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SOPHYTES - A NUMISMATIC ENIGMA RE-ASSESSMENT OF AN OLD PROBLEM

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Sophytes or Sopeithes is one of the most enigmatic personalities of our history. The name is known to Western historians since long because it has been mentioned by those Greek historians who accompanied Alexander the Great to that part of ancient India now called Pakistan. He has been mentioned by the Greek historians as 'King of the Salt Range' in the Punjab and a contemporary of Alexander the Great. However, for the local historians the memory of this king or satrap hardly goes beyond the middle of the 19th century when his beautiful and rare coins were reported for the first time by Sir Alexander Cunningham.¹ Ever since then till today, coins of Sophytes have remained most rare among the coins discovered from the soil of the subcontinent. Only one coin of Sophytes is known in any collection of Pakistani museum. It is a silver drachm of usual "King's head and cock with Greek name" type in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi and bear accession No. NM-490. There is none in the collection of Lahore Museum and Peshawar Museum. Similarly, to the best of my knowledge, none of the private collectors in this country has any coin of Sophytes. In India, however, five coins of different denominations and bearing name of this king of the Punjab are known - three in Indian Museum, Calcutta² and two in the Goshal Collection, also in Calcutta.³ In all hardly 21 genuine coins of Sophytes are known in the world.⁴ Even reports of fake coins of this man are few and far between.

The rare coins of Sophytes are all in silver and, with the exception of few, all depict a male head wearing a helmet with a laurel on obverse and a cock with the legend in Greek reading ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ on reverse. No title is mentioned. A few exceptions show head of Athena instead of the king. Coins in four different denominations are known (see below). The coins are undoubtedly Greek in origin in execution and more particularly in legend. Issuance of such a Greek coin by a ruler of a part of the Punjab who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, has always baffled numismatists and historians. But for almost 77 years, the view of Alexander Cunningham that Sophytes of the coins and Sopeithes of Greek literature was one and the same person - held fast. But then in 1942, came the shocking revelation of R.B. Whitehead that these two names represent two different personalities. Ever since then, arguments in favour or against one or the other view had been put forth. Actually, there are a few questions which must be answered dispassionately for a

proper understanding of the personality of Sophytes or Sopeithes. The basic question addressed here is:

Who was Sophytes ?

This major question leads to some other minor questions such as:

1. Is Sophytes of the coins and Sopeithes of literature, one and the same person ?
2. Are Sophytes and Sopeithes only Greek forms of the Sanskrit name Saubhuti ?
3. Was Sophytes a Greek, Persian or local ruler ?
4. What was his status - a king or a satrap ?
5. Why did not he write his title on his coins ?
6. What are the find spots of his coins ?
7. Where was the capital of Sopeithes, the King of the Salt Range ?

Till about half a century back - 1942 to be exact, there was hardly any doubt about Sophytes of the coins and Sopeithes, the King of the Salt Range (and a contemporary of Alexander the Great) being one and the same person. He was regarded as the first Indian king whose name occurs on coins⁵ and by a universal consent he was indentified with the Sopeithes of Arrian and Strabo.⁶ In 1942, R.B. Whitehead, for the first time, challenged this identification and, instead, proposed the hpothesis of 'Oxus origin' of these coins⁷. Soon after, Prof. Awadh Kishore Narain⁸ and, more recently, C. Kirpatrick⁹ re-emphasized the Oxus origin of Sophytes' coins. But despite the view of these three scholars, we can still join with Dr. J.N. Banerjee, who while commenting on Whitehead's paper just quoted, did not accept that Whitehead's hypothesis has lead us to believe that 'Sophytes' problem has been finally solved. Banerjee was also optimistic about the plausibility of the connection of Sophytes with Saubhuti.¹⁰ Some scholars, such as George Woodcock¹¹, still adhere to the old thought.

COINS OF SOPHYTES

The rare coins of Sophytes definitely belong to the eastern branch of Greek rule in Asia. On account of goodness of workmanship, simplicity of legend and the peculiarity of King's helmet, these are regarded as belonging "to the finest period of Greek art" and as one of the most interesting of the many valuable remains of this art which the prolific field of Western India (now Pakistan) has of late years yielded to our researchers.¹² Among all the coins of Sopyhytes, known and published so far, morphologically all, except two, are drachms of the type helmeted head on obverse

and cock on reverse. The only exceptions are the tri-hemiobols (Weight 13.5 grains or .87 grammes and size .45 inch), each showing normal cock on the reverse but head of Athena on the obverse.¹³ One of them was formerly in the Berlin (Museum) while the other specimen has recently been reported by Kirkpatrick in the possession of M/s. Spink and Son. Kirkpatrick also reports two other fractional silver pieces.¹⁴ Thus in all coins of four denominations are known to have been issued by Sophytes. These are:¹⁵

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Drachm.
(Head of Sophytes & Cock)
(R.B.Whitehead. Weight
58.3 grammes & Size .6") | Weight varies from 2.93 to
4.59 grammes, die axis
parallel. ↓ ↓ |
| 2. | Hemi-drachm
(Head of Sophytes & Cock) | Weight: 1.61 & 1.55 grammes,
size: 12 mm diam, die axis
parallel ↓ ↓ |
| 3. | Tri-hemi-obol
(or a Quarter Drachm)
(Head of Athena & Cock) | Weight: 1.20 grammes,
Size: 10 mm diam, die axis
parallel ↓ ↓ |
| 4. | Obol
(Head of Sophytes & Cock) | Weight: 0.59 grammes,
size: 9mm diam, die axis
parallel ↓ ↓ |

The recorded weight of drachms of Sophytes varies from 2.93 to 3.12, 3.15, 3.45, 3.67, 3.70, 3.73, 3.74, 3.78, 3.86, and 4.59, grammes. The two hemi-drachms weigh 1.61 and 1.55 grammes and the tri-hemi-obol, weight 1.20 grammes whereas the Obol weighs only 0.59 grammes.¹⁶ The main coin of Sophytes has been regarded as a light Attic drachm by Cunningham,¹⁷ Sylvain Levi and Percy Gardner,¹⁸ Whereas George Macdonald calls it an Attic drachm and dates it to circa 320 B.C.¹⁹ R.B. Whitehead, also regards them as oriental imitations of Athenian coins of the type of 'eagle' and 'Owl'.²⁰

Not more than 21 genuine specimens of coins of Sophytes of all types are known.²¹ Their present locations are: British Museum (3), Berlin (1), Indian Museum, Calcutta (3), D.D.Goshal Coll. (2), Haughton Coll. (1), Spink and Son 1973 (6), Shortt Coll. (1), Hess-Leu Catalogue (2), Major Pearse Coll. (1), National Museum, Karachi (1)²². Among these, two genuine pieces once in possession of Sir Alexander Cunningham reportedly came from (and not necessarily purchased in) Western Punjab and the latest four are claimed to have been brought from Afghanistan though Mr. Kirkpatrick admits that "the possibility cannot be ruled out that they found their way from India,²³ i.e. the present day Punjab in Pakistan. R.B. Whitehead, on the other hand, much earlier had stressed for the Oxus origin of these coins.²⁴ Barclay Head, however, as quoted by R.B. Whitehead,²⁵ has accepted the drachm of Sophytes as an associate member of the group of 'Owls' and 'eagles' of Athenian and Macedonian coins in that part of ancient India now called Pakistan.

George Macdonald,²⁶ whereas identifies Sophytes of coins with the Sopeithes of Arrian and Strabo, adjudges his coins as a very direct memorial of Greek influence (in the subcontinent) of Alexander's invasion of the Punjab (326 B.C.) or of the expedition of North-West-Pakistan by Seleucus I (305 B.C.). He was of the opinion that Sophytes' coins were struck from regularly adjusted die (I I), and that "these dies have been cut by a Greek artist who signs himself M or MN".²⁷ Further, his coins are purely Greek in style and appear to be copies of an issue of Seleucus Nicator.²⁸ R.B. Whitehead, who had a long experience of collecting coins in the Punjab, on the other hand, on ground of style attributes the coins of Sophytes to the Oxus region. He does not deny their being available in the market of the Punjab - Rawalpindi in particular, but opines that these were brought here from Afghanistan and the Oxus region.²⁹ According to him these certainly do not belong to the Punjab.

Is it possible to ascertain the findspot of these coins? Do the coins of Sophytes belong to the Punjab in Pakistan or Oxus region in Afghanistan? From the present state of our knowledge, their locale in Oxus region is more hypothetical than in the Punjab. Cunningham's original specimen was sold in Pakistan before the discovery of the Oxus hoard whereas the recent Spink coins came from some Afghan dealer but their Punjab origin is not above doubt.³⁰ Unless, a real findspot is identified — and this is possible only through excavation, we leave this question open.

WHO WAS SOPHYTES?

Then, who was Sophytes or Sopeithes ? Both Arrian³¹ and Strabo³² inform us that Alexander met with Sopeithes - the King of the Salt Range in latter's capital during his sojourn down the Hydaspes. Other Greek historians also mention the name of this king of the Salt Range but spell it differently³³ - ΣΩΠΕΙΘΗΣ by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian; Sophites by Quintus Curtius³⁴ and Cuphites by Justin. For almost a century, it was accepted by all that Sopeithes of the Greek historians is the same as Sophytes of the rare silver coins and hence he is "The first Indian King whose name occurs on a coin."³⁵ It has been further argued that Sopeithes or Sophytes are the Graecised versions of a local name Saubhuti.³⁶ In 1942, R.B. Whitehead shook the world of scholarship by telling that Sopeithes of the historians and Sophytes of the coins were two different personalities and that Sopeithes of coins was some Iranian ruler or a satrap in the Oxus region and not the king of the Salt Range in Punjab.³⁷ His main argument revolves round the fact that no genuine piece of Sophytes and actual discovery of Athenian 'Owls' on which his coins are modelled have been found in the area (now comprising Pakistan) and all such coins (imitation of Athenian 'Owl') which were reportedly bought at Rawalpindi appear to have been brought, without exception, from across the border in Afghanistan and the Oxus region and hence are of Central Asian rather than of sub-continental origin. There is

no intimate connexion between India itself and those coins of a Macedonian character which are usually described as being of Indian provenance. In all such cases where provenance is definitely ascertainable, the findspot lies beyond the Hindu Kush.³⁸

R.B. Whitehead further argues that the weight of coins from Eastern Seleucid mints was no longer Attic.³⁹ This new weight is usually designated as Indian and probably "because of that very fact, the Indian origin of these coins have been accepted without question by so many scholars but this standard is not indigenous to India."⁴⁰ The true home of the Seleucid money, therefore, in the eyes of R.B. Whitehead, is the Oxus. As, morphologically the drachm of Sophytes belongs to the Seleucid groups, hence these coins, including the coins of Sophytes, according to R.B. Whitehead must be pushed west and north to Bactria where they properly belong.⁴¹ The reduced weight standard be regarded as Bactrian weight. Only when the Bactrian rulers became independent, they also reverted to the full Attic scale.

A.K. NARAIN ELABORATES WHITEHEAD'S THESIS.

This thesis of R.B. Whitehead was taken up once again in 1949 by A.K. Narain who elaborated it a bit but could not put forth a new argument.⁴² While discussing the two so far unpublished types of coins of Sophytes one of 71 grains/4.59 grammes and 58 grains/3.73 grammes from the collection of D.D. Goshal in Calcutta,⁴³ Narain without success has tried to vouchsafe for their north Afghanistan or Central Asian origin. His argument is the same as has already been narrated in case of R.B. Whitehead. However, Narain puts more weight to reject the identification of Sophytes with Saubhuti of Sylvain Levi. He regards the suggestion as merely a philologist's fancy. He also rejects the theory of 'Indian' standard weight of 58 grains of Sophytes' coin (the Aryandic Weight standard of Michael Mitchiner⁴⁴) as also the Punjab being the provenance of his coins. Narain also does not accept of the usual date of Sophytes coins i.e. 312-306 B.C. i.e. prior to the assumption of royal title by most of Alexander's generals. He also rejects, though without much support of a genuine argument, Sophytes having come under the influence of Seleucus Nikator whose coins he is believed to have copied with fidelity. In the same breath, he concurs to R.B. Whitehead's views that being pure Greek drachm, Sophytes coin was not struck in India, that this coin was usually found beyond Hindu Kush, that his coins bear affinity to Athenian 'Owls', that it dates earlier than 320 B.C., and finally that Sophytes was a local satrap in the Oxus region who asserted his independence on the fall of the Persian Empire.

At the most we can say that both R.B. Whitehead and A.K. Narain have succeeded only in casting their doubts on the validity of "hitherto accepted suggestion of numismatists" as regards the Punjab origin of Sophytes' coins. but, with due deference for such reputed scholars, to me both of them have failed to establish

and prove the Central Asian or Oxus origin of these coins. And, this Narain admits when he writes that "undoubtedly nothing can be said conclusively about the identification of Sophytes in the present state of our knowledge."¹⁵ The following characteristics which Narain puts forward in favour of his view,¹⁶ impress us still less:

- i) Sophytes' coin is not bilingual and bears neither Kharoshthi, nor Brahmi script on it.
- ii) The Head-dress, face of the king and the caduceus on his coin are all un-Indian.
- iii) The round coin and cock motif were never popular with Indian coins of the 4th century B.C. nor all the coins of Sophytes conform to the Indian standard weight.
- iv) If his coins were struck in Punjab, why they failed to influence contemporary coinage of N.W. India.
- v) There is no other comparable coin of Indian origin during the fourth century B.C.

On basis of these foregoing arguments and following Whitehead, A.K. Narain concluded that "Sophytes was most probably a non-Indian or more probably an Iranian ruling somewhere in North Eastern Iran under the Achaemenids and later reinstated by Alexander the Great. According to his finding Sophytes must have reigned for about 40 or 45 years i.e. between 335 to 290 B.C. However, in 1957, Narain slightly changed his previous view and finally concluded that Sophytes was a Greek with the resemblance of an Iranian name.¹⁷ Further, he opined that imitation 'Owls' and 'eagles' and issues of certain Sophytes were issued by local satraps who became independent as the Achaemenid power declined.¹⁸ He believed that typologically, "they seem to form a single group, one series being linked with the other by features of type and fabric. And they apparently conform to an independent system and the exigencies of trade.¹⁹ For him they are the surviving remains of the Greeks settled in Afghanistan.⁵⁰

SOPEITHES - HISTORICAL FACT & NUMISMATIC PLAUSIBILITY.

As is clear from the foregoing, A.K. Narain's arguments are mostly negative and presumptive and not definitive. If Sophytes/Sopeithes' identification with Saubhuti is a creation of a philologist, so is the Sophytes of the Oxus region a creation of a numismatist's imagination. We may accept that Sophytes of coins was an Iranian satrap under Darius III. But why he cannot be placed in the Punjab? After all Punjab and Gandhara in Pakistan were also part of Achaemind empire conquered by Alexander the Great. Sopeithes or Sophites of the Salt Range is a literary fact and numismatic plausibility. But Sophytes of the Oxus region has so far proved a mere

myth and numismatist's dream which has not come true even after 47 years after it began. It is still illusive. Both the versions - Sopeithes, or Sophytes are un-Greek, un-Indian and probably un-Iranian too. No parallel has so far been offered. I personally feel that the comments of G.N. Banerjee, already referred to above, which he offered in 1945, still hold good. He believed that Whitehead's hypothesis has not finally solved the problem because despite well-reasoned doubts, the problem of Sophytes' place of origin has not been solved. G.N. Banerjee further observed that " The connection of Sophytes with Saubhuti has still a great deal of plausibility in it, and if we can find any clear mention of a country named Saubhuta or of a ruler Saubhuti by name in early Indian literature, the hitherto accepted suggestion of numismatists will still recommend itself to many".⁵¹ But one must confess that if 47 years waiting has failed to discover a Sophytes in the Oxus region so have we failed to search out a reference to Saubhuta land or a Saubhuti king in local literature during last 45 years. But still, we cannot say that the name is purely a philologist's creation. Subhuti, as a personal name of a disciple of Buddha occurs in a 5th century A .D. manuscript in Taxila.⁵² This shows that saubhuti or subhuti as a personal name in the Punjab was known and probably used by local people. However, the final test lies in the discovery of a coin of Sophytes from some actual excavations - we do not mind from a mound in the Punjab or a tepe in the Oxus region.

KINGDOM OF SOPEITHES

The territory of Sopeithes (Saubhuti/Sophytes) of our literary traditions lay between the rivers Hydaspes and Akesines. Some say it was even larger than this⁵³. Gold and silver mines existed in the realm of this king. Alexander obtained his ferocious fighting dogs from him. Salt was a product of his country. Alexander's mining engineer Gorgos opened a silver mine in the Salt Range in Sopeithes' kingdom⁵⁴. Tarn opines that the metal of Sopeithes unique silver drachms came from these mines⁵⁵.

Sir Alexander Cunningham identified Sopeithes as a king of a group of the Kathaians who are usually regarded as a non Aryan tribe, probably Ahirs of the aborigines. During the times of Alexander they were chiefly found on, and to some extent still inhabit the banks of Ravi between Gugera and Tulamba and the banks of the Jhelum below Jhang⁵⁶. The Kathaians of Sangala stoutly resisted the advances of Alexander but finally their stronghold was conquered by the Macedonian General. Alexander Cunningham favours the idea that probably they were a foreign people. This is because there was a striking difference between them and other local tribes. The Greek historians have also recorded several curious traits of their personal appearance and manners. To the Greeks Kathaians were tall and handsome individuals. This equally applies to a modern kathaian⁵⁷ or Kathias of this region.

Curtius and Diodorus speak highly of the manly beauty of Sopeithes. He was upwards of six feet and far exceeded all his subjects in personal beauty⁵⁸. According to one Greek historian Kathaea was joined with the country of Sophites⁵⁹. The same writer assigned to the Kathaiaans certain peculiarities which according to another Greek writer were assigned to the subjects of Sopeithes⁶⁰. From this, Cunningham concludes that both the subjects of Sopeithes and of Sangala were Kathaiaans, the two forming two separate states but both paying nominal allegiance to Sopeithes.

According to Strabo, there was some confusion as regards precise extent of the kingdom of Sopeithes, some placing it between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab and some beyond the Chenab and Ravi⁶¹. However, when we read in the same writer that "it is said that in the territory of Sopeithes there is a mountain of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India,"⁶² we are left in no doubt that his territory must have included whole of the Salt Range in the Sindh Sagar Doab. This is further confirmed from Arrian who tells us that Alexander ordered Kraterus and Hephaestion to march on both banks of Jhelum from Nicaia or Nikaea (near Jhelum or Mong Rasul) to the kingdom of Sopeithes⁶³. Later on, Alexander himself marched from the same spot Nikaea and reached the capital of Sopeithes on the third day. From this, two things become clear. Firstly the capital of Sopeithes was on the Jhelum river and that it could not be much beyond present day Bhera and Pind Dadan Khan - in ancient times both were on the right bank of the river Jhelum. Cunningham favours Bhera on its ancient site as the possible seat of Sopeithes⁶⁴. According to Pliny⁶⁵ Alexander was presented by the king of Albania with the group of dogs of unusual size which successfully attacked both a lion and an elephant in his presence. Cunningham⁶⁶ successfully identifies Albania as the territory of the Salt Range - though later on in 1892, as reported by R.B. Whitehead⁶⁷ he also tried to look for Albania in Afghanistan⁶⁸. His final opinion is not recorded. Strabo further informs us that south of the country of Sopeithes were Siboi whereas above Sopeithes country was Taxila⁶⁹. Cunningham felt no doubt in assigning a few beautiful silver coins bearing the name 'Sophytes' which he found in the Western Punjab, to this prince⁷⁰.

Alexander Cunningham has further inferred that Sophytes is only a Greek form of *Chob-pati* - "The Lord of the club" or King of the club-men" - Club being the main weapon of the Sobii - the actual title of the Chief of Bhera - Raja Chob-nath (same as *Chob-pati*) as handed down by tradition⁷¹. Despite these indications, we do not hesitate to accept that there still remain several discrepancies in making a final statement. But, at the same time, I think there still remains enough material which needs fresh study and reinterpretation on basis of acquisition of fresh material through exploration and excavation of some sites in the Salt Range - an area which is archaeologically still a maiden land.



FOOTNOTES

1. • Alexander Cunningham, "Coin of The Indian Prince Sophytes - A Contemporary of Alexander the Great", Numismatic Chronicle, London, New Series (henceforth as NC) Vol. VI, 1866, p. 220.
2. • C. Kirkpatrick, "Some New Coins of Sophytes", Numismatic Circular, London, October 1973, p. 373.
3. • A.K. Narain, "Some Interesting Coins of Sophytes and the Problems of his Identification", Journal of Numismatic Society of India (henceforth as JNSI), 1949, Vol. XI, pp. 93-99 and Kirkpatrick, loc. cit.,
4. See foot note 21 below.
5. E.J. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Cambridge: 1922 (henceforth CAH I), p. 61.
6. • George Macdonald, "Athenian & Macedonian Coins in India", in CAH I, p. 388.
7. R.B. Whitehead, "The Eastern Satrap Sophytes", NC, 1943, pp. 60-72.
8. A.K. Narain, op. cit., JNSI, 1949, pp. 93-99.
9. C. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., 1973, pp. 372-374.
10. Dr. J.N. Banerjee, in JNSI, Vol. VII, 1945, (Hodiwala Commemorative Volume), p. 23 ff. and his Presidential Address in Cuttack, December, 1949 as referred to by C. Kirkpatrick, op.cit., p. 373, f.n.1.
11. George Woodcock, The Greeks in India. London: 1966, pp. 36-37.
12. Alexander Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 220 and 221.
13. First published by Dressel in 1904, followed by R.B. Whitehead in 1923 ("Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatic", NC, 1923, p. 317), Then in 1943 ("The Eastern Satrap Sophytes", NC, 1943, p. 64) and lately by C. kirkpatrick (op. cit., p. 372).
14. C. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 373.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Cunningham, NC, 1866 loc. cit.
18. • Percy Gardner, British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, London: 1886, pp. xix, Lxvii. Also see R.B. Whitehead, NC, 1943, pp. 62-63.
19. George Macdonald in CAH I, p. 388 & 463.
20. R.B. Whitehead, NC, 1943, p. 65..
21. Twelve coins reported by R.B.Whitehead, NC, 1943, p. 64), two by A.K. Narain (JNSI, 1949, loc.cit.), five by C. Kirkpatric (loc. cit), one in National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi and one originally belonging to Major Pearse, but now lost.
22. For coins other than one in Pakistan, See, C. Kirkpatric, op. cit., p. 373.
23. C. Kirkpatric, op. cit.,p. 373.
24. R.B. Whitehead, NC, 1943, p. 65-67.
25. • B.V. Head, "The Earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins", NC, 1906 as commented on in CAH I,p. 676 and repeated in his Historia Numorum, 2nd edition, Oxford: 1911, pp. 832-5. Cf. R.B. Whitehead, NC, 1943, p. 68.
26. George Macdonald, op. cit. in CAH I, p. 388.
27. Ibid. Some regard that the signature of the engraver/Manager is **M** (Sigma) engraved perpendicularly (M) instead of horizontally (Σ). In either case the meanings are not clear.
28. CAH I, p. 623.

29. R.B. Whitehead, "The Eastern Satrap Sophytes", NC 1943, p.61.
30. Michael Mitchiner, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage, Vol.I. The Early Indo-Greeks and their Antecedents, London: 1975, p. 9. Kirkpatrick, op.cit., p.373.
31. Arrian, Anabasis, VI.2. & VI. 3.
32. Strabo, Geography, XV, 31, as given in McCrindle's translation in "Ancient Indian as described in Classical Literature, Westminster: 1901, p. 38.
33. See all references to Sopeithes in H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich, Vol. ix, Munich: 1926, pp. 734-735. Cf. R.B. Whitehead, NC, 1943, p. 61, f.n. 6.
34. Quintus Curtius, Life of Alexander (Vita Alexandri), IX.1 & Diodorus Siculus, History, xvii. 49.
35. CAH I, p. 61.
36. CAH I, p. 371-72, 388, 407, 414, 623. Also see Sylvain Levi (Journal Asiatique: 1890, p. 237) who first proposed this identification.
37. Whitehead, op. cit, NC 1943, pp. 60-72.
38. R.B. Whitehead, NC 1943, pp. 70-71.
39. E.T. Newell, The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, New York: 1938, pp. 231-6 as referred to by Whitehead, NC 1943.
40. R.B. Whitehead, op. cit. NC, 1943, p. 71.
41. Ibid., p. 72.
42. Awadh Kishore Narain, "Some Interesting Coins of Sophytes and the Problem of his Identification", JNSI, Vol. xi, p.2, 1949, pp. 93-99.
43. Ibid. However, Mr. C. Kirkpatrick (op. cit., p. 373) has since indicated that one of these two coins bearing 4.59 grammes weight is false. Narain in his article (JNSI, 1949, op. cit.) has not told us as to when and from where these coins were acquired and how did these reach Calcutta. It is easier to assign an Oxus find-spot of Sophytes coin bought at Rawalpindi in Pakistan, but what about such coins of Sophytes which are now traceable in far places like Calcutta with all political barriers that exist between the three or even four countries - Central Asia in the USSR, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.
44. Michael Mitchiner (op.cit. p.9), the latest authority on the Indus-Greek Coins, dates Sophytes' coin between circa 315-205 B.C. He has mentioned the existence of four types of coins of Sophytes - all of his so called Aryandic weight:-
 - i) Drachm of 3.5 grammes
 - ii) Hemi-drachm of 1.75 grammes
 - iii) Diobol of 1.17 grammes
 - iv) Obol of 0.58 gm.

He regards Sophytes' coins as belonging to the Bactrian class of 'Owl' and 'eagle' coins series. These were struck on Aryandic weight standard based on a silver tetradrachm weighing 14.0 grammes.. "Sophytes is unlikely to have struck any coin much later than Seleucos' definitive entry to Babylon in 311 B.C., or his assumption of regal status in 306 B.C. (See Mitchiner, op. cit., pp. 2,5,9 & 23).
45. A.K. Narain, op. cit., p. 96.
46. Ibid., p. 97.
47. A. K. Narain, writes: The portrait on Sophytes, Coins "might be that of a Greek; the features are not those of an Indian. Sophytes may have been an eastern Satrap under Achaemenid rule, a Greek with the semblance of an Iranian name". See his: The Indo-Greeks, Oxford: 1957, Indian Ed. New Delhi: 1980, p. 5.
48. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
49. Ibid., pp.4-5. The numismatic sequence of types as visualised by Narain is as follows:-

- Original Athenian 'Owls' — imitation 'Owls' — smaller imitation to 'Owls' — 'eagles' 'eagles' — with caduceus — coins of Sophytes with cock and caduceus. *Ibid.*, p. 4, f.n. 6.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 5
51. See foot note 10 above Mr. A.K. Narain, *JNSI*, xi, 2, 1949, p. 96.
52. For Saubhuti, occurring as a personal name in one of the inscriptions at Taxila, see Saifur Rahman Dar, "Epigraphical Evidence from Taxila", in his *Taxila and the Western World*, Lahore: 1984, p. 249.
53. Strabo. xv. 1, 30 and Arrian, vi, 2,3. Also see, B.N. Puri, *India as described by Early Greek Writers*, n.p : 1937, pp. 55, 92, 115 and 118.
54. Strabo xv. 1,30.
55. W.W. Tran, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge: 1951, p. 108.
56. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Four Reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65*, Vol. II, 2nd Ed. Varanasi: 1972, pp. 33-37 (Henceforth CSR II).
57. *Ibid.*, p. 35. Alexander Burnes writes about kathaians: "They are a tall and handsome (but) a predatory and warlike race in whom we recognize the Cathaei of Arrian; as he calls them a stout people, well skilled in military affairs." (A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara together with a Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus*, London: 1834, Oxford University Press, 2nd Impression, Karachi, 1975, vol. III, pp. 130-131).
58. Quintus Curtius, *Life of Alexander*, ix. i, Fl. CSR.II, p. 35 and Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, London: 1871 p. 158.
59. Strabo, *Geography*, xv. 1,30. According to him Kathaei young men and maidens had the freedom of choosing their wives and husband.
60. Curtius, *loc. cit.*, Also CSR. II, p. 35.
61. Strabo, *Geography* xv.1,30.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vi.
64. CSR II, p. 36-37.
65. Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 61.
66. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.
67. R.B. Whitehead, *op. cit.* NC 1943, p. 69, f.n. 4.
68. R.B. Whitehead has tried to make use of one query, made by Cunningham about Albania — "not the western Albania but Afghanistan" (R.B. Whitehead, *op. cit.* NC 1943, p.60, f.n. 4) Purporting thereby that probably Cunningham later on had doubts about his earlier identification of Albania with the Salt Range in the Punjab. Full extext of the query, nor its reply, are known. We are also not sure if surely Cunningham was referring in his enquiry to Albania of the Pliny whose king offered a special breed of dogs to Alexander the Great or to Albania in some other contexts. This is important because his earlier identification of Albania with the Salt Range is hardly questionable as he has clearly shown as to how the King of Albania was no one else but Sopeithes of the Salt Range (A Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, *op.cit.* p. 152.).
69. Cf. CSR II, p. 37-38. Cunningham also accepts Sobii to be the subjects of Sopeithes, *Ibid.*, p. 40.
70. CSR II, p. 38, f.n.
71. CSR II, p. 40 For his further discussion on Bhera as Capital of Chob-nath as well as of Sopeithes. See Cunningham, *The Ancient geography of India, I. the Buddhist period*, London: 1871, p. 155-159.