

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

EDITED BY

5.06 (54.1) B 2

### THE SECRETARIES.

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VOL. XXXII.

Nos. I. to IV. and a Supplementary No.—1863.

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish if such communications shall be long intermitted: and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.”

SIR WM. JONES.

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CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY C. B. LEWIS, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1864.

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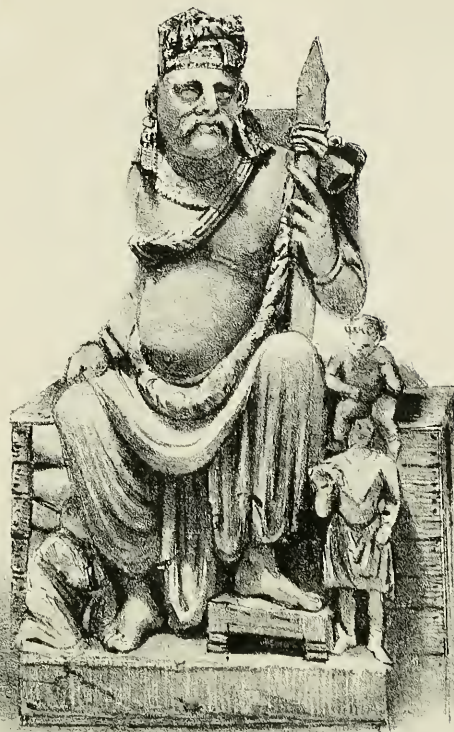
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H. L. Frazer, del.

SCULPTURES FROM NADGRAM

(to illustrate the Rev. J. Lockhart's paper)

Calcutta 1862.



JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. I. 1863.

*On the Antiquities of the Peshawur District.—By the Rev. I.  
LOEWENTHAL.*

*Saint-Martin*, in his *Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie*, in endeavouring to identify Hiouen-Tsang's Ou-to-kia-han-t'cha, not with Atok, but with Húnd, mistaking the pronunciation of the latter name, complains in reference to Yusufzai and the region about Peshawur that *Malheureusement nous sommes ici sur un terrain dont l'exploration archéologique est à peine entamée*. And it is too true. Whilst the Mahomedans of Northern Africa and of Western Asia not only do not prevent the enterprising Englishman from digging up their graves, but lend even a helping hand in the work, the most interesting localities in the immediate neighbourhood of British territory are utterly forbidden ground to any adventurous archeologist, on account of the unmanageable nature of the independent frontier tribes. And yet, few regions, out of the realm of soil made memorable by either classical or religious associations, would yield a richer harvest of the materials with which to eke out the records of history, than the plains and the hills now almost or altogether within sight of British cantonments. Few even of the scores of mounds\* which cover the plain of Yusufzai, have as yet been in any

\* Since writing the above I have received an interesting communication from Major Burroughs, H. M. 93rd Highlanders, in reference to the mounds which are such a feature of the Yusufzai plain,—an extract from which may perhaps not be unacceptable. In speaking of the Broughs or Paclit's Houses in Orkney, he says:

“These ‘Broughs’ are to all outward appearance mere mounds of earth like the tumuli scattered over the plains of the Panjab and throughout the valley of Peshawur, excepting that in the valley of Peshawur they appear always to be

way investigated, much less opened; and still fewer have been the attempts to search the hills which abut on this plain, although every attempt in this direction has been abundantly rewarded. Some of these latter, indeed, require description even more than search, as the remains of buildings on them alone are most remarkable. A late visit to three of these localities, induces me to say a few words, by no means by way of description in the least degree exhaustive, but rather by way of direction for any one with more leisure, and with more previous acquaintance with Indian, Buddhist, and Bactrian antiquities, than I have, to do these interesting subjects justice.

The hill of Takhti Bai, or *Bahai*, as it is called by the natives, has been frequently mentioned, and must have been described before this. It is an isolated, barren hill of no great height, about eight miles west of Fort Hoti Mardán in Yusufzai. It forms, irregularly, three sides of a square, with the open side towards the North-west. The inner slopes of this hill are covered with the still standing shells of lofty buildings, constructed of hewn stones; most of them are of at least two stories, the openings for the beams of the upper floor

covered with bits of broken pottery, which I have not noticed elsewhere.” [This opinion that *all* the mounds are covered with broken pottery, though very general, is not correct: many are.] “I have come across these same tumuli in the Orkney Islands (in the north of Scotland), about Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain in England, on and about the battle-field of the Alma, on the Plateau of Sebastopol and about Kertch and Yenikale in the Crimea; and here again on the plains of the Punjab and in the valley of Peshawur. To all outward appearance, they are alike. On the Plateau north of the Alma, these tumuli were generally in great circles with intervals between each tumulus of about half a mile. At nearly every point along the ridge of the Plateau of Sebastopol overlooking the Tchernaya, where the French, Turks and British had thrown up batteries, was a tumulus to be found. The white telegraph tower on the battle field of the Alma, captured by the Zouáves was built on an old tumulus. The tumuli on the plain between Peshawur and Hoti Mardan are also dotted in circles. At Stennis in Orkney and at Stonehenge in England a druidical circle of standing stones is to be seen in the centre of the great circle of tumuli.” [There is such a circle of standing stones also at Shewa in Yusufzai, to which the people there attach very superstitious notions. The Khan of the place told me that he had frequently placed men to count the stones, but the stones kept increasing and decreasing in number the whole time that they were being counted, and the same number would not come out twice. There is a single stone of the same nature, with a broken one at a little distance from it, some miles to the south of Shewa, in the midst of the Mera (or desert) near a mound.] “I was at the opening of a tumulus, on my own property in the Island of Ronsay in Orkney, which was in shape like a bee-hive under ground. A large stone covered the opening and over the stone was some two or three feet of earth. It was about twelve feet high from the floor inside to the aperture. There was an aperture below leading to some underground passages. It was close to the seashore and was called by the people a ‘Paeht’s House.’”

and the windows remaining to attest the fact. They were constructed with much care, the walls being smooth and straight, showing signs also of having been stuccoed or at least plastered. The buildings are of various sizes; the steps leading to the upper story being either outside the building, or attached inside closely to the outer wall, the vacant space under the staircase being generally fitted up as a cell. The stone of which these buildings were constructed is found on the spot; the blocks are well hewn and carefully fitted. The centre of all these structures is formed by a quadrangle consisting of cells closely resembling in structure the altar in figure No. 10; that is, they consist of a square base, open in front, of little more than a man's height; this surmounted by a coping, which in shape is the lower part of a paraboloidal vault; and a short cylinder connects this coping with a hemispherical cupola which is open at the top. (Single cells, or perhaps altars, of this kind, though much larger in size, are found in various spots all over the hill.) One side of the quadrangle has an opening as a doorway to which steps led from an enclosure round the quadrangle. Its centre is occupied by the ruins of a raised platform, whose sides were adorned with figures in stucco or stone. Close to this quadrangle there is what may readily be considered a vaulted subterranean passage, though from the fact that the debris everywhere conceal the original level, there is great uncertainty as to its real depth below the original level of the ground. It may have been a bauli. There is no water on the hill now anywhere; the Pushto word *Bahai* means a bauli; yet there is a possibility that *Bahai*, the name of this hill, may be connected with the old *Vihara*.

Another most interesting hill showing many remains of Buddhist times, which I ascended, is on the Buner frontier, the nearest British village being that of Bábúzai. It is very much higher than the hill of Bahai. The ascent from the East, from the Sudum valley, is said to be easy and readily performed by mules; that from the other side I must call toilsome and steep, for the most part, differing in this respect very much from the ascent of Bahai, which is easy, along a well-trodden path which exhibits in several places very distinct traces of steps cut in the rock, for great distances. A portion of the way up, however, led along the channel of a mountain stream, then dry (April 25th,) whose banks—if banks can be spoken of where rocks

and large boulders conceal both the banks and the torrent's bed—were covered with an impermeable thicket of a magnificent flora; trees blazing with an indescribable profusion of gorgeous blossoms; shrubbery bending under the weight of fragrant flowers of the most pleasing colours; palm trees waving over head; with sequestered cave-like nooks, partly artificial, constructed over cool springs, traces of terraces, remains of tanks and water-courses,—all spoke of men of taste as well as enterprise, who had chosen and beautified this spot as their abode. There are a few caves scattered over the side of the mountain, but the most remarkable of all is a large cave near the summit, which was pointed out by General Court, many years ago, in the eighth volume of the Journal, when on p. 312 he wrote as follows:

“The cave Cashmeer Ghar, situated in the territory of the Baboozeis, on a mountain which cannot be ascended but by a steep passage, hewn in a great measure out of the rock. This place is also called Pelley, and is sixteen koss from the town of Soukhor. The cave is said to be of an immeasurable depth, and to have so large an aperture that it is impossible to discern the direction by casting in a stone. As both sides of the entrance are of solid masonry, and the front is encumbered with enormous cut stones, one would imagine that it is one of the subterraneous temples attributed to the Pandoovans, or to the Caffres. At present it is a place of shelter for myriads of wood-pigeons. Quite close to it are visible the traces of a town or castle whence idols are sometimes dug up; a basin also is observable there, continually supplied with water. I had been assured that an inscription was discoverable, but my men could trace none whatever.”

I transfer the passage in order to correct a few of the statements, as General Court was entirely dependant on information derived from natives. The cave is not hewn out of the rock, but is almost altogether natural. The place is not called Pelley. He must have confounded it with a place of that name, some miles to the north of Bábúzai, not within British territory, which I was told by the Afghans is remarkable for extensive ruins and mounds. What General Court calls Soukhor, is undoubtedly an error of type or a mistake of the pen for Lund-Khor; but this town is hardly more than *ten* miles to the west of Bábúzai. How the name *Kashmiri Ghár* or *Kashmiri Smuss* (both *ghár* and *smuss* being Pushto for cave) originated, is perhaps hard to tell. The idea of the natives is, that the extent of



the cave cannot be measured, but that the opening at the other end of it is in Kashmir. The last portion of the ascent to the mouth of the cave itself is extremely difficult. The cave consists of several chambers of unequal size; the outer one, which is very lofty, is distinguished only by a very few stalactites. The interior contains flights of almost uncountable steps, and buildings, whose nature cannot, however, be fully ascertained without some excavation. But such a work presents here unusual difficulty, not only on account of the comparative inaccessibility of the place, and its distance from the nearest village at which labourers could be obtained, but also because pigeons' and bats' excrements have accumulated in the cave for centuries. Two inscriptions were spoken of by the natives as existing somewhere in the cave, but I did not see them. Indeed, the only inscription which I have seen anywhere during this tour, is on an unshapen piece of rock lying at the entrance of the village of *Zeda*, in the south-eastern corner of the Yusufzai plain. The character is Bactrian, as well as I was able to see, the stone lying under a great heap of manure, upside down, and with the inscribed surface towards a wall. I was not able, during the day that I was at *Zeda*, to obtain a facsimile or even a copy of it. On various terraces and natural plateaus below the Kashmíri Smuss there are numerous remains of buildings very much like those at Bahai as well as like those on a hill near *Naográm*, between the British frontier and the Indus.

One of the most marked features among the remains on this latter hill (it is about 1000 feet high) are very large rocks and boulders scattered about, which have been carefully excavated for cells; many of these are quite plain inside, whilst others have the simple ornament of a niche or two. The summit of the hill offers a flat plateau of some size, which had been very strongly fortified by buildings all round the brow. These buildings are constructed of large blocks of stone (conglomerate, found on the spot) neatly hewn and carefully fitted, disposed with very great regularity and laid in a cement of extraordinary excellence; unavoidable interstices between the large blocks are filled up by layers of thin small stone tablets; this latter practice being an invariable feature in all the so-called Kafir buildings which I have seen in the Trans-Indus country. To judge from the smooth turf and the vegetation in the middle of the plateau, it

is highly probable that the space in the middle was not built upon except one spot very nearly in the centre, where there seems to have been a shrine or an altar.

One of the best preserved buildings at a corner of this plateau still exhibits some chambers which convey a good idea of the internal structure of these ancient remains. A gateway with a pointed arch leads into a long chamber whose ceiling is formed by a prolongation of the arch of the gateway. The arch would be pointed, but the centre line is taken up by a narrow rectangular groove. This circumstance leads to the supposition, that the arch is not a true arch, but is formed by the stones being disposed on one another in the form of steps, whose lower corners were eventually cut away. There is another chamber, accessible from the long passage through a low opening, but it is quite dark, and to a great extent filled with rubbish; whether it was left dark intentionally, or whether superincumbent ruins are closing up what may have been an opening, I could not ascertain without digging. A similar passage and chamber (or rather two chambers opposite each other) are also found on Bahai. On the plateau are found multitudes of figures in fragments, many of them, perhaps most, being the figure of Buddha (Sakya Muni) with his smooth, placid face, in his simple robe with ample picturesque drapery, elongated ear-lappets, and a halo round his head. The figures are either standing, or sitting cross-legged, with the bare soles of the feet turned upwards; the hands are frequently crossed over the breast, so however that the tips of the fingers of the left hand enter the hollow of the right; sometimes the hands rest in the lap; sometimes the right hand is lifted up as if in the act of blessing.

These figures are of dark blue or greenish slate of great brittleness, though not friable; they are of all sizes up to colossal. Then there are multitudes of haut-reliefs, but few of any good degree of preservation. The vegetation on the hill is principally olive and myrtle. At the foot of this hill to the north there begins a series of low mounds extending far into the interior. A very few of these in the immediate vicinity of the frontier have been partly excavated through Captain Shortt, Assistant Commissioner, and sculptured remains from these mounds are now in Hoti Mardán, and in the museum at Peshawur. A few of these have been photographed by two officers, and I enclose copies of them.

No. 1. A slab 13·14 inches in width, and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, considerably abraded, representing a domestic scene. The execution is unusually coarse. The first and third figures from the right are evidently females; they have shoes on their feet, whilst the figure between them with the right hand lifted up, has the feet bare. The first, second, and third figures on the right have all earrings; the sitting female has a chádár over her head. The first and second figures on the right are seated on a bolstered couch, each having a footstool. The seated male figure has an ornamented head-dress, a necklace, and another ornament going over the left and under the right shoulder. The standing female figure has what appears to be a towel in her hands, which may be connected with the nude child on the knees of the next sitting bearded figure, the upper part of whose body is also nude: he appears seated on a mora. The next is also a male figure, but much mutilated. The ornamental architecture forming the ceiling of the room, cannot fail to strike the beholder.

No. 2. The figure of a king—four feet five inches in height.

Hindu dress; tilak on the forehead, smooth chin, neat moustache, elaborate earrings. The head is covered with strings of pearls and precious stones, presenting in front the shape of a diadem or crown, whilst the two ends of a fillet appear on the circular plane behind the head. Four different strings of ornaments, such as are still worn by Hindus, are suspended from his neck. A very rich necklace, encircling the neck, is of precisely the shape and workmanship which belongs to those one sees now worn by the higher officers at the Court of the Maharajah of Kashmir. A longer string lies over the necklace, and is fastened, over the breast-bone, by a richly worked clasp consisting of two open-mouthed animal's heads. Two other strings with amulets come from under the necklace, the one thrown over, the other under the right shoulder. The figure has also amulets on both arms, and two bangles on the wrist of the left hand. The right hand is broken off at a place where most of the figures found have the hand, which is made of another piece, joined to the arm; usually where there is a joint of this kind, it is very skilfully and artistically managed. The dhoti and chadar fall in rich and graceful folds, the latter ending in an elaborate tassel. There are sandals on the feet held by a string. The pedestal presents an altar or large urn in the centre, with two human figures on each side,

those on the right and one on the left in the attitude of supplication, whilst the remaining one on the left appears to bring an offering. Squat square pilasters form the two ends of the representation.

There are many other figures of this kind, of greatly varying sizes which have been found near Naogram as well as near Tahkal.

No. 3. A slab 20 inches in width, 13 inches high.

The execution is better than that of No. 1, and only the figures at the ends are slightly mutilated. The centre figure is a colossal Buddh in the usual unadorned dress, his waving hair gathered in a top knot, the lobes of the ears much elongated, a halo round the head, and feet bare. The left hand, as is usual, holds a part of the robe in a knot; the right hand appears to be taking a snake out of a bush of gigantic flowers growing out of a piece of water. Facing the Buddh is a figure whose dress is very similar to that of the statue No. 2, his hands folded, in the attitude of supplication. The figure between these two, under a tree, has the right hand raised very much in the manner of a modern military salute. The figure close to the left hand of the centre figure is one which occurs frequently in the Naogram haut-reliefs: an aged bearded soldier, nude to the waist, hair *au naturel*, a short broad sword by his side, his right holding an axe; the handle of the latter is gone, as about half of the pedestal of the slab is broken off.

No. 4. A slab 19 inches in width, 12 high.

A Buddh sitting cross-legged on a bolstered pedestal, his right hand lifted up as if in the act of blessing or teaching, a heavy festoon of flowers surrounding the halo. Seven male figures on his right, and six female figures on his left fill up the rest of the slab. Of the male figures three have their hands folded, as in the attitude of supplication; two others of the lower line appear to bring presents. The long waving hair of the two figures nearest to the right hand of Buddh is noteworthy. Of the male figures two have moustaches, the farthest in the lower line, and the nearest in the upper. Of the female figures two have anklets, all have bracelets; the nearest figure in the lower line appears to bring a present, whose nature it is difficult to determine. The execution is not neat, and the hands and feet appear disproportionately large.

No. 5. A slab 14 inches wide, 9 high.

In the centre is a bearded figure, nude as far as visible, a Brah-



minical string (apparently) over the left shoulder. The figure appears standing behind a table with carved legs, the carving on the two legs which are visible not being precisely alike ; in front appears the drapery of a table cloth ; on the table are five round objects, the bearded figure seeming to hold a sixth of the same description. In front of the table there is a small object on a pedestal, which closely resembles what appears from other sculptures to be a fire-altar ; the upper portion of the top forms a cover, which hangs by a hinge from the side of the vase-like lower portion of the top, from which a flame seems to issue. The figure on the right hand of the central figure is dressed in an ample-sleeved shirt, which is confined round the loins by a girdle with a clasp in front ; trousers, shoes, and a turban with pendant end complete the dress of this figure, a dress, moreover, which may be seen, at the present day, worn by the hillmen one meets with in Kashmir. A palm tree is visible behind this figure. The figure on the opposite side is dressed in the usual ample Asiatic robe and sheet, the feet bare : the left hand bears an undistinguishable object. The two figures in the background have lost their faces. The figure in the frame stands on a vase-like pedestal and has the hands folded. This slab, taken in connection with other sculptures, belonging to the same building doubtless, offers a curious combination of the elements of various religions : the tilak, the brahminical thread, and the fire-altar, together with that ubiquitous Buddh !

No. 6. A panel filling up a pointed arch ; width at the base 26 inches, greatest height 25 inches.

Three subjects divided by ornamental lines, the outer one bordered by a palm trunk.

The lowest represents Buddh sitting on a bolstered pedestal, which latter is ornamented by a wheel ; palm leaves over his head. Four male figures on each side in the attitude of eager listeners ; three of these on the one side, and two on the other have their heads and faces shaven smooth ; their ears are natural, that is, the lappet is not extended by any ornament ; the figure nearest to Buddh's uplifted right hand, represents an old man with a long beard.

The scene above this, shows Buddh standing in the centre ; what appears to be a king kneeling before him on his right knee, with hands joined in the position of a suppliant. Five figures behind the king, dressed in a similar way, also appear as suppliants, the last

reclining on one knee. The other side shows six figures; of the first the head alone comes out distinctly and bears a close resemblance to that of Buddh; an armed man lightly clad is the next figure; a shaven figure in simple dress the next; this is followed by three figures with ample hair and locks, dressed like the figures on the opposite side, the last again reclining on one leg.

The centre of the scene at the top is filled by a large urn on an ornamental pedestal and under a canopy. This appears to be worshipped by the figures on both sides, the last of which, on each side, surpasses Horace's imagination, since the upper part is a nude human figure, and the lower what may be called the coils of a dragon with dragon's wing and horse's foot, ending in a gigantic leaf by way of tail!

There are two more figures with hands joined near the bottom of the slab, supported by Corinthian capitals: these figures, much alike in dress, ornament, and attitude, as they are, differ as to their head-dress, the one on the right having flowing hair and a halo, and the other what appears to be a carefully twisted turban, and no halo.

No. 7. A slab being a piece of one side of a square pillar; it is 30 inches long; width 13 inches at the base, 11 at the top. Five compartments, three with Buddh sitting, two with Buddh standing; the halo is distinct in all but the topmost one. Of the four figures beside Buddh in the lowest, two appear in the attitude of supplicants; whilst the other two are bringing presents apparently. In the next above, one of the shaven figures reappears; the figure next to this is too much mutilated to be recognized, and so is the object held in the right hand of the figure facing Buddh. In the third compartment the figures approaching Buddh appear to bring presents as in slab No. 4. In the second compartment from the top the figures are much mutilated; so they are in the topmost one, but it can easily be distinguished that the two figures nearest Buddh offer presents which are carried by their followers.

The two ends of each of these five compartments are formed by pilasters with nude children in different postures. The sides of the slab itself (the slab being about two inches thick) continue the same pilaster-ornament.

No. 8. A figure of Buddh, 19 inches in height what there is of it, as the feet are wanting. The right hand having been joined on to

the arm, has been lost. Multitudes of these figures, in sizes varying from the neatest miniature of a few inches, to colossal figures 9 or 10 feet in height, are found everywhere.

No. 9, is the slab roughly described in my previous communication. It is 22 inches long, and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in width.

No. 10. A slab representing a sacrifice, apparently. It is 11 inches high, and 10 wide. The slab is broken in two in the centre. A carefully executed scene of much interest. The building on the left is precisely like a good number of well preserved ones at Bahai. It is represented (as those in reality are) as built of hewn stones, with a low entrance in front. In Bahai this lowest part of the building is usually square, as Rémusat describes the sthupa from the Fa houa wen kiu ; but in this haut-relief it appears with rounded corners. The rest of the representation does not differ from the rest of the same kind of building in the ruins. A narrow, slightly sloping, rounded half-dome surmounts the base, itself surmounted by a short cylinder ; on the top of this is a cupola with a small knob for its apex. In the buildings of this sort on Bahai the knob is wanting, and an opening appears in its place. In this representation a fire is perceived to be burning inside the building, as flames issue at every opening, and the figures about it, six in number, appear all engaged in pouring oil on the fire. The lowest figure on the left, with its back to the spectator, and a curly head of hair, is dressed only in a dhoti and is lifting a jar from the ground. Half the jar is broken off. To the left above is a similar figure on a ladder with a jar inverted in his hands, as if in the act of pouring out the contents on the roof. On the opposite side, an old, bearded, faqir-like looking man, his hair dressed precisely as the Sikhs dress theirs at the present day, clothed in a shirt, and carrying a crooked pole in his left hand, is pouring, with his right, the contents of a bottle on the lower roof. Next to this figure is a man of smaller stature, otherwise very like the last, with a smaller bottle in his left hand. Behind the latter faqir is a stout, curly-headed figure, dressed in a dhoti, standing on a ladder, in the act of taking a large jar from another figure, who is carrying it on his left shoulder, and holding it with his right hand passed over his head.

No. 11, the figure of a king sitting was excavated by Lieut. Johnstone from a mound near Lower Tahkál, a village between the Peshawur

wur cantonment and the Khyber Pass. The statue, as it may be called, is 44 inches high, and 23 wide across the knees.

The figure is considerably mutilated, the entire right side above the knee of the principal figure, and the heads of three of the small ones being wanting; but what makes the figure remarkable is the suggestion, which one is struck with on looking at it, of its being probably a portrait. Many other figures with precisely similar dress and ornaments have been found in most of the places where figures have been found at all; but all the others present a smooth handsome face of great regularity of features, without much expression, as if the artists had only intended to produce some ideal or conventional head. The face of this figure, however, is far from being handsome or regular; there is a sternness in its mouth and chin, and a certain fierceness in its prominent eyes; the natural fall of the heavy moustache also contrasts strongly with the waxed little ornament of the upper lip found in the other figures of this kind. The whole head is covered by a richly wrought combination of strings of pearls with variously shaped and sized representations of precious stones; a lion's head over a heavy pearl garland surmounts the left temple. The lobes of the ears are much elongated by heavy pearl earrings. One lock of hair is visible behind the right ear. A necklace, and another ornament falling over the left shoulder relieve the nude thorax. A thick festoon of flowers seems, from its large curve, to be hanging over both shoulders and down in front. The legs are covered by a dhoti, and an *izárband* is visible in the middle. The bangled left hand (rudely worked) holds a heavy javelin to which a bell is tied. The left foot rests upon a footstool.

The four small figures are enigmatical from being so much mutilated. The figure sitting on the same couch with the king near his left knee is very coarse. It is quite nude, but has a fillet, a necklace and anklets: it leans forward, with its hands upon its breast. The standing figure below is headless; its breast and shoulders are covered with scale-armour: a short petticoat goes from the loins to the knees, and greaves cover the unamutilated legs; as there are no toes visible, the feet, in the intention of the artist, are represented as covered by shoes. The right hand bears a bunch of the same flowers of which the thick festoon is composed. The left hand carries something indistinguishable. The upper figure on the right of the king is also nude; the lower covered by a dhoti kneels on its right knee.



No. 12. A slab found near Jamrud, the dismantled fort at the mouth of the Khyber. It is 24 inches in height, and 18 wide.

Harem scenes. In the lower compartment, a male figure in the usual dress of Buddha and with a halo round his head is seen sitting on a couch, his left foot supported by a footstool. Behind him lies a female sleeping. Behind the sleeping figure another female figure is visible. The central figure seems to be about taking something from the hand of the figure on his right. Below are two women reclining on what appear to be drums. A lattice forms the upper ornament of the chamber, and above the lattice appear four human heads and the head of an ox; two of the human heads have halos, and the other two have the same kind of cap or turban with which the female figures below appear to be covered. Pillars separate the centre apartment from two arched passages or gateways at the sides; over each arch appear two birds. In each of the gateways there are two women, possibly as sentries, one of them holding a spear.

The upper compartment has suffered much from mutilation. The principal figure, apparently the same as the central figure in the lower compartment, is seen reclining on a couch, his face directed towards a woman sitting on the same couch, her feet supported by a footstool. The woman sitting on the ground appears to be beating two drums with her hands. The female figure behind is holding aloft a round object in her right hand, which may also be a musical instrument. Outside the pillars supporting the arch of the centre apartment appear three women on each side. One on the left is entirely peeled off; another, standing, appears to be playing a wind-instrument; the action of the sitting one is indistinguishable. The sitting female on the right appears playing a stringed instrument; the action of the other two cannot well be made out.

Before concluding this communication, I shall venture, though with much diffidence, to say a word on one of the most vexed questions among all the perplexing ones referring to the ancient history of the regions near the Indus, and that is, the identification of *Aornos*, the height which it cost Alexander so much trouble to take. It may seem presumption to renew the discussion of this subject after the full treatment it has received in this Journal (Vol. XXIII. *Gradus ad Aornon*) in Colonel Abbott's able and elaborate article. And yet, few attentive readers of that article can be satisfied with

the conclusion ; indeed, there is sufficient evidence that the writer himself was not satisfied with the conclusion, and that he gets rather out of patience, and that justly, with his authorities, Arrian and Curtius. Without absolute violence, it is quite impossible to reconcile their discrepant statements ; and not only are their statements utterly discordant as to the locality, but the most discordant points are found in one and the same writer.

As to the general locality in which Aornos is to be sought, most investigators, as indeed Col. Abbott himself, have found Arrian so vague here, that they have held to the more graphic representations of the imaginative Curtius. Yet no writer can be more inaccurate. His best friends have never been able to defend him from the charge of romancing. His own ideas, too, in reference to geography and topography seem so confused, that what little value may be accorded to his narratives, the want of proper and true localization deprives them of all value as portions of history. Only a few paragraphs before this chapter about Aornos, he speaks of Alexander's taking *Mara-canda*, which, from all attending circumstances, must be *Samarkand*, and in the very next breath he speaks of the Scythians of the Tanais (the Don) as in the same neighbourhood. In this very narrative about Aornos, which he places on the Indus, he makes Alexander fight for the place as only a very important place such as commanded a ford or passage, could induce him to fight, and then, he makes Alexander march sixteen more marches in order to cross the Indus.

The topographical indications, therefore, of the ancient writers, it must be confessed, have hitherto led to no satisfactory result in the search after the famous Aornos. May not another method of identification prove more successful ? The *name* Aornos can hardly be an invention of the Greeks. If the difficulties of Chinese transcription of Indian names have been so successfully overcome, may not a similar linguistic method have equally happy results, if applied to those names in Alexander's march, which have not been satisfactorily identified yet ?

What appears most probable in reference to the disputed locality, is this : that the place was on or near the Indus, that it was a height near plains, that the people of the plains considered it an impregnable place of refuge, that Alexander thought it of sufficient importance to make a very signal effort for its capture, and that its name was *Aornos*. To begin with the name.

*Aornos* must be the Greek transcription of a Sanscrit name, for all the other names which have been identified, have been identified through the Sanscrit, which therefore, whether the people then spoke it or not, was certainly the language of their names, and not only then, but for some centuries subsequent yet. In course of time the Sanscrit was worn down into Hindi, Panjabi, Pushto, etc. Hence if we wish to see how any place bearing a certain Hindi, Panjabi, Pushto or other name at the present day, came to be called so-and-so by the Greeks, we can only find it by referring the modern name back to its most probable Sanscrit predecessor or progenitor. Thus, the modern Behat was called Bidaspes or Hydaspes by the Greeks, because Behat is the modern short for the ancient Vitasta.

Now we find in the *Tabaqáte Akbari*, in the *Taríkhé Murassa*,\* in other native works, and even from the mouth of Hindus at the present day, that the place now called *Atok* was formerly called *Atok Benares* (properly Banáras). The union of two names in this way may be explained in one of two ways. Either we believe, on the analogy of Kasi Benares as explained by Dr. Hall in No. 1 of last year's Journal, p. 5, that Benares was the name of the "circumjacent territory" of Atok; or else, we adopt an analogy more in accordance with the custom along and near the Indus. We find, in this region, that when a locality is designated by two names mentioned together, it is either because there are two places bearing these names respectively close to each other, as Hoti Mardán, Tárú Jabba; or else, where there is a river, because they are on the opposite banks of the river, as Rorí Bakar, Thút Naka, Dág'hí Bándá, etc. etc. The latter analogy is evidently the aptest in the present instance; hence we conclude that in former days, there was a locality opposite Atok, that is, on the right bank of the river Indus, named *Benares*. The old form of Benares is, as is well known, Varanas (or Varanasi). How would a Greek of Alexander's age pronounce this name? He would, in the first place, prefix a vowel. Why? we can hardly tell without a discussion much too long for the present object. It will suffice to know that he was in the habit of doing so. The Sanscrit *danta* he pronounced *δδόντα*; *nakha*—*δνυχα*; *nama* (n)—*δνομα*; *bhrú*—*δφρυ*-; *nrí*—*δνήρ*; *s'atam*—*εκατόν*; *mih*—*δμιχέω*, and a hundred like instances which will readily occur to the reader. We

\* A History of the Afghans, by Afzul Khan Khaṭak.

should then have the form *avaranas*. One of the commonest modes in which the Sanscrit syllable *va* reappears in other languages, is in the form of the vowel *o*. Thus

Sanscrit	<i>dvār</i>	=	English	<i>door</i> ,	German	<i>thor</i> .
„	<i>vakshas</i>	=	„	<i>ox</i> .		
„	<i>svan</i>	—	=	Latin	<i>son</i> —.	
„	<i>svasar</i>	=	„	<i>soror</i> .		
„	<i>svar</i>	=	„	<i>sol</i> .		
„	<i>svarna</i>	=	Hindi	<i>sona</i> .		

In Greek some such change is doubly necessary on account of the absence of the sound *v* from the language (from the *κωνη*, at any rate); hence *svas* corresponds to *ῶς*, *s* being replaced by the breathing; *vāk*, becomes *ῶκ*-, etc. Then there is that immense class of perfect participles, which in Sanscrit are formed with the suffix *vāt*,\* corresponding to the Greek form in *ῶτ*-, and many other instances. On this principle *avaranas* becomes *ῶπνος*, losing one vowel necessarily by the recession of the accent.

We should therefore have to look for Aornos opposite Atok. With reference to this locality General Court has observed “that a rock exists opposite Atok, with all the peculiarities described by Q. Curtius, on a mountain that is topped by a castle, attributed to Rajah Hody. It cannot be ascended but on the side of the Indus, by a steep passage hewn through the rock, and enclosed by two walls of defence, running up zigzag according to the protuberances of the mount. The space inclosed by these walls is filled with ruins of habitations gradually rising from the brink of the river up to the castle. Those works are all entire, and have the appearance of great antiquity.”

Much of this is true even now, though it is highly probable that many of the “habitations,” of which General Court speaks, as well as the “castle” itself, have been removed to build Sikh Forts in the same locality, since he saw the place, if he saw it at all himself. There are ruins of buildings, but they are few. However, the outer wall of the whole Fort is distinctly traceable. It runs down to the river on two sides; the space enclosed is at least three times as large as the Fort Atok, and the wall to the west, north, and south evidently overhung steep places. The walls are smooth and even, and in general appearance allied to the Buddhist remains in Yusufzai.

[\* As in *dadri'svāt*—and *τετυφῶτ*.—EDS.]



I may add the opinion of one of the highest military authorities that Mahabun, which Col. Abbott proposed as Aornos, commands nothing; it is so much out of the way that it would hardly ever have been a place of refuge for the people of the plains; and if it had been, a general like Alexander would not have wasted his time and his men on the reduction of an isolated hill which was by no means impeding his passage of the Indus. On the other hand he says that the hill above Khairábád is not only a most conspicuous point for friend and foe, but also one that must be taken before a passage of the Indus at Atok would be attempted by an invading force.

I have only one item to add in reference to the tradition about Rajah Hody. This tradition still exists on the spot, and in other localities of Afghanistan. The topes and altars, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Amerakhel near the Surkháb, are attributed by the natives to Rajah Hody or Udi. Now *Saint-Martin* in the treatise cited above, finds three regions conterminous with one another, which, in Hiouen-Thsang's time, were called *Oudyana*, according to his French spelling: the first as the capital of Ningrahar (p. 52); the second, the kingdom of Oudyana, (p. 63), which he identifies as the plains and hills of Ashnaghar (Hashtnagar, though inveterate and official, is incorrect) and Yusufzai; and the third time he finds the name, it is applied to the region about Hasan Abdál, (p. 69). In each of these instances he says, the locality was called so, that is "a garden," on account of its fertility. It does not strike him as strange that precisely the same name should have been given to *three* adjoining regions, and these names should be entirely independent of one another. Moreover, Ningrahar is by no means a garden at all times. It is a locality which suffers famine frequently, and one of the derivations of its name as given by indigenous Mullahs, is based on the meaning "half-hungry,"—a derivation however little worth in etymology it may be, gives evidence at least of the native estimation of the fertility of the place. The plain of Yusufzai is a garden about once in three or four years; the rest of the time it is a desert.

It appears to me far more likely that these regions together were called by the *one* name *Udiana*, as being the kingdom of this "Rajah Udi." Names of this form and thus derived are frequent in the

Panjab, for instance, Lodiana, Luliana, Duliana, Gurjiana, Hariana, Phubiana. Whether Udi, or Hody was an individual as Guru ji (of Gurjiana) or some Hari Singh (of Hariana) may have been, or a dynasty or family, as that of the Lodi (of Lodiana), I am unable to say. What I propose, I do not presume to dogmatize on. And I do not think that the name *Udiana* itself has entirely disappeared, as Saint-Martin supposes, but that it has probably been preserved in *Adina*, the name of a large village situated almost in the centre of the Yusufzais.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE, CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

Professor Whitney writes from New Haven, U. S. A., December 30th, 1862.

“ Our own labours are going on much as usual, at a moderate rate, owing to the absence of an abundance of resources, whether material or literary. I trust that you have not failed duly to receive all that we have forwarded to you, viz., the numbers of the Journal and extra copies of those of its articles of which separate editions have been issued. The forthcoming half volume is mainly occupied with my Atharva-Veda Prâtis'âkhyâ, which fills nearly 300 pages. Unfortunately the MS. material furnished for it was of the scantiest: it may be hoped that a second copy of the work will turn up some time in India. It may be that I shall go on to publish in a somewhat similar style the Tâittirîya Prâtis'âkhyâ, for which Professor Hall some time ago furnished me a fair supply of material. Our friend just mentioned, has written me that you informed him when he saw you on his return to India that you had access to a couple of copies of the Gopatha Brâhmaṇa, and that you offered to procure to be made for me a transcript of the work from them. It would indeed be a great kindness to me if you would do so. I should also like much to know which of the more ancient Siddhântas (besides those already in print) you have in manuscript at Calcutta: I mean to resume by and by my studies in the Hindu astronomy, begun in connection with the translation, &c., of the Sûrya-Siddhânta given in volume VI. of our Journal.”

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