

COMMENTARY:-

The fame of Alexander's invasion has obscured the fact that there were Greeks who reached India long before him, and that long after he departed a line of Greek kings from Bactria ruled in India, conquered cities and provinces of which he had not even heard, and founded an Indo-Greek culture which had a profound effect not only on the art of India but also on that of eastern Asia as far as Japan. For two hundred years the Greeks had been passing to and fro along the trade routes that linked India with the Persian empire and the Ionian cities of Asia Minor.

The real clue is found in the surviving fragments of the history written by the predecessor of Herodotus, Hecataeus of Miletus, who makes the first known reference to India in Greek literature. Hecataeus appears to have written at the close of the sixth century BC. not long after the year 514 when Scylax returned from his expedition.

In Asia, during the fifth century B.C. contact was being established between Greeks, and the Indians in a broader and more enduring way. Greek mercenaries served in all parts of the Persian empire, including Gandhara and India (as the Indus valley was then called).

On Persian and Indian side of Hindu Kush colonies were existed. The Sanskrit word for Greek in Yavana, derived from the Persian Yavana, meaning Ionian. A reference to the Yavanas first appeared in Indian literature in the works of the grammarian Panini, who is said to have been a native of Salutarā, near Taxila and therefore close to the Hindu Kush region. His grammatical references to the word Yavana imply that other Indians would be familiar with the word, and indicate that Greeks were already known to educated north Indians by the end of the 5th century B.C. Since Panini not only refers to Yavanas, but also to their script-Yavanalipi—we must suppose that he knew of Greek documents or coins as well as Greek people.

Alexander like his teacher Aristotle, imagined India as a land jutting towards the sunrise into the great ultimate ocean which washed the base of the Himalayas, of whose extent his geographers had no conception, he was unaware of Indian subcontinent whose shores stretched southeastwards from the delta of the Indus.

Diodotus appears to have received his governorship from Antiochus I sometime before 260 B.C. His coins, presumably soon after he declared himself king of Bactria, portray a flattering middle aged man, with a sharp nose and resolute mouth, a prominent, determined chin and a rather low brow, it is the face of a capable autocrat. As far as is known, Diodotus was a professional soldier who had no links with any ruling family in the Hellenistic world, nevertheless he followed the example of Antiochus I, calling himself Diodotus Soter, Diodotus the Saviour and represented the thunder-bearing Zeus on the reverse of his coins.

Trogus and Strabo, both from the first century B.C. mention the fact that Diodotus rebelled and made himself king, and Strabo indicates that the Bactrian revolt took place before the rising in Parthia, saying of Arsaces, the Parthian leader, that "when in flight from the enlarging power of Diodotus and his followers he caused Parthia to revolt".

Recent Numismatists have confirmed an early date for the revolt of Diodotus by placing his first issues of coins at 256 or 255 BC. W. W. Tarn's attempt to link Diodotus with Hellenistic royalty by suggesting that he married an unnamed daughter of Seleucus II, a theory which has no supporting evidence.

Diodotus and his son Diodotus II, ruled over a kingdom that included the ancient provinces of Bactria and Sogdiana stretched from Hindu Kush over the Oxus valley to beyond Bukhara and Samarkand, to the west their territory of Maracena extended south of the Kara Kum desert to meet the frontiers of Parthia.

The one record available is that of many coins which the Greek Kings issued in Bactria and later in India. Diodotus and successors had at their service a group of remarkable engravers who produced a series of coins unrivalled in the whole of antique world. They are not merely artistically superb, but also frank and revealing portraits which did not attempt to flatter their subjects.

After the death of Diodotus I, Diodotus II formed a policy of alliance with Parthian king, but this was probably one of the causes of rebellion, the leader of the revolt was Euthydemus of Magnesia. Nothing of his early history is known except that he was born in Lydia, which itself put an end to the theory that he was a brother of Diodotus II. The Euthydemus Killed Diodotus II and some supporters Polybius, who was almost contemporary of Euthydemus tells us that "after others had revolted he possessed

himself of the throne of Bactria by killing their descendents'.

The face of Euthydemus, as we know it from the exceptionally fine coin portrait made of him as an old man, is that of a stern, humourless and ambitious individual. He conquered Asia, the province around the modern Afghan city of Herat and parts of north eastern Iran. His coins have been found in Arachosia and Kabul valley, and even in Taxila itself. There is nothing to suggest that he conquered these regions, but the presence of his coins shows that Bactria was successfully establishing itself as a trading nation, whose Greek merchants were finding their way into the whole north-western region of the Indian empire.

There is no doubt that the Hellenistic influences detectable in Siberian artifacts began to find their way eastward at this time, while the Greek explorations opened the way for the rich trade with China that developed under the Kushana emperors in the early Christian era. The China trade of Bactrian times was still carried on through middle men, its perishable commodities have long vanished, but a tangible proof of its existence has been left in the coins and other objects made in Bactria and India from the natural nickel and copper alloy known as *pat-t'ung* which is found in the Chinese province of Yunnan. Nickel was not known in Europe until 1751. The Bactrian Greeks were using it in 200 B.C.

Euthydemus was already an ageing man when the siege of Bactria came to an end; he had been reigning a quarter of a century, old enough to command respect and obedience, when he seized the throne from Diodotus II. His last coins show him in his early sixties, so it cannot have been long after the beginning of the second century BC that he died.

In India, as Apollodorus said, the Bactrian Greeks 'conquered more nations than Alexander' but the full extent of their conquests is still a matter of debate. It is certain that they seized all the Indian provinces west of Khyber pass, together with Hunza and Gandhara, and most of modern Punjab as far south as Multan. They carried out at least one great expedition across the plain watered by Ganges and Jumna as far as modern Patna, and occupied ancient capital of Pataliputra. They descended the Indus to the sea and refounded Alexander's city of Patala, on the Indus delta; they conquered Surashtra through Rajasthan established suzerainty over Mathura.

Traditionally these conquests are associated with the names of Demetrius, Menander

and Apollodotus.

It was undoubtedly Demetrius I who led first expedition invasion. By now he was in his prime, a proud, thick set man, like his father, with the heavy brows and down drooping Euthydemid mouth which always gave the features represented on his coins a somewhat brooding scowl. He was shown, like Alexander, wearing an elephant scalp head-dress. It served a double symbolic function, announcing his desire to imitate Alexander and pointing to his conquests in Indian territory.

Between Ghazni and Kandhar Demetrius halted and established a new city, the first city, Demetrias-in-Arachosia. He pushed his conquests westward into Seistan on the borders of modern Iran and then turned south into Gedrosia, where he reached the Arabian sea not far from Karachi.

The sub-king who ruled in Bactria while Demetrius campaigned was Euthydemus II. He was the first of the few Greek kings who issued coins of nickel alloy, which suggests his interests lay chiefly in the direction of Ferghana on the borders of Sinkiang, through which nickel was brought from China. The literary records mention only one child of Euthydemus, Demetrius I, but it seems likely that Euthydemus II was, in fact, a younger son, though his features are represented as somewhat soft and almost effeminate, with a touch of the Iranian in the eyes and nose, he has the down drooping mouth characteristic of the Euthydemids. A close relationship is also suggested by the use of the image of Heracles on the obverse of his coins.

Strabo, quoting Apollodorus, tells us that; "their chief, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom Saraostus, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast'.

There is, in fact, plenty of other evidence to support that the Greeks did reach the Jumna (Isamus) and did find their way down to Patala on the Indus delta and also to Surashtra (Saraostus).

The first important point in Apollodorus's account is that he credits Menander, and not Demetrius, with the principal Bactrian Greek conquests in India. This is supported by Trogus, who mentions only Menander and Apollodotus, and ignores Demetrius.

Secondly, he associates 'Demetrius, son of Euthydemus' only with the southward drive to Patala, but not with the drive to Punjab to the Jumna, with which Menander is credited. Finally, neither Apollodorus nor Trogus state or even implies that Demetrius, Menander and Apollodotus were contemporaries or collaborators.

There is another classical source which mentioned a Demetrius, called "king of the Indians". It is Justin's brief account of the career of rebel Eucratides, who himself became a king in Bactria and India. 'Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius King of the Indians - ————— The reference to Demetrius as King of Indians' suggests that Justin may be differentiating him from another king of the same name, possibly Demetrius', king of Bactria; in other words, Demetrius I.

The fact is that, the Bactrian Greeks did hold, at least temporarily, almost all the area Tarn describes, but it was never held by any single king.

There is abundant reason to assume that Greek rulers had established themselves in parts of the Kabul valley and Gandhara not later than 180 BC. A king as powerful as Demetrius I would surely have taken part in such expeditions had he still been alive; the absence of his coins indicates that he was already dead when the advance in Gandhara began. The date of 185 given by A. K. Narain for the end of his reign is approximately correct.

Who, then, was Demetrius king of Indians, against whom Eucratides fought in 170 BC. Another Demetrius, Demetrius Aniketos (the invincible) did rule in Kabul valley and parts of Gandhara, and showed his close connection with India by issuing bilingual coins, bearing inscriptions in both Greek and Kharosthi script. Tarn assumes that this Demetrius II was a son and sub-king of Demetrius I.

The bilingual coin that celebrates Demetrius II as Basileus Aniketos bears an unflatteringly realistic portrait whose coarse features show no resemblance at all to those of either Demetrius I or Euthydemus, but on the other hand, remind one strongly, in the determined chin and mouth and in the sloping brow, of the Diodotid kings whose rule Euthydemus had brought to an end fifty years before. Furthermore, the emblems which appear on the obverse of the coins of Demetrius II are those of the Diodotus: Zeus with the long staff-like sceptre and thunderbolt on, in the case of certain square coins, of Indian type the thunderbolt alone. This Demetrius with his

coins bearing inscriptions in an Indian language, clearly has a far better claim to be called king of the Indians than his homonymous predecessor, it is he who later encounters Eueratides, who figures in Justin and who is the 'grete Emetreus' of Caucer.

Demetrius II was the son of one of the most important but enigmatic of the Bactrian kings, Antimachos Theos- the God. He occupied the parts of India east of Khybar Pass. It was he who originated the custom among Greek rulers of issuing square coins of the shape to which the traders in the Indian Bazaars of the time were accustomed, and these coins have been found in Gandhara as far as Taxila. He began to rule after the death of Euthydemus when he was already a middle aged man and he probably died about 180 BC. Since his coins do not show the changes in features that suggest a long reign. This means that he ruled at the same time as Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus. A king proud enough to call himself God Cannot be a subking. He was the rival of Demetrius, and the reason for this is shown on his coins (emblems), which show his relationship to Diodotids. Like them he displayed the thunderbolt sacred to Zeus, and to the Heracles of Euthydemus and Demetrius also opposed personal emblems, including the king on horse back later used by the great Menander, and his own patron deity Poseidon, Lord of Earthquakes.

Nineteenth century historians suggested that Antimachos Theos was a son of Diodotus II who had survived the slaughter of his family by Euthydemus.

After Demetrius I had conquered Arachosia in approximately in 187 BC. he left his sons Agathocles and Pantaleon to reign jointly as sub kings. They advanced to Alexandria-of-Caucasus, and there, showing a sensitivity to local feeling this characterized them throughout their reign, they counted the local Greek population by issuing coins celebrating Dionysus whose cult was powerful in the region. They then crossed the Khybar pass, and occupied Gandhara. In Taxila, they followed the example set by Demetrius II and issued bilingual coins, and also some coins with legends only in the native scripts, they used not only Kharoashthi, the script of Gandhara, but also Brahmi, the script of the Junna and Ganges valleys.

The process of Indianization began at an early date among Greeks. The weight of the coins made in Indian mints declined, so that soon the attic standard was observed only north of the Hindu Kush, and the kings who reigned in both Bactria and India issued two coinage of different standards. In India beyond the Khyber pass the quality of the

material also declined, some of the last kings in eastern Punjab actually issued coins of lead.

Under the name of Agathocles there appear some of the holiest symbols of the Buddhist religion, the sacred bo tree within its railing, the stupa consisting of six chaitya arches built into a pyramid, the lotus plant with its blossoms rising heavenward from the mire. And under Pantalcon dances an Indian female figure with tight trousers, long ear rings and a flower in her hairs, she is Lakshmi, the Goddess of Brahminical merchants.

The last years of the reign of Agathocles were darkened by the long reaching shadow with the activities of the rebel Eucratides cast over the Bactrian scene around 170 B.C. According to Apollodorus "he ruled a thousand cities for his subjects". As ruler of Bactria he fought against Mithridates and suffered a heavy defeat.

The lineage of this man of violent life and death is obscure. He was son of Heliocles and Laodice, whose faces his engraver portrayed. Heliocles was a commoner, since his head is shown bare and undiademed. Nothing suggests that Eucratides was, when he began his career, any more than Diodotus and Euthydemus had been an ambitious officer who raised himself to power. He acquired the whole territory north of Hindu Kush, and then marched south into Kabul valley, conquered Arachosia, crossed the Khyber Pass and captured atleast the western strip of Gandhara, encountering the line of the Indus a resistance from Agathocles and his heirs which he never overcame, since he did not capture Taxila.

In India the final effect of his victories was to bring together the two older clans. The young prince Menander, whose emblems proclaim him the son of Demetrius II, fled into the territory of Taxila, and there he married Agathocleia, the daughter and heiress of Agathocles. When Agathocles died, either naturally or in battle against Eucratides round about 160 BC, it was Menander who assumed the leadership of the united clans of Diodotus and Euthydemus.

As Heliocles, son of Eucratides, does not seem to have ruled at all south of the Hindu Kush, Menander must have completed the reconquest of these provinces by the time of Eucratides death in 155 BC, it is possible that he issued his beautiful gold attic tetradrachm, which shows him still as a young man, to celebrate the triumphant reconquest of his native province.

Menander followed these conquests by consolidating his territory to the east. He established his capital at Sakala whence, if one can judge from the hoards containing large quantities of his coins, he extended his territory along the Punjab hills to valley of Kangra and farther westward toward the foothills of Himalayas to take in the Siwalik hills near Dehra Duna and the country southward through Saharanpur and Sonapat, near Delhi. at both places numbers of his coins are found.

It is certain that the Pataliputra was invaded by Greeks, and no historian Indian or western, doubts that the invasion was led by Menander, the military reputation of Menander enhances the certainty that he was the conqueror of the Sunga capital.

The administrative hierarchy of Menander's kingdom was a pyramidal structure. At the head, below the Basileus, stood the sub-kings, of whom the most important was Antimachos I, a king who ruled western Gandhara-Swat valley-and later northern Arachosia, around Gazni. Like Menander he was a military king-, bearing the title Nikephoros the victorious. He helped Menander to reconquer the western provinces from Eucratides, and afterwards actively defended the two frontier areas where he ruled in turn. Since Menander's heir was Strato I, who began to rule as a boy, it is certain the Antimachos was not his son. He appears to be Menander's contemporary, and Narain is probably right when he suggests him as his younger brother.

The two less important rulers, Epander and Polyxenus were also subkings to Menander. Epander's copper coins bearing the humped Brahmin bull, the city emblem of Pushkalavati Polyxenos was subking in Paropamisadea, with his capital Alexandria of the Caucasus. As Menander ruled directly from the Indus eastward, this distribution of sub-kingship placed all the important regions of kingdom under the control of trusted rulers of his own kin.

These two maybe his two elder sons, who died before him. Menander ruled probably for thirty years his coinage his known acts and the progressive changes in his portrait can hardly be compressed into a shorter time- and yet he left him a boy, Strato I, who looks no more than twelve years on the first coins he issued jointly with his mother, the regent queen Agathoclea. It is extremely unlikely that such a late child would been Menander's only son. On the other hand, the scanty issues of Epander and Polyxenus show that they did not live longer. Finally, Polyxenus presents on his coins elevated title Soter and Epiphanus, which no sub king would use unless a special reason for doing this, the reason must be that he was the heir apparent to

Menander, expecting to succeed to the whole Greek Indian kingdom until sickness or death in the battle struck him down in his early manhood.

With the death of Menander the united Greek kingdom in India began to fall apart. His immediate followers quarrelled among themselves, only a few years after his death the descendants of Eucratides marched over the Hindu Kush, into Gandhara.

The thread of written record scanty before, breaks of almost completely with Menander's death. Only one later king, Apollodotus is mentioned in classical sources, and another Antialkidas, is the sole Bactrian monarch to be named on a monument in India. The Vayu-Purana list eight Yavana kings, but it gives no details of their reigns, and their names are so garbled that one cannot be sure whether actual or imaginary rulers are meant.

Agathocleia was the first Greek queen to rule on oriental kingdom, Zoflus ruled briefly in Swat, his later coins which are rather rare, came from Arachosia; he appears to have been sent there to regain the province on the death of Antimachus II, kings of different lineages rule in the same regions at the same time. There are rapid changes of authority, when the coins of the defeated kings are overstruck by conquering princes, who themselves are sometimes immediately superseded by the return of the very rulers they have expelled. Some kings ruled fleetingly in small districts and then vanished, others controlled briefly almost the whole Greek India (Indus).

One of these was Philoxenos, the son of Antimachos II who fought his way from Ghazni in Afghanistan to Taxila in India and carried his wars across the Hindu Kush into the region of Badakshan in eastern Bactria, connected with him was Lysias, a king of the Euthydemid clan; Lysias ruled in Ghazni and Kabul and then in Badakshan. After the death of Heliocles I, his son Eucratides II fully occupied, died at the same time as Menander, after his death his son Archebius invaded Kabul valley, Paropamisadae and Arachosia. Archebius disappeared in struggle and his successor Heliocles II.

The death of Heliocles II left his enemy Lysias the most powerful Greek ruler west of the Khyber Pass. Antialkidas overthrew Lysias in Badakshan, marched in Kabul valley, Gandhara and captured Taxila. This area was in control of Strato I. There are some curious features of the coinage of Antialkidas which suggest that he was indeed conscious of the political forces of his time and concerned with propagating the idea of a unity of interest between Greeks and Hindu population of Gandhara. The Zeus

of Antialkidas is enthroned. Often he bears in hand a miniature figure of Nike, goddess of victory, and always accompanied by an elephant. On every coin of this type wreath of victory appears, sometimes held by Zeus, Nike or flourished triumphantly by the elephant at the end of his trunk. On one coin Zeus appears to be marching, with elephant standing beside him, bearing a tiny Nike upon his head. The series is so unusual that it has given rise to a great deal of speculation. Some scholars consider it as an outburst of artistic high spirits, others have suggested that the elephant and Zeus represent the two opposing Greek political groups. They represent the traditional Indian community -the elephant- sharing with the house of Antialkidas in honours of victory over the pro-Buddhist family of Menander.

The coins of Strato I form the most extraordinary series amongst all those of the Bactrian Greek kings, for they not only show the changing fortunes of this son of Menander, but also the ageing and decay of a human being. His first coins begin with the face of spoilt and petulant looking boy, through bearded young manhood, to pearly middle age. Thirty years are recorded in this way and boy becomes a man of 50. Then, about AD 100, there is a break in the series, the kingship passes out of Strato's hands, and for twenty years he vanishes, and returns as an old man.

In his place Apollodotus appears, the only area left to Greeks which Apollodotus did not rule was the Bactrian enclave of Badakshan. He ruled in the south, in Sind, Surashtra and Gujerat. Early in the present century a hoard of more than 200 was found at Dera Ghazi Khan in southern part of the Indus valley. In the coast of Gujerat and Ujjain, the Saka kings copied the drachms of Apollodotus a century after his death. Ptolemy mentions his coins-with those of Menander as being current the first century AD.

The historian Apollodorus, states that Bactrian kings took possession of Patala in the Indus Delta, Saurashtra, and kingdom of Sigerdis. Apollodotus was the last real conqueror among Greek kings of India. After him the Yavanas were constantly on the defensive, and even before Apollodotus died the Saka invaders had penetrated the mountain barriers into India. Under their king, Maues, they came from Scistan (or Sakastan) over the Bolan pass into the Indus valley.

To feed, on the dying kingdom of their rivals, one of them, Diomedes, ruled briefly in Gandahra, and Telephus seized Taxila. The descendants of Apollodotus retreated to Sakala, where Zoilos II, Dionysius and Apollophanes succeeded each other. By 80 BC,

Maues had dislodged Telephus from Taxila and afterwards Apollonides in Sakala was replaced.

The plump Strato who had reigned twenty years before, now appears 70 years, an old toothless man with deep set eyes and lantern jaws, portrayed on his debased coinage with a crudity of technique. Narain is probably right in suggesting that Strato was used by Saka king Maues as puppet ruler. The last miserable coins some in lead, give one glimpse of kingdom sinking into barbarism and poverty.

With the disappearance of the kingdom of Sakala, 70 BC Greek rule came to an end of the Indus.

Two kingdoms, of some importance finally emerged out of the chaos of the years following the death of Apollodotus. Nicias and Hippostratos-descendants of Diodotus- in western Gandhara. Nicias ruled briefly and died in 75 BC. Hippostratos had a long and prosperous rule. His coins include a large number of silver tetradrachms, signs of a well filled treasury and a brisk commerce caused by a revival of trade to and from India during the final period of Greek rule in Gandhara.

Hippostratos survived the Saka king Maues, Azes I eventually destroyed the Greek kingdom in Gandhara, and over struck coins of Hippostratos.

By the middle of the first century BC Greek rule in Gandhara came to an end except around Peshawar, where Harnaeus of Kabul valley ruled as consort of Calliope.

Paropamisadae, ruled by Harnaeus, was the last kingdom to survive the onslaughts of the nomads. Amyntas, son of Antialcidas led the invasion, expelling a free booter king, Peucalaos, and established his capital at Alexandria of Caucasus. To celebrate this he issued the largest ever minted coin of the Greek state, it was a double decadrachm two inches in diameter, on whose obverse appeared one of the most remarkable of all the Bactrian Greek portraits. The significant feature is the seated Zeus on reverse, which resembles that of Antialcidas, bears in his hand a miniature figure, not of Nike, but of Pallas, the patroness of Menander and his kin. Other coins of his also bear the figure of Pallas hurling the thunderbolt.

Considering that he was the last of Indian Greek kings, Harnaeus, the son of Amyntas had remarkable successful reign. He took advantage of his exclusive control over the

Indian trade route to make his small kingdom prosperous, and his currency attained such a prestige among his non-greek neighbours that long after his death it was still being reproduced and imitated in enormous quantities by the Parthian and even the Kushana kings.

Kushana dismantled the kingdom of Harnaeus slowly. Who expelled the Sakas from Bactria. By 30 BC he and his queen Callop's were dead, and the last Greek kingdom was in Parthian hands.

The Greeks disappeared into India like an Army sinking into vast quicksand. Their kingdom vanished and their language disappeared.

- 1- Existence of Demetrius is Confirmed by an inscription (No. 18 of the Nasik cave inscriptions)
- 2- Sites of lower Indus & Delta.
- 3- Locate Patala.
- 4- The trident on Demetrius coins imply the naval power. A fleet on Indus.
- 5- Demetrius went around the Runn of Kutch & then southward.
- 6- Ptolemy (viii, 60) knows of a Greek city Theophila in the parts of Runn of Cutch, & place it eastward of the Indus delta. He seems to place it as on the route from Patala to Ujjain.
- 7- Surashtra, Kathiawar.
- 8- Apollodotus and in Gujrat cannot be in doubt.
- 9- Swat.
- 10- At the place where the united stream of four lesser rivers joins the Indus, the foundations of new Alexandria were laid.
- 11- The next is town of Sogdi.
- 12- States of north.
- 13- Patala at the vertex of Indus Delta.
- 14- Southern part of Chach province.
- 15- Lyari River.
- 16- Kimari Island.
- 17- Chinni Creek.
- Wagudar Creek
- Kudro Creek
- Malir River - dried up.
- Rohri Hills.
- Modern Kalabagh & the Confluence with Jhelum.
- Hakra Channel.
- Dry Bed of Hakra near Bahawalpur.

- The joining point, of Beas with Chenab.
- Places 50 miles from Indus.
- The junction of the Panjnad with the Indus.
- Sites around Indus Delta.
- Patala.
- Upper Sind.
- Kacchi.
- Bolan or Mullah Pass.
- Helmand.
- From Khybar Pass to Indus a bridge of boats.
- He himself walked through the hills of Cabul river → Attock → Laghman → Kunar River → Bajaur → Capital Arigaion (Bajaur) → Landhi river → Junction of Panjkora & Swat → Country of Assaceni.
- Swat → Meros (Kahimor) → founded Nysa → garrisoned Ora & Bazira (Udegram & Borikot). → came down through shah Kot pass into Yusuf zai country (Peucelaitis) Kunar → River & Indus, Haphaestion at Ohind 16 miles above Attock → B/w Jhelum & Chenab. River Indus Shifted to → Hakra Channel → discharging into Run of Cutch eastward. At the united stream of four rivers of lower down.
- Patala.
- The coast of Delta was probably north of its present line.
- Lake of Aror.
- B/w. Ravi & Beas a city Sangala.
- Alexander ordered 12 alters to be built on the western bank of Beas.
- From Chenab to Indus → Alexandria.
- Reached Patala at the apex of Indus Delta.
- Sukkur to Rohri hills.
- A channel of river flows nowadays in east but its not large enough to show that main river even flowed through it.
- Kandhkot course.
- East of Hyderabad & Ganjo Takar hill.

- Shabdad Pur course.
- Western Indus flood plain →Prasiatic →city in northern Sindh.
Samaro-Dhoro Badahri course →Patala →(Southern Sindh).
Begari bund-Right Bank of Indus. →north-west of Sukkur.
- Kalri lake.
- Omar Kot.
- Mancher lake.
- Shikarpur
- Sehwan.
- Kotre.
- Thatta.
- Mirpur Sakro.
- Bukkur.
- Halla.
- Hyderabad.
- Alor.

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