.Th. Allouche-le Page, *op. cit.*, p. 130). It was a

mountain-god, there is no doubt, or at least it was believed, as related by Hsüan-tsang, that on the mountain there was a god. But the Chinese pilgrim does not say at all that the god had the form of an elephant, or that the elephant was its *vahana*; what Hsüan-tsang says is that 'to the south-west of the town there is mount Pi lu so lo: the spirit (or god) of the mountain has made

作 the image of an elephant. Therefore this is called: 'elephant-solid'. Evidently we are here confronted with one of certain features which the rock sometimes shows and that are taken as being the work of gods: what the Tibetans call *ran abyun*. Therefore I believe that there is no reason to think of Indra as the deity of the mountain which Hsüan-tsang calls, wrongly sanskritising its name, Pilusāra. We may only state that near the town of Kāpiśi – how far from it we do not know – there was a god supposed to abide on the mountain whose name and entity is unknown to us, and lastly that that mountain or part of that mountain appeared as an elephant (rightly Foucher, *Route*, p. 365, recalls the supposed image of the elephant in Swat, but on this see PR, p. 321).

The connection – though not a direct one – of the elephant with Śiva seems to be brought into evidence by some Jaina traditions. The Jainas in fact have left records of some *yakṣas* whose names recall those of Śiva, i.e. Kapardin and Īsvara: in fact, it is well-known that Kapardin is an epitheton of Śiva, while Īsvara is synonymous with Śiva.

Both these *yakṣas* ride on the elephant (see Umakant P. Shah, 'Brahma-śānti and Kaparddi yakṣas', *Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda* VII, 1, 1958, pp. 68 and 69).

Moreover, the god represented on such coins of Kāpiśi has been shown by Whitehead to be not a Zeus (equalled to Indra on account of the presence of the elephant) but a city-goddess (*NumChr*, 1947, pp. 28-32 and 1950, pp. 205-6). The same conclusion has been also reached by A. K. Narain. *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 62 ff.

When revising the proofs of the present article I read the book by A. Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religions*, Stockholm, 1962, in which he contends that Herakles = Indra and Dionysos = some chief god of the aboriginal tribes, chiefly Muṇḍa; though [177] there might be some truth in this contention, I am afraid the religious world of India, even at the times of Megasthenes was as complicated as it was in later times, with the difference that there had not yet been any attempt at those syntheses which in a certain way contributed to simplify matters. On the other hand, the tendency of Megasthenes to identify Indian gods with Greek ones complicates the problem; in addition we are not sure where and how he collected his information and who were his informants. It is likely that at the time the local varieties of gods and cults and myths would have prevented a foreigner from having a clear idea of the Indian religious background. This difficulty increases with regard to the north-western parts of the Subcontinent, and chiefly Gandhāra and adjacent countries, in which many ethnical groups lived together, of different extraction, languages, and culture.

Thus, what might have been valid for Pāṭalīputra could not perhaps be applied to Gandhāra and some of its adjacent regions, which Brahmanism had considered as out of the pale of what were regarded to be standard Aryan beliefs. This I say having in mind what the Author writes concerning Hercules and the Aornos. I do not think that any connection can here be detected

between Aornos and Aurna; that the Sindhu is the Indus is at least doubtful; the possibility of localizing the myth from the legendary accounts of RV is beyond hope; moreover, I have no doubt that the Aornos cannot be located in the Unasar, but should rather be the Ilam, as it was stated before Stein, as I hope to show in a forthcoming article on the invasion of Swat by Alexander.

To conclude, I think that the cult of a mountain-god or, to be more precise, of mountain-gods in Gandhāra and the neighbouring countries (Afghanistan, North-Western Pakistan to express it in modern geographical terms) is certain: and that it represents, as Whitney and Foucher had anticipated, one of the prominent backgrounds of late Śivaism³⁹. That god shows a context which is more varied and complex than that of the mountain god ancestor of the Tibetans; and rightly so because in many ways the social situation differed. In Gandhāra the vast settlements along the trade routes, the impact and proximity of different cultures, caused big changes. There arose very soon in those parts contacts and interchanges between shepherds, nomads or hunters living in the secluded places or in the outskirts of the towns, and the settlers; contacts and interchanges that with the passing of time increase; contaminations were bound to arise, new and more convincing interpretations of the primitive and crude myths or rituals slowly took place.

Side by side with the culture of the nomads and peasants there was the culture of the major centers, in which a lively trade, the many-sided commercial and intellectual activity [178] of the emporiums was developing; the vagueness of the primitive intuitions thus became more concrete, a formless god, a mountain, a tree, a stone was given a shape; each center worshipped its own as its patron. The contact with Greeks and Iranians contributed to give them an image, led to fertile assimilations: but these *poleis* with their own cults were short-lived.

When those settlements lost their relative independence and a political unification began to consolidate itself, the political process had its repercussion on the religious atmosphere: the political unity led to a religious synthesis.

This happened when the Kushana *koiné* became a very established fact. At that period the blending of the various components of the later idea of Śiva, the north-western, the southern one, the vedic Rudra, the prototype of the *yogin*, the different *naivāsika* godlings converging into one and the same entity on account of the similarity of homologous characters, was in the way of being realized so as to prepare the necessary background for the coming trends of speculation. Then little by little the local gods, the deities presiding over the various towns, countries, mountains, rivers, a multifarious pantheon of different origin, were merged together. The result was that the local *naivāsika* deities were considered only to be particular aspects of those that had emerged from this process of convergence or assimilation as major gods.

The Kushana coins testify to this fact with the springing up of the Śiva images with two or four arms and one or three heads.

³⁹ L. Rénou, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris, 1947, p. 515: 'Par nombre de ses traits Çiva est un dieu du Nord, mais le culte s'est répandu rapidement dans le Sud'. Better than of an expansion southwards we may speak of a blending with or of a convergence into homologous entities there existing.

At that time the mountain-god, the shepherd-god, the hunter-god with a goat or an ibex, assumed a shape valid for everybody, to be read by each country in its particular way; following the pattern of Buddhism, the dogmatic literature was given a start: it not only narrated myths (which the epic was echoing) but laid the first foundation of Śaiva dogmatics (the attribution of the *Pāśupatasūtra* to the second century A.D. is most probable). In other words, all this seems to lead to the conclusion that in what we may call classical Śaivism, in addition to the southern component, which cannot be minimized, there is the northern one too, no less important: the origin of the latter must be looked for in the north-western regions of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Gandhāra, and in their neighbouring parts. Its experience and ideals centred on the symbol of a mountain-god, surging up from a fertile and most congenial soil, that of the Gāndhāras, the Kambojas, the Dards etc. Also in the period of its later blossoming, the Śaiva school continues to appear mainly divided into two currents: that of the North, the Trika school – the greatest interpreter of which will be Abhinavagupta – and that of the South, converging towards the Pāśupatas, the Lingayats, etc. The symbols under which the two trends of thought place their faith or their speculation are the same, but the identity of the symbols should not conceal from our eyes the difference in the [179] cultural surroundings of which the two schools were the outcome and of the conclusions to which they arrive. It is a difference, which well persists in the course of the centuries, a link between the two being the *Āgamas* and the *Tantras*, to which they refer as the source of inspiration; but even in this case there lies a noticeable difference between the Śaivism of Kashmir and that of the South, because though the former does not refrain from quoting the *Āgamas* in support of its views, its preference, nevertheless, goes to the *Tantras*; and the Southern school, on the other hand, is more inclined towards the *Āgamas*. Anyhow *Āgamas* and *Tantras* were both the gnostic, ritualistic, psychological compendium arrayed when all the world was permeated by the same urge towards salvation through a gnosis and a psychophysical rebirth in which the Śaiva creed was, so to say, catalyzed to explode later in a most astonishing speculative enthusiasm.

Of course this surging up of Śiva as the supreme god does not mean that certain particular religious representations, cults and forms disappeared; in spite of that assimilation they continued to live and to be worshipped in their primitive aspect and meaning in the various places where they had originated, or had a long-standing tradition; it only happened that they were considered or justified as peculiar epiphanies of the major gods.

To conclude, just in the same way as under the Kushana empire a great synthesis of Buddhism took place, I think that even Śaivism then began to receive its first systematization which was first of all a process of unification.

I am afraid that our image has taken us a long way from its mere iconography. But the cause should be found in the fact that I am at present interested in collecting all sorts of materials which may throw some light on the cultural history of Swat; I personally hope to complete soon my book on the history of that country to which the PR has given the start.

We may now ask to which period the statue can be attributed. The answer is certainly difficult because we are here confronted with a village image representing a deity, that entered the Buddhist Vajrayāna pantheon with new dogmatical implications, as a survival of religious

traditions going back to very primitive times. Along the routes and tracts connecting, as it were, the most famous places of Buddhist pilgrimage and the most venerated *stūpas*, monasteries and shrines, we still find all over Swat images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, chiefly of Padmapāni, who seems to have become the patron god of the country. These images are carved on rocks or on stelae, by artisans educated to a taste and grown up in the middle of an artistic tradition which had developed under the blessings and the protection of the monasteries and well-to-do people.

They had the Gandhāra tradition behind them, even if many monasteries had been soon abandoned, or destroyed, on account of some reasons which I have [180] briefly indicated in the same PR. The decay of the monastic institutions and generally of Buddhism was already a fact when Hsüan-tsang visited the country. Still, the artisans – even the village artisans – had been breathing for centuries the Gandhāra atmosphere; their taste could not help being – albeit unconsciously – influenced by the monuments of that school which were certainly outliving the collapse of the religion in its noblest shape. They stood as a witness of a past grandeur or inspiration scattered all over the country; even the paintings could be seen in some places at the time of the Buddhist pilgrim Orgyan pa, and in spite of iconoclasy the stelae and the rock carvings may even nowadays arouse the interest of the visitors. But a great difference lay between the artist carving the images of the folk-deities – either this one, or the other of Śiva which I published in the PR, discovered within two miles from Guligram – and the artists or artisans responsible for the more conspicuous Gandhāra works. Gandhāra works were the outcome of special guilds or of monks trained and educated in a peculiar tradition which followed certain schemes and ideals, subject, as always happens, to a fatal course, to creative moments and to a subsequent stagnation in a weary stylization.

The villagers could pay their homage to their gods in the towns on the occasion of festivities or of marketing, but under the shelter of a wooden roof they could pay their daily worship to the folk-deities to whom they committed the safety of the houses and of their own selves. There existed therefore an image in every hamlet; these village pursuits were no doubt carried on apart, although at the same time side by side with the more sophisticated craftsmanship of the towns or big centres. The statue here reproduced is badly damaged, and it is therefore difficult to appreciate the merits of its execution, but there can hardly be any doubt that it compares badly with the average standard of the Buddhist images marking, as I said, the tracks of the pilgrims.

We know for certain that Hindu communities had their temples in Uḍḍiyāna; these shrines may have well contained images of more dignified and carefully executed images like those exemplified by a good number of pieces belonging to the Turki and Hindu Shahi periods. But between the image made for temple worship and that worshipped in the peasant villages there should have been the same difference which still exists between the mosque of the major centres and that of the hamlets scattered in the mountains: here generally the *masjid* is nothing but a stone, facing Mekka, functioning as *mihrab* under the shade of a tree.

This image too cannot therefore be dated according to common standards. Anyhow I would place the image at about the 8th-9th century A.D. It should, as a consequence, stand as a specimen of Hindu Shahi art, which has left far better examples, both in stone and bronze: an

art which has been so far little studied, except for the researches of Barrett, Goetz and Fisher, and now of Taddei, on account of the scarcity of its monuments [181] known or accessible; though there are some more specimens of them in many private and public collections, in Pakistan no less than in Afghanistan.

It is to be hoped that we may shortly be in a condition to appreciate better this art, which has a great importance in itself, as well as for its further development.

I am in fact convinced that we have so far laid too much stress on Gupta art, as the inspirer of Central Asian art or at least as its most important component. Prof. Goetz, in his very interesting article, 'Late Gupta Sculpture in Afghanistan: The Scorretti Marble and Cognate Sculptures', AA IV, 1957, p. 13, supposes that this Hindu art, like that reproducing Mahiṣamardini, or some Śivas, is nothing but import (*art. cit.*, p. 17) or local imitation (p. 19). But the fact is certain that Hinduism flourished in Gandhāra side by side with Buddhism: is it enough to read Hsüan-tsang in order to realize it. The contamination of Greek and Iranian deities with local gods is ascertained by the coins since the Indo-Greek, Śaka, Kushana coins; the *Mahāmāyūrī* provides a list of some of these *naivāsika* deities: we have seen that some of them were merged with the major gods of a more outstanding religious personality. We know from the same Chinese pilgrim that in Gandhāra and adjacent countries there were many non-Buddhist temples of Tirthikas. We cannot imagine these temples to have being devoid of any object of worship: the assumption to the contrary is documented by the pieces already discovered. A religion which possesses shrines and a large number of followers needs statues for its cult; it cannot depend on importation or on imitation. A god worshipped in a temple must have an image which translates into a visible symbol, in stone or marble, the mythic or even more complex ideas centred in him. The cult therefore presupposes a Hindu art in Gandhāra and Afghanistan, which developed following its own lines, even before the Shahis ruled over the country, all the more, if we call to mind that the artistic feeling and efficiency of the country is documented by such a widespread and significant expression of Gandhāra art.

When new material will be available, we may perhaps recognize that the importance of Gupta art concerning this influence has been a little exaggerated. It seems to me that we have not yet taken in the due consideration it deserves, the art which developed in the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent and the adjacent countries from Kashmir up to Afghanistan. This is an art which, though issued from the same spiritual urge and from the same basic ideals and forms related to Gupta art, is not the derivation of the latter, but rather a side-development, which grew up following somehow different lines and presenting some modulations of its own which were destined to travel a long way throughout Central Asia. So far as I can judge from the few discoveries made at Tepe-e Sardar near Ghazni, where IsMEO is excavating, this fact will be better evidenced by the choroplastic remains there found.

[182] Of course, the cultural soil on which Gupta art and the art of the north-western part of the Subcontinent developed is the same; the artistic traditions and the religious contents which they were meant to express are similar; but Gupta art was nourished in an atmosphere different from that which we find, starting from the Aśokan times, in the north-western part of the Subcontinent: more contacts with different trends of culture, the impact of foreign ways of living and

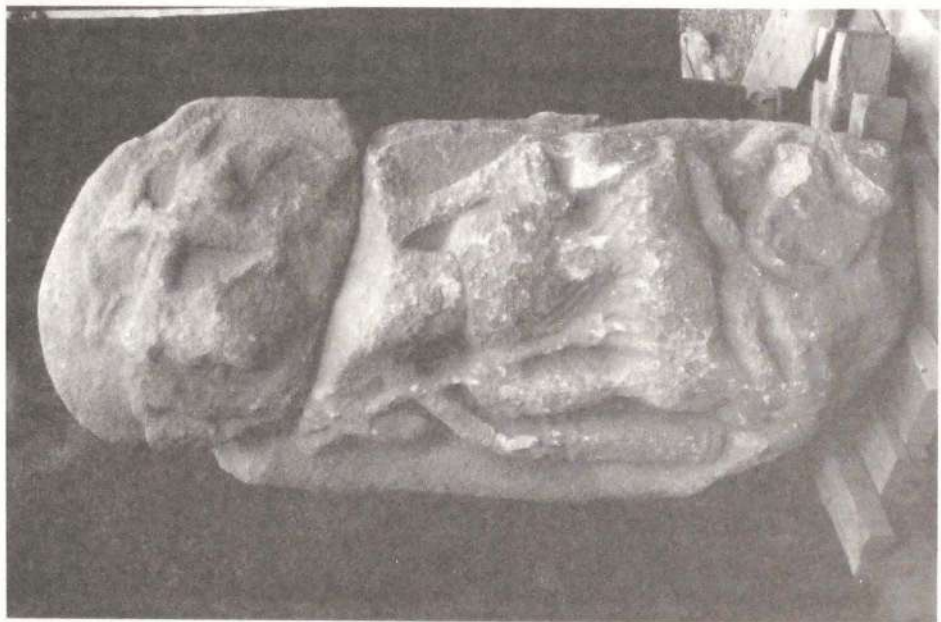
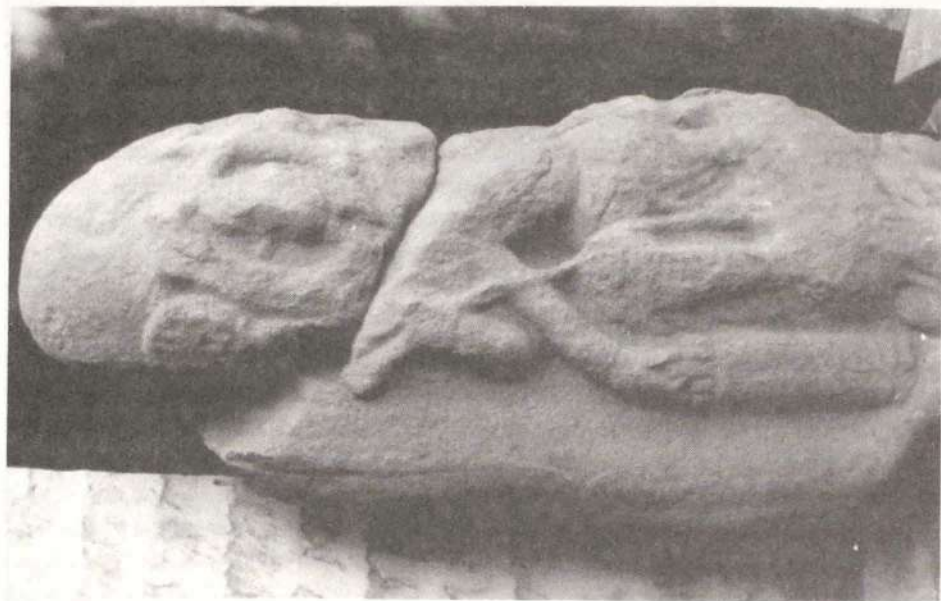
thinking, a broader outlook were forced on those regions by historical events. We find here what I might call a border-situation, which cannot but leave its imprint on all aspects of life, including art. The Indian historians of Indian art, to whom Tāranātha refers in his history of Buddhism, contend that there were in their times (not determinable, but possibly Pāla period) two main schools of art, the Eastern and the Western; this assumption is based on a sound foundation, confirmed by a tradition concerning the bronze images which we know to exist in Tibet. The art in these north-western provinces is a parallel branch of what is called the Gupta art: a western side-branch which developed specially under the Kidāra, the Turki Shahis and the Hindu Shahis, and travelled to Central Asia and to China, where we know that artists from Swat had gone for the decoration of some monasteries. This art had grown on a peculiar soil which was fully imbued with Gandhāra traditions and manners and received a strong impact of Sasanian art⁴⁰; the Indus river was in a certain way a border not only geographically. Gupta art received the impact of that art but it grew up and developed in somewhat different surroundings. The Gupta empire never had a durable hold on the north-western parts of the Subcontinent, left to themselves to draw their conclusion from the imposing artistic tradition which had developed in these territories or had reached them.

These are some suggestions which came to my mind considering the cultural situation of the countries in which our Archaeological Missions are at present working. They are, I say, suggestions, working hypotheses which need deeper and more analytical investigation which, I think, we will do in a near future.

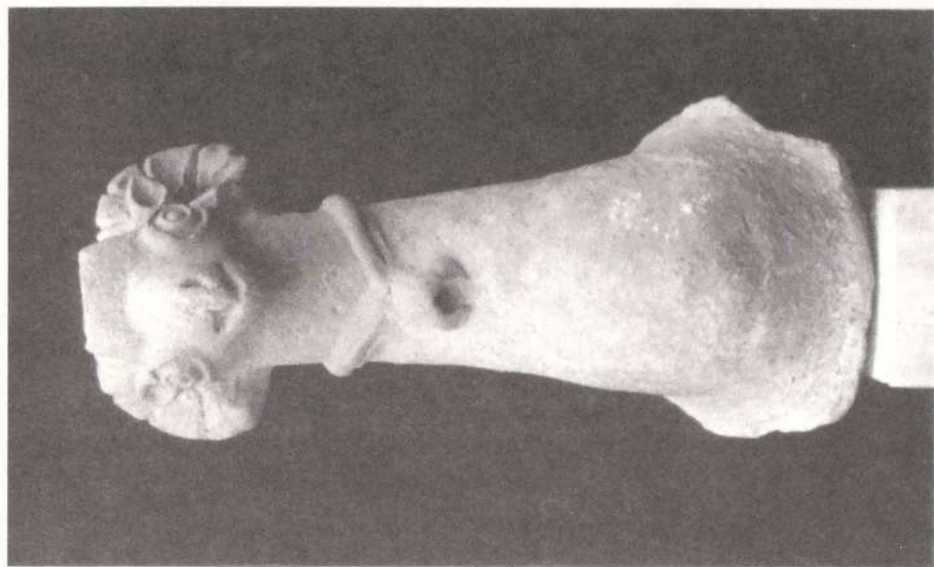
March, 1963

⁴⁰ That there was, specially near Ghazni and even in Swat, an influence of Sasanian art is proved by some covers of round toilet boxes in stone: some of them reproduce the hunting scenes of the silver Sasanian plates. I hope to publish soon some specimens of this most interesting provincial Sasanian art.

P.S. An inscription from Swat which, to judge from its characters, seems to go back to the 6th-7th century A.D., is dedicated to Śiva; though it is very badly preserved it speaks of a *linga*(?) which has been placed and dedicated (*samsthapita*) in a locality not identified.



Figs. 1, 2. Eight-armed Devi killing a caprid, from Guligram.



Figs. 3, 4. Terracotta handle representing a ram.



Fig. 5. A rock carving at Gogdara, representing a wild goat.



Fig. 6. Stylised horse-head on the way to Kalam.

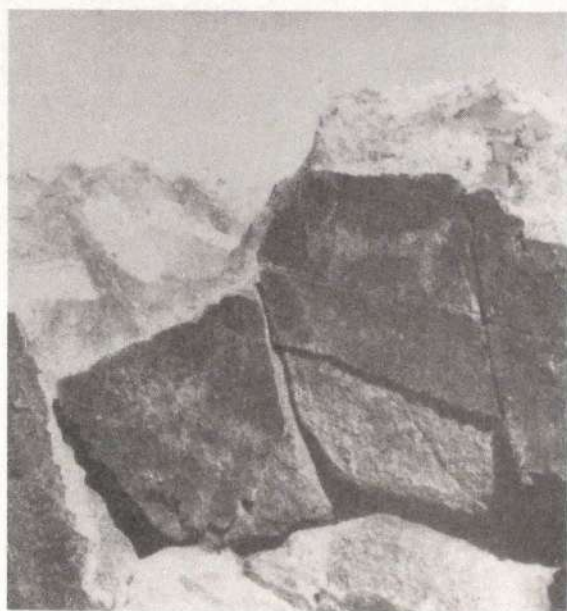


Fig. 7. Graffito near Haft-asia village, on the way to Kakrak.

Oriental Notes, III: A Peculiar Image from Gandhāra

East and West, XVIII.3-4, 1968, pp. 289-292.

We know that there has always been a tendency in India to keep secret the teachings of the religious schools, following a precept as old as the *Upaniṣads*: 'the gods like as it were what is not evident, they dislike what is evident' (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-up.*, IV, 2, 2). All the more so, in the esoteric schools which needed a special initiation; therefore Vajrayāna as well as Śaiva and Śakta indulged in using expressions likely to produce disgust and loathing in those who had not been initiated into their secrets. That is one of the many reasons why in certain temples erotic images were carved or sculptured. The recourse to eroticism to express religious and highly mystic stages is too well-known to stress it here, but I think that a Gandhāra image, which I happened to see in a private collection, should be considered under such a light (figs. 1-4) ¹. It represents a kind of three-faced stand in which three images are carved out. The image which I consider to be the central one is represented in a front view; the two others, in the left and right sides, are almost touching one another, while the space between these two and the former is a little wider. Thus the object assumes an almost rectangular shape.

The central image represents a sitting personage: the upper part of the body is naked, but the lower is covered by a *paridhāna*; he wears a necklace (*kaṅṭhābhāraṇa*), and perhaps earrings; the two arms are raised upwards as if supporting something and they wear bracelets (*valaya*); the image to its right is naked, kneeling and represented in the act of masturbating; the third one immediately to its right is equally naked, kneeling in a state of rest, after having accomplished the above said act, and, as in the first image, both arms are raised upwards. On top of the stand there is a rectangular empty cavity, as if meant to contain something. What is the meaning of this strange representation? I think we do not have here a merely profane erotic sense; I have been led to this assumption by the fact that the scenes are such as to be read as a sequence: they start from the front image and return to it with the apparent aim to indicate an indissoluble connection among the [290] figures, a kind of rotation, as it were, from left to right. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the third figure has again his arms raised upwards as the first one, as if a return to an original state were suggested: being tired by what he did, the person resumes his first position: this means that there is an interconnection among the different stages represented.

The triad so resulting makes me think that we have here a personification of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* (or of some conception based on it), the three moods of the Universal being, and their presence in the individual man. But assuming, as I did, that the images do not have a merely erotic significance, we must then ask what might be the implication of the scenes represented, and which ideas or suggestions are hinted at as a consequence.

* 'Oriental Notes' I and II were published in *EW* XIV, 1963, pp. 133 ff. and 146 ff. I want to state that these notes do not pretend to make full justice to the subjects with which they deal. Their purpose is to submit to my colleagues new material which I happen to collect during my travels in the East, some ideas, or working hypotheses which may be helpful to further research.

¹ I take here the opportunity to thank the owner for having allowed me to take photos of it and publish it.

There were many schools in India whose followers were addicted to objectionable practices for the purposes to which I referred in the beginning of this note: not only the Kāpalikas, but also the Pāśupatas. These recommended, e.g., the seven 'doors'; among them we find: *śṛṅgāra*, 'love', that is, 'showing oneself as a lover resorting to those plays which a lover may perform on seeing a beautiful and young mistress' (*Sarvadarśanasanigraha* of Sayana-Mādhava)²; or again, such a lover may have resort to acts and behaviours blamed by common people, as when a person cannot distinguish between what can be done and what cannot be done (*ibid.*). But there are other schools like the Akula: *kula* means the *śakti*, *akula* is Śiva (Bhāskaraṛaya comm. on *Lalitāsahasranāma*)³; *mukti* is freedom from any *āśraya*, mental or psychological support, and *āśraya* is *dharma* as well as *adharmā* (*jñānakārikā*)⁴. Reality is pure, stainless reality, but *manas* is subject to the influence of the three *guṇas*, it can therefore be *sāttvikam*, *rājasam* and *tāmasam*: the *sāttvika* situation is a state of rest, the *rājasika* is motion, going and coming, the *tāmasam* is sluggishness and fickleness, it is base (*kṣudra*)⁵. Above them there is the fourth stage 'beyond the senses', immutable, the reality beyond *citta* and *acitta*, beyond *dharma* and *adharmā*.

The followers of this school go naked⁶ without any companion, with their mind full of intoxicated delight (*ānanda* = may have double sense: pleasure and bliss), with garlands on their head (in our image, bracelets and necklace). 'Since everything goes to rest (text corrupt: I read *layam vai yena sarveṣām*), therefore it is called *liṅga* (*mudā kṛtam*, corrupt; read: *liṅgam udāhṛtam*) and this *kaulika liṅga* is not made of stone, of gold, of silver: but it is the *liṅga* co-born with the body: it is one, there is no other'.

So the man who follows the Akulavīra method, is himself called an *akulavīra*, a solitary hero: he is everything, he is all gods (*Akulavīratāntra*)⁷, he is no Śiva and no Śakti, i.e. beyond them, one.

If this interpretation is right, the three figures should represent the *manas* to be eliminated, [291] or its sublimation into the supreme coincidence of *samarasa* or *sahajānanda*, 'inborn pleasure', the *akulavīra* state transcending everything. It cannot be represented by any symbol, it is the void. This is perhaps the meaning of the cavity on top, and it explains why the personifications of *sāttvikam manas* and *tāmasikam manas* are represented with uplifted hands; when the rotation has been completed and action is over, the samsaric world goes back, after its exhaustion, to the nameless, formless void, the *akulavīra*-stage: so also for the *yogin*, who by the practice of *yoga* ascends to the fourth nameless stage. It seems to me that this is a probable explanation of this unique image; it resorts to erotic symbols to express mystic ideas in order to keep them secret (*gūḍhāvṛata*)⁸, that is why a follower of this system should behave as a madman⁹.

² Poona, 1924, p. 270.

³ p. 53.

⁴ Ed. Bagchi in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 115, v. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116, vv. 5 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119, vv. 6 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86, vv. 24 ff.

⁸ *Pāśupatasūtra*, Trivandrum, 1940, IV, 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 8.

The Akulavira texts published by Bagchi are of unknown date: the manuscripts seem to have been copied in the 15th century, but this gives no clue as to the age of the compilation of the texts themselves. Any connection with Buddhist trends of thought is barred out, notwithstanding the Vajrayanic homology *bodhicitta* = *śukra*, because the *bodhicitta* is realized by the coincidence of the two coefficients: *upāya* and *prajñā*, an indispensable bipolarity¹⁰ represented by the *yab yum* copulation of the Buddhist images. So far therefore for the *akulavira* interpretation.

But now let us turn to the *ekavira* stage. This may be considered as peculiar to the *vira* class of the three in which men are divided according to the Śaiva school of Kashmir and other Tantric sects (cf. *Rudrayāmalatantra*, etc.), i.e.: *paśu*, ordinary man; *vira*, the heroic; *divya*, the divine category. Let us reconsider the fact that the object seems to be the support of something: this support, of course, can be connected to anything such as a lamp, a cup, etc.; it can be the very groove which is chiselled out on top of it. In the last case or in that of a cup, we are confronted with a *pātra*, a vessel. This reminds us of a peculiar *arghapātra* used in certain esoteric practices of the Śaivasiddhānta of Kashmir¹¹.

In the *magnum opus* of Abhinavagupta (a work which I started perusing in 1929 in Kathmandu, with my revered *guru*, but alas since many years *pañcatvaṃgataḥ*, Śrī Hemarāja Sharma, Rājguru, and which has now been fully translated by Prof. Raniero Gnoli, who has already rendered into Italian the *Tantrasāra* of the same author) there are passages in which peculiar practices are referred to; as it always happens in such cases, the ceremony is not openly described. On account of its being of the utmost secrecy, *parama-gopaniyam*, it is merely hinted at; the explanation should never be written, but directly explained orally by the *guru* to the *śiṣya*; the semen (*retas*), of which the *Upaniṣad*¹² already said that it [292] is the outcome of all the limbs of the human body, plus *śonita*, the female component¹³, is not only the result of pleasure, *ānanda*, but is derived from the union with the *śakti*¹⁴. The two components represent the *argha*; the *arghapātra*, i.e. the vessel containing the *argha*, is first filled with alcoholic substances which are the cause of *ānanda* and then with the *kundagolaka*¹⁵ in a sacrifice (the

¹⁰ The abnormal practices of a heretic branch of the Shingon sect in Japan, i.e. that of Tachikawa Ryu founded by Ninkan in 1114 (D. Richie-Kenkichi Ito, *The Erotic Gods in Japan*, Tokyo, 1967, pp. 136 ff.), are to be excluded because of the distance in time between our image and the origin of that sect: nor have we any ground for supposing that Ninkan found in the tradition handed over by the followers of the Shingon sect some inspiration for his theories and practices.

¹¹ *Tantraloka*, with comm. by Jayaratha, XXIX, p. 92: *arghapatradau niksipet*, i.e. 'the elixir which is within our body' (*ibid.*).

¹² *Aitareya-up.*, II, 1.

¹³ Both of them represent the supreme elixir hidden in the body: *svadehashtitam dravyam rasayanam subham* (quotation in the commentary by Jayaratha to *Tantraloka*, XXIX, p. 92).

¹⁴ *Tantraloka*, XXIX, stanza 15: *tatarghaḥ śaktisaṃgamat*; *ibid.*, XXIX, p. 92, comm.: *patram purapurayet*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, stanzas 127-128, p. 92; *ibid.*, p. 14, *kundagolaka* is said to be cryptically 'a peculiar substance'.

ādiyāgamithuna): the *kunḍagolaka* can be eaten ¹⁶; the meaning of *kunḍa* is that of a vessel, sacrificial pit, but also, esoterically, womb; *golaka* is anything globular, in this case, evidently, *bindu*, semen; *kunḍagolaka*, which has also the meaning of any liquid food, is therefore a mixture of both *rajas* and *śonita*, the male and female elements = *argha*. That such a thing can be eaten is confirmed also by some practices followed in the higher initiations of the *rñiñ ma pa* in Tibet which show great contamination with Tantric Śaiva literature. The reason is that *kunḍagolaka* is homologous to the *cit*, or *citta*, the Consciousness *ab initio* which is present within us, though imprisoned in time and space; the ceremony – provided it is not performed for mere pleasure but for acquiring a full understanding of what its experience means – reproduces the process of the creation (*visarga*) and reabsorption, reintegration in the only reality, primeval Consciousness, Śiva, as pure, unshakeable potentiality. I am fairly certain that the above-discussed interpretations of the Gandhāra piece here reproduced are the only possible ones: the *akulavīra* or the *ekavīra* aspects ¹⁷.

Be it as it may, the attribution of the image to a particular Śaiva school is undeniable. Gandhāra was a Śaivite centre, and some peculiar Śaiva schools (like the Krama school) were developed in Swat ¹⁸.

Without referring, for the time being, to practices similar to those described above, followed by some followers of the Gnostic school and even of the Manicheans, we can draw from our Gandhāra piece some conclusion of far-reaching importance. I mean to say that practices which are documented in Tantric literature written in later periods – if my interpretation be accepted – were current already in some schools, to which we cannot so far give a name beyond contention, that existed in some parts of the north-western regions of the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent, in the 1st cent. or the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. Such is the date to which this Gandhāra piece can be attributed with a fair approximation, according to my surmise, supported also by that of Dr. D. Faccenna, who is presently giving to the press a volume on the different styles and periods of Gandhāra art ¹⁹.

¹⁶ See Jayaratha's commentary on those stanzas.

¹⁷ For the *vīra* the use of a *kumari*, a girl of 16 years, is needed. See *Rudrayamala*, p. 70, v. 90: *phalaṃ koṭiguṇaṃ vīraḥ kumarīpujaya labhet*.

¹⁸ See G. Tucci, 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', *EW IX*, 1958, pp. 283 ff. [in this volume – *Ed.*]; cf. M. Taddei, 'An Ekamukhalinga from the N.W.F.P. and some Connected Problems', *EW XIII*, 1962, pp. 288 ff.; G. Tucci, 'Oriental Notes, II', *EW XIV*, 1963, pp. 146 ff. [in this volume – *Ed.*]; M. Taddei, 'A Linga-shaped Portable Sanctuary of the Śahi Period', *EW XV*, 1964-65, pp. 24 ff.; H. Goetz, 'A Kashmiri Lingam of the 10th Century', *AAAs XXVII*, 1965, pp. 275 ff.

¹⁹ *IsMEORepMem*, II, Part I, Text [in preparation – *Ed.*].



Fig. 1. An *akulavira* image from Gandhara: central face (private collection)



Fig. 2. Right face.



Fig. 3. Left face.



Fig. 4. Empty cavity on the top.

On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems

East and West, XXVII.1-4, 1977, pp. 9-85, 94-103.

[List of abbreviations:

Chronicles of Ladakh: The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (Francke 1926).

Eran: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran (Marquart 1896-1905).

Ēranšahr: Ēranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i (Marquart 1901).

Festschrift Altheim: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968, ed. by R. Stiehl and H.E. Stier, 2 vols., Berlin, 1969-1970.

GGM: Geographi Graeci Minores (Müllerus 1855-1861).

ID: Irano-Dardica (Morgenstierne 1973).

IIFL: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages (Morgenstierne 1956; 1973).

Mbh: Mahabharata.

Mm: Mahamayuri.

MSV: Mulasarvastivadin.

SV: Sarvastivadin.

TLT: Tibetan Literary Text (Thomas 1935-1963).]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. *Discoveries of the Graves*

Prof. Dani published in 1967, as a special number of *Ancient Pakistan* (III, 1967), the results of his important excavations in Timargarha and Balambat ['Timargarha and Gandhara Grave Culture' – Ed.]. The book (in collaboration with F. A. Durrani, Muhammad Sharif and Abdur Rahman), deserves our best praises for its layout and its content; the discoveries have been carefully described and illustrated. Without entering into many details, I may be allowed to remark that a larger collaboration with some technologists (paleobotanists, paleozoologists etc.) might have greatly contributed to supply a more complete idea of how people lived in that country and in those times, what kind of seeds or trees they knew, the clothing they wore: e.g. I do not think that the dead were interred naked, but at least partially covered with pieces of woollen material. Uḍḍiyāna, like the country of the Kambojas, was known in India from ancient times for its fine woollen blankets (*kambala*). That is the method followed by us in Sistān and that now we extend to Swāt, where we have discovered many prehistoric graveyards, but only one large settlement (1966)¹ so far; this method is needed in order to get a more adequate idea of the ecological surroundings in those old times.

During my daily wanderings in Swāt, the first week of September 1957, in the collapsing slope of a cretaceous hillock near the village of Kātelai, which was being dug by labourers [10] for building a house, I noticed some holes indicating the presence of tombs. My first impression was that they were Islamic; but, when I examined them closely, I found that they were not at all Islamic; they contained pottery of gray or black, occasionally of red colour, of different shapes and sizes: small and big cups, the so called brandy bowls etc. (now described by Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972). They had no relation with the pottery discovered in the Mauryan layer of Uḍegram. A few days later I found identical graves and potteries near Gumbatuna, on the right bank of the river, and a funerary urn in Chahārbagh to the north of Saidu Sharif. Therefore, we

* In the following notes, which supplement my 'Preliminary Report', EW, 1958 [repr. in this volume – Ed.], I have collected some facts, some results of my researches, as well as some hypotheses which I submit to my disciples and my colleagues to be worked out. Indeed, mostly 'working hypotheses' represent the main content of these notes; let my successors examine them, thoroughly criticize them, revise my conclusions. But I felt it my duty to send to the press the results of some researches, I dare say also some intuitions, which one may deem to be worth considering, at least partially. In conclusion, the article wants to be an attempt to put in writing some of the ideas which flashed upon me from meditations on Swāt and its connected problems during its long period of existence.

It is my duty to express my deepest thanks to Prof. L. Lanciotti of the University of Venice whom I am proud to have had as my pupil, and now is my colleague; to Prof. A. Gargano, Director of the cultural activities of the IsMEO; to Prof. Maurizio Taddei, of the Istituto Orientale of Naples, who all helped me in the research of the bibliographical material, in the revision of the text, and in valuable suggestions. Any mistake which may be discovered in the article is to be attributed only to me, always a very inefficient proof reader.

¹ On the large settlement of Aligrama cf. now Stacul and Tusa 1975, p. 291.

started the excavation of some of these graves in Butkara and Kätelai near Mingora (Tucci 1958, p. 285) while the digging of the Buddhist settlement was in progress. Provisionally, I called those graves prebuddhistic, pending more appropriate designation, because some *stūpas* are built upon them. I seize this opportunity to note that there is very frequently a connection, I should say an almost regular one, between the *stūpas* and the graveyards; in the sense that near every isolated *stūpa* or group of *stūpas*, which are scattered all over Swāt, one discovers the presence of the same tombs: at Kätelai, Chahārbagh, Dangrām, Loebanr, Jāmbil, Aligrāma, Gumbatuna, Gōgdara, provided there is the same cretaceous soil on the sloping side of a hill and some water or streamlet nearby. That is why my further localization of other graveyards has been mainly anticipated by the accurate survey of the land surrounding the *stūpas*. There is no doubt that when Buddhism spread in the country, during or shortly after the time of Aśoka, who has left his edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Kandahar in Afghanistan ² the building of a *stūpa* on or near the graveyards was a sort of sign that the new religion was going to supersede the old one, which survived in villages or places far removed from the main trade routes and the major urban centres.

2. Name Given to the Graveyards

Prof. Dani calls the graveyards Gandharan. And here I raise a question. Are we really in a condition to state that Swāt was subject to the Achaemenian administration either as a district within the Satrapies or as a separate ethnic group? We know from Herodotus, III, 91, that the seventh Satrapy comprised four peoples that are separately named: Sattagýdai, Gandárioi, Dadíkai and Aparýtai. Thus a single satrapy included peoples of different extraction, belonging to different or may be also related ethnical entities; some were bound to pay tributes, others to supply soldiers. The Dadíkai are the Dards, the *Daradas* of the purānic geographical lists, the Daedalaē of Curtius, who – after dealing with the story of Nysa ³ (see below, p. 40) and with the orders given by Alexander to Hēphaistíōn and to other generals to go ahead in order to build the bridge on the Indus – writes ‘and then he went to Daedala’ (*ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur*, VIII, X, 19) and narrates the events of war in that territory against the Assakenói.

[11] The province of Gandara (a.p.), Gandhāra, ran in those times along the Kābul ⁴, Cophés (Kubhā, RV, V, 53, 9; X, 75, 6) towards Puskalāvati (Arrianus [c. 95 d. 175], *Indiké*, I, 8; Peukelaotís; Peukolaitis, Strabo, XV, 1, 27; Pokláeis, Ptolemaeus, VII, I, 44; Peucolatis, Plinius VI, 62, 78 [its inhabitants being called Peucolitae], Skr. Puṣkalāvati, Puṣkarāvati, Pāli Pokkaravati).

² According to the inscription discovered by Prof. Scerrato: Pugliese Carratelli and Levi della Vida 1958 and 1964; new ed., Pugliese Carratelli and Garbini 1964. The inscription is dated ‘the completion of the 10th year from coronation’. Cf. Thapar 1961, pp. 32 ff.

³ Tucci 1963, pp. 27-28 [repr. in this volume – Ed.].

⁴ But for another division of the territory see below, p. 42.

3. Swātis and Daradas

Swāt has no doubt been under the influence of Gandhāran culture, especially during the Buddhist period; even in later times, Uḍḍiyāna-Swāt presents itself, in the different periods of its history, with its own petty rulers (perhaps many of them), or under the domination of the Kuṣāṇas, but it should not be considered as being identical with or included in Gandhāra or in Kapiśa, Afghanistan (see below, p. 75), though later it lost its independence to the Turki Śāhi. The language of the Swātis being Dardic (see below, p. 34), they were not separately named, but comprised in the denomination of Dards, generically, though the Dards were spread over a very large territory (but Arrianus knows Sôastos not Souasténé) ⁵ (see below, p. 44). Leaving aside, for the time being, the Sattagýdai and the Aparýtai, let us go back to Ga'dara in the Achaemenian inscriptions: Elam. Gan - da - ra, Kent 1953, *Lexicon*, p. 183, 1.

Already at the times of Darius, the dependence of the tribes near the extreme eastern borders of the Achaemenian empire on the central power had become very slack (Junge 1941, pp. 5, 27 and below, p. 16); moreover, the boundaries of the region we know as Gandhāra are well delimited by Arrianus, as we shall see (below, pp. 43-45). Thus, we may conclude that Swāt had a position by itself, as a particular ethnic group of the Dadíkai, separate from Gandhāra; the people had only to pay some tributes and to send contingents of troops, as agreed upon, in case of war. We must therefore refer to the division into districts on the basis of the tributes due (*Steuer-Berike*) or of their ethnic identity rather than on that of Satrapies.

Although there is no representation of the Dadíkai on the bas-reliefs of Persepolis, nor any mention of them in the Achaemenian inscriptions, there is no doubt that Dadíkai, Daradas, Dards, according to the Herodotean list, were for reasons of administration, connected with the seventh satrapy equally subject to tribute (Herodotus, VII, 66).

In the Purāṇic description of India, the Gandharans are listed (Kirfel 1954, pp. 116, 131) along with the Kashmirians and other NW peoples: '*daradāms ca sa-kāśmīriān gandhārān aurāsān*' (Hazara). Cf. also Sircar 1960, p. 24 and Law 1943, p. 86. Varāhamihira (1895-97, V, 29, 30) enlists them along with the Abhisāra, Taṅganakulūta... Kirāta, Cina.

In the Tibetan work *dPag bsam ljon bzañ* (ed. Sarat Chandra Das, 1908, I, 9) the Dards are called Dartā from Darada, *Mm* 763 = T'o-lo-t'o.

[12] Many a quotation of the Darada is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna* in Lévi 1918, p. 48. They are the last ones in the list; along with them are the Oḍra = Uḍḍiyāna, the Kuru and the Madraka ^{5a} (cf. *ibid.*, p. 125). This list according to S. Lévi cannot be older than the 2nd century B.C. nor later than the 1st A.D.

In the *Candragarbhasūtra* (Lévi 1905b, p. 263) the Daradas are mentioned near the Kia shē, Kaśa, Khaśa.

⁵ For Souasténé cf. Ptolemaeus, I, 42. Cf. Paṇini, IV, 2, 77: *Sauvastavam*, name of a town (?).

^{5a} The Mo-tu-lo (p. 363) are not = Mathurā but correspond to the Madras, another northern tribe. For the Mo-lo-po also S. Lévi proposes Mo-lo-so = Malava (*ibid.*, p. 28).

4. Achaemenian Influence in Swāt?

Prof. Dani is of the opinion that some receptacles laid upon platforms or benches in Balambat (*op. cit.*, p. 41 and Plate XLIII a) might be fire altars and he considers them to be a testimony of the presence of Achaemenian influence. In one of them a lamp was found with traces of some burning. But I am afraid this is not a conclusive proof that those platforms have something to do with the Achaemenian religion. Those receptacles may have been connected with some cults (and fire was involved in many of them), but nothing indicates that they were fire altars. At most, I should call them family chapels; from the finds it is difficult to draw a precise conclusion; the presence of a lamp may or may not indicate their sacred character; all lamps may be employed for any domestic use. On the Indian side we know that fire worship was limited to three fire mounds (*maṇḍala*): *gārhapatya*, *āhavaniya* and *dakṣiṇāgni*, which were circular, square and semicircular respectively (e.g. *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra*, V, 4). Neither can any connection be found with the *pyraea* discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Dahān-i Ghulāmān in Sīstān, to which Professor Dani refers. I think that even in this case it is perhaps not quite exact to call the big temple a fire temple (see Scerrato 1966, pp. 14-15)⁶:

In appearance, these structures seem to be ovens; but their real purpose was simply to contain the fire and we shall refer to them as 'pyraea'; they must have played a very important role in the religious and ritual practices that took place in the building. There are two parts in each pyraeum: a lower compartment of rectangular shape which was the combustion chamber, provided with a mouth for lighting, and an upper one covered with slightly pointed vault roofing in the same fashion as that of the porticoes.

A clay diaphragm, supported by four corner brackets, divided the compartments which were, however, inter-communicating since there was a large slot in the diaphragm to the left. The flames kindled in the lower chamber came up through this opening, seared the underside of the covering and reverberated on to the diaphragm. The pyraea between the pillars were separated from the court by a thin wall. Opposite each pyraeum in the 'aisle' facing the court, six rectangular benches were built plus a seventh, square in shape, placed in front of the point of access to this portico. Traces of combustion existing in small patches have been detected on them and they were clearly used as sacrificial tables or altars.

The north portico has identical features – the same number of pyraea and sacrificial benches: but a distinctive element is a cylindrical oven in terracotta embedded in a thick layer of crude clay; its appearance – and, we think, its function – is very similar to those of the *tanur* which are still used [13] in the region. Another peculiarity worth noting is the existence of very low

⁶ Prof. Gherardo Gnoli writes to me that he has changed some of his views expounded in the paper 'Interventi sulla relazione del Prof. Scerrato', published in *Atti del Convegno sul tema: La Persia e il Mondo Greco-Romano*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1966, pp. 471-476, and he is now inclined to consider Dahān-i Ghulamān as an expression of a local religiosity, as he will show in a paper of imminent publication [Gh. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, I.U.O.N., Series Minor, VII, Naples, 1980, p. 71, n. – Ed.].

platforms, no more than 10 cm. high, resting against the inner pillars. All these features are probably later additions, still of a ritual character.

When we come to the west portico, we are faced with a quite different arrangement of the cult-installations. The portico is open on the court side; but an altar-oven like those referred to in the south portico is placed against the court-facing side of each pillar of the inner row. They consist of two projecting walls with side-pieces open in front, and originally provided with a square block covering with chamfered corners and – very probably – a hole in the top. At least four of these are fitted with two or three steps: sometimes there is just one small stairway, sometimes two.

In the first and second altars from the left, a number of cylindrical-conical goblets were found in orderly array: they belong to a type that is very common at Dahan-i Ghulaman, but they were deposited here at a secondary stage.

The portico 'aisle' closest to the outer wall is quite filled up by the presence of three large 'tanks' measuring about 1.30 m. in height, 90 cm. in width, and 55-60 cm. in depth. The southernmost one is divided into two unequal parts by a partition. The latter tank, and the longest one, are both fitted with steps. In the corner of the third tank on the shorter side facing the court a small fireplace is to be found. The inner surface of the tanks is burnt by fire, and on the bottom of them a good deal of blackish sticky combustion remains, heaped in tiny piles, was found. Tiny fragments of burnt bones were mixed with the ashes. The whole of the pavement of the portico contained similar bone fragments both burnt and unburnt, which were also mixed with the plaster covering the portico walls – a proof that animal sacrifice was indubitably part of the religion practised in the temple.

5. The *Pyreia* of Dahan-i Ghulāman

There is no indication that the *pyreia* or hearths were used for a fire kept continually burning; the triple row of fire-hearths and a tank meant for animal sacrifices, filled with burnt bones, all this seems to suggest a temple dedicated to three different deities or group of deities, (e.g. Ahura Mazdā, Mithra, Anāhita; cf. the three groups of gods: Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas in *ŚB*, 14, 1, 1, 15).

This implicitly would also seem to indicate the probable presence of a tripartite society, each class indulging in a peculiar cult; this would agree with the well-known theory of Prof. Dumézil. The recent researches of Prof. Gonda (1976) have revealed a much wider and deeper motive underlying this triadic classification. Prof. Gonda calls it '*triadic mode of thought*' as a *fundamental archetypal intuition of the I. Aryans*. I invite the reader to a thorough study of the above quoted book; we may choose a few examples out of the many hundreds collected by Prof. Gonda: the Śrauta Sacrifice (*RV*, 10, 105, 9), *gārhapatya*, *āhavaniya*, *dakṣiṇa*, Agni's three seats (*RV*, 8, 39, 8) etc. A very important discovery, so we may call it, upon which we shall come back again. Anyhow as regards the sacred building of Dahan-i Ghulāman, it certainly shows evident connections with Achaemenian architecture; there is nothing in it which lends

support to the theory of its being Sasanian, advanced by some scholars, as soon as the discovery was announced. Though the edifice seems to belong to the 6th century B.C., its typology has something unique in it; all this leads me to suppose that we are confronted with a cult which did not object to the slaughtering of particular animals, and that did not request a perpetual burning of fire. It is quite possible that in these regions, at the extreme boundaries of Iran, there had descended some Indo-Aryans (later submerged by or conquered by an Iranian wave) [14] still having particular cults which might show some affinities with certain Vedic rituals as described in the *Brahmanas* ⁷.

But I do not want to trespass in this paper on the field of my collaborators, and discuss archaeological problems. Up to now Dahān-i Ghulāmān stands unique; more than a provincial expression of a well-defined religion, it may be considered as a document of some religious background which is yet unknown in its real context. When exploration will be extended to Afghan Sistān or as well as to Khorāsān, there is the chance to verify if this hypothesis proves wrong or corresponds to real facts. For the time being, I may only say that also Prof. Schippmann, after reading the preliminary report of Prof. Scerrato, seems to conclude that the temple of Dahān-i Ghulāmān stands by itself ⁸.

6. *The Graves of Swāt and the Assakenói; Shifting of Tribes*

Prof. Dani disagrees with my stating that the tombs discovered by the Italian Mission in Swāt belong to the Assakenói of the classical authors. Of course, I agree that the expression does not exactly express my thought: I only wanted to say that the graves discovered in Swāt were to be attributed to the people against whom Alexander fought: at the time of his invasion, they were partly Assakenói, but certainly they belonged also to other tribes, related or not to them. Moreover, further digging confirmed that some cemeteries are much more ancient than Alexander's expedition ⁹. The Assakenói were settled chiefly in the lower part of Swāt (Chakdarra), then Bājaur, Bunēr. Their capital was Mássaga.

If we compare the list of Herodotus either of the satrapies or of the regions subject to the payment of the tributes by each ethnic group included in them, with the list of the peoples whom Alexander met in his expedition, we find some noticeable changes concerning this part of Asia in which we are interested: e.g. we no longer find any mention of the Aparýtai, nor of the ōtaguš (Sattagyđai) nor of the Paktuiké Khora (mentioned in Her., III, 102) along with Kaspátyros. It may be that these peoples were not in the proximity of the route followed by Alexander; it may also be that they had merged in other political and social entities, assuming a different name. Or again, they had perhaps shifted, in the lapse of time intervening from that of

⁷ See the article of Burrow 1973, p. 139, on the possibility that Iranians here superimposed themselves on a previous Indo-Aryan migration.

⁸ Schippmann 1971, pp. 50 ff.

⁹ Loebanr (first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.).

Herodotus to that of Alexander, from a former location to another one or possibly they had taken the name of a prevailing tribe. According to Herodotus (III, 91) the Aparýtai paid together one hundred and seventy talents; they may be identified with the *pouruta* (*Iskōtam pourutam* of the *Mihr Yašt* 14).

Gershevitch (1959, pp. 80-81) locates them to the south of Western Hindukush, between Hairava and Gandhāra; Marquart 1905, *Eran*, II, pp. 74, 175 places them to the east of Ghor. There is nothing to wonder at, because, I insist on this point, there are indications [15] that during that time there took place a movement southwards and eastwards of many tribes and new associations¹⁰.

When these waves of migrating tribes settled down, it may be that the Aparýtai¹¹ became the ancestors of the present-day Afridis, a suggestion advanced by Sir Olaf Caroe. The name of the leader of the confederation who tried to harass the troops of Alexander after the battle of Áornos, moving towards the bridge on the Indus, was Ἀφρίκης said to be the brother of Assakános (according to others the name of the leader was Erix). The name, Assakános (of the dead king of Mássaga) is not only a proper name but chiefly an ethnic name: Afri-kes may equally well be connected with Aprita, Afridis: it seems to me that this derivation is more probable than the one proposed by Eggermont from Urđi, Aurđđáyáni, Aurđi, Auđđi¹².

As regards the Πακτύες we must recall that there is twice mention of them in Herodotus; once (III, 95) he places them near the Armenians, an obvious mistake, and a second time near Kaspápyros (or: tyros) (III, 102): 'Other Indians dwell near the town of Kaspátyros and the Paktúe country, northward of the rest of India: they live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with getting of gold' (the story of the gold-digging ants follows, on which see below).

Caroe 1958, p. 357, maintains his opinion: *paktues* = *pakhtun* in spite of the different ideas of Bailey 1952, p. 430, based on linguistic grounds and of Morgenstierne in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. 'Afghan'. Prof. Bailey (*ibid.*) suggests a connection between modern Kalash Pātu with Greek Πακτύες and is skeptical about any relation between Pātu and Pashtu^{12a}.

Marquart (1905, *Eran*, II, pp. 177 ff.) is also of the opinion that the Πακτύες have no relation at all with the Pakhtun and proposes a connection of their country, πακτυική γῆ, with a Greek 'Umbildung' from a Prakrit form of Puskalāvati, Πευκελαοίτις, a bold but to my mind improbable hypothesis. In the Achaemenian inscriptions there is no mention of them. Also Junge 1941, p. 37, n. 7, places Paktuiké in Gandhāra: Naqš-i Rostam A. 1, 24: Zraka, Harauvatiš, θataguš, Gadāra, Hiduš, Sakā haumavargā, Sakā tigraxaudā (Kent 1953, p. 137); Persepolis, E 1. 16: Bāktriš, Suguda, (Sug^{da}) Gadāra, Uvārazmīy, θataguš, Harauvatiš, Hiduš, Gadāra, Sakā (Kent 1953, p. 136; cf. *ibid.*, *Lexicon*).

¹⁰ This subject will be discussed more in detail in another article.

¹¹ I think that the Aparýtai are the same as Paṇini's Aprita (*Rajanyadigaṇa*) mentioned in the *Ganapatha*, IV, 2, 53.

¹² Eggermont 1975, pp. 183 ff.

^{12a} It is worth noticing that Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 245, writes on Pātu: Pātu may be derived from Parthau 'which may originally have been applied to a group of Parthian who found their way in Chitral'.

The Sattagýdai correspond to the θαταγῦς of the inscriptions, and this word does not mean the '(people) of seven rivers' as proposed by Hertzfeld (1968, pp. 342-343), but most probably stands for the people 'having hundreds of cattle' (Kent 1953, s. v.). It is not possible to follow Marquart, who locates the θαταγῦς north of Arachosia and west of Gandhāra.

[16] When Alexander had reached Peukelaóitis, Puskalāvati, his campaign in Swāt had come to an end. Nearchos was going to keep ready his fleet in order to follow the course of the Indus, and then proceed to the Persian Gulf to meet Alexander there. Skylax locates in Gandhāra the place where, under the Achaemenians, he was ordered to achieve the same feat according to a fragment preserved by Hecataeus (Müllerus, *GGM*, I, XXXV): Γανδαρικῆ πόλις Κασπάπυρος Ἐκυθῶν ἀκτῆ; the short passage is very important for the mention of a place in Gandhāra which was the *aktè* of the Scythians. *Aktè* is not a port, it is a shore with easy access, a bay.

Kaspápyros cannot certainly be Multán, as proposed by Foucher, and accepted by Herzfeld. According to Foucher the name derives from that of an ancient Upanishadic seer Kaśyapa: Kassapiya, Kassa<pu>riyas, Kassapyros. Honigmann and Maricq 1953 also reject this identification. Nor can I hold valid the opinion of Marquart 1905 (*Eran*, II, p. 246, n. 2) who supposed a derivation from Prakrit Kusuma (flower), Kus(u)vapura, Kusumapura, Puspapura, Peshawar. But Kaspápyros cannot be Peshawar, which would imply an unexplained change of the Kaspá into Paska. There is also a much more valid reason for rejecting this assumption: in this part of its course, the Kābul river is not navigable, the real navigable portion of it beginning a little westwards of Naushera (see map of Caroe 1958, facing p. 30). After that place, affluents of the Kābul – including the Swāt river – empty into this last part of it, called now Landai¹³.

The building of a fleet demands the storage of large-size timber, ample space, the proximity of a populated town for hiring labourers, and in which plenty of iron, nails, all sorts of material for sails, implements, tools, and suchlike are available. But why was the shore where the fleet was prepared called: shore of the Scythians? Marquart places Kaspápyros near Puskalāvati, and he locates the latter near the Sakā Haumavargā quoted in the inscriptions of Darius as living on the borders of Gandhāra to the North, between Gandhāra and Bactria.

Junge 1939, p. 60: 'Die Länderliste in der Inschrift am Grabe Darius I. in Naqsch-i-Rustām hat als Nr. 14 und 15 hinter der indischen Gruppe Saka Haumavarga und Saka Tigraxauda»; *ibid.*, p. 66: 'Die Saka Haumavarga, ferner gelegen und schwerer zu fassen treten nur auf den Thronträgerreliefs auf, haben demnach wohl, wie schon zur Zeit des Kyros und noch zur Zeit Alexanders, nur in Bundesgenossen Verhältnis gestanden'. On a settlement of the Sakā in Northern India since the time of the first Achaemenian period see Scheftelowitz 1933, p. 294. H. W. Bailey, 'Languages of the Sakas', *Handbuch der Orientalistik IV, Linguistics*, 1958, p. 137: 'Three groups are distinguished in the Achaemenian inscriptions. The *Saka paradraya* in the Pontic steppes, the *Saka Tigraxauda* "with pointed caps" and *Saka Haumavarga* to the south-east and in the Pamirs^{13a}. This latter name is likely to have survived in *bray-i Mrung*, and

¹³ Stein 1900, II, p. 353: 'The notice of Hekataios makes it clear that Kaspápyros (Stein: Kaspápyros) must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable'.

^{13a} Cf. passage of Strabo quoted below, p. 52.

mung of the name Brayúgo, Mrūṅgul, Mungān for the Munjān people closely allied to the Yidg'. We may here recall to mind [17] that while, according to the Avesta, the *haoma* grows in the mountains, the *Vedas* know of two places where the *soma* is found, as a god in Heaven, as a plant in the mountains. The mountain where it grows best is called Mūjavant and therefore a name of *soma* is Maujavata; in AV Mūjavant is the name of a people mentioned along with the Gandhāris and the Balhikas (Macdonell and Keith 1958, s.v.). Perhaps the mountain has left its record in Chitral and nearby countries, e.g. Kati: Mrungul (*gul* = valley). Prof. Morgenstierne who has dedicated a very fine study to this subject is inclined to accept the theory of Marquart (*Eran*, pp. 86, 137 ff.) who identifies Munjān ^{13b} with the country of the Sakā Haumavargā. (Morgenstierne 1930-32, pp. 439 ff. and additional note, p. 444).

Also nowadays, timber collected in the mountains is thrown into the rivers, to let it drift down by the speedy running waters until it can be brought ashore in a bend of the river by experienced labourers and heaped up for sale. A good portion of it gets lost, because the logs may be stopped by the bends of the river, or by rocks or it may even be stolen. This method was followed in Swāt up to a few years ago.

When there were no roads, this was the cheapest and the only way for sending down to the trading centres of the valley the best qualities of all sorts of timber, for bartering it for goods not available in the secluded mountains; any bend of the Kabul river with ample and shallow waters (*aktè*) would offer ideal conditions for heaping up the timber, letting it dry, have it ready for selling: it could be put to a variety of uses, in a market in which goods were bartered, and even ships built.

I think that we can hardly dissociate Kaspápyros (or - tyros) from the Káspioi mentioned by Herodotus (III, 93) and from the Sacae though they were included in the fifteenth satrapy (Herodotus, III, 93) located to the north-west and west of Bactria; in another place Herodotus (VII, 66-67) refers to them after the Gandhārians and Dadícae ¹⁴ (cf. Marquart 1905, *Eran*, II, p. 140).

All this leads to the probable conclusion that some Scythian tribes were pressing on Gandhāra.

Moreover all the hilly or mountainous ranges north of Gandhāra and the neighbouring tracts were inhabited by people speaking different dialects, warlike, difficult to classify by a foreigner, who, from their being neither Iranians nor Indians, but speaking languages which possessed some elements similar to both, were generally named by strangers: Scythians.

Before closing this paragraph it seems necessary to add that up to recent times we knew little about the peoples living between the Alingar or the Alishang and the Khóe or the Swāt, except that they were Kafirs or Dards, divided into different tribes, secluded in their mountains. Much less do we know whether their tribes ever coalesced into a kind of confederacy, or a kingdom as the Dards of Baltistan later did (see below, p. 77). Which [18] were the original

^{13b} On a probable reference to Mūjavant in the *Yajñs* see Burrow 1973, p. 138, n. 31.

¹⁴ In addition there are other Indians who border on the city of Kaspápyros and the country of Paktuiké; these live to the north and in the direction of the north wind, as compared to the remaining Indians.

names of some of those tribes that took shelter in the seclusion of the Hindukush? As an example, I think it is of interest to resume briefly what Prof. Scarcia (1965, pp. CXIV ff.) proposes about the name Kāfir. He vocalizes the name found in the Arabic sources: *Kṭw*, usually read Kator (= Chitrāl, according to some scholars) or 'Katwar' (*Kṭw* in Baihaqī, Bābur etc.) and, with other authors, he locates them to the east of Kābul and to the north of Ġalālābād (Masson: Ketwer or Kata'war). Prof. Scarcia quotes Munshi Mohan Lāl (1834) who says 'they confess to the Mullā to be Kāfir' and adds that the Siyāhpūš call themselves Kāfir without being ashamed. (Robertson 1896, reprint 1970, pp. 193-194). Robertson states that the Kāfirs accept the name Kāfir, but they are unable to pronounce it. Biddulph [repr. 1986, p. 128 – *Ed.*] registers the word Kappra saying that it is a deformation of Kāfir. But Prof. Scarcia asks himself why not argue that things may be the other way round? He assumes the preexistence *in loco* of a word phonetically similar to Kāfir, which suggested the present denomination of these people. Thus Kappra¹⁵ may well be traced back to an original *Kṭwr*, Kat-pra, Kat-par (cf. Capperstan of Benedict Goës: Yule 1915-16, *Cathay*, II, p. 554, n. 2).

A support to the theory of Prof. Scarcia may be found in Chinese, *chieh* = *Kiāp (Karlgren 1923), Kap, a name given to Kāfirs inhabitants of some parts of Chitrāl as it has been shown by Prof. Enoki, with whom I completely agree, at p. 5 of his 'remarks' published as Appendix II at the end of this article.

To this suggestion I may add that perhaps Pāṇini might confirm the theory of Prof. Scarcia; in fact, who are those people whom he mentions along with the Dards: the *Gabdikas* (IV, 3, 93)^{15a}, and of whom Pāṇjali says that their abode was outside the Āryāvarta, that is, outside the Indian soil? Āryāvarta is so defined by Rajaśekhara 1934, ch. XVII, p. 96: *pūrvāparayoh samudrayor himavad-vindhyāyos ca antaram āryāvarta*, 'the territory between the two oceans, the Western and the Eastern, and between the Himālaya and the Vindhya is called Āryāvarta'.

What precedes seems to confirm the conclusion which may be drawn from the lists of Herodotus; i.e. that Swāt was included among the Daradas (Daedalae of Curtius) and that soon after Alexander's expedition other ethnical situations had developed; in the Persian inscriptions, the Dards are not mentioned, because most probably they were mistaken as a peculiar branch of the Saka groups.

7. Gold Tributes and Gold Diggers

The Hiduš, Hindus are said to offer as tribute gold. They are located north of *Κασπάριος / Κασπάρουρος* (cf. above, p. 16) and are certainly Dards, as has been already [19] anticipated by Marquart 1905. (*Eran*, II, p. 178). The traders in gold were people who could reach the middle and upper course of the Indus.

¹⁵ On the probable relation between Kafirs and Káspioi see Marquart 1905 (*Eran*, II, pp. 141-142).

^{15a} Quotations from Pāṇini imply references to *Bhāṣya* and *Varttika* commenting on them.

There were near the Indus source, as there are even now, great mines of gold in the region of the Manasarovar and in Thokjalung¹⁶; in ancient times that part of Western Tibet was probably a part of *Žań Žuń*, the women's kingdom, extending from south-west to north-east of Tibet (see Tucci 1956b, pp. 92 ff.; Pelliot 1959-1973, II, pp. 674 ff.); it corresponds to *Suvarṇabhūmi*, *Suvarṇagotra*, *gser rigs*, 'the Golden Family' in the *Chronicles of Ladakh*. It was, no doubt, a long journey, if compared to that leading to the middle course of the Indus and to Kargil. Nor do we know the names of all the places along or near the Indus¹⁷ where the bartering or the selling of gold took place, though we may safely conclude that the trade was in the hands of the local tribes, mainly Dards. Certainly they did not push so far merely because that was the agreement with the Achaemenians but chiefly because such a trade, extremely valuable to them, had been going on since old times.

When the sixth volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* was published in 1908, Kargil, midway between Kashmir and Leh, was still said to be the centre of the gold trade. The Dards of the Kishangangā and the Indus valleys were known to have been gold merchants since old times (Stein 1961, vol. II, p. 280, n. 5; for other references see *ibid.*, p. 287 n.); but gold might have also come by trade from Western Tibet proper: the above mentioned Thokjalung and the zone near the Manasarovar, where I found some traces of gold digging, then forbidden by the Lhasa Authorities (Tucci 1937, p. 61 and fig. facing p. 65). The mountains of the Daradas, to which Strabo and Ptolemaeus refer, and the plateau to the east of the mountains clearly point to the Indus valley and the deserts of the plateau of Ladakh. But other parts of the Pamirs cannot be excluded (Jettmar 1975, p. 294); e.g. we know of Burushos traditions which mention the Golden Country and the Golden Mountain, though, as rightly recognized by Prof. Jettmar, this may be a survival of Buddhist or *Žań Žuń* folklore¹⁸.

As to gold being found in Swāt there are valid testimonies in the records of the Chinese pilgrims: Hsüan-tsang writes that Swāt produces gold. Sung Yün describing the Buddhist settlement of T'o-lo¹⁹ speaks of six thousand gold (gilt) images (some editions write 60,000!). Also in the protohistoric tombs excavated in Swāt gold earrings have occasionally been found.

It is true that Herodotus tells us how such gold was procured by the Indians: 'To the east of them there is a large desert, and in this desert live some big ants not so big as [20] dogs, but bigger than foxes. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand... It is after this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert... When the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the same and ride away back with all speed; for ... the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being, it would seem, so much swifter than all other

¹⁶ As regards the Himalayan gold cf. Haṭaka, of the traditional Indian geography from *Mahabharata* to *Ramayana*, see Lévi 1918, p. 79.

¹⁷ In the itinerary in Khotanese Saka (published by Bailey 1936, p. 258) from Gilgit to Chilas and Kashmir (written between 958-972) the Indus is called: *Ysarniji ttaji*, 'the Golden River', which is here certainly not a mere poetical attribute.

¹⁸ According to B. Ansari (*Ei. s.v.*) Dardistan, Hunza and Nagar used to send to the Mahārāja of Kashmir handfuls of gold dust.

¹⁹ T'o lo, d'a la; *Mm* da, dra, ḍa, dha, ḍha; - ra, la.

creatures, that if the Indians made not haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape' (transl. A. D. Godley).

We may add to what we have said a quotation from Strabo, XV, I, 44, who connects the story of the gold digging ants with the Δέρδοι, the Darada, Dards, an *Indian tribe living 'in the mountains', to the east, where is a large plateau; the gold miners are there; the digging takes place in winter. Ptolemaeus locates the Dards below the Indus adding that their mountains raise right above them. Lastly, Plinius, Nat. Hist., VI, 67 writes that the Dards produce gold²⁰ and the Setae also silver. Prof. Eggermont (1975, p. 181) interprets Setae as Souasténé; this is possible, but needs confirmation.*

We are here confronted with a well-known tale, that of the gold-digging ants (Laufer 1898, pp. 429 ff.). The Indians too are aware of the same story, but for them, the gold^{20a} is chiefly a trade of the Khaṣi or Khaśa (on whom see Tucci 1956b, pp. 92 ff. and here below; cf. Pelliot 1963, p. 696); they were a people living in Chilas, or nearby and north-west of Kashmir. Later, spreading eastwards, they conquered Western Tibet and Western Nepal. This tale can also be found in China, Tibet and Mongolia. A living tradition has also been collected by A. H. Francke in Kalatze, a village in which Dard was still spoken by some of its inhabitants in 1927 when I was there (Hermann 1939, pp. 10 ff.). Therefore, I do not think that the desert of Tharu has something to do with this tale. Herodotus was told the story by the Iranians, but neither he nor his informants had a clear notion about the exact situation of the easternmost boundaries of the Achaemenian Empire. The Dards spread in early times not only in Chitrāl, Swāt, Kohistān, Gilgit and Dardistān but also up to Ladakh, as will be shown below.

The Indians, Hiduś of the inscriptions of Persepolis, are said to bring as a tribute gold bags, i.e. gold dust (Herodotus, III, 98 and 192 ff.). I quite agree with Dr. Walser (1966, pls. 25, 71-73, 86, pp. 94 ff.) that those containers do represent vases rather than bags; their content was pure gold; the Achaemenians wanted metal ready for being worked; I think that the representations of Persepolis are here more realistic than the narrative of Herodotus, III, 98, 102 ff. The offering of the donkey, a majestic donkey (or an onager?) is quite peculiar, not a common one. Donkeys were not unknown in India, they were certainly there before the introduction of the horse.

²⁰ *Auri fertilissimi.*

^{20a} *Mbh*, II, 52, 4, Bombay ed. This gold is called *pipilika* from *pipilika* 'ant'. Lassen 1858, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 848, was the first, to my knowledge, to bring to the attention of scholars a passage of the *Mahābhārata*, according to which the Khaśa and their neighbours brought the gold dug by the 'ants' to king Yudhiṣṭhira: *tad vai pipilikam nama uddhrtam yat pipilikaih.*

The Khaśa, K'ie shē lo shih, * g'ja śja - lā ži äi = Kaśyaraġa, Khaśyaraġa (cf. Śyamaraja; see below, p. 62) in the description of the 'Western Countries' of Shih Tao-an (312-385) (cf. Petech 1966, p. 173).

[21] II. BURIAL

8. *Inhumation and Cremation*

In Swat, concerning the disposal of the dead, there coexist different types of burials: inhumation in bent position, combustion, secondary burials etc., combusted or non-combusted bones contained in big jars with a cover etc., in small rectangular urns (for a detailed treatment of this problem, cf. Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972 and the bibliography quoted in that volume) ²¹.

The big jars and sometimes the urns often show two holes indicating the two eyes and a protuberance meant to suggest the reproduction of a nose. I think that if no other elements are available it is hazardous to draw any chronological conclusion from the different types of burials.

It is attested that inhumation was not unknown in Vedic India (AV, 5, 30, 14): *Ma nu bhūmigrho bhuvāt*, 'may not be reserved for one an earthen house'; in RV the expression: *anagnidagdhāh*, 'those who have not been burnt by fire', hints at burial or exposure. So also RV, VII, 39, 1: 'May I not go to the earthen house'; of course even now there are exceptions to cremation (today incineration); such is the case, among other ones, of ascetics or of babies. More evident is the reference in AV, XVIII, 2, 34 (transl. by Whitney, revised and edited by Lanman, HOS, VII-VIII, Cambridge, 1905, p. 840): 'They that are buried and they that are scattered away ²², and they that are set up (*uddhitāh*) all those Fathers, O Agni, bring thou down to eat oblation'; p. 836, XVIII, 2, 19: 'be pleasant to him, o earth, a thornless resting place, grant him broad refuge'; p. 837, XVIII, 2, 20: 'In the unoppressive wide space of earth be thou deposited'; p. 838, XVIII, 2, 25: 'Let not the tree oppress thee'; p. 843, XVIII, 2, 52: 'I cover thee excellently with the garment of mother earth'.

It would be easy to extend the exemplification. Some scholars, as Kane (1941, p. 232), intend *uddhita* as 'deposited above'; but he adds also 'on trees or in caves'. I think that 'deposited in a high place' is to be preferred to «deposited above», though we know of some tribes, like the Licchavis, who used to suspend the dead also on trees (see Law 1943, p. 302). Nor was the custom unknown of depositing cremated bones in some urns, which were subsequently buried (for references, Kane 1941, pp. 232 ff.). This practice is still followed in some cases, when the relatives bring back home the ashes in an urn, and lay them down in the earth ²³.

[22] On the contrary, in the Upanishadic literature, inhumation appears as a disposal of the dead condemned being a practice peculiar to the *asura* (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 8, 5:

²¹ In these volumes and in the many articles published by Prof. Stacul the problem of the various systems of burial are carefully examined. I want only to propose some comparisons with other peoples of the Hindukush and the Pamirs and to investigate some possible reasons of the second burial and of the cremation.

²² *duradeśe kaṣṭhavat parityaktaḥ*.

²³ Keith 1925, II, p. 418 asserts, perhaps unduly exaggerating, that the *Vedas* do not make any difference between burning and burying. The body was washed and anointed, before burial or combustion.

'Therefore, even here they say one who is not a giver, who has no faith, who does not offer sacrifices, that he is a demon [*asura*], for this is the doctrine of the demons [*asura*]. They adorn the body of the deceased with what they have begged, with the clothes and ornaments, and think that thereby they will win the yonder world'; from Radhakrishnan 1963, p. 504).

Thus, all this shows that ancient Indian sources point to the contemporaneity of the different ways of disposing of the dead.

9. Secondary Inhumation

Many tombs have been certainly opened, after a corpse had already been laid there, for placing another body in the same grave, near him; sometimes, the bones of the former burials were heaped in a corner, in which case no trace of the precedent grave furniture is left. I am taking into consideration only the tombs that have not been damaged, as it occurs when, at a later time, another grave was cut into the former.

There might have been a *sema* on top of each tomb to facilitate the location of the family tomb (see Robertson 1896, fig. facing p. 648): the *semata* might have been in wood or in stone (two of them, in stone with rough designs, have been found near Loebanr)²⁴. Relating the story of Nysa, Arrianus writes that when the encampment of the Macedonians was set up near the graveyard of those people, a great fire developed in the latter; this suggests that the tombs of Nysa, as I already anticipated (Tucci 1963b, p. 157 [repr. in this volume – *Ed.*]) had wooden structures on them, of which the tombs of Chitral with images of men and horsemen may still be an example. Some Islamic tombs of upper Swāt showing the stylised head of a horse at the upper end and the wooden enclosures of such tombs finely decorated, can be considered as a survival, which Islam has not been able to cancel.

But there are also tombs with no trace of having been used, that is to say, with no hint of a previous burial. The double burial, when a skeleton is disposed anatomically, and the heap of bones of another corpse is found in a corner, without any grave furniture, presents many problems. It seems to indicate not only the probable existence of a family grave, it may lead to suppose also the practice of a well-known custom, that of exposing a corpse until the flesh is completely consumed, and then the bones are collected and laid in the family grave.

The existence of family graves and the accumulation of rough coffins in which the [23] dead had been enclosed, so badly made that they can crash down and let the corpses fall to the ground, is attested among some tribes of Kāfiristan (Robertson 1896, p. 641: 'Several bodies are put in the same receptacle'; Biddulph 1893, p. 14. A good photo of crumbled and crashed coffins in Schomberg 1938, facing p. 42). The same is repeated by Snoy 1962 ('Man kann annehmen, dass es Familien-Bestattungen waren', p. 189).

²⁴ Loebanr, 'great forest', is the survival, in Pashtu, of the name of the *mahavana*, 'great forest'; probably it started at the head of the Jambīl and extended to the mountains bordering the Yusufzai territory up to Buner (cf. Lévi 1915, *Mm.*, p. 72).

10. *Other Burials*

On this subject of multiple burials in Swat, I have already referred to Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972 and to the articles of Prof. Stacul; nevertheless it is not out of place to add here a short report of Prof. Maurizio Taddei, which he very kindly sent me, on a trial trench dug by him in Butkara IIb, below the necropolis of Butkara II.

'In the course of the excavation campaign of 1963, conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, I had the opportunity of throwing light on some schist funerary structures, in the area of Butkara II, that proved at once to lack homogeneity with the tombs of the necropolis of the same site, published by Silvi and Stacul.

'The structures in question lie downstream of the necropolis, along the mule-track that skirts the left bank of the river Jambil. From a stratigraphic point of view, they proved to be of later date than other structures, of an entirely different character with respect to their function, which, on the basis of the masonry technique, I was led to attribute to a well-established Gandharan epoch (Kuṣāṇa?); therefore they appear to be contemporary with or later than the Buddhist sacred area that, on the slopes of the hill, is superimposed in its turn to the necropolis published by Silvi and Stacul.

'We have to deal with three tombs, that I marked at the time with numbers 49, 50 and 51. Of these, tombs 49 and 51 belong to earlier times, while tomb 50 is clearly later inserted between the two preceding ones, making use of one side of the outer masonry of tomb 51 as if it were a wall of its own. Tomb 49 is severely damaged, and I therefore restrict myself to report on the main features of tombs 50 and 51.

'*Tomb 51.* At the outside, it is clearly divided into two parts, the lower one larger, so as to give place to a large offset; however, I have been unable to ascertain whether this was an offset connected with the foundation, or whether both structures were on view, as the analogy of the masonry technique would lead us to suppose. There is no doubt, anyhow, that the upper structure was above ground level.

'In the interior, two superimposed chambers have been found, their division being marked by an offset corresponding to the one on the outside. In the upper chamber a skeleton was laid, in anatomical connection, together with scattered bones belonging to other skeletons (including two skulls). The lower chamber, overlaid with a slab of schist resting on the offset, contained an ossuary proper.

'*Tomb 50.* This tomb consisted of an only chamber, whose floor corresponded to the level of the exterior offset of tomb 51. It contained a skeleton in anatomic connection [24] (excepting the skull, found at the level of the pelvis), and bones belonging to other skeletons (among which fragments of skulls), heaped up at the feet of the first one.

'No funerary furniture was found in any of the tombs'.

Of course the absence of any funeral furniture seems to exclude a family burial, though the presence, in the upper chamber, of one skeleton with fragments of other ones, might indicate (with little probability) that the chamber was reserved for a further burial of another eventual dead. The lower chamber being full, they deposited the last skeleton on the upper part of the

tomb. Certainly the case is not so simple. We notice that tomb 51, a monumental grave, is divided into two parts; a lower one which is a mere ossuary; in the upper one we find only one skeleton, scattered fragments of other skeletons and two skulls. Tomb 50 contains one skeleton with the skull placed at the level of the pelvis; other bones have been heaped at the feet of the skeleton itself, along with fragments of skulls. It seems to me that we have here the example of a hurried up ceremony in the course of which bones have been collected without caring to ascertain to whom the skeletal remains belonged. Skeletons have been unceremoniously collected and buried in a well-built ossuary; in the upper chamber there is a skeleton with fragments of other skulls which seems to imply that the deceased was laid there for his last definite rest along with casual fragments of unqualified remains. But it is also possible to argue that an entire family or clan had formerly buried its dead in its own graveyard (on the possibility of the existence of clan graveyards see below, p. 32) in Butkara; when the land passed into other hands, for instance to a new landlord or to a monastic Buddhist settlement for building a *stūpa* or a *saṅghārāma* (as in fact happened), since it was not propitious to erect a sacred edifice on a place contaminated by death, the clan emptied its old graves and built a receptacle for the remains of its ancestors; the upper place might have been reserved for the most recently deceased of the family whose memory was still alive, or of the supposed ancestor around whose tomb the cemetery had slowly developed.

Something of this kind happens among the Khasis in Assam. They cremate the bodies, collect the bones in a square cist, to be placed somewhere near the house, and after an indeterminate time, they remove those cists to the family's graveyard. Only the number of the dead is recollected and only the name of the oldest ancestor is recorded. They then heap stones on them (Roy 1963, pp. 520 ff.).

That the complete disposal of the dead and the definite laying out of a tomb could take place at any time, after burial, is shown also by some practices of the Kāfirs. Among them the wooden image of the deceased is 'not erected till a year after his death' (Schomberg 1938, p. 51).

In one of his articles Prof. Stacul (1975, p. 323) advances various hypotheses; some of them certain, others possible. One may also suppose that the upper chamber, i.e. the empty space in the middle of which the real grave is dug, might have been used for the consumption of the flesh, and that, when this was over, the bones were disposed in the grave itself. It is not to be excluded that some of the graves containing more than two [25] skeletons, might be open at no fixed date collectively on some special occasions (Stacul 1975, p. 375) as it is practised among the Khasis (see above, p. 24)²⁵.

The flesh of a corpse in decomposition is a pollution, while bones are the essential part of an individual. Among the Tibetans *rus* means, at the same time, bone and clan. That was perhaps the reason why the corpses of the Tibetan kings were closed in an isolated room and left there one year or even longer after death, before being laid in their tomb.

²⁵ On the collective burials still practised in Dardistan, see Jettmar 1967, pp. 63-88.

11. Decomposed Flesh is Pollution

Also in Mahāyāna Buddhism, in certain rituals meant to eliminate the evil *karma* of the dead, and introduced in the liturgy of the Kun rig cycle (Vairocana) (in Tibet, perhaps with no Indian prototypes) the dead is represented by a fragment of his bones (*rus* = bone, family) or by a piece of paper or wood, on which his name has been written (Tucci 1970, p. 218).

We may recall the bones deposited in vases in Baluchistan, perhaps after having cut off the flesh. Bones painted with ochre have been found in Kashmir at Burzahom (Gupta 1972, pp. 82 ff.).

The main idea was that of burying bones without flesh: it is the background of a vast Indian literature in which the decomposition of our body is described with an almost morbid obstinacy, in order to induce in the mind of the reader a deep *contemptus mundi* (e.g. some pages of the *Bodhicāryāvātāra* of Śāntideva). In Swāt so far there is no trace of incineration, but only of combustion.

The bodies of *sādhus* as well of criminals were exposed in lonely places, frequented by *yogins* for meditation; according to Buddhist tradition the most famous cemeteries (*śmaśāna*)²⁶ were eight; Uḍḍiyāna itself was famous for its eight graveyards.

The Tibetan followers of the gCod school use to retire in cemeteries for their spiritual exercises. The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* shows that the funeral rites followed for the Buddha, on which scholars have discussed so much, were meant chiefly for the destruction of the flesh.

According to tradition, the Mallas of Kusināra (Kusinagara) wrapped the body of the [26] Buddha in many sheets of cotton, and placed it in an iron pot, of the kind that are used for storing oil; then they covered it with another vase of the same kind, and placed the pot on the fire. In this way, burning the body, 'what was skin or integument or flesh or nerves or humours of the junctures, of all these *no ashes nor dust of ashes* were seen, but only the *bones remained*. Just as when butter or oil are burnt, no ashes nor dust of ashes can be seen, so of the body of the Buddha there were neither ashes nor dust of ashes' (*DN*, XVI, VI, 23. Rhys Davids 1910).

Such a belief and the resulting rites may help us in solving the problem of some tombs of Swāt. They are empty, except for a few very small fragments of small bones; these apparently show that a corpse had been laid in the grave for a certain period, and then taken off. I therefore accept the solution proposed by Prof. Stacul; the body was kept there until its full consumption was over, then the bones were collected and buried in another empty grave kept ready for that purpose or placed in an urn. It was, as we have seen, the practice followed by the Tibetan kings

²⁶ In *Indo-Tibetica*, III, ii, pp. 174 ff., I have published two small treatises of the *aṣṭaśmaśāna*: they are situated in the four quarters and the intermediate space: each one of them has a particular tree, the god corresponding to the point of the space, where he is located and the vehicle of the same god, a snake (*nāga*), a cloud, a *stupa*, a mountain. In a book attributed to Naropa *Yul tñi šu rtsa bai rgyu mts'an*, bTAN agyur, sNags section, U rgyan is situated in the west and it is a place blessed by the *mk'a' gro ma* (*dākinī*). In the *dPal U rgyan gyi mal'ayor mai rañ gi loñs spyod kyi rtog pa* of Bir ba pa (sNags section), the eight *śmaśānas* in Uḍḍiyāna itself are enumerated.

and other peoples. Such a rite may explain the peculiarity of some other tombs in which the body is not found in its usual bent position: instead of that, there is a heap of bones on which the skull has been laid ²⁷.

I must add that almost all the cemeteries discovered are near rivers or streamlets; this fact is certainly not a mere coincidence, but it indicates that the washing of the body was an essential part of the ceremonial as it has frequently been; in India too the body was washed and anointed (Keith 1925, II, p. 418).

III. RELIGION

12. Mountain Worship

Can we say anything about the religion of those ancient Swātis of whom, so far, only the graveyards and a few habitations have been found? Very little indeed, and this also cannot but be largely hypothetical. If what is narrated about Nysa has some truth in it, and we keep in mind that the Ilam and the Tirič-mir have been or still are sacred for some conglomerations of tribes, we may suppose that, when the immigrants settled down in a territory, they chose some mountain as a sacred centre of the community; we are therefore [27] confronted with some primeval cosmological ideas, a common belief of the Proto-Indo-Aryans, which later were better codified especially in India (perhaps also under the impact of Near Eastern conceptions); the mountain patron of the tribe, the seat of the ancestor, the place upon which the ancestor or a patron god had descended became the centre of the Universe, the Meru of Indian cosmology.

The Meru is often identified, after the expansion of Hinduism, with the Kailāsa; it is an idea which from India spread over many parts of Asia, where the Meru and the Kailāsa emerged, with the diffusion of Buddhism and Shaivism in a not rare collusion with local traditions ²⁸. The Mongols, the Buriats, the Kalmücks call the World-mountain, the centre of the Universe: Sumbur, Sumur, which is nothing else but Sumeru, Meru (Harva 1938, pp. 59 ff.). Temples are also called Meru or Kailāsa, the famous mountain of Western Tibet near the sacred lake Manasarovar. There is a multiplication of these Holy Mountains. Besides the Kailāsa in Western Tibet, we have also an Indian Kailāsa to the west of Cini in the Sutlej Valley also called Kanaur (Kinnaur) Kailāsa (Tucci 1971a, p. 548 [reprinted in this volume - *Ed.*]; Kullar 1972-1793, p. 105) and a Chamba Kailāsa (*ibid.*, fig. 30).

Another Kailās Range lies north-east of Gilgit, south of Hunza, east of Punyal, the highest peak being the Dumani or Rakaposh, 25,550 feet high.

²⁷ Bone stripping of flesh with a knife is testified by the Proto-Scythian Timber-Grave Culture: Merpert 1954, pp. 142 ff.

²⁸ The interrelation of mountain, God, ancestor, king has been investigated from Mesopotamia to Indonesia by Quaritch Wales 1953.

The *Meros* of the *Nysaei* has been identified by G. Morgenstierne with the *Tirič-mir* in *Chitrāl*; all survivals of an ancient cosmological Indo-Aryan intuition, which each people transferred in the highest part of the place where it settled (Morgenstierne 1930-32, p. 443).

On the mountain *Munjavat*, see above, p. 17.

The *Meru* of *Swāt* was the *Ilam* (Chinese *I-lo*, Tibetan *Hilo*). This explains why the graveyards are generally dug on the slopes of hills and looking towards higher mountains: this reminds me of what happened in Tibet²⁹ where almost each tribe worshipped its own mountain because it was the place where the ancestor or the forefather himself of the tribes was supposed to have descended from heaven to earth, it also was the place of sacrifices and seasonal cults. In another article dealing with *Śiva* mountain in *Gandhāra* (Tucci 1963b, p. 159) [in this volume – *Ed.*] I dealt with the same subject and indicated that as *Śiva* is called *Gāndhāra*, the goddess is *Gāndhārt*. This cult of the mountains, or cosmic mountain or the mountain as a God or a Goddess, is still alive among the *Kāfirs*: e.g. the goddess *Kime* (*Kushumai*) rose from a lake. According to others she appeared in the mountain *Tirič-mir*. Goats are sacrificed to her (Snoy 1962, p. 84)³⁰. The *peris* in *Chitrāl* have their castle on top of mountains (Jettmar 1975, p. 442 and *passim*). The same cult can be found among the *Shinas*. On the sacredness of *Ilam* of *Swāt* during the Buddhist period and also nowadays, cf. below, p. 54.

[28] On his way to *Udabāṇḍha*, *Hsiang-tsang* speaks of a mountain which one meets; it is the *Karamar*, and a very steep one. It was sacred to *Bhīmādevī*, as we are told by Foucher 1942, p. 303. She was considered to be very powerful and *Maheśvara* (*Śiva*) had a temple below the mountain itself; in the temple there were many *sādhus* who used to besmear with ashes their bodies. The image of the goddess of which no description is given was self-made, '*svayambhū*' (Tib. *rañ abyuñ*); it was perhaps formless, but the centre of great attraction. The informer of Foucher told him a very interesting story. Some enemies of a *fakir* had thrown him from the top of the rock down into the abyss; but he remained suspended in the void taking hold of the branches of a tree, until a woman *fakir* let him fall down into a basket she carried. This fairy was *Sher-bānu* the 'lion-woman'; which name corresponds to *Simhāvahini*, an epithet of *Durgā*. We have here four themes; the cult of the mountain, the cult of its goddess or fairy aniconically represented, the assimilation of an aboriginal *devī* to the mountain and to *Durgā*, the survival of the same cult under Islam.

The introduction of Hindu Gods in the Buddhist *maṇḍalas* of *Vajrayāna* is a well known fact. See the indices to Tucci 1941 (*Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV, Parte II, pp. 327-28): *Indra*, *Indrāni*, *Umā*, *Gaurī*, *Camuṇḍā*, *Mahālakṣmī*, etc.

Another holy mountain of *Swāt*, which I cannot identify, was *Muruṇḍaka*, hard to ascend and famous because it was the theatre of a magical contestation between *Kambala* and *Kukkuripā* (Tucci 1958, p. 324, n. 1)³¹.

²⁹ R.A. Stein 1962, p. 170; Tucci 1970, pp. 239 ff.; Hoffmann 1975, pp. 93 ff.

³⁰ Many examples of relationship between a fairy and a mountain in *Chitrāl* in Schomberg 1938.

³¹ On the *Muruṇḍas* as a people see Eggermont 1966. *Muruṇḍa* was the name of the *Saka* chiefs. Cf. Lévi 1937; Konow 1929, p. XXI; Lüders 1961. According to some legends told by the local people *Gullisar* (9477 feet, facing *Loebanr*) is said to have been a holy mountain.

13. Lakes

According to Sung Yün, in Swät, west of the river, there lies a lake which is the seat of a *nāgarāja*; near the lake there is also a temple. When the *nāgarāja* performs a miracle, the king throws into the lake gold and other precious things and stones; when these precious things come out of the lake, they are taken over, at the request of the king, by the monks; the monks of the temple are supported by such resources as are provided by the lake.

Among the Ashkun Kāfirs there are some tanks full of precious things which nobody can get hold of, because they are protected by fairies (Snoy 1962, p. 84). In the Kāfir traditions there are some magic lakes which may cause great floods: hence the custom of throwing an iron arrow into them; this story reminds us of the floods caused by Apalāla in [29] Swät though, I agree, the two stories seem to have no close connection as regards the details, but imply the demoniac or divine character of the lakes.

Mention of other sacred lakes is found also in Uḍḍiyāna, the most celebrated one being that from which, on a lotus, was born Padmasambhava; the lake was called Dhanakoṣa. It may be one of the lakes in the basin of the Daral river in Kōhistan.

14. The Horse

Many of the tribes that Alexander had to pass through bear names derived from that of the horse; such a toponymy reminds us of the peculiar devotion of the Scythians for the horse; hence the tribal names of many tribes: Aspasioi, Assaka, Assakenoi etc., hence also the skeletons of two horses discovered near the tombs in Kätelai³², hence too the handle of the cover of a funerary urn from Loebanr (Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972, pl. XIX, 1). Nor should the horse figurines found in Kätelai be forgotten (*ibid.*, pl. LIII a). It is not completely out of place to mention the bronze cauldron with handles and a projection representing a horse head found in Gilgit (Stein 1944, pp. 15-16). Among the Prasun the horse of Imra is of gold (but also the demon is a horse of iron) and it is the horse who lets the Sun free: a horse is sacrificed in Kushteki near the temple of Imra (Snoy 1962, p. 128)³³. Also among other peoples the horse is connected with sun worship (see Koppers 1936, pp. 282 ff., 311. In addition, it possesses a 'herrenkulturelle oder aristokratische Note, welches Pferdekult und in besonderen dem Pferdeopfer eigentümlich zu sein scheint'). Horses were killed during the funerary ceremonies also in Tibet: Tucci 1949, II, pp. 716-17; R.A. Stein 1962, pp. 485 ff.; Pelliot 1961, p. 3.

Also the Massagetæ worshipped the horse: 'The Massagetæ regard Helius alone as god and to him they sacrifice horses, and they consider the best kind of death when they are old to be chopped up with the flesh of cattle and eaten mixed up with that flesh. But those who died of disease are cast out as impious and worthy only to be eaten by wild beasts' (Strabo, XI, 8, 6).

³² Others have been found in the excavations of Aligrama (kind information supplied by Dr. S. Tusa).

³³ Besides Snoy, see Robertson 1896 (and now Jettmar 1975) on the legends on the horse and its worship. Indices s.v.

15. *Fertility Goddesses*

The figures which have been found in the graves cannot be classified as totems, as Dani seems inclined to think. I suppose that they should be considered as varieties of local [30] goddesses or hypostases of the so-called *Magna Mater*, or more simply goddesses of fertility. I think that it will be useful to add here the detailed description contained in the book by Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972 (p. 36):

Type FT1 — Anthropomorphic female figurine with high diadem (?) above the head; face characterized by protruding nose; rhomboid bust and breast achieved by hemispherical relief-work; lower limbs consisting of two conical or cylindrical appendices (pl. XLVII a, b, c and d; colour plate; pl. XLVIII a and b; pl. XLIX a and b; pl. L a, b, c and d; colour plate). Variant: FTII anthropomorphic male figurine (pl. XLVIII c and d).

Type FT2 — Anthropomorphic female figurine with flat body and protruding nose; breast achieved by hemispherical relief-work; arms consisting of curved lateral projections and lower limbs joined together outlined by semicircular profile (pl. LI c). Variant: FT2I with eyes marked by small holes and with lower limbs outlined by triangular profile (pl. LI a and b).

Type FT3 — Anthropomorphic female figurine with high diadem (?) above the head; face characterized by protruding nose and breast achieved by hemispherical relief-work; arms consisting of small curved lateral projections and lower limbs joined together outlined by rectangular profile (pl. LI d).

Type FB4 — Small anthropomorphic figurine with flat body; head just outlined by circular profile and eyes indicated by single transverse hole; arms and limbs carved on both sides (pl. LII a).

Type FB5 — Small anthropomorphic figurine with long neck and head just outlined by triangular profile; eyes indicated by single transverse hole; limbs carved on both sides (pl. LII b).

Thus these female images are bidimensional; they represent some imprecise presences which should anyhow be propitiated, because their anger may be dangerous to man (for their survivals see Jettmar 1975, p. 219). The dots on the two sides of the head are probably earrings with a central large plaque surrounded by smaller stones (cornelian?); in some cases the hair descends on the back (Silvi and Stacul 1972, pl. XLVII) in parallel lines, as it is still found occasionally among the Kafirs and among Tibetan women (Western Tibet). What is rather surprising is the scarcity of a relevant indication of the sex, though one statuette, here not reproduced, has the pubic region marked by a large rosette as an ornament to cover it (or the pubic hair?). The presiding deity of Puskalavati³⁴ was Ambā, Ambī; Gāndhārī was the most popular goddess of Gandhāra, as we easily infer from the name itself; one may quote a great number of similar other local goddesses in Gandhāra, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, of which mention is made in Sanskrit literature (see Tucci 1963b). Thus, from later Indian texts preserving

³⁴ On the coins of Puskalavati, Pukhalavati the names found are Ambī, Ambikā, Ambā. Puskaravati was also the name of a river (*Kāśika*, on IV, 2, 85; VI, 1, 219; VI, 3, 119).

old popular traditions we may conclude that also in those regions the cult of such female deities was widely spread; they survive now among the Káfirs, the Shínas, the Chitralis where their connection with the mountains is very strict, they become the *đakinis* of Vajrayāna, and are still alive, with different forms and names, *peri, rui, rūi, etc.*

The breast is represented, though in general it is not very prominent. Hips are sometimes very large so that some of these images assume the form of a violin, or a flat representation of a steatopygic female.

[31] 16. Sun Worship

The object described as pendant type (Silvi and Stacul 1972, vol. I, p. 44, fig. 27e) may be a symbol of the sun, as divided on its surface by crossed lines into four quarters. The same solar symbol is visible in some petroglyphs found by the Alpine expedition of Mr. Bergamaschi on some rocks in the valley of Barpu on the way to Hunza. The carving has been made by poking on an isolated rock in the middle of the valley itself. The figures of ibexes are predominating. The petroglyph which I take as the symbol of sun cannot be a shield because no image of men is visible near it.

These engravings are therefore completely different from those discovered in Gogdara where the ibex is absent.

Also in some rituals of the *Brahmanas* the sun is represented by a golden disk: (*Śatapatha-Brahmana*, VII, 4, 1, 10) 'He, then, puts the gold plate [which the sacrificer wears round his neck during the ceremony: VI, 7, 1, 1 ff.] thereon. Now this gold plate is yonder sun for he shines over all the creatures here on earth'. And again (XII, 4, 4, 6): 'verily oh those rays (of the sun) are the All-gods (*viśve devāh*)'. Sūrya in RV (I, 115, 1; VI, 51; X, 37, 1) is called the Eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni^{34a}.

Another object which is of religious significance is an arrow in bronze found in our excavations and reproduced in Dani 1967, pl. Lb, fig. 1a (now in the Museum of Saidu Sharif); Jettmar 1967 describes it as a laurel leaf with three ribs, and compares it with some ribbed daggers found by the Russian archaeologists as productions of Ural metallurgists (see for other examples Litvinskij 1972, p. 70). It is certainly a ritual or sacral thing, not a functional arrow: the arrow is a symbol of the sky or of the lightning, pregnant of so many archetypes in different religions (see Jettmar 1975, Indices s.v. 'Pfeil'; Eliade 1970, pp. 59-60).

Two skeletons, one of a man and the other of a young woman lovingly embraced have been found in one tomb. It is impossible to argue that this rite is an anticipation of an (unburned) *satī* of the Hindus, or that the couple died at the same time, or that the fact of their facing one another embraced suggests a self-immolation. But we must consider that such a disposal of two skeletons of a man and a woman lovingly embraced, is documented likewise in some tombs of

^{34a} It may be interesting to quote here what we read in the *Hudud-al-'Alam* (1937, p. 121) that the kings of Bolor claimed to be the descendants of the Sun.

Turkestan, and also in one discovered in Shahr-i Sokhta in eastern Iran, Grave 112 (see Piperno and Tosi 1975, p. 186). Two skeletons that, though not embracing each other but lying side by side very closely, are reproduced in fig. 5 of *Uspehi sredneaziatskoj arheologii*, Leningrad, 1975^{34b}. Thus, we may tentatively surmise that there might have existed occasional practices of immolation of some girls (the one of Shahr-i [32] Sokhta seems to be about twenty years old); the tomb of Swat is now in the Museum of Saidu Sharif, but no anthropological examination has been made possible so far³⁵.

17. The Slabs Covering the Tombs

Another fact is worth noting; the general structural scheme of the grave has been described by Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972. It is useless to repeat here what they have diligently written; but one fact should be mentioned. The real grave, meant to contain the corpse or the skeleton, is in most cases covered by three slabs of stone^{35a}. The usual presence of the three slabs of stone cannot be casual. It has certainly a cultural implication which now appears evident after the 'triadic mode of thinking' has so well been elucidated by Prof. Gonda (1976). This fact establishes a link with the people of which the tombs have been dug, and the tripartite intuition which dominated the mental and cultural vision of life homologous to the Vedic one (see above, p. 13).

Meanwhile Dr. S. Salvatori has published in *EW* 1975, pp. 333 ff., an interesting study, 'Analysis of the Association of Types in Protohistoric Graveyards of the Swat Valley', in which he has proven, successfully to my mind, that the graves of Period I (= P.V of Stacul) at Kätelai 'are concentrated in the central-eastern area of the burial ground'. The graves of P. II (= VI Stacul) show 'that besides the areas used in P. I the south-western part also begins to be used, with an extension of the area of the graveyard, or with a change in the area of concentration' (p. 351). From this examination of the burial situation some facts may be evinced: the circular arrangement of the graves, or of some groups of them, 'or the particular concentration of graves in a single period'. This may lead us to think 'of a link between certain areas and family or interfamily groups'. This seems to reinforce some of my ideas which I will expound in the section on the tribal system practised in that region.

^{34b} In the Dahginai song [Morgenstierne 1973 (*IIFL*), vol. IV, p. 51], a young man in love with a girl, when she died, committed suicide 'lying face downwards on the body of the dead girl. After many attempts to separate the bodies unsuccessfully they were finally left in the same position'.

³⁵ The *sati* practices (recorded by some travellers - Biddulph, Drew, etc.) have disappeared after Islamization, but the tradition of it survived among the Shinas when Dainelli was there (Biasutti-Dainelli 1925, vol. IX, p. 80).

It cannot be excluded *a priori* that the *sati* sacrifice had been approved by some Dardic tribes converted to Hinduism, on account of even rare survivals of an ancient immolation of the wife in the tomb of the husband. Naturally, this is a mere hypothesis which should be further investigated (chiefly undertaking excavations in Baltistan).

^{35a} 'There are usually three of these schist slabs' (Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972, vol. I, p. 11).

18. Drinks

The people to whom the tombs belong used to drink and perhaps, implicitly, to offer libations during the funeral ceremonies. So it appears from the 'brandy bowls' and other drinking vessels found in the tombs (and also in the houses so far excavated). Some of these vases have been brought to Italy for the examination of their contents.

[33] But from the flotation of the earth in the habitat of Aligrāma the presence of seeds of grapes is documented. This is confirmed by the story of Nysa which shows that its inhabitants used to drink wine or other intoxicating liquors probably extracted from rhubarb *haoma-zairi-gaono* of the *Avesta*, the *soma* of the *Vedas*; we know that the Kāfirs, untouched by Islam, are still very fond of drinking it (see A. Stein 1930-32, pp. 501 ff.; Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 276)³⁶.

In the year 1969 Mr. Gordon Wasson, Honorary Research Fellow of the Botanical Museum, Harvard University, published a book (*Soma, Divine Mushroom of Immortality*, New York-The Hague, 1969), in which he asserted that *soma* is a red mushroom with white spots common in the birch and pine forest of Eurasia; its botanical name is *amanita muscaria*. His views were not generally accepted; the criticism was advanced by Prof. Brough (1971, pp. 331, 362) and F.B.J. Kuiper in his review of Mr. Wasson's book in *Indo-Iranian Journal* XII, 4, 1970, p. 784. Mr. Wasson published a rejoinder to Prof. Brough, '*Soma and the Fly agaric*', Botanical Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1972. The question is still unsolved: that *soma* was intoxicating is certain; more probably exhilarating and hallucinogenous^{36a}.

The problem concerning the drinks of the old tribes of Swāt may be solved by paleobotanists by the flotation of the earth of early habitations. I can add that in the Tantric schools the first of the five *makaras* (words beginning with the letter *ma*) is *mudrā*, one of the ancient necessary elements of every esoteric ceremony; alcohol is enlisted separately in the five *makaras*. The original meaning of *mudrā* seems to be that of an hallucinogenous plant. The preparation of the exhilarating drinks used in some tantric ceremonies is represented on some sculptures (Khajurāho). But I cannot find the botanical name of the *mudrā*. Buddhism also seems to have been compelled to allow, in those countries, some exceptions to its prescriptions concerning the prohibition of drinking alcoholic beverages (as was the case also in Tibet, Nepal and China).

The Indian names for grape show that some qualities of grapes were introduced from the North: *gostāni* from Gostāna, Khotan; *harahaurā*, another name for *drākṣā* from the name of the Harahaurakā (Lévi 1905b, p. 260); *Bṛhatsamhitā* (with Comm. of Utpala, XIV, 33): *siddhasauvīro rājā ca hārahauro madreṣās cānyas' ca kaunīṇḍah*³⁷.

³⁶ Cf. Jettmar 1975, p. 90.

^{36a} The identification of *haoma, soma* with the rhubarb, the yellow golden plant (*zairi gaono*) endowed with strengthening hallucinating power proposed by Stein ('On the Ephedra, the Hum Plant and the Soma', *BSOS* VI, 1930-32, pp. 501 ff.) is accepted also by Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 276, who adds that an identification of *soma* with *amanita muscaria* would not exclude the local substitution of rhubarb. The opinion of R. Gordon Wasson received the support of Prof. Gershevitch 1974, pp. 45-78 (see also Fussman 1977, pp. 41 ff.).

³⁷ Sanskr. *drākṣa* is postvedic, the Vedic *svatra*: *RV*, X, 46, 7 *svatrabhaja vayasa* 'with strengthening food'; *svatra* (Monier-Williams: 'strengthening, invigorating' may refer to *soma*, rhubarb, for which later

[34] In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins we are told that during the journey of the Buddha to the north-western part of the Subcontinent, the *yakṣa* Kuṭila sent to a temple, where the Buddha was resting with some *bhikṣus*, grapes and other fruits. The monks had never seen the grapes and they asked the Buddha how they could be eaten. The Buddha replied that they are to be eaten after having purified them, touching them in three different points with a hot coal. Later the Buddha explained that one can press them and make a juice out of them; this juice can be preserved in the store room; it could be used by the Saṅgha as a syrup (Przyluski 1914, p. 494).

Though the reply rests with the analysts who are examining the earth excavated from the houses of Aligrāma, I do not think that we are wrong in surmising that juniper was known as a plant employed in certain rituals, as it happens also today among the Kāfirs; also today in Swāt juniper is burnt on some fire-stands for the *suffimenta* practised by the witches: Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 320; Fussman 1977, pp. 34, 44; Snoy 1962, index, s.v.; Tucci 1963b, p. 155, note ^{37a}.

The *suffimentum* by means of burnt juniper is essential in the Bon po cults of Tibet and in the popular religion of Tibet (Tucci 1970, pp. 188 ff.).

Among the Na-khi juniper is not only used in the liturgy but it is deified ('Uncle of Heaven': Rock 1948, p. 42. The Na-khi ceremony inspired one poem of Ezra Pound: Lanciotti 1970, p. 375).

Nothing so far has been found of imposing diversity among the tombs or the houses till now explored, I am therefore inclined to imagine some tribal confederations living in a condition of common equality: up to now no hint at a centralized power; wheat was collected in pits in the houses; no trace of accumulation of goods of general use to the entire community. Therefore we cannot say if there was a division into classes during the periods so far explored. From the material so far discovered such a conclusion seems excluded.

Of course, we cannot say that all of the migrating tribes settled here; many must have pushed their way down towards the plains of India. It is also possible that some of the first Dardic tribes reached the Indus and then they were repulsed back by Indo-Aryans settled there or by other peoples. Fighting among the first settlers may also have compelled some of them to abandon the previous settlements in order to find out a quieter place. In the Vedic literature, the rivalries of the different tribes are often testified: the south-eastwards migrations, however, did not succeed in obliterating the traces of the former origins and relationships, and the analogies in customs and habits; though gradually, as the march for the conquest of the Subcontinent progressed, together with the contacts with other ethnic groups and cultures, the former social and cultural similarities might have been loosened in the course of time.

Thus, from the excavations so far undertaken in the prehistoric and protohistoric graveyards of Swāt it seems that on some more ancient population or populations, whose [35] identity

also grapes were substituted. See discussion by Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 276. It is not to be excluded that *harahauro* is a mistake for *harabuno*. See also Amarasimha 1914, *khanda* II, n. 107: '*mṛdvikā gostani drakṣa svadvī madhuraseti*'; etym. of the pandits: *druti rasavattvad drakṣa*. That *drakṣa* was imported to India from Kapiṣa is confirmed by Paṇini IV. 2, 99: *kapiṣayani drakṣa*.

^{37a} On the 'twig-putting juniper' ceremony and the 'head-hoof juniper' ceremony see Morgenstierne 1973 (*IIFL*), vol. IV, p. 175.

cannot be determined [one of them may well be an ethnic group of which a) we have a survival only in a language which cannot, as yet, be connected with any known language, like the Burushaski or b) single words in modern dialects, of which no relation with any other known word of whatever language can be proposed], various migrations frequently spread, mainly, not only, from the north, with certain hiatuses generally representing different cultures testified by other types of ware.

I have in mind chiefly Central Asia as the place of origin of the majority of these migrations, which continued up to periods more recent than those testified by the early settlement of Loebanr (1700 B.C.). Some of them, as I have said, being already in the Pamirs, might have shifted southwards driving away other people in the unsettled and unstable ethnic map of the region.

In a very interesting article, 'The Proto-Indo-Aryans' (*JRAS* 1973, pp. 123 ff.), T. Burrow argues that 'an ancient conglomeration of tribes of Proto-Indo-Aryans, that cannot be brought down earlier than 2000 B.C., split itself *in different periods* into two main branches: Indo-Aryan and Iranian'. Linguistically, Proto-Indo-Aryan refers to 'that stage of language existing before the migrations into India after the separation from Iranian'. Some of these tribes of the linguistically Proto-Indo-Aryan period went westwards, settled in the Near East (Mitanni), and eastwards in North and Eastern Sistān. The Iranians 'began to move South and by degrees, took over the territory previously occupied by Indo-Aryans'.

About 1400 B.C. (Burrow 1973, p. 140) the Iranians came down and occupied the Iranian and Afghan Sistān, places where the Indo-Aryan previous migrations had settled. This fact brought to the possible expulsion of Indo-Aryans³⁸ settled in Sistān (Iranian as well as Afghan) or to a possible coexistence of the two groups for a certain period; this is a fact of great importance which cannot be forgotten when the study of Dahān-i Ghulāmān will be taken up again or new excavations will be undertaken in that place.

Dahān-i Ghulāmān may be a town and a temple built by the Indo-Aryans – while settled in Sistān – a fact that would direct its reading and interpretation more to Vedic literature and lore. It is also a fact which also the archaeologists should consider because some Indo-Aryans compelled by the Iranians might have migrated westwards introducing in Swāt cultural elements of Iranian inspiration.

The occupation by the Iranians of this part of Sistān already inhabited for some time by the Indo-Aryans took place according to Burrow (1973, p. 135) not later than the 14th century B.C. when already a numerous and important migration had descended to India.

[36] But we may acknowledge that, on the whole, in spite of the many migrations, we can safely affirm that in Swāt we are confronted with a series of homologous cultures, notwithstanding the evident differences, in space and time, and of some details in shape and colours of the

³⁸ By Proto-Indo-Aryans Prof. Burrow refers to the stage of the language existing before the migrations into India and after the separation from the Iranians. Its phonology can be partially reconstructed by the comparison of Indo-Aryan and Kafir which is not to be regarded as a separate branch of Aryan but as descended from the Proto-Indo-Aryan (Burrow 1973, p. 125).

artefacts. I think that we must agree with Prof. Stacul, when he writes 'Starting from the 14th or the 13th century B.C. the majority of the north-west regions of the subcontinent came under the sway of a relative unitary culture. The first evidence, relating to the latter fact was gathered in the Swat Valley and then in the settlement of Charsadda. It was followed by further evidence from Dir region, the district of Kalam, and the neighbourhood of Peshawar. The same culture with some variants can be attested also in northern Baluchistan'. (Stacul 1974, p. 241).

This article was in the press, when I received the very important book of R. Ghirshman *L'Iran et la migration des Indo-Aryens et des Iranien* (Leiden, 1977). My learned colleague on the basis of the archaeological finds is of the opinion that a large branch of the Indo-Aryans (who introduced the black ware) had already settled about 3000 B.C. in the north-east of Iran; but about the middle of the second millennium it was compelled by new nomadic incursions to abandon the places it had occupied. There is a difference in chronology and other details between linguists and archaeologists, but both agree on the presence of Indo-Aryans in north-east Iran and (the linguists) in east Iran generally; both suppose that about the middle of the second millennium B.C. they were driven away by other peoples. Russian archaeologists (see Kuz'mina 1976) and their excavations have also shown that without any doubt other migrations came down in successive waves from the north; thus apart from certain differences in chronology it seems ascertained that we can come to the conclusions that a) Indo-Aryans [or Proto-Indo-Aryans³⁹] departed from a previously occupied territory in east Iran and north-east Iran, b) that the Iranians drove them away or superimposed themselves on their predecessors, c) that other waves descended through the Pamirs and the Hindukush. These are the problems which archaeologists should now solve.

We cannot as yet determine the time of arrival of different migrations of the Dards and of the other tribes which followed them and assign each wave to any of the periods established by Prof. Stacul. But we may well date the first migrations a little before the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.; this chronological conclusion is not contradicted by the theory of Prof. Burrow nor by the datation through C14 (oldest Loeban 1700 B.C.: thus also oldest Aligrāma).

The Hindus did not forget their relationship with these tribes, but on account of the seclusion of the Dards and related tribes within the mountains (*pārvaṭīya*), the Dards are said to have forgotten many fundamental Vedic prescriptions or rituals and were therefore considered as impure *kṣatriyas* (though some of them were later partially rehabilitated)^{39a}.

We know that some Dardic dialects (Kalash and Khowar) 'represent the most [37] ancient wave of the I.A. penetration in the region of the Hindukush' (Morgenstierne in *Ei*, s.v. 'Dardiques et Kāfirs, langues'). Though 'they do not contain any feature which could not be derived from ancient I.A., they have preserved a certain number of notable archaisms which have disappeared in the prakrit dialects'. This does not imply that we have to suppose that from the beginning to the end, Swat was the habitat, as well as older settlements, of the Dardic tribes only; other related groups might have joined or followed them coming down from the Central

³⁹ Kafirs.

^{39a} See p. 37, quotation from *Manu* (Bühler 1886).

Asian reservoir, through the same or parallel routes. On the whole they represent one of the most impressive migrations in extension and in time which took possession of the Pamirs, the Hindukush, north up to Gilgit, east to Baltistan and Western Tibet, south down to Kashmir, west up to Chitrāl.

In *Mbh*, XV, 207, 42, 44, those peoples in the mountains and in the North-West like the Yaunas, the Gandhāras, the Kirātas of the Uttarāpātha, the Barbaras, are considered to be criminal tribes, hunters; and *Manu*, X, 43-44 adds: 'in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites... the following tribes of *ksatriyas* have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of *śūdras*; (viz.) the Paṇḍrakas, the Coḍas, the Draviḍas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cīnas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas' (transl. Bühler). The list in Pāṇini, V, 3, 114-115 says that they were organized in *saṅghas*.

Mbh and *Manu* state that many of those tribes were *ayudhājīvi*, 'they are living on the use of weapons', and organized in *saṅghas*: a) Vāhika (not to be confounded with the Bāhlika) (Tucci 1963b, p. 162); b) Pārvata (Pāṇini, IV, 3, 91: living in the mountains); c) Pūga associations under a *grāmaṇi*; d) Vratā⁴⁰. We know fairly well the organization of Vedic and postvedic *jana*: their *gaṇas* with their *sabhā*, etc., but little about these tribes of warriors of whom some were allowed, in later times, to enter into the class of the *ksatriyas*; while some others were considered as outcast *ksatriyas* for having persisted in their unorthodox practices. Among the Pūgas, under a council of elders who elected a leader, there are the *kumāra-pūgas* 'youth congregations' (Pāṇini, VI, 2, 28). Some were called 'having an iron standard'. It is quite possible that many of these mountain tribes, 'living by their own sword', were closed military organizations to which one was allowed after some initiation ceremonies, something similar to the 'Männerbunde' of Iran so well studied by Wikander^{40a}.

Agrawala 1953, pp. 438-39, has briefly dealt with this problem and referring to some passages of the epics is inclined to locate them on the banks of the Indus and extends their localization up to the North-Western Frontier. But many of his proposed identifications deserve revision, which is beyond the scope of the present research. It is anyhow certain that the elders of the Pūgas elected a chief *grāmaṇi*. His main duty was to be responsible for the *kumāra-pūgas*, the youth of the tribe; the name *kumāra* was followed by the family name: some of these names are peculiar like Kumāra-Lohadhvajah, 'Kumāra-iron flag'.

[38] The warlike character of these peoples is attested by Herodotus and Arrianus and confirmed by the petroglyphs representing war chariots⁴¹ (cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 1879, pp. 294 ff.); in a few skeletons examined by Prof. Alciati a group of four show traces of healed traumatic accidents.

Any hypothesis on the organizations of these groups once they settled down, on account of the scanty material we possess, can be only a mere guessing. That they were divided into tribes

⁴⁰ Kane 1930-62, vol. II, pp. 67-68; vol. III, p. 281.

^{40a} Wikander 1938.

⁴¹ On the petroglyphs of Gogdara [figs. 1-6 - Ed.] representing war chariots and flags see appendix by Prof. Brentjes at the end of this article.

composed of different clans seems to me the most probable; they must have had a kind of a council of elders for the solution of any problem involving the interests of the community; delimitation of pasture grounds and such like eventual disputes. In case of necessity the tribes united their forces and selected a most able man to be the leader. It is possible that a tribe like that of the Assakenói, asserted its supremacy over the others and assumed a kind of hegemony. They fought because their independence was at stake. As soon as Mássaga fell and Áornos was captured the confederation collapsed.

It is interesting to record what Sung Yün says concerning the penal law enforced in Swat. Criminals were not killed or executed, but sent to a desert, or to a mountain and left there, free to seek out water and eatable herbs or fruits or other things necessary for their survival; in doubtful cases, a drug was given to them, whose scope was to detect the culprit and the innocent. The same custom still exists among the Káfirs⁴²: a murderer is exiled approximately towards Badakhshán in the north, in a desolate plain where he can find only millet and wheat; he may take with him his wife if she is willing to follow him [Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 302].

In later times, we find the mention in a Buddhist text of a *yakṣa* specially worshipped by the Dards; he is called, according to the *Mm*, Mandara (Lévi 1915). It may be the sanskritization of a local deity of some Dardic tribe. But which one?

From the coins of the Aśvakā (Assakenói) that survived for some time we may infer that at least the Assakenói might have practised totemic cults; the totem giving the name to the tribe was the fig-tree *Vata* (see below, p. 46). In the Mauryan period in what we called the 'bazaar' in the valley beneath the castle of Rajgira, the skull of a bovine (a young cow? a calf?) was found painted with carminium; it may be a testimonial of a sacrifice, and of the presence of families not yet converted to Buddhism: it is known that among the Káfirs and the Dards a cow was not considered to be sacred but not rarely it was an impure animal; sacrifices of cows and calves were practised by the Káfirs and some Pamir tribes up to recent times. The presence of Hinduism in Swat is certain (see p. 58, note 72).

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19.

If we follow the itinerary of Alexander to Swat we meet a series of tribes (and some of them having homologous names): Aspásioi < Aspioi? >, Assakenói, the Guréioi; Swat is Soasténé for the Greeks. Suvástu "having good dwelling" for the *Vedas* and Pāṇini, IV, 2, 77 (Hu-asp for the

⁴² Cf. *T'ang-shu*, where it is said that the persons suspected of some infringement of the Law were subject to an ordeal. They were given a drug: if their urine was clear the punishment was light; if it was not, the punishment was heavy (*T'ang-shu*, ch. 171: Chavannes n.d., p. 128). Prof. L. Lanciotti calls my attention to the *Pei-shih*, ch. 97 where we find the same statement: to the suspected culprits a drug is given: if one maddens one is guilty. A murderer is not executed but banished to a mountain.

Iranians?). But we find in Swat another people: the Urđi, Aurđđi, Uđi (Tucci 1958, p. 326); then a name Wu ch'a, which could be taken as an older transcription, is found in the Commentary (*chu*) by Li Tao-yüan († 527) on the *Shui-ching-chu* 'The Classic of the Waters' (written in the 3rd century): 'Kuo I-kung [lived under the Chin dynasty (265-420)] says that west of Wu ch'a (u-d'á, Uđa) there is the country of the 'hanging passages' (cf. Hsüan-tsang).

In another passage Kuo I-kung also says that after crossing the 'hanging passages' there is a plain, which prof. Petech⁴³ identifies, rightly to my mind, with Gilgit (or better Yasin?). Wu ch'a here = Uđa; but it has nothing to do with Uđđiyána⁴⁴ which is much to the south of it. Possibly it corresponds to Sarikol (so Hermann in Hedin 1916-1922, vol. VIII, pp. 19 and 451: south of Yarkand and Prof. Petech seems to accept his view). But if Uđa has no relation with our Ora, Urđi, the Yü ti yen mentioned by *T'ang shu* (Chavannes n.d., p. 160 and Lévi in *Mm*, p. 167) certainly refers to our Uđđiyána: if there is some difference as regards the products of the soil and the climate, it contains a detail which points to the penal laws, similar to those described by the Chinese pilgrims (see above, p. 38). S. Lévi (*ibid.*) compares also the name Yü tien na, Uđđiyána with that of Khotan, in Chinese Yü tien. Uđi, Urđi, Udri, Uđe is the name of another tribe which confederated with the Assakenói and probably represents an ethnic group related to them, but quite separate.

As regards the Urđi (inhabitants of Ora) we quote from the *Várttika* in IV, 2, 99, *Kápiśyā sphak*; in *Kápiśi* the suffix ± —, a with feminine in *ī*: *bahlyurdibhyaś ceti vaktavyam*: *bāhlāyani aurđđayani pārđayani* (Patañjali, vol. IV, p. 185). The change of a dental *d* into *đ* can be explained considering that Uđđi may be a local pronunciation which accounts for the Ora of the Greek historians influenced by the frication characteristic of those dialects.

The Tibetan name Orgyan is so explained by Buddhagupta, a Tibetan pilgrim who went to Swat in the 16th century: 'The name Orgyan is derived from Uđđiyána on account of the similarity [in pronunciation of *đ* and *r*]'⁴⁵; the insertion of an *r* is frequent in NW *padriyamśae* (Konow in *CH*, 5, 4, s.v.); *pratithavitra*, Bajaur casket (*El XXIV*; [40] Tucci 1958, p. 324, n. 1). This implies a fricative intervocalic change: cf. *t < r* in modern Khowar.

20. Nysa Once More

Before entering the territory of the Assakenói, Curtius introduces the story of Nysa (VIII, 10, 71) which Arrianus (V, I ff.) tells at the beginning of the next chapter, after Alexander had crossed the Indus and defeated the Assakenói. The story goes back perhaps to Megasthénés, or to some other old source, because it is reported by other Greek and Latin writers. The location of

⁴³ Petech 1950, p. 18.

⁴⁴ As Lüders thought (1940, p. 496).

⁴⁵ Is there any relation between Urđi, Aurđđayani and *uddāi, ura* 'above, up'? [Morgenstierne 1956 (*JFL*), III, 3, p. 6].

the place is uncertain ⁴⁶: 'between Kophès and the Indus' is too vague. The connection of the place with Dionysos and the classical Nysa, seems to support the doubt that here the context has been exaggerated by the Macedonians, in their desire to flatter the aspiration of Alexander to be deified. But the existence of an historical Nysa or of a place of a similar name in this part of the world seems to be certain. Also Strabo mentions the Nysáioi, evidently the inhabitants of Nysa, located near the Ippásioi (Asp<ás>ioi). 'Between Kophés and the Indus there are the Astakenói, ⁴⁷ Masianói, Nysáioi, Ypásioi ⁴⁸, Massóga ⁴⁹ capital of Assakános; near the Indus there is Peukelaóitis (XV, 1, 27). The story goes that the people went to meet Alexander, and said that they were descended from Dionysos, who was born in a cave from the femur (*merós*) of Jupiter. This means first of all that near that place there was a mountain whose name sounded to the Greeks like *merós* (i.e.: Meru, the centre of the world according to Indian cosmography; see above, p. 27); what induced the Macedonians to accept the story was the fact that in that place there grew ivy and grapes, though, on account of the climate, they did not ripen well (but Diodorus speaks of the good climate of the place); thus Alexander ascended the mountain, followed by people wearing ivy on their heads and drinking wine.

Nysa is probably to be found in a land where Káfirs or Dards were living; Káfirs and Dards were and still are generally fine-looking, especially the women, and before Islamization they remained quite isolated, and specially the Káfirs with a religion of their own. Be that as it may, the tradition concerning the inhabitants of Nysa, as recorded by Arrianus, is that they considered themselves to be foreigners, immigrated there and different from the Indians: Νυσάιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἰνδικὸν γένος ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσω ἐλθόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Ἰνδῶν.

Some travellers have been so surprised by these facts that they have spread a theory, which certainly has no historic background, but is none the less indicative: they imagined that the Káfirs were the descendants of the soldiers of Alexander (on the tradition that [41] 'the 'White Káfirs' of Káfiristan were descended from Alexander's Macedonians', see Tam 1938, p. 170. According to Schomberg 1935, p. 106 the Mir of Nagir claimed to be a descendant of Alexander).

A similar story is told regarding the people of Kunar, by one of the informers of Morgenstierne 1956 (*IIFL*), vol. III, 3, s.v. 'Kunar': according to A[bdur] R[ashid] the people are Germans who have sought refuge there and embraced Islam.

Is the name of Nysa surviving in Nisai, Nisa'i (Kunar dialect, also registered in the dictionary by Prof. Morgenstierne, *ibid.*, p. 215)?

⁴⁶ The problem of Nysa has been discussed by Smith 1914. Cf. T.A. Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London, 1910, who identified Meros with Koh-i-Mor, followed by Smith; but the identification can hardly be accepted. On the other hand Morgenstierne 1930-32 thinks it to be the Tirič-mir in Chitral. See above, p. 27.

⁴⁷ Perhaps, through an Iranian intermediary, from Hastakéne from Astis, Astes, former unreliable governor of Peukelaóitis; the separate mention of Massóga excludes the identification of the Astakenói with the Assakenói.

⁴⁸ Tzschucke emends: *Ippásioi*; Corais: *Aspásioi*.

⁴⁹ Tzschucke and Corais emend: *Mássaka*.

21. *The Kōphés*

Having left Tiriaspēs as satrap of the Paropamisadae and the remaining part of the country up to the Kōphés (Kābul) river, Alexander reached Nicaea, which Foucher (1942-47, II, p. 205 and fig. 36) places near Mundrawar in Laghman, where near Karglai, the Alingar and the Alishang after their confluence empty themselves in the Kōphés. In that place he sacrificed to Minerva and then he proceeded to the Kōphés, from where he sent for Taxiles the ruler of Taxila; the latter arrived soon with his elephants, and Alexander gave orders to Hēphaistiōn to conquer Peukelaōtis and then to proceed to the Indus in order to build there a bridge near Udabhāṇḍa⁵⁰ (Ohind, Vahind). To sum up the account of the itinerary of Alexander, he did not follow the course of the Kābul river, but went northwards: 'considering that the rivers to cross, all flowing southwards, represented a difficulty he cut straight through the country'. Strabo, XV, 1, 26, writes: 'accordingly, he returned, passing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, keeping India on the left; he turned immediately towards India and its western boundaries and the Kōphés river and the Choáspeš, which latter empties into the river Kōphés near a city Plemyrium⁵¹ after going past Gorys, another city, and flowing further through both Bandobéné and Gandaritis'.

He wanted to reach first of all Mássaga, the capital of the Assakenói. Many theories have been advanced concerning the location of this town. Stein did not commit himself on this point, Dani places it near the *ziyarat* of Mujawar Baba. Sir Olaf Caroe placed it near the Katgala pass between the Talash and Adinzai pass, about 8 miles from Chakdarra, on the way to Dir. This is possible, but perhaps other archaeological excavations on a large scale, are needed to prove it. Curtius refers to the fact that it was difficult to capture the town, not only on account of its fortifications but also because, on the east, it was protected by a violent river with high banks: '*qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui praeruptis utrimque ripis, aditum ad urbem impedit*' (VIII, 37)⁵².

[42] Maśakāvati mentioned in the *Bhāṣya* (IV, 2, 71) must be here recorded because its name cannot be isolated from that of Mássaga; it is quoted as the name of a river, though the suffix *-vati* can be applied also to a town (Puskalāvati). But the important fact is the presence of such a toponymy in the NW part of the subcontinent. It is also interesting that near Aligrāma there is a *khwar* which is now called Mahak > Masak.

⁵⁰ Udabhāṇḍa may also have two alternative spellings: Udakhāṇḍa and Udabhāṇḍa; the first survives in the name of the village Khunda (according to Colonel Deane in Foucher 1901, p. 367, note, and *Mm.* p. 73). It is to be added that Bhaṇḍu and Khaṇḍu are quoted in *Ganapaṭha*, 4, 2, 77. See also Eggermont 1975, pp. 139, 175. In Udakhāṇḍa, *khaṇḍa* is a Saka word for 'town, village'.

⁵¹ *Variae lectiones*: *Pligyriōn* and *Plekeriōn*.

⁵² The expression of Curtius '*currenti amne praeruptis ripis*' indicates what today is called a *khwar*, an impetuous torrent, which runs violently in spring, or in the rainy season: it digs in the cretaceous soil deep ravines, difficult to cross; it usually dries up in the hot months; Alexander was in Mássaga in about November of 327 B.C.

22. *Mássaga*

Also the spelling of *Mássaga* differs in the various texts: *Mássaga* (*Indiké*, I, 8), *Masóga* (*Strabo*, XV, 1, 27), *Mazága* (*Curtius*, VIII, 10, 22). Also the name of the *Assakenói* (*Arrianus*, IV, 30, 5) is variously spelt; *Assakános* is their king: *Arrianus*, IV, 27, 4; 30, 5; *Strabo*, XV, 1, 27; *Assákenos*; in *Arrianus*, IV, 27, 5: *Massakanôn* evidently from the name of the capital.

According to *Arrianus*, when Alexander saw the imposing fortifications of the town, in order to deceive its defenders and to force them to evacuate the fortress, he ordered his troops to retire about seven *stadia* from the place where he had pitched his camp; this seems to indicate that the town was not very far from the *Panjhora* which he had just crossed.

Now we must reconsider the itinerary of Alexander from Afghanistan to Swat and enumerate the rivers which he had to cross.

23. *From Afghanistan to Mássaga*

Hēphaistíōn and *Perdicca* had already accomplished their tasks to subdue by force or compel to surrender the towns met on their way, and to gather provisions in *Embólīma* etc., before undertaking the building of the bridge; they killed the traitor *Astes*, *Astís* (see above, p. 40), the governor of *Peukelaítis* and his territory was then put under the command of *Taksites*, who was on friendly terms with the Macedonians. Alexander himself proceeded first along the *Kōphés* (*Kābul*) river and then, as we saw, turning northward, he subdued some tribes called *Aspii* (*Arrianus*, IV, 23, 1, corrected by *Roos* into *Asp<ás>ioi*); *Strabo*, XV, 1, 21, has *Ypasioi* (*Tzschucke* emends into *Ippasioi*, *Corais* into *Aspasioi*: see above, p. 40). We must remember what has been already said that the importance of *Mássaga* was such as to give the *Assakenói* also its name: *Massagenói* (*Massagenōn*). The confederacy under the dominion of the *Assakenói* was called *Assakíē*: ἐν Ἀσσακηνοῖσι δὲ Μάσσακα. πόλις μεγάλη, ἵνα περ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσσακίης καὶ ἄλλη πόλις Πευκελαίτις, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτὴ οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄκισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα. τα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἔω τοῦτῳ μοι ἔστω ἢ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆ, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ οὗτοι ἔστωσαν. This passage shows that both *Mássaga* and *Puskalávati* were the greatest towns of *Assakíē*: 'great town was *Mássaaka*'; and the 'other town' *Peukelaítis*. It is a fact that the name *Gandhāra* does not appear [43] in *Arrianus*. The *Assakenói* settling in the main parts of the land which is usually known as *Gandhāra* gave to this country their own name: *Assakíē* up to *Puskalávati*, between the Indian territory to the east and the *Assakenian* possessions to the west of the *Indus*.

In the 'Daedala' territory, Swat was known to the Greek writers by the name derived from that of the river: *Souasténé* (for the formation of this name cf. p. 45) from Vedic *Suvāstu* 'having fair dwellings' (*Ptolemaeus*, VII, 1, 42: 'Below the sources of the *Souástos*⁵³ is *Souasténé*').

⁵³ Cf. below, p. 45.

Now we must go back a little and say a few words on the territories which Alexander had to pass through and on the rivers he had to cross.

The problem of the identification of the rivers is complicated; in the *Anábasis* there is no mention of the Choáspes, which has been generally identified with the Kunar; on the other hand Curtius says that Alexander invaded the Darada (Daedala) country after having crossed the Choáspes; he sent Coenos to besiege Beira = Bázira⁵⁴, Barikot on the left bank of the river, and only then he himself went to Mázaga.

According to Arrianus the first river crossed by Alexander was the Chóes (IV, 23, 2). In Strabo already quoted (see above, p. 40), the itinerary is more inaccurately described, and many names are misspelt. Strabo, XV, 1, 27: 'Now after the Kophés follows the Indus; and the region between these rivers is occupied by the Astakenói, Masianói (other MSS. Basianói), Nysáioi and Ypásioi (Tzschucke emends into *Ippásioi*, Corais into *Aspásioi*) and then one comes to the country of Assákenos where is a city of Mázaga, the capital of the country; and now near the Indus again one comes to another city, Peukoláitis'.

But in *Indiké* I, 4-12 Arrianus writes: Κωφήν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαίῃδι, ἅμα οἱ ἄγων Μαλάμαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρροῖαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. καθῦπερθε δὲ τούτων Πάρρενος καὶ Σάπαρος, οὐ πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν.

Evidently this passage poses some problems: the insertion of Malámantos, which runs into the Kóphés along with the Panjkora and the Sóastos (Swát); if Malámantos corresponds to Bandobéné, etc., as Eggermont (1970, p. 108) surmises, it has nothing to do with the Kábul basin but it has with the Indus; then only two solutions are possible: a) that the theory of Prof. Eggermont, at least here, that Malámantos = Bandobéné = Udabhāṇḍa is not valid; b) that the Malámantos probably corresponds to the Kalpani Nāla running into the Kábul near Nowshera.

The two rivers mentioned at the end cannot but be included in the Udabhāṇḍa district (south-eastern Bunēr). One of them, Saparnos (Suparna?), must be the Barandu. As to Párrenos I propose to identify it with the Puran in proximity of Dard and flowing near Sondāl, Kulāla, Khānai: it empties into the Indus near Chūrānai.

Nevertheless the two passages of Arrianus *Indiké* (cf. p. 42), though erroneous in some details, are very important. The Kóphés is like the spine of the region [44] which is called Gandhāra: its eastern part and boundary is Peukelaítis, Puskalávati: the whole territory to the east of that town is India proper; the part to the west of it is traversed north-south by many rivers which run into the Kóphés: Malámantos, Souástos, Gorúaiā: about Souástos there is no doubt = Suvástu, Swát; Gorúaiā corresponds to Goréis near the Panjkora. Malámantos cannot be Malámantos = Bandobéné (the river of Udabhāṇḍa) because any river near Bandobéné runs into the Indus not into the Kóphés (cf. above, p. 43); Arrianus himself says that these rivers flow into the Indus, above its junction with the Kóphés^{54a}.

⁵⁴ Original name, as we infer from the inscription of Jayapaladeva (Tucci 1958, p. 327, note 28): Vajirasthana.

^{54a} Sir Olaf Caroe kindly informs me that the Kalpani has a tributary of its own called Mukam.

Here it is useful to see how Ptolemaeus (VII, 1; Renou 1925, p. 12) describes the succession of the rivers in this part of the world and to compare the statements of the various sources.

26 Ἡ δὲ τάξις τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ρέοντων ποταμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὄρους οὕτως ἔχει· Κῶα ποταμοῦ πηγαί [...] Σουάστου ποταμοῦ πηγαί [...] τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἡ πηγή [...]

28 ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ Κῶα εἰς τοὺς Παροπανισάδας [...] ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἰς τοὺς Παροπανισάδας [...]

42 ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τὰς τοῦ Κῶα ποταμοῦ πηγὰς ἴδρυνται Λαμβάγαι, καὶ ἡ ὄρεινὴ αὐτῶν ἀνατείνει μέχρι τῆς τῶν Κωμηδῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς τοῦ Σουάστου ἢ Σουαστηνῆ, ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Δαράδραι, καὶ ἡ ὄρεινὴ αὐτῶν ὑπέρκειται·

...] καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοὺς Λαμβάγας καὶ τὴν Σουαστηνὴν ἢ Γωρυαῖα καὶ πόλεις αἶδε·

43 Καρνάσα

Βαδοράνα

Γωρύα

Ναγάρα ἢ Διονυσόπολις

Δράστοκα

44 μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σουάστου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Γανδάραι καὶ πόλεις αἶδε·

Ποκλάεις

Ναυλιβί

We have therefore the following comparative scheme of the rivers:

Arrianus, <i>Anab.</i> , IV, 23, 2	Rivers which empty into the Indus Αρ., <i>In.</i> , I, 4, 1	Strabo, XVIII, 26	Curlius	Ptolemaeus
Chóes Gouraios	Kophés Malámantos Sóastos Gártoia Párennos Sápamos Indus	{ rivers which empty into the Indus { higher up both running into the Indus	Choáspes	Kóα Souástos Indus
		Kophés Choáspes Plemyrion ⁵⁵ Góruda Bandobéne Gandarítis		

[45] It is easy to recognize in Gártoia, Góruδα and Gορυαῖα the Gouráioi of Arrianus, then the main of the geographical description concerning the Kophés river, in which the Choáspes has

⁵⁵ As to Plemyrium Marquart 1896-1905, p. 117 proposed that it can be Salátura, now Lahor, the birth place of Panini (Eggermont 1970, p. 108 and p. 117, note 207).

emptied (flowing forth to Bandobéné and Gandarítis). Gandarítis is no problem: it is (see above) the region west of Peukelaóitis, Puskalávati. Bandobéné whether it has any relation with Malámanos or with Udabhāṇḍa corresponds roughly to SE Buner and nearby territories and its rivers do not run into the Kábul but into the Indus to the north of the junction of the Kábul and the Swát rivers.

Then, πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν (*Anab.*, IV, 23, 2) Arrianus follows Alexander in his march to Mássaga, crossing first of all the Chóes river subduing the Aspásioi, and then the Gouráioi.

Ptolemaeus, VII, 1, 26; VII, 1, 42, states that, so far as our region is concerned, from the Imai mount the following rivers descend: Kóa, Souástos, Indus: the Lampákas (Lāmbágai, inhabitants of Laghman) are mentioned twice: in the beginning (below the river Kóa) and at the end (below Swát, Souasténé); no mention is made of the Kábul river, though of the Kóa is mentioned its "divarication" towards the Paropami(MS. *n*)sadaí.

24. *Aspásioi and Assakenói*

The Aspásioi, Ippásioi of Strabo can be compared to *asp* or Káfirí *ašpu* or to other local dialects: cf. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapāda: ašpaveka = ašvamedha* (Brough 1962, p. 103). The correspondence of *Ašvayana* with Pāṇinian *Ašvāyana* is certain: *ašvādibhyaḥ phañ: ašva* becomes name of family by adding *āyana* (IV, 1, 110). More difficult to explain is the suffix *-sioi* of *Aspasioi*. But we must not forget that in other readings we find *aspioi*.

From *Ašva*, *Ašva-ka* is derived (Pāṇini, IV, 2, 131, with *taddhita* — — ka) and from *Ašva-ka*: *Ašva-ka-āyana* 'pertaining to a certain family, a remote descendant' (*āyana*, Pāṇini, IV, 1, 99): in conclusion *Ašva-ka-āyana* ⁵⁶; but the relation between Skr. *Ašvakāyana*, or Prak. *Assakāyana*, and Greek *Assakenói* is doubtful. Easier, to my mind, is the following sequence: *Ašva-ka*, *Assaka*, *Assakía*, *Assakéné* (as *Massagenói* from *Mássaga*) with the usual Greek suffix *-énos* (like *Paritakéné*, *Soasténé* etc.) ^{56a}. We must remember that the form *Ašvaka* is found in some coins discovered in Taxila and datable 3rd-2nd century B.C.: *Vaṭasvaka*.

On these coins the inscription *Vaṭasvaka* was interpreted by Bühler and Smith as the [46] '*Ašvaka* of the *vaṭa*', the fig-tree, considering this plant as their totem. Recently Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta took up again the study of this problem (Dasgupta 1974, p. 29), complete with all bibliographical references and a clear statement on the actual situation of researches on this subject. The learned author makes a clear distinction between the *Ašvakas*, *Āšvakas* and the *Āsmakas* (both in Prakrit *Assaka*, *Āssaka*) and locates the *Āsmakas*, perhaps after a migration from a previous settlement, near the Godavari, as they appear in the list of the *Ṣoḍaśajanapadas* ^{56b}.

⁵⁶ The form *ašvakāyana* is nothing else than the Pāṇinian indication of a patronimic; it does not interest us here.

^{56a} Piemontese 1970, p. 109.

^{56b} The *Bṛhatsamhita*, XIV, v. 21, locates the *Āsmakakulutas* (Kulu) in the NW quarter: therefore they are considered by that text or its sources to be different from the *Āsmakas* along the Godavari. It may also be that it interprets *Assaka*, *Āsmaka* as the *Ašvaka* in the N.

Of the Āsmakas no coins are known so far.

Dr. K. K. Dasgupta also proposed the interpretation of *vaṭa* as 'cowrie shell', used as a means of exchanging commodities: so the formula *Vaṭaśvaka* could correspond (see Pāṇini, II, 2, 31) to *Aśvakāṇam vaṭaḥ* 'coin of Aśvaka'. But after discussing this possibility, he concludes that the real meaning should be 'the Aśvaka tribe of the *vaṭa* or fig-tree clan'. In the same paper is also discussed the problem:

Āssaka =	Āsmaka Aśvaka
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Dr. Dasgupta and myself agree on the different location of the two tribes ⁵⁷ and their reciprocal difference.

In his book, *Dates and Dynasties of Earliest India*, R. M. Smith (1973) has tried to establish a chronological series of the principal dynasties and kings, as it may be reconstructed from the *Purāṇas*. I too, in a paper now republished in *Opera Minora* [*], have hinted at the possibility that even in fairly old times there existed certain reliable lists of such kings; but I have some doubts about the reliability of the chronological dates, because I do not know how we can rely on documents on which to build up an irrefutable chronology. I think that we are chiefly confronted with *Vaṃśāvalis* of different traditional value, and we have not yet established an unquestionable documentation on the Purāṇic tradition. According to Smith 1973, an Āsmaka mother or wife of Anādr̥ṣṭi and a second one wife of Prācinavant, and still a third one, wife of Śūra, are dated 1200 B.C. and 1300 B.C.

Nothing can be inferred from this, except that, as already stated, at a certain time there was a tribe of the Āsmakas of old extraction, in the list of *Purāṇas*.

25. Again the March of Alexander

There are still other points not easy to interpret ⁵⁸: Alexander keeps in the beginning India to his left, i.e. descends from Bactria by mountain tracks, then he marches in the direction of India and the Kābul river, which means that he followed the same direction of the Kābul river; but as regards the Choāsper he had no other solution than to [47] cross it; we know that the Choāsper empties in the Kābul river, near a town called Plemyrum, but it is said to be *παρα Γώρυθα* past the territory of the Gouráioi, which means beyond the Panjkora.

Therefore the Chóes or Kóa cannot but be the Kunar, which runs west of the Panjkora; this empties in the Swāt and runs into it; as a result the Choāsper of Curtius, as the boundary of the

⁵⁷ It is another indication pointing to the fact that after Alexander's times there took place certain events which provoked a southward – or south-eastward – movement of some peoples.

[*] 'Note Indologique', in Tucci 1971, I, pp. 255-275 [Ed.].

⁵⁸ Strabo also writes: 'he reached out for India too, since many men had been describing it (the itinerary) to him, though not clearly'.

territory of the Dedalai – Daradas, could be interpreted – as was proposed by Marquart and accepted by Stein – as an Iranization: *Hu-aspa* ‘good horse’, of the name *Suvāstu* known in the *Vedas*^{58a}.

I therefore think that the *Chóes* of Arrianus and Ptolemaeus corresponds to the *Kunar*⁵⁹; its name suggests that of the Dardic tribes *Kho*, living in *Chitrāl* (*Kho*) and ancient *Swāt*. Their language is ‘die Verkehrsprache’ of the *Kāfiri* in *Chitral* (Snoy 1962, p. 86), and it is called *Khovar*. ‘In many respects [it is] the most archaic of all modern Indian languages, retaining a great part of Sanskrit inflexion’ (Morgenstierne, *Ei*, s.v.)⁶⁰.

The same idea was again accepted by A. Stein (1921, I, p. 4, note 2). Already in 1927, p. 424, Stein wrote: ‘There is good reason to believe that the languages then spoken in that region and in the adjacent hill tracts including *Swāt* were not Indian, but belonging to that independent branch of Aryan speech, designated as *Dard* or *Dardic*, which has still its representatives in valleys South of the *Hindukush* from *Kafiristan* to *Kashmir*’. Many factors contribute to render complex and difficult the problem of the identification of the different places. The interpreters and informants were Persians, Indians, local peoples of different intelligence and sometimes also of relative knowledge of the places of which they were speaking.

26. *The Conquest of Mássaga*

On his way to *Mássaga* Alexander, as we saw, had captured *Andraka* (identification uncertain)⁶¹. Here in the critical edition of Roos, IV, 24, 1 is indicated a lacuna: Ἐνας . . . πόλεως προῦχώρει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ὑπαρχος ᾗν.

The editor expresses the view that in that lacuna the name of the town must have disappeared, as it seems evident from the sentence immediately following: ‘where the chief of the *Asp<as>ioi* resides’; other editors, with less probability, inserted here the name of the river *Swāt*. Thus *Evaspla* should be deleted from the list of the rivers crossed by Alexander.

[48] Reaching then a burnt and abandoned town, *Arigaion*, he entered the territory of the *Gouráioi* on the river by the same name (*Gorúaia* p. 44) and marched towards *Mássaga*.

About the *Gorúaia* river which has been identified, I suppose rightly, with the *Panjkora*. Prof. Dani (1967, pp. 49-55) develops an interesting theory which, I am afraid, can hardly be

^{58a} The Indo-Aryans, having mainly wooden or mud houses (see Burrow in Basham 1975, p. 25) must have been greatly impressed by the stone-houses of *Swāt*; therefore the traditional interpretation of *Suvastu*: ‘The place of fine dwellings’ may appear, in the light of the recent excavations, equally adequate.

⁵⁹ This indication was already proposed by Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, II, p. 137) who was a great forerunner in the field of ancient Indian geography and on many points can still be considered an invaluable source of information.

⁶⁰ On the position between Dardic and *Kāfiri* according to later researches, see Morgenstierne, *Ei*, s.v. *Dardistan* and *Kafir*.

⁶¹ We may perhaps connect *Andraka* with a *Khovar* word, *adrax* (< *Kalaśa adrah* ‘hillside, forest’): Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 232, note 4 and p. 249.

accepted. He thinks that the Gouráioi correspond to the Kurus, who are not mentioned in the *Vedas* (only in some derivative forms), and in Panjkora he sees a survival of Pāñcāla-Kuru.

But if Pāñcāla and Kuru are generally quoted jointly and are considered to be strictly connected, the usual expression is Kuru-Pāñcāla and not Pāñcāla-Kuru.

Moreover we know that the Greek transcription of the name Kuru is Korrhai (see e.g. in Ptolemaeus *Ottokorrhai* = Uttara-kuru, VI § 1 and 6; Plinius, IV, 60, Attacori).

The identification of the Gouráioi has been discussed since the times of Lassen, who states that the name of this river corresponds to old Gauri (so also Stein 1921, I, p. 2, note 2); much more acceptable is Garuhā or Guruhā quoted as being in the north-western quarter in the *Bṛhatsamhita*.

The Uttarakurus, mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14) as an historic people, are located *pareṇa Himālayam*, beyond the Himalaya. In the lists of the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthana* and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Lévi 1918, p. 48) the Kurus are placed along with the Mādrakas; S. Lévi suggests that they should be located near the Sub-Himālayan Northern Tribes (*ibid.*, p. 124). Later their land becomes in Hindu cosmography a kind of paradise on earth. Also in some Buddhist texts, as noted by Law 1943, p. 21 there seems to have lingered the memory of an historical country in Uttaradvīpa (Malalasekera 1937, p. 355).

However if the 'Gouráioi' have nothing to do with the Kurus, there are in Chitral two summer hamlets whose names are Harigram and Kuru. Harigram, as Prof. Morgenstierne suggests, is certainly a small Hindu colony or settlement; but near it there is another summer hamlet called Kuru, and the important village of Panagrām; Prof. Morgenstierne^{61a} adds that it is very tempting to think of the Kuru-Pāñcālas of the Indian Epics: the Kurus seem to have come after the other tribes, to be a later wave of the Indo-Aryan migrations; they are not mentioned as a people in the *RV* (but a prince Kuruśravaṇa and a Kaurāyaṇa are recorded). They occupy a great place in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Mahābhārata* they are quoted as allied of the Daradas (Law 1943, p. 86). Uttarakurus settled beyond the Himālaya (*pareṇa himālayam*) are said to speak the finest language. There is a village Kuru on the road from Skardo to Kapalu in Baltistan.

According to Curtius, Alexander after the events of Nysa entered the country of Daedala. Thus, we are now in no part of the old seventh satrapy, but in a place independent of Gandhāra of the Achaemenian list preserved in Herodotus; we are among the Daedala^{61b}, Dadikai, Dards (Junge 1941, p. 44).

[49] 27. *Some Details in Curtius*

Ptolemaeus occupies some smaller towns, and Alexander the most important ones (Acadira and Arigaion). When this task was accomplished, Alexander rallied his troops that had been distributed in various directions, in view of the impending military operations. Having crossed

^{61a} 'Notes on Dameli, a Kafir-Dardic Language of Chitral' (Morgenstierne 1942b, p. 116).

^{61b} Ptolemaeus § 49, Δαϊδάλα.

the river Choáspes, so Curtius says, he left Coenus to lay siege to a rich town called Beira (Bázira of Arrianus, now Barikot) while he proceeded to Mázaga, whose king Assacánus died in battle; then the king's mother took his place and surrendered, presenting him with rich gifts and was recognized by Alexander as a queen.

The Macedonian in so doing was 'more moved by her beauty than by a feeling of benevolence'; anyhow, as the story goes, she bore him a son, and this son was called Alexander. All this seems a mixture of historical facts and romantic stories. But according to Diodorus, XVIII, LXXXIV, 'the women of Mássaga, when they realized that there was no hope of salvation for their men, took their weapons and went to fight'.

Notwithstanding his tendency to colour as a pleasant romance his stories, in certain cases, Curtius used, I think, practically to copy certain passages from works written by some chronicler well acquainted with the place, and a keen observer, as the following description of the fortifications of Mássaga, gives evidence; it seems to be written by an expert in military architecture (VIII, ch. 37): 'XXXV stadia murus urbis complectitur, cuius inferiora saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt quas interposuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet simulque terra humore diluta. Ne tamen universa consideret, impositae erant traves validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tegebant et pervios fecerant' ('The city was besides surrounded by a wall 35 stadia in circumference, which had a basis of stone-work supporting a superstructure of unburnt, sundried bricks. The brickwork was bound into fabric by means of stones so interposed that the more brittle material rested upon the harder, while moist clay had been used for mortar. Lest, however, the structure should all at once sink, strong beams had been laid upon those, supporting wooden floors which covered the walls and afforded a passage among them': transl. Mc Crindle, in R. G. Majumdar 1960).

This manner of building is still in use in many parts of the mountainous parts of Afghanistan, Kóhistán and the Pamirs.

28. Castles and Villages

Towns were walled (sometimes double-walled) and built on top of steep hills ^{61c}, where imposing traces of walls and buildings are still extant; just as Curtius writes, the basement is made of stone bricks, upon which mud walls were superimposed; the working people lived there and in the plains; tillers, labourers, silver- and goldsmiths, potters: in case of danger they might have taken shelter within the walls of the citadel.

Naturally, what is now left on top of the hills is not protohistoric, except in a few cases; only parts of the old stone basements are preserved, because after the *pax kusanica* [50] (air photographs have revealed a big town of orthogonal plan near Mingora) urban centres along the main trade routes were largely abandoned; new invasions ravaged the country, and the population retired again on top of the hills, and rebuilt fortified villages on the remains of the old

^{61c} *En petrais* like in Bactria.

ones; there is a chain of high hills on the right side of the Swat opposite Mingora, overlooking the village of Aligrāma and its cultivated land. On those hills there are heaps of ruins and the highest one was partially excavated by Dr. Faccenna. The upper parts of those ruins go back to the time of the Hindu Śāhi: when the excavations reached the rocky soil, fragments of the same pottery as that of the graveyards were discovered, and can still be found all along the slopes of the hill mixed with potsherds of the Kuṣāṇa period. Unfortunately, the name of the village is recent; it is now called Aligrāma 'the village (*grām*) of 'Alī'. If one day we discover the census of the Yūsufzai Sheikh Malli who conquered Swat (around the 16th century), distributed the lands enforcing a sound programme of rotation and ordered a census to be made, we might be in a condition to know the old name of the same village. We can say that houses, with pottery belonging to the various periods of Prof. Stacul's chronology, have been found at the bottom of the hill overlooking Aligrāma and some of them very near to the river.

Many things had changed from the times of Herodotus. The confederacy of the tribes under Assākanos gave its name to the country itself, Assakīé, gravitating towards the Kōphés; territorially, it corresponds roughly to Gandhāra, its eastward limit is Puskalāvati; the Indus being the boundary between the two countries Assakīé and India. The real Indians are beyond the Indus: no mention of the other peoples of the 7th Herodotean Satrapy except for the Daedalaé, Dadfkaí. The war events relating to the invasion of Swat are introduced by Curtius, VIII, X, 37 by the sentence: '*hinc (Nysa) ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est*' which means that Alexander entered the Dardic country. Where then do the Saka go situated north or east of Gandhāra? (see above, p. 16). Can it be definitely escluded from consideration that there is some relation with the Massagetæ and the Assakenói, also called Massagenói⁶² after the name of their capital, and who were so powerful as to give their name to a large part of Gandhāra (Assakīé)? Is this too another hint at the migrations and intermingling of migrating tribes which presumably took place in the regions of Hindukush, Pamir and northern Gandhāra, during the times intercurrent between the last period of the reign of Darius and the expedition of Alexander?

If what Curtius writes, i.e. that Alexander left Coenos to besiege Beira (Bázira, a rich town, *urbis opulenta*) and himself went to Mázaga (Mássaka) and the Choáspes is Suvástu, Swat, the doubt may arise that he crossed the river near Barikot in a place which we cannot identify and from there he reached the left bank of the Swat⁶³. There might be a reason for this, because Bázira had a great strategic importance since it controlled the routes to Bunér (Karáhar pass): a reason which induced Alexander to fortify the city, as he wanted to prevent any attack by the troops of Abisares, requested to come to the rescue [51] of the Assakenói. I am giving rise to a doubt, I repeat, I am not solving a problem.

The name of the capital of the Assakenói: Mássaga, Mássaka, Mázaka, Másoga (Strabo, XV, 698) reminds me forcibly of the Massagetæ (see references from classical sources in *RE*, s.v.). Altheim-Stiehl 1970, p. 128 connect the name of the Massagetæ with the Ossetic word *másig*, *másug* 'tower'. Marquart (1905, p. 78) with av. *masyō* (exactly: *masya*, Bartholomae 1904, p. 1155; Skr. *matsya* 'fish').

⁶² Cf. above, p. 42.

⁶³ Also to-day there is a ford near Barikot.

Among the Massagetae women enjoyed a great freedom and could be leaders in war; such was the case of Tomyris (or Tamyris) who took command of the Massagetae in the battle where Cyrus was killed.

Concerning the queen of Mássaga, Arrianus says only that after the death of Assacánu his mother with his son surrendered. He does not add the name of this queen, but Curtius calls her Cléophis (gen. Cleophídís) a name which reminds us of some better-known names of the classical tradition, e.g. Cleobis, etc. Curtius Rufus adds that she, accompanied by her son and many women of Mássaga carrying golden gifts, went to the camp of the Macedonians and asked for mercy. She requested to be reinstated in her former position; Alexander consented, inspired more by her beauty than by a feeling of compassion. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Scythian women, when their men died or were no longer able to fight, took their place in the battle. This was the behaviour of the wives of the mercenaries of Mássaga whom Alexander allowed to leave the town and to join him; but they fled at the dead of night and when attacked by the Macedonians, women fought strenuously along with their men. According to Justinus and Trogus, Queen Cléophis lost her honour among her subjects for having conceded herself to the enemy, and was therefore called by the local people 'the harlot queen'.

Near Barikot, on a hill overlooking the Kandak valley, there are many ruins, the most important ones being those of a Buddhist settlement; nowadays, some ruins of a building nearby are locally called Kanġar or Kanġor Koġ^{63a}: the koġ 'of the shameless one', of the 'harlot' or the procuress. It would be interesting if Mr. Inayatullah Rahman who has collected many folk tales of Swāt (and some of them containing records, even if vague ones, of real old facts) (Rahman 1968) could enquire of the local people about the origin of such a name and what kind of tradition, if any, is underlying it.

After what I said above concerning the Sakā Haumavargā I am even less inclined to abandon my former idea that there is a connection between the Massagetae and the Assakenói, also called Massakenói, from Mássaga; I have also referred to some documents which indicate the presence of Scythians in the proximity of Gandhāra; I have equally referred to some practices of the Assakenói which are found among the Scythians, the most warlike tribe of the place. We know from Herodotus (I, 212) that the Massagetae worshipped the sun (by which they used to swear as by their Lord) and that they used to sacrifice horses to it. The horse is not killed by any weapon, so that no drop of blood may be [52] produced by the execution, but by means of a rope round the neck of the animal, slowly and gradually tightened with the help of a stick.

A few facts can here be recollected; the possible documentation of sun worship by some of the peoples whose graveyards have been explored (p. 29 and p. 31), the burial of two horses near a tomb in Katelai, the proximity of Scythian tribes near Gandhāra at the times of the Achaemenian empire, and also their probable descent towards Gandhāra (see above, p. 16). We must also not forget what Strabo says: 'The Massagetae and Sakas stood for the easternmost of the Scythians though each people *per se* bore a name of its own' (XI, 8, 2).

^{63a} Stein 1930, p. 14.

V. *ÁORNOS*29. *Áornos: Ur'a sar or Ilam*

I do not wish to appear as possessed by a mania for raising doubts; I only mean to say that to many a problem concerning Swat there might be alternative solutions. Let us consider e.g. the question of the *Áornos*. After the conquest of Ora the inhabitants of *Bázira*, discouraged, fled at the dead of night along with people of other tribes and took shelter in the *petra*, 'the rock' which Arrianus calls *Áornos* (and Curtius *Áornis*) which is = Prakrit *śaraṇa*, a common name for any sheltered place (cf. also Pashai war, 'wall')⁶⁴.

Sir Aurel Stein (1927, p. 432) considers that the *Ilam* was the place where the inhabitants of Barikot, *Bázira* (*Vajrasthāna*) took shelter when they fled from their town; but he thinks that the *Áornos* is not identical with the *Ilam*, because he reads the passage of Arrianus in the following way: the people of *Bázira* 'lost heart and at the dead of night abandoned the town and fled to the rock. Thus the other barbarians, too, leaving their towns, they all fled to the rock in that country called *Áornos*'.

Απ., Αν., IV, 28, 1: Καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον. ... ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔφυγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πέτραν. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἔπραττον· ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ζύμπαντες ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χῶρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην.

Stein (*ibid.*, p. 61) follows the reading of Gronovius Lugduni Bat. 1704 who cancelled the sentence *ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν* and writes 'on hearing of the fall of Ora abandoned their town'. But the most recent edition by Roos maintains the reading 'they fled to the rock'; the following sentence adds that on hearing this, all the inhabitants of other towns fled to the *petra* (concerning which we cannot state with certainty that it is a different one from that of Barikot), which in the country is called '*Áornos*' (Curtius, *Áornis*).

The *Áornos* has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with *Ur'a sar*, *Pir sar* to the north [53] of *Chakēsar*, overlooking the Indus; we should remember that Alexander had already sent in advance *Hēphaistíon* and other generals to build a bridge at *Udabhāṇḍa* (*Ohind*, *Vahind*, *Und*) where he would have met them. He soon went to *Peukelaóitis* (*Puškalaṽati*, *Charsadda*) (passing through *Orobatis*, which Eggermont proposes to identify with *Ariṣṭapura*). Then, before proceeding to the *Áornos*, he went to *Embólima*, now *Ambela*, in *Bunēr*; large supplies had been stocked there and everything else which might be required; in order to prevent any attack from that side he decided to dislodge the enemy from the *petra*, the *Áornos*, which according to Arrianus was very near to *Embólima*. Prof. Eggermont does not take too literally the statement that *Embólima* was a town near *Áornos*, because the term 'near' may be taken rather loosely and should be interpreted with some caution. I add that concerning the *Áornos* (*Áornis*), Curtius writes (VIII. 11): '*Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in regis potestatem quorum*

⁶⁴ Altheim-Stiehl 1970, p. 166, derives *Áornis* from a *hu-varan* which does not seem to me to be acceptable; *avarana* is also in Skr. a fortified place. We find another *Áornis* in Bactria: Arrianus, *An.*, III, 29, 1.

incolae armati petram Aornis nomine occupaverunt'; then he adds that '*Radices eius Indus amnis subit*' (*ibid.*).

In Justinus there is no mention of the Áornos; he only writes: '*cum ad saxum rarae asperitatis et altitudinis, in quod multi populi confugerant pervenisset, cognoscit Herculem ab expugnatione ejusdem saxi terrae motu prohibitum*'⁶⁵; which refers to the legend of the unsuccessful expugnation of the Ilam by Hercules.

Arrianus (*An.*, IV, 28, 1) does not mention the Indus. But Strabo does (XV, I, 8): 'When Alexander, at one assault took Áornos, a rock at the foot of which the Indus river flows near its sources'; 'near its sources' is certainly an incorrect statement.

The connection of Sindhu, Indus with the Daradas, and therefore the distinction between an upper (Darada) part and a lower Indian part is implicit: as it appears from the expression *Dārādī Sindhuḥ, Prabhāvātī*, ad Pāṇini, IV, 3, 83; Agrawala 1953, p. 43^{65a}.

The *petra* is so described by Curtius (VIII, XI, 39): '*Petra non a modicis ac mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est, in cuius ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt. Radices eius Indus amnis subit*'⁶⁶ *prealtus, utrimque asperis ripis; ab altera parte voragine clivisque praeruptae sunt*'.

Such indeed does the Ilam appear from Barikot; Arrianus narrates that Alexander started from Embólíma, encamped in a suitable place, and next day was at the bottom of the Áornos. According to me, the time is too restricted for an army in full equipment and carrying war engines etc. to reach the Pir sar distant, as the crow flies, at least 60 miles with two passes, though not very high to cross, in a hilly tract. Then there is another reason which made me always uncertain about the identification of Áornos with Pir sar; according to modern strategy this could be a magnificent fortress and afford large defensive power of artillery. The reason that gives rise to my doubts is not only that of the relative [54] distance between Embólíma and the Pir sar, considering that more than 70 km in those parts cannot be taken as a short distance, but another one still. I am trying to think not in terms of modern strategy, but rather of the beliefs of those people who, when in difficulty, had recourse to their gods. What man cannot, the gods can do, and the Hilo mountain of the Chinese, the Ilo *parvata* of the Tibetans, the Ilam of today, is a holy mountain, the seat of a god. Just in front of Barikot one can admire the peak of the Ilam, abode of gods from the oldest times up to now. Arrianus followed by Justinus and Strabo⁶⁷ here introduces the story of Hercules who vainly tried to conquer it, thus praising Alexander as a human hero who had succeeded where a god had failed. This means that the mountain was, at that time, consecrated to a god and was even a place on which some legends or myths had been centred. And it has continued to be a holy place till our times. It was sacred during the Buddhist period when the pilgrims were shown the square stones like couches made by art [which] form

⁶⁵ On this legend which concerns Ilam = Áornos see Tucci 1963b, pp. 171 ff.

^{65a} Here *dārādī* indicates the place where the rivers was supposed to have its origin outside the borders of India.

⁶⁶ Curtius and Strabo obviously draw here their information from the same source.

⁶⁷ Hercules was assisted by the ancestor of the Sibai (Strabo, XV, I, 8).

an unbroken series of gulleys. It was here that the Buddha once, in a former birth, gave up his life for the hearing of a half 'stanza of the Doctrine' (photo in Stein 1929, fig. 97).

Those 'square couches' might have been used as altars from prehistoric times⁶⁸ however Ilam has remained a holy place to the present day. Nowadays on the highest spot there is written on a rock the name of Śrī Rām (Rāma, incarnation of Viṣṇu). Hindus, Sikhs and even Muslims go there. When I reached the top (and the last approach can be some what dangerous because one has to walk on a spur, overhanging the abyss), my guide, who was a very devout and orthodox Muslim, knelt down turning his face towards the *qibla* and recited the ritual prayers. The sacrality of the Ilam goes back to prehistoric times, and has survived the changes of religions; the graveyards of Bázira have been dug in front of it. A little below there are a spring and some ponds. The difficulty of the ascent is marked by Stein 1929, pp. 168 ff.

In ancient times, it was usual to take shelter in the sacred mountains which in addition to the natural difficulties due to their asperities, were the abode of the gods, the ancestors, the tribal deities. Moreover, another fact must be taken into consideration: before attempting the ascent and the capture of the *petra*, Alexander ordered that Mássaga, Ora, Bázira should be fortified, thus preventing any attack from the Karáhar pass, in order to be safe from that side, as he had done in Embólíma.

I do not see any serious objection to the identification of Embólíma with the Ambela of today; phonetically also Ambela is nearer to Embólíma than Amb.

Moreover before attacking the *petra* Alexander left one of his generals at Embólíma with army and supplies in case a siege might have taken place. I refer to the passage of Arrianus, IV, 28, 7 in which after the events of Embólíma, [55] he writes 'ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Εμβόλιμα πόλιν ἢ ξύνεγγυς τῆς Πέτρας τῆς Ἀόρμου ᾤκειτο': 'he went to the town of Embólíma which was situated near the *petra* Áormos'. Moreover from that side the ascent is easier (Stein 1930, p. 102).

Besides, if one wants to reach from Embólíma the bottom of the *petra* one meets a small river, not certainly to be compared to the Indus, but a river all the same (and the Indian interpreter might have used *sindhuh* in the sense of 'river' as it is usual): the Buryonkanrai Khwar has its sources near the *petra*, the Ilam itself, and runs into the Barandu which flows into the Indus.

Since Suvāstu is known in the *Vedas*, the opinion of Dahlquist 1962, that the Áormos may be identified with Aumavābha (who, according to him, is the same as Vṛtra, against whom Indra fought so as to let the waters free), cannot be ignored though Aumavābha appears to be mainly a teacher. Be that as it may, the sacrality of Ilam is very old, *ab illo tempore*; so the story of Alexander recalled a local tradition, according to which a god or a demon identified by the Greek with Hercules, had vainly tried to conquer it.

When the Assakenói had been defeated, their territory, which probably included also that of their allies during the war, was put under the command of an Indian satrap. Sisikottos (Śaśigupta): Arrianus, IV, 30, 4; V, 20, 7. When Alexander came back from Áormos he invaded – according to Arrianus – the land of the Assakenói, that is, their other territories which had not yet been

⁶⁸ That is most probably what remains of the old mountain worship of the early inhabitants of Swat. Were these stones used also by Alexander for his sacrifices, recorded by Arrianus? On stone altars among the Dards, see Jettmar 1975, p. 335.

conquered, the remaining parts of Bunēr, and a consistent part of the lands of the confederation of tribes upon which the Assakenói ruled; the people, however, had fled to the mountains. Nevertheless, Alexander met with some difficulties, because about 20,000 soldiers had been mustered there, by the brother of Assacános (who might be the same as Erices, or Aphrikés of Trogus and Diodorus)⁶⁹ in order to harrass him on his way back (Curtius, VIII, 12, 1, 37).

To sum up, besides the hypothesis: Un'fa sar = Áornos⁷⁰, the identification of Áornos with Ilam cannot *a priori* be excluded. Just a few words more about Dyrta: some body (Agrawala 1953) proposed Dir, but I think that an expedition to Dir would have delayed and rendered more dangerous the plan devised by Alexander, who was anxious to reach India. Perhaps he might have pushed as far as Mingora and the Jambíl valley. But this too is a surmise. Eggermont 1975, p. 182, suggests that Dyrta (a name which he connects with that of the Dards) can be located in Bunēr, more precisely that it corresponds to modern Daggar: it is possible but, to my mind, Daggar would not fit a fortified town: better on the hills north-east of Daggar, Hissar Ghar. But further archaeological surveys in Bunēr are needed to clear this point.

When Alexander had reached Peukelaóitis, Puşkalavati, his campaign in Swát had come to an end.

[56] VI. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

30. *Apostles during Aśoka's Times*

The missionaries of Aśoka in their apostolic work went up to Afghanistan a few years after his conversion, and found on their way and there too, populations of different ethnic extraction and different languages or dialects. Many of them were considered to be outside the pale of Vedic tradition (see *Manu* quoted above) though always belonging to the Indo-Aryan group. Certainly the dialects which they spoke were different from those of Central India. The Indians called the majority of these dialects *paśācī*; now the name *gāndhārī* or NW dialects has taken its place (Bailey 1946, pp. 764 ff.; Brough 1962).

Konow 1929, p. XCIV, states that 'The North-Western Prakrit was itself at an early date used for literary purpose' and also maintains that certain quotations from the Buddhist texts contained in the inscriptions of Wardak and Kurram show that such works were translated from a more eastern language which might have exercised 'a slight influence on the local vernaculars in written records. But the chief influence was exercised by the North Western Book Language itself'. Of course, the *gāndhārī* was or was to become a kind of *lingua franca*, up to the boundaries of China, but it was subject to many local varieties which derive from the dialects spoken in the various regions in which it spread, from the NW frontier to Central Asia. Indian

⁶⁹ See p. 15.

⁷⁰ Though, as we saw, another Áornos is found in Bactria.

grammarians called these dialects *paśāct*, so did also Grierson and we have some texts still preserved in this *gāndhārī* dialect of which the most important document is the *Dhammapada*; this text in some points already differs from that of Aśoka's inscriptions in the NW.

The diaspora of Buddhism in the NW territories has been so clearly expounded by Lamotte that I can do no better than reproduce here what he has in a masterly way written on the subject (Lamotte 1958, pp. 366-369):

Un autre indice de la pénétration bouddhique est la localisation sur le sol du Nord-Ouest, et plus particulièrement du Gandhara, de l'Uḍḍiyana et du Penjab occidental, de quantité de légendes empruntées aux vies antérieures du Tathagata. L'Inde gangétique avait été le théâtre de l'existence dernière du Buddha; le Nord-Ouest prétendit que ses vies antérieures s'étaient déroulées sur son sol. Chaque ville, chaque localité eut bientôt sa légende à elle, et son stupa pour la commémorer. A Nagarahara (Jelal-abād), Śakyamuni avait reçu la prédiction du buddha Dipamkara, et étendu sa chevelure sous les pieds du Tathagata. A Puṣkaravati (Shah-Dheri et Charsadda), Śibi avait fait don de ses yeux à un mendiant, et Śyama, alors qu'il cueillait des fruits pour ses parents aveugles, avait été frappé par une flèche empoisonnée. A Varṣapura (Shahbazgarhi), Viśvāntara avait cédé à un brāhmane insatiable son éléphant blanc, son royaume, son attelage, son épouse et ses enfants. A Shah-kot, le ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga, séduit par une courtisane, l'avait ramenée en ville sur ses épaules. A Maṅgalapura (Manglaor), Kṣāntivādin s'était livré, sans une plainte, aux coups du roi Kali. Sur le mont Hi-lo ou Hidda (Ilam, sur la bordure du Swāt et du Buner), un jeune brāhmane s'était précipité du haut d'un arbre pour avoir communication d'un verset de la Loi. Au Mahavana (Sounigram), le roi Sarvada, voulant faire l'aumône alors [57] qu'il était dépourvu d'argent, s'était livré à prix d'or à son ennemi. Au Masurasamgharama (Goumbatai, près de Tōursak dans le Buner), Dharmarata avait transcrit un texte de la Loi en utilisant sa peau comme parchemin, un de ses os comme calame, et son sang en guise d'encre. A Girārai, le roi Śibi avait racheté, au poids de sa chair, un pigeon poursuivi par un faucon. Au monastère de Sarpausādhi dans la vallée du Saniraja (Adinzai), Indra, transformé en serpent, avait sauvé la population de la famine et de la peste, tandis qu'un serpent industrieux faisait jaillir l'eau d'un rocher...

Les zélés propagandistes avaient donc puisé dans le riche répertoire des Jātaka où le Bodhisattva, sous une forme d'existence humaine, animale ou divine, avait pratiqué les grandes vertus de son état, et notamment la générosité, la patience, l'énergie et la sagesse, non sans tomber parfois – comme ce fut le cas pour Ekaśṛṅga – dans d'inévitables faiblesses humaines. Avec Bénarès qui revendiquait également siens quelques Jātaka (l'Éléphant blanc à six défenses, la Perdrix, le Cerf et le Lièvre), le Gandhara fut le seul à pratiquer le jeu – un peu puéril, mais profitable pour les lieux de pèlerinages – de l'acclimatation des légendes. Encore cet engouement n'eut-il qu'un temps. Le fait que des stupa aśokéens, comme celui du Don du corps sur le pic de Banj, du Don de la chair à Girārai, du Don des yeux à Charsadda, du Don de la tête à Takṣaśilā, de Viśvāntara à Shahbazgarhi, etc., furent édifiés dès l'époque Maurya prouve que l'annexion des légendes débuta dès l'introduction de la Bonne Loi dans les marches du Nord-Ouest...

Notons pour terminer que la Bonne Loi ne connut pas le même succès dans tous les districts du Nord-Ouest indistinctement. Les renseignements fournis par les pèlerins chinois et les trouvailles

archéologiques montrent que seuls les districts du Penjab occidental, du Gandhara, de l'Uḍḍiyana et sans doute aussi du Jaguḍa (qui n'a pas encore été exploré systématiquement) furent véritablement bouddhisés dès l'époque Maurya. Il n'en fut pas de même pour le Kapiśa (Kohistan de Kabul) où Hiuan-tsang ne signale qu'un unique stupa aśokéen, ni même pour le Kāśmir où l'on n'a retrouvé aucune trace des fondations aśokéennes du Śuśkaletra et du Vitastrata mentionnées par les voyageurs et Kalhana. Que quelques bouddhistes s'y soient aventurés à l'époque ancienne, nul ne songe à le nier; mais une hirondelle ne fait pas le printemps et, à la lumière des nombreux indices que nous aurons à examiner plus loin, on peut croire que le Kapiśa et le Kāśmir ne devinrent de véritables fiefs bouddhiques qu'à l'époque Kuṣāṇa, grâce à l'active propagande menée par Kaniška. C'est plus tard encore que la Bactriane, séparée du bassin de l'Indus par la haute barrière de l'Hindukush, devint à son tour une terre sainte du bouddhisme. C'est ce qui ressort, entre autres indices, du témoignage de Hiuan-tsang qui attribue la plupart des fondations bouddhiques du Trans-Hindukush, non pas à Kaniška et moins encore à Aśoka, mais plus modestement et plus tardivement, à des «Anciens Rois» (*kieou wang*), c'est-à-dire à des Kuṣāṇa tardifs (c. 231-390 p.C.), ou même à des Kidārites (c. 390-460 p.C.).

E. Lamotte also adds: 'le succès sans précédent rencontré dans le milieu populaire par la littérature des Jātakas et des avadānas, avait grossi considérablement la légende bouddhique; chaque ville, chaque localité importante du Nord-Ouest était représentée dans le folklore religieux et prétendait avoir été illustrée autrefois par les exploits du futur Buddha, la visite de Śākyamuni ou la présence de quelque grand disciple» (Lamotte 1947-1950, p. 159).

But the first missionaries met, no doubt, with some difficulties in their work; first that of communicating with the people they choose to convert and then to select the texts more accessible to the eventual converts. They certainly did what the early apostles to China had done: they must have selected simple elementary books, which offered for consideration some outline of the life of the Buddha, and resorted to the *jātakas* and the *avadānas* inculcating the inflexibility of the law of *karma*. This procedure had the advantage of condemning the practices that Buddhism prohibited and of expounding the main tenets of Buddhism, not in a dogmatical way, but in a narrative, easy discourse.

We know that the Buddha did not enjoin to the apostles – sent to evangelize the different regions of India and later of Asia – to teach and to preach in the same language he [58] had himself spoken: each preacher was allowed to preach *sakāyaniruttīyā*, 'in his own dialect'. This point too has been already elucidated by Prof. Lamotte (1958, p. 613); the Buddha authorized the use of the local dialects concerning the pronunciation as well as the vocabularies. Thus, the *Vimalaprabhā* (a commentary on the *Kālacakra*), states that the *Piṭakas* were written in 96 different languages. Such a question was debated also in the *Vibhāśāśāstra* where we find a very interesting passage translated for the first time by S. Lévi: 'The Buddha employs only one word for preaching his doctrine; then the people, each one according to his own category, understands it. Everybody says: the Bhagavat has spoken for me, it is only for me that he preaches this or that subject'. This is what happened when he spoke to the T'o lo t'o, Ta la t'o, Daradas, to the Khasas (Chia sha), to the Mo lo p'o Mālava, etc. (see above, S. Lévi 1905b, p.

287). In fact, as I have already said concerning our region, the Chinese have preserved the tradition that many books in Uḍḍiyāna were written in *paiśāci*.

It is therefore certain that the Indian missionaries must have first of all learnt the local languages, and asked for the help or cooperation of some local learned man, conversant with other Indian dialects, probably merchants ⁷¹ as it everywhere happened in the early times of the Buddhist diaspora. Though Uḍḍiyāna later became inclined more towards Mahāyāna than to Hinayāna, old schools were represented there at the times of Fa-hsien; Hsüan-tsang says that they had preserved some ancient *Vinayas*: Dharmagupta, Mahiśāsaka, Kaśyapiya, Sarvāstivādin, Mahāśārngika ⁷² (cf. Bareau 1955, p. 31; Lin 1949, pp. 208 ff.).

We may safely assume that the missionary work in Swāt coincides with the building of the big *stūpa* which has been excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission (Faccenna 1964); the construction was most probably begun about the middle of the third century B.C. enclosing a nucleus housing the relics.

This monument, consecrating the beginning of a Buddhist community in Swāt, reminds us of the Greek-Aramaic inscription of Aśoka found in Kandāhar (tenth year of reign of Aśoka since his consecration) (Pugliese Carratelli-Garbinì 1964) and of the other *stūpas* which Hsüan-tsang (see Lamotte quoted above) attributes to Aśoka in Ghazni and Jagaḍa.

[59] It was called, as we gather from an inscription in *kharoṣṭhi* on a pot (Petech 1966, p. 80), Dharmarājika, a name attributed to the oldest *stūpas* ⁷³.

But once we have established that the first translations were laid down in a language generally understood in those parts, and eventually, in the dialect spoken in certain regions, we should ask what happened to them. We have no document which may lead us to the conclusion that they were immediately put into writing, because we have no indication of the existence of any written literature in those parts. I therefore surmise that in the beginning these translations were mainly circulating orally. Later the life of Buddha, *avadānas* and *jātakas* were made to

⁷¹ Buddhism from the very beginning travelled along with caravans and traders.

⁷² Li Yen-shou's redaction (about 629 A.D.) of *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, after having situated geographically Uḍḍiyāna. Wu-ch'ang, contains a very important information. The *Hu* Brahmins are said to be the higher class, great experts in astrology and in telling past and future events. This means that Hinduism was well alive with its class system, and the Brahmins were the privileged ones: the fact that they were experts in astrology and in foretelling future events or in recording past happenings shows that they are the forerunners of later Tantrism. Not less interesting is the name given to the leading class of the place: *Hu*; *Hu* is a name which was originally used for 'barbarians', then for foreigners of Central Asian and chiefly of Iranian origin or language. This shows that in the source from which the *Pei-shih* derives its information 'language' refers to a 'dialect mixed with Iranian words'. Evidently such a definition is not exact, because though Iranian words can be found in Dardic, the author of the *Pei-shih* wants to say that they did not speak a language very much similar to Sanskrit or to m.i. Prakrit (cf. also *Wei-shih*, ch. 97). On the meaning of *Hu* see: Pulleyblank 1952, p. 319.

⁷³ I shall deal with this subject, the meaning of Dharmarājika, in Oriental Notes [the author refers here to an article never appeared - *Ed.*]. In the excavations of Uḍḍegram the Greek name: *Nou* has been found inscribed on the fragment of a rim of a vessel: '[belonging to] Nou's', as Pugliese Carratelli 1966, p. 35, interprets it. The potsherd can be attributed to the Mauryan period.

converge into the archetype of a *Vinaya*, within the scheme of the *uddānas*. We know that there exists a *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, and another one known as the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins 'Vinaya of the original Sarvāstivādins'. It is an enormous collection which at the times of its Chinese translator I-tsing had become extremely rare, though it has constituted the source from which e.g. the *Divyāvadāna* has been extracted. Now, as shown by S. Lévi, this work contains some texts which cannot be more recent than the third century A.D. (*Aśokāvadāna*) or the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* to be dated at least at the beginning of the same century. All the *Vinaya* was put almost certainly into Sanskrit at the times of Kaniṣka: I say: at those times, not later, because the prophecy and the praises of Kaniṣka, the enlightened ruler who protected Buddhism, could persuade the king to bestow upon the Community major benefits if he or his immediate successor was alive. Then there are parts which show the interest of the redactors of the *Vinaya* in concocting the legend of a visit of the Buddha himself to Kashmir, Chitrāl and Swāt⁷⁴. Another legend concerns an apostolic visit to the NW regions of a prominent disciple of the Buddha, Mahākatyāyana. In an *avadāna* which, as we shall later show, is perhaps the elaboration and mixing up of two different stories, is described a rather anomalous journey of the holy man to a town Roruka (not yet located to a certainty) and then his return back to Śrāvastī. Both these narratives are very important because they could have been elaborated nowhere else but in the NW regions.

31. The *Saṅghabhedavastu*

Portions of the *Vinaya* of MSV⁷⁵ were found in Gilgit, and published by S. Dutt. Some year ago I bought in Rawalpindi another bulky part of the same text (*Saṅghabhedavastu* [60] and of the *Śayanāsanavastu*) and I handed it over to the Archaeological Museum of Karachi; I, then, was kindly allowed the loan of the MSS, on condition of its being restored and published. The book is now being edited by Prof. R. Gnoli; its first volume is out [*]. This work, written in good Sanskrit with a very few occasional intrusions of hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit, contains some peculiarities (e.g. the birth of the Buddha happening in a natural and not miraculous way).

The revision and the translation into Sanskrit was made at the times of Kaniṣka; however, this does not preclude that in Swāt and adjoining countries might have, for a long time, been

⁷⁴ The fact of there being two *Vinayas*, one of the SV and another of the MSV, has been explained by Vinitadeva in his *Varṣāgrapariprcchā*, by assuming that SV is the name of a number of groups and MSV the name of one of them (see Frauwallner 1956, pp. 25 ff.)

⁷⁵ On the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins and their *Vinaya* see Bareaux 1955, p. 154; Przyluski 1923; Höfinger 1946, pp. 235-411; Lévi 1907; Lamotte 1958; Banerjee 1931; Frauwallner 1956.

[*]R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Part I and II. Edited by R. Gnoli with the assistance of T. Venkatacharya. SOR XLIX, 1-2, Rome, 1977-1978; Id., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikarānavastu, Being the 15th and 16th Sections of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. SOR L, Rome, 1978 [Ed.].

circulating, in various forms, the primitive texts; according to Indian dialectology, they were in *paśāci*, as is also confirmed by the Chinese ⁷⁶.

There have therefore been, I presume, different stages in the compilation of the huge corpus of the *Vinaya* of MSV; new insertions, abridgements, in a word we have here a *corpus in fieri* in which such manipulations can be discovered as it happens also in a small text like the *Dhammapada*. It is natural, therefore, considering the various changes in the political events, the evolution of the dialects themselves, the increased interest in other texts of the different collection of the Buddhist scriptures, the spreading of the apostolate in the neighbouring countries, that the *Vinaya* suffered various changes. I shall not be astonished at all if we should discover one day precise testimonials a) of a primitive redaction in some Dardic dialect, b) then an adaptation in *gāndhārī*, with new manipulations and variations, c) other sections of the Sanskrit translation now partly discovered.

The Sanskrit translation is the last setting up of different elements put together after a long elaboration following the sequence of the *uddānas*, a real indexing in which the names are enumerated of the persons, deities, goblins, that are dealt with in the following chapters, in order to testify to the origin of certain *Vinaya* prescriptions explained and formalized by the Buddha in his present or in his previous births, and chiefly the inevitable law of *karma*. But it happens that in some cases in the prose section ⁷⁷ the stories deal with subjects other than those enunciated in the *uddānas*, or that some stories announced in the *uddānas* are not found in the prose section; all this evidently implies a work of revision: the arrangement of the subject matter has also been occasionally modified.

The *uddānas* represent not only, as I said, the nucleus and the sequence of the *avadānas* told by the *dharmabhāṅakas* but certainly they were used as well as the scheme which inspired the artists in their plastic evocation and representation of the various events of the Bodhisattvas' previous achievements or of the life of the Buddha himself which are the subject treated by Gandharan art. The persistence of the NW texts whether of the MSV or of others was such that 'the extant Buddhist literature of Khotan has been translated from Buddhist Sanskrit, but the technical terms of the religion which became a living part of the Khotanese language were not from Sanskrit but from the Northern Western Prakrit such as was also written in Krorayina' (Bailey 1961, p. 14).

[61] 32. *Legends on the Travels of Buddha and his Disciples to the NW*

Then as soon as Buddhism spread, the local communities certainly stimulated by the waves of new missionaries imagined and began to tell people to convert and pilgrims that Buddha had blessed Swat with his own presence and left evident traces of it. Thus the foot-prints with

⁷⁶ Also in the opinion of Bareau 1955, p. 154 the *Vinaya* of the MSV seems to present a character more archaic than that of the SV and also of most of the other *Vinayaṭīkās*.

⁷⁷ The term is inappropriate because many prose chapters contain also metrical portions.

kharoṣṭhī inscription ⁷⁸ were considered as the undeniable testimony of the truth of this tale.

He had left them for the spiritual elevation of the pilgrims (Konow 1929, p. 1; Tucci 1958, fig. 8). And the local monks could also show to the pilgrims the rock on which he had laid to dry in the sun his robes, wet after the contest for the submission of Apalāla. In Darel, the first capital of Swat according to the local tradition ⁷⁹, or possibly capital for a certain time of Swat, the image of Maitreya, about which many adventures and air travels are narrated, has certainly its importance on the expansion of Buddhism in those parts.

In Darel was a famous wooden image of Maitreya (80 ft. high). According to the tradition its sculptor had ascended to heaven (according to some sources, he was an *arhat*) in order to be perfectly sure that his work corresponded exactly to the original. Other pilgrims who saw the image are quoted by P. Demiéville (1954, p. 379 and n. 4). As for Darel, the name itself contains the name of the ethnic group of the Dards.

Without insisting on the visit by the Buddha himself ⁸⁰, I shall add a few words on the story of king Udayana, Udrāyaṇa ⁸¹ (Tib. U-tra ya na) who was converted to Buddhism by Mahākātyāyana; Udayana, Udrāyaṇa was the ruler of Roruka, Rauraka, and Mahākātyāyana was sent to him by king Bimbisāra. The *arhat* took with him five hundred monks, and the nun Śailā followed him with five hundred nuns. The king was converted, went to Rājagrha, entered the order, and met king Bimbisāra. Before leaving Roruka he had appointed as king his son Śikhaṇḍin who, under the influence of two perfidious ministers, persecuted Buddhism and went so far as to send some killers to murder his father who, meanwhile, had attained arhatship. Thus having committed parricide and being the murderer of an *arhat*, he was as a consequence bound, after his death, to fall in the depth of the Avīci hell. Accepting the advice of the two bad ministers, Śikhaṇḍin persecuted all the Buddhists, who therefore left the town with the exception of Mahākātyāyana and Śailā. One day, Śikhaṇḍin met Mahākātyāyana and saw that the *arhat* immediately turned away from him, fearing that he might be contaminated by the encounter with a parricide. The king was so angry that he ordered his own people to throw upon the holy man handfuls of earth, until he was completely smothered by it; but that heap of earth turned into a hut.

[62] Some shepherds reported the event to the two good ministers of Udrāyaṇa, Heruka and Bhiruka ⁸², and these set free the *arhat*; the latter requested them to leave the town, because in seven days' time it would be buried under a sand-storm. Thus they did, but, before leaving, Heruka handed over his son Śyāmāka to Mahākātyāyana, and Bhiruka requested the nun Śailā to take his daughter Śyāmavati to his relative Ghosīla in Kauśāmbī.

⁷⁸ Now in the Swat Museum at Saidu Sharif. The inscription is in *kharoṣṭhī*: *bodhasa sakamunisa padani*, 'foot prints of the Buddha Śakyamuni'.

⁷⁹ According to the *T'ang-shu* (Chavannes n.d., notes additionnelles, p. 129) the ancient territory of Swat began in Darel. In *Oriental Notes* I shall come back to this subject [see above, note 73 - Ed.].

⁸⁰ On which see Tucci 1958, p. 327.

⁸¹ On this fricative spelling see above, p. 39.

⁸² In the *Mm*, 17, Bhiruka and Bharuka.

Then Mahākātyāyana leaves the town buried by the sand, followed by the goddess patron of the town. In his travel Mahākātyāyana reaches Kharavana (the donkey forest); then he proceeds to Lambāka, Lampāka, Laghman⁸³ and thence to Śyāmāka (Chinese *Shē-mi*) so named because the young Śyāmāka, the son of Heruka, was elected king of that place since the local king had died. This is not the end of the journey, because Mahākātyāyana goes to Vokkāna, Wakhān, his native country, in order to convert his mother⁸⁴. A *stūpa* was built and upon it the *arhat* fixed his stick; this is the reason why the *stūpa* is called the 'stūpa of the stick'. Then from here he reaches Śrāvastī. In the Chinese translation of I-tsing the mention of Kharavana is missing and there is no trace of the country Śyāmāka, but of a 'little country'; the same translation adds that on the way back from Vokkāna, Wakhān, he had to cross 'a snow pass' and that the local gods of the northern regions requested him to give them a souvenir of his passage. He gave them a leather shoe upon which a *stūpa* was built; then he reached the Oxus, and thence he returned to Śrāvastī. As regards the two ministers, they dug a canal up to the river Sindhu. In a certain place Heruka founded a town called Herukaccha and Bhiruka founded another one, Bhirukaccha.

The Roruka-*avadāna* has been the object of many researches; from those of Sylvain Lévi in *T'oung-pao*, 2nd Series, vol. 8, 1907, p. 105, to those of Watters *ad* Hsüan-tsang, II, 287, Huber 1906, p. 335, Lüders 1940, p. 641, Lulius Van Goor, quoted in J. Nobel 1955, p. 51, n. 3, and recently of Eggermont 1975. It has been argued that Roruka is not in Central Asia (Ho lao lo kia). Now it is generally admitted that Roruka was the capital of the Sauvira, Sindhu-Sauvira, near the delta of the Indus, approximately comprising the lower part of Baluchistan and Makram⁸⁵. But let us not forget that the *avadāna* of Udāyana, Udrāyana is a part of an ancient *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (see above, p. 59) which in my opinion was composed, originally at least, in some parts of the NW [63] in or soon after the Mauryan times, either in lower Chitrāl or in Swāt. Let us now summarize the itinerary of Mahākātyāyana and Śyāmāka: Roruka (lower Indus), Kharavana (not identified)^{85a}, Lambāka (Laghman), Śyāmāka (Chitrāl)

⁸³ On Laghman, Lamghan etc. [sic].

⁸⁴ Mahākātyāyana in the Pali canon is celebrated as one of the most conspicuous disciples of the Buddha, but nowhere is there a record of his connection with the North or with the Sauvira. Many differences are also traceable between the *Divyavadāna* and the translation of I-tsing. Nobel 1955, Introduction.

⁸⁵ Eggermont 1975, pp. 147 ff.

But it must be noted that Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintamani*, IV, 22-27, places the Sauvira after the Lampakas, adding Lampakas, Muruṇḍas *syuh*: he defines them as Kumalakaḥ = *kum* = *prthivīm malayanti, kumalakaḥ*; on the other hand, Vinayacandra (quoted by the editors of the *Kavyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara (p. 248) in his *Kavyaśikṣa* – at present not accessible to me – places the Sauvira in the Uttarapatha near the Auśirah and Vākāna, Wakhān. If other sources (and there are) come to support the latter location, the problem of Roruka should be taken up again. So also *Brhatsaṃhita*, XIV, 35 (with Utpala's Comm.) mentions the *siddhasauviro rāja* with *hārahauro madreṣo anyas ca kauniṇḍa* in the North. In the *Mbh*, III, 51, 25 they are placed between Kashmir and Gandhara. Cf. Lüders 1940, p. 650.

^{85a} A place in the North mentioned by the *Candragarbhasūtra* near the Uraśa and Daradas there is *K'ia lo p'o lo*: Lévi 1905b, p. 283, proposes Kharavara: shall we think that there is a mistake in the Chinese transcription? *p'o lo* for: *p'o na* = Kharavana?

(from the name of the young Śyāmāka), Vokkāna (Wakhān) birth place of Mahākātyāyana [Ch. translation adds 'snow pass' (Hindukush), the Oxus], Śrāvastī.

The two ministers moved southwards, sailed on a river (Sindhu) and founded Bhirukaccha (Broach in Kathiawar) and Herukaccha, identified by Eggemont (1975, p. 160) with Barbaricum of the classical authors. But it might as well be Bambhore (Sindh) whose excavations were undertaken SW of Tatta in the mouth of an old channel of the Indus, about 60 miles north of Karachi and where the imposing remains of a fortified harbour have been found⁸⁶. The oldest layers of these ruins so far excavated go back to the Parthian period. The itinerary of the two ministers is of no interest to us at present. They represent a separate section of the *avadāna*, which after the identification of Roruka with the capital of the Sauvira, is contradictory, because the two of them navigated on a river downstream, from north to south. They did not go with Mahākātyāyana; they went southwards, while from Roruka the latter moved northwards. We must therefore admit that the equation Roruka-Sauvira cannot be maintained if the story of Mahākātyāyana and that of the ministers belong to the same *avadāna*. Indeed, no connection can be found between the two itineraries: that of Mahākātyāyana and that of Heruka and Bhiruka. The itinerary first led the *arhat* to Lampāka; accompanied by Śyāmāka, he went to Laghman, where Śyāmāka, who flew in the air, held on to the dress of Kātyāyana. When the local people saw him flying in that manner, they said: '*Lambate, lambate, he hangs down*'; this was the origin of the name of Lambāka, Lampāka (also Laṅkā). All this means that the local Buddhists wanted to connect the origin of their name with a marvellous event, which could warrant the antiquity of their communities, though the radical of Lampāka is Dardic; paśai: *lam*.

Mahākātyāyana went to Śyāmāka (Shē-mi in Chinese; it corresponds to Chitrāl), then to Wakhān⁸⁷.

The itinerary he followed is certainly not the shortest way to reach Śrāvastī. It is rather the story of the apostolic mission sent to the NW provinces. The story supposes that when it was introduced in the *Vinaya* of MSV, Buddhism had already penetrated in Chitrāl, if Śyāmāka – a fervent Buddhist – was offered the kingship of the country; if Shē-mi corresponds, as it seems certain, to Chitrāl, Shē-mi is connected with Śyāmāka which means that Śyāmāka was considered the eponym of the country. Hui-ch'ao (Fuchs [64] 1939, p. 447) calls Chitrāl Śāmarāja (Fuchs: or Śāmarāja)⁸⁸. Here is repeated the same pattern of the learned etymology of the name of Lampāka.

Thus, this section of the *avadāna* seems to belong to a set of *mahātmyas*, eulogies, meant to connect those NW regions with the very beginning of Buddhism.

⁸⁶ F.A. Khan, Excavations at Banbhore, *PKA* 1, 1964, pp. 49 ff.

⁸⁷ Maha-Kaccana, Kaccayana (Kaccana) is said to have established the Buddhist Law in Avanti (Malalasekera 1937, p. 469); he was born in Ujjeni, but had travelled much (when he was among the Avantis he went regularly to hear the Buddha preaching).

⁸⁸ Cf. the name of Shamelai, a ridge above Mingora in Swat.

(The story is at the same time an eulogium of the country and of the royal family. For such examples of the name of a king instead of that of the people alone cf. *Bṛhatsamhitā*, above p. 33, note 37; p. 62, note 85).

We can draw no conclusions from the name of Kapphiṇa⁸⁹ (Mahākappina in Pāli), because from his story we can only infer that he was born (see Malalasekera 1937, s.v.), in a frontier town, called Kukkuṣavati, of which he was the king; his wife had been Anojā from Sāgala (Śākala, Sialkot) in the Madda (Madra) country; then, in order to meet the Buddha and to take his vows from him, he left his country and met the master near the Candrabhāgā (Chenab).

The same story with some variants in the *Dhammapada's* commentary (Burlingame 1921, p. 101). On the other hand, according to the Sanskrit version of the *Avadānaśataka*, Kapphiṇa was a king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. He wanted to subdue six kings, that of Śrāvastī etc.; then those kings went to see the Buddha asking him for his advice; Kapphiṇa paid a visit to the Buddha who performed some miracles. Kapphiṇa was converted, became a *śrotāpanna* and, later, an *arhat*.

In the first case, he might have come from the border of Kashmir and neighbouring countries (he crossed the Chandrabhāgā, Chenab); in the second, from South India. On Kapphiṇa there is a fine poem written by the Kashmiri poet Śivasvāmin (*Kapphiṇabhyudaya*, ed. Gauri Shankar, Lahore, 1937). According to Śivasvāmin the capital of Kapphiṇa was Līlavatī on the Narmadā in the Vindhya region; among the kings with whom he had relations, Śivasvāmin mentions: Āsmaka, Niśāda, Śivi, Sauvīravarna, Ruru, Madraka. The only conclusion that we can draw from all these references is that there were two centres in which the legend of Mahākapphiṇa was elaborated: one in the south, more vague and implying great geographical difficulties concerning the itinerary followed by the king from the south to Śrāvastī; as to the second one, if we follow the Pāli tradition, his birthplace could be located in Madradeśa, capital Śākala, today Sialkot.

The final syllable of his name: *ṇa* is found in the *onomasticon* of South India, Sāyana, Bukkaṇa etc., and in Kashmir: Kalhana etc.

When the story of the travels of the Buddha in the NW and of the journey of Mahākātyāyana or Madhyāntika were introduced, Buddhism was at the height of its fortunes in those parts. Then communities did no longer appreciate the fact that in the diaspora of Buddhism they could not vie with the parts of India where the Buddha had lived, preached, transmitted the Law to his pupils, and had died. They wanted to create a nobility for themselves, to have been honoured by a visit of the Buddha himself and of some of his most famous disciples; their intention was to cancel the impression that they had been new-comers to the faith: and they found a visible document of all this in the footprints at Tirhāt and such like relics.

[65] 33. *Uddiyāna Script*

According to the 'Life of Hsüan-tsang', Uddiyāna^{89a} is taken in the meaning of 'garden' (*udyāna*); in it there was the park of the king Cakravartin, evidently Aśoka. As regards the

⁸⁹ See Petech 1950, pp. 66-67.

^{89a} The first ones to find out that the real name of Swat was not Udyana but Uddiyana were F.W. Thomas in *JRAS* 1906, p. 461, and S. Lévi 1915, pp. 105 ff. See also Tucci 1949.

language spoken in Swāt Fa-hsien writes that it was that of Central India, a mistake probably due to the fact that he used to meet chiefly monks or people coming from the plains; Hsüan-tsang, on the contrary, makes two very important statements: a) that their language was different, but similar to a certain extent to that of India and b) that the 'rules of their written language was in a rather unsettled state' (Watters 1904-5, I, p. 225). The translation of Watters is here not exact.

Similarly that of Beal: 'Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before' (Beal 1884, p. 120). I would propose 'their writing and their etiquette have to some extent scarce conformity with those of India'. That the language was different from the main dialects of India, but the same as that of Chitrāl that is to say Dardic (as it is also now from Bārheïn northwards), is testified by Hui-ch'ao travelling in 726. As regards the scripture the statement on the peculiarity of the alphabet of Swāt is confirmed by what we read in the *Lalitavistara*; this book enumerating the *lipis* (mode of writing) known by the young Bodhisattva, quotes first of all the *darada lipi*, the Dardic scripture, followed by the *khāsyalipi*^{89b} and the *cīna lipi* (Tucci 1971a [repr. in this volume - Ed.]).

All this is confirmed by the Tibetan tradition; some *gter ma* (books hidden at the time of Padmasambhava) were written in the characters and in the language of Orgyan = Uḍḍiyāna, but then the tradition survived and so-called examples of the Uḍḍiyāna language and *lipis* are found as titles of some Bon po or rñiñ ma pa books. There is also a booklet printed in Tibet which reproduces the *lipis* of many countries and among them there is that of Uḍḍiyāna. We cannot assuredly rely on it and affirm that it has faithfully reproduced the original characters used in former times in Swāt: what is important for us is that the tradition never died out. That the languages of Swāt and Chitrāl (Dardic) were identical is confirmed also by Hui-ch'ao (726) who adds that the people of Swāt and Chitrāl not only spoke the same language, but also wore the same dress.

It is not perhaps out of place to recall some coins (both in copper and in silver) of the last Hindu Śāhi king of Udabhāṇḍa and Gandhāra which are very common in Afghanistan and in the NW frontier, including Swāt. Those minted under the rule of Spalapati-deva (and, on that pattern, of some other rulers) bear on the obverse the image of [66] a king with a spear; there is on it an inscription which has been a puzzle for a long time and then has been read by Ghirshman (1948, p. 40, n. 1 and with some corrections by Macdowall 1968, p. 192): Σρ Σπαλαπατι. Such coins recall to my mind some inscriptions of the Museum of Lahore which are labelled 'inscriptions in unknown language and alphabet'.

Those inscriptions were chiefly collected by Major Deane who was not an expert, but inflamed by a great enthusiasm; he used to pay for any inscription brought to him. This liberality may have aroused the greed of some clever clerk, inducing him to submit to the Major some fakes of his own fabrication: but the clerk must have started from some basic document,

^{89b}Cf. Shiratori 1957. The Khasas are well-known, according to the *Purāṇas*, as mountain tribe, *parvataśrayiṇah*: they are listed with the Cinas among the peoples of the Pamirs (Lévi 1918, p. 118). They are the same as the Kakkha of Kashmir. Some tribes of them about the 10th-11th centuries migrated eastwards, and conquered a great part of Western Tibet and Western Nepal, as I think to have shown in Tucci 1956b. About them, and the correspondence between Khasa and Kashmiri Kakkha see Stein 1961, vol. I, 1st book, p. 47, n. 317. See below, p. 82.

leaving to his fantasy new modulations. When I saw the inscriptions I had the impression that there is a certain variety among them. I took some rubbings, which are now under examination. Inscriptions in what is called Tocharian (or late Kuṣāṇa) are known from Tochi along with another bilingual inscription in Arabic and Sanskrit published by Harmatta 1966, I, pp. 449 ff.; Id. 1969, p. 208; Dani, Humbach, Göbl 1964⁹⁰; Mukherjee 1973, pp. 56 ff.

When the news of the discovery of these inscriptions reached the orientalist they roused a great interest; they took them all for good ones^{90a}; the general view was that they should have been connected with the Turkish rulers of Afghanistan. I am very sceptical about this solution, I hope that the comparison of them with the mason marks written on the back of many architectural pieces found in Butkara may give some useful hint to the solution of the problem. They will be the object of another article, 'Oriental Notes' [see above, note 73 – Ed.].

In such a note the mason marks will be alphabetically arranged (as they are written on the stone); any deviation from the usual ductus will be reproduced, side by side, in order to facilitate the comparison. Photo of the inscriptions not yet deciphered and scattered in different museums of Pakistan will also be published.

[67] One point seems certain to me, i.e. that according to Hsüan-tsang the alphabet of Swāt is not completely different (nor was the language) from that used in India but scarcely conform to it; therefore we may perhaps exclude the cursive Greek alphabet used by the late Kuṣāṇa or the Ephthalites^{90b}; we must understand his words as if Hsüan-tsang wanted to say that such an alphabet contained certain peculiarities not to be found in the Indian scripture: if it had been completely different as it was in Jaguḍa, he would certainly have said it, as he did when speaking of Jaguḍa (Watters 1904-5, II, p. 284). It is more probable that it contained variations

⁹⁰ Deane H.A., 'Note on Udyana and Gandhara', *JRAS* 1896.

On the inscriptions found in Swat by Col. Deane, see Sénart 1894, p. 333 and Lévi-Chavannes 1895, pp. 341 ff. The latter authors seem inclined to accept the thesis of V. Thomsen (*Bulletin Acad. Royale Sciences et Lettres de Danemark* 1893, pp. 285-299; *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, V fasc., 1894) who finds that more than twelve characters are similar to some letters of the Orkhon inscriptions. At that time prince Kül-Teghin who died in 731 was the ruler of Afghanistan; I am afraid that such a hypothesis can hardly be endorsed.

^{90a} Now see the inscriptions found in Afghanistan (Fussman 1974, pp. 8 ff.).

Nor should we forget the inscription published by me (Tucci 1970b, pp. 103-104) [in this volume – Ed.], after the reading of Prof. Raniero Gnoli: it refers to a king Vijayapāladeva and mentions the construction of a *maṭha* in Marmalika. The most important information which it supplies is that the king was *kirata-pakṣabhimukha*, 'siding with the Kirata'. Kirata as known indicates tribes of hunters or marauders, warriors outside the pale of orthodoxy.

They are not only located in the East but chiefly in West and North-West along with the Dāradas, Kambojas, Cīnas, Sakas, Yavanas etc. (*Manu*, X, 44). Sometimes they are said to be degenerated *ksatriyas*. Considering the possible datation of the inscription 8th-9th century, one may think of the Tibetans or of the Arab conquests by Fadal b. Sahal 814-815 who subdued the Kabul Shah, and went up to Tibet and Bolor (Ghafoor in *AP* 1965-66, pp. 6 ff.). On the Kiratas see Rönnow, *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. XXIX, 1935; S.K. Chatterjee in *JASB* 1951. I hope to come back to this inscription in a future note.

^{90b} In Jaguḍa inscriptions in cursive Greek have been found.

of *kharoṣṭhī*, as DN III of Fussman (1974, pp. 22 ff.). A solution may be proposed, I insist, after the reading of all the mason marks of Swāt.

VII. HISTORICAL PROBLEMS

34. *The Decay of Buddhism*

It is not easy to explain the decrease of monasteries after Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.) (1400 monasteries) and the fact that at the times of Hsüan-tsang (he travels from 629 to 645) many of them were in ruins, and monks were no longer interested in study and meditation but specially inclined to Tantric practices. Sung Yün (he travels from 518 to 523) speaks in high terms of the Buddhist community and does not anticipate the different statements of Hsüan-tsang. 1400 monasteries imply not only a widespread devotion, but also great wealth necessary for their maintenance.

Most probably Swāt (or its petty chiefs) had been a tributary of the Kuṣāṇa: nevertheless under the Kuṣāṇa period Uḍḍiyāna reached the apex of its culture and wealth⁹¹; the best testimonials of such a welfare are the *stūpas*, the monasteries then built, the ability of the craftsmen and artists, masons and sculptors, or the learning of his monks too: famous monks and artisans were invited to China. There were also in Swāt occasional local mints^{91a}.

The Sasanians had passed there before Sung Yün, and perhaps took control of Swāt for a certain period; the Ephthalites followed and might have caused other damages^{91b}; Buddhism was still prosperous at the times of Sung Yün; something had, then, happened between the visit of Sung Yün and that of Hsüan-tsang. I suppose the cause may be attributed [68] to natural calamities and social unrest: earthquakes and floods documented by the excavations, at Butkara and elsewhere, greatly impoverished the country, then the decrease of trade with the plains and with Central Asia, *via* Gilgit, the probable attempts by the Turki Śāhis to control Swāt, a fact which was realized in the year 747, the division of the country among different petty vassal chiefs.

In spite of his praises for the piety of the Swāti monks, their inborn inclination to magic is confirmed also by Sung Yün; but it had increased at the time of Hsüan-tsang, who, as I said, does not seem to have a high opinion of the monks of Uḍḍiyāna. Sung Yün speaks of their austerity. But their inborn inclination to magic was well-known long since in Tashkurgan (Han-p'an- t'o); when a brahman was killed by a *nāga*, whose abode was in a lake on the border of which the brahman was resting, the king left his kingdom into the hands of his son and went to Uḍḍiyāna in order to learn magic incantations (Sung Yün, p. 399).

⁹¹ The *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, confirms the prosperous economical conditions of the country, the forests, the cultivation of fruits, the irrigation of the fields, the production of rice and wheat. The people are devoted to the Buddha; there are many gorgeous temples and *stūpas*.

^{91a} In case of shortage, subsidiary coinage was occasionally tolerated (see Göbl 1976).

^{91b} I believe that the ravages attributed to the Ephthalites have been somehow exaggerated. Another problem to be deeply investigated.

Down to the later general decay of Buddhism, except for the unique image of a goddess (Tucci 1963b) and even an image of Śiva, there are not many traces of a great diffusion of Hinduism in Swāt ⁹², a fact confirmed by the Chinese travellers; Hsüan-tsang speaks of ten *deva* (Hindu) temples ⁹³, but a very important Śaiva school, the *Kramasampradāya*, was originated or had some of its most famous authors in Swāt (Tucci 1958, p. 283). It is to be noted that one of the first revealers of this school was *Khagendra* 'the lord of those flying in the air', the Śaiva match of the *ḍāka*, masculine form of the *ḍākinis* ⁹⁴.

35. Diffusion of Vajrayāna, and Revival of Aboriginal Cuts

The country seems to be then dominated by Vajrayāna, opening the way to the revival of the aboriginal, cruel presences and of the magic rituals for which Swāt had been famous from its origin.

Traditional Buddhism in the end could not satisfy the aspirations of the people any more; the *Guhyasamājantra* is attributed to Indrabhūti, king of Swāt; many Tantric books were recovered – so the tradition goes – by Vajrapāṇi who handed them over to the *nāgas*; Indrabhūti wrote them down, changing the *nāgas* either in 'heroes', *dpa' bo* (*vīra*) ⁹⁵, or in flying entities, *mk'a' agro ma* (*ḍākini*) (Tucci 1949, I, 121, 212).

[69] Uḍḍiyāna was therefore considered one of the most famous Tantric places in India: it is one of the *pīthas*, holy centres of Tantrism, the *Uḍḍiyānapītha* and it turned into a kind of Mecca for the Tibetans, as the birthplace of Padmasambhava, and the home of the *ḍākinis* ⁹⁶ (in Tibetan: *mk'a' agro ma*, 'sky-flying'). Though possessing great powers they are said to be, as a rule, the retinue of most important gods. They are ambivalent, good or mischievous, according as they are suitably worshipped or offended. The monks, assailed by the same impact of the aboriginal beliefs and practices, embraced Vajrayāna; in it the old aboriginal, sometimes humble village deities, were accepted as symbols of some esoteric truths of Vajrayāna: eroticism penetrated into it. Each god embracing his own *paredra*, ancient godlings of which we often find the parallel in the religious tradition of the Kāfirs, in the popular religion of Tibet (Tucci

⁹² In the inscription of *paramabhaṭṭarakamaharajadhiraja parameśvara śrī jayadevapala* found at Barikot, mention is made of some foundation (temple, statue ?), but the inscription is so badly damaged that we cannot say whether it refers to some Buddhist or Śaiva monument. I am inclined to accept the latter view.

Among the statues found in Butkara there is none which recalls Tantric iconography, with the exception of the fragment of a door-jamb that represents a deity with six arms; but it belongs to the 1st-2nd century A.D. and, as shown by Prof. Taddei, it has been most probably inspired by Palmyrean iconographic models (Taddei 1966).

⁹³ But see *Pei-shih* quoted above, p. 58, note 72.

⁹⁴ This shows that the rulers were equally tolerant towards Buddhism and Hinduism.

⁹⁵ On the *dPa' bo* see P.A. Berglie, 'Preliminary Remarks on Some Tibetan «Spirit Medium» in Nepal', *Kailash*, vol. IV, 1976, p. 85, n. 1.

⁹⁶ *ḍākini*, according to Tantric schools, from the root: *dai*, to fly (*Caḥrasamvara*, fol. 2, b: *ḍākinya akaśagaminyāḥ: vaihayasyam, gatau ḍiyanta iti arthaḥ. Lakṣabhidhanatantratika*, fol. IV: *ḍai vaihayasa gamanam iti dhatupatha*) (Tucci 1971b, I, p. 226. Cf. W. Wüst 1957, pp. 28 ff.).

1970, p. 230), among the Shinas, in Dardistan – though not escaping the influence of some Buddhist implication – made once more of Swāt the country of the fairies, the witches, and the wizards that are still surviving under different names as far as Gilgit (the ambiguous *peri*, and *daiyāl*). The ill-disposed *ḍākini* became the ‘flying *rui*’^{96a}, capable of hurting men at the dead of night. They leave their bed, not with their material body, but with their ‘subtle’ or astral body, and fly capriciously; many of them may be very dangerous to any one who meets them. I assisted to a trance of one of these *ruis* and *hapīḍei* which I described elsewhere (Tucci 1973, p. 155, note). We could also go further.

Our knowledge of the folk religion of the Kāfirs and some of their neighbours untouched by Buddhism, or having had scarce contacts with Buddhism, makes me believe that the fairies, the *peri* and the *daiyāl* are not a survival of the *ḍākinis*, or of the *ḍākas*; they are rather the same primeval religious entities, the ambiguous powers chiefly, but not only, female whom Buddhism accepted in its Tantric esoterism as *ḍākinis*; Vajrayāna codified them within the frame of the Buddhist gnosis and when it disappeared, then their resurrection took place. They were, in fact, so deeply rooted since times immemorial in the mind of the people that not even sunnite Islam succeeded in eliminating them: they survived in the *ruis* or the *hapīḍeis* or the *daiyāls* and in the more dignified but equally ambiguous *peris*⁹⁷.

36. Swāt a Place of Pilgrimage for Tibetans

In spite of this situation well documented by literary tradition it is a fact that during the excavation no image or symbol belonging to Vajrayāna schools has so far been discovered in Swāt.

In the 10th century Swāt was plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni and then by his successors. [70] They inflicted a great blow on Buddhism and Hinduism. But its fame as a sacred place induced some Tibetan pilgrims to a long and dangerous voyage.

It was the attraction of meeting the *ḍākinis* that persuaded a Tibetan *siddha* of the 13th century (and others after him) to leave his country and to undertake a perilous journey to Swāt.

The Tibetan *sādhu* Orgyan pa (1230-1293) says that he met a *yogini* and accepted some water from her; then the earth began to quake; he states that the most important *ḍākinis* of Uḍdiyāna were Sonī, Gasurī, Matangī, Tasasī and adds that Sonī corresponds to the *ḍākini* that in Tibet is known as ṅGro bzañ. The women of Orgyan know ‘how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood, and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength’, (Tucci 1971b, II, p. 399 [in this volume – *Ed.*]), just what is said also today of some *ruis*. Relating the story of Lāvapā, (Kambala-pā), the Tibetan pilgrim writes that, by his magic power, that ascetic had changed all women into sheep; he was then requested by the male population to let the women assume their former aspect: he

^{96a}Cf. Kalasha *r’uzi*, ‘witch’: Morgenstierne 1973 (*IIFL*), vol. IV, p. 158.

⁹⁷ See Lorimer. ‘The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region’, *JRAS*, N.S., vol. LXI, 1929, p. 507.

accepted, provided they promised to adopt a different attire; women should wear their shoes upon their head ⁹⁸, insert a ring in the nose, use a girdle in the shape of a snake (*ibidem*). Is that a remembrance of the fact that the newcomers, Turki or other peoples, forced the women folk to change their way of dressing?

The centre of Orgyan was, at that time, Dhu ma t'a la (cf. the greatest Buddhist settlement of Uḍḍiyāna called by the Chinese T'a lo, T'o lo; see p. 19, note 19).

At the time of Orgyan pa, Swāt was under the Hor, literally Mongols, but with such a term Orgyan pa indicates also the Muslims.

While at the time of Orgyan pa it seems that small Buddhist or Hindu islands still survived, all traces of them had disappeared at the times of sTag Ts'an ras pa (first half of the seventeenth century).

During the invasions by the Ghaznavides and their successors many inhabitants of Swāt fled to Hazara (so the tradition goes); others were converted to Islam.

37. Swāt and Gilgit

When things began to be worse and the country continued to grow impoverished, under the threat of the Arab and then of the Tibetan incursions, the village magician and the belief in fairies and witches took the upperhand; it seems likely that some monks left Swāt, went away and took shelter in other places which afforded better prospects or commodities. Gilgit was near: they might have gone there and also farther, to Central Asia, to Kashmir, to China, to Baltistan, where Buddhists had since long penetrated and people, according to Hui-ch'ao, were prevalently Buddhist.

Gilgit was one of the doors which opened to Swāt the Northern routes. It had already [71] accepted Buddhism. Manuscripts of the 6th-8th centuries have been discovered ⁹⁹ there; I refer chiefly to those which were saved by Sir Aurel Stein, a very important part of a perhaps complete *Tripitaka* hidden in a *stūpa*, which local people had demolished.

Prof. N.P. Chakravarti studied the paleography of the colophon of a fragment of the *Vajracchedikā* discovered along with the *Sanḅhabhedavastu* and published in: Tucci 1956a, pp. 175 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was written in 5th century A.D. Not all the manuscripts found in Gilgit belong to the same age: they go from the 6th up to the 8th century A.D. In the colophons of some MSS. there are written the names of a king and of the donors and also of the copyist. One king was Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda (Cf. Dutt 1939-1959, I, p. 32) along with his wife Śāmidevi ¹⁰⁰ Trailokyadevi Bhaṭṭārikā. The scribes were

⁹⁸ Some head-covers and ornaments of Kafiri women may appear with some imagination as having the shape of an inverted shoe.

⁹⁹ We have some few but precious documents of Buddhist paintings from Gilgit: see P. Banerji, 'Painted Wooden Covers of two Gilgit Manuscripts', *OAr*, N.S., XIV, 2, 1968.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps to compare with Śyamaka, the dynastic name of the ruling family of Chitral: on Śyamavati see above, p. 62 and the story of Śyama, located in Puṣkalavati, in Lamotte 1958, p. 366.

Ārya Sthirabuddhi and Narendradatta, who might be the same as Mahābhāṣaka Narendradatta, who copied the *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa* (Dutt 1939).

On another MS. there is the name Paṭoladeva Śāhi Vajrāditya Nandin. The name of another Paṭoladeva is found in an inscription incised on a rock near Hunza, celebrating the foundation of a town: *Makarapura*, by a chief of a district (called *Haṇesarā*, Hunza) and a *Mahāgajapati* of Paṭoladeva Śrīdeva Surendrāditya. Dr. Chakravarti states that this inscription is not later than the 7th century A.D. or even earlier. A MS. found by M.S. Kaul in 1938, later than the MSS. of the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Vinaya* texts, records Śāhi Śāhanuśāhi Paṭoladeva.

The Hatun village, in which the above mentioned inscription was found, is situated about three miles from Gilgit in Punyal, on the right bank of the Ishkuman river.

We cannot know for certain whether the name is Buddhist or not; rather, it looks like as a Hindu name on account of the reference to Surendrādityanandideva, his lineage descending from Bhagadattavaṃśa. On Makaradeva and Makara as an epithet of Śiva see: Tucci 1963b, p. 170.

Chakravarti comparing the characters of the Hatun inscription with those of the MSS. comes to the conclusion that we know of two kings named Paṭola¹⁰¹ (the one recorded in the MS. of M.S. Kaul and of whom we do not know the full name); Nandi may be Viṣṇu or Śiva; Śiva is also called Nandideva, Nandiśvara after the name of the bull Nandin, his vehicle. But the so often recurring Aditya may also point to devotees of the Sun.

Therefore, we here have valid documents in Sanskrit which testify to the existence of two dynasties ruling in Gilgit, called at that time Gilagitta.

In Gilgit (in the Hatun inscription Gilagitta, in the Scythian itinerary Giḍagitti, in Chinese 'Little P'u-lü') people speak Shina, a Dardic dialect, but their kings in their [72] inscriptions used Sanskrit names, as did the Mallas who ruled over Western Tibet and Western Nepal¹⁰², tolerant towards Buddhism as well as Hinduism.

I think it is useful to add here a table of the results of the researches of Dr. Chakravarti and of the conclusions which he reached in: Tucci 1956a, pp. 175 ff. and in *EI XXX*, 1958, p. 226-231.

- 1 Paramabhāṭṭaraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara
Paṭoladeva – Śāhi – Śrī Nava Sur[e]ndrāditya Nandideva
(*EI XXX*, p. 229; 7th century or even before, according to Chakravarti).
- 2 MS. of *Mahāmāyūrī* found by Mr. Kaul: Paṭolaśāhi Śāhanuśāhi Śrī Nava-Surendrādityanandideva, identical with that of n. 1; the name of the queen was Anaṅgadevī (*EI XXX*, p. 229).
- 3 Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda
wife: Śāmidevī Trailokyadevibhāṭṭarika (Dutt 1939, Intr., p. 40; *EI XXX*, p. 229; but

¹⁰¹ Palola is the name of a Dardic tribe: Morgenstierne 1973 (*ID*), p. 242, note 2.

¹⁰² Tucci 1956a, *passim*.

according to Chakravarti no connection with the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, earlier than the MS. of *Mahāmāyūrī*: EI XXX, 229).

- 4 Paṭoladeva Śāhi Vajrādityanandi (on a loose leaf) not identical with n. 1 (Chakravarti calls him Paṭoladeva III).

All these names can be divided into the following groups:

- Nava Surendrāditya Nandi (Paṭola)
- Nava Surendrādityanandi deva (Paṭola)
- Surendra Vikramāditya Nandi
- Vajrādityanandi (Paṭola)

and into the following three onomastic designations: *Surendrāditya*, *Vikramāditya*, *Vajrāditya*.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of those Gilgit rulers because in some of these documents the *laukika* era is employed, and the fundamental element for chronological determination can only be based upon paleographical criteria which are always relative. We shall see that the Chinese sources may contribute to establish the date of some of them.

According to the Chinese sources, besides Gilgit, 'Little P'u-lü', there was a Great P'u-lü where Buddhism prevailed. Hui-ch'ao (Fuchs 1939, p. 443; Haneda 1957, p. 618) writes that to the north of Kashmir there are the Great P'u-lü, Yang t'ung and So-po-tz'u^{102a}. They are all subject to the Tibetans: the above-mentioned three countries differ in dress, language and customs. There are in them temples and monks while the king and the people of Tibet do not embrace Buddhism.

This information of Hui-ch'ao is precious. There is only one point on which he seems to be mistaken; I mean what he writes about the Yang-t'ung whom he claims to be Buddhist. If Pelliot and myself are right in considering Yang-t'ung a part of Žan Žun, [73] as the Suvarṇagotra, or the women's kingdom, they were at that time preeminently Bonpo, not Buddhists¹⁰³. But in Gilgit and in Baltistan and probably, in a lesser degree, in Ladakh there were Buddhists¹⁰⁴, though the fact that in Žan Žun there were Bonpo does not exclude the possibility of temples and priests of this religion also^{104a}.

Here we must recall what we have already said about the expansion of the tribes speaking Dardic dialects (or dialects influenced by Dardic) up to the boundaries of Tibet, or better the

^{102a} Fuchs wrongly: Nepal.

¹⁰³ Pelliot 1959-1973, II, pp. 671 ff.; Tucci 1956b, pp. 92 ff.

¹⁰⁴ The presence of Buddhist monasteries on the route to and from Gilgit is confirmed by the Saka itinerary (Bailey 1936, p. 255); after seven days from a town Śaradugi, which Morgenstierne reads Śarakugi and identifies, rightly, I think, with Sarikol (Morgenstierne 1942, p. 269), one reaches a town called Icahanagari in which there are three *saṅgharamas*; other three *saṅgharamas* are near the 'Golden River' (Indus), in a place called Syadim. Near the bridge, in proximity of river Sind (Indus), four *saṅgharamas*; four stone *saṅgharamas* in Gidagitti (Gilgit); no mention of *saṅgharamas* in Śilathasa, Sīdathasi, Sīdatasi, Chilas.

^{104a} In Lamayuru I collected some old Bonpo manuscripts and the monks of that monastery told me that formerly Lamayuru was a Bon centre.

boundaries of Žaň Žuň conquered by the Tibetans in the years 620-649. In Ladakh, tombs similar to those found in Swat have been discovered (Tucci 1973, pp. 51 ff.).

Dardic dialects were spoken also in the Maknopa part of Ladakh, Hanu, Da, Kalatze down to 1931, at least when Dainelli first went there, and where I followed him a few years later.

We do not know the ancient name of Ladakh; when first mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, it is called *Mo lo so* (*Muat lá sā*) which Francke (*JRAS* 1908, p. 189) interpreted as *Mar sa* 'the low land'. Pelliot 1959-73, II, p. 706-707, proposed *Mra-sa*, *Mar sa*, *Marāsa*. All such hypotheses have a weak point: they suppose that the name transcribed by Hsüan-tsang is a transcription of a Tibetan name ^{104b}. But another hypothesis is possible: we have seen that *so* sometimes is wrongly written for *po*; thus we cannot exclude an original reading *mo lo p'o*, *mā la va* instead of *mo lo so*. We know from the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XIV, 27, that in the North there are the Mālava and the Mādraka. Equally the *Dharmavibhāṣā* (quoted by Lévi 1905b) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Lévi 1918, p. 125), mention Mālava, an Himalayan people. Since the Tibetan dynasty had not yet conquered Ladakh it is useless to search for a Tibetan original at the basis of '*Moloso*', '*Molop'o*'.

According to Hsüan-tsang the country was also known under another name, *San po ho* (*Sām puā ka* * *Sampāka*) (said to be to the west of Žaň Žuň); shall we therefore deduce that Ladakh was divided into two parts: *Mo lo so* (or *p'o*) to the west, *San po ho*, * *Sampāka* to the East? Further researches are needed to clarify this point.

In Dras, three days march after crossing the Zojila ^{104c}, just to the left [74] of the track to Leh, I saw in 1930 two stelae, the first one higher and the other one lower, representing Lokeśvara and Maitreya. Both bear inscriptions which were reproduced by Cunningham 1848, pp. 119-120; Id. 1854, pp. 381-382, pls. XXIX, XXX; Francke 1907, pl. facing p. 52, fig. 1; Biasutti-Dainelli 1925, vol. IX, p. 77 and pl. XVII. The inscriptions, as reproduced by Cunningham, must have been copied by an illiterate pandit, and are hardly legible. The transcription made by the same pandit is meaningless for the most part: the only words which seem to be certain are *lokeśvara* [*ma?*]*maitreya pratiṣṭhāpuṇyena bhavatu*. I had rubbings made of them, but they were lost when the pony that carried them, stored in a box, fell into the river. Anyhow, these inscriptions confirm what Hui-ch'ao writes.

But by the time of Hsüan-tsang the Tibetans had only reduced under control Žaň Žuň (the women's kingdom, Suvarṇagotra) and we have to wait for the dissolution of the Tibetan dynasty (after 842) for the beginning of the conquest of Ladakh by the Tibetans. Up to the time

^{104b} In the Žaň Žuň language, *mar*, *mar zi*, *mar ti* means gold (some Žaň Žuň words may be compared with those of Lahul), but the problem is: how far did the Žaň Žuň people extend westwards of Western Tibet? (Stein R.A., 'La langue žaň žuň du Bon organisé', *BEFEO* 1971, p. 244). This problem has been discussed anew by Prof. Petech 1977. But this part of Baltistan and Ladakh and Western Tibet need a deep investigation: chiefly as regards the ethnic groups and their boundaries or succession: who were and which were the boundaries of the So-po-tzu of Hui-ch'ao or the skal-Mon and the Mon or the K'ri-te, or the Ki-li-to or the inhabitants of Guge? Only a careful study of the dialects, of the toponomy of places, mountains and rivers and excavations can contribute to a solution of these problems.

^{104c} The Tibetans interpret the name as *bdud bži la*, 'the pass of the four devils', on account of the dangers one is likely to meet in crossing it. But evidently it is a learned etymology proposed by some Lama.

of the establishment of the royal dynasty, there is no reason to suppose that those people spoke Tibetan: some tribes might have already been converted to Buddhism through Dardistan or Kashmir, perhaps on account of the geographical proximity; their language and culture might also have been influenced in the western or north-western parts by that of Žaň Žuň, but Dardic must have predominated.

38. Kings of Dardistan

Most probably Hinduism spread in the course of time along with Buddhism. The religious situation of Ladakh is unknown until after the conquest by a scion of the Tibetan dynasty. Buddhism then widely spread. Kalhaṇa records many Dard princes who often tried to invade the Kashmir territory, and who bear a Sanskrit name. Under Ananta (1028-1063) it was Acalamaṅgala with seven Mleccha princes; here Mleccha means Muslim and it therefore shows that some understanding had already been established between Daradas and Muslims, and perhaps that the conversion to Islam had already begun to invade the country. Acalamaṅgala was killed in battle. Under Harṣa (1089-1111) the Daradas attempted a new incursion and were successful in the beginning; no name is given of their chief. In the times of Uccala (1101-1111) the Dard king Jagaddala went in aid of a rebellious party. King Sujjala (1112-20) went to meet Mañdhara, ruler of the Daradas; when Jayasiṃha ruled in Kashmir (1128-49), a Darada prince was called to lend assistance to the underhand plotting of a minister. Later, the Daradas are called by Kalhaṇa 'Mlecchas', which means that in the meantime they or their rulers had been for the most part converted to Islam. 'Islam had already made great progress in the twelfth century' (Stein 1961, Vol. II, p. 217, note). If the names of the above-mentioned Dard rulers are Hindus, this does not imply that Buddhism had been altogether forgotten.

[75] The information on Swät, found in the records of the Chinese pilgrims is confirmed and completed by that supplied by the *T'ang Shu* (Chavannes n.d., p. 128). It is said that there were five major towns ¹⁰⁵. There had been missions from Uḍḍiyāna to China in the years 502, 511, 518, 521 (Lévi-Chavannes 1895, p. 348, note). In the year 642 king Ta-mo-yin-t'o-ho-szu sent camphor to the emperor of China and in exchange he received the imperial seal of investiture.

In the year 665 ambassadors from Uḍḍiyāna went to the Imperial Court. Later, Uḍḍiyāna was, although indirectly, involved in the fights against the Arabs who had penetrated into the Pamirs (Chavannes n.d., p. 129, n. 2); the Chinese did not intervene at the moment, but in the

¹⁰⁵It is difficult to identify them all because their importance may have changed in the course of time. Mêng-chieh-li is certainly Mingora (not Mangalaor, as I have proven in the Report 1958); another town certainly was Uḍegram with its imposing castle (its ruins are called now Rajgira); a third one might have been Aligrama. On the right side of the river there are some very large archaeological sites, which testify to the former existence of large urban centers, e.g. Tutano Bandai, Dangarkot, Shahdheri and Tangai near the Shor Khwar. Graveyards were found in Tutano Bandai and Dangarkot; in Tucci 1958, p. 327, note 24 [in this volume - *Ed.*], I think to have identified some places of importance: in that note (second column) the passage 'Another point... solve this problem' must be cancelled.

year 720 they sent some ambassadors to confer upon the king of Uḍḍiyāna and other neighbouring states the investiture, as a reward for having opposed the Arabs ¹⁰⁶ (*ibid.*, p. 292).

In the year 745, China conferred upon the king of Ki-pin the investiture of King of 'Ki-pin and Uḍḍiyāna', and in about 758 the king of Ki-pin sent tributes to China (*ibid.*, p. 132 and note) which means that Swāt had lost its independence to Kapiśa (*ibid.*, pp. 213-214, 295). We do not know why, but it is possible that, in the troubled situation of the Pamir states, when China and Tibet collided, Swāt might have sided with the Tibetans, who were at its very borders ^{106a}.

39. Swāt Between China and Tibet

The eighth century was rich in events in the Gilgit (Chinese: Little P'u-lü), Baltistan (Chinese: Great P'u-lü) and Pamir area, and consequently also in Swāt, on account of the expansion of the Tibetans who aimed at the conquest of the 'four garrisons' of Central Asia, while the Arab incursions represented for the Chinese another impending danger. China aimed at the control of Gilgit, which had a great strategical importance, since it was the meeting [76] point of the roads and the tracks joining India to Central Asia via Kunar to the west, Guráis or Chilas, Astor, Bunji to the east. The Chinese, through diplomacy and military actions, tried to check the Tibetan expansion, relying on the ability of a famous general, Kao Hsien-chih; but after his defeat by the Quarluq in 751 the situation changed. The Tibetans did not give up their programme of expansion. They moreover went so far as to occupy, even if for a short time, Ch'ang-an, the Imperial capital. In the treaty of 783 the Chinese acknowledged the Tibetan rule over the Central Asian regions they had conquered, including also the Tarim-basin.

The mention of the Great P'u-lü (Chavannes n.d., pp. 149-150), contained in the *T'ang shu*, is very concise; after having said that it was subject to the Tibetans, it adds that it had thrice sent ambassadors to China in the year 696, down to the period of K'ai-yuen, 713-741; it mentions its two kings.

These kings are: Su-fu-shê-li-chih-li-ni and his son, Su-lin-t'o-i-chih. Chavannes suggests (with a query) for the latter name an original Surendrāditya (which philologically is rather difficult); the Chinese seems to be based upon a Prakrit original * Surendaicca(ε). In the list of the kings of Gilgit we have met two Surendrāditya of the Paṭola dynasty. One of them died in 720.

But from Hui-ch'ao passing in those parts about 726, we gather a very important information; the Great P'u-lü was the original seat of the king of Little P'u-lü; [being afraid of the Tibetans?] the above said king left 'Great P'u-lü' and retired to Gilgit. This king may quite

¹⁰⁶The name of this king is: Ta-mo-yin-t'o-ho-szu *d'at muā iēn d'ā xā siē. Perhaps the first four characters may transcribe a Prakrit Dhammenda (for Dharmendra); as to xā siē one may suppose 'hāsa', joy, smile. But a name Dharmendrahāsa is hardly possible.

^{106a} I think it is interesting to add that some years ago I was shown, by Prince Aurangzeb of Swat, a silver bullion with a Chinese date on it, corresponding, if I remember well, to 1903. It had been given him by the Nabab of Hunza. This shows that occasional exchanges of tributes and gifts between China and Hunza had been going on up to that year.

well be Surendaicca. But those who followed his example were not many. *The upper classes and the commoners preferred to remain at home.*

After the death of Mo-chin-mang who succeeded him and that of his sons, the rulership passed over to Su-shih-li-chi, * Swo siēt (*Mm*: śi) lji't's'i, who changed the politics of Mo-chin-mang and sided with the Tibetans.

Concerning the capital of Great P'u-lü we know from Hui-ch'ao that it was in what once was Great P'u-lü; it is logical to think that there being no news of any internal rebellion or any warlike intervention of the Tibetans, the capital of the dynasty of Great P'u-lü remained in the same place as before, i.e. Ye-t'o near the river So-i; Ye-t'o is called Ye-ho by Wu k'ung; Ye t'o is * ngiät t'a (in *Mm*: ye = ga) which may be: * Gar ta, sKardo; the river Soi = * sâ i.

Near the capital there was another big town called Kia-pu-lo, certainly Kapalu¹⁰⁷ of today. The king Mo-chin-mang, in the period K'ai-yuen (713-741), sent ambassadors to the court. As I said above, there seems to have occurred in Little P'u-lü a change of dynasty with Mo-chin-mang. If so, the event happened after 720 and before the end of period K'ai-yuen (741), because as Chavannes rightly suggests, the above-mentioned Su-fu-shê-li-chih-li-ni was alive in 719, but died in 720; in this very year, his son Su-lin-t'o-i-chih [77] was given the royal investiture (Chavannes n.d., notes additionnelles, p. 44, note 1).

As regards Kia-pu-lo = Kapalu, I suppose that we must correct 'it is on top of the mountain to its west' (is west here a mistake for east?). On the confusion between east and west in this very context see Chavannes n.d., p. 150, n. 1, 2.

The distance of the place, 500 li from Wakhân and 500 li from Kashmir, indicates that it was the very middle of the route.

In the sixteenth century Kapalu was the chief town from which 'Alî Mir Şhir Khan started for his subjection of Baltistan after which he founded or better rebuilt Skardo (Barthold in *Êi*, s.v. Tibet, p. 781).

I realize that the identification of *ngiät t'a, *ga ta with Skardo presents some phonetical difficulties, but we do not know which was the original spelling of the name of that town Tibetanised by the Tibetans as Skardo; nor can we state that the Chinese transcription refers to a Tibetan original; I suppose that it was based on a name which was no Tibetan but Balti or Dardic. Anyhow about the fact that an important source like the '*Story of the Li Kingdom*' refers often to Skardo as a capital there seems to be no doubt.

This book has been studied and translated by F. W. Thomas (*TLT*, 1935-1963). From it we know its most important events; we learn that a Vijayavarman was king of Skardo, after the defeat inflicted on the Tibetans by the Chinese; that expedition of the Chinese barred the approach of the Tibetans to the Pamirs (Thomas, *ibid.*, I, p. 161); there was a direct communication between Skardo and Gilgit via Nagar (*ibid.*, I, p. 154); besides the other marauders in the route

¹⁰⁷* kia pu lâ.

In Kapalu crops were abundant on the alluvial soil; but it was later ravaged because the Shayok river changed its course (Dainelli 1924, p. 149).

The above-quoted authors remarked that Kapalu has all the requirements to become a great centre: farming is very extensive, and it is even now the chief populated centre of the whole region.

Skardo-Chinese Turkestan, the robbers of Hunza were specially dangerous (*ibid.*, I, pp. 155-156). The same text speaks of the realm and even of the realms of Skardo (*ibid.*, I, pp. 191-192). Another story tells how Vimalaprabhā, in a former life, expressed the intense desire to be reborn as daughter of the king of Skardo (*ibid.*, I, p. 199). Buddhist books were sent to Skardo ¹⁰⁸ (*ibid.*, I, p. 255). Thus it is ascertained by these and other facts also that Skardo was for some time the capital of Baltistan and a Buddhist centre of a relevant importance. The information of Hui-ch'ao is thus fully confirmed and implicitly also the importance of the roads directly connecting Baltistan or the Tibetans who had occupied it, with Central Asia. Thus the necessity of controlling also the Kunar route far away from their bases is much reduced for the Tibetans.

The identification of Kapalu and Katsura, Kasara, Katsara confirms that of the localization of Skardo. Katsara (see below, p. 79, note 110) is only half a day's march from Skardo. At Kapalu, Kapallu three paths join: one to Skardo, five marches; one to Shigar, four marches; another one to Leh. We find peculiar names between Shigar and Kapalu: Kasurmik, Thalle, Kuru, Olmoik, Barangus.

While discussing the problem of Kipin (see on Kipin the study of Petech 1950, p. 63) [78] Lévi and Chavannes (1895, p. 377) suppose that the upper part of the Kābul river ran in another country than Gandhāra and think that it was P'u-lü bordering West Uddiyāna and they identify Kia-pu-lo with Kābul; but such a proposal seems hardly acceptable.

There were then a pro-Tibetan party in Dardistan and a pro-Chinese party in Gilgit. The leadership of the family of Gilgit (of Surendaicca) came soon to an end. This seems clear if we read the names of the new rulers of Gilgit: Mo-chin-mang, * muət - kjən - mâng and Mo-lai-hsi, * Ma-lâi-yiei: therefore quite different types of names.

A few of these names show a partial similarities with the ending syllables of certain names found in the MSS. of Gilgit.

Su fu chi li chieh li ni

*Suo p'uət sia lji ts'ie lje nji ¹⁰⁹

su put śa, sa li, ri ci ri ni

Su but sri, ci ri ni (ni)

or Su but śa ri ci ri ni (ni)

Suo shi li chih

Suo śiēt li(ri) tsī

Suo śi li(ri) ci (Mm)

Su śri (or śi ri, śi li) ci

¹⁰⁸In Skardo there are very good Buddhist remains: some isolated huge boulders with fine engraved images deserve special mention (Biasutti-Dainelli 1925, pls. XIV, XV); the 21 Buddhas of the confession of sins (*Itun bśags* in Tibetan), a standing Buddha in *bodhyaṅgi mudra* (Vairocana). Very interesting are the images of the donors.

¹⁰⁹Transcription according to Mm.

One is reminded of *Ṣuṣkitikaṭi śi ri* (*Bhāiṣajyagurusūtra*, in Dutt 1939-1959, I, p. 32), *kṣini(ena)* (*Ajitasenavyākaraṇa*, *ibid.*, p. 136).

The conclusion, according to my mind, is that the Tibetan invasion divided the history of P'u-lü into two periods: the first one, when P'u-lü included not only Gilgit but a great part of Baltistan under a dynasty which had already sent ambassadors to China in 696 and within the period 731-741, and a second one which starts with the retreat of Su-lin-t'o-i-chih to Gilgit proper, and the advent of Mo-chin-mang who ruled in Little P'u-lü remaining on good terms with the Chinese, while the eastern P'u-lü was lost to the Tibetans. Thus, it seems almost certain that just then the real division of Dardistan into two parts took place:

a) Gilgit = Little P'u-lü and b) Baltistan etc., i.e. the Great P'u-lü under the control of the Tibetans. Until that event, there had been only one P'u-lü. But Gilgit remained the pivot of the Chinese influence on the Central-Asia-India routes, and it was considered 'the Western Gate' of the T'ang (Chavannes n.d., p. 150, n. 5).

Coming back to our narrative, as soon as Mo-chin-mang took possession of Gilgit, the Tibetans tried to persuade him to enter into an alliance with them: he refused because in 722 we find the Tibetans attacking 'Little P'u-lü' (Pelliot 1961, p. 99).

King Mo-chin-mang was faithful to the Chinese, and greatly contributed to the defeat [79] of the Tibetans when they attacked him and captured nine of his towns, which however he reconquered. For his military feats he was thanked by the Court, and was given the title of King of P'u-lü, and Mo-chin-mang rendered his thanks in 733, and exchanges of ambassadors and gifts are recorded in the following years. After the death of Mo-chin-mang, of his son and of his elder brother Mo-lai-hsi, their successor Su-shih-li-chih passed over to the Tibetans and married a Tibetan wife. But in 747 Kao Hsien-chih came to the rescue, and succeeded not only in exterminating the pro-Tibetan party but also in sending as prisoners to China Su-shih-li-chih and his wife ^{109a}.

The above-mentioned changes which occurred after the death of Su-lin-t'o-i-chih seem to be confirmed by the fact that Great P'u-lü is no longer mentioned or rarely as a political entity. Also Mo-chin-mang is spoken of as king of P'u-lü, no distinction being made between Great and Little P'u-lü. But the Tibetans took another initiative after the death of Kao Hsien-chih, and in the year 753 Fêng Ch'ang ch'ing who had succeeded Kao Hsien-chih attacked the Tibetans and near the town of Ho sa lao, defeated them ¹¹⁰.

^{109a} On this memorable feat of Kao Hsien-chih and the itinerary followed by him in his campaign see Stein 1922, p. 112.

¹¹⁰Chavannes n.d., notes additionnelles, p. 88, n. 2.

Ho sa lao, ancient pr. g'ā sāt lau, can be identified with a place now called Katzarah, Katsura, Casara in the basin of the Indus on the way from Skardo to Burzil, on the right side of the river Indus.

There exists an old document (Tucci 1949, I, p. 252, note 36; Id. 1956b, p. 73), which has been reproduced by later texts, modified according to the changed political situations, in which the western territories under the control of the Tibetans are recorded. It goes back to a time when a part, at least, of the 'four garrisons' was under the Tibetan rule; in fact Li (Khotan) is mentioned; then Žan Žun follows. Žan Žun had been conquered in year 737, Hoffmann 1969, p. 149 'mNa' ris skor gsum' or 'Bod sTod'. Upper Tibet is divided into three districts:

1st district (sKor): sPu raṅs. Maryul, Žans dkar

Such a situation, briefly summarized, involved willy-nilly the Pamir states in the conflict between the two giants; they tried alternatively, according to the change of events, to be on friendly terms with the more successful party, but at the same time they did their best to avoid major troubles and to shelter the advantages of their position and of the trades taking place on the routes they controlled. However, they must have suffered the repercussions due to the unstable situation between China and Tibet.

It is obvious that, especially from 745 to 755, the Tibetans tried to find allies in the Pamirs in order to cut off the routes from Gilgit to India: the easiest of these was that which passed through Chitrāl (eventually branching from there to Kalam – Upper Swāt – Swāt) and reached Gandhāra at Lampāka. The other one ran through Baltistan, reached the left side of the Indus crossing it at Bunji, then proceeded to Astor, and to Gurāis. From Gurāis the road approaches east of the Wular lake and then Śrīnagar. There is no doubt that in the good season this route was followed for the transportation of salt and rice to Gilgit and the T'u-ho-lo (Tokharistān). This is clearly indicated by the request of the King of the T'u-ho-lo to the Emperor of China in the year 749, after the [80] victorious expedition of Kao Hsien-chih of 747. This request was caused by the alliance established between the Tibetans and a small Pamir state, Ch'ieh-shih, or Chieh-shuai; there Tibetans had built some defence towers. The ruler of that state represented therefore another threat to the route from Gilgit to India. His name was P'o-te-mu, *b'uət d'ak muət. He was defeated by Kao Hsien-chih and the investiture of king was given by the Imperial Court to his elder brother Su-chia * Suo ka (Chavannes n.d., p. 215), who received the investiture as king of Ch'ieh-shih.

There is some discussion on the location of this small state. We must first of all say that it is certainly different from Chitrāl, which is known to the Chinese sources as Shê-mi.

Stein 1921, I, p. 31, chiefly for geographical reasons, does not agree with the identification of Shê-mi or Shang-mi with Chitrāl, on the basis that Shê-mi or Shang-mi, being a mountainous country, cannot be Chitrāl, but it should be the valleys of Kāfiristan to the west and south of Chitrāl. He identifies Chitrāl with Ch'ieh-shih of the Chinese sources and proposes that Shê-mi indicates those fertile parts belonging to Kāfiristan. But Pelliot (1959-1973, II, p. 707) accepts the equivalence of Shê-mi or Shang-mi with Chitrāl, a fact supported by the name Śyāmarāja (see above, p. 63) given to it by Hui-ch'ao, and confirmed by the Legend of Śyāma (contained in the *Udāyanāvadāna*, see *ibid.*)¹¹¹. The suggestion of Stein was however accepted by Chavannes (n.d., notes additionnelles, p. 83, n. 1); the latter, referring to an article of Biddulph (1893, pp. 342 ff.) in which the importance of Chilas is emphasized because its people controlled the route from Kashmir to Gilgit adds: 'à l'époque des T'ang les gens du Kafiristan descendaient sur Chilas pour tendre la main aux Tibétains et intercepter ainsi la route entre le Kashmir et le petit P'u-lü (Yasin)' (cf. Pelliot 1959-1973, I, p. 203).

2nd district: Li (Khotan), Gru ža (Bru ža, Gilgit, sBal te)

3rd district: Žaň-žuň, K'ri te stod and smad (K'ri ta, K'rita = Hsüan-tsang: Ki-li-to).

¹¹¹ There are many cases of countries being named by the name of their king or Lord. See e.g. above, p. 33.

In the Khotanese Saka itinerary Chilas is called Śīlathasa, Sīdathasi (Alberuni: Śīltās) the journey from that place to the bridge on the Indus took eight days (cf. also Morgenstierne 1942, p. 269).

Prof. Forte has kindly brought to my attention a passage of Hu San-hsing who has commented upon the *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* (Hongkong ed., 1971, p. 6897). He writes on this country Ch'ieh-shih: 'Ch'ieh-shih also called Ch'ieh-shuai'. 'They belong to the Hu group and are close to the Tu-ho-lo. The Great P'u-lü (some one says P'u-lü¹¹²) is straight to the west of Tibet. North of it there is Little P'u-lü'. This corresponds to the location of Chilas, having to the north Little P'u-lü, Gilgit, but being to the west of Baltistan, subject to the Tibetans.

On this problem I have consulted my colleague and friend Prof. Enoki who has been kind enough to reply in detail to my questions and to express his important conclusions [81] on the different aspects of the subject in question; when I asked him to be so kind as to allow me to reproduce as an appendix to my article his remarks, he kindly agreed: I am very grateful to him also for this.

But I think that the main trade went through the second route, the eastern one; Gilgit, Chilas, Astor, where the Kunar people could not or only with great risk interfere.

Of course, as it has been observed by many travellers, topogeographically Chitral is not a unity: already Grierson wrote that the Chitral valley was formerly inhabited by Kalashas; but as Morgenstierne puts it the original homogeneous Dardic population of Kāfiristan, Chitral and Gilgit 'was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Kho invasion, representing members of different, but related tribes coming from the north of the Hindukush'.

According to Morgenstierne (1930-32, p. 441, n. 3) Śām probably was the name of Upper Chitral (and he quotes Prasun Kāfir śim gol, Simāi = Chitral). Thus again there is no reason to deny the equivalence Shê-mi = Śyāma[rāja] = Chitral; of that some parts, west and south of Chitral, are particularly fertile. There is no valid reason to contest that these rich valleys might have been plundered by the Kāfirs. But what has this to do with the big trade with Central Asia in which Tibet was interested? Thus I conclude that the route which the Pamir tribes might have threatened is not that of Kunar, but the eastern one, i.e. the Kashmir-Astor-Gilgit route which was completely under their control.

40. The Eastern Routes

The conclusions of Chavannes are not clear to me; does he mean that Ch'ieh-shih corresponds to Chilas and does he admit that the Kāfirs used to help the Tibetans in plundering the caravans to and from Kashmir? Chilas of which Biddulph (1893) speaks is located not in Kunar (though there is a tribe of Chilasi in Kunar)^{112a}, but in Baltistan on the Indus. In this case it is highly improbable that the Ch'ieh-shih might have represented an impending threat to the Kunar route; the distance from Kunar to Chilas is considerable and the tracks are not easy. The

¹¹²This implies the identification of P'u-lü and Great P'u-lü.

^{112a} West of Kunar river, east of Shumashti (Morgenstierne, 'Notes on Shumashti...', *NTS* XIII, 1945, map to face p. 241 and p. 267).

Chilas to which Biddulph refers is on the route Śrinagar-Gilgit described by the Saka itinerary. The description here summarized that Biddulph gives of the Chilas is not encouraging.

The route from Kashmir to Gilgit through Guráis follows the Astor waters to the Indus then the ferry at Bunji (eighteen marches from Śrinagar); 'on the western boundary Chilas is open to Yaghistan': where it borders on the Indus the elevations is of 3400 feet. The situation 'has given the people a spirit of independence and a distinctive character. They have been determined raiders from all time. During the Sikh occupation an expedition sent against Chilas met with a disastrous defeat' (Biddulph 1893, p. 342).

[82] The route through Chilas was the shortest and the safest for the Tibetans, because it was in the territories which they controlled: Chitrāl or Kāfiristan were far away from their bases and to reach them through Darel, Swāt, Kohistan was not an easy and short enterprise.

Moreover the Chinese Ch'ieh-shih (* yat, kat-si, sai) can hardly correspond to Chilas and their location near the Tu-ho-los (p. 80), as Hu San-hsin writes, excludes the identification with Chilas. Nor has Ch'ieh-shih any relation with the name of Chilas in the Saka itinerary, Śīdathasa, Sīdathasi (Šiltās, Alberuni). The only thing certain is that Chilas was on the shortest route from Gilgit to Kashmir, and that on the contrary Chitrāl remains far away from the Tibetan bases. This leads me to the same conclusions reached by Pelliot and to see in the Ch'ieh-shih an original Khaṣa, Kasi, Khasi, Khasia. The Khasas are a warring tribe which appears to have been one of the most mobile mountain tribes, *parvatāśrayinaḥ*.

The Khasas are listed with the Cīnas among the peoples of the Pamirs (Lévi 1918, p. 118). They are the same as the Kakkha of Kashmir. Some tribes of them about the 10th-11th centuries migrated eastwards, and conquered a great part of Western Tibet and Western Nepal, as I think to have shown in Tucci 1956b. About them, and the correspondence between Khaṣa and Kashmiri Kakkha see Stein 1961, vol. I, 1st book, p. 47, n. 317.

For further information on the Khasas, see S. Lévi 1905b, p. 259; Śāradātanaya 1930, p. 310, verse 10: Kaṣa.

The problem of the original habitat of the Khasas is still unsolved and it deserves a thorough investigation.

From the inscriptions it appears that their real name was Khaṣa: 'Aśokacalla king of the Khaṣa' (Tucci 1956b, p. 66). In the inscription of Dullu (*ibid.*) some of their kings have peculiar names: Cāpa, Cāpilla, Kraśicalla, Krādhicalla, Krācalla; in such names Kraśi, Krādhī, Krā correspond to Tib.: bKra śis, Grags btsan, Grags pa; the ending: *calla* corresponds to the epithet of the old Tibetan kings: *lde* (Nāgadeva = Nāga lde).

We find some of these names in Garhwal, Kumaon, Kashmir; Cāvillā (kara) in Chambā; Aśokacalla is also mentioned in some inscriptions of Kumaon. They are certainly descended from the region of the Pamirs and the Hindukush (Atkinson 1888, p. 379: from Central Asia), and spread all over a great part of the Sub-Himalayan regions, but the original center of diffusion is still uncertain. On the inscription of Aśokacalla found in Kumaon cf. Nautiyal 1969, pp. 70 ff.

For the time being I can only propose: Ch'ieh-shih = Khaṣa; extraction: Hu (Hu San-hsin); situation: near the Tu-ho-lo (various transcriptions of *khāsyalipi* in different translations of *Lalitavistara* and other works in Shiratori 1957, p. 29).

Original contacts of the Kafirs with the Khasas who invaded Western Nepal and Western Tibet founding a kingdom in those parts, may be suggested – certainly tentatively, at least at present – by the wooden images of the ancestors of the dead which are found in some secluded parts of Nepal (Tucci 1956b, plates 17, 34).

The suzerainty of the Tibetans over Baltistan which began in 727 implied that the [83] northern route connecting Kashmir with Central Asia (see Wu k'ung, in Lévi-Chavannes 1895, p. 356, who writes that three routes connected Kashmir with other parts of Asia: E: Tibet; N: P'u-lü; W: Gandhāra) passed through their domains. The Chinese or their allies in Gilgit were a potential threat to the Tibetan routes of communication with Central Asia, because the Tibetans who menaced Gilgit, had a complete control of the routes India-Central Asia, which run through Baltistan. This implies that the Chinese wanted to cut not so much the routes in Yasin and Gilgit as the Tibetan routes leading to those places. In fact the Tibetans say to Mo-chin-mang that they do not covet his kingdom, but only wish to use its routes in order to attack the four garrisons. Therefore Kao Hsien-chih informs Su-shê-li-chih that he wants free passages in Little P'u-lü for entering Great P'u-lü (Chavannes n.d., p. 151); in the year 749 (*ibid.*, p. 214, n. 2) the Tu-ho-los write to the Chinese Court that, since the small state of Ch'ieh-shih *threatens the route to Gilgit*, they request the Chinese that the following year they should help them to *subdue the Great P'u-lü*, with the purpose that the connection with Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar or other places might be open. Which was done, because Kao Hsien-chih in 750 defeats Po-t'o-mo, the ruler of Ch'ieh-shih, and invests of the royal power his elder brother (*ibid.*, p. 214, note 2 and pp. 215-16, 296). Therefore I think that the only aim of the Tibetans was to maintain undisturbed the use of the routes in their territories and specially of that of Chilas which is also followed by the pilgrims using the Saka itinerary.

The route of Skardo or Chilas had been used from old times as documented by the inscription of Wima Kadphises found in Kalatze. Therefore the Chinese, in order to be sure in Gilgit tried their very best to assure the control of the routes of Baltistan and to find supporters in the local princes, instigating them against the Tibetans and also organizing military expeditions in the very core of Great P'u-lü: but the results did not last for a long time. In the campaign of 747 Kao Hsien-chih entered into P'u-lü^{112b} (not Little P'u-lü) up to *about 60 li from the capital* (Chavannes n.d., p. 153, note 1); the bridge which the T'ang-shu mentions on this occasion, had been built by the Tibetans, who did not rely on the local people: this may mean that the Tibetans were not yet completely sure of their Balti subjects in Great P'u-lü, but had established on them a kind of suzerainty. I think that the bridge here referred to corresponds to that which nowadays is the bridge of Bunji^{112c}.

In conclusion I accept what Hui-ch'ao writes: that the kings of Little P'u-lü before Surendrāditya resided in Great P'u-lü; their capital was Ye t'o which to my mind is Skardo which, also today, is an important meeting point of routes and tracks; this location seems to be confirmed

^{112b} P'u-lü = Great Pu-lü in many cases.

^{112c} One of the main aims of Kao Hsien-chih had been that of cutting the bridge.

by the fact that when Fêng Ch'ang-ch'ing invaded P'u-lü he went as far as a town whose Chinese name may well suggest Katsura ^{112d}.

[84] The eastern route through Chilas was used in summer and it was short: it was followed up to 1931 by the Yarkandis coming from Turkestan. Immense caravans passed also through the longest and hard tracks to Nubra and Leh, where they used to stop before leaving again for Kashmir and Mecca. Others descended through Skardo, the largest part through the Astor route. The meeting point and the market for selling or exchanging goods was in Śrinagar; all that came to a stop after the political events which happened in Central Asia after the advent of Bolshevism.

To conclude: we can set down three main events in this part of the world:

A) 747: Little P'u-lü is reduced to subjection by Kao Hsien-chih. B) Second campaign by the same in 749-750. C) 753: after the death of Kao Hsien-chih, general Fêng Ch'ang-ch'ing undertakes another campaign against Great P'u-lü and captures their capital Ho-sa-lao (Chavannes n.d., notes additionnelles, p. 88, n. 2) (Ho-sa-lao '*gâ' sât lâu, now probably Katsura').

Thus, we may conclude that Swât had already come in contact with China since the 6th century; this explains how at the times of Sung Yün there was in Uđđiyāna a Chinese interpreter; there must have been at that time not only an increasing number of pilgrims, but also a more consistent bulk of trade between Swât, Gilgit and Central Asia. The fact itself that Uđđiyāna had sent missions to China from the beginning of the 7th century shows that the pilgrims coming and going to and from China gave the first news of the great empire and of its power: its conquests had brought China near to its frontiers; when the Tibetans advanced, and the Chinese lost to them some parts of Central Asia, Swât could not help sharing the apprehensions resulting from the fact that the Pamir had become a meeting-point of the three rival powers: Swât opposed itself to the Arabs and was rewarded by the Chinese.

^{112d} All this does not exclude that the Kunar route was occasionally 'protected' by local chiefs who in exchange of some financial advantages and of the building of some defence towers were considered by the Tibetans as allies, helpful because eventually they could cause some disturbances to little caravans passing that way. But the results might have been pernicious to them as it was to Swat (see above, p. 75).

It is still unsolved for me the identification of the So yi, *sā i. It is believed to correspond to the Gilgit river, but this should be better ascertained. In the Saka itinerary the track from Gilgit proceeds along the 'Golden River', which is the Indus; but 6 + a not better specified number of days before reaching Gilgit. the sources of the 'Golden Water' are mentioned. 'Golden Water' may be the same as the Golden River; the sources of the Indus have been always uncertain for ancient geographers; the Greek placed them near Aornos in Kohistan (above, p. 53) and some Indian grammarians vaguely among the Dards; Ptolemaeus indicates the Himaïos. It is not excluded that the Gilgit river was taken as a branch of the Golden River So yi, *sā i Ysamijittaji; two towns, Skardo and Katsura (Katsara), are on the Indus: Kapalu, Khapalu, is on the Shayok.

In India there are two traditions concerning the sources of the great rivers of the Jambudvīpa. In Mahayana the four rivers Gāṅgā, Sindhu, Vakṣu, Sita issuing from the Anavatapta which for the Chinese is placed in the K'un lun: Lamotte 1944-1970, I, pp. 385-386, note.

In the Chinese maps published by Hermann (in Hedin 1916-1922, vol. VIII) the sources of the Indus are vaguely indicated in the K'un lun; its course is very imprecisely designed and its connection with other rivers, chiefly the Gilgit river, is not indicated.

A coin of Sam B. Ziyad, 64 H = 683 (Göbl 1976, p. 37) was found in Butkara (of course it may also be a stray coin, a single surviving testimonial of trade); there is little discrepancy between the date of the coin and that of the investiture given by China to the king of Swat. But if at a later date the ruler of Kapiśa received from the Chinese an investiture [85] also as king of Swat, this may imply that Swat, impressed by the power of the Tibetans reaching Baltistan, had changed its policy.

In the light of these facts it would seem that the journey of Padmasambhava to Tibet from Swat can be better explained. Perhaps he was not even officially invited, so to say, as the tradition narrates; he might have gone there of his own will, after having heard from some Swatis or Gilgit monks who had preceded him, or from some of the Tibetans themselves who certainly passed through Swat, of the new possibilities open to Buddhist preachers, in attempting the evangelization of the Land of Snows. His departure must have taken place two or three years before the foundation of bSam yas (775 c.) in Tibet; being perhaps the best appreciated thaumaturge among the various *siddhas* and magicians, he enjoyed a great renown and, as all *siddhas*, he was a wandering man. Now that we have seen how Swat was in the very middle of the Chinese-Tibetan quarrels for the control of the main routes connecting Central Asia with Kashmir and Northern India, in a general way, it is clear that we have to look to Swat with other eyes. A region by its very geographical situation open to all sorts of trade and cultural influences; a fact which explains its wealth documented by the immense number of religious settlements and its high culture testified by the archaeological discoveries; these documents will certainly greatly increase when the orthogonal town laying underneath the fields near the present play-ground of Mingora will be excavated.

As a general conclusion, we may state that while the Pamir, the Hindukush, the Karakorum and Ladakh so far have mainly attracted the attention of the Alpinists, now they must be considered as regions of great interest for protohistorians and historians of Buddhism.

Romae, pridie nonas februarias A.D. 1977 conclusum

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ADDENDA

p. 181, l. 2 ff.

Perhaps we may find a confirmation of the geographical location of the Haumavarga near the Pamirs in the fact that the first part of their name has been connected with *haoma* (Kent 1953, p. 211: 'Haoma drinking'; Wikander 1938, p. 64: 'Die Leute die sich durch den Haoma Rausch in (wer)-Wölfe verwandeln'; and chiefly Duchesne Guillemin 1960, p. 96). Their name may be derived from the fact that they were great drinkers of *haoma* growing in abundance in their habitat. The article by Litvinskij, 'Saka Haumavargā v svete sovetskih arheologičeskikh issledovanij', *Festschrift Altheim*, pp. 115 ff. (kind communication of Prof. Gherardo Gnoli) is unfortunately not accessible, at present, to me.

p. 216, l. 32

Later writers know, in Tibet, also the form Ilora (Grünwedel 1915, p. 28).

p. 232, l. 1

The stories about the witches of Udyāna (= Uddiyāna) abound in later Tibetan literature which refers to their magic performances and also to their cannibalism. They were supposed to be predominant as far as Ghazni and were considered to represent a peculiar class of dangerous creatures; therefore they stand alone; they have no relation at all with Buddhist, heterodox schools (Hindu), much less with the Mlecchas, Musulmans (Grünwedel 1915, p. 28).

p. 234, l. 6

Another *gajapati*, Śaṅkarasena, is mentioned as a donor of a beautiful image of Buddha (Pal 1975, 30, a, b).

Pratāpāditya Pal's book is very interesting and useful; the only thing to which I dare to object is its title: *Bronzes of Kashmir*. There is no doubt that the largest part of his images come from Kashmir and its adjacent countries; many of them are clearly Hindu Śāhi. But others are the work of local artisans: Baltistan had Buddhist centres in old time, since Buddhism was widely spread all over Transhimalaya from Gilgit up to Ladakh (see Hui-ch'ao); one of the still unknown centres was certainly Skardo, where there are huge rock reliefs; the extension of suzerainty of Tibet upon Baltistan may have facilitated the diffusion of Buddhist art, and given impulse to local artistic schools; in fact looking at the photos of those images one perceives the difference which many of them reveal in style; many bronzes may have been carried into Ladakh,

Baltistan, Gilgit by travelling monks. Some of them show evident influences from Central Asia (see *li lugs* in Samada: Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV, 1, p. 30). Some have certainly been cast in various places of all the Transhimālayan and Subhimālayan regions, Chambā, Kulu, Lahul etc. (Tucci, *ibid.*). Now that Pratāpāditya Pal has furnished us with such a large material it is necessary to investigate the details and classify the appertenance of each different group of images to a peculiar locality. The task is difficult but not impossible. The existence of separate artistic centres is testified in some places of W. Tibet: e.g. the now very small village of Luk was once famous for its paintings, as I could verify studying the old samples existing in the nearby *lha k'añ* and private chapels. The tradition was still alive in the place. Local people testified that Luk was once also famous for his wooden and metal images.

p. 235, l. 3

An image of Buddha published by Pal 1975, 31 was commissioned by Mahārājadhirāja-parameśvara-nandivikramāditya: Pal is right in attributing this image to Gilgit area.



Fig. 1. The petroglyphs of Gogdara I, with the big cart at the left.



Fig. 2. The cart with horses (?) and two wheels and the driver.



Fig. 3. Standard from Gogdara I.



Fig. 4. Dogs from Gogdara I, in different styles.



Fig. 5. Dogs from Gogdara I, in different styles.



Fig. 6. Dogs from Gogdara I, in different styles.

On a Sculpture of Gandhāra

Opera Minora, II, Roma, Bardi, 1971, pp. 595-598.

In the exhibition of Gandhāra art which has recently taken place in the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente a fragment of sculpture has been shown ¹ belonging to the collection of Mr. Islay Lyons.

The image, here also reproduced [fig. 1], represents a Buddha; though fragmentary, it is evident that the Buddha is in a sitting posture. As Prof. Bussagli states in his description of the relief, the two flames which come forth from the shoulders are the important element of the image and he rightly suggests their connection with the flames issuing from the shoulders of some Kuṣāna kings.

Prof. Bussagli denies the possibility that the image has any connection with the famous miracle of Śrāvastī, because in this case the Buddha is represented standing (though in Tibet the Buddha, also in this case, frequently is represented as sitting) and suggests tentatively that it may represent Buddha Dīpaṃkara. In fact there is a well-known image of Buddha Dīpaṃkara from Shotorak ² in which one sees the Buddha Dīpaṃkara standing and Megha (*Mahāvastu*; Sumati in *Divyāvadāna*) in the act of throwing flowers at him as a token of admiration, then kneeling and making of his hair a kind of carpet for the feet of the Blessed One. But in this case also the Buddha should have been represented as standing, while in our image he is evidently sitting; as a consequence, I do not see any possibility of connecting this image with the famous story attributed by literature to a former incarnation of the future Buddha, during the times of Dīpaṃkara, nor should the sitting image be therefore identified with Dīpaṃkara.

Another interpretation is possible. I refer to a particular moment of the no less famous conversion of Apalāla translated from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins by J. Przyluski ³. There (p. 511) we are told that since Apalāla did not show any willingness to be subdued by [596] the Buddha, Vajrapāni smashed with his *vajra* the mountain overlooking the lake where stood the palace of the Nāga; the Tathāgata sat in meditation, then entered the meditation of fire so that from every side there was nothing but a heap of flames. We find in this episode the two elements which are found in the image with which we are concerned: sitting posture and flames.

Therefore the solution is quite possible that in this piece, which has been no doubt collected in the proximity of Swat and whose provenance may quite well be traced there, is recorded one of the most important events of the journey of the Buddha in the north-western countries and in Uddiyāna described in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins ⁴. The conversion of Apalāla was one of the most popular stories localized in Swat and still filling with wonder and awe the Chinese pilgrims.

¹ [1] *L'arte del Gandhara in Pakistan ed i suoi incontri con l'arte dell'Asia Centrale*. Catalogo della Mostra, with an Introduction by Prof. M. Bussagli, Roma, 1958, pl. III and p. 73.

² [2] J. Meunié, *Shotorak*, MDAFA X, Paris, 1942, pp. 33, 34 and pl. 70.

³ [3] *JA*, 1914, pp. 493 ff.

⁴ [1] Besides the quoted article of Przyluski, see E. Lamotte, 'Alexandre et le Bouddhisme', *BEFEO* XLIV, 1947-50, pp. 147-162, where the itinerary of the Buddha in Uddiyana has been re-examined.

But the fact that the relief is standing and that no clue may be supplied by eventual scenes reproduced on the throne or basement, which is lost, prevents us from reaching any certain conclusion. I can only say that our piece – though being far better in quality – bears a great similarity to the ‘seated Buddha with flames on the shoulders’ reproduced in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, years 1921-1922, pl. XXV.*

But it should be taken into consideration that these fiery emanations, which are ultimately connected with the *hvaranah* of the Iranian kings and show therefore another contamination between Buddha’s notion and regality, had a wider application in art than it is generally supposed and, if we are to follow the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra*, they were peculiar of the Buddhas when they revealed themselves to the Bodhisattvas⁵.

This may thus quite well be the first evidence of the slow evolution which was going to change the teacher, the *śāstā*, into a god, into the glorious appearance of an eternal reality, revealing a higher teaching, accessible only to a qualified assembly. Such is the case of the Buddha preaching, when the *śrāvakas* have gone away, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* to a chosen audience of Bodhisattvas, flown to him from the four [597] corners of the world. In this case also a big light emanated from the *ūṣṇā* of the Buddha (Kern’s transl., SBE XXI, Oxford, 1909, pp. 6 ff.), announcing the miracle of the revelation and spread all over the universe. So the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (ed. Hokei Idzumi, Kyoto, 1931, p. 28, v. 62) describes the magnificence of Buddha as effulgence of flames:

*Dvātriṃśalakṣaṇadharaṃ lalitendriyaṅgaṃ
anuvyañjanaḥ sucuriraṃ suvirājitaṅgaṃ
śrīpuṇyatejajvalanākularaśmijālaṃ
saṃtiṣṭhate tamasi sūrya iva triloke*

or p. 41, v. 12:

*vyomaprabhājvalamuñcitarāśmim /
sūryasahasraṃ iva pratapantam
nirmalagātravarebhi munindram
sarvaprabhāsita kṣetram anantam*

The same miracle is described in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* and in many other Mahāyāna books. The faculty of emanating *raśmi* is one of the peculiar characters of the Buddha, and has been fully discussed by the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (*Ta-chih-tu-lun*) transl. Lamotte, I, Louvain, 1944, pp. 437 ff., and by the *Ratnolūkadhāraṇī* quoted in *Śikṣasamuccaya*, pp. 327 ff., where the various *raśmi* have been given also a peculiar name. The Buddha emits these *raśmi* when he is in the *samādhirājasamādhi* or comes out of it (*samādhēr vyutthāya, Pañcaviṃśa-*

⁵ [2] On the various wonders attributed not only to the Buddha but also to the monks see E. Waldschmidt, ‘Wundertätige Mönche in der ostturkistanischer Hinayana Kunst’, in *OZ, N.F.*, 6, 1930, pp. 3-9 (now reprinted in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen, 1967, pp. 27-33).

tisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, pp. 5-6) and on various other occasions, chiefly when he meets an assembly of gods or when he subdues the heretics or he is going to turn the wheel of the Law, i.e. to preach or to reveal a book.

Nor can we say that light is not fire: light conveys the idea of flame.

The difficulty of expressing light plastically except by way of the *prabhamaṇḍala*, which is not particularly indicative of any special event but only shows the divine nature of the Buddha, induced the artist to have recourse to the easier representation of flames; this had the advantage of recalling the connection between the excellence of the Buddha and the royal majesty of the *cakravartin* which in course of time had deeply influenced the notion of the Tathāgata: the *hyarōnah* of the Iranian kings, the symbol of their power and greatness, offered an easy means by which to express the *prabhā* of the Buddha, and the photic miracle which announces a new revelation.

[598] That these *raśmi* may be represented, as I said, by flames⁶ is proved by some Gandhāra pieces in which some scenes are represented that record events to be included among those to which the emission of *raśmi* is peculiar, that is to say the visit of Indra⁷.

In the latter case the Buddha is standing, but in both scenes flames can easily be seen: in fig. 246 they run along the entrance of the cave and in fig. 261 they are represented both under the feet and on the shoulders of the Buddha (cf. also *ibid.*, Tome II, fig. 463).

Thus the equation *raśmi*= flame is well ascertained by the monuments. It should be added that when the Buddha is sitting in meditation (*samādhirājasamādhi*) and is alone, there is hardly any doubt that the image represents, as in our case, a coming revelation. The Buddha comes out from *samādhi* and after the *vyavalokana*, the survey of the space, emits the *raśmi* to foretell the revelation. That *raśmi*= flame may come also from the shoulders (*aṃśa*) is clearly stated by the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*⁸. If one examines our image, one notices that the tongues of the groups of flames are three on each side: this is perhaps not an arbitrary design of the artist, but corresponds to the old idea that these *raśmi* stand for the six *chabbannaghana buddharasmiya* (*Jātaka*, I, p. 2).

Moreover if we try to guess the many things that the enlightened Buddhists were supposed to see in these images we may surmise that the flames are two as indicative of the *punya*- and *jñānasambhāra* of which the Buddha, when accomplishing the *jinakriyā*, is possessed (*Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, IV, v. 2; they are compared to a sun, *ibid.*, v. 9).

I may add that this type of image was imitated also in China; see the gilt bronze image of a sitting Buddha in *samādhimudrā*, in the Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum⁹.

To conclude, the image of which we speak may quite well represent the announcement that the Buddha sitting in meditation is ready to reveal a deeper doctrine than he did before, reserved to a blessed audience, and therefore be, like the 'Buddha paré', to use the definition of P. Mus, the first attempt at symbolising the revelation of the *Mahāyānasūtras*.

⁶ [1] On the Buddha and fire cf. A. Coomaraswamy in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, Poona, 1945, p. 470; E. Benda, *Der vedische Ursprung des symbolischen Buddhahildes*, Leipzig, 1940.

⁷ [2] In the Indraśaila, that is a meeting of Gods and Buddha; Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, Paris, 1905, fig. 246, and the submission of the heretics, *ibid.*, fig. 261.

⁸ [3] Lamotte, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

⁹ [4] See B. Rowland, 'Indian Images in Chinese Sculpture', in *Artibus Asiae* X, 1947, p. 13, fig. 8.



Fig. 1. Buddha with flames issuing from the shoulders (Mr. I. Lyons Collection).

**Oriental Notes, V: Preliminary Account of an Inscription
from North-Western Pakistan**

East and West, XX.1-2, 1970, pp. 103-104.

The photo accompanying this article (fig. 1) was occasionally taken in Peshawar when a peasant was trying to sell it to an antique dealer. I do not know where it is now. I asked where it came from, and the reply was: near Taxila; but of course it is an information which cannot be relied upon. Anyhow, it certainly comes from the north-western regions of Pakistan.

On seeing that the inscription contained the names of some kings and a date, I insisted on being allowed to take a photo of it, which at last after some difficulties I was permitted to do. Then I passed on the photo to Prof. Raniero Gnoli, who copied the inscription and added a summary of it.

The characters seem to date the same inscription to about the 9th cent. The era to which it refers is unknown: but the names we find in it, the expression *Kirātapakṣābhimukha* and other implications, all go to attribute a great importance to the inscription which will be discussed in a forthcoming article. For the time being, I am publishing the photo, and the transcription by Prof. R. Gnoli, with a summary of the inscription.

om svasti kamaladalamalitakapola bhramarakulakulita gaja =
 mukha gaṇapa nikhilajagadārtiharanaḥ smarane duritāri ha rakṣatād vo
 samvat 120 āsvayijāsukula aṣṭamyām mahā — va — ^a rāmapa — / kāśyapa =
 gotra yasya pravaraṇya mahārājadhīrajakirātapakṣābhimukhaśrī^bḍa^cnumaṇ — ^c
 ruduhitāśrīratnamañjaryā / mahārājapūtraśrīpūrvarāja — parinamitāsi /
 aprātapanini śuddhā^d puṇyāyatanam ihāparaloka . uka samtāranāya yaḥ
 marmalikaviṣaya krtamaṭhaṃ pratiṣṭhitam / atra ca samaye mahārājadhī
 rājaśrīvijayapāladevasya rājayabhāvitah atra ca kārakaḥ mahāra
 jāputraśrīcandrapālāḥ tathāraṇima sūtradharikaḥ atra ca maṭhe pati
 vad ubhūmyagrhaḥsetrāgrahāraḥ yas tu prativaddhāsti tatra kaṇā — —
 pi vācā manasā apahārānti supunadapi na cintitavyam atra — — ca
 manur yaḥ svadattam paradattam vā yo hreti vasumdhara / sa viṣṭhāyām

The inscription starts with an invocation to Gaṇeśa, next followed by the date: *samvat* 120, etc. The purpose of this inscription is to commemorate the foundation of a *matha*, located in Marmalika, by Ratnamañjari, daughter of a certain Danuma... (or Hanuma...) that bears the title of *mahārājadhīrajakirātapakṣābhimukha*. The reigning sovereign is the *mahārāja adhirāja Vijayapāladeva*. The *kāraka* (executor?) is Candrapāla, *mahārājaputra*. The *sūtradharika* (sic!) is Arānima. To the *matha* is annexed an *agrahāra* of houses, landed properties, etc. Here follow the usual curses against whomsoever will alter the donation, etc.

The inscription is couched in poor Sanskrit. The characters, of somewhat middling quality, seem to date to the 8th-9th cent.

* Italics denote uncertain reading.

3. ^a *mahattepanye?* 4. ^b *ha* instead of *ḍa*? ^c There is a horizontal stroke in place of a character

6. ^d *bhuvā* instead of *śuddhā*?

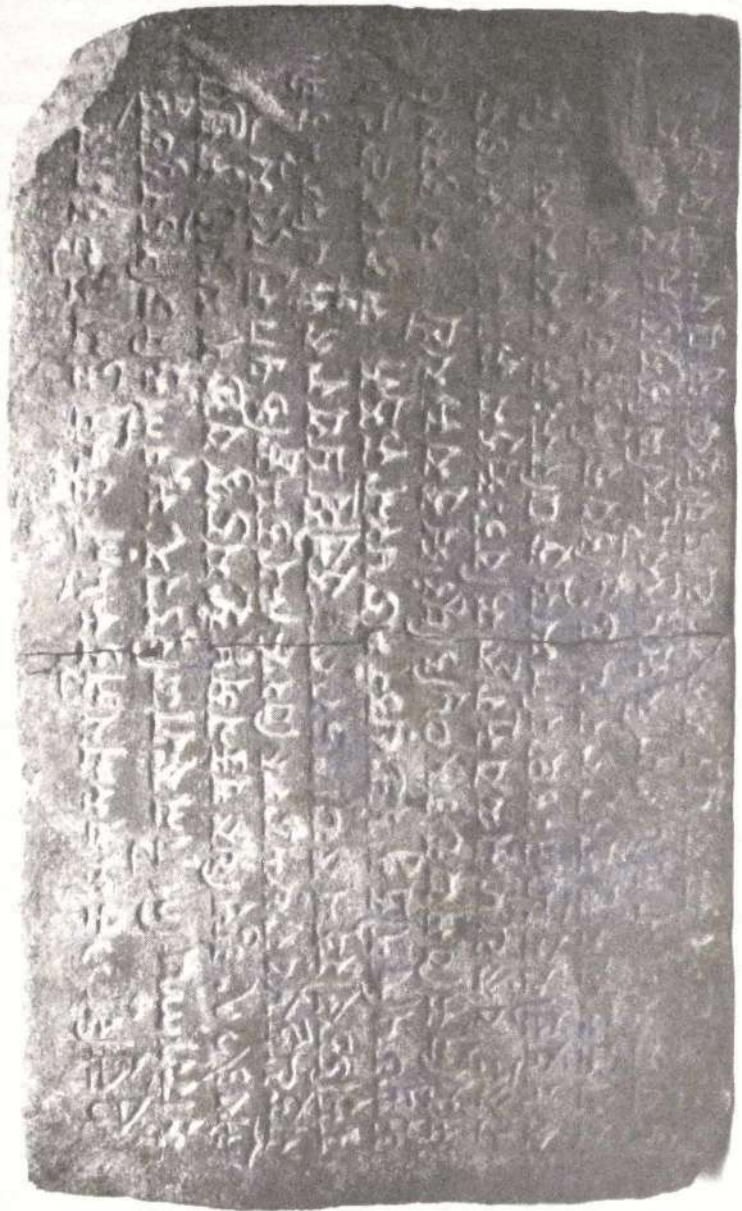


Fig. 1. Inscription from North-western Pakistan.

Himalayan Cina

Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris,
A. Maisonneuve, 1971, pp. 548-552.

I. HIMALAYAN ČINA

In my *Preliminary Reports on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Roma, 1965, I have discussed the problem of Čina, Mahāčina, Žaň žuň, Strirājya (on the Strirājya I could only add the references to their sexual habits to be found in the *Kāmasūtra* and other books derived from it).

I do not think that the views I have expounded in that book concerning Žaň žuň need to be changed (in the posthumous notes on Marco Polo, Pelliot reaches more or less the same conclusions). On more recent researches, see:

Hoffmann H., 'Žaň žuň, the Holy Language of the Tibetan Bon po', *ZDMG* 1957, p. 375.

Petech L., 'Glosse agli annali di Tun-Huang', *RSO*, vol. XLII, 1967, p. 262.

I may perhaps be more precise on Čina: that Čina was a province lying near India appears clear from the evidence which can be collected from the literary sources, and that it was in the proximity of North-western Nepal is proved by the reference to it contained in the inscriptions which I discovered in Dullu (*op. cit.*, p. 47, 1.32). I now wish to add to the sources then quoted further confirmation which comes from a Bon po book, i.e. the Bon po guide to the Manasarovar lake which is being edited in Serie Orientale Roma by Prof. Namkhai Norbu [*]. In this very important book there are references to a part of Žaň žuň called Tsi na, i.e. Čina, Žaň žuň Tsi nai yul (pp. 66, 69, 70, 88, 113). There was a town there called sTag rma dbal rdsoň mk'ar; there was a forest or garden (*ts'af*) called Dum pa ts'al, and another one called Bye ma yyuň druň ts'al: Tsi na had its own kings listed among the 18 kings of Žaň žuň as a whole, but divided into 18 kingdoms: *yul c'en bco bygyad*, 'the 18 great countries of Žaň žuň' considered as the upper region in relation to dBus, gTsaň being the middle part, and mDo k'ams being at the eastern end. This implies that Žaň žuň, when the book was written (we do not know the date of its author) was in a general way considered as Western Tibet up to gTsaň but including mNa'ris: in fact its kings are so divided: those of yYu lo mk'ar, K'yuň luň, Pu mar hriň, Žaň žuň Tsi'na, Žaň žuň Ta rog, Žaň žuň rTa sgo, Žaň žuň K'a skyor, Žaň žuň K'a yug, Žaň žuň La dvags, Žaň žuň Pru t'og. The first yYu lo ljon is located in front of Gaňs rin po c'e, Tise, Kailāsa. K'yuň luň is well-known: I visited the place and gave a description of it (Tucci G., *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milano, 1937, pp. 130-137); it is still connected by the local people as well as by the general Bon po tradition with gŠen rab, the systematizer of the Bon doctrine. Pu mar hriň seems to indicate sPu as lying near the frontier between Tibet and India, before reaching the Shipki Pass; Pru t'og is certainly Rudok; K'a skyor most probably is Ka ac'ar, [549] Kojarnāth (Tucci, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65); La dvags is Ladakh; rTa sgo certainly refers to the country to the east of the Kailāsa and indicates the region where the Brahmaputra has its source: in fact rTa sgo, the 'door of the horse', is equivalent to rTa k'a bab, 'the river flowing from the mouth of the horse'; gTsaň po, Brahmaputra. The two localities about which I have no solution to propose are Ta rog and K'a yug, though Ta may remind us of Ta bo. As regards Tsi na, it is the same as Čina of the Dullu inscription.

* N. Norbu (ed.), *Gaňs ti se'i dkar c'ag. A Bon-po Story of the Sacred Mountain Ti-se and the Blue Lake Ma-paň*. Revised, collated and completed by Ramon Prats. SOR LXI, Roma, 1989 [Ed.].

The districts to which the author of the guide of the Manasarovar refers include approximately the extension of the mNa' ris skor sum, in which the kingdom of Guge is included: in fact, it comprehends also Ladakh, which very early became independent. No mention is made of Zanskar, nor of Spiti where perhaps some of the unidentified places are to be located (as Ta rog which as I said may be Ta bo). In general, the geographical extension of the territories to which the book refers seems to enlist all the regions where the Buddhist diaspora spread and which came under the rule or the control of the kings of Western Tibet. For these reasons, I propose to identify Cina with Kanawar, the Upper Sutlej Valley, which was tibetanized at a period which cannot be positively ascertained, but where the introduction of Buddhism started from the very times of Rin c'en bzañ po, to whom are attributed some *lha k'an* in that part. The Tibetan language spread slowly, taking the place of Kanawari, in the Upper Sutlej Valley the two languages coexisting in toponymy: e.g. C'u-murti, Kanam, was once a rather important Buddhist centre (Csoma de Kőrös spent there some years to learn Buddhism). We find in this part the juxtaposition of three different cultural and religious layers: the aboriginal Kanawari (related to the Muṇḍa) with its peculiar cults, the Tibetan Lamaism, the slow penetration of Hinduism which tried to absorb both of them.

This coexistence of different religious layers is evident e.g. in the songs being sung on the occasion of a festival in sPu (G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs, Artibus Asiae, Supplementum VII*, Ascona, 1959, pp. 69 ff.) and in the variety of Gods bearing partly Buddhist, partly local, partly Hindu names. We can refer to the list of these deities set up by R. H. Deuster (*Kanawar-Grundriss einer Volks- und Kulturkunde*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 139). The fact that in those parts we still find a village called Chini might be indicative of the connection between Cina and the Upper Sutlej Valley. I say 'might' and not 'is' because I have no means to ascertain how early the village – or better the name of the village of Chini – dates back: it is certain, however, that this place has a great importance because over it hangs one of the most sacred mountains of the valley, the so-called Hindu Kailāsa, where every year a pilgrimage of the local people takes place: it is considered the abode of Śiva and of the dead (Simla Hill States, Punjab, *States Gazetteer*, vol. VIII, 12, p. 29; Deuster, *op. cit.*, p. 93; H.M. Glover, 'Round the Kanawar Kailasa', *Himalayan Journal*, 1930). Of course another hypothesis cannot be ruled out: it may be that the name of Chini of today is the transposition of an earlier Chini, which was either in Spiti or in Western Tibet; I may quote, as a good example of such transpositions, that of Zabul in Eastern Sistan, given to a place in rather recent times under the influence of an evocation of the famous [550] Zabulistan, well-known in Arabic and Persian books, which was located in Afghanistan and included Ghazni, Mukur, and adjacent districts. Be that as it may, that region was once under the rulers of Western Tibet, and as I stated above it was evangelized by Rin c'en bzañ po, though there might have been a setback of Buddhism when the power of the kings of Western Tibet declined. It is from the time of Rin c'en bzañ po that the tibetanization of the country commences. The fact that Cina and Strirājya are often assimilated or quoted together is perhaps to be attributed to polyandry, which is still practised in this part of the world and might have struck the first Hindu visitors, colonizers, or pilgrims (on the presence of Hindu images in the Guge district see: Tucci, 'A Hindu Image in the Himalayas', *Asia Major VII*, 1969, pp. 170 ff.).

If this were proved to be true, then the cult of Cina-Tārā should have originated in those parts, on the border between Tibet and Kanawar, where the peculiar sexual behaviours of the women are attested by the *Kāmasūtra* (*saṃghāṭaka* and *goyūthikā*, chapter VI) and by the *Dākāṃavatantra* (IV *paṭala*), '*Lamottarakuloṭpattiyoginī yūthanāyikā*', chapter IV (*goyūthikā*), and are said to be common in the Strirājya. On the sexual freedom of the Bhotias cfr. Ch. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, London, 1905, pp. 72 and 104 (where the *goyūthikā* practice from early age is clearly hinted at).

In the *Śaktisāngamatantra*, vol. III (ed. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1941) there is a full chapter dedicated to Mahācinakrama. It is there written that there are two varieties of it: one is *sakala*, pertaining to Buddhists (p. 104, v. 4) and another one is *niṣkala* which is Brāhmanic; this *krama* is said to be very dangerous (v. 7) and Śiva therefore hesitates before telling its essential points to the Devī, because it can only be revealed to those who know Brahman.

Starting from the fact that everything is imagination and that the initiated worshipper lies beyond it, any sense of sacral purity concerning sacrifice and ritual disappears; there is no need at all to follow the usual prescriptions, no need of bathing before prayers, any time is good for them; women should not be hated (*strīdveṣo na kartavyaḥ*), rather, they should particularly be worshipped (29); the devotee can eat fish, meat, he should always drink (42), he should let his hair grow, he should wear garlands made of bones of cows, horses and men.

We have here an example of a symbiosis of Hinduism, which knew similar abnormal behaviours (e.g. the Kāpālīka), and aboriginal primeval cults. There are more than hints of survivals of all this in the Kanawar region. The acceptance of aboriginal cults by Hinduism through its usual casuistry was caused by its policy of clothing with a Hindu appearance what was pre-existent to its penetration in remote lands¹, following the colonization of Hindu groups.

Thus it seems to me that my localization of Mahācina in Kanawar has a fair chance of proving true. In any case, it is beyond any doubt that it was included in the territories of Žaṅ žuṅ and adjoining regions between [551] the sources of the gTsaṅ po. Tise, the Tibetan Kailāsa to the east, North-western Nepal (Semjā; see Tucci, *op. cit.*), North Garhwal to the south, Ladakh to the north-west, Indian Kailāsa (Cina) to the west.

All this, therefore, makes us certain that when we find in Kautilya the name of Cina as a place from where *cina-paṭṭa* was brought to India, it has here nothing to do with China, as was first surmised. Cina is in this text named after another country from which fabrics were imported to India: Suvarṇakuṭi, in which we must recognize another name for Suvarṇabhūmi: Žaṅ žuṅ, Suvarṇabhūmi, Strirājya, Cina, being listed together. The material imported is a fabric appreciated for its quality which can very well be a woollen material, the woollen *paṭṭa* called *pashm* in Kanawar (*pashmina* in Kashmiri), that still represents one of the main products, if not the only one from Kanawar. *Paṭṭa* means a fine cloth of any kind (as that used by the *yogin* for their difficult *āsanas*: *yoga-paṭṭa*), fabric, material for garments; bandage for wounds (*vraṇādīnām*

¹ On this aspect of Hinduism, on which I always have insisted, see also D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, London, 1965, pp. 45 ff.

bandhanam) as *kambala* already mentioned by Patañjali² was a product of Uḍḍiyāna, *cina-paṭṭa* was a product of these parts, now included under the general denomination of Hundes, the country of wool, famous for the production of soft and appreciated wool blankets and shawls.

II. PADMASAMBHAVA IN SWAT

In the book of Inayat-ur-Rahman (*Folk Tales of Swāt*, Roma, 1968) there are two references to Tibet and to two *yogis* who went to Tibet (tales 21 and 22). It is useless to recall Padmasambhava, the well-known Tantric scholar who, invited by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan at the suggestion of Śāntarakṣita, subdued, according to the tradition, the demons of Tibet, and played an important part in laying down the foundation of bSam yas, the most important sacred buddhist place of Tibet. While the second tale (p. 34) is nothing but a praising of the wisdom of a *yogin* whose name is quite Indian, and only proves once more that the connection between Swat and Tibet is still surviving in Swat, in spite of the ruling islamic orthodoxy, the first tale (p. 32) appears to me as a recollection of the legend of Padmasambhava. That this person was a great thaumaturge, so that he was considered in Tibet as a second Buddha and his feats inspired a great legendary cycle, is well-known to all Tibetan and Indian scholars, in spite of the fact that very little is known of his real personality. He is said to be the son, perhaps the spiritual son (in Tib. *sras* is often meant in this sense) of a king of Swat, Indrabhūti, famous as a Tantric scholar and author, and to have been born on a lotus on the lake of Dhanakośa, located by the traditions in Swat.

The essential point which we gather from the story related by Inayat-ur-Rahman, is that the reason for the journey of the *yogin* (called Barhāmā) to Tibet was that of getting a magic stone in possession of a Tibetan princess. Now we know that, according to the Tibetan legend, Padmasambhava [552] accomplished wonderful magical feats, before starting the planning and the foundation of the monastery of bSam yas. He had to overcome the local demons, who wanted to prevent him from introducing a new religion in Tibet; he succeeded at last, and was greatly honoured by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan.

But being a *grub t'ob*, a *siddha*, he needed a *p'ya rgya*, a *mudrā*, a female co-partner in order to accomplish his magical rites; we should therefore not feel surprised at being told that he had two wives: Ye šes mts'o rgyal, and Mandaravā. However, it is rather strange to find in the *bKa' t'añ sde lha* – one of the books in which his story is narrated along with that of the foundation of bSam yas – that the king of Tibet, satisfied with his accomplishments, wanted him to marry his daughter, and that Padmasambhava accepted the offer. He married, and begot from the princess two sons, a bad one who died, and a good one who continued the work of his father. His return with the princess on a palanquin flying in space and carried by fairies, is certainly to be compared with the Tibetan tradition according to which after leaving Tibet he went to the country of the Rākṣasa (Laṅkā = Lagman) situated near Uḍḍiyāna (Swat), with the *ḍākinis*, flying witches, for whom Swat was famous.

² References in: Tucci, 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat'. *EW* IX, 4, 1958, p. 325, n. 16 [repr. in this volume – Ed.].

How was this story, told by Inayat-ur-Rahman, introduced in Swat? We still do not know when the epic cycle connected with Padmasambhava began to take shape: the intercourse between Tibet and Swat was for a certain time perhaps direct, when Gilgit came for a short time under the Tibetan rule: but it is a fact that Swat, Uddiyana, as the country of the *dakinis*, very soon became for the Tibetans a kind of Holy Land. Some Tibetan *Jamas* went under the name of O rgyan pa, 'the man of Swat', because they went on pilgrimage to O rgyan = Uddiyana, the most famous of them being Rin c'en señ ge dpal (born 1230) ³, who was there in the 13th century, when some small Buddhist centres were still alive in Swat. Notwithstanding the progressive islamization of the country, the pilgrims from Tibet continued to go there, the last of them being sTag ts'añ ras pa, the founder of the monastery of Hemis, a contemporary of Señ ge nam rgyal, king of Ladakh; as his predecessor, he wrote an account of the journey, though at his time all Buddhism had gone. Also a Buddhist *sādhu*, Buddhagupta, a master of Tāranātha, was there as late as the 16th century. Thus, on account of this close connection of which I have quoted only a few examples, but which could be enlarged to many more, if all the Tibetan and Ladakhi pilgrims had been duly recorded, the legend of Padmasambhava entered into Swat and has survived there down to our times. There is nothing to be wondered at, if in the course of time his name was lost and also his legend underwent some changes, but in the main I think there is scarcely any doubt that Swat knew from the Tibetan pilgrims the story of this famous thaumaturge, the second Buddha for many Tibetans.

**Preface and Introduction to *Il trono di diamante*
(*The Diamond Throne*)**

Il trono di diamante, Bari, De Donato, 1967, pp. 9-41

Translated, with Author's approval, by Irshad Abdul Qadir and Emmanuele Lizioli.

PREFACE

In 1957 I located in Pakistan and bought for the Museum of Karachi, a manuscript on birch bark which contains the life of the Buddha. This life is included in a vast digest which establishes the rules of the monastic life and takes the opportunity off and on, when relating a particular happening, to dictate the rules of the discipline. Therefore, it does not deal with schematic and cold enunciations, but it comprises a series of stories and episodes of which the actors are, apart from the Buddha, his more renowned disciples and those personages whom he encountered during his continuous wanderings; some times hostile but more often well-disposed towards him and his mission, and ultimately more or less converted by the spiritual radiance which emanated from the Enlightened One, or convinced by his arguments. Moreover, these tales are not limited to present events; the Buddha, evoking past situations, often illustrates the inevitable operation of karma and demonstrates how the suffering, the fortune and even the trifling and apparently ephemeral events pertaining to these personages are not to be considered as resulting from chance, but to be accepted as the necessary consequences of accomplished actions which later matured. Thus he is taken to speak of antecedent lives, either of his own or of his interlocutors, and the story, as I was saying, develops around the operation of karma and subordinately emphasizes the motivation of the rules imposed by him on the Order that was coming into being.

This part of the book which is called *Vinaya*, 'The Discipline', of the Mulasarvāstivādin school, is written unassumingly in easy Sanskrit, the discourse flowing on without embellishment, but always clear and often in the form of a dialogue, as it was required for a public of simple culture. And yet from time to time, the story is interrupted to include repetitions of the same argument in poetry, not aulic and embellished, but rather in popular intonation, even if occasionally we perceive echoes of scholastic poetics, which were certainly not ignored by the writer. On the other hand there is an abundance of repetitions which serves to render more easy the task of the memory, because in India in those days and even later, books were learned by heart.

All these scriptures take us back to the public for whom they were intended; a simple and credulous people, to whom the preacher spoke in an easy language of things and events which often trouble us because of exaggerations or prolixity, but which appeared natural to the listeners and perhaps were expected by them.

While preparing the edition of the Sanskrit text of this book, which has moreover the merit to contain particulars that do not always correspond with the commonly accepted legends developed around the Buddha, I thought it not inopportune to select those passages which put together would represent the weft of a life of the Buddha, at least in its principal moments, as it was narrated to the crowds to be converted, to the faithful to be moved, or to the monks to be edified.

I took even greater comfort in this idea while the excavations in Swāt were progressing, where the Italian Archaeological Mission promoted by the IsMEO had the good fortune to discover a place of worship and pilgrimage very famous in antiquity. We found plenty of sculptures of the art that is commonly called Gandhāra, originated on the north-western edge of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent by a fortunate blending of Buddhist thought or mythology with the Hellenistic-Roman artistic tradition. These sculptures are in fact the figurative transposition

of the legends narrated in our book or in similar works; therefore, the episodes I have chosen for this 'Life of the Buddha' can find proper illustration in the very sculptures discovered in Swät; the ones are better comprehensible with the help of the others. And the same thing happened in ancient times when pilgrims, while walking around monuments decorated with sculptures representing the doings of the Buddha in his past and present lives, heard from the guides who accompanied them, the same tales they read in the books.

And so this 'Life of the Buddha' was born, which partly anticipates the edition of the very important Sanskrit text found by me, along with the illustration of the sculptures discovered in Swät, to be prepared by Dr. D. Faccenna. Naturally, this life is not complete, nor are all the episodes narrated; sometimes the tone of the story becomes much too simple. Therefore, I have not hesitated to gather from elsewhere the tales that in my text were missing, or that seemed to me neglected beyond the tolerable. So that the reader will become aware for himself of the difference of styles, and will note the difference between the primitive simplicity of that book and e.g. the precious poetical complexities of a writer as ornate and conceited as Kṣemendra; the fact is that he was not a Buddhist but only a commonplace versifier for whom anything was good enough to be couched in verses. Anyhow, one cannot deny him the merit of allowing himself to be inspired by books such as ours, later shortened by him in metric shape. Furthermore, the passages of his poem that I have inserted in this volume, have not been translated so far.

For the tale of the nirvana and of the partition of the relics, I have not seen a better way than to translate the classic story contained in the *Dīghanikāya*, even if well known. I have followed the same method in a few other cases. The same discourse could be made in respect of the sculptures; when I could, I profited of those discovered during the excavations of the IsMEO in Swät. But when they looked too damaged, I had recourse to others kept in public or private collections.

If I have achieved this, it was due to the courtesy of Dr. F.A. Khan, Director of the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan, who was kind enough to permit me to take photographs of the sculptures in the museums of Karachi and Peshawar, which I thought most appropriate for my purpose; and furthermore to some collectors such as Mr. Gai of Peshawar who possesses a wonderful collection of Gandhāra art, and H.E. Hadji Vassiliou, the former Ambassador of Greece in Rome. To all of them I wish to express my sincere and grateful thanks.

The plates which accompany the text or rather around which the tales of the translated legends is woven, are taken from the photographs of Miss Francesca Bonardi. Under my suggestion, the photographs were taken in the light of the sun, in the open air, where the sculptures were discovered, because they were destined to ornament sacred edifices erected in the open air and were not meant to be preserved indoor. Therefore, they must be seen in the same light as they appeared to the pilgrims who looked at them while walking around the stupas, rejoicing in the scenes represented; with the same relief, chiaroscuro and interplay of light and shade traced by the course of the sun, now softening now accentuating, creating the illusion of a mobile development to the walking onlooker. These sculptures, if removed from the place for which they were destined, remain without their own vital connection; they become arbitrarily isolated from continuous narration, they stiffen like plants pulled out of the soil that nourishes them.

they lose their expressive vitality; the eye is fatally compelled to compensate this loss by resting on details; by separating the images; by fragmenting the composition; but inevitably this method of contemplation changes or even falsifies the intention of the artist and the scope of the work of art. The sculpture having been so detached from the complex of which it was a part, and removed from the luminosity in which it was resplendent, is deprived of its primitive language and its narrative appeal.

Anyhow, I think that by placing in comparison the old narration and the sculptures from which it is inspired, both can be read and comprehended not according to our ways, but like both were, and still are understood by the faithful.

Finally, I would like to specify that in this 'Life of the Buddha', I have adopted the scheme, shall we say orthodox, the same that is found in the *Uttaratantra*, which is concluded in twelve main episodes; eleven, to begin with the descent from the Tūṣita heaven, in which the Buddha was awaiting the time for accomplishing his mission and where, at the time of his descent to the earth, he invested as his heir Maitreya, who will be the Buddha of the future till the achievement of enlightenment. Lastly, the twelfth moment, the extinction into nirvana. Two of these events are essential; firstly the achievement of the enlightenment by which the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni becomes the Buddha, i.e. as it is said in Sanskrit, a *jīvanmukta*, 'liberated in life', already entered into nirvana, because in this situation no more karma can accumulate; the jump into the other plain has already taken place even though life goes on as the necessary exhaustion of the final karmic remnants or impulses. Then the absolute nirvana is attained at death.

But these twelve principal moments are a starting point for minor episodes, which connect the major ones and orchestrate an immense symphony of legends that little by little spreads to a large part of Asia. Of course, the following pages, being intended merely as a help for the reader to understand some of the figurative interpretations of the life of the Buddha, do not deal with the doctrine; they do not mention it because that is another discourse which has nothing to do with the legend. In fact that element escapes any kind of representations because all of it is pure light of the intellect.

INTRODUCTION

The 6th and 5th century B.C. are heroic centuries in the history of thought: from China to Greece, all of a sudden, the human spirit, freeing itself from the anguish of magic or from religious injunctions weighed by ancient burdens, investigates and analyses the condition of mankind and the machinery of the world and soars in precise clarity. From those centuries begins the ambitious adventure of thought, stimulated by the confidence in its own ability to comprehend the mystery of life.

The Buddha was born around 550 B.C. near the foothills of the Himalaya, in the vicinity of Kapilavastu, the ruins of which are submerged in the protective grip of the unhealthy jungle which limits and protects Nepal to the south. The epoch in which Buddha was born was one of specially tormented speculation. On the one hand the materialists denied the survival of the soul

after death; others were resigned to a pitiless fatalism; others imagined the soul imprisoned within the body, or, with the aid of psycho-physic techniques and by virtue of the discrimination between the real and the unreal, the eternal and the temporal, they set themselves to save it keeping it inoperative in a squalid light; yet others affirmed that the soul was a reflection or a vibration of a participation of the One-Whole and they maintained that only this One-Whole was the truth, in opposition to the illusory world of time and space. Anyhow, all the schools were weighed down by the shadow of sorrow; real or imaginary, this world always means sorrow because it is subject to time, transient, *anitya*; man has no happiness in life, or rather in the disconsolate cycle of births and deaths; according to the various sects, either a norm or a capricious will planes over things and creatures, like the grey oppressive heat that weighs down the warm countries in summer. The idea was slowly growing that death does not mean rest or extinction; the deeds of man by a necessary concatenation drove him inevitably from birth to birth: it was the desperation of the absolute presence of sorrow, the terror of the endless repetition of an anguish-ridden destiny.

These were the ways that learned speculation was following; these the problems which the Buddha would try to solve.

What do we know of the Buddha? Almost nothing, not even what his name was before the renunciation. We only know that, like other Indian teachers, at a certain moment of his life he abandoned home and family in search of an enlightened fullness beyond living and suffering; we know also that, having achieved, in virtue of the enlightenment, this fullness, he did not wish to keep concealed from others the path followed to attain it, but he resolved to reveal it because, even if unaware, all are drowning in the sea of sorrow.

We know also that he died most probably around 480 B.C. or sometime before or after that date. Many discourses are attributed to him, but it is not easy to distinguish what was his teaching and what were the glosses of his disciples.

His doctrine is simple; the soul does not exist, but this evidence does not deprive man of his moral responsibility, on the contrary it places him alone, with the burden of his actions or of his will, in front of himself; he has no support, no refuge, no guide other than he himself, and the example and the words of the Buddha and of those who live his experience.

There are four essential truths: the sorrow which like the air surrounds and enfolds us from all sides; the origin of this sorrow, i.e. the impulse and the thirst of living and enjoying; the suppression of sorrow, the stopping and elimination of this thirst; the way that leads to the suppression of sorrow, i.e. the continuous and heroic practice of the noble eightfold path.

The human personality is the sum total of certain changeable psycho-physic components: body, sensation, thought, voluntary and therefore responsible action, consciousness. But nothing belongs to us, of nothing are we the owners; not the body, because if the body belonged to us we would compel it to do whatever we wanted; not the sensations, as they are not always constantly pleasant; not the mind, which restlessly wanders here and there; all is a total vanity, which is not assembled around a single ego, because this ego does not exist. Everything that is in time is like a mirage or a transitory froth on tempestuous waters. I am nothing but the unstable aggregate of those five components; nevertheless karma and the thirst for life, never placated,

place, so to speak, a tension in the conscience, which at the moment of death sets loose a force re-assembling the same coefficients of the person, causing thus a new embodiment; and this always reassembles itself until the extremely diligent exercise of the noble eightfold path and the analysis of how the mechanism of existence functions, extinguish for ever that vital thrust. And then the jump happens; the jump from the samsaric plain of time to the plan beyond time, a non-personalized situation which the Buddha always refused to define, because the word cannot define a situation which transcends it and which is out of the reach of the imagination and of human reason.

Man is pushed by a native desire or better by a thirst that never abandons him: a thirst that only karma can satiate; it is congenial like the body, it accompanies him like the shadow accompanies the tree. By analysis, we discover that it is threefold: thirst of pleasure, thirst to continue to exist, thirst of not to exist. Of the first we all have experience: it is the spark which lights the fire of the passions, urged by the body, interwoven with vibrations of happy and sad recollections, saddened by the shadow of passing away.

The second is the thirst to continue to be, to survive after death, in the heavens, participating in a blissful form of existence, but always the same, always as the same eternal soul.

Last of all comes a particular desire, which once again takes us back to the spiritual and religious world in which the Buddha grew and acquired his education: a desire for annihilation and cancellation of the self, the *a priori* affirmation of a great nothingness, absolute negation of any tomorrow. Thirst to live, thirst to survive in blissfulness, thirst for annihilation, but still a desire, an attachment to something, a possession of which we are the victims. The Buddha intends to stop this desire; when it fades away forever in a quiet and serene stillness, the force of cohesion which binds together the aggregates becomes loose, loses weight, is extinguished; the person disintegrates but in that very moment the other plane of which we spoke above is realised, the plane of silence, of no desire, of no karma, where the flame of life is extinguished forever, the nirvana.

If otherwise the threefold desire persists, karma is not arrested; it continues to project in the future the so-called person whom we believe to be, the burden of sorrow with which the five constituents are charged and which karma welds together after death. Karma operates consciously; its effect follows us everywhere and it never leaves us: 'neither in the infinity of space nor in the depth of the sea nor in the cave of the mountains, in no place on earth wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape from the result of thy actions'. The arrest is achieved only through the examination of the four truths, through the analysis of what we believe to be and in reality are not, through a life controlled by the attentive discrimination and by the vigilant presence of the mind. Then the germ of karma is destroyed forever. And this is not the extinction of the materialists, which is a presumption, an inertia behind which a thesis is concealed, but the continuous deprivation of action, the necessary companion of life, of every thirst, and the ransom, throughout life, of the ineffable nirvanic state. Of this nirvana, as of all the metaphysical theses that render so varied the garden of Indian speculation, the Buddha has never said what it is: neither that it exists nor that it does not exist, and much less what it is. Only an urge is upon us: the achievement of the nirvana: all the rest is useless theory. If an arrow has struck you, it is

useless to search for the archer, to consider as to how it is made, or how are its wings; if you do not want to die, pluck it out and cure the wound.

This development and succession of karma is not arbitrary; it is kept together by an iron law of causation which, once a particular situation arises, necessarily leads to a successive one; it is the law of conditioned causation (*pratityasamutpāda*) which passing through all dogmatic developments remains to this day the fundamental principle of Buddhism. The law of time weighs down on everything there is; the impermanence, the continuous corruption and decay and ageing of things and of creatures, the discoloration, the dying, the transitory possession, the inevitable abandonment of what is dear to us, the perpetuation of what is distasteful. A compact trilogy accompanies life: impermanence, suffering, the deprivation of a durable essence in us and in things, all dragged in the stream of a sorrowful becoming and changing.

Man does not have in him sin but an error, a primordial and universal illusion together with a vital impulse, i.e. a falling towards death, because to be born is to die. And all this, for those who do not discover the game of the tremendous forces and of the laws which govern them, is a continuous, endless suffering: the samsara, the flux of the endless births and deaths, i.e. in a word, the kingdom of Māra; and Māra is the death, because he is the stimulus to life, the lord of space and of time, the sovereign master of ghosts and passions, loves and hatreds, errors and obscurations, which as long as they exist in our hearts or in our minds, will never permit us to achieve Buddhahood.

Naturally the subtle and almost cruel analysis that delves into the roots of all the common certainties, which scrutinises every thing and every idea in its various parts and moments to dissolve it afterwards, the research (*prajñā*) which only foolishness, laziness or fear can stop and under whose cold and crystalline light the ego and the mine, what I believe to be and what I think to see, to touch and to possess, vanishes forever, at a certain moment nullifies itself in an empty immobility where every duality is extinguished, without subject or object.

It is like an ascent which moves from a moral most severe discipline and, classifying on its way thoughts and things, demonstrates their mutual dependence or the necessary relation of the one to the other and therefore their real inconsistency, and, at the end, reaching ever more rarefied heights, rests at the summit where the traveller and the path have disappeared forever. In fact:

'Suffering exists, but not the one who suffers;
action exists, but not the one who does the action;
nirvana exists, but there is no one to enter into it;
the path exists, but no traveller is seen.'

It is clear therefore that the culminating point of the life of Buddha is the enlightenment, which, in the legend, coincides with the victory over Māra: an epical version of the final clash between the illusions and the fears of man, like a rite of passage and the foreboding of the dawn of the other plane which will enfold the meditator in its brightness and this, upon becoming an impetuous force, lifts him up forever beyond the fallacious veil of appearance, beyond the deforming and at the same time alluring flashes of all that is in time and space.

Only then he becomes the Buddha, the awakened, the perfect enlightened; and Māra, the God of death, has no power over him, not only because the knowledge and the experience of what he has known provokes in Śākyamuni the spiritual state by which he is no longer what he was, but because he is re-born in an irreversible state.

From there a return is no longer possible; Māra is defeated; even more than that, Māra, with all that he represents, exists no more; he exists no more, not because after having existed before, he is now in flight, terrified by the miraculous power of the Buddha, but simply because he never existed, and of this non-existence the Buddha has achieved the full consciousness. Man had created him: he is the error, to see things where there is no shadow of things, not even dreams of a shadow of things. Naturally, this truth was not easy to be told or to be made comprehensible; the teachers speak by symbols and the symbols are transformed by the crowds into legends. A spiritual conquest which cannot be expressed is thus transformed in a burst of fanciful imageries into which the Indian religion transfers its terrors and its anguish.

Then the teaching begins, i.e. the most difficult part of his mission. Rightly so, the Buddha before he preaches remains in doubt; he forecasts that his words will not be understood; furthermore as his greatness increases with time in the imagination of the faithful and of his followers, his life, being now uniform, similar in appearance to that of everybody else, was not enough, in their eyes, to be witness of his sublimity. The saintliness, a saintliness so definite as the one claimed for the Buddha, beyond any doubt or hesitation even momentary, loses the fascination of struggle; until the conquest is achieved the Bodhisatva, not yet a Buddha, at every instant being born and dying, advances fearlessly and splendidly towards that absolute condition which he feels is inevitable, but which presupposes a faithful and unshakeable tenacity.

But after the enlightenment the light which invests him, shuts out any drama. He is the Buddha and that is all; he has 'attained what he had to attain'. The stasis in the Being. But the common man cannot understand this: the world in which he lives is made of actions, it is history; therefore he replaces the Buddha within history: his actions shall not be what they were before: they shall be miracles.

The great miracle of his conquest, under the tree of the Enlightenment, is fragmented into a gallery of miracles; he is not any more the man who struggles within himself: now he struggles against the enormous kingdom of Māra, pugnacious and present in the others. And thus starts the second part of the drama: no longer the drama for the victory over himself, but a drama in which the personages are two; he and the others; i.e. he and the error of the others; he the light, the others either shadow or darkness.

But judgement depends on how things are seen, it depends on whether we exclude the possibility of another mode to consider them, different from the common one; or we arrive at the conviction that what appears is not the truth, because in front of us there is a veil; then those who lift it cannot be but different from the others, i.e. 'strangers'.

The common order cracks and breaks up; wisdom and ignorance, truth and prejudices crumble like a sand castle; a storm engulfs them, demolishes them and they cannot revive any more; thereafter begins the risk of tests and of unforeseen events, apprehensions in place of the old certainties; the perspectives change. The attitude that the 'stranger' will assume after that

discovery undoubtedly varies from person to person. But the fact remains that to see common opinions overturned or unsettled or impossible to be justified according to normal usage represents a situation in which, through a slow awakening or through a tormented reasoning or through a sudden flash, many have found themselves; the Buddha is therefore one of the many brave souls to whom the world has revealed itself different from what it seems, one of those 'strangers' whose long series begins just with him and with Chuangtze, and reaches out to certain restless souls closer to us in time. Naturally the conclusions that each man draws from his own experience differs, the clarity with which each one achieves consciousness varies, the mode of living by which they are overwhelmed or which willingly they choose differs: anyhow the exaltation or the anguish which renders them strangers to the common people and moves them to discover the depth of things, that what is beyond the veil, unites them all because all are equally joined in their individual eccentricity and solitude, and all deprived of the help of religious fancies, of myths and of the hopes which confirm man in the usual way of thinking or of believing.

The discovery of universal vanity causes no turmoil in the Buddha; the initial anguish, born in him when life is revealed as contradictory and mysteriously painful, gives place to a luminous, imperturbable serenity. His doctrine is now clear and limpid like a mathematical axiom. But this always presupposes as a starting point an '*udvega*', an initial shock which must produce in those who approach him or his doctrine an overturning of values; that is, the disciple must experience a crumbling down of all that which till that moment seemed indubitable and certain to him. His future life will depend on that instant; of course it may happen that someone, and this is indeed the fate of many, will be seized again and carried away by the flow of the current, by the common, and he will plunge in it, then all is lost. The Bodhisattva as well, in the long journey which lies in front of him, is subject to decline and to fall, as a victim of the temptations of Māra; only after the 'seventh earth', the seventh step of the long ascent, can he consider himself definitely 'one who does not come back'. It is easy to reach the conclusion from these premises: every one who has experienced this shock is doubly alone because not even the Buddha can give him any other comfort than his own word and his example.

So we see that the Buddha differs from the many who see the world turned upside down, under a different light: a majority of them arrive at the goal without knowing how, dazzled all of a sudden by an immediate and powerful flash of light. This situation in which they find themselves separates them from the others, just because they are not themselves able to explain how this tormented uniqueness has dawned in them and has thereafter transfigured and condemned them, for the same reason, to an incommunicable singularity. The Buddha instead arrives there by his own will and consciously. He has discovered the technique for effecting the great jump. Moreover, once having achieved the enlightenment, after a short hesitation he persuades himself of the communicability of his own experience. In order that others may follow him, he does not hesitate to teach how he arrived at the enlightenment. In fact he is recognized as the guide (*netā*), the caravaner who leads the travellers to the goal: his doctrine is a vehicle. Nevertheless he proclaims that anybody who follows him must retread the stages of the long walk by himself alone and with his own forces.

Having fulfilled his task as the Master, the Buddha has nothing more to say or to do. He has indicated the path open to the willing ones, but it is not an easy or a short path; it is fit neither for the tired, nor for the weak, nor for the doubting: it is the path of the heroes. Without heroism (*virya*) it is impossible to reach the goal. That is to say that in Buddhism there is no place for dogma.

This teaching is not valid, if it is accepted only as an act of faith; it must be sifted by an alert and conscientious re-examination. It is not enough to affirm that the Master has thought and said so, and that therefore we ourselves must think and speak thus. Everyone must think and judge on his own and for himself: 'Everything that thou shalt think and shalt say must be that which thou hast seen, understood, known by thyself'. This the Master has recommended to his own disciples. You do not find in him a shadow of intolerance, of vexation, or threat. He is not a judge. He leaves everyone free to choose his own path. His preaching does not contain anything prophetic; it is serene and merciful because behind the sinner there is the unconscious or the fearful. He waits for him to listen to his word, which will produce in him the shock in front of the things and of the mechanics of life and sorrow, which after the teaching will appear different from what they appeared before; this shake, this seeing all of a sudden the world turned upside down and the allures to vanish, is the first step which leads to reflection. Man cares for his own property, for his own success, for his own fantasy, but in this thinking he lets himself be attracted, guided and misled by appearance without substance; never or rarely does he turn his thought on himself. The Buddha distracts him from the habit, casts a shadow over the fascinating illusions. And here ends his duty, because each one for his own redemption, as was said, has no other support but himself. The Buddha is peremptory on this. Even the masters can fall into a grave sin, that is to do good by force, to impose their own preaching, to threaten those who do not follow them. The spiritual good, says the Buddha, cannot come from outside: it is a flame that bursts forth by a spontaneous explosion of the mind.

Therefore it is not enough to have known what the Buddha has said: the revulsion of plane in the life of mind occurs not through knowledge but by means of a living experience. And here help is provided by the technique of meditation that Buddhism has taken mainly from the ancient tradition of Yoga, one of the earliest and most fertile of the patrimony of India. This technique filters the words, or the knowledge couched in them, in intervals of silence, immobile clarity, rarified ascents which, beyond the intelligible forms, are condensed in that indefinable and unique instant in which the presence of nirvana is realized. Then man has crossed to the other bank of the river.

Indeed, man is like one who has in front of him a large river, the river of existence; the doctrine of salvation and his personal experience directing him to that goal, are the boat which transports him to the other bank. At this point even the doctrine serves no more; it has accomplished its duty, and must be abandoned, because a doctrine which becomes a dogma is like a stone that will drag him back into the whirlpool, to the bottom of the abyss.

'So oh monks, I have taught you that the law is similar to a raft which serveth to pass across, not that you should remain attached to it. Those who know must repudiate all things conforming to the Law (*dharma*), much more so the non-conforming ones'¹.

¹ *Majjhimanikaya*, p. 135.

And to continue the example, the *Book of the Cut of the Diamond*, forecasting the danger of the affirmation and negation in regard to the ineffable, adds:

'If, oh Subhūti, those Bodhisattvas perceive either a dharma, or a non-dharma, they therefore will attach themselves to an ego, to a being, to a soul, to a person; wherefore? No Bodhisattva must attach himself either to a dharma or to a non-dharma. Therefore this the Buddha hath said intentionally: "Those who understand the discourse on dharma, which is like a raft, will abandon the dharmas, and much more so the non-dharmas..."'

It is clear that the Buddha, like almost all the Masters of India, does not speak of sin; sin is a consequence, an effect; the cause of it is the ignorance of the real nature of things, in the particular case the ignorance of the mechanics of life, moved by the impulse of desire. To take man out of the agitation of desire, and therefore out of history, this was his message; he was a man who spoke to men; the gods are unhappy like men, because their beatitudes do not last; the moment will come when they will fall down from the heavens. Therefore the Buddha cannot be born among the gods, but only among men, because man is a privileged creature, the self-contained master of his own destiny.

Here, with a probable approximation, is what the Buddha said to his first disciples. All that came after is the fatal meeting with associated life and history; the common fate of all spiritual movements. The word of the Master becomes ever more remote; the original inspiration freezes, the light is not extinguished but quivers with uncertain vibrations among the followers, no longer sanctified by his presence.

Little by little the crowd has covered that Word with incrustations, conformisms and compromises between its own limitation and the profundity of an experience difficult to reach; the crowd overlays the simplicity of the ancient teaching with arbitrary interpretations or structures. Only a few elects, in the intoxication of faith, can renew in themselves, even at a distance of centuries, the illuminating presence of the Master, while listening to his eternal preaching.

The destiny of the founders of great religions is deeply tragic: they are the great solitary ones. It is true that solitude is the lot of man, enclosed within himself like a flower which cannot blossom, because the word defines the visible, but, apart from this, expresses only by allusion of partial gleams the particular and personal meaning which we give to it, provoking in others other reactions; or, in an approximate way, it hints at the incommunicable depths of the soul. Thereafter customs, prejudices, the universal consensus of associated life, suffocate that occult meaning that never or rarely blooms in the light of the sun.

Man then adapts himself to this individual slavery, to this levelling, to this eternal dying of his, because to think as all others think, to bow to the same idols, to respect the social structures, means not to think at all, to be a thing, not a free creature. It is a fact that man fears nothing as much as liberty; and without regret he sells it so as not to find himself face to face with his own solitude, wherein repose only its light and its mystery, its torment and its grandeur. The experience of the Masters is therefore incommunicable, capable only of reflection in sudden apparitions, in the elect and in the pure who have surpassed the web of history. Their word is allusive, they use words that the world understand, but they charge them with a different and unique meaning. If therefore it is difficult to know the word of the Masters, it is

far more difficult to know the particulars of their lives. That of the Buddha too we still never know. But it does not matter. His life is summed up and concluded in that unique instant in which the truth he sought appeared to him with dazzling evidence. All the rest has no importance. With the followers the thing is different; man does not resign himself to the thought that the Master is a person like himself, he cannot admit that there exists someone, in the human sphere, superior to himself; for he who has seen face to face the truth never known before, could not have achieved this by the sole virtue of his own reason. That revelation has placed him on another plane. He partakes of a mysterious sacredness; or he is an epiphany descended on earth to teach the path. So the legend is born. The Master becomes god, which is a lowering.

Of all of this the Buddha was certain; when he was about to dissolve himself into nirvana, Ananda asked him how the disciples could honour his relics. 'Do not think of this', he answered 'Only one thing is enjoined upon you: to think of your own salvation ... The lay devotees shall be the ones who shall venerate the relics of the Buddha'. He was therefore foreseeing what would happen. His word, his example, the direct experience was for the elect; the cult was reserved for the lay devotees incapable of feeling themselves alone on the path of life.

The Buddha, it was said, has redeemed man from any divine subjection; he made him master of himself and of his own destiny; this is repeated centuries after by a Bengali poet:

'Above everything there is man;
no creature is superior to man.'

Nevertheless, a man who has removed himself from the world by attaining the liberating truth, can still remain there by his own will in order to shower on others the rain of his mercy.

And just this was the presupposition of the 'Great Vehicle': love for the suffering can be so compelling as to induce a man to forsake nirvana, to remain, for an indefinite time, in the cycle of births and deaths, to sacrifice himself for the benefit or the service of others. Thus the Bodhisattva is born, he who can disappear into nirvana, consubstantiate himself with the Ineffable One, but who prefers to continue to suffer until all the others become, like him, participants of the salvific truth.

'Joining both hands I implore the Buddhas of all points of space so that they light the torch of the Law for the benefit of those who have fallen down in sorrow because of their mental ignorance.

And with both palms joined, I implore the saints desirous of entering into nirvana, to remain in life for infinite cosmic ages, so that this world will not remain blind.

For the merit that I shall obtain by doing this, may I bring rest to the sorrow of all the creatures.

May I be medicine for the sick and a doctor and nurse till the illness is cured.

May I could placate the torment of hunger and thirst with showers of food and drink: and in the intermediate cosmic eras, when hunger reigns, may I myself be transformed into food and drink.

For all the poor may I become an inexhausted treasure and with all kinds of help may I appear before them to assist them.

My own life, my welfare and my past, present and future merit with complete indifference [in my regards] I sacrifice so that all the creatures profit of them.

The sacrifice of all is the nirvana and my heart is eager for nirvana; if all I must sacrifice, it's better that to the creatures everything I donate.

This very person of mine I abandon to the hands of others that they may do with it whatever they wish; to kill it, to vituperate continually, to cover it with dust, to play with my body, to scorn it, to jest with it; to them I have donated my body. To me what matters any other thought? Let them do all they desire, but no damage may happen to anyone because of me.

If the mind of someone because of me becomes irritated or troubled, may this too serve for the achievement of the good of all.

Those who calumniate me and those who wish to harm me and those who scorn me, all can partake of enlightenment.

May I myself be a protector for those who have no protectors, a caravan leader for those who travel, a boat, a bridge, or a ford for those who wish to reach the other bank, a torch for those who need a torch, a servant for all the creatures who search for one who will serve them².

The lives of the saints are all alike: they follow an identical scheme whether it be the Orient or the West; the immaculate birth, the immediate awareness of their own mission, the precocious or innate omniscience which confuses the learned men called upon to teach them, the renunciation of the world, the temptation, the piety, the resurrection of the dead, the healing of the sick, the redemption of the lost women, the vain insidiousness of the traitor, the passing away among the darkening of the sky, the trembling of the earth and the exaltation of light.

So the legend is born, woven with these archetypes, and it envelops and hides the nakedness of a sublime life. The Master becomes god: indeed, according to certain schools, He is only an illusory appearance who has not pronounced a single word, a reflection of the Truth, like a ray of grace which has struck the minds of those who are spiritually mature to comprehend it, like the echo of a super human voice which they have translated in rational terms, for the benefit of themselves and others.

Man is tardy to follow the subtle teaching, to step down into the solitude of his own ego, to disengage himself from the ties or the symbols of associated life. The singularity of a lesson simple and difficult to follow, because it goes against the current, troubles him, but the tales of extraordinary and impossible events exalt him. The legend which develops around the Master, resplendent with miracles and prodigious feats, stimulates the imagination, and causes every uncertainty to crumble; that narration generated the first tremors which induced the neophyte to approach the Master with confidence.

These legends are, as I was saying above, the initial thrust; with them begins the long journey consisting of reflection, contemplation, dedication and renunciation which will provoke at the end the mutation of plane. They have a pragmatic value in the very long journey which from stage to stage, from conquest to conquest leads to nirvana.

² Śantideva, *Bodhicaryavatara*, II, 5 ff.

All the tales which we read afterwards, and which are taken from the more significant apologetic works of Buddhism, have no historical content: they are the burning flames of an intent and simple faith, which exhorts, in a passionate apotheosis, the earthly life of the Great Solitary.

But this legend travels in the world, accompanies Buddhism in its Asiatic diaspora, inspires poems and works of art, moves hearts and leads the bewildered and sorrowful creatures towards the same enlightenment which, having overcome the temptation of Mara, struck like a lightning the Buddha in the night of Bodhgaya.

The pilgrims who visited the places of the life and the preaching of the Master, or the monuments which contained his relics and those of the saints, keeping in the prescribed way of the ritual the sacred edifices to their right, admired the engraved theories or the painted representations, in which, according to the schemes of literary tradition, the imaginary lives of the Buddha, the past as well as the last one, were represented; a kind of *legenda aurea*, the representation of different historic situations, of happenings which perhaps never occurred, or occurred in a different way.

This narrative art already far removed, even in space, from the places where the Buddha was born or where He had carried on his mission, had taken particular forms in the extreme north-western limits of India, in those border regions where Buddhism and India had met with the religious and artistic experience of Greece and Iran; then Central Asia with its peoples broke in and came down to plunder or to conquer, introducing new ideas and expectations. Buddhism now had to speak another language; the experience of the monk was overlaid by an idiom accessible to all, both Indians and barbarians; introspection and contemplation were replaced by the ardour of faith and devotion, in the place of the purification of the self came the prayer, the conformism of the rite, the exaltation of the gnosis. The first sermon preached to the five regained disciples, at Samath, when he started to turn 'the Wheel of the Law', always remains the unalterable foundation of his message; but with the passing of centuries gradually new implications were discovered; the philosophic thought which deepened with research, the religions which gave rise to new anguish and new hopes in many souls, and the changed condition of life were building up majestic and solemn architectures around that nucleus.

History having taken possession of that message, yet being unable to cancel it, recast it into new orientations: from the Little Vehicle the Great Vehicle was born, the place of the Arhat, who pursues his own liberation in meditative solitude, is taken by the Bodhisattva, projected towards enlightenment, burning with the fire of love and exalted by philosophical subtleties or by mystical enthusiasm. The Solitary One of Bodhgaya dissolves in a luminous essence which is the real substratum of the fleeting appearances articulated in the vacuity of time and space.

That luminous essence is inside us because we are substantiated by the Buddha himself. Man has always possessed a sense of decay from a condition of primordial purity: to be here, is a *Dasein* conditioned by time and space and therefore by death. It is but natural that this sense of decay and the anxiety for a reconquest were also present in the Buddha; the nirvana is a return. But He, contrary to every speculation that distracts the intellect into subtle dialectics and loses sight of the essential, relegated the problem of the origins such as the definition of nirvana, as among the things that cannot be enunciated: *avyakta*. After him the schools wished

to specify stated that the immote and resplendent luminous conscience, the Matrix of the Buddha, or the Buddha as absolute, through an immanent dialectic, became circumscribed, limited, obscured, divided into duality, dilated into matter to remain imprisoned in it; and in the same way as in the gnostic school light descends into the darkness to conquer it and then to free the part of the self which is fallen and segregated, so also in Buddhism the secret Matrix can reintegrate in itself after its expansion in the other ego; first dilating itself in that darkness, then overcoming it, i.e. emerging from the not being, time and space all get resolved in the primordial luminosity.

Thus Buddhism became transformed into a gnosis; mercy towards the suffering creatures remains the primary stimulus, but it must be joined with the gnosis. The luminous and regenerating seed is inside us like a gem hidden in the dress: the essential identity of creatures and hence their unity in the Absolute, which is an indefinible luminous conscience, i.e. the Buddha, are the foundations of the reintegration; that light, i.e. our interior reality, must be found again beyond the error and the darkness; it must be freed from the obfuscation which hides it; becoming must be destroyed to transfigure itself in an explosion of light into the Being.

And it is here that Buddhism, which had always remained an apostolic doctrine open to all, becomes part of the same anxiety which, having been aroused by the dissatisfaction of the ancient religions, and inflamed by a profound sense of decay and of sin, expresses itself with different names and under various forms in the gnostic movements. The latter, blending together ancient experiences and new exigencies, from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Iran and India, proposed to discover the secret ways by which the being is transformed into not being, the light becomes imprisoned by darkness, and hence to indicate the ways of redemption, of reintegration, of the coming back, in a complex of cosmogonies, philosophic discussions, baptisms, magic, and alchemies. But it is always the same drama of the dissatisfaction of man, of his presumption and of the tacit certainty of his humility, of the desperation of a life which he possesses and is not his, of the death which accompanies him from birth, of the hope of finding an answer to the impassible mystery of the nothingness from which he emerges and to which he returns.

In other words, since the beginning we lose contact with the personality of the Buddha: there remains only Buddhism, i.e. the way in which people different by ethnic origin, languages, customs and religious traditions, welcome the echo of His message. This Buddhism, gradually changing, follows the caravan routes, travels with the merchants, and spreads to a major part of Asia. It is a march sometimes triumphant, sometimes contrasted, that from the borders of Iran (one of the first translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese was an Arsacid prince) conquers Central Asia, reaches China by land and by sea, from China passes on to Korea and thence to Japan; crossing the Himalaya it settles on the 'Roof of the world', conquers South-Eastern Asia and Insulindia. It always follows the same rule: it does not vigorously oppose the religious opinions and cults which it finds in its way; it searches for points of contact, as it did in India at its inception, when it does not repudiate *in toto* the gods in which the multitude believes, but it degrades them to a condition of existence inferior to that of human beings, and then transforms them into custodians and guardians of the Law, having imagined an ideal conversion of divine or devilish creatures who had their roots in the most remote heritage of religious experience.

Spreading thus, it discovers always a point of understanding; the religious world it encounters is left to the margins of the own liturgy or the own gnosis. In Tibet the deities of Bon, who preceded it in the 'Country of snows', after imaginary battles against their apostles who were gifted with an irresistible magic power, they are converted, and transformed into defenders of the faith; of their original character there remains their pugnacious quality which serves to impede the contamination of sacred places, to punish those who do not keep their word or their vows. The tolerance which had from the beginning inspired the Master and his disciples and which is already echoed in the edicts of Aśoka, does not relax. Man tends towards the soteriological knowledge or to the plunge into the indefinable reality of the nirvana: the routes leading to this end are infinite: some more direct and short, some more tortuous and long, but all alike lead to the same goal. In any case, what value can the doctrines, the theologies, the logical subtilities have, when every mental construction is an illusion and all that appears is contradictory, relative and therefore unreal?

But apart from the speculative heights which not all can reach, the light of love is never extinguished in Buddhism. The world is sorrow: sorrow because it is fatuous, fleeting, birth and death; but this sorrow is not only my sorrow, it is the sorrow of all: I cannot remain indifferent seeing that I and the others, all like me, are small twigs that the sea of life and therefore of sorrow drags here and there without peace. In a world surfeited with sorrow, among social orders which had little respect for man, in the restless course of history which witnesses at every instant dynasties and empires crumbling, successive invasions, exterminations unrelenting with the fury of natural calamities, man was led to listen with sympathy to the word of love of Buddhism, its essential creed, and then to accept the promises of the gnosis. There were also the merchants, with whom, as I have said above, it travelled, and in whom it found its chief propagators; Buddhism imposed no absurd prohibitions, but on the contrary it stimulated human contacts, in its anxiety to apply not to the particular but to the general; in aristocratic, priestly and feudal regimes, bound to a tradition which was difficult to oppose or to overcome, man was finding in Buddhism comfort, help and also the impulse to vindicate a greater part of personal dignity.

This religion was born and thereafter spread in countries where religious research and thought necessarily tend to express themselves in visible symbols. In early ages, people did not dare to represent the Master in a human form, but began worshipping his relics which had been already preserved and distributed at his death: the stupas, special buildings which apart from their accepted usage as funerary architecture, expressed a cosmological symbolism, which as the years passed and with the sharpening of speculation acquired gradually a greater consistency, stand over those relics. The Master, once enlightenment is achieved, cannot be represented, because what the Tathagata, what the Buddha really is, escapes human comprehension. Nevertheless all the endless tales of his past lives, when He was already on the path towards the enlightenment but had not yet reached it, suggested endless themes to the artists; the meeting of different cultures and customs at the north-western frontiers of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the propagation of the devoted fervour converging there, give an aspect to Śākyamuni which is configured in the shape of a Hellenistic Socrates. Thus the iconographic scheme is

born. Once the legend had grown around him, a representation world without limits was opening to the artists of Asia; his past, his life narrated by the traditional biographies, his miracles, the philosophy of Mahāyāna expressed in the symbols of the five Buddhas, the forming of the theory of paradises into which flow the anguish and the hopes of the peoples spread along the roads already traversed by the Buddhist diaspora, inspire the pictorial and coroplastic marvels of Central Asia.

So everywhere literary narration and artistic figuration proceed side by side and illuminate each other and together they introduce us to that fluid world of legend and fantasy to which the sincerity of faith conferred nevertheless the value of truth. Only sincerity retrieves illusions and errors.

Recent Explorations in Swat

Explorations récentes dans le Swat

Le Muséon LXXIX, 1966, pp. 42-58.

It is a great honour for me to speak on this occasion and to pay tribute, first and foremost as a scholar, to the ancient and celebrated cultural traditions nurtured and transmitted in one of Europe's most famed universities; secondly, as an orientalist, for it is by the guiding light of the University of Louvain that orientalism has made enduring conquests. To me, especially, having devoted myself from an early age to the study of the thought and religions of India and the Far East, and to Buddhism in particular, the Oriental Institute of Louvain, which is now celebrating its 30th anniversary, has always appeared to be a kind of sacred institution, thanks to its teachers who have diffused, and still continue to radiate here, an inexhaustible enthusiasm for their studies. Their indelible and vigilant presence, which permeates this temple of learning, makes anyone who is invited to speak here hesitate, all the more since the Louvain School of Orientalism embraces a considerable number of different branches that have always merged together in close collaboration, thanks to a humanistic spirit, without which all science freezes into a glacial structure.

In order better to pay tribute to the convergence of studies which is such an admirable feature of this Institute, and to praise in particular the tradition of Buddhist studies I mentioned earlier, which were started by Louis de la Vallée Poussin and continued by Etienne Lamotte, two incomparable masters, a tradition before which anyone who devotes himself to these studies must bow, I thought that it would be appropriate for me to speak briefly about a country where we have been excavating for the last ten years and where, as a consequence of its geographical position, a merging of cultures has occurred, which is clearly reflected in its religious situation.

I refer to Swat, a region situated in northwest Pakistan, in that part of the country still called a 'tribal area'. It is one of the countries where Buddhism has been particularly active for several centuries¹. When the first Chinese pilgrims (Fa hsien) went there to worship in the places consecrated by supposed presence and relics of the Buddha, they found more than 500 monasteries, as an evidence not only of great piety but also of remarkable economic prosperity.

¹ a) General references: G. Tucci, 'In the Path of Alexander the Great: Italian Excavations in Swat, Northern Pakistan', *The Illustrated London News*, 12 April, 1958, pp. 603 ff.; G. Gullini, 'Die Ausgrabungen der Italienischen archäologischen Expeditionen in Swat-Gebiet', *Indologen-Tagung*, 1959, pp. 252 ff.; *Attività Archeologica Italiana in Asia. Mostra dei risultati delle Missioni in Pakistan e in Afghanistan 1956-1959* (English edition: *Italian Archaeological Researches in Asia*), Roma, 1960; G. Gullini, 'Archeologi Italiani nel Pakistan', *Il Veltro* IV, 1960, pp. 17 ff.; *A Glimpse of the Archaeological Excavations in Swat, Pakistan*. Exhibition sponsored by the Italian Cultural Centre for Pakistan in association with the Arts Council of Pakistan, Karachi, 1961; *Mostra del materiale rinvenuto a Mingora (Swat) dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan e assegnato all'Italia*, Roma, 1962; G. Tucci, 'Remarkable Discoveries in Swat', *The Tourist World* II, 12, 1962, pp. 5 ff.; D. Faccenna, 'The Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan', *France-Asie*, 1962, pp. 379 ff.; Idem, 'Gli scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Asia', *Archeologia* I, 1963, 7, pp. 1 ff.; 8, pp. 7 ff.; *Mostra delle sculture buddhiste dello Swat. Sculture rinvenute a Mingora dalla Missione Archeologica in Pakistan del Centro Scavi dell'IsMEO e di Torino assegnate agli Enti Torinesi e da questi donate al Museo Civico*, Torino, Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Aprile-Maggio 1963; G. Tucci, *La via dello Svat*, Bari, 1963; *Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif* (Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia), 1963; Abbreviations: ON = 'Oriental Notes, II', *East and West*, New Series (NS), XIV, 3-4, 1963, pp. 146 ff.; ILN = *The Illustrated London News*; PR = 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', *East and West* IX, 4, 1958, pp. 279 ff.

I have chosen to talk about this well-defined geographical region not only because of the numerous literary and artistic references to the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Swat but also to pose the problem: are there reasons which explain the course of events or phases in this religion as they developed in Swat; and furthermore, in pursuing research to clarify these circumstances, can we recognize particular causes closely related to a specific local religious situation? We should then ask whether these research methods could not become general.

I agree with Prof. Sprockhoff² that, when studying the necessarily varied characteristics and forms of a religion, the geographical location of the 'Lebensraum', i.e. the different countries where it has become established, should be taken into account, much more so than is usually done; I would even add that their ethnic constituents should also be considered, not only in themselves but in their historical sequence.

The most populated part of Swat, known in Sanskrit as Uddiyāna, is a wide, fertile valley criss-crossed by the river that gives it its name and its existence. It is surrounded by high mountains that shelter it, without actually compressing it. Steep paths connected it with the big trade and culture centres of the north-western Indo-Pakistani subcontinent and with the Kunar Valley which, avoiding the mountainous country known as Afghan Kafiristan, linked it with the caravan routes and flourishing towns of Afghanistan. Other more rugged tracks linked it to Chitral, Darel and Gilgit and, through these countries, to Central Asia, Kashmir and Ladakh as well. Difficult though they were, these routes were followed from the dawn of history, thanks to the intuition or skill that enables men to discover, even in the most rugged places, defiles and narrow passes, which are nature's unexpectedly generous reward for their daring. These were the paths travelled upon by the Chinese pilgrims, undoubtedly making use of customary itineraries.

On the other hand, Swat's ethnic components, in the era before the penetration of the Pashtu populations, were varied. Over an older stratum which is still difficult to establish but about which we have some information thanks to archaeological finds at Udegrām³ (called Ora by the Greek chroniclers of Alexander the Great's campaign), a population was rapidly superposed which, from the linguistic point of view, is partly related to the Dardic group and

b) Preliminary notes and reports: G. Tucci, PR; G. Gullini, 'Marginal Note on the Excavations at the Castle of Udegram: Restoration Problems', *East and West* IX, 4, 1958, pp. 329 ff.; C. Silvi Antonini, 'Preliminary Notes on the Excavations of the Necropolises found in Western Pakistan', *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1963, pp. 13 ff.; G. Tucci, 'The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi', *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1963, pp. 27 ff.; D. Faccenna, 'Results of the Excavation Campaign at Barama I - Preliminary Report', *East and West*, NS, XV, 1964-65, pp. 7 ff.

c) Studies: *Reports on the Campaigns 1956-58 in Swat (Pakistan)*: D. Faccenna, *Mingora, Site of Butkara I*; G. Gullini, *Udegram*, IsMEO RepMem, I, Rome, 1962; D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 2: Plates I-CCCXXXV, IsMEO RepMem, II, 2 (Photographs by F. Bonardi, Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddei), Rome, 1962; D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 3: Plates CCCXXXVI-DCLXXV, IsMEO RepMem, II, 3 (Photographs by F. Bonardi, Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddei), Rome, 1964.

² J.F. Sprockhoff, 'Religiöse Lebensformen und Gestalt der Lebensräume', *Numen* XI, 2, 1964, pp. 85 ff.

³ PR, p. 288.

partly to a third branch of ancient Aryan ⁴. This population, which retained the Iranian name of *Aspasioi* west of Kunar, is known further east by the Indianized name *Assakenoi* in the Greek texts and *Assakayana* or *Āśvakāyana* in Indian sources ⁵. These populations have ceased to be a mere literary reference, since their graveyards and now, after recent excavations, their towns, have been discovered in Swat ⁶.

This population extended even further south, around Chārsadda, and westward to the Dir Valley. They left numerous graveyards in Swat, which Carbon-14 dating and comparative studies on similar material found in neighbouring countries lead back to a period between the 10th and 5th century B.C. ⁷. The implements discovered allow well-founded comparisons with the pottery of Tepe Hissar II B, and with Iran in general; the presence of cinerary urns and a votive spear also suggest contacts with cultural centres even further west, particularly those of the Caucasus, thus suggesting slow migrations from the west to the east, and then to the south ⁸. However, the sudden appearance in literary sources of a population formerly known by *Kātyāyana* as *Urđi* ⁹, a name quite obviously related to the Greek term *Ora*, preserved in the present *Uđeđrām*, and to the name *Uđđiyāna* of the country deriving from it, leads us to believe in a subsequent migration of people having a similar culture and linked to one or other of the two roots mentioned. These hypotheses are confirmed by a study of the grave goods which, at a certain moment, reveal the introduction of new types of pottery; they are further reinforced by an examination of the remains of skeletons which, according to Prof. Alciati's studies, also appear to prove the presence at a certain point of a new anthropological type alongside the old one ¹⁰.

⁴ Summary of the question in Peter Snoy, *Die Kafiren: Formen der Wirtschaft und geistigen Kultur* (Inaugural Dissertation), Stuttgart, 1962, p. 19 (Die Sprachen der Kafiren); G. Scarcia, *Šifat-Nama-yi Darviš Muhammad Ĥan-i Ġazi*, Rome, 1965, p. CVI.

⁵ *Āśvakāyana*, *Aśvayāna*: Pāṇini, IV, 1, 110; IV, 1, 99; PR, p. 324. n. 1; see my article, 'The Tombs of the *Asvakayana-Assakenoi*', *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1-2, 1963, pp. 27 ff., and: 'In the Footsteps of Alexander and the Land of the *Assakenoi*: Excavations in Faraway Swat, Northern Pakistan', *ILN*, 30 May, 1964, pp. 856 ff.

⁶ G. Stacul, 'Preliminary Report on the Pre-Buddhist Necropolises in Swat (Pakistan)', *East and West* [NS, XVI, 1-2, 1966, pp. 37 ff. – Ed.].

⁷ 'In the Path of Alexander the Great. Italian Excavations in Swat, Northern Pakistan', *ILN*, 12 April, 1958 pp. 603 ff.

⁸ On this question an article due to appear soon by Dr. G. Stacul should be consulted [G. Stacul, 'Gli orizzonti culturali nella Valle dello Swat (Pakistan) durante la protostoria', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XLIII, 1968, pp. 243 ff. – Ed.]; C. Silvi Antonini, 'Preliminary Notes on the Excavation of the Necropolises found in Western Pakistan', *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1-2, 1963, pp. 13 ff. – I am indebted to Prof. Jettmar for the connection he has suggested between the copper arrowhead discovered in Swat and one found in the Caucasus: see the article by the same author in *East and West* ['The Middle Asiatic Heritage of Dardistan (Islamic Collective Tombs in Pūnyal and their Background)', *EW*, NS, XVII, 1-2, 1967, pp. 59 ff. – Ed.].

⁹ On the *Urđi*, *Uđriyāna*, *Uđđiyāna*, *Tibetan Orgyan*, see PR, p. 324, n. 1.

¹⁰ The article by Dr. Stacul, cited in note 6, can be consulted, as well as Prof. Alciati's book on the skulls and skeletons discovered in *Butkara II*, *Katelai* and *Loebanr* [G. Alciati, *I resti ossei umani delle necropoli dello Swat (W. Pakistan). Parte I: Butkara II*, *IsMEO RepMem VIII*, 1 Roma, 1967 – Ed.].

As I have just said, there was probably a second migration, perhaps coming from the north, and it is not unlikely that it left traces in the tradition of the country, if what the Chinese monk Hsüan tsang said is to be believed: according to him, the kings of the city Meng chieh li, the Mingora of today, considered themselves descendants of Darel¹¹.

Moreover, it is relevant to mention here that peoples of the specifically Dardic group, such as the Torwalis, still live in Upper Swat. It is to these Dards, in my opinion, that the tombs I discovered on the banks of the Indus must be attributed, for this same population spread up the river, to Kalatze, perhaps in earlier times reaching Leh, where they were then absorbed by the immigration of people of Tibetan language and culture¹².

There seems to be no doubt as to the preponderance of Iranian and Dardic elements, with different branches, in Swat's ancient ethnic background; it even seems likely that certain texts adopted by some Buddhist schools were written, in Gandhāra and in Andarāb, in the *paśācī*¹³ dialect, although the common language in urban centres was Gandhārī. Other documents also suggest cultural and (probably) ethnic analogies with the peoples commonly known by the name of Kafirs.

I should like to give a short example here: while Alexander, heading towards the Assakenoi fortresses to take them by assault, lays siege to Nysa and camps in the cemetery near the city, the tombs catch fire, for they were made of cedar wood: *Quae (flamma) lignis alita oppidanorum sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt*¹⁴.

I believe that the city of Nysa is out of the question in this context; there is no doubt, however, that the account relates to events that took place on the territory of the Aspasioi, Assakenoi, 'the horse people'¹⁵. These burning wooden tombs bring to mind the wooden tombs of Kafiristan and Chitral; the question obviously cannot be solved by stating that the tombs of the presumed Nysa were identical to those of Chitral and Kafiristan today, surmounted by wooden images of horses and horsemen, but I should like to stress a fact that is extremely important. In spite of the spread of Islam in its Sunnite form, Islamic funeral monuments in Swat nevertheless show a strange characteristic: the stones, often replaced by wood, at the ends of the tombs that become increasingly frequent as one goes up the Swat Valley and approaches the Torwali region, are topped by the form of a horse's head, sometimes limited to a cold but evident stylization, sometimes quite clearly figurative¹⁶. This reveals the tenacity of a cultural tradition that has not yet been effaced, despite the profound changes that have taken place in the country's history and

¹¹ Hsüan tsang, cited in PR, p. 325, n. 1; cfr. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiuc, Turcs Occidentaux*, Paris, n.d., p. 128.

¹² A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 70 ff.

¹³ Lin Li-Kouang, *L'aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi*, Paris, 1949, pp. 208 ff.

¹⁴ Curtius Rufus, VIII, X; cfr. G. Tucci, ON, p. 157.

¹⁵ On the Katelai horses, see the article by Dr. C. Silvi Antonini, *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1963, pp. 13 ff. and my article (cited), *ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.

¹⁶ ON, p. 158.

religion. I should further like to add that besides the component elements that the course of the centuries has not succeeded in effacing, it should not be forgotten that the progress of events and the geographical configuration itself of the country constitute other factors, that bring their own weight to bear upon the formation of the religious environment of Swat.

In Swat, a country that Alexander the Great had entered and fought over, and whose prosperity had already been remarked by the Chinese pilgrims, due as it was to the fertility of the area as well as to trade (for the country was a trading centre for the mountain people of the north and those of the south, living on the fringes of the trading posts scattered between Charsadda and Taxila), a considerable difference in standards of living can be noted: on the one side, the populations established in the valley along the trade routes, and on the other, the mountain people. The different occupations that arise from this situation and the different level of the population's cultural and artistic development, bring in new elements that should not be underestimated when one wishes to establish what we might call the 'coefficients' of Uḍḍiyāna's religious context.

The villages and the countryside where the farmers lived were so near to the urban centres and so closely linked to them for economic reasons, that their beliefs were certainly influenced by them, excepting those that remained dependant upon an inferior cultural level and an ancestral attachment to religious expressions more specifically linked to rural occupations. This difference was evident especially in the agricultural rites, which retained the old liturgical structures within a purely external framework of Buddhistic traditions.

More than agriculture, the country's principal resources originally consisted in an extremely prosperous handicraft, sustained and supported by the orders placed by patrons for the expensive embellishment of monasteries and stūpas that were being built everywhere; it exported its products elsewhere as well, as far as Taxila¹⁷. Other resources came from working the mines, for gold and iron are mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims among the country's resources; perhaps emeralds should also be included, for the quarries recently unearthed were certainly worked since the Kuṣāṇa era. Let us also add woollen products, the famous woollen blankets and shawls that are renowned throughout India, especially the extremely expensive red *kambala*¹⁸; finally, the trade that flourished along the caravan routes, linking Swat to Puruṣapura and Puṣkalāvātī; all this implies the presence of a very active and extremely wealthy merchant class.

The economic prosperity of Swat is borne out by its imposing and solemn religious edifices, built in the vicinity of the main towns, and by the abundance of gold that covered its sculptures (in Butkara alone, the Chinese mention 6000 gold statues, of which numerous traces have been found) and by the sumptuous edifices along the routes. The dignity and richness of their architectural and sculptural decoration justify the fame that the country enjoyed even in China, not only as a place of pilgrimage, but also as an artistic centre, so famous that Swat

¹⁷ Typical examples of Gandharan art in Swat are, for example, shelf no. 18 and the relief with superimposed scenes no. 23 in H. Hargreave's catalogue in J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, II, pp. 703 ff.; III, pp. 213-14.

¹⁸ PR, p. 325, n. 16.

artists were invited to China to build and decorate the monasteries and sacred edifices there ¹⁹.

The cultural trends, reflected in Swat's works of art, bear witness to the influences that reached the country and left fertile seeds there. Buddhism, probably introduced at the time of Aśoka or immediately afterwards ²⁰, brought with it the animated representation of its legends. Numerous and obvious classical influences, that are even better explained today after the presence of Greek settlements has been proved by the Greek inscriptions found in Kandahar, combined with Iranian influences, that had reached Swat since the Parthian age and the Indo-Scythian period, and returned to favour immediately after the fall of the Kuṣānas, with the coming of the Sassanids.

Many sculptures found by the Italian Archaeological Mission reveal the importance of the classical element. This is shown by the presence of figurative cycles taking their inspiration from the treatment and plastic development of well-known classical themes such as the myths of Philoctetes or Hercules crushing Antaeus, or the representation of Tyche or scenes of combat or by the inspiration probably drawn from the statues in the round that were not unknown to the Swat sculptors ²¹. In other sculptures, the style of the Palmyra ²² schools and even Palmyrene iconographic motifs can be recognized. India also reveals its presence in the thick richness of its models, the variations in the types of female deities, expressed in the plastic outlines of the *yakṣiṇīs* or the *vṛkṣadevatās* and the local rustic divinities.

However, this Buddhism had already branched out into several schools, linked as it was to the aristocracy and particularly to the merchants who were generous towards the monastic community. According to reliable evidence, several sects were represented in Swat: the Sarvāstivādin, the Mahāsaṅghika, the Mahiśāsaka, the Dharmaguptaka, the Kāśyapiya ²³. If, beside the sculptures narrating various episodes in the Buddha's life, we at times find scenes that do not portray the Buddha with human features but allude to him through symbols, this is not due to the artist's whim but to the fact that he worked for monasteries that had remained faithful to aniconic traditions. The two styles, the symbolic and the figurative, existed at the same time in this country where contacts between different dogmatic and disciplinary tendencies were normal.

¹⁹ A.C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, Ascona, 1959, p. 109 and PR, p. 325, n. 14.

²⁰ A book by Dr. D. Faccenna is in preparation on the classification of the styles of the sculpture discovered in Swat and on the evolution of stupas in the same country [see: D. Faccenna, *Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan) 1956-1962*, IsMEO RepMem III, 1-5.2, 6 vols., Rome, 1980-81; Id., *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*.2, IsMEO RepMem XXIII, 2, 2 vols., Rome, 1995; D. Faccenna, A.N. Khan & I.H. Nadiem, *Panr I (Swat, Pakistan)*, IsMEO RepMem XXV, 1, Rome, 1993 - Ed.].

²¹ M. Taddei, 'Il mito di Filottete ed un episodio della vita del Buddha', *Archeologia Classica* XV, 1963, pp. 198-218; Id., 'On a Hellenistic Model used in some Gandharan Reliefs in Swat', *East and West*, NS, XV, 1965, pp. 174-78.

²² D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, II, 3, Rome, 1964, pls. CCCXXXVI-CCCXXXVII (see also G. Gnoli, 'The Tyche and the Dioscuri in Ancient Sculptures from the Valley of Swat', *East and West*, NS, XIV, 1963, pp. 29 ff.).

²³ A. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955, p. 39.

where sacred texts were written in different languages and where people of various races and tongues, differing in customs and culture, were to be found together in the crowded bazars. A mere glance at the photographs of the sculptures discovered in the sacred area of Butkara makes one realize that the multiform diversity of the people who, for reasons of trade or pilgrimage, came together in Swat²⁴, is reflected in this art, which shows marked tendencies towards portraiture and even towards caricature.

Buddhism, which according to the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan tsang formerly had as many as 1400 monasteries (even though Fa hsien only mentions five hundred) was then in decline: no more than 400 monasteries remained, all of the Great Vehicle. The judgement he passed on the culture of these monks is far from flattering: it appears that they chanted the books without having any understanding of the meaning, and they were also addicted to magic. Buddhism slowly moves towards magic, while the flame of the ancient doctrine goes out.

Political events, and particularly terrible natural calamities, the periodic floods whose widespread devastation has been clearly revealed by our excavations, put an end to the great monastic institutions. The community is no longer supported nor protected; the most dazzling period, coinciding with the *Pax Kusarica*, is gradually replaced by a sort of 'Middle Age' where men are consoled for the burden of their misfortunes by the omnipotence of magic formulas, and they turn to practices of rapturous devotion and to gnostic conceptions in the place of the slow necessary maturation of *karma* and to the hope of redemption through a sudden fulguration of the Being.

In fact, it should not be forgotten that a religious attitude similar to gnosis became apparent in India as well: there is the same anxious wish to find in oneself the light of essential consciousness justified by bold speculations. To attain this end, the intervention of the Saviour is required as well as a liturgy capable of influencing and concentrating all psychic forces to this end; mysterious links are set up between these forces and the purely physical plane, and a subtle symbolism is presumed to redeem and sublimate the intercessions of divinities and demons belonging to the primitive and popular beliefs.

This magic-gnostic attitude pervades this school of Buddhism, known by the name of Vajrayāna, and accepted as the highest revelation of the Buddha. Swat is rightly considered to be one of the countries where Vajrayāna has enjoyed special favour. But why then does Buddhism give up its place so rapidly in this country to magic and gnostic trends, to such a degree that Swat appeared to the Tibetans, who found a world there that matched their aspirations, to be a sort of *Civitas coelestis*? Why again is this magic and gnostic Buddhism swarming with divinities which esoteric exegis would like to transform into symbols of the different stages of salvation, but whose primitive cruelty it does not manage to disguise? How is it that this splendid magic pantheon is dominated by terrible and omnipotent sorceresses (*dākinī*) flying in the air, capable of performing any feat or miracle, aids to salvation, and yet at the same time implacable and friendish? In my opinion, this is because Buddhism had not effaced the ancient, diversified heritage but had only repressed it in part, so that it was ready to

²⁴ G. Tucci, Introduction to D. Faccenna, *Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat, Pakistan*, p. X.

be reawakened under circumstances favourable to its revival. Buddhism remained a sort of religious island: the Buddhism of the monastic and the urban centres.

Life in Swat existed not only in the opulent towns, nor in the flourishing, fertile and irrigated valleys, nor in the trading posts and bazars. All around, in the narrower valleys and on the mountains, lived people whom the human and soothing vision of life as taught by Buddhism had never touched at all, or only in a superficial way; people devoted to a pastoral life and to hunting, rather than to agriculture, or else to a rudimentary and seasonal agriculture, nomads, semi-nomads, rustics. Not mixing with other people they had kept their primitive and ancestral religion, a religion in which ancient terrors survived, and at the centre of which was a divine couple: father-mother. The mother, the goddess of the earth, as shown by the clay statue found in the Āśvakāyana-Assakenoi-Aspasioi tombs. The father, the god of the mountain, one of the numerous divine presences that will be merged at the time of the Hindu *koiné* into the polyvalence of Śiva. It is an incontrovertible fact that the Assakenoi-Aspasioi cemeteries have a common morphology: the tombs are arranged along the slope of a mountain, the skulls of the skeletons facing the mountain and their feet facing a stream lower down. Many cemeteries, almost all of them, face a high mountain. From this point of view, the Barikot graveyard is characteristic: it is the Vajirasthāna of the Jayapāladeva inscription, Arrian's Bazira²⁵. The cemetery is located opposite the mountain, the Ilam, whose imposing mass stands out in front of it. The ancient sacred nature of the mountain is as essential to Buddhists as to non-Buddhists and continues to attract the devotion of the masses: even today, although Islam dominates the country, the mountain's original nature has not been lost. The Buddha's place has been taken in recent epochs by Śrīrāma, but the Moslems too, unconsciously adopting an old custom, do not hesitate to climb the rugged paths and to pray on the mountain top. This sacred nature stamps the place, which remains somehow permeated by it forever; because of its sacredness, Ilam was the refuge for the vanquished from Bazira²⁶: precisely because on its peaks the warriors, who had been forced to abandon their town, felt protected by the presence of the god living there, the god-mountain-ancestor of all the tribes established in Bazira territory. It is for this same reason that Alexander pursued the fugitives and exterminated them, for, since he was himself considered a god by his own people, he could not admit that another god opposed him. The legend of the heroic conquest (*Peragrata India cum ad saxum mirae asperitatis et altitudinis, in quo multi populi confugerant, pervenisset, cognoscit Herculem ab expugnatione eiusdem saxi terrae motu prohibitum. Captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare cum summo labore ac periculo potitus saxo omnes eius loci gentes in deditionem accepit*)²⁷ was to become part of the ancient tales relating the struggles between the gods for the conquest of this mountain. Echoes of these

²⁵ Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Shastri, 'Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum', *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 301 and PR, p. 327, n. 28.

²⁶ I do not believe that Aornos can be identified with Una-sar, as Sir Aurel Stein proposes, but should rather be the Ilam. I will come back to this subject shortly [see: 'On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems', par. V, in this volume - Ed.].

²⁷ ON, pp. 171-172.

tales, narrated by Arrian, are to be found both in the legend handed down by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan tsang about the sacred mountain of the god Sun(a) or Žun(a) in Zabulistan²⁸, and in the story of the magic contest between the two *siddhas* Kambala and Kukkuripa on this mountain, almost certainly Ilam itself²⁹. What then is the attitude of Buddhism towards the reappearance of this ancient religious substratum? The reply seems obvious to me: Buddhism's universal tendency prevents it from opposing cults and beliefs which it meets in the countries of its diaspora; on the contrary, it tries to include them in its own experiences, incorporating the local divinities and demons into its own pantheon. It follows that in order to evaluate the effect of this encounter, and to measure the extension and the significance of the ancient heritage accepted by Buddhism and of its most popular forms, we must try to determine, with the greatest possible care, and with the help of all the elements at our disposal, what the situation was in the various countries, from the ethnic, geographical and religious point of view, at the time when Buddhism penetrated there. What we see in Swat does not constitute a particular instance, but a situation that is repeated everywhere.

It is clear that after the fashion of all religions, Buddhism did not find a void before it, but it replaced previous religious experiences, which it partially incorporated and which often even survived it.

What took place in China and in Tibet for example also happened in different regions of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. The symbiosis of old and new, favoured by Buddhism's special attitude toward the religious world it encountered, becomes a determining factor. Our research should not be confined to explaining the appearance of Buddhism in a particular region and to enumerating or describing the divinities or cycles of popular liturgy that spring from its bosom. Instead, our task is to reconstruct the religious situation that existed before the spread of Buddhism in each of the countries where it slowly propagated. This amounts to reconstructing the geography and stratigraphy of the religious forms that gradually assailed and often changed Buddhism. This means that besides the spread of Buddhism, the progress and development of the other religions competing with it must also be followed, such as Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, to see how these three trends of thought follow the same process and the same progress, and how the religious substratum eventually takes on a particular and well-defined form.

To remain in Swat, so long as the monasteries were in a position to keep intact the dogmatic and liturgical tradition of the schools they represented, they served as a brake and an obstacle to the invasion of the religious substratum still alive in people's consciousness, especially among the rural classes and the population of shepherds and hunters established on the fringes of the urban centres. But with the decadence of the monasteries caused by the political and natural causes we have mentioned, the structure itself of society became weak and disintegrated and the substratum, that had never died, resurfaced. Moreover, the wealth of the monasteries and the vast number of stūpas (in the sacred area of Butkara alone there were more than 250) show that a tendency to devotion combined with a certainty about the efficacy of

²⁸ ON, pp. 166 ff.

²⁹ PR, p. 324, n. 1.

meritorious works, the *puṇyasambhāra*, had increasingly won the favour of the masses.

The Saṅgha, the community, assumes more clearly the function of mediator: normal religious services, or those specifically requested by donors for particular reasons indicated by them, were transformed into magical-liturgical acts, as Hsüan tsang allows us to suppose. The monk intervenes in the life of the laity in all the moments of peril.

The five main magical *karmas* for ensuring serenity, prosperity and power, or for bestowing occult forces capable to harm and destroy one's enemies, an ancient legacy of popular superstition, coexist with the most solemn liturgies and the boldest speculations. On the other hand, it is likely, although positive literary sources are lacking, that at the outset, when Swat was at the height of its prosperity, monks came to the country in large numbers, from other parts of India, attracted by the particular favour that Buddhism enjoyed there. As a result of the ensuing decadence, the local element must have triumphed in the community.

Thus, favourable conditions matured for Buddhism to assimilate the primitive and popular religious patrimony, especially the numerous mountain divinities that advancing Hinduism had assimilated to the multiform Śiva. This god, who was popular enough in Swat to inspire a school (named Uḍḍiyānakrama³⁰ after the country itself) and to whom certain inscriptions found in the country were dedicated, evolved in Buddhism towards similar types, such as those of Śaṁvara or Heruka. The female deities, be they hunter divinities like the one appearing on a stele found recently in Swat, showing the goddess in the act of killing an ibex³¹, the probable archetype of Murkum who is still venerated by the Kafirs, or else forest deities, make a violent eruption into tantric Buddhism. Furthermore, groups of sorceresses, who were particularly active in Swat as feared concocters of philtres and all kinds of witchcraft, well-versed in every magic spell but who became, in esoteric literature, the equivalent of the Śivaite *śakti*, dispensers not only of power but also of the means of salvations, penetrate this Buddhism. In the same way, in other parts of India, near to Tibetan-speaking countries, indigenous female deities are accepted as *lāmās*, the sanskritization of the Tibetan *bla mo* or *lha mo*³². Rooted in popular beliefs by long tradition, they even resist to the strictest Islamic orthodoxy and survive to the present day, still feared, both in Swat, where they are called *hapidei*, and in the Gilgit region, where they are known by the name of *peri*, while their male counterparts (*dāka* in Sanskrit) are the *dayals*³³. It was to find these *dākinīs*, and hoping to acquire increased powers through their favours, that U rgyan pa³⁴, one of the greatest ascetics and *yogin* of Tibet, went to Swat during the 13th century, relating in the account of his travels the emotions he felt at these encounters.

This religious world has traditionally been impregnated with magic. According to a Chinese pilgrim, Sung yün, the king of Sarikol went to Swat to learn magic formulas there; and other

³⁰ ON, p. 171.

³¹ ON, pp. 146 ff.

³² 'Animadversiones Indicae', *JPASB*, NS, XXVI, 1930, p. 155.

³³ ON, p. 155.

³⁴ G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940: PR. p. 326, n. 20.

Chinese sources, *Wei shu* and *Pei shih*, affirm that beside magic, astrology too was practised in Swat³⁵.

This primitive religious horizon of Swat is linked to that of Kafiristan, still not entirely Islamized even today, and its distant roots go back in all probability to the beliefs of the Aspasioi-Assakenoi and the other populations representing one of the ethnic components of Swat. The introduction of this mysterious, contradictory, ambiguous and magical world into the *Tantras*, interwoven with fears and hopes, and its adoption by the Buddhists, constitutes an attempt at sublimation, not always successful, through a symbolic and allusive interpretation. An example of this can be seen in the famous *Guhyasamāja*³⁶ cycle which a tradition, which we have no reason to reject, links closely with Swat. In this *Tantra*, beside parts that are certainly older (for example no. 209, pp. 238-244 etc.) as can be seen from the language and style that are close to the language of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and beside the later symbolism whose soteriological implications and esoteric structures can be clarified by the commentary of Candrakīrti and the subcommentary of Tsong k'a pa, there is a most characteristic magical repertoire (chap. XIV in particular). This is shown in the magic actions, the search for immortality, the insistence on women (pp. 125, 129; the 12-year-old *kumārī*, p. 94; or the 16-year-old, p. 10; the dancer, p. 94) as complementary to *yoga* techniques, the presence of gods from the Gandharic region as *ḍakkirāja*, the reference to *yakṣiṇī-mantras*; and if the *ḍākinīs* are not mentioned, the evidence linking them to Swat is too vast for me to go into here.

The situation we find in Swat is not a distinctive feature of this country alone. For example, if we go to the other end of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent we notice that the same vicissitudes are repeated. The cycle of the *Dharmamaṅgala* or of the *Śūnyapurāṇa*³⁷ that inspired a half-Buddhistic, half-Hindu literature and continued through the centuries in the Sahājīya school, constitutes a religious phenomenon particular to Bengal and absent elsewhere. It is as interesting a mixture as it is strange, consisting of folklore, ancient traditions and attempts to synthesize various ethnic and psychological components.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these observations, to my mind, should not be underestimated. We cannot base our idea of Buddhism only on the texts of this religion, for that would create a literary impression that does not correspond with the real religious situation of a country. Beside the Buddhism of the texts there is a popular Buddhism which is not homogeneous. It is the result of ancient local religions, of other religions existing alongside it, of particular economic situations and ethnic components, of agricultural rites surviving in their essentials all external influences, the persistence of indigenous divinities, and so on. There is no

³⁵ *Guhyasamāja's* relationship with Swat has been discussed by me in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, Rome, 1949, pp. 212 ff. See also the work by bSod nams rtse mo cited in note 37, pp. 56 ff.

³⁶ On the *Dharmamaṅgala* and the *Śūnyapurāṇa* see D.C. Sen. *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911; recently N. Kimura has returned to this problem: *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, Koyasan University, 1965, pp. 323 ff. (in Japanese).

³⁷ That this classification is completely theoretical is proved by the fact that other divisions are to be found in three, five or even in six groups of *Tantras* (as proposed by the Tibetan rÑing ma pa); cfr. the *rGyud sde spyi rnam par bžag pa*, of Sa skya pa bSod nams rtse mo, pp. 33a ff.

standard Buddhism; there are several forms of Buddhism in the real-life experience of peoples, that differ completely from the Buddhism taught by the Buddhist communities and by the authors of the books familiar to us. This real-life Buddhism, subject both to political events and to social changes, accepts and carries with it in its tantric forms the popular divinities. While it endeavours to read them symbolically, according to the soteriology that it imposes, it places the crudest magic forms side by side with the highest experiences of salvation. It is for this reason that even the immense tantric literature cannot, in my opinion, be studied as a homogeneous whole. Its universality is a result of the fact that it is regarded as *Buddhavacana*, that is to say, a revelation of the Buddha. There is no doubt that the spiritual motif and the historical situations that determine this literature are the same everywhere, i.e. those that have favoured gnostic tendencies in moments of crisis. However, the establishment of these exigencies in different forms, their way of being expressed in particular liturgical cycles, and especially the preference the latter give to one or the other symbol-divinity, are closely linked to the cultural and religious substratum existing in the different countries.

In the essential uniformity of the same exigencies, different religions and cultural islands can be identified which, in the apparent unity of the tantric experience elaborated by Buddhism, insert specific tendencies closely linked to distinct geographical areas. Consequently, one might be tempted to replace the division that theorists have imposed to *Tantras* by classifying them in four groups (or according to the Tibetan *rñiñ ma pa* in six groups) according to an ever-increasing liturgical complexity and a more expeditious soteric efficacy, by another classification which although more difficult to establish, is very useful when studying the evolution of this literature. I refer to a classification that might be called geographical: we should look for elements existing in each tantric group that would localize it in such and such part of India, in a distinct geographical zone where their origin and development could be placed. The written commentaries on these texts would help us in this research.

Obviously, once the cycle has acquired its definitive form, it spreads everywhere, accompanied by the unforeseen events that one comes across continually in the vicissitudes of sacred texts. It seems to me that this sort of research will not only be confined to throwing a flash of light on a religious literature, a liturgy and a psychology of the greatest interest, but it will also explain the complexity, variety and interference of the religious areas of India, as well as of its bordering countries. From a research point of view these borderlands are rich in results that are as important as they are new.

Swat Museum

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BETWEEN ITALY AND ASIA (ISMEO)



SWAT MUSEUM

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
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Fragment of a relief depicting the Dipankara Jātaka.

The Swat Museum, built by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, with the most generous cooperation of Major General Miangul Jahan Zeb, Ruler of Swat, contains a part of the objects which came to light during the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission in the campaigns of 1956-61. This mission is working in Swat since 1956 following an agreement, subsequently renewed in 1961, signed between the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, in the person of its Director Dr. F. A. Khan, and the Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO) in the person of its President, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. The Archaeological Mission is sponsored by the same Institute.

The excavations have been carried out by Dr. D. Facenna — director of the Museum of Oriental Art in Rome and from 1961 director of the Italian Archaeological Mission, assisted by Dr. M. Taddei — and by Prof. G. Gullini, for the part concerning Udegram, in full collaboration with the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and its members.

The excavations of IsMEO extend from Swat up to Iranian Seistan, to fulfill the requirements of research. In fact, the programme of such research, carefully planned in its details, aims at throwing light on many an obscure point that the history of Asia presents in one of its historically most important parts, on account of the events which it has witnessed from prehistory. We have to deal with areas so interconnected in the course of history, that the problems which we have indicated can be only solved by a unitary research, which in its turn reveals, stresses and justifies the remote or close links that bind those countries to other parts of the world.

This is proved by the materials on view in the Museum, in which are exhibited some pieces of the Art of Gandhara discovered in Swat, as well as other documents which came to light in the excavations of the cemeteries of Katelai, Loebanr, and Butkara.

The sculptures brought to light, and belonging to the branch of Buddhistic art which goes by the name of Gandhara, express in a language originally influenced by the hellenistic artistic trends that had wearily survived in the Asian provinces at the time of the Roman Empire, ideas and myths of the Buddhist religion, deriving advantage, however, from a preceding local tradition, and other cultural and artistic centres.

These art pieces have been dug out in a great stupa, surrounded by 240 other minor buildings, which went through many phases; it was erected between the 3rd and 2nd century B.C., was re-built several times over, and was abandoned in an epoch prior to the 11th century. The sculptures range in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 6th/7th century A.D. This art, which decorated the monuments, illustrates events of the life of the Buddha, his childhood, the renunciation, the abandonment of his native city, the illumination, the early preaching, the numerous miracles, the demise. Some profane elements are also interwoven in this iconographic pattern.



The Buddha being entreated to preach.

The topographical unity allows to study the constitutive elements of a great art centre such as that of Swat, in a precise historical phenomenology. The way is already clear in which the sculptures may be brought together in different groups, each of them well defined by distinctive motifs, such as the hairdressing or raiments, and the concordance of the stylistic elements. All of these groups are interrelated according to a relative chronology, which is established by taking into account the great number of reliefs re-elaborated on the reverse side, at another epoch. With regard to an absolute chronology, the coins found in the reliquaries, or discovered in places stratigraphically well-determined, are so plentiful as to allow us to establish the various vicissitudes and the phases of the rebuilding of the monument.

To conclude, the finds of Swat, an area situated on the outskirts of the caravan roads that linked all parts of the ancient world, illustrate the effects of the meeting and encounter of various art trends or currents of thought: all together they suggest the presence of a peculiar local taste, that was never submerged by the intrusion of foreign ways. This will all be proved in the volumes that set forth the results of the excavations, two of which have already been published, under the editorship of Prof. G. Tucci, by the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato in Rome (*Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat*: D. Faccenna, *Mingora: Site of Butkara I* and G. Gullini, *Udegram*. — D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, Plates I - CCCXXXV, Roma 1962).

The excavations have taken place not only near Mingora (Butkara I) where lay the most important religious and artistic centre of the country, but also in Panr; there a great monastery with many stupas has been discovered, which was more short-lived than Butkara I, and excavations are still in progress on that site.

Udegram was conquered by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. Here excavations have been undertaken in two places, in what has been called « the Bazar » to the right of the main road from Malakand to Saidu, and in the castle along the slopes of the mountain. The town of Udegram, called Ora by the Greeks, became probably the capital of Swat after Massaga — chief town of the Assakenoi — had been captured by Alexander; it thus gave its name to the country (Uddivana from Urdi, Uddi). Very important excavations have been undertaken



A dancer wearing a Phrygian cap.

in the cemeteries discovered in Karelai, Loebanr, Butkara II. These cemeteries contain inhumation as well as cremation tombs, and they are very rich in burial pottery. They show that though the peoples that left these tombs were marked by common features in their general aspect, still they presented some local varieties, thus implying that we are confronted with allied tribes, one of which most probably held the others under its leadership.

As the name shows, these peoples were especially known on account of their horses. Though we can ascertain that they were here when Alexander came to Swat, the excavations in progress are going to prove when they settled in the country, most probably from the North West.

The museum also houses the collection of Major General Miangul Jahan Zeb, Ruler of Swat, who has most generously donated it. It is contemplated in a near future to include in it an Islamic section, which will document the expansion of Islam in Swat, and its artistic creations.

The organization of the museum is the work of Dr. F. A. Khan, Director General of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and his staff. The Department of Archaeology has always cooperated from the very beginning with the Italian Archaeological Mission: restorers, draftsmen, assistants, have all earnestly worked in team with the members of the Italian Mission.

The museum is therefore to be considered as the result of a fruitful cooperation between the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and the Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO) that aims at revealing the great historical significance of one of Asia's most important countries with regard to the contribution it has brought to culture, and to the richness of its artistic output.

**In the Path of Alexander the Great: Italian Excavations in
Swat, Northern Pakistan**

The Illustrated London News, 12 April, 1958, pp. 603-605.

Swat, a most prosperous country known in Indian literature as Uddiyana or Udyana, lies in the north-western part of Pakistan. It belongs to the tribal area and is situated to the north of Peshawar, bordering on the State of Dhir (which separates it from Afghanistan) and Azad Kashmir to the east. The country is ruled by a Wali, Myangul Jahanzeb, and on account of the beauty of the landscape and the mildness of the climate, it is considered one of the most attractive places of Pakistan. The Government of Swat has constructed about 500 miles of mountain roads, which make all villages easy of access. Because of its situation and the proximity to the great trade routes linking East with West, Swat has been since the dawn of history a kind of threshold between Asia and Europe. At first, it most probably lay under the Achaemenian rule and was then conquered by Alexander the Great: his capture of two of its most important towns is recorded by the classical authors. It subsequently passed under the sway of the Indo-Greek kings, the Indo-Scythians, the Kushans, and was later ravaged by the White Huns and definitely overrun in the eleventh century by Mahmud of Ghazni when the conversion of the people to Islam started.

Swat has been one of the most flourishing centres of Buddhism in all its different schools: Little Vehicle, Great Vehicle, Esoteric sects, and some of the Buddhist teachers from Swat greatly contributed to the introduction of Buddhism among the Tibetans, who also nowadays consider that country as a kind of holy land.

The Chinese pilgrims who visited Swat in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, and left some very interesting descriptions of it, state that about 1400 Buddhist monasteries could once be found in the land. Many *stupas* are still extant, and along with them the widespread ruins confirm the great importance of the country not only as a religious centre, but also as the home of that art which, being derived from the meeting of classical plastic forms with Buddhist spiritualism, is called Indo-Greek art, or from the place where it flourished, Gandhara art. On account of its historical and artistic importance, Swat was chosen by the Italian Archaeological Mission, sponsored by the Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO), as a site for carrying on its excavation works, following an agreement with the Archaeological Department of Pakistan and the facilities extended by the enlightened Wali Sahib. The excavations started in 1956 and were undertaken in two places: Mingora and Udegram. In Mingora probably the most important monastery of the country was located: it surrounds a big *stupa*, whence clandestine diggers used for many years to bring to light some of the most beautiful fragments of Gandhara art. One-sixth of the sacred area surrounding the *stupa* has been excavated so far and sixty-two minor *stupas* of various periods have been unearthed. In eight of them the relic-casket has been discovered with its gold ash-container inside; in a casket a coin of Azes II (first quarter of the first century B.C.) has been found. The monuments were apparently destroyed by terrific floods, but the fragments of sculptured slabs, when the floods subsided, were piously collected by the survivors, replaced in the new building and in most cases re-carved on their flat surface. They thus represent for us the best documents for ascertaining the succession of the diverse styles, and will greatly help in the problem of solving many chronological doubts concerning the evolution of Gandhara art.

Nearly 300 sculptural remains have been found which evidence great peculiarities in style, and thus testify to the phases of this art and to the various influences it has undergone.

Udegram is the town which Alexander captured and which the Greek authors call Ora. The excavations have been here undertaken in three different places; first of all in a locality where some rock carvings representing wild and domestic animals are still extant: a trial trench to a depth of 15 to 20 ft., but which has not yet reached virgin soil, has revealed new rock carvings of the same kind. The place dates back most probably to the prehistoric or protohistoric times. Then a portion of the lower town, a bazar, was partly unearthed: six different layers have been found so far, the uppermost one being contemporary with the Kushana King Vasudeva III (end of third century), after whom the town underwent a final destruction by floods. In the fifth layer a six-pillared room has been found, which belongs to the Indo-Greek period; underneath it the sixth layer has been uncovered, dating back to the Achaemenian period. The chronology of the various layers is well established by the large quantity of coins discovered. Udegram was an extremely large town, the ruins of which – encircled by huge walls – climb along the slopes of the mountains towering above the valley. On a spur of the mountain there existed the castle, which, as tradition goes, was definitely destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century. In this site most likely stood the castle seized by Alexander, subsequently rebuilt by the conquerors who overran the country, and the seat of its governors or of the local chiefs. The central massive buildings date back to the Kushana period, and will be explored next year. This year the imposing staircase has been uncovered, consisting of a series of steps about 25 ft. long: it calls to mind for its grandeur the most impressive architectural monuments of Iran. This staircase belongs to the Sassanian period and it leads to an older building of the Kushana period which will be dug out next year. Arrows found in great quantity testify to the fierce battles which in various periods were fought for its capture: coins, pottery, beads, a few ornaments, are precise points of reference for the chronological datation of the various layers. While Mingora appears to be a most important place for a history of Indo-Greek art and its evolution, the excavations at Udegram are likely to determine the political history of the country and prove that in this place, known also to classical tradition, there was a continuity of life from the prehistoric times up to the eleventh century and later. The excavations will be resumed in the course of next summer.

**In the Footsteps of Alexander and the Land of the
Assakenoi: Excavations in Faraway Swat, Northern Pakistan**

The Illustrated London News, 30 May, 1964, pp. 856-858.

Swat – known in ancient times under the name of Uddiyāna – was once one of the most important centres of Buddhism. The country was very rich in monasteries and stūpas; two of these stūpas, that of Butkara located near the present town of Mingora – most probably the same as that which some Chinese pilgrims considered the most important centre of Swat – and that of Panr, have been excavated by an Italian Archaeological Mission since 1956. Butkara has yielded an amazing number of sculptures (see *The Illustrated London News*, 12 April, 1958), some of which are already on view in the Swat Museum inaugurated this year in Saidu Sharif. The sacred area has now been completely excavated, thus allowing us to follow the various phases of the main stūpa which was surrounded by more than 250 other monuments of the same kind but of different sizes. The main stūpa had been rebuilt and successively enlarged five times in a period which runs approximately from the third century B.C. down to about the 8th century A.D.

The images of the standing Dioscuri frequently found on the coinage of the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Parthians, but which disappear on that of the Kushana, along with other facts (re-using of sculptures and stylistic considerations) seem to contribute to a better dating of the evolution of Gandhara art.

At the same time excavations were continued in Udegram, which corresponds to the Ora of the Greek authors, the town conquered by Alexander. A fragment of locally made pottery found in a pre-Maurya layer, corresponding therefore to the time of the invasion of Alexander, is extremely interesting because of some Greek letters that are carved on it, probably the name of the owner of the vase itself, NOU (MENO?) [1]; unfortunately only three letters are extant in beautiful characters of the 4th century B.C.

But the most important discoveries have taken place in the years 1962 and 1963. In 1960, I located some cemeteries of an unusual type; their excavation, undertaken in three different places, has so far led to the discoveries of more than 300 tombs. They are generally composed of an upper chamber and a lower one, covered by huge and heavy slabs of stone (usually three); inside, the human remains are to be found. There are many cases of multiple burials; the disposal of the dead takes place both by inhumation and cremation. In the latter case the remains of the bones, badly burned, are collected and deposited in big urns, but in no case can we speak of incineration proper: the aim was that of destroying only the flesh and of collecting the badly burned bones in the jars: this explains why in some cases in spite of the burning the skull could be reconstructed. With regard to pottery, wheel-made and with fine slip, three types predominate: red, grey and blackish: generally, the grey pottery is extremely fine. Traces of painting have been found in one case only. The variety of shapes is very large. There are types very similar to the so-called brandy glasses, chalices with a very high stem, etc., while implements are relatively scarce: some gold rings, a few statuettes with little indication of sex (in one grave four of these were found: one of a man and three of women); a bronze leaf-shaped blade with three central grooves and a circular disk as a base evidently of funeral use, a few iron weapons.

[1] Opinion later revised, after the reading of Pugliese Carratelli as 'NOUS'. See the article 'On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems' (reprinted in this volume), note 73 for references [Ed.].

In one of the cemeteries, among the tombs, the skeletons of two horses have been discovered. There is hardly any doubt that these graveyards were left by the people whom Alexander found in the place, and whom the classic authors call Assakenoi. This people is well-known also to Indian authors; in fact they are the same as the Asvakayanas of Panini (4th century B.C.), (Asvakayana in Sanskrit; Assakayana in Prakrit; in Greek, Assakenoi); they were met by Alexander after his crossing of the Panjkora river. Their capital was Massaga, which surrendered to Alexander after its king had been killed in the defence of his town. Massaga has not yet been properly located but it seems likely that it lay somewhere near Chakdarra: after Massaga, Alexander reduced also Bazira (today Barikot) and then Ora, now Udegram. Before the Assakenoi, Alexander met the Aspasioi. Both names, Assakenoi and Aspasioi, are derived from the name of the horse, 'Aspa' in Iranian languages, 'Asva, Assa' in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

On the other side, the people of Ora were the same as the Urdi quoted by another Indian author. The co-existence of tribes related to one another but at the same time still preserving certain peculiarities of their own, is proved by the fact that, though the general *facies* of the culture is the same, several varieties can still be noticed in the different graveyards. Some urns containing the cremated remains point to a rough human face with mouth, nose and eyes; in the case of jars containing the remains of women, below their neck the design of a necklace is occasionally drawn in relief with hanging linear ornaments. In other cases, the urns seem to have the shape of a hut or house. These graveyards were in use for a long time: we can approximately say that they can be chronologically located between the 8th (or even before) and the end of the 4th centuries B.C., when Buddhism began to spread in Swat. The Aspasioi-Assakenoi-Urdi and allied tribes lived in these parts for a long period and at last attained a political unity and consistency that enabled them to oppose Alexander valiantly. All this presupposes a long evolution, a progressive development towards sedentary habits. This process was already completed at the time of Alexander, because Greek authors speak of fortified towns. The excavations undertaken this year in a very large mound near the town of Mingora, where a strongly fortified settlement is coming to light, may perhaps solve the problem of their settlements. But this fact does not rule out the possibility that a part of the population still preserved its half-pastoral habits. Thus, while the settlers by coming in contact with the other cultures which had developed in the plains, were influenced by them, the tribes far away from the caravan roads or the centres of trade, preserved some of their peculiar habits and customs. This explains not only the peculiarity of the various graveyards, but also the persistence of some archaic characters, which in some localities might have survived down to the time of Alexander and even later (Asoka). In 1963, before the conclusion of the campaign, the graveyard of Barikot, the first town of that country conquered by Alexander, was discovered: in one tomb the remains of three bodies were found with a large amount of pottery. It is interesting to note that some skeletal remains – as it has been ascertained by the anthropological examination – show traces of wounds, caused either by arrows or by contusive weapons (maces?). There is no doubt that in all the above-mentioned graveyards we have the first document of a migration which settled in the North Western part of the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent: most probably it came from the West or the North West; in fact tombs of a

related type have been located in Laghman, Afghanistan. On the other hand, there is hardly any doubt that the pottery found in the tombs of Swat shows some analogies with that of Tepe Hissar II and Shah Tepe III. Tentatively, we may also surmise that these graveyards can be related to that migration which involved in a very wide movement the Scythians, at about the 8th-7th century B.C., when they overran a large part of Asia, from Bactria to Seistan. Further excavation may ascertain if the remains found in Swat are to be ascribed to the Scythian tribes themselves or to allied tribes set in motion by the Scythian migration. Meanwhile the C14 dating of the finds is in progress. Anyhow, these discoveries are likely to contribute greatly to the solution of many problems of the protohistory of the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent. On the other side, a preliminary survey of some graveyards near the Indus river which I undertook last year, has proved the existence of a quite different, though related group of inhabitants; more primitive, using small square tombs, almost stone boxes, and hand-made, badly burned pottery, to be ascribed no doubt to the Dardic peoples.

Biographical Note

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Giuseppe Tucci was born at Macerata on 5th June 1894. He had his schooling in his home town and then enrolled at the University of Rome. His studies were interrupted by the First World War; he was mobilized on 1st December 1915 and served at the front, from 1917 with the rank of lieutenant. He was discharged in October 1919 and in the same year took his Arts degree at the University of Rome. In the following years he worked for some time in the Library of the Chamber of Deputies. On temporary assignment at Indian Universities, he resided in India from 1925 to 1930, occupying the post of lecturer in Chinese and Italian at the Universities of Shantiniketan and Calcutta. In 1929 he was nominated member of the Accademia d'Italia and in November 1930 he was appointed, as being distinguished in that field, to the chair of Chinese language and literature at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples. In November 1932 he was transferred to the Arts Faculty of the University of Rome as full professor of Religions and Philosophy of India and the Far East. Having ceased teaching in 1964, he retired in 1969 and was nominated Emeritus Professor in 1970. From 1929 to 1948 he made eight expeditions in Tibet, and from 1950 to 1954 six expeditions in Nepal.

He began the archaeological campaigns in Swat, Pakistan, in 1955, in Afghanistan in 1957 and in Iran in 1959; he directed the annual campaigns until 1978.

He promoted the foundation of the IsMEO in 1933, was its President from 1947 to 1978 and was nominated Honorary President in 1979. He was editor of the periodicals *Alle Fonti delle Religioni* (1921-1924), *Bollettino dell'IsMEO*, from 1936 with the new name of *Asiatica* (1935-1943), *Le scienze del mistero e il mistero delle scienze* (1946), *East and West* (1950-1978); he remained General Editor of this last journal until the time of his death. From 1950 he was editor of the 'Serie Orientale Roma', from 1962 of the 'Reports and Memoirs' of the Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia of IsMEO, from 1969 of the series 'Restorations' of the Centro Restauri of IsMEO. From 1950 till 1973 he edited the series 'Il Nuovo Ramusio' published by the Libreria dello Stato.

He was the author of a great number of scientific works that were written for the general public as well, and he was always interested in the cultural relations between Italy and the countries of Asia, where he gave many lectures, in India, Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia and Japan.

He died on 5th April 1984 at S. Polo dei Cavalieri near Tivoli.

LUCIANO PETECH

(from R. Gnoli, *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*, SOR LV, Roma, 1985, pp. 45 ff.)

HONOURS AWARDED IN PAKISTAN

Hilal-i Imtiaz (1959)

Medal of the 100th Anniversary of Iqbal (1979)

Obituaries Published in Pakistan

REDISCOVERER OF SWAT: PROF. TUCCI (Dawn, 27 April, 1984)

Professor Giuseppe Tucci, one of the most celebrated orientalists and archaeologists of the modern times, and a recipient of a record number of awards and honours from 46 countries, including *Hilal-i Imtiaz* from Pakistan, passed away in Rome early this month. Last year the King of Nepal visited the ailing Professor, with his thigh bone fractured, at his residence in San Polo dei Cavalieri, a suburban town of Rome.

Before that, Professor Tucci had bequeathed to the Italian Institute For Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO), Rome, his invaluable and well-stocked library containing thousands of printed books and hand-written manuscripts on the Oriental subjects; ancient relics and unique gifts sufficient enough to house a sizeable museum; a palatial residence in Rome and other costly possessions.

Thereafter, Professor Tucci led a simple and contented life with his highly devoted wife at San Polo. Author of more than two dozen books and writer of hundreds of articles on the religion, philosophy, culture, art, and archaeology of the Ancient East, Professor Tucci had mastered English, German, Urdu, Hindi, Sanskrit, Nepalese, Bengali, Tibetan and Chinese languages.

In Pakistan, under Prof. Tucci's leadership, Italian archaeological expeditions excavated and preserved ancient sites of different periods in Swat.

In Afghanistan, his missions excavated and conserved monuments of the Ghaznavid period.

In Iran, again, under his leadership, the Italians excavated a number of ancient sites and undertook the stupendous conservation and restoration task at the Achaemenid capital city of Persepolis; and Muslim period monuments in Isfahan.

In Rome, as IsMEO President, he directed its affairs from 1948 to 1978, but lately on account of physical disability had become its Honorary President.

Professor Tucci was born in Macerata in Italy on June 5, 1894, and died in Rome on April 5, 1984, at the ripe age of 90. In 1919, he graduated in Literature from the University of Rome, where subsequently, from 1925-30, he had been Assistant Professor in Religions and Philosophy of the Ancient East. During that period, at times, he taught the Italian, Tibetan and Chinese languages at Tagore's University, Shantiniketan.

Between the years 1930 and 1965, he was Professor of Religions and Philosophy of the Ancient East in the Faculty of Literature, University of Rome.

In recognition of Professor Tucci's great contributions in these disciplines, the Italian Government appointed him as a Member of the Italian Academy of Sciences.

Professor Tucci had extraordinary vast interests not only for the geographic extension of ancient cultures and civilizations of the Ancient East, but also for the understanding of the interdisciplinary trends with regard to the language, religion, literature, philosophy, art, archaeology, anthropology, and the past and present social relationship of all the countries of this special interest.

Professor Tucci, when he was a boy of 14 years, started taking keen interest in the history and culture of the East Asian countries.

In due course of time he gained immense knowledge, both theoretical and practical, in the field of Oriental Studies, which later enabled him to organize large-scale expeditions in

archaeology, anthropology, conservation and preservation of objects of art, and to excavate sites and standing monuments of the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim periods.

Professor Tucci was a very strict disciplinarian, and a most competent organiser. He was also a most trusted friend of Pakistan and regarded it as his second home country.

His integrity was unparalleled, and for that matter he always enjoyed the highest estimation and consideration of Governments in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and other countries wherever he carried out his researches for decades. His relations with his professional colleagues used to be most cordial. Truly he possessed great human qualities.

The Italian Archaeological Mission has continued to work in Swat since 1956 following an agreement drawn up between the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and IsMEO.

It was during the hot and humid months of 1955-56 summers that Professor Tucci, Madame Tucci and myself, then representing the Department of Archaeology, undertook extensive field surveys in the green valleys and on the hill tops of Swat.

Physically, Swat is one of the most attractive regions of Pakistan. Situated in the north of the Frontier Province, it is a cul-de-sac, hemmed in on all sides by mountainous tracts ranging in elevation from six to eighteen thousand feet.

Culturally, this region has a colourful and highly fascinating history. In antiquity it played host to peoples and many persuasions. Professor Tucci selected Swat for the IsMEO Mission on account of its exceptional importance in the Tibetan and Chinese sources for the history of Buddhism, on which he was a great authority.

That a highly sophisticated Buddhist culture not only flourished about two thousand years ago but survived for several centuries in Swat is apparent from the considerable number of monuments that are generously distributed throughout the region. The excavation work was first undertaken in 1956 after a careful survey.

It is interesting to recall that during the last twenty-eight years over a dozen of the principal sites of different periods have been scientifically explored, excavated and documented. The finds range in date from the prehistoric times of the 3rd millennium B.C. down to the 12th century A.D.

The passage of time saw in the Swat Valley the formation of permanent settlements at that remote age when hand-made pots were made for the first time. In the 2nd millennium B.C., the valley developed cultural contacts with the neighbouring countries, but this assertion does not necessarily imply movements of population or ethnic changes.

Excavations at one of the main sites, namely Aligrama, have revealed most significant evidence of uninterrupted occupation of the ancient settlement from the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. to the early stages of the historical period.

The pottery was marked by new wares and shapes. Evidence of use of copper is common. The personal ornaments, mostly necklaces and pendants, consisted of precious and semi-precious stone beads. In some cases the burial goods from the graves included gold rings and other objects.

Several largely spread-out cemeteries containing hundreds of graves have provided a very well documented evidence of the protohistoric cultures of Swat dating between the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. and the beginning of the historical period. The cemeteries contained both inhumation as well as cremation burials; they are very rich in burial contents.

The Aligrama settlement, referred to above, reached its greatest extent of development between the 8th and 4th century B.C.

Towards the end of this period, Alexander penetrated into Swat. After the Greek invasion, Buddhism began to spread in Swat, without interfering with the beliefs of the local population.

The country acquired great importance during the Indo-Greek, Saka-Parthian and Kushana periods. The Kushana rule coincided with the highest flourishing of Buddhism and culture. In the 1st century A.D. there developed trends of the Gandhara art displaying local and foreign components – Hellenistic, Iranian and Central Asian.

After a full-fledged renaissance in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Buddhism gave way to Hinduism which persisted until Islam was introduced in the northern regions of Pakistan by the followers of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century. Glazed pottery, coins and other finds characteristic of the Muslim period have been discovered.

At Butkara there existed the largest Buddhist Stupa of the Swat Valley. Here more than 10,000 pieces of stone sculpture have been excavated. These finds have proved to be extremely important for they represent the most significant documents of the Gandhara art, which may now be chronologically arranged so as to give an idea of its evolution.

The early Gandhara art is chiefly notable in providing the earliest works in which the Buddha was represented in bodily form. Before this, he had always been shown symbolically; the characteristic and now familiar Buddha image was developed from the work of the early Gandhara sculptors.

In short, the archaeological finds of Swat, an area situated on the outskirts of the caravan routes that bridged all parts of Ancient Asia illustrate the effects of the meeting and encounters of various art trends or currents of thoughts; all together they suggest the presence of a peculiar local taste that was never submerged by the intrusion of foreign ways.

The Swat Museum established in November 1963 by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, with the most generous cooperation of Major General Miangul Jahan Zeb, former Ruler of Swat, contains objects which have come to light during the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission.

The organisation of the museum was the work of Professor Tucci, member of this Mission, and the Department of Archaeology. The museum is therefore to be considered as the result of friendly collaboration between IsMEO and Pakistan's Department of Archaeology.

In the achievement of the great work done by the IsMEO Mission in Swat, our deep appreciation goes to that great academician, Professor G. Tucci, who was so well known in the scholarly circles all over the world.

His unassuming personality and charming manners greatly endeared him to all of his colleagues.

While contributing to the deeper realms of knowledge, Professor Tucci had been instrumental in creating an atmosphere of goodwill and friendship between the peoples of Pakistan and Italy.

We shall be always proud of his scholarly association. And indeed without Professor Tucci, we would have known very little about the ancient cultures and civilizations of Swat. For that reason he goes down in history as the 'Rediscoverer of Ancient Swat'.

DR. F.A. KHAN

PROF. TUCCI (*Dawn*, 26 May, 1984)

Thank you for publishing an obituary of Professor Tucci in the shape of a long article contributed by Dr. F.A. Khan. Dr. Khan deserves appreciation of all the archaeologists and academicians who knew that great scholars.

I wish the present leadership of the Pakistan Department of Archaeology which knows too well details and importance of the fruitful collaboration between the Archaeological Department and the IsMEO under Professor Tucci, should have come out with some concrete proposals to commemorate the work and contribution of that great archaeologist. However, I put up for the consideration of the relevant authorities the following proposals to augustly recognise his achievements in the field.

An international conference should be organized at Swat and specialists and archaeologists from all those countries in which the late Professor carried out his research programmes be invited to participate and contribute papers on the subjects covering the speciality of Professor Tucci. The theme of the conference should be the assessment and evaluation of research work done so far in the field of proto- and early historic archaeology, including the Buddhist art and culture. The conference could be organised under the auspices of the Government of Pakistan and the UNESCO, with the active collaboration of the IsMEO.

As the organisation of such conference will be a special job which should ordinarily take at least a year, it would be appropriate if a senior scholar or some efficient agency be assigned the job. These papers should be published in a book form to be designated as Professor Tucci Commemoration Volume.

A professional chair be created preferably at the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. This should be an international assignment offered to eminent senior scholars on international basis. The assignment should be for a limited period of three to five years during which the Professor should complete a specific project relating to the subjects specified as the theme of the proposed conference.

It is hoped that the relevant authorities would consider the feasibility and propriety of these proposals.

DR. AHMAD NABI KHAN

The recent death in Rome of Prof. Giuseppe Tucci at the age of 90 marked the passing away of one of the greatest orientalist of this century. Apart from his long association with this subcontinent, stretching back nearly sixty years, his particular interest and links with Pakistan began in 1956. In the small and still little-known state of Swat in the north-west of Pakistan, Tucci and his team of Italian archaeologists excavated and brought to light some of the most magnificent stupas, sites, relics and sculptures of pre-Buddhist and Graeco-Buddhist art and culture, down to the Islamic age and Mahmud of Ghazni. These important excavations are still continuing under the dedicated guidance of the ISMEO team of archaeologists.

Prof. Giuseppe Tucci was born in Macerata in central Italy. He showed an extraordinary affinity at an early age for Buddhist philosophy. He mastered Sanskrit and at sixteen he became a Buddhist. Not surprisingly, in his home town he was considered rather eccentric! By the age of nineteen he had acquired a doctorate in literature and later became fluent in many languages including Coptic, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati and of course many European languages as well.

In 1924 he joined the University of Calcutta as Professor of Religious Philosophy of India and the Far East. He also lectured at Rabindranath Tagore's University of Shantiniketan. It was during this period that his travels in Nepal and especially Tibet took place. Between 1927 and 1948 he made eight journeys into Tibet in search of ancient texts, manuscripts and documents to help him in his intensive research on Buddhism. He travelled thousands of miles in the interior of Tibet, always on foot, followed by his caravan of yaks or ponies, and usually accompanied by a lama. Living in monasteries and discoursing knowledgeably with the monks in their own language, he won their respect and friendship and gradually built up a rich collection of priceless books and manuscripts (many of which he translated into Italian and English).

Of Tibet, Prof. Tucci writes: 'The impact of arriving there for the first time is one I shall never forget ... Description can never equal a first hand encounter. Only those who have been in Tibet know the fascination of its huge landscape, its diaphanous air that scarfs the icy peaks with turquoise, its vast silence that at once humbles man and uplifts him.'

Strangely enough, it was Prof. Tucci's researches in Tibet that later inspired his archaeological work in Swat. For 'the mysterious figure of Padmasambhava', who lived in the 8th century and was venerated by the Tibetans as a Master, was born in Swat. This fact suggested to Tucci that religious, artistic and cultural ties existed in ancient times between Swat (then called Uddhiyana) and Tibet. The glorious results of this diagnosis have dazzled the world and enriched the museums of Pakistan.

Prof. Tucci also had a profound interest in Alexander the Great and the manner in which his expeditions influenced Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Pakistan, in an exchange of religious art and culture which resulted in the flowering of Gandhara or Graeco-Buddhist art. Tucci believed that this art was evidence of the spiritual and intellectual unity of Asia and Europe as one continent. This was a favourite theory of his and appears in many of his writings.

I had the privilege of meeting this brilliant, charming and unassuming man several times.

His devoted wife Francesca who was also his official photographer in Swat, Afghanistan, Iran and elsewhere, always accompanied him. Tucci founded the IsMEO (Institute for the Study of the Middle East and Orient) in Rome in 1933 and was its President from 1948-78, when he retired, but remained Honorary President for life.

Prof. Tucci was involved with the restoration of Persepolis and excavations in southern Iran, Afghanistan and Swat. He is the author of many books and has been given more awards and honours from Heads of State of various countries (including one Hilal-i Imtiaz) than any other archaeologist/historian today. He had a great love for this country and in the foreword of one of IsMEO's books he writes: "The time I spent in Swat – 'a garden in the world' as it appeared to the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang – was the best in my life".

Prof. Tucci was working, researching and writing right up to the time of his death. The last words of this extraordinary man were murmured in Sanskrit.

KALYANI RAHMAT ALI

Giuseppe Tucci died on 5th April 1984. He was ninety years old and for almost seventy-five of those years he had been making his contribution to the human sciences, with perseverance and honesty and, above all, with great ingenuity.

He was not fond of writing except when he felt he had something new to say, and then he had no hesitation in putting forward hypotheses and suggesting bold lines of interpretation, without being at all afraid of making mistakes. On the contrary, errors had a sort of fascination for him, as the inevitable price to be paid in the acquiring of knowledge, and he mocked in that blunt and slightly paradoxical way of speaking of those colleagues who condemned themselves to barren-mindedness on account of their excessive caution or conscientiousness.

'Don't be afraid of being wrong', was a piece of advice he repeatedly gave his students and his younger colleagues and which only the less well informed could take as a generic encouragement. In actual fact he knew that an error also has its own worth, and a precise meaning that can contribute to the conquest of truth. Perhaps this was the reason why he was so fond of discussion, even with those who, on account of their inadequacy or their youth, gave all appearance of only being able to gain something from him without giving anything in return. But in those discussions, which seldom lacked fascination, he was capable of giving his interlocutors the impression of being on the same level as he was in the conversation, and in this way he repaid the deference that he demanded even in form from younger people, at times with surprising severity.

A talk between scholars, a debate that could also be heated – this is what conversation with him was in its happiest moments, according to the teaching of a favourite passage of his from the *Milindapañha* (28-29):

'How, revered Nāgasena, do the learned converse?'

'When the learned are conversing, sire, a turning over (of a subject) is made and an unravelling is made and a refutation is made and a redress is made and a specific point is made and a specific point is made against it, and the learned are not angry in consequence – it is thus, sire, that the learned converse.' (trad. J.B. Horner).

How easy it was to get to know him then, in those talks, much better than during lecture! For it was then that his extreme availability became clear, and his generosity in giving cues, ideas, information or precise references that at times were decisive for a research that had come to a standstill. His readiness in giving – that contrasted with the jealousy of his less renowned colleagues who sometimes seemed to consider their fields of research as their own private property – is perhaps the trait of his character that I recall most gladly.

Giuseppe Tucci could also be severe and unpleasant with anyone whom he thought did not behave according to the rules of fair play which, being unwritten, must be unviolable for all alike. How often one was perplexed at certain obstinate attitudes of his only to understand, perhaps too late, that it was not obstinacy at all but precise intuition.

In his feelings of enmity or aversion and in his dislikes, which could be strong and sometimes unjust, the main reason was always his fear that an attempt might be made to prevent the

fulfilment of the project that was the true mainspring of his every deed, namely to provide Italy with a group of scholars and adequate structures so as to acquire a deeper knowledge of Asia or, more precisely, to gain a thorough understanding of the Eurasian cultural unity.

Thinking back to him now, to his everyday behaviour, we can understand how all his decisions – whether right or wrong – were aimed at that purpose, we understand how certain enthusiasms, at times pathetic, reflected a constant aspiration of his desire, we understand how his often boyish impatience looked forward to an achievement that had long been dreamed of and was now within sight.

It is true that every commemoration may have something false about it. One might suspect that I am being influenced by the age-old restraint in saying anything but words of praise about the deceased, as well as by the affection that bound me to the Master. But this is not so. Like every man, Giuseppe Tucci was a mixture of good and bad qualities, but what counts is that his good points have borne fruit whereas his faults perhaps made his earthly life more difficult but we hardly remember them now.

The crowded memories – that for me refer to thirty years of life and work – make it difficult for me to select the main points of the Master's life and to arrange them in a coherent order, for one is always aware of having overlooked some aspect, even an important one, or of having left out this or that moment of his commitment to science and society. I trust the reader will forgive my inevitable oversights.

After a brief work on Roman epigraphy that Tucci had the satisfaction of seeing published in the prestigious *Römische Mitteilungen* when he was only seventeen years old, and a much more consistent work on Latin anthroponomatology that appeared in the following year, his immediately subsequent contributions reveal at once the interests that were to remain his, namely the Oriental religions, especially those of pre-Islamic India, of China and, lastly, of Tibet.

For Tucci the study of religions – in which he was helped by an amazing apparatus of linguistic knowledge – did not have the nature of cold objectiveness that is usually required in a scientific approach. For him that study also meant personal participation, sympathy for the answers that those religions had attempted to give to the great mysteries of all time, sympathy for those myths, too, and perhaps also for those rites. He could not be included among the followers of any religion for he always shunned any type of confessionalism and often displayed supreme contempt (how near I felt to him on those occasions!) for those who set themselves up as guardians of the one 'true' religion – grotesque sorcerers who claimed to have imprisoned God once and for all. But the godhead was for Tucci something quite different: it was doubt, ineffable presence, mysterious communion through the reassuring gestures of the rites. But besides this, there was for him also philosophical research, to which his approach was sympathetic but also strictly critical, so that his knowledge of the religions of Asia was of rare perfection: he was able to bear in mind not only the theoretical formulations of the philosophers and theologians, but also the real experience of the rite and of everyday religious practice which is often so deviant from those formulations. And he was also able to see clearly how foolish it is to think of India as being devoted solely to mysticism and unconcerned with the lowly problems of survival, as Antonio Gramsci (*Quaderni del carcere*, 2.120) was not slow to point

out in noting the title of one of Tucci's writings that appeared in *Nuova Antologia* in 1928.

All this led to the appearance of various general works – a history of ancient Chinese philosophy (*Storia della filosofia cinese antica*, Bologna, 1922), an exposition of Buddhism (*Il Buddismo*, Foligno, 1926), and then the more mature works *Asia religiosa* (Roma, 1946) and *Storia della filosofia indiana* (Bari, 1957), upon which followed what was to be the last of these contributions, the essay on the religions of Tibet which, together with Walther Heissig's parallel study on the religions of Mongolia, make up the volume *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei* (Stuttgart, 1970). But chief of all these works is the excellent and arduous *Teoria e pratica del mandala* (Roma, 1949), which subsequently appeared in an expanded English translation (*The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, London, 1961) and in a second revised edition in both Italian and English (1969).

These works, which were intended also for the non-specialist reader without, however, making the slightest concession to approximation, alternate with others that are of a more frankly popular nature and still others that are purely scientific and specialist: it would be impossible not to mention at least, among the more highly committed ones, the four volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* (Roma, 1932-1941), more than a thousand pages of unparalleled science, and the monumental *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Roma, 1949), which is too well known for me to speak of its merits here.

All this knowledge that Tucci had accumulated and arranged according to a plan that was taking shape in his mind and was then to fill his books, had certainly not been gained from his reading alone. In his opinion sedentary study could not go without a first-hand knowledge of people and places: as early as 1925 he went to India (he taught in the Universities of Shantiniketan and Calcutta) where he made the acquaintance of Tagore and Gandhi; then, from 1929 to 1948, he visited Tibet eight times and, from 1950 to 1954, he made six expeditions to Nepal. These expeditions, that were admirable undertakings from a physical viewpoint as well (and it was touching to see how much pleasure he took in this) were the cue for popular works that circulated widely and made a deep impression, and not only in Italy: *Secrets of Tibet* (London-Glasgow, 1935; American edition, *Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas*, New York, 1936), written with E. Ghersi, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto* (Milano, 1937), *A Lhasa e oltre* (Roma, 1950), soon translated into English (*To Lhasa and Beyond*, Roma, 1956), *Tra giungle e pagode* (Roma, 1953); but, above all, he was able to lucidly transfuse into his scientific works the same emotions that he describes in his popular works.

Professor for more than thirty years at the University of Rome, where he taught the Religions and Philosophies of India and the Far East (but he had already been appointed to teach Chinese at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples in 1931), and a member of the Accademia d'Italia until it was dissolved in 1944, he was aware of the need for another structure to complement those of the universities and academies and which, being more agile, could provide effective support at home to his expeditions. This structure, the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), established in 1933, on which Tucci lavished most of his energy until 1978, soon proved to be an irreplaceable means of carrying out the great new Asian project of its President: namely, the Archaeological Missions in Pakistan (from 1955), in Afghanistan (from 1957) and in Iran (from 1959).

It may seem surprising that a scholar like Tucci, who was professionally so remote from archaeology, could become the promoter and organizer of archaeological expeditions, but it was an undertaking that he had been planning for a long time, and this is especially so of the expedition in Swat. This was then a little known valley in north Pakistan, to which Tucci was guided naturally as it were by his beloved Tibetan studies:

'(...) It was Tibet that pointed out to me the way to Swat – Tibet, that was for many years the greatest love of my life, and it still is, all the more ardent as it appears harder to fulfil it in another meeting. In eight journeys I have travelled throughout the length and breadth of most of it. I have dwelt in the villages and the monasteries, I have knelt before masters and sacred images, I have crossed mountains with the caravaneers, and deserts as vast as the sea, I have talked about problems of religions and philosophy with learned monks and I have always found, along the tired and stony paths, the tracks of the Guru Rimpoce, the pugnacious master Padmasambhava (...).

'(...) The unusual figure, his magic powers and the people's credulity which was stirred up more and more as the legend grew, made him a second Buddha in Tibet. But he had come from Swat (...).

'I was interested in Padmasambhava himself and I still am very much interested in him, but even more so in his homeland, where everything leads us to believe that there was, at his time, a great fervour of religious and literary life and where Buddhism, for reasons not yet quite clear to us, assumed gnostic and magic forms, and these have always held a strong attraction for me, not only because they nurture anxieties and hopes that are not unknown to the West either, but especially because, in that late Buddhism, very ancient myths and liturgies surface once more, although they appear in a new guise or are interpreted differently from their primitive rudeness. What is left of all this in Swat?' (*La via dello Svat*, Bari, 1963, pp. 12-13).

Tucci's glance had been drawn toward Swat long before this: we may recall his work *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, published at Calcutta in 1940, in which he clearly stated that 'It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.'

The Archaeological Missions of the IsMEO have been going on for almost thirty years now and they have to their credit undertakings such as the revelation of the great Gandharan artistic school in Swat (unsuspected by those who had previously explored the country), the discovery of the protohistoric culture known as the 'Swat Grave Culture' or 'Gandharan Grave Culture', the excavation of a sanctuary such as that of Tapa Sardar, near Ghazni, in which some aspects of Buddhism are seen for the first time, the investigations in Islamic buildings in Afghanistan (the Palace of Mas'ud III at Ghazni) and in Iran, then the co-ordinated sequence of excavations of protohistoric settlements belonging to the 3rd millennium B.C. (Shahr-e Sokhta, in Iranian Sistan), as well as the excavation, in the Sistan desert, of public buildings of the Achaemenian period (Dahan-e Gholaman).

All of these undertakings have had to be limited somewhat at present owing to unfavourable political circumstances, but in another sense they tend to expand – as in the case of the new Archaeological Mission in Nepal that Tucci desired ardently, and kept on asking about it, we might say, right up till the very last – and they also tend to be integrated by the inclusion of experts in other fields than archaeology (chemists, botanists, zoologists, etc.) and with parallel activities, especially in the field of restoration of paintings and monuments, and it is thanks to

these activities that the IsMEO can be justly proud of never having abandoned the monuments it has excavated and to have helped to increase the artistic heritage of cities such as Persepolis, Ghazni and Isfahan, cities where the history of the world was made.

The reports on the Missions' work and other connected studies saw the light in the series 'Reports and Memoirs' of the Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia that first appeared in 1962, while the reports on the conservation work are contained in the series 'Restorations', that was begun in 1969. These two series, by now well established, went side by side with the 'Serie Orientale Roma', which Giuseppe Tucci had inaugurated in 1950 with his volume *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* and which, as time went on, collected contributions of the most renowned scholars both from Italy and abroad: Tucci himself contributed to it with other volumes such as the *Minor Buddhist Texts* (1956, 1958, 1971), the *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (1956), and the edition of the *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, Tibetan chronicles of bSod nam's grags pa (1971).

But his last work of note to see the light is once more concerned with Swat: it is a long article 'On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems', that appeared in vol. 27 (1977) of *East and West*, the journal of IsMEO founded by him. In this article Tucci took up ideas that he had already put forward in previous works (including the essay 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', *East and West* 9, 1958, upon which this new article ideally follows), and he also advanced new ideas, without taking too much trouble about going into them more thoroughly or checking them, his main desire being to put down on paper and make known the intuitions that perhaps, he knew he would no longer have time to develop. An opinion on this article was voiced by a sensible French colleague, and I should like to quote it here because it would be hard to give a more fitting judgement:

'(...) Même si cet article est fait de fiches juxtaposées, parfois vieilles, parfois allusives, il est bourré de faits, de références, de points de vue nouveaux, d'interrogations et de doutes précieux en un temps où beaucoup d'auteurs semblent considérer qu'affirmer est prouver. Il restera à ce titre un recueil de matériaux indispensable à l'historien du pays darde et du Bouddhisme. (...)' (G. Fussman, *Journal Asiatique* 1980, p. 461).

I know that in these last years Tucci was working on a book on Eros and Thanatos in India, and I hope that someone of his disciples who is more nearly concerned with that field of studies will be capable of preparing the manuscript for publication. But I also know that when his essay 'On Swat' appeared, after having sorely tried the resistance of the editors and the printer, he was cheered, having been assured of his contribution to scientific discussion for many years to come.

The day his father died – he used to say – was one of the most pleasant memories of his life because the image of the old man lying in peace came back to his mind; and as he said it, he would take delight in seeing how foolish people were disconcerted by his words. We, too, who were near him can now recall serenely and without sadness the day of the Master's death.

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