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## Art. XVIII.—*On the Present State of the River Indus, and the Route of Alexander the Great*, by Lieutenant William Pottinger, of H.M. 6th Regiment of Infantry

W. Pottinger and Alexander Burnes

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to crime. Let the race be instructed, and infanticide will cease. It is abhorrent to humanity, and founded on mistaken principles of honour, which cannot co-exist with a liberal education.

ALEX. BURNES.

*Bombay, Mar. 15, 1829.*

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ART. XVIII.—*On the Present State of the River Indus, and the Route of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, by Lieutenant WILLIAM POTTINGER, of H.M. 6th Regiment of Infantry.*—(Communicated by the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society).

*Read 4th of January, 1834.*

MUCH discussion having arisen as to whether the Eastern or Western branch of the Indus was formerly the grand stream of the river, and likewise as to the route pursued by ALEXANDER the GREAT through *Sindh*, a few remarks from me may perhaps be excused, although the subject is one from which little profit can be derived, and on which it behoves every one to speak with caution and diffidence. Having, however, travelled over a considerable portion of the country, and by personal observation and inquiry made myself acquainted with many circumstances bearing on this topic, I am induced to offer the following facts and surmises for the consideration of those who are in any way interested in the question affecting the route of the Macedonian conqueror; but before entering on this discussion, it will be as well to describe the general features of the Indus as they now exist, in its course through *Sindh*.

The river Indus, after receiving the waters of the *Panjáb*, flows in an undivided stream to 10 miles N.E. of the Fort of *Bhakír*, where the *Nállá* (also called *Nárrá*) flows from it to the south, and, passing about 50 miles to the eastward of *Haiderábád*, falls into the ocean near *Lakpat Bandar*.

At 25 miles south of *Bhakír* the Indus sends off a small stream to the westward, called the *Arrall*, which being augmented by the waters of a mountain-stream called the *Kákhír*, or *Khárá*, rejoins the Indus again at *Schwán*.

The *Falilí* leaves the main river 13 miles north of *Haiderábád*, and flowing in a course nearly parallel to it, rejoins the parent stream at *Tikkún*, forming the island on which the capital is built. At the

S.E. corner of the *Falili*, the *Góni*\* leaves that river, and, flowing nearly in a S.S.E. course, joins the *Nárrá* above *Ali-band*, near the village of *Chattítar*.†

At 45 miles south of the city of *Haiderábád* a large branch, called the *Pinyári*, or *Pinjári*, flows in a southerly course from the main river past *Láikpur*, *Maghrabí*, &c. to the ocean.

At 6 miles south of *T'hatta* the Indus divides into two great branches, called the *Sítá* (or *Sátá*) and the *Bagghár*, which flow in courses nearly south and west to the sea, which they enter by *nine* mouths.

The *Gúngrú* branch leaves the *Sítá* at 20 miles south of *T'hatta*, and after a very short course joins the *Pinjári* 10 miles north of the town of *Maghrabí*.

All these rivers have once been navigable for the largest country-boats, but the great eastern branch called the *Nárrá*, and also the *Pinjári*, have had *bands*‡ thrown across them, which have ruined the navigation; and the *Falili* (at its south-western extremity) and the *Gúngrú* have both become choked with deposit—the latter within five years, and the former since 1809, as the *Sindh* mission of that year navigated it with a numerous fleet of large boats.§

The embankments by which some of these great streams have been destroyed for navigable purposes are certainly amongst the most singular features of *Sindh*; but I am by no means inclined to believe that they were constructed out of revenge towards the people of *Cutch*, as has been generally reported and credited.|| The *Sindhians* deny this assertion, and state that they were erected for the purpose of raising the water of the river to a level sufficient to fill canals having their beds much elevated above that of the river, and into which the water would not otherwise have reached; as also to retain a certain supply of water between the embankments, when after the “*freshes*”¶

\* These names are applied to the same stream in the map to Lieut. BURNES'S Travels in Bokhára, &c. Lond. 1834.—ED.

† One branch of the *Góni* loses itself in pools and marshes near *Badína*, and the other joins the *Nárrá* at the village of *Chattítar*. This last is said (by the natives of *Sindh*) to be a canal, made by a prince of that country to facilitate navigation, and to prevent inundations when the natural channel became decayed.

‡ Embankments.

§ Lieut. DE L'HOSTE obtained some particulars of the bed of a river which the natives called the *Púrán* (from *Púrána*, “old”), which lies a long way east of the *Nárrá*, and I presume has given rise to the idea of the *Phanán* river, as called and placed in our maps.

|| Vide *Memoir on the Indus*, &c., by Lieut. BURNES, Trans. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iii. p. 551.—ED.

¶ Floods.

the main river sinks to its usual level. If such be really the case, I doubt not but that these objects might have been attained in the most efficient and simple manner without injuring the navigation; and this I think could be effected by placing these canals at a proper angle to the main stream, and digging their beds (except at the very point where they join the rivers) deeper; so that the water would lodge in them even when it had sunk in all the branches.

If commerce should ever revive in *Sindh*, the loss of two of the great branches (the *Nárrá* and *Pinyárí*) will be severely felt; for in position, and in the fact of their estuaries being less exposed to the gales of wind prevalent in these quarters, they have great advantages over all the others. There seems little doubt, however, that even the removal in part of the "*bands*," which might be done with a very moderate degree of labour, would soon restore these channels to a navigable state; and this was nearly if not altogether proved by the partial bursting of the *Arór band*\* in 1828, when an immense body of water found its way by the channel of the *Nárrá*† to the ocean, near *Lakpat Bandar*, carrying away the other two *bands* (*Ali-band* and *Allah-band*‡) at the southern extremity of the river, rendering it in many places from *one* to *three* miles broad, and navigable in a considerable part of its course.

But, to return to the topic under discussion, antiquaries foreseeing that it would be a difficult matter to account for the three days' land journey *to the eastward*, by reason of the almost insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in crossing the *delta* from *west* to *east*, and at the same time supposing, from the present state of the river Indus, that ALEXANDER sailed down the western branch *only*;§ have, without due consideration, and in ignorance of the features of the country, and the wonderful changes which are constantly taking place, decided that the western branch was the one navigated by the Macedonian conqueror, and, in support of this theory, assert their belief that when ARRIAN mentions the three days' journey *to the eastward* he meant the *west*, as if it were at all probable that an historian who

\* This *band* is stated to have served merely to keep the water of the main trunk of the Indus in its course to the sea. Vide Lieut. BURNES's Memoir, Trans. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iii. p. 557.—ED.

† *Narra* is given by Lieut. BURNES as the name of a town on the S.W. border of the *Rann*, from which the high road from Cutch to Sindh proceeds, and where the water which came down in 1826 overflowed.—ED.

‡ Literally, "the *band* of GOD," so called from being caused by the earthquake of 1819.

§ Vide Capt. M'MURDO's *Account of the Indus*, in the present volume, pp. 40 and 42.—ED.

has been proved so singularly correct in almost all instances should make a mistake so gross and inexcusable.

But this explanation seems to me to carry its own confutation on the very face of it ; for it would have been quite unnecessary, had the fleet and army moved in the same direction (westward) to allude to the one without the other ; and it is most improbable that the king himself would have made a personal reconnoissance of the nature he is stated to have done, when he had so many trustworthy, and, doubtless, able officers, to send on such a service. Nor does it at all seem to me to agree with the intention expressed by him from the first, of penetrating overland to Persia, or with the high ideas we have of his wisdom and genius, to suppose that he would leave behind a mutinous army, who were all anxiety to turn their steps towards their native country, and proceed for three days to march by a route he was aware he must eventually pursue, and this with a small body of troops.

Moreover, the country to the westward, from the great western branch of the Indus, has no kind of affinity to that over which ALEXANDER is described to have marched for three days, being for the first ten or twenty miles a barren plain, and for the next forty very hilly and rugged, and intersected with numerous water courses formed by the water rushing from the mountains, which at Cape *Múvari*\* rise abruptly and grandly from the ocean ; † such is also the nature of the coast, high and steep, for the greater part of this distance, that no kind of communication could take place between the fleet and the shore ; nor is there any flat coast, or sands, beneath the rocks on which wells could have been dug (as stated) for water ; and had this been the case even, they would have been inaccessible from the side of the country. ‡ In fact, this tract in its features is so widely different from that described by the historian, that we must suppose some dreadful convulsion of nature to have taken place, if we attempt to identify them as one and the same.

Now, the face of that portion of Cutch which lies immediately to the eastward of the estuary of the *Nárrá*, or eastern branch of the Indus, § agrees precisely in every respect with the description given by

\* Also called Cape *Monze*.

† See POTTINGER'S *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*.

‡ Several persons described this coast to me as such, that even where the road does approach the shore, from the nature of the ground, the sea may be heard, but only seen by glimpses, and without any opening to reach the beach.

§ The *Korí*, or *P'harrán*, of Lieut. BURNES. Vide Memoir in Trans. R.A.S. vol. iii. p. 556 ; and *Púrán* of Capt. M'MURDO, vide his paper, No. III. of this volume.—ED.

the historian, being for *one hundred miles* (following close on the line of coast) a level plain of seldom more than twelve miles broad, and skirted for the entire distance by a range of low hills.

It is here also necessary to mention, that in the three days' march to the eastward, ARRIAN states that a race called *Jangara* or *Saranga* were met with; and D'ANVILLE, who is opposed to the opinion that ALEXANDER sailed to the eastern mouth of the Indus, affirms that the *Sangara* is a race of people mentioned as having been encountered by the Macedonians in the three days' march to the East, and which is to be found at the present day at *Nowá-Nagar* in *Kattiawár*, nearly opposite to that part of Cutch over which Dr. VINCENT assumes the march to have taken place; and Lieutenant BURNES\* (who has at a later period made inquiries on the subject) affirms that a race of people bearing this name is at the present day settled at *Jakow*, a sea-port of Cutch, which is situated on the very route Dr. VINCENT has chosen as the one pursued by ALEXANDER on that occasion, for, keeping along-shore, which a search for creeks would render necessary, *Jakow* is *sixty miles* from *Lakpat* and forty from *Kótásir*, both of which are within three days' march of cavalry, yet both these authorities conceive, that this race moved into Cutch from the western side of Sindh† after the Macedonian army had passed, and from thence afterwards crossed the gulf of Cutch into *Kattiawár*, which is really disposing of these unoffending people most unceremoniously, and seems to me to be a shift quite undeserving of a serious answer.

That Dr. VINCENT should style Cutch a desert is not at all surprising, for many well-informed persons who have had the advantage

\* Vide Lieutenant BURNES's Remarks appended to this paper, and also his "*Memoir of the Eastern branch of the river Indus and the Runn*," in the Trans. R.A.S., vol. iii. p. 583.

In the eighth Anniversary Discourse of Sir WILLIAM JONES before the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, this point is thus alluded to:—

"We come now to the river *Sindhu* and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a district, called by NEARCHUS, in his *Journal*, *Sangada*; which M. D'ANVILLE justly supposes to be the seat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the west of *India*. Mr. MALET, now resident at *Púna* on the part of the British government, procured at my request the *Sanganian* letters, which are a sort of *Nágari*, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other Indian dialects, from the *Sanscrit*; nor can I doubt, from the descriptions which I have received of their persons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcast *Hindús*, immemorially separated from the rest of the nation."—Vide *As. Res.* vol. iii. p. 6.

See also Captain M'MURDO's Memoir of the river Indus, in the present volume, page 40, note §.—ED.

† From Makrán.

of visiting it have in different publications described the country as a sandy, desert, and sterile land; and although many parts of the country are most fertile, there is much truth generally in the description, as far as regards this province, and more particularly the very tract now under discussion, viz. that *west of Jakow*.\*

There is another strong fact which I conclude must have escaped the notice of these authors, that in travelling eastward from *Lakpat Bandar* there is not a single running stream to be met with (except in the monsoon) for a distance of *eighty miles*, and the water in use for all purposes is procured from wells and tanks, or from pools which are left in the beds of torrents; and the practice of digging shallow wells in such places as the beds of sandy *nallás* and on the sea-shore is followed to the present hour all along this coast.

The estuary of the eastern branch of the Indus is, besides, the only one which bears the slightest resemblance to that described by the historian, and is really worthy, from its magnitude and formation, of being the *embouchure* of three great rivers, which I think I shall prove it to have been.

Even from these considerations alone, then, I am inclined to concur most completely with Dr. VINCENT and others who have been ridiculed for their opinions on this subject, that ALEXANDER did sail down the eastern estuary of the Indus, and that his march of three days was to the eastward, and consequently through the S.W. part of that portion of Cutch called the *Abrása*.

But without presuming to enter deeply on this question, I shall mention two facts which came under our personal observation in *Sindh*, and appear to me to bear so strongly on the subject, that, taken together with what I have above stated, they go far to prove Dr. VINCENT's correctness.

At the village of *Sháhhkapúr*, on the road from *Kótrí* to *Haiderábád*, and about sixty miles distant from the former place, there are the ruins of a large town visible on the plain about a mile N.E. of the village, to which the inhabitants give the name of *Hingúr*, and which they describe as having been a very large and opulent place in the time of the *Sammás*; the remains, which are of kiln-burnt brick of a superior description, cover a very considerable extent of ground, and the circuit of the walls and positions of the bastions are plainly discernible.

To the N.E. of those ruins the forsaken channel of a very large river is also distinctly to be traced; and the people stated, without being questioned on the subject, that the river Indus, or a large

\* Vide Note (A) to Lieut. BURNES's *Memoir*, in Trans. R.A.S. vol. iii. p. 582.—ED.

branch of it, once flowed in this bed, and was navigable for large boats or vessels. They also affirmed that the city first began to decline on the overthrow of the *Sammás*, but that it was not until the river had become dry and receded from this channel by one of those changes so constantly occurring, that the place was completely ruined and ultimately became deserted.

Now this channel runs N.W. and S.E., and would have discharged its waters somewhere to the N.N.E. of *Lakpat Bandar* (in fact, according to the native accounts it did so), thus forming a most convenient and natural channel of communication between the western branch and eastern estuary, which would have enabled ALEXANDER's fleet to have reached that estuary and Cutch, without its being necessary for him to have navigated the eastern branch in its whole course, which, as I have before observed, is a point that seems to have puzzled all writers on the subject.

A reference to the map\* will shew the positions the *Pinyári* and *Gúngrú* branches bear with respect to this deserted channel; and I am quite of opinion, both from the position of these branches and from the traditions current in *Sindh*, that the channel I have above described was formerly that of the *Pinyári* river, which then flowed in a S.E. direction to near *Lakpat*, and that the *Gúngrú* branch which now joins the *Pinyári* ten miles north of *Maghrabí* and about the same distance S.W. of *Hingúr*, found its way consequently alone to the ocean, through what has by a change become their joint estuary, viz. the *Sír*.

Again, the river which appears to have flowed to the S.E. of *Hingúr* would have passed into what is now called the *Runn* N.N.E. of *Lakpat*, and may be very reasonably supposed to have been one of the streams which there formed the congregation of waters mentioned as being like an "inland lake," and its *embouchure* would in this case have been distinctly visible from the high lands in Cutch at no great distance. This would account for the discrepancy which has been attempted to be shewn† from the circumstance of none of the present mouths of the Indus being visible from Cutch, not that I at all admit, what has been supposed, that ALEXANDER must have descried Cutch and have been therefore induced to visit it, for we must suppose the people of *Sindh* to have been more incredibly ignorant than they are even at present, to conceive that they knew not of the existence of a country only separated from their own by a river!

\* Vide the Map to Lieut. BURNES' *Travels*, published by Mr. J. ARROWSMITH.—ED.

† By Lieut. BURNES, in his *Dissertation*.



That ALEXANDER did visit a place called *Páttála* there seems no reason to doubt, but that this is the same with the modern *T'hatta* I think very far from certain.\* *T'hatta* is now precisely seventy-five miles from the sea, which by no means agrees with the calculations made by the ancients; and therefore *Jarrak*, or some other place even more to the northward, where the ruins of towns are still visible, may be fixed upon with equal propriety as the site of *Páttála*. The *Pinyári* branch in that case would have been the first met with in proceeding towards the sea, and would (if it existed, as I have attempted to shew) have offered a convenient passage to the eastern estuary.

For my own part, I consider that there is much uncertainty in the passage which mentions his sailing down the *left* branch, as to whether he did actually reach the sea or not; and if we suppose the former, it will be seen that had ALEXANDER followed the course of the *Pinyári* to its estuary called the *Sír*, he would then have had only *twelve* miles of coasting to the entrance of the Lakpat creek, and the high lands at *Kótásir* in Cutch would then have been clearly visible, bearing N.E., and only ten or twelve miles distant.

The only argument in favour of the Macedonians having followed the eastern branch called the *Nárrá* in its entire course from *Bhakir* to the sea seems to be, that the historian does not mention the branch down which they (the Macedonians) sailed sending off any branches to the eastward; which is perfectly consistent with the state of that river at the present day; but this may readily have been an oversight, and it is much more reasonable to conceive that he did visit *Schwán†* and other places in his progress south which he could not have done had he pursued the course of the *Nállá*, and afterwards found a passage to the eastern estuary by some of the channels now ruined.

The branch of the *Góní* river which now joins it to the *Nárrá* above *Ali-band* is said by the inhabitants of *Sindh* to be a cut or canal made by order of one of the princes of *Sindh* when the channel of the *Góní* began to decay; and although I never heard this assertion made previous to my leaving India, I do not consider it at all improbable. The other channel of the *Góní* runs nearly south; and although now lost in swamps and pools near the village of *Badína* would have discharged its waters into the *Runn* of Cutch at no great distance from the *Nárrá*.

If, then, the *Nárrá*, *Góní*, and the branch which I have described

\* Vide Captain M'MURDO's remarks, as to the site of *Páttála*, p. 37 of the present volume.—ED.

† Vide Capt. M'MURDO's paper, pp. 30 and 34 of the present volume.

as once flowing past *Sháhkapur*, all fell into the *Runn* of Cutch near the same place, which from the direction of their courses they would have done, they would certainly have formed a great "inland lake" such as described; nor is there in any of the other branches (at any point) any expanse of water which could have given rise to the idea.

Most authors seem agreed that ALEXANDER could not have sailed down the western branch of the Indus and then crossed the *delta* of the river from west to east even with a fleet in company, and in this opinion I entirely concur, and believe that no one who has not seen the *delta*, the state of the river's banks, and the violence of the current, can have an idea of what such an undertaking would be, more particularly with cavalry.

The *Wányáni* has been supposed to answer the description of the "inland lake,"\* but, in addition to its (present) magnitude by no means answering this description, if ALEXANDER had proceeded there he would have had the *delta* on both flanks.

Another remarkable fact which came under our personal observation in *Sindh* proves even more strongly than the one I have related the wonderful changes which have taken place all over the country and in the branches of the river.

On the second day of our march from *Ráj ka dereh* to *Khairpur*, and about twenty miles S. or S. by E. of that city, we crossed the deserted channel of a very large river, and after riding along the western bank for some time, the Sindhian chiefs, who had come to meet and welcome the mission, pointed out to us the ruins of a large city which they called *Míhrábpur*. We were not sufficiently near to examine the remains, but they appeared extensive, and the account given of the place by the chiefs was exactly similar to that given of *Hingúr*, with the exception that the former was a modern town and deserted only *fifty years* ago, at which time the river receded from this channel.† The inhabitants also affirmed that this river did not join the western branch of the Indus again proceeding south, but flowed in a course nearly due south to the sea.

Considering all I have stated, it appears to me that there is scarcely one point from which an inference can be drawn that the western branch (*below Táttá*) was the one down which ALEXANDER passed

\* Vide Note (A) to Lieut. BURNES's *Memoir*, in Trans. R.A.S. vol. iii. p. 583. —ED.

† Lieutenant DE L'HOSTE, on his route from *Haiderábád* to *Khairpur*, and about midway between those places, passed through part of a country much deserted and covered with jungle, amongst which were the ruins of many towns and villages. It is quite possible that the same river might have deserted these places as it did *Míhrábpur*.

and that his three days' march was *to the westward*; whilst, on the other hand, the proofs seem almost conclusive as to Dr. VINCENT's being really correct in his suppositions.

There is one point which I have purposely omitted, as it rests upon a mere matter of opinion, namely, "whether it is natural that ALEXANDER should have explored the country *to the eastward* for three days or not." In my own opinion it was most natural that he should have done so; for, when his army mutinied on the *Hyphasis*, "he with extreme reluctance gave up all idea of further progress to the east, and began his route southward by the river," most probably hoping that the direction which its course might take, would enable him to visit some portion of the unknown territory which the disorders in his army alone had prevented his doing; but finding this not to be the case, and that he had arrived at that point (the mouths of the Indus) from whence his further progress must be towards home, that he should be anxious to catch even a glimpse of a country on which he was about to turn his back for ever; and as it proved not suitable to his convenience, his views, or his expectations, that he should relinquish any project he might have meditated, had he found a rich, populous, and fertile region, the spoils of which he might have held forth as a temptation to his mutinous soldiery.

In conclusion, I beg to remark, that the object of this dissertation is not so much to prove the view I have taken of the subject to be correct, as to shew that many who have taken an opposite view of the case, and dealt in strong assertions without proofs, have been quite as likely to have erred in their final decision; and even putting the facts which I have adduced as to the features of the country out of the question, I consider my object as fully attained by shewing the amazing changes which have taken place. Of course, in speaking of the *Pinyári* and *Gúngrú* branches, I have assumed (as others have done of various other branches) that they existed *two thousand years* ago, which, it must be admitted, is more than doubtful, for I quite agree in an opinion I have heard given, "that there always has been and will be a noble river in *Sindh*, but where its course was five hundred years ago, or will be one hundred years hence, is totally beyond the power of any person to say."\*

(Signed)

W. POTTINGER.

\* Since writing the above it has been suggested to me by a friend, that one of the branches of the Indus may formerly have taken an easterly and then southerly course, and flowed to *the eastward* of Cutch; and really considering the lame attempts which have been made to account for the formation of the *Runn* of Cutch, I think the supposition a very plausible one. A vast quantity of water is known to

*Remarks on the preceding paper.* By Lieut. ALEXANDER BURNES, F.R.S., of the Bombay Military Establishment, &c. &c.

AT the request of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, I now reduce to writing the observations which I made before the Society on the 4th of January last, regarding the route of ALEXANDER the GREAT through the *delta* of the Indus, and which were suggested by a paper on that subject drawn up by Lieut. W. POTTINGER. It is very far from my wish to engage in any controversy upon such a subject, but as the various papers which I have from time to time written regarding it have not hitherto been published,\* it is incumbent on me briefly to state their contents, which will afford the best answer that I can offer to Lieut. POTTINGER's observations. It will be sufficient for me to premise that I have visited the greater portion of the *delta* of the Indus, and the neighbouring country, as well as ascended and surveyed that great river for some hundred miles above its *embouchures*.

When the Greeks reached *Páttála* "ALEXANDER ordered a haven and convenient docks for ships to be built, and resolved to sail down to the ocean by that branch of the river on the right hand," for ARRIAN distinctly tells us,† that "the river Indus at Pattala divides itself into two vast branches, and that the realm of the Pattalan's has the form of the Greek letter Δ." The same historian next records that the Greeks descended this *right* or *western* branch of the Indus, and after viewing the ocean returned to *Páttála*. Here ALEXANDER found his fleet in readiness, and now resolved on "sailing again to the ocean by the other (or *eastern*) branch of the river, to try whether the passage out to sea was safer or more easy that way, for ALEXANDER had now resolved to send his fleet under the command of NEARCHUS into the Persian gulf, and thence up the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris." In this his second voyage from *Páttála* to the sea, it is stated "that he landed with a party of horse, and travelled three days along the sea-coast to view it, and try if he could find any bays or creeks to secure his fleet from storms; and *also dug many wells to supply his navy with water.*" Such is the account of ALEXANDER's expedition in the *delta* of the Indus, according to ARRIAN, to whose very words I have adhered.

force its way into the *Runn* every year during the freshes in the Indus, to the eastward of the village of *Ballyári*, in the *Tharr*; and, from inquiry, I have reason to believe it comes from a deserted branch of the *Nárrá*, near *Amerkót*; and the flood was so great one year (1828) that it actually threw down one tower and part of the wall of that fortress.

\* They are now before the public. See Trans. R. A. S. vol. iii. p. 550, and Lieut. BURNES' *Travels*, &c.

† Lib. vi. c. 18.

Two subjects of controversy have arisen out of this description—1st, “With what city are we to identify *Páttála*?” and, 2dly, “In what direction was the three days’ journey of ALEXANDER the Great after he descended the eastern branch of the Indus?” We shall treat on each of these subjects.

1st, There are very strong reasons for fixing on the modern city of *T'hatta* as the *Páttála* of the ancients. It stands at the head of the modern *delta* of the river, and close upon it the Indus divides itself into two great branches, the *Sátá* and *Bugár*. These again subdivide into other branches, and ultimately enter the sea by eleven mouths, occupying a space of 125 British miles, which is the extent of the base of the *delta* of the Indus. In the immediate neighbourhood of *T'hatta* there are extensive ruins of two ancient cities named *Bráhmaṇabád* and *Kallánkót*, while in *T'hatta* itself we have the modern capital of the country during the reign of the Moghul emperors. Its great population, even so late as the days of NÁDIR SHÁH, will be remembered by those who have perused eastern histories, where they then speak of 14,000 families of weavers. In *T'hatta*, therefore, we have not only the site and remains of a great city, but a remarkable concurrence with the locality of *Páttála* since the river divides into two great branches near it. By the *delta* of any river we generally understand that portion of it towards the *embouchure*, when it first sends off its branches. If *Páttála* therefore, had stood lower down the Indus, the realm of the *Páttálans* could not have been said to form the *delta* of the Indus. Moreover, we are told that “that *delta* was much larger than the Egyptian province of the same name;” and the modern city of *T'hatta* at the apex of the *delta*, is but seventy-five miles from the sea. It has been urged that the distance of *T'hatta* from the sea varies so much from that of *Páttála* given by the Greeks, that this alone disproves the identity of the two places; but to this we reply, that ARRIAN has expressly declared the base of the *delta* to have been 1800 *stadia*, while it is really little more than half the size, or 1000 *stadia*. These are the words of ARRIAN:—“These two mouths of the river Indus are about 1800 *stadia* distant from each other, and so much is the extent of the island *Páttála* along the sea coast.” I speak from observations both of latitude and longitude, that the face of the *delta* does not exceed 125 British miles; and rating the *stadium* at a furlong, according to received opinions, we have here an error of 800 *stadia* in distance, or, what is more probable, an error in the transcription of the numbers or figures of the historian. In conclusion I have only to add, that RENNELL, D'ANVILLE, and DR. VINCENT, appear to be unanimous in considering *T'hatta* as the *Páttála* of the Greeks.

The second point for consideration is the direction in which ALEXANDER marched in his three days' journey along the sea coast. DR. VINCENT has recorded his belief that that journey carried him into Cutch, and in this opinion he is now followed by Lieut. POTTINGER. I have examined with particular care the text of ARRIAN on this point, and I cannot discover on what grounds such a theory can possibly be entertained. We have seen that ALEXANDER descended the eastern branch of the Indus, to explore which of the two branches would afford the greatest facilities for the passage of his fleet, and we are told that he landed with a party of horse, and made a three days' march along the coast, examining the country and causing wells to be dug for the use of his fleet. If that march, therefore, had been towards the east, and into Cutch, he would have been digging wells in a direction where his fleet was never to sail. ALEXANDER dreaded the dangers which his admiral would have to encounter; but he was surely not so ignorant of the direction in which his fleet was to pass that he should dig wells in an opposite direction! ARRIAN tells us, that "ALEXANDER had a vast ambition of sailing all through the sea from India to Persia, to prove that the Indian gulf had a communication with the Persian;" and after he had completed his descent of the Indus, the safety of his fleet appears most especially to have engaged his attention. In support of this, and in further corroboration of the motives which dictated the three days' journey westward, we find in the 21st chapter of ARRIAN'S 6th book, that after ALEXANDER had reached the river *Arabius*, and quitted *Sindh*, he *again* turned towards the ocean "that he might cause *more* wells to be dug for his fleet," and desired LEONATUS, one of his officers, "to tarry there till the fleet should sail round these coasts." Are we not to infer, therefore, that ALEXANDER'S three days' journey, as well as his route home, were in one direction westward and away from Cutch? It may be observed, that a three days' journey with cavalry along the *delta* of a river would be a difficult march; but we find that a land expedition under LEONATUS seconded ALEXANDER in his descent of the eastern branch of the Indus, and passed "*through* the island of *Páttála*:" it is a fair conclusion then, that, as they met with no obstacles, ALEXANDER'S own party would be equally fortunate; besides, they were accompanied by boats which would have transported them across such creeks and rivers as they could not swim.

So many years have elapsed since the expedition of ALEXANDER, and so many alterations must have necessarily taken place in such a changeable tract of country as the *delta* of a river, that it might be difficult to identify one place with another; but this difficulty will not

apply to the direction in which ALEXANDER sailed. There is much, however, both in the topography and names of the modern Indus to identify the country with the scene of ALEXANDER's glories, particularly in the western mouth. ARRIAN speaks of an island called *Crocola* near it, and we have the name of *Kakrála* to this day. It is also said, that there was "a dangerous rock" which the fleet had to pass; and in this branch of the river the only rock which exists in the Indus, below *T'hatta*, is to be found. The disasters, too, which befel the fleet of ALEXANDER, and which are so graphically described by CURTIUS, are yet to be experienced in these days. The fleet of boats with which I entered the Indus was left aground by the sudden recession of the waters; and when the tide returned, the adjacent country became flooded, and the tops of mangrove bushes and shrubs were alone visible. CURTIUS observes, "when the tide inundated the fields skirting the river, *tops of knolls rose above it*, like islands." But however interesting they may be, these are digressions from the subject.

There is yet one point that requires notice, and of which we are informed by NEARCHUS, viz. the existence of a race of people called *Sangada*, or *Sangara*, who inhabited the banks of the *Arabius* westward of the Indus. It is a remarkable fact, that the pirates in the gulf of Cutch belong to a tribe called *Sangár*, the principal portion of which resides at *Jakow*, a town about forty miles eastward of the Indus. In ALEXANDER's days, the *Sangada* are mentioned as occupying the country westward of the river; and in the *Sangárs* we have probably their descendants, although the locality be a little different.

In conclusion I have only to observe, that if we are guided by the text of ALEXANDER's historians, it is clear that neither the conqueror and his army, nor his fleet, ever entered Cutch. The eastern branch of the Indus was found the safest and best; yet NEARCHUS, with his whole fleet, sailed out of the western branch, for reasons which are not explained to us. Besides, it was the object of ALEXANDER to impress upon his troops, that the boundaries of his expedition and nature were one. He told them after reaching the sea that they had come to the *end* of their toils; that nothing now could oppose their valour, nor add to their glory; that, finding he had extended his conquests *on that side* to the extremities of the earth, he had completed his mighty design, and that he himself, their leader, had rivalled the feats of HERCULES and BACCHUS.

(Signed)

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