

From Wu-ch'ang, the *Fo-kuo-chi* tells us, Fa-hsien with some of his companions 'descended south, and arrived in the country of *Su-ho-to*'. In the name of this territory, 宿呵多, a transcription of an older form of *Swāt* was long ago surmised. This is confirmed by the fact that the only sacred site mentioned here by Fa-hsien—the one where in a previous birth the Bodhisattva, in order to save a dove pursued by a hawk, was believed to have 'cut off a piece of his own flesh, and with it ransomed the dove'—is located by Hsüan-tsang in the hills to the south-west of Manglaur.²³ Guided by the exact topographical indications in Hsüan-tsang's *Memoirs*, and by the rapid archaeological survey I had effected while accompanying the Bunēr Field Force in January, 1898, I was able to identify the site indicated with the remains of a large Stūpa found near the village of Girārai in the extreme west of Bunēr, and at the foot of the range dividing it from the Swāt Valley.²⁴ That Bunēr was in Buddhist times reckoned as part of Udyāna is proved by the series of sacred sites which Sung Yün and Hsüan-tsang describe in the south of Udyāna, and which I traced during my survey in Bunēr.²⁵ Why Fa-hsien should have distinguished Bunēr by the separate designation of *Su-ho-to* can no longer be determined.²⁶

Fa-hsien's
account of
Su-ho-to.

The next and more detailed account of Udyāna is supplied by the pilgrim Sung Yün and Hui-shêng, members of the religious mission which the Empress Hu of the Western Wei dynasty dispatched to the North-West of India in A.D. 518. Their journey from Khotan to Sarikol I have discussed elsewhere.²⁷ Thence they made their way in the early autumn of A.D. 519 across the Pāmirs to Wakhān, and the seats of the Yeh-tas or Hephthalites in the present Badakhshān.²⁸ After a brief stay there, as Sung Yün's narrative and Hui-shêng's notes preserved in the Wei Annals tell us, the pilgrims passed through the small mountain tract of Po-chih into the territory of Shê-mi. There they gradually emerged from the Ts'ung-ling Mountains, and hence gained Udyāna which lay to the south of Shê-mi.²⁹ In my *Ancient Khotan* I have already had occasion to show that the territory of Shê-mi, which a passage of the T'ang Annals describes as bordering Chieh-shih or Chitrāl on the west and south, corresponds to 'the cluster of valleys to the south of the great snowy range [of the Hindukush] which since mediaeval times has been known by the general name of Kāfiristān'.³⁰ There I also indicated my belief that the route followed by Sung Yün and his companions led them through one of the easternmost valleys of Kāfiristān down to the Kūnar River and thence across Dīr (or Bājaur) into the Swāt Valley. But additional information since obtained about that region, as well as other reasons, make it desirable to trace the pilgrims' route here in fuller detail.

Sung Yün's
journey to
Swāt.

From Sung Yün's narrative we learn that after leaving the Hephthalite king's encampment, which at the season indicated (tenth Chinese month, i.e. about November, A.D. 519) is likely to

Sung Yün's
passage
through
Po-ssū.

by his native agents, and which he handed over to me early in 1898, there was one which showed a rock surface curiously cut up by natural cross lines, recalling the threads of some woven fabric. There were traces of some Kharoṣṭhī characters also. Some place in the Upper Swāt Valley was vaguely indicated as the provenance. The publication of the estampage was prevented by the death of Professor Bühler for whom it was reserved, and subsequently by the doubts which (justly enough) arose about the genuineness of the many 'inscriptions in unknown characters' supplied to Colonel Deane by the less scrupulous of his agents.

²³ See Legge, *Fa-hien*, pp. 30 sq.; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i. p. 234; Julien, *Memoires*, i. p. 137.

²⁴ See my *Archaeological tour with the Bunēr Field Force*, pp. 16, 61-2, and below, p. 16 with note. (Also *Indian*

Antiquary, 1899, pp. 21, 60.)

²⁵ For references see below, p. 16.

²⁶ It is noteworthy that as far as *Su-ho-to* Fa-hsien's narrative shows none of those errors in bearings and distances which from the next territory, Gandhāra, onwards often perplex the student of ancient Indian geography.

²⁷ See *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 28 sqq.

²⁸ For this portion of the pilgrims' route cf. below, pp. 60 sqq.

²⁹ See Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yun*, pp. 27 sqq.

³⁰ See *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 14 sq.; for the hill state of Chieh-shih (also appearing with a slight graphic variation under the name of Chieh-shuai), cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occid.*, pp. 158 sq., 214 sq.; for its identity with Chitrāl see also below, p. 30.