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It is recorded in the ancient annals of Armenia, that ARMENAC, the son of HAIC, had twelve brothers, who were respectively called by the names of the twelve Armenian months. He had also twenty-four sisters, who received the respective names of the twenty-four hours of the day.

The Armenians of British India as well as of other parts of the globe, have adopted the use of the old Julian style and months in mercantile transactions, and in their correspondence with Europeans.

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IV.—Conjectures on the march of Alexander. By M. Court, ancien élève de l'école militaire de St. Cyr.

[Communicated by Captain C. M. Wade*.

According to PLUTARCH, the first country through which ALEXANDER passed on leaving Hyrcania, was Parthia. I shall therefore set out from this province, which is supposed to be the modern Khorasán; and what confirms us in this supposition is, that to the south of Parthia was situated Tabiana, now Thabas, which town is to be found in this direction between two deserts. Another incontestable proof is, that the province of Margiana, which was contiguous to Parthia, is to be found situated in the country of Meimané, watered by the modern Murg-âb, called Margus by the ancients.

Barbier' du Bocage fixes the capital of the Parthian empire at Nicephorium, or Nishapûr. But I must here notice that the town of Tâs may very probably be Parthonisa, of which he makes mention; and if this be the case, the tombs which are here to be found are those of the kings of Parthia.

* We are indebted to the kindness of a lady friend for the translation of M. Court's valuable Memoir.—Ed.
It was in this province that the traitor Brasus seized the person of Darius, whom he subsequently assassinated. History does not record the spot where the assassination took place. From the statement of Plutarch, it appears Alexander sojourned for some time in Parthia. After he left this province his march became exceedingly irregular and confused, and we find no historical elucidation of it. Some historians say that he returned to Hyrcania; Plutarch is amongst those who give us this statement; others, however, relate that he marched into Bactria. Renne, the geographer, is of opinion, that on leaving the western provinces of the Caspian Sea he passed through Aria and Zarangaei to make the conquest of Arachosia, and that from thence he proceeded to direct his attack upon the Bactrians. I am led to be of this opinion; and what most strongly induces me to adopt it, is the death of Philetas, which was very much anterior to the murder of Clitus; and it is well known that the former perished in Zarangaei, and the latter in Sogdiana. Alexander on leaving Parthia passed through Aria, which is watered by the modern Arius, anciently called the Heriroud, and which passed by Herat. He here built a town, which I imagine must be that called Obeh, situated ten farsangs to the east of Herat: however, this latter town was built by Alexander, according to the reports of its inhabitants; but some geographers refute their statement by giving as their opinion, that Herat is not the Aria of the ancients. Barbis-du Bocage says, that Artacvana, otherwise called Aria, was the capital of the province of this name. In regard to this, I must notice that in my travels from Ispahan to Yezd, I found the town of Ardeco, in its vicinity, in the same route, the equally ancient town of Akda, and quite close to this again was another called Beni-bit. Now these three towns bear in their names the strongest resemblance to those called Aria, Artacvana, and Bitaxia, that Barbis-du Bocage fixes in Aria Proper. This country, of which I have just spoken, is situated between Ardistan and the province of Yezd, and is no other than the Isatcechae (Isatcechae) of the Greeks, where the worship of fire and the institutions of the Magi were established. I must, moreover, notice that at the distance of two days' journey southward of the town of Tan, we enter the territory of Bucharia, and here meet with ruins, which may be attributed to the ancient Persians; but I must observe, that neither in this canton or in those of the three above-mentioned towns, is any river bearing the name of Arius to be found.

From Aria, Alexander marched into Zarangaei, now called Sistean, but a vestige of its ancient name remains in that of the actual capital called Zarang, which is no other than the town of Propheas, where Alexander put Philetas to death.
This town was situated at a short distance from the Etymander, now called the Hind-mind, which river empties itself into the lake Zéré, otherwise called Néibdennam, known by the ancients under the name of the lake Arian. This river receives in its course that which flows from the territory of Farrah, and which is no other than the Pharmaco-tis of the Greeks, for there is not a doubt that Farrah was the ancient Phra, the country of the famous Rustam of Persia.

From thence he went into Arachosia, a province watered by the river Arachotus, which emptied itself into the lake Areiana, and which is the same as the Aracandab, which has its source in the canton of Navor, and which subsequently flows through the territory of Candahar, and from thence falls into the Hind-mind four farsangs below Gerishk. The town which was situated on this river, said to be built by Seleucidus, ought to be found amongst the ruins of Candahar, or more probably it is the ruins of that town which are visible upon the river Arcasam, four farsangs below Candahar upon the road to Shikarpur. Two equally ancient towns are those of Eshqaryanj, and of Sher-safa, the ruins of which may be seen upon the road which leads to Ghasni. As to the Alexandropolis of Arrokhaie, it undoubtedly is old Candahar. Nisza appears to me to be Ghasni.

The Macedonian conqueror must necessarily have passed through Candahar, as the several roads branch off from this town which lead to India, through Cábúl, Ghasni and Shikarpur; and moreover all the extent of country to the south of Arachosia, is nothing but one desert of moving sands, which occupy a distance of forty farsangs, stretching over as far as the country of Neshki and Karan, which form a part of Baluchistan.

To the north of Arachosia we find the country of the Parapamiseci, separated from Bactriana, by a high chain of mountains, to which the name of Caucasus was given by the companions of Alexander, out of compliment to this prince, who wished to traverse them. Here they found a cavern that they transformed into the cave of Prometheus. I have been assured that a similar cavern does exist in the environs of Candahar, at the spot called Khar-Jemshid-jan. The mountainous part of the country of Parapamiseci is now inhabited by Hasarés, amongst whom exist a tribe of the Bactrians, who doubtless are a descent from the intrepid Bactrians who offered such a valorous resistance to Alexander, and who repulsed him several times before they were made to surrender. I presume that this conqueror penetrated into this country, either by re-asending the valley watered by the Aracand-ab, or by passing through the defiles of the chain of Gul-kaw, near Ghasni, where we may remark some dykes built here by
Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. In this passage he had to penetrate through heavy falls of snow before he could reach Bactria, the capital of Bactriana, which they say must have been the same as Balkh.

This country, according to Barbey du Bocage, extended to the south of the Oxus, a large river which stretched as far as the Paropamisus. It compromises Bactriana, properly so called, and the country of Margiana, of which I have already spoken.

Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was king of the whole of this country.

It was at Bactria that Alexander condemned Bessus to have his nose and ears mutilated. Calisthenes was arrested at the place called Cariata. Plutarch relates, that Alexander was on the banks or confines of the Oxus when he first meditated the conquest of India.

The route which he pursued is, I imagine, the one now adopted by the caravans which pass from Balkh to Câbul, and which appears to be the only passable road through which this mountainous country can be traversed.

This road passes through the territory of Bamiana, a very ancient town, not far from which are to be found the prodigious ruins named Gulgula. Six kâs further, we meet with others that are attributed to Zohak Shah; and at the place called Siggan, there are the remains of a fortress, the building of which the inhabitants attribute to Alexander. If this tradition be well founded, there is not a doubt that it must have been in this spot that Alexander built the town in the country of the Paropamisai, and from whence he proceeded to Cophenes.

This starting point is a stumbling-stone for geographers, inasmuch as none of them have been able to determine its exact position. For, proceeding in their narration from thence, some state that he marched to Cow, which they mistake for Cophenes; and had he done so, he must have quitteâ the Paropamisâi, gone through the defiles of Ghazâi, and have precipitated himself from thence to the cantons of Gerard and Lougird; then crossing the country of the Bangisâh he would have proceeded to Peucelaotis by the route of Kohât. In this case Borikrajâ must be Arigœum, of which we find mention made in history. But I would observe, that along this route no such important river as the Cophenes is to be found; and then again how improbable it appears that Alexander, who had such an immense tract of land to explore, would have ordered his generals Hephaestion and Perdiccas to conduct a division through a track so distant as that through Peucelaotis. It is then more probable that he must have taken the road to Câbul, and from thence dismissed his generals, with orders to proceed in their route to Jelâldâdâ,
and he himself pursued that which led to Lagman, and which answers the historical description, being very rugged and mountainous, but still such as to allow the cavalry to penetrate through it. From thence he could give assistance to that division of his army which were detached towards Pencelaotis.

Whilst pursuing this train of supposition, I cannot help observing that the Macedonian conqueror must of necessity have passed through Cimbule; for its geographical position is so brilliant, so advantageous, that it is a military position which we cannot but suppose that he noticed, and therefore traversed it.

It is then only the more unaccountable, that to this day that no geographer has been able to ascertain the ancient name of this town, the foundation of which the inhabitants attribute to Khikobad. From the fertility and luxuriance of this territory, I am led to think that it must be the same as Cabura or Ortospanum, of which Barbier du Bocage speaks, describing it as "a town situated upon the route which led from the Alexandria of the Areians to India, and which was not very far from the Paropamisian Alexandria."

Rennel's opinion appears to be erroneous when he says, that the Cow-nul of Baber Shah is the same as the Cophenes, the principal branches of which, he adds, are rivers flowing from the Ghazni and Guerdis; for the river Ghazni, according to the account given by its neighbouring inhabitants, empties itself into a lake which is situated at the south of Moukkor, in the canton of Zermel. As to the branch called the Guerdis, it is no other than a narrow stream, and can scarcely be denominated a river. On the other hand, he adds, that the river of Cophenes was defined as the eastern boundary of the province of Paropamisus, of which Alexandria was the capital. I must observe, that from the direction the Cow takes in its course, it goes too far southward of the Paropamisus to form its eastern boundary; what he says there seems to have a more just reference to the province of Arachosis.

I am very tenacious, then, of my opinion, that the Cophenes must be the same as the river of Cimbule. This river has its source in the country of the Hasarés, betwixt Bamian and Cimbule; it has its fall in the mountains of Meidan, through which runs the road which leads from Cimbule to Balkh; from thence it traverses Cimbule, and receives below this town the river of Shéikabas, which also takes its source from the Hasarés; a little lower still it is enlarged by its junction with the Panje-shir; this takes place at the spot called Teng-carunj. From thence it proceeds in its course through a mountainous part of the country, and empties itself in the western extremity of the valley.
of Lagman, where it receives the waters of the Alumkhar, which flow downwards from that territory. We follow it from thence into the valley of Jelldabad, where it is enlarged by its junction with the Surkh-dh, which rises in Peivar; and then again it receives the Khondr, which flows through Kaféristán. In leaving this deep valley it passes anew through the mountains of Dekha, and empties itself at Micheni in the province of Peshívar; and when passing a short distance from Ashnagar, it receives below that town the Jind, which flows from the country of Baajar, then passes by Nouçhareh, Akhora and Jengir, and from thence finally empties itself into the Indus; and here we lose it about half a league below the fortress of Atток*. From Cábul to Jelldabad it is known by the name of the river Cábul, in the Moumenda by that of Kháheh, at Pishívar they give it the name of Nagowman, and below that it is called Landeh, by the Kattuks and Yusufzies.

From its source to Ashnagar it abounds in rapids, which make it quite un navigable in the rainy season, and more particularly so during the heavy falls of snow, which swell it out to a prodigious breadth. I have above concluded that Alexander took the route to Lagman, after having ordered his generals to go to Pencelaotis.

The Aspii and the Thyrei that he attacked, appear to me to be the Busbins and the Touris, who inhabit the mountainous part of the country which separates the valleys of Lagman and of Jelldabad from the territory of Cábul. As to the town of Arigwám, which was found beyond these mountains, it may be Atcchung, a very ancient town situated in the valley of Lagman. That of Tigueri, which is here to be observed near the rivers of Meitarlam, is also of a very ancient date. The two rivers of Choe and of Evaspla, that he must have crossed in order to arrive, must in all probability be the Penj-shir and Alumkhar.

The valley of Lagman, as also that of Jelldabad, were formerly inhabited by an idolatrous people, who were driven after the first conquests of the Mahomedans beyond the chain of Hindu-kou, the Emodus of the ancients. They are now known under the names Sidíposh or Kaféria, and the country that they inhabit is just below that of Kaféristán.

* The latter part of its course may be traced on a map, which we have been permitted to copy from M. Courr’s original survey on its way to the Asiatic Society of Paris, and which, with a few extracts from his geographical notes on the country, will appear in our next number.—Ed.
These nations declare that they are descendants of the Ghoris, which name resembles greatly that of Gurei, of which notice is taken in history.

At Jelalabad ruins of a considerable extent are to be found: their origin is not, however, known. It is the same with those that may be observed three stages further off, near the defile of the Kheibers, and which are called Piskhoulak. These last are situated on the northern range of the chain of Safakok, and not far from thence is the village of Aserbo, which one meets in the road from Jelalabad to Peshawar. In these ruins are to be found some medals exactly like those of Mabikydia; and from this I am led to believe that these towns must be of equal antiquity. It remains now to discover what were the names by which they were then called. The Mumindeo appear now to occupy the country of the Assaceni, against whom Alexander marched, after having crossed the Gureus. This river, which he crossed with great difficulty, appears to me to be the Khomar, a river the stream of which is very rapid and full of polished stones, like the Alumkhar: it flows from Kafiristan. If it be not this river, it must be that of Cabeil itself, which here took the name of Gureus, from the Ghoris which inhabited the banks, or rather the Jinde which traverses the country of Bajru.

From thence Alexander went into the country of Bajru, called by us Bijore. This town is situated 60 kos N. N. W. of Peshawar; is very ancient, and we may there find many medals like those of Mabikydia. It remains to be proved if it is really there that we find the Bazira of the Greeks. This mountainous country is traversed by the river Jinde, which divides it from the canton of Swodt, and which after having emptied itself into the defiles of the Tengui passes to the west of Ashnaagar, throwing itself from thence into that of Cabil. If Bajor be the Bazira of the Greeks, it is in this country that we must search for the famous mountain of Aornus, the seizure of which was one of Alexander's most brilliant exploits.

From this country Alexander passed towards the Indus, and took possession of the town and fortress of Peucelaotis, which Herodotus and Panticas had been besieging for upwards of a month.

Several geographers think that this province is the same as that of Peshawar. In this case the Malamantus, upon which Peucela was built, is no other than the river Barreh, which flows downwards from the Kheiber mountains, and which loses itself in that of Cabil. Rennel, led into error by Forster, supposes that Pakkheri, which he calls Pakhkoli, was the Peucelaotis of the Greeks. This last town was found at the west of the Indus, whilst Pakkheri was at the east of
this stream, and at a considerable distance from it, and moreover in a mountainous country, where the Indus has never been able to change its course. Besides, Pencelaotis was contiguous to Bazira, a town that they suppose must have been Bajur.

From Pencelaotis Alexander returned on his steps, directing his march towards the north-west, in order to investigate Aornus. After the capture of this rock, he made a second expedition into the country of the Assaceni, between Bazira and Pencelaotis.

Ashnagar, which several geographers mistake for Massaga, the capital of the Assaceni, appears to me to be the town of Nysa. Its vicinity to Cophenes, and above all what Plutarch states that Alexander said to the Macedonians, who hesitated and seemed to fear encountering so deep a river, all corroborate my conjecture. I must, besides, observe, that three kos below this town, and on the borders of the Cábül, is the village of Nysetta, where there are some vestiges to be found. All the suburbs of Ashnagar are scattered over with vast ruins, of none of which we know the origin, and where we find some very ancient medals. The actual fortress of Ashnagar overlooks this territory.

In starting from thence to the Indus we meet no other river, with the exception of a small stream which flows from the Babusies, and which passes between the Hottit and the Kapourdigarhi to throw itself from thence into the river Cábül, below the Nowsharh.

At six kos to the N. E. of Ashnagar is the mountain of Behki, isolated upon a vast plain, and upon which may be remarked the ruins of a very vast town, which seems to be of most ancient date, and which, according to the reports of its present inhabitants, was the residence of the ancient kings of that country. Specimens of bas reliefs may there be found; also the remains of an aqueduct, by which thence the waters of Ashnagar were carried to the town. At eight kos to the north of Behki we see the summit of a mountain, situated between the canton of the Babúsies and the massive ruins of a fortress, which was only accessible by a path cut through the rock.

This spot is called Pelley. At 18 kos N. E. of Ashnagar we see on the southern range of the mountain called Kohyang the vast ruins of a town, that the present inhabitants say was peopled by idolaters, and which is quite close to the existing town Basar. At 15 kos to the east of Ashnagar is the actual town of Kapourdigarhi, which from its locality might well be the ancient Caspatyrus, the capital of the Gandarii, which is placed by our geographers to the east of Assaceni, on the western bank of the river Indus.

I have remarked, that close to this town is an inscription in characters quite similar to those we observe on the ancient Indian medals.
of Manikylas*. To the west of this town is the territory of Hotti or Hoddi, which received its name from an ancient sovereign of this country, who might have been the Ompis who surrendered himself to ALEXANDER.

On the western bank of the Indus ruins may be observed at Perur Toppi, Hound, and Mahamadpur. Those of Hound are all striking, and there may be found blocks of marble containing inscriptions traced in characters quite unknown to the inhabitants.

As for the ruins of Mahamadpur, situated at the junction of the Indus and the river Cibul, they are, we are told, more than two thousand years of age. After having exhausted the above facts relative to the country of the Youzoufjes, I shall be led to form more than one conjecture on the true position of Bazira; but I have been quite perplexed by RENNE1, who says that "ALEXANDER after his arrival at the bridge made an inland excursion into the country situated on the western banks of the Indus, to visit the town of Nyas, and that he subsequently penetrated into the country situated between the two rivers of Cophenes and Indus."

Being quite devoid of all references or means of solving my doubts, I am obliged to adopt the supposition of this judicious guide.

As to the Assaceni who inhabit the lower part of the western bank of the Indus, they are only inhabitants of Katteuk, and the town of Ora is perhaps the same as Akhora. As to that of Sabissa or Capiassa, we must seek for it in the canton of Lachittiri, or in that of Kohit.

As relates to Aornus, which is situated in this country, and of which ALEXANDER made himself master, it is probably the castle which was opposite Attok, and the vestiges of which we see upon the summit of the mountain: its foundation is attributed to Raja Hoddi. According to some geographers, Attok is the town of Taxila; through which the army of ALEXANDER effected the passage of the Indus. If it be not this town, we must recognize it in that of Torbila: the locality of the ruins which we there remark lead me to form this conjecture. It is possible besides, that this name may have undergone some change in its orthography. We know that the Greeks were not exact in their mode of spelling the names of the towns and countries which they invaded.

* We have written to M. Court to request, if it be possible, that facsimiles may be procured, both of the inscription near Ashnager, and of those on the marble blocks at Hound. The Pehlevi inscription copied by M. Court from one of the Manikylas topsa has excited very great interest at Paris: it would be very desirable to obtain a precise facsimile of it.—Ed.