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*Notes on some of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan, and on their relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands.—By W. THEOBALD, M. R. A. S.*

The coins to which these notes refer, though presenting neither king's names, dates or inscription of any sort, are nevertheless very interesting not only from their being the earliest money coined in India, and of a purely indigenous character, but from their being stamped with a number of symbols, some of which we can, with the utmost confidence, declare to have originated in distant lands and in the remotest antiquity.

In these symbols we may detect the forms which early men in the infancy of our race, adopted to give expression in a visible shape to their conceptions of the unseen, and to embody the crude but very widely spread beliefs which their speculations on such problems enabled them to evolve.

The coins to which I shall confine my remarks are those to which the term "punch-marked" properly applies. The 'punch' used to produce these coins differed from the ordinary dies which subsequently came into use, in that they covered only a portion of the surface of the coin or 'blank,' and impressed only one, of the many symbols usually seen on their pieces. They differed moreover in the appearance produced, since as the punch was smaller than the coin, each device appeared to stand on the coin in a depressed area of its own, round, square, triangular, polygonal, or whatever was the shape of the punch

employed. It likewise followed that one symbol thus comes to overlap and obliterate an earlier one and hence the difficulty of always determining what symbols really occur on a coin, which has undergone many applications of the "punch." These coins may therefore be considered as forming a class by themselves of indigenous origin, though subdivided into an earlier issue of round or oval pieces, and a later one of a rectangular form, to which the name of 'domino coins' from their shape has been applied. From the greater wear and corresponding loss of weight which the round coins have experienced, General Sir Alexander Cunningham (whose opinion on such a question may be regarded as final) considers that the round coins were as I have stated, issued and in current use, before the introduction of the rectangular pieces; and also that about one-fourth of the existing punch-marked coins are round, and three-fourths of the rectangular pattern. Small gold coins of this class are known, and there was also a copper currency as well, but the great bulk of these coins which has come down to us is silver. Some coins are formed of a copper blank thickly covered with silver, before receiving the impression of the punches, and this cotemporary (if not time-honoured) sophistication of the currency is found to occur subsequently in various Indian coinages, in the Græco-Bactrian of the Panjáb, the Hindu kings of Kabul, and later still in various Muhammadan dynasties of the peninsula. The plating is extremely well executed and of the most durable character covering the edge of the coin as well as its surface. I was for some time at a loss to know by what means this was effected, so long ago as 500 B. C. perhaps, but I am told that a bright copper 'blank' dipped into melted silver would become coated with that metal, and this I have little doubt was the plan followed. By this means a number of copper 'blanks' thrown into a ladle of melted silver and well stirred about, would all come out ready for the impression of the die or punch, and it is possible that 'blanks' thus surreptitiously prepared may have been introduced into the royal mint, and there struck with genuine dies, and the coins thus prepared substituted for an equal number of genuine pieces.\* For most

\* As these plated coins are clearly of cotemporary date with the rest and fashioned from dies of precisely the same character as those employed on genuine coins, it seems by no means an undue or far-fetched assumption if we regard these pieces as a portion of those very coins (or identical in all respects) which the Bráhmañ Chánakya, the advisor of Chandragupta "with the view of raising resources, converted, by re-coining each *Kahapana* into eight, and amassed eighty *Kośis* of *Kahapanas*", Mahawanso, quoted by Thomas, *l. c.*, *Num. Orient.* p. 41. These same *kahapanas* or *kárahápanas*, were of course the coins now under consideration, and it seems a very just estimate to take eight plated copper ones as the number

of the information embodied in this paper as regards the history, weight and value of these coins, I am indebted to the writings thereon of Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham whose investigations may be said to have exhausted the subject, and for other information and a knowledge of several symbols not contained in my own collection I am under obligation to Mr. E. Thomas, whose article on Ancient Indian Weights, in *Numismata Orientalia* I have freely consulted. One thing which is specially striking about most of the symbols representing animals is, the fidelity and spirit with which certain portions of it may be of an animal, or certain attitudes are represented. The sketch may be rude and imperfect, indeed it must be so from the limitations under which it was executed, but in most cases there is not much doubt as to the animal intended. Man, Woman, the Elephant, Bull, Dog, Rhinoceros, Goat, Hare, Peacock, Turtle, Snake, Fish, Frog, are all recognisable at a glance. Something of the same sort may be recognised in the stiff and angular hieroglyphics of Egyptian sarcophagi, and Assyrian frescos and carvings, and to go still further back into the dim past, we find the salient features of the Mammoth, Reindeer and Horse, rudely engraven on the implements in use with primeval man.

In a work entitled "Antique Gems and Rings" published no longer ago than 1872 we find the author the Rev. C. W. King, M. A. giving expression to the following opinion concerning the ancient coinage of India (Vol. I, page 86). "It is universally acknowledged that the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula derived the use of coined money from the Greek subjugators of Bactria, and that the earliest Hindu pieces exhibit evident traces of being imitations, their rudeness increasing as their date descends, of the Græco-Bactrian currency."

Undoubtedly this opinion was in the main held by Wilson and Prinsep before the materials for forming a correct judgment were gathered together, but this statement of Mr. King's affirms what is directly opposed to the truth, since the square coins in both silver and copper struck by the Greeks for their Indian possessions, belong to no Greek national type whatever, but are obviously a novelty adopted in imitation of an indigenous currency already firmly established in the country.

which might be produced by 'conversion,' from a genuine silver one. There is much <sup>too</sup> that may be urged in support of the plan adopted by the Bráhmaṇ, as these ~~coins~~ <sup>coins</sup> till thoroughly worn were in look and finish equal to those composed of silver throughout, and far more honest and pleasing to look at than the petty German currencies of debased silver, which were so common during the first half of the present century till the Fatherland assumed her just place in the comity of nations and those wretched little principalities and duchies with their horrible currencies were swept away.

Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham who has irrefragably established this conclusion in his essay on the coins of Alexander's successors, adduces several arguments which may here be briefly recapitulated.

First, there is the historical record of Quintus Curtius, who describes the Rája of Taxila (the modern Shahdhorí, 20 miles north-west from Rawal Pindi) as offering Alexander 80 talents of coined silver ("*signati argenti*"). Now what other, except these punch-marked coins could these pieces of coined silver have been? Again, the name by which these coins are spoken of in the Buddhist *sutras*, about 200 B. C. was '*purana*', which simply signifies 'old', whence the General argues that the word 'old' as applied to the indigenous '*karsha*', was used to distinguish it from the new and more recent issues of the Greeks.

Then again a more comparison of the two classes of coins almost of itself suffices to refute the idea of the Indian coins being derived from the Greek. The Greek coins present us with a portrait of the king, with his name and titles in two languages together with a great number and variety of monograms indicating, in many instances where they have been deciphered by the ingenuity and perseverance of General Cunningham and others, the names of the mint cities where the coins were struck, and it is our ignorance of the geographical names of the period that probably has prevented the whole of them receiving their proper attribution; but with the indigenous coins it is far otherwise, as they display neither king's head, name, titles or monograms of any description. In place of these last we find a great variety of symbols some distinctly Sivite, others Buddhist, others planetary, others relating to Aryan mythology and all, or the majority at least devoted to some esoteric allusion. It is true that General Cunningham considers that many of these symbols, though not monograms in a strict sense, are nevertheless marks which indicate the mints where the coins were struck or the tribes among whom they were current, and this contention in no wise invalidates the supposition contended for by me either that the majority of them possess an esoteric meaning or have originated in other lands at a period anterior to their adoption for the purpose they fulfil on the coins in Hindustán.

On but one rare type of copper coin of Agathokles (*Num. Chron.* N. S. Vol. VIII, Pl. X, f. 6), do we find symbols (a tree and '*stupa*') identical with those seen on the punch-marked or indigenous coins and in this case, from its rarity and the absence thereon of a Greek inscription, we are fairly justified in regarding it as an experimental issue in imitation of the local type of coins, which was soon abandoned and never repeated. The only point of similarity, a rectangular shape, is wholly unknown to Greek coins proper, and occurs on the Græco-Bactrian

copper issues, and a few small silver pieces in a region where an indigenous coinage of that shape was already established, Taxila for example, whose indigenous copper coinage, was of an archaic square type, having a blank reverse and a number of Buddhist emblems and occasionally a word, stamped in the ordinary manner on the obverse.

Another proof of the greater antiquity of the punch-marked coins was afforded in 1853 by the discovery of a number of these pieces together with coins of five Greek kings, in a pot at Kangra. The Greek pieces in this 'find' were comparatively fresh, and the weight of this argument is materially increased by the greater capacity for withstanding wear which these punch-marked coins with their design sunk below the surface possess, over coins struck in the ordinary fashion.

As regards the weight of these coins and similar matters, I cannot do better than quote the words of Major General Sir A. Cunningham thereon. "The Indian monetary system was essentially original, as it differed from the Greek and from all other systems, in its unit of weight, as well as in its scale of multiples. The 'Yava' or 'barley-corn' is not known to Hindu metrology, but the unit of the system is the 'rati' the bright red and black seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, the whole of the Indian money, whether of gold, silver or copper being certain multiples of this well-known unit. The Assyrian, Lydian, Babylonian and Persian systems were raised chiefly by sixes, while the Indian system was raised by *fours* with a sparing use of *fives* in the higher multiples. Its nomenclature also is quite different and the common form of the money is not round, but square. Altogether the differences are so marked that I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that the Indian monetary system is the original invention of the Hindu mind."

The weight of the 'rati,' the General decided from 1000 average specimens to be 1.823 of a grain, or for purposes of ordinary calculation assumed it as 1.75 grains.

The most common of these coins is the 'kársha' or 'kárshapana' of Manu, (whence our term *Qash* for money) the proper weight of which should be 56 grains, though this full weight is seldom reached. The weight of 20 of the heaviest coins in the possession of the General was as high as 55 grains each, whilst the average weight of good specimens is no more than 50 to 52 grains or taking an average of 700 specimens, the average is but 48 grains.

The value of this coin is then discussed by the General with the following result. "The amount of pure silver in a full weight coin of 56 grains would therefore be only four-fifths of 56, or 44.8 grains, which is exactly equal to four Attic oboli, or two-thirds of a drachma.

Here then we see how well the 'kársha' would have fitted in with the Attic monetary system adopted by the Greek kings of Kabul. It is true that it was different in shape, and of rude appearance, but these distinctive features were in its favour, as it could not be mistaken for anything else. It was a 4 obol piece even in the dark."

Besides the 'kársha,' half 'kárshas' also occur sparingly, made usually by cutting the larger coin in two and 3-'kársha' pieces also occur, one of which in my possession weighs 175 grains, but Sir Alexander Cunningham informs me these larger pieces are of less pure silver than the others, which may account for its greater weight, as if of the same fineness the full weight of a 3 'kársha' piece would be only 168 grains.

The coins which have contributed the materials for the present paper are a small collection of my own, supplemented by an examination of the coins in the British Museum, for casts of some of which I have to thank Mr. Poole who kindly undertook to get them made for me. Dr. O. Codrington also allowed me to examine a small collection of his, and General Sir Alexander Cunningham placed the whole of his fine collection at my disposal for which my best thanks are here gratefully recorded, as it will be seen how many symbols have been added from this last source. It is moreover in this last collection only, that any record has been preserved of the find spots of any of these coins, through even in this case, in too few instances to be of general avail. In future, however, let us hope, that when a 'find' takes place of these 'punch-marked' coins, a record of the symbols on them will be kept, before the collection is dispersed or melted down. Not less interesting than the explanation of the symbols themselves on these coins is the question of their origin, and the area on the earth over which they have spread. One thing is certain, viz., that the same identical symbols occurs in such diverse lands as Assyria, Egypt, India and Scotland.

To meet this stubborn fact, one class of thinkers seem to rely on the possibility of the same symbols being independently developed by very different races, at corresponding stages of their growth and civilization. Among these Mr. Thomas must be classed, as while admitting the foreign element of the Dionysiac panther and vine,\* yet thus expresses himself of the issue of these pieces as a whole.

"In brief, these primitive punch-dies appear to have been the produce of purely home fancies and local thought, until we reach incomprehensible devices composed of lines, angles and circles which clearly depart, from Nature's forms." *Num. Orient. Ancient Indian Weight*, p.

\* This 'panther and vine,' is in my opinion no panther but a goat with good horns, fig. 221. The 'panther' on the coins of Agathokles is another matter which has no bearing here.

59, and in the previous page Mr. Thomas observes—"The devices, in the open sense, are all domestic or emblematic within the mundane range of simple people," which I understand to amount to a complete repudiation on Mr. Thomas' part of all connection between these Indian symbols, and the symbolism which originated in the religious systems of Assyria and Egypt. The idea that these marks are '*mint marks*' or marks of attestation, impressed by local moneyers or money-changers, which both Mr. Thomas and Sir A. Cunningham are agreed in supporting, is wholly distinct from the esoteric sense involved in the marks themselves and is one which I have no wish to challenge, whilst wholly dissenting from Mr. Thomas in regarding them as of spontaneous development, *de novo* as I may say on Indian soil.

Take again the case of Scotland. In that noble work '*The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*' issued for the Spalding Club, by its Secretary, John Stuart, in Edinburgh, 1856 and completed by a second volume issued in 1866, there are figured from Scottish stones, at least fourteen symbols identical with those found on Indian punch-marked coins (figs. 260 to 269 and 271 to 274). No doubt this fact was unknown to Mr. Stuart, but he evidently took the same view of the local origin of these marks in Scotland as the "*purely home fancies*" (to borrow the words of Thomas) of the Pictish race, as had been taken in India of them by the author above mentioned. In his preface to the second volume of *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (p. 32), Mr. Stuart remarks—"Whatever inference we may draw from the similarity of monuments in different countries, it must, to have any value, be founded on a wide and discriminating observation of numerous examples and not on mere partial resemblances. In the same way the casual occurrence of isolated figures "*resembling*" some of the Scotch symbols on monuments in other parts of the world, affords no real aid in arriving at a conclusion." One might be tempted to ask what Mr. Stuart wishes to be understood by "*casual*" or "*isolated*," but it is unnecessary to cavil at this word, or that, or to quarrel over the phrase of symbols "*resembling*" one another, when a clear case is established of fourteen identical symbols common to the sculptured stones of Scotland (the undoubted product of a Celtic race,) and the most ancient punch-marked coins of India.

In his first volume, however, Mr. Stuart quotes a letter from Mr. Chalmers which goes to the root of the matter. In a letter dated November 1851, Mr. Chalmers writes, "You say you do not see any means of connecting Gnosticism with our Celtic population, at the time when these stones were probably erected. When was that? and by which of the Celtic races? But what was Gnosticism, at least as connected with Christianity? Was it anything more, speaking generally

and not of the particular school whence it took its name, than a mixture of Paganism (and especially of its emblems) with Christianity—and a very natural mixture—that might, and probably did, at some time or other, prevail more or less wherever Christianity was found?" (Preface l. c. p. xiv). Doubtless there are thousands of educated people to-day as unconscious as Mr. Stuart, of the extent to which Christianity as regards its symbolism, has been riddled with the *mycelium* (to use a botanical simile) of the impure cult of Baal and Ashtoreth, and of which the pomp and symbolism of Romish worship or its puny shadow in Anglican circles is the direct descendant and morphological outcome. I would here quote the word of G. F. Browne in his paper on Sculptured Stones in Scotland.

"The resemblances in ornamentation oblige the observer to wonder whether races develop like ornaments, at like stages of existence, though separated by half a world, and by ages of years. The geographical distribution is one among many points of interest. No Scottish stone north of the Tay and Clyde can long be mistaken for a Northumbrian. A cultivated sense will tell whether an English stone belongs to Mercia, that is, the Midlands, or not, and will generally be able to distinguish a Yorkshire stone from a Bernician. No stone of any of these families can be mistaken for an Irish or Welsh, or Manx stone. *But*, and the fact is most startling, it would not be easy to tell, of whole groups of decoration, whether they belong to the Pictish monuments, or to the golden plates discovered by Schlieman at Mycenæ." (*Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, p. 15.)

The above writer might have added to the above sentence the punch-marked coins of India as I have abundantly been able to show in the present paper.

In the remarks which follow, S. S. S. stand for the 'Sculptured Stones' of Scotland above mentioned, and following a coin, the letters O. C. indicate that it is in the collection of Dr. O. Codrington; B. M. that of the British Museum; and A. C. that of General Sir Alexander Cunningham. The first symbol I shall quote as identical both on the coins and on sculptured stones in Scotland is the '*Swastica*.' No. 232, of this paper (fig. 134). In fig. 260 I give a symbol from a stone at Balquhiddar, Perthshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, P. LXVII, fig. 3,) which is simply identical with the Indian.

In fig. 261, I give the form of a '*Triskelis*' from the maiden stone, chapel of Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. 2, fig. 2,) and the symbol occurs frequently elsewhere and is identical in design with the archaic form of the '*Triskelis*' No. 5, of this paper (fig. 130.) On the maiden stone, the most conspicuous ornament on one side is a '*Triskelis*' inside a circle,



with three similar symbols round it, and the symbol is evidently one familiar to the men who fashioned these stones and crosses, and were fond of both the 'swastika' and 'triskelis' as ornaments on their work.

The solar wheel is the commonest symbol on the coins, and fig. 262 is a solar wheel of identical character from a rude stone at Knockando, Morayshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CV, fig. 1.) On one of the three stones figured, which seem to belong to the same period is a Runic inscription of the rudest class, dating perhaps from the ninth century. On many sculptured stones, the sun is also clearly indicated as a rayed globe. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LVII, LVIII, and Vol. II, Pl. XLVIII.) The '*lingum*' or emblem of Mahadev No. 13, of this paper (fig. 186,) is too well-known to need description, but this symbol is not only far from rare in Scotland, but gives rise (as I hope to show) to the most characteristic ornament, on these stones, designated commonly by the feeble and unmeaning term of the 'spectacle' ornament. Fig. 263 is from a stone at Kintradwell, Southerlandshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV,) and no doubt can exist that it represents a '*lingum*.' On other stones, more ornate but equally obvious examples occur. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. IX and LV and a simpler form at Pl. CXIII.)

Symbol No. 3 (fig. 129) I have termed 'Twin spheres,' believing them to represent the sun and moon, but there is little doubt that fig. 264, the well-known 'spectacle' mark is intimately related to it, and in the case of the Scottish symbol there is no doubt it is compounded of two '*lingums*' combined or joined together by their 'spouts.' There is a great diversity of ornamentation and detail as regards this symbol, the simplest form and that which nearest approaches the Indian symbol is fig. 264, being from the Wemyss Caves (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XIV, of the illustrations, fig. 2.) Another simple form, showing the central line down the 'lip' is seen on a stone at Logie, in the Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 1.) A very ornate form occurs on a stone at Rosemarkie Ross-shire (S. S. S. Pl. CVI.) Each half of the symbol contains nine spheres (the central one being common to both sides) an allusion perhaps to the nine months of prenatal life enjoyed by man. But the example which most incontestibly proves the identity of the '*lingum*' and 'Spectacle mark' occur, on a stone at Dyce, Aberdeenshire (S. S. S. Vol. I Pl. IX, fig. 1.) On this stone occurs the single '*lingum*' with the 'lip' enlarged into an oblong projection filled with an ornamental pattern. The '*lingum*' stands in a circle, and alongside of it, is the same symbol, twinned or duplicated by the addition of another similar circle which converts it into the ordinary 'spectacle' ornament. In each case the central '*lingum*.' is beyond question, and surrounding it, and between it

and the surrounding circle, is a fillet, (with a median line) forming a sort of collar round the 'lingum.' This line is enlarged towards its ends where they approach the 'lip,' and this in my opinion is an indication of a hooded snake or 'cobra' being intended to be understood as encircling each 'lingum,' or rather two snakes joined, as there are two 'hoods' (as I take them to be) one on each side, and in front of the 'lingum,' fig. 270. There is another very curious variant of the twinned 'lingum' only. In this case instead of their being one 'lip' in common, there is one central circle (or pillar) in common (fig. 259,) and two 'lips.' These lips, however, do not project in the ordinary manner, but are each twisted round to the right, at an angle of 45 so that the median line of each 'lip' does not coincide with the one opposed to it, but is parallel to it a very curious modification, and one that taken in conjunction with the great variety of treatment of this symbol (the 'lingum') on stones in Scotland, leads to the belief that the artificers who wrought these works were familiar with the symbol and probably with the esoteric meaning it conveyed. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. CXVIII, fig. 2.)

The next symbol I may mention as absolutely identical on Indian coins and Scottish sculptures is No. 8, (fig. 149.) This symbol forms the central ornament of the Cross at Meigle (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXXV) known as Guanora's Cross, the ornament of which essentially consists of symbol No. 8, in the centre surrounded by four symbols essentially the same as No. 16, (fig. 163,) which are connected by intermediary dots, forming an enclosing circle for the whole. This symbol copied from Guanora's Cross is given in fig. 265. Another symbol common to India and Scotland is No. 148 (fig. 194.) The 'Wizard's foot,' (fig. 266) occurs on a stone at St. Andrews, Fifeshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. IX, fig. 5) accompanied by the common symbols on these stones, a pair of shears and a comb. It is a rare symbol both on the coins and sculptures.

Another wholly identical symbol is No. 15, (fig. 153.)

A form of this (fig. 267,) is seen forming the central ornament on a cross at St. Keil's, Argyleshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) and on an elaborately carved stone at Iona (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XLV.) In each case the symbol forms the centre of a larger disk, which may stand for the sun, whilst the symbol itself may be regarded as the type of deity, at the centre or throne of the universe.

Fig. 268 is a variant of the same and identical with No. 101, (fig. 154,) of this paper. It occurs four times on the superb cross at Kildalton in Islay, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVII,) and also, rudely carved on a stone, which formed one of a 'stone circle' at Balneilan, Banffshire, of great antiquity (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV).

Fig. 269, is from the end of a stone at St. Andrews (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXV.) It is essentially the same as No. 248, (fig. 225,) only without the central object, and to the present day this figure is seen on brass images relating to, or used in the worship of 'Mahadev,' and associated with his emblems.

The symbol 271 is from a rude figure at Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLI.) It is essentially similar to No. 14, (fig. 187).

Fig. 272 is a remarkable symbol, of the type so common on the coins, of a tree, with what seems to be a box at its base, but which in reality is intended to represent a railing, or rude embankment of stones to guard it from injury. It occurs on a large stone at Easie in Strathmore, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XC,) associated with the 'spectacle' ornament, and is undoubtedly of the same class of sacred or symbolical trees, as occur on the coins, as No. 170, (fig. 84,) though in this specimen the base is not preserved, but the character of what remains is similar and the peculiar square base is seen in Nos. 78, (fig. 73,) 70, (fig. 74,) 182, (fig. 75).

Symbol 273 is from a stone at Invergowrie (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. I, XXXIX). The centre of the stone is occupied by a cross and this symbol is in the lower right-hand corner. It seems analogous in import with No. 82, (fig. 211,) though the figure on the coin is not perfect enough for a full comparison. In the opposite corner of the stone is the head of an ass, facing the emblem. Is it possible that in this juxtaposition of symbols there is an allusion to the fact that the Ass was sacrificed to Priapus,\* who may be considered as represented by the symbol of 'Mahadev'? Symbol 274 occurs on a stone at Abernethy, Perthshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLIX.) It certainly seems related closely to No. 17, (fig. 136,) but at the same time is a well defined variant thereof. It is rare on Scottish stones, though No. 17 is common on the coins.

No less remarkable than the '*lingum*' on sculptured stones in Scotland, and its variant the twinned symbol known as the 'spectacle mark' is another object usually found associated with the last. It is termed a 'sceptre' and consists of a rod angularly bent like a Z with ornamental ends, which slightly differ from each other. One such end is seen in fig. 275 and the briefest inspection is sufficient to show its identity with the '*trisul*' of Mahadev, and in every instance despite variation of detail, every 'sceptre' is found to consist of a rod, one end of which represents the '*trisul*' or masculine emblem, whilst the opposite end, slightly modified always in design, represents the

female principle. One very remarkable variant, fig. 276, occurs on a stone at Elgin (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XVI, fig. 2.) In this the 'trisol' is replaced by a 'crescent' (an emblem it may be remarked worn by 'Mahadev') above an owl-head symbol, but the remarkable thing about it is, that it is almost identical with an object borne in the hands of two of the principal figures, (seemingly a King and Queen) on some Hittite sculptures at Boghaz-keni in Cappadocia, described in *Nature* (March, 1888, p. 513) only on the Hittite emblem the owl-head is above and the crescent or V shaped substitute, below. Fig. 258.

Symbol 277 is from a stone at Dunfallaudy, Perthshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLVII.) There is at first sight a temptation to identify it with No. 57, (fig. 119,) but this I am disinclined to do, as I think it is not unlikely that it represents rather an 'anvil' of iron, such as in India, goldsmiths use, fixed in a block of wood. This is rendered the more probable as on the left of it is a hammer, and on the other side a pair of tongs such as a smith would use, and I merely quote it to show that mere similarity is not sufficient (other considerations apart) to establish identity in every instance. Each case must be weighed and decided on its own merits—and in this case we have a clear instance of the special tools of a man's trade being introduced in a group, and an instance also of a striking similarity of some tools then used in Scotland, to those still in use in the far East.

I will now proceed to enumerate the various symbols which have occurred to me on the punch-marked coins that have come under my observation, but the coins are so very numerous throughout India, (albeit neglected by most collectors) that I have little doubt that many more symbols will eventually be recorded. The present list therefore I only regard as the nucleus for a more exhaustive record so these coins and their various symbols, which may exist in collections not accessible to me, or may yet be discovered from time to time in India. For purposes of classification the symbols may be conveniently divided into six classes as below.

#### Class I.

The human figure.

This class of symbols, is small and inconspicuous on the coins, and I include therein such mythical forms as fig. 8 which is probably intended for *Agni* and fig. 3 which appears to have five heads.

#### Class II.

Implements, arms and works of man.

Under this head falls the 'stupa,' with its numerous variants, the bow and arrow, the 'steelyard' and the differ-

rent varieties of the design, which I have identified as a food 'altar' or 'receptacle' for birds.

### Class III.

#### Animals.

Among those which are more or less certainly to be recognised are, the elephant, rhinoceros, horse, bull, nyghai, goat, hare, dog, jackal, civet-cat, peacock, river-turtle, Gangetic crocodile, frog, python, cobra and catfish or skate. Conspicuous by their absence may be mentioned the 'stag' that is, any form of 'cervine' ruminant. The antelope, the sheep, the monkey, the lion, tiger or leopard; the leopard indeed is mentioned by Thomas, but it is not clear to me that this animal anywhere occurs, and the lion\* and tiger would certainly not be hard to recognise if present. Neither is any mythological animal as 'Garuda' or the 'Naga' race seen on the coins.

### Class IV.

#### Trees, branches or fruit.

When trees are represented they are enclosed below with railings, sometimes supporting the '*chatra*' or umbrella and sometimes one or more '*Taurines*.' They are very conventional in design, so that the species intended cannot be made out save in one or two instances.

### Class V.

#### Symbols connected with solar, planetary or Sivite worship.

This is a very numerous class comprehending the '*lingum*,' the '*triskelis*,' the '*Caduceus*' and a vast number of symbols replete with esoteric allusions to the old planetary and solar conceptions of the remotest antiquity, comprehensively alluded to by Thomas as "magic formulæ."

For comparison I may add a list of the animals seen on the sculptured stones of Scotland in association with some of the symbols seen on these coins. There occur horsman and lion, hog; bull; bear; ram; wolf; fox; stag, hind and fawn; roebuck; hare; ass; Bactrian camel; cat, several domestic dogs, otter; seal; hawk; osprey; salmon; and among mythological creatures the mermaid and sea-horse. The '*elephant*' (so called) I consider as a mythological or traditional animal, as it is invariably represented with a slender recurved horn, and no doubt embodies a traditional idea of an animal which was only known by name or description to the artists who made such frequent use of it, on these stones.

## Class VI.

## Miscellaneous and unknown symbols.

These coins possess an Obverse and Reverse face as is proved, by one face being more generally used than the other to receive the impression of the punches, and by the fact that the reverse punches are generally smaller than those used on the obverse. In many coins this is very clearly seen and as a rule (though not without exceptions) the small punches or devices are used almost always on the Reverse side as I term it.

For the purpose of coming to some general idea of the comparative frequency of the different symbols and if any rule can be detected regarding their restriction to the obverse or reverse only of these coins, I have tabulated the symbols observed on one hundred and fifty coins with the following result.

On these 150 coins, ninety-six symbols are confined to the obverse area, twenty-eight to the reverse, while fifteen symbols only occur on both sides. Future observations will no doubt add to the number of symbols common to both obverse and reverse, but without probably interfering with the relative proportions above indicated.

The next thing that the examination of these 150 coins proves is that the most frequent symbol is that of the 'solar wheel' No. 10, fig. 139, which occurs no less than one hundred and twenty times on the obverse and seven times on the reverse. This disparity goes far to prove that the obverse was regarded as the proper side whereon this symbol should appear. The next in frequency is the elephant No. 35, fig. 10 occurring thirty times on the obverse and once on the reverse, and this may therefore be regarded as essentially an obverse symbol. Next comes a symbol which seems really common to both sides; No. 17, fig. 136, which I regard as a variant of the '*Caduceus*.' This symbol occurs twenty-two times on the obverse and fourteen times on the reverse. After this comes No. 25, fig. 51, a '*stupa*' with crescent above, which is found nineteen times on the obverse and seven times on the reverse. The only other symbols which reach two figures are No. 21, fig. 47, a '*stupa*,' which occurs fifteen times on the obverse and once on

The Obverse symbols are Nos. 4-9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89, 90, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162. Total 96. Reverse symbols 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 64, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 85, 95, 108, 109, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 127, 128, 136, 137, 140, 141. Total 28. Symbols common to both sides 1, 3, 10, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 35, 41, 51, 63, 88, 112, 138, Total 15.

the reverse, and No. 23, fig. 50, a 'stupa' and peacock which occurs six times on the obverse and ten times on the reverse.

Of the most remarkable symbols confined to the obverse may be mentioned No. 4, fig. 129, twin circles. No. 22, fig. 49, a 'stupa' and dog. No. 24, fig. 48 a 'stupa' with reliquaries or lamps. No. 27, fig. 91 and all its numerous variants Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 66, 77, 100 and 114.

Of the most remarkable reverse symbols may be mentioned Nos. 5, 6 and 7, figs. 130, 131, 132, varieties of the 'triskelis.' No. 13, fig. 186, the 'lingum.' No. 15, fig. 153, three spheres. No. 64, fig. 160, a thunderbolt. No. 76, fig. 198, the emblem of Ishtar. No. 108, fig. 158, spheres and triangle.

The next lesson to learn from these 150 coins is the proportion of symbols on the obverse and reverse sides respectively. First it is necessary to eliminate those specimens which are too worn to give correct information, that is, all specimens showing no more than two recognisable symbols on the obverse. Having made this correction there remain 128 coins giving 519 obverse symbols or as nearly as possible four symbols, or allowing for symbols not sufficiently clear, or only partly seen, five symbols may be assumed as a fair average for the obverse of these coins.

To arrive at a similar average for the reverse is less easy, as some few coins have the reverses blank and devoid of any symbol, whilst the symbols are less well preserved as a rule on the reverse; eliminating therefore all coins which have no symbols visible on the reverse, we find that 74 coins present 110 reverse symbols, or not more than one and a half symbol to each reverse, and this is not far through perhaps a little under the general average.

From these remarks the following general deductions may be made which I merely adduce, that they may be sustained or modified by a larger review of these coins, than is here attempted.

1. That these coins possess an *Obverse* and *Reverse* as in later issues.

2. That five symbols is about the average number on the obverse, and not more than two on the reverse.

3. That the impressions are less distinct on the reverse, and the reverse 'punches' or symbols frequently smaller.

4. That occasionally the reverse is left blank especially in some copper coins, which approximate in character to some Buddhist copper coins, struck with ordinary dies.

5. That some symbols seem to be confined and others to predominate on the *obverse* and *reverse* respectively.

6. That not two coins are precisely alike, two coins only having come under notice with the same symbols on both sides, but the symbols were differently arranged with relation to each other.

So much by way of preliminary remark.

### DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF SYMBOLS.

#### 1. A DOT, SPHERE OR CIRCLE. Fig. 126.

The simplest form used to represent the sun, or any planetary body is a dot, sphere or circle, such as occurs in fig. 126, or in composition in figs. 128 and 131. It was also esoterically used no doubt to represent the persons of the Godhead in the old religions of Assyria and India, as in figs. 153 and 163.

One of the earliest systems of religion, elaborated by the reflective faculties of civilized man, was the worship of the reproductive forces of Nature, which, under the form of Sivite worship exists in India in full force at the present day. Scarcely distinguishable from this cult and coeval with it is the worship of the sun, and planets, as the sun was regarded not only as the most striking and appropriate symbol of Deity, but as directly and physically the source and sustainer of life. The ancients were as quick as ourselves in perceiving that without heat and moisture life was impossible, and hence originated the philosophic idea of attributing masculine and feminine attributes or functions to heat and humidity respectively. No less obvious also was the analogy between the headship or fatherhood of the human family, and the heavenly Fatherhood of the great Author of all, and the resulting idea of unity underlying all religious symbolism, whether represented by a pillar, such as Solomon erected in front of the Temple; a round stone, such as represents *Mahadev* ('the great god') in every Hindu village, or the more complex symbol of the *crux-ansata*, borne in the hands of Egypt's deities, or disguised by being turned topsy-turvy and dubbed a "*ball and cross*," when pressed into the religious ceremonial of our own land at the coronation of our Kings and Queens! Similarly the central unit of the celestial system was represented by a ball, or wheel, or some rayed device which alike represented the idea of unity and of the progressive motion of the solar orb through the heavens; and as in Pharaoh's dreams the event signified was one, though the symbols were diverse, so in ancient religious symbolism, however varied the form, the idea concealed beneath was ONE, the Unity of the Deity, which then as now among so many of ourselves, was not incompatible, with a fourfold or threefold conception of Divine persons in the Godhead!

We moderns are too fond of expressing our pity for such misguided idolaters as the *Chaldeans* of old or the *Parsees* of to-day, but



could the accused be heard before an unprejudiced tribunal, they would probably astonish their accusers by claiming to worship the same God as themselves; the same God as the Psalmist of old, who declared.

"The spacious firmament on high,  
And all the blue ethereal sky,  
The spangled heavens, a shining frame,  
Their great original proclaim."

It is true, we no longer pay respect to the symbols of the sun, from our reverence for that Being of whom the great luminary is a type, but we nevertheless use freely in Ecclesiastical adornment and ritualistic worship, symbols which are viewed reverentially, as of Christian import, but which in reality are pagan in their origin, and esoterically connected with Nature worship, and the only distinction between the old worshippers and ourselves, consists in the somewhat humiliating one, that the former had a precise conception of what they really revered, which modern ritualists and hierophants certainly have not.

Representations of the sun are not common on the sculptured stones of Scotland, but do occasionally occur. One of the most curious is on the Logie stone, in the Garioch. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 2.) The sun is here represented as a circle with four opposing groups of alternately three and five rays, obliquely set (as in a '*triskelis*') and with some four rays on the inner side of the circumference, just as the 'Oghan' characters would read if inscribed along a circular line. This is hardly accidental, but I cannot pretend to explain the relationship of these straight Oghan strokes to the symbol, though their connection seems beyond question. Another sample of Oghan writing on these stones also occur at Newton in the Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. I.)

The sun, as a round boss surrounded by rays forms a prominent ornament on the stone cross of Dupplin Castle, Perthshire (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LVII,) another remarkable symbol probably solar in its import is seen on a stone from Bressay, Shetland, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XCIV.) This symbol occupies the most conspicuous position at the top of the stone and recalls to mind the solid wheel of a cart in Burmah (made of three pieces of 'iron-wood' or some other hard woodcut out of the solid), only this wheel (if so regarded) is formed of four interlocking pieces instead of three. There can be little doubt it represents an ancient wheel, and is here used as a symbol of the sun. The whole design is very archaic, and there is a long *Oghan* or *Runic* inscription down the sides.

## 2. THE CRESCENT MOON. Fig. 127.

Another simple planetary symbol is the crescent moon, that '*silerum regina bicornis*' whose image forms so glorious an ornament in the

heavens under the clear skies of the East. It is usually seen on the coins either in combination with the last or as resting on the top of a 'stupa.' Except where the symbol accompanies a masculine deity as *Soma* the *deus Luna* of the Hindus, the crescent is always to be regarded as a feminine symbol, and significant of the attributes of *Ishtar*, the Celestial Mother or one of her numerous homologues in all religions admitting that idea whether as *Beltis*, *Ashtaroth*, the *Ephesian Diana*, or *Nanaia*, on the Indo-Scythic coins. In India, however, where the moon is regarded as male, the attributes of *Ishtar* are transferred to *Durga* or *Parvati*, the consort or Sakti of *Siva*, who consequently bears a crescent on his forehead in virtue of his wife's title thereto, as may be seen on Indo-Scythic coins on which *Siva* or *Okro* (as he is termed) figures. This follows as a matter of course from the different conception of the personality of the Assyrian and Indian triads or trinities; in the former of which the three male personages thereof are supplemented by a fourth, the female personation of Nature power, or the Celestial Mother coequal with the other three, whilst in the latter, each person, *Brahma*, *Siva* and *Vishnu* is supplied with a female coefficient, partner, or Sakti; whereof *Durga* the Sakti of *Siva* or *Mahadev*, most nearly corresponds with *Ishtar*. Consequently whilst astronomically viewed, the crescent always stands for the moon, yet as a symbol connected with Nature worship, the crescent represents the female, or moist principle in nature as opposed to the solar, hot or male energy, and a survival of this ancient idea, and its emblematic connection with the worship of the Celestial Mother, is obviously displayed in Christian countries, in those pictures of the "Blessed Virgin" standing within the crescent moon, or prominently associated therewith. When the crescent moon is represented as resting on a 'stupa,' there seem to be two modes of interpreting the significance of the symbol. It may simply represent what must often have presented itself to the gaze of the watcher under a clear sky, the moon halting as it might seem for a moment on the top of such a structure; or it may be regarded in a dedicatory sense, and as though the mortal remains therein enshrined were committed to the care of that deity whose symbol is inscribed above. For we may be sure that the sentiment of combined piety and affection, which dictated that epitaph of Martial, is confined to no race or country, and was even more strongly felt before civilization and a scientific habit of thought had moulded and modified the untutored feelings of the heart.

"Hanc tibi, *Fronto*, pater, genetrix *Flaccilla* puellam,  
 Oscula commendo deliciasque meas:  
 Parvula ne nigras horrescat *Erotion* umbras,  
 Oraque Tartaroi prodigiosa canis." Lib. V. 34.

It may be objected that a Buddhist stupa is a relic shrine, rather than a tomb, but nothing can dissociate it from the primitive idea of a mound hiding that which is honoured and dear to us, even if it be but a cenotaph, perpetuating a cherished memory.

### 3. BALL AND CRESCENT. Fig. 128.

The symbol formed by the union of the two above described must be considered in an astronomical sense, as Soli-lunar or if regarded from the standpoint of Nature-worship, as of androgynous import, the homologue of the '*cruz-ansata*' on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. The idea of uniting the sun and moon is a very natural one either astronomically considered or mythologically. Of this, that noble ode the *carmen sæculare* of Horace is an example. Fifty chosen maidens and as many chaste youths form a chorus to sing the Centenary Ode to the twins of *Leto*; the youths first addressing *Apollo*, followed by the maidens appealing to *Diana* and the whole chorus uniting in a magnificent outburst of prayer to both powers.

(Youths)	<i>Phæbe</i> ;	
(Maidens)	silvarumque potens <i>Diana</i>	
	Lucidum cœli decus;	
(Whole chorus)		O colendi
	Semper, et culti, date quæ precamur	
	Tempore sacro.	

This symbol is of frequent occurrence on these coins. Occasionally it occurs alone or enclosed within a square or circle as in figs. 168 and 188 but more usually it is seen in combination with other objects. Thomas describes it as a "magic formula" a very unhappy expression, as there is no magic in the matter, unless we term the symbols in vogue among the early Christians "magical," such as the fish, inscribed over some early Christian graves, or the trilateral monogram so conspicuously used in Ecclesiastical decoration in modern churches!

### 4. TWIN CIRCLES. Fig. 129.

(A variant of the 'spectacle mark' of Scottish antiquaries.)

This symbol is of rare occurrence and is not noticed by Thomas. It must be of profound antiquity and widely spread over the world, if it is identical as Inman avers with the object worshipped by the Moabites and probably by many Jews also in "*the temple of the two circles*," (see Jeremiah xlviii. 22,) and also with the "spectacle mark" as it is called, so frequently found on sculptured stones in Scotland. (Ancient Faiths embodied in ancient names. Inman, Vol. I, sub voce Beth-Diblathaim.)

The symbol probably represents the sun, and the moon at full, and this seems borne out by my specimen, as one of the circles has faint traces of rays surrounding it, as though to distinguish it from the other, representing the moon.

The identity as I consider it, between this symbol and the 'spectacle' ornament, of Scottish antiquaries will appear less strange when it is seen how in Scotland the so-called 'spectacle' ornament (claimed as essentially the product of Celtic art and thought,) is in reality mixed up with and in fact compounded of Eastern and purely nature-worship or solar symbols. One of the simplest forms of the twin spheres (which phrase I prefer to 'spectacle') occurs on a stone at Logie, in the Garioch, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 1.) It is formed of two circles which I shall show are probably solar emblems, joined by two crescents, representing the lunar or feminine element. These symbols are also united by the 'sceptre' (so called) one end of which is without doubt a simple 'trisol' or emblem of *Mahadev*. On fig. 1 on the same plate, a still simpler example occurs alone without the sceptre, and on this it is seen at a glance that this mysterious 'spectacle' ornament is simply two 'lingums' placed lip to lip, so that the projecting 'spouts' or 'lips' overlap, or in other words, the two 'lingums' have a common 'lip' between them. The two outermost lines, represent the base of the emblem seen from above, when the two symbols are thus fused into one. The median 'fissure' usually present in the projection or 'lip' of the 'lingum' is here seen, but the 'sceptre' ornament is omitted.

On the stone at Insch, Aberdeenshire, known as the 'Picardy Stone' (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. VI, fig. 2) another example occurs, accompanied by a symbol which I take to be a variant of the same. Instead of the 'twin spheres' crossed by the 'sceptre' or 'trisol' of *Mahadev*, there is a serpent crossed by this latter symbol, and those who know, how in India the serpent is identified with the 'lingum,' and associated with the cult of *Mahadev*, will see the facility with which the 'serpent' may stand in place of the 'lingum,' and how when sharply flexed, the folds of the body of the snake represent the two orbs of the ordinary 'spectacle' symbol. The idea, however, now propounded that the spectacle mark is made up of two 'lingums,' is proved absolutely by a stone at Dyce Aberdeen, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. IX, fig. 1,) on which are two figures; one a 'half-spectacle' symbol (as I may call it) composed of a circle, with a rectangular area in front equivalent to the 'lip' of the 'lingum'; and an ordinary 'spectacle' mark, in each end of which, (as well as on the above 'half-spectacle') a complete 'lingum' (symbol No. 4) is carved with the lips of each facing one another. The rectangular area in each symbol is ornamented with a pattern which may represent, six snakes,

but this is not material. The last symbol is crossed by the ordinary 'sceptre,' which in this case ends in a 'trisul' at one end identical with the 'trisuls' which by thousands ornament the temples of 'Mahadev' in India to-day. See fig. 275. Another variant of this 'twin sphere' symbol is seen on a stone at Glenfurness, Nairn, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XXIV, fig. 1.) In this, the 'spectacle' mark is composed of two circles, enclosing seven spheres differing only from symbol fig. 149 of this paper, in the spheres being within a circle in one case, and within an hexagonal area in the other, the essential element, the mystical seven spheres of Chaldean astronomy being the same in both. The 'sceptre' in the symbol is of the ordinary character, a bent 'trisul' of 'Mahadev,' one end representing the male and the other end the female principle in nature. The slight difference in the ornamentation of the two ends of the 'sceptre' is specially well seen in Plate No. XXV, (S. S. S. Vol. I,) where the two distinct ideas of the male and female principle are clearly conveyed by one end terminating in the 'trisul' of Mahadev (*passim*) and the other is a 'crescent moon,' the emblem of the female energy in nature, and this slight difference is universally observable, under various guises, in all these so-called 'sceptres,' but which are in reality 'trisuls' of 'Mahadev' and the emblem of his 'sakti' combined. See figs. 275, 276,) in this stone, the 'sceptre' is united to the 'crescent' symbol instead of the 'spectacle mark' and in the basal angle of the 'sceptre,' a pretty little 'triskelis' is introduced, seemingly formed of three snakes with heads turned outwards.

#### 5—6. THE TRISKELIS, REVOLVING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT. Fig. 130.

This symbol, though not mentioned by Thomas in connection with these coins, occurs on the reverse of a coin in my possession in its simplest and most archaic form, of three equal and quasi-semicircular limbs, united at a single point and revolving from left to right (fig. 130). On another coin (fig. 131), the solar significance of this symbol is emphasized, and a step made in the direction of later developments, by the three limbs being made to emerge from a central and well defined disc. This symbol revolves from right to left. This is something of the same type as that figured on a coin of Lycia about B. C. 450. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1886, Pl. I, fig. 7), which is merely one of the many proofs of the vast antiquity and wide geographical range of this well known solar emblem.

This simple form of the 'triskelis' occurs not unfrequently on sculptured stones in Scotland, both alone, and in combination with other designs. It occurs (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. II, fig. 2,) toward the base of the Maiden stone, Aberdeen, where it forms the central ornament, a

single '*triskelis*' surrounded by three similar and equidistant symbols, except that the central '*triskelis*' revolves to the right, while those surrounding it, revolve in an opposite direction. These symbols are surrounded by an ornamental border of the usual Celtic pattern, and the upper portion of the stone is occupied by a cross and a human figure. As a symbol of trinity in unity the symbols are appropriate, whether the design was borrowed from paganism unwittingly or not, but of the extreme antiquity of the design of the '*triskelis*' it is needless here to insist.

The '*triskelis*' also appears several times in company with the '*swastika*' on the celebrated Nigg Stone, Ross-shire (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XXVIII) of which the upper part exhibits an altar with two figures in an attitude of adoration, and a dove descending with the holy wafer in its bill. Below this on either side is a compartment, that on the right containing two large spheres ornamented with the usual Celtic interlaced pattern, round a central '*triskelis*'; and between the large spheres, a smaller one ornamented with the '*swastika*' whilst in the compartment on the left, the large spheres are filled with seven small spheres, each marked with the '*swastika*' (or '*triskelis*' in one or two), and the corresponding small sphere instead of the '*swastika*' (as on the right hand) bears a '*triskelis*.' Yet in face of this it has been stated that "none of the symbols occur on this stone" (S. S. S. p. 11.) From this I infer that the existence of the '*triskelis*' and '*swastika*' was overlooked, and the symbols alluded to as not present, were those of purely Scottish extraction like 'comb' and 'sceptre.'

A very remarkable and pregnant instance of the '*triskelis*' occurs again on the Ulbster stone, Caithness, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XL, fig. 2,) where this eminently solar symbol constitutes the centre of each 'spectacle,' in the so-called 'spectacle' mark.

A remarkable form of the '*triskelis*' appears on a stone at St. Andrews, Fifeshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. X, fig. 6,) the arms of the '*triskelis*' forming more than a complete circle, and thereby giving an extremely oblique and peculiar form to the figure, the revolution being to the left.

The '*triskelis*' occurs also prominently on the Kildalton, cross, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI,) in company with much solar and symbolical ornamentation.

#### 7. TRISKELIS, REVOLVING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT. Fig. 132.

In this symbol the limbs are shortened till they resemble the cogs in the driving wheel of a tilt-hammer.

The '*triskelis*' so far as I am aware does not occur on any of the

objects found by Schliemann at Hissarlik, though the 'swastika' is common enough there on pottery. At Mycenæ however the 'triskelis' occurs (as I take it) in an ornate and peculiar form, on the gold buttons found in the fourth twist, and also on the gold knob of a sword handle. (Schliemann's Mycenæ, p. 264, figs. 409, 413 and p. 269, fig. 428). Fig. 409 suggests that the elements of the simple, yet elegant design comprise three 'lingum-yonis' circularly arranged, with the left 'labium' of each prolonged into a curved arm and the same is seen in fig. 413. The same peculiarity in the elements which make up the pattern is also seen in a 'swastika' fig. 422, l. c. and in figs. 421 and 422a the pattern consists of three 'lingums' in the centre surrounded by six others, each being separated from its neighbour by a band without end, formed by the united 'labia' of all the 'lingums.' A most ingenious and pleasing device.

#### 8. CLUSTER OF NINE SPHERES. Fig. 149.

Another planetary symbol as I regard it, consists of a circle of eight spheres, ranged round a central one. In Mr. C. W. King's work on antique gems, Plate II, fig. 4, a very similar device is figured on an Assyrian seal, only in this case there are but seven spheres round the central one, which presumably stands for the earth. If therefore the present symbol is planetary in its meaning, it must represent the earth and the seven planets of the Chaldean astrologers, ranged round some central object, whose meaning we have yet to discover. Now the celebrated temple or mound of the seven planets at Birs Nimroud is described by Sir Henry Rawlinson as consisting of seven stages each dedicated to a separate planet. "The first or lowest stage was about two hundred and seventy-two feet square and twenty-six feet high, and was covered with bitumen to represent the sable hue of Saturn. The second stage was two hundred and thirty feet square and about twenty-six feet high, and the surface was covered with some tint resembling orange, to represent Jupiter. The third stage was one hundred and eighty feet square, and twenty-six feet high, the surface colour being red to represent Mars. The fourth stage was about one hundred and forty-six feet square and twenty-six feet high and there is reason to believe that it was coated with gold to represent the sun. The fifth stage was about one hundred and four feet square, about fifteen feet high and coloured light yellow to represent Venus. The sixth stage was about sixty-two feet square, fifteen feet high and coloured dark blue so as to represent Mercury. The seventh stage was about twenty feet square, "about fifteen feet high and covered with silver" representing of course the moon. Above the whole structure was a shrine or

temple, said to have been restored by Nabu-kudur-uzur (Nebuchadnezzar). The central sphere therefore in the present symbol if, it is of planetary significance, may represent a central Holy of Holies, analogous to the shrine crowning the temple at Birs Nimroud, round which the seven planets and the earth are grouped.

On another Assyrian gem (cylinder) figured by Mr. King (l. c. Pl. I, fig. 1,) occur two symbols evidently embodying the same idea, *viz.*, seven bulls over the ball's neck, representing the seven planets then worshipped, whilst the second symbol consists of a star with six rays, with a crescent above, wherein we see a symbol common to both planetary and Nature worship. As a planetary symbol it represents of course the seven planets, all told, whilst regarded as an emblem of Nature worship it represents the two Assyrian triads, and the Celestial Mother or feminine principle in nature, represented by the crescent moon, symbol of Ashtaroth, Ishtar, or Beltis, as it was separately personified in the religion of Assyria.

This symbol of eight spheres round a central one is rare in Scotland, but occurs prominently in two instances. This symbol constitutes the central ornament of the cross at Meigle, Perthshire, which tradition ascribes to the burial-place of Arthur's Queen 'Guanora,' (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXXV).

The same symbol also occurs on a cross at Keils, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) with a trifling addition which goes far to support my explanation of the central sphere in this symbol. In this cross the most conspicuous ornament is a circle embracing eight spheres ranged equidistantly from each other, whilst in the centre is another sphere, within which three balls are seen, an obvious mode, it seems to me of conveying the idea of central Deity. The surrounding eight spheres, appear to be each ornamented with the '*triskelis*,' conveying the idea of the heavenly orbs revolving round the throne of their maker.

If only the first example had been known, those who are disinclined to admit a derivative element from paganism into the esoteric symbolism of these crosses, might object that the occurrence of the symbol was simply the result of chance, but this idea of chance is almost negatived when a second instance occurs with a variation introduced tending to develop and render clearer the esoteric paganism lurking beneath.

There is yet another design which I claim, as an extreme variant of the same symbol, on a stone from Brassay in Shetland (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XCV.) In the centre is a sphere ornamented with an interlaced chain pattern. Round this sphere are four almond-shaped lozenges, and four somewhat irregular ovals alternating with each other and all seemingly linked together by a chain. The '*almonds*' are seen blocked by



knots, either loops of the main chain, or independently introduced, and in these loops I think the same esoteric meaning may be conveyed as attaches to the bars crossing the cistrum of Isis.

The same variant also occurs on the Cross at Kildalton, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI).

9. A RELIQUARY SURROUNDED BY SIX 'TAURINES.' Fig. 185.

It is not very certain what the central object of this symbol is intended for. It is probably the object of uncertain import of fig. 63, which may be either a 'reliquary', a 'lamp' or an 'altar.' The 'Taurines' are simply used most likely as auspicious signs, as the 'Swastika' might be, or the sign of 'Ganesh' by a Hindu merchant. The symbol occurs on a coin in my possession.

10. SOLAR WHEEL WITH STRAIGHT RAYS. Fig. 139.

This though a planetary emblem has perhaps an equal claim to be considered a Buddhist one also by adoption. In the solar wheel the centre consists of a raised or solid boss or nave, whereby it may be distinguished from the wheel used by man for industrial purposes, which has a hollow axis, the difference being clearly seen in fig. 143. The normal number of spokes appears to be sixteen but the number varies from twelve to twenty-four, both being multiples of four the favourite unit for calculation in India. It is the most prevalent symbol on these coins, and one which emphatically disproves the conclusion of Thomas that these symbols are the "produce of purely home fancies and local thought," as this solar wheel is an extremely common symbol on terra-cotta whorls, dug up by Schliemann at Troy, (Schliemann, Troy Pl. XXII, fig. 329.

The rayed sun is also met with on sculptured stones in Scotland, as for example on a cross near Dupplin figured in the *Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, page 20, fig. 22.

11. SMALL EIGHT-SPOKED WHEEL. Fig. 140.

This symbol is probably solar also, as the axis is solid, and we cannot therefore regard it as a wheel used for industrial purposes as the wheel fig. 143.

12. FOUR-SPOKED WHEEL. Fig. 141.

Rare on the coins and a variant of the last.

13. SYMBOL OF MAHADEV AND HIS 'sakti' (*Durga*). Fig. 186.

This emblem of *Siva* and *Durga*, so universally worshipped throughout Hindustan is rare on these coins but occurs on the reverse of one

in my possession. It is identical in esoteric meaning with the emblem of *Baal-Peor* worshipped in Canaan by Jews and Gentiles alike and is among many proofs how very ancient and widely spread were the ideas represented by many of the symbols found on these coins, and how erroneous were the view of Thomas that they are all the product of "home fancies."

On the antiquity of phallic symbolism, Inman's work. 'Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names' may be consulted with advantage (*sub voce* Baal-Peor). This symbol is also found in places and associated with objects where the uninitiated would hardly expect it. In the *Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, page 20, fig. 21, the Cross of the Niduari Picts is figured. The head of the cross is formed of a circle, with a ball in the centre, from which four of the emblems of *Baal-peor* radiate, the 'lip' of the symbols being directed outwards to form the arms!

The '*lingum*' or symbol of Baal-peor occurs, however, too commonly on sculptured stones in Scotland and more than general allusion. It occurs singly, or more commonly 'twined,' forming then the 'spectacle mark' which seems so to have puzzled antiquaries.

A simple '*lingum*' is seen on a stone from Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire, which differs in no material respect from the same symbol universally worshipped to-day in India! and in this case it may be emphatically asked, is the fortuitous and independent development of such a symbol in its hyperborean home, possible or reasonable. Gubernatis arrives at a not very dissimilar conclusion from quite another point of view. 'The result of my enquiries will, perhaps, go far to prove that notwithstanding the splendour of our Christian art, and the fame of our civilization, the basis of Italian belief has till now remained pagan; so that those of our housewives who are most assiduous in their attendance at the great spectacles of the Church, and their observance of its ritual, are at bottom, the jealous custodiers and guardians of devilish superstitions and pagan fables.' (*Zoological Mythology*, Preface, p. xxi.)

#### 14. SPHERE WITHIN A TRIANGLE. Fig. 187.

In esoteric significance this is of precisely the same import as the last. The sphere represents the solar or male energy of Nature, whilst the triangle or 'delta' is an equally well understood female symbol.

The symbol is from a coin in my possession.

A variant of this symbol occurs on a stone at Stonehaven (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLI,) but is rudely engraved and I hesitate to draw any conclusion therefrom. It is accompanied by the rude figure of a fish, and might possibly be intended for a scraping-tool, and used as a sign of his trade by some fisherman.

## 15. THREE BALLS OR SPHERES. Fig. 153.

This is another symbol of Nature worship and stands for the male triad of the Indian religion. It also originates in the remotest antiquity as it is the precise homologue of the next symbol which exemplifies the Assyrian form of the same idea. It occurs on *terra-cotta* whorls from Troy (Troy, Plate XXII, fig. 319) though on the whorl the dots are farther apart, being ranged round the central perforation. In modern times this religious symbol has degenerated into the sign of a pawnbroker's den. This symbol occurs as the central ornament on the Cross at Keils, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) and also on the cross at Kildalton, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI,) and the slight variant of it No. 154, (fig. 154,) no less than six times on the reverse of the same stone (Pl. XXXVII, l. c.). This variant also occurs singly on an archaic stone at Balneilan, Banffshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV,) where we can only suppose it is introduced as a symbol, for its esoteric meaning, as it stands alone and does not owe its existence to any necessity of ornamentation or elaboration of design.

## 16. FOUR SPHERES IN A SQUARE. Fig. 163.

This is an extremely ancient symbol and occurs like the last, on *terra-cotta* whorls at Troy (Schliemann XXII, figs. 317, 318 and 322, l. c.) The four dots are differently arranged in each instance, in figs. 317 and 318 they occupy the four arms of a cruciform figure; in fig. 322, they intervene between four curved arms radiating from the centre. In an extremely ancient\* cornelian bead from the Panjab in my possession, pierced like a bead (that is through its greatest diameter) and not like a whorl in a direction vertical thereto, there occurs in the centre a

\* Some of these beads are figured in a short paper by myself in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for October 1869. There is no good series of these most curious beads in the British Museum, where considerable scepticism and lack of information still exists thereon, and the assertion of mine that the pattern is engraved in the stone previous to the application of the pigment is regarded by Mr. Frauks as 'nonsense.' Unfortunately for this *ex-cathedra* verdict founded on negative ground, I have specimens showing undoubtedly that such was the course pursued, though not perhaps universally, and I take the present opportunity of reiterating the assertions made by myself twenty years ago, though they do not seem to have penetrated sufficiently deep for acceptance in quarters where such knowledge might have been looked for. I specially commend the note, appended to my paper on these beads to Mr. Frank's notice, before he commits himself to the idea of their being not older than the 15th century. I am aware that agates can be variously stained by chemical solutions and otherwise, and the art may have been known to some extent by the makers of these beads, but nothing can invalidate the fact, that on some beads, the pattern has been also first cut into stone.

modification of the same design, a cross with short arms, and a dot or ball in each angle, the radical idea in each case being the same, four balls variously arranged, standing for the mystical 'Tetragrammaton,' the ineffable name among the Jews of Deity. In Hebrew the letters would be I. A. H. O. 'I am that I am,' but the idea is older than Judaism, and must be first sought for in the Assyrian conception of a male triad and a celestial mother, the four together being the precise homologue of the triads or trinities of other religions, (see *The Great Dionysiak Myth* by R. Brown, Vol. I, page 58.)

In this symbol and the last we have two simple and very archaic examples of the two parallel lines which Nature worship has followed, viz., the Assyrian fourfold conception of Deity, and the Hindu threefold conception of the same power, both of which seem reflected in the doctrines respectively taught in the Romish and Reformed churches of the present day.

#### 17. STAFF WITH LATERAL SEMICIRCLES. Fig. 136.

This symbol I regard as a modified form of the *caduceus*. It is very common on the coins and is in reality the form the *Caduceus* usually assumes on them, the whole bearing a rude resemblance to a bale of cotton, but beneath which it is not hard to discern the elements of the *caduceus* rearranged.

It is curious that this emblem when once established should have fallen into desuetude in India as it is essentially related to the lord of life Mahadev, whose worship is still so popular there. It may be that the emblem had become identified with the powers of healing, which to the vulgar may not have appeared as connected with the deity in question, yet even so, it might have been expected that the serpents on the rod would have been sufficient to perpetuate the retention of the emblem in a land where the snake is deeply interwoven with the local religion and in particular with the cult of Mahadev.

In Egypt the snake entwined round the rod of Thoth was doubtless the African cobra, which is identical so far as symbolism is concerned with its Asiatic representative (*Naja tripudians*). Now among Hindus the utmost respect is paid to this reptile, from mythological association, and should the continued sojourn of a cobra in a house or village be regarded as undesirable, or seem likely in this *Kali Yug* of ours to lead to the death of the reptile from some profane hand, it is inveigled or ceremoniously coerced into entering an earthen pot, which is then transported for some distance into the jungle where the animal is liberated.

18. CRESCENT ON A PILLER, WITH A 'TAURINE' ON EACH SIDE. Fig. 179.

This is a very interesting symbol, as exhibiting the relationship or transition between Planet worship and Nature worship or *Sivaism*. The crescent may either represent the moon, viewed simply as a planetary object of worship, or as a symbol of the moist or female principle in nature, and as such carried on the forehead of *Siva* (as on the gold coins of *Vasu Deva*) in right of his consort or *sakti*. The pillar is of course an emblem of *Mahadev*, *Siva* or *Okro* and as such may be also regarded as equally a solar emblem, the sun, the great vivifying power in nature being the prototype of that deity, while the 'Taurine' is simply a different expression of the same idea. Among other facts well-known but little dwelt on by modern Hierophants is that Solomon erected in front of the temple, dedicated to the national God of the Jews, two pillars, which have been the source of much perplexity, not to say sorrow in the breasts of the orthodox, and it seems to me by no means improbable that Symbol 18 essentially represents one of these pillars. Whether the two were precisely alike, we do not know, but from their possessing different names, it is probable there were corresponding though perhaps slight differences between them. On the left stood 'Boaz' a word indicating 'strength,' and there can be no possible hesitation in identifying a pillar thus named with the emblem of *Baal* or *Mahadev*. The pillar on the right was 'Jachin' one of whose meanings (to choose the least offensive one) is 'stability' which is a feminine attribute, attaching, equally with fertility, to mother earth the great proto-parent of all. The present symbol exactly represents the idea sought to be perpetuated by Solomon's "Boaz and Jachin," and those celebrated pillars may therefore have been similar and paired, to represent the equality of the male and female principles in Nature, or may have slightly differed from each other as their different, and very symbolical names suggest their having done.

The two 'Taurines' in the present symbol are mere repetitions of the idea embodied in the central pillar.

19. FOUR 'TAURINES' UNITED TOGETHER IN CRUCIFORM FASHION. Fig. 161.

This symbol is a mere variant of No. 64, (fig. 160) only in this case four 'Taurines' are united in place of two. It is a common nature-worship symbol on these coins.

In the catalogue of Greek and Scythic coins in the British Museum, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 16, on a coin of *Hooerkes*, *Okro*, (that is, *Mahadev* or *Siva*) is represented carrying a wheel, which is an unusual symbol on these coins, but clearly points to the solar attributes of the god. Another peculiarity of *Okro* on these coins is, that where he is repre-

sented with a goat in attendance, the god carries in one hand a drum, but where the goat is not present, the drum is replaced by the usual forked thunderbolt, Pl. XXVIII, figs. 14 and 15. The wording of the Catalogue is here not quite uniform, as the drum of fig. 14 is in the text described as a 'thunderbolt,' though the same object on Pl. XXVI, fig. 13 is described as a 'drum.' Now this drum and goat may possibly refer to the wanderings of *Siva*, in guise of a mendicant Brahman, when in feigned disparagement of himself he tried the faith of the maiden who had given her heart to the god, who stood unrecognised before her, as so well told in the hymn of Sir W. Jones to *Siva*. Or the 'drum' so called may be regarded in the light of a mace, the homologue of the Grecian thunderbolt, but the main point I think to establish is that the so-called drum is introduced only when the goat is brought in as well. Fig. 63 probably represents the same article, whether 'drum,' 'reliquary' or 'lamp,' and it not improbably represents the first, on Indo-Scythic coins, whilst on the older punch-marked coins it stands for the latter articles.

20. A SPHERE SURROUNDED BY SEVEN OWL-HEADS. Fig. 96.

This symbol is not mentioned by Thomas, but occurs in duplicate, unaccompanied by any other on a rectangular three karsha-piece in my possession, weighing 175 grains from Rawal Pindi. It consists of a central boss, supporting seven equidistant and similar spokes or rays, shaped like the Greek letter 'phi' with the projecting top stroke cut off. This shortened 'phi' as I have termed it, is essentially identical with the symbol found on pottery and *terra-cotta* whorls at Troy, which Schliemann call 'owl's head' and identifies (with sufficient probability in my opinion) with the cult of Athene, (Schliemann, Troy, p. 312, fig. 227). This symbol No. 20 may, however, be taken to represent the earth, surrounded by the seven planets, whose action on mundane affairs may be implied by the stroke connecting each with the centre. We may further consider the symbol as an esoteric allusion to the mystical property and attributes of the number seven, doubtless all originally based on the number of the planets recognised by Chaldæan astrologers.

Seven was the Sabbatical number of the Jews, whose obligation to Assyria and Egypt, for much of their religious knowledge it is futile to question. When Noah constructed his ark seven clean beasts were selected to enter therein, and seven days' space allowed to get them into their places, and after seven months the whole happy family once more settled on *terra firma*. Seven were the years of plenty and of subsequent famine foretold by the seven head of kine and seven ears of corn. Seven were the branches of the temple candlestick, and seven the victims of

each kind offered at the dedication of the ark. Seven were the planets worshipped in Chaldæa and seven the days of the week. Seven was the number of the Pleiades, seven the Champions of Christendom, the sages of Greece, the sleepers of Ephesus, and the Rishis of Hindustan. Holy was the seventh day in Hesiod's Calender (among others) for thereon *Leto* gave birth to *Apollo*. Seven times did the tuneful swans (as Callimachus tells us in his Hymn to *Delos*) circle round the head of the goddess in her travail, and seven strings, in commemoration thereof did her son attach to his lyre. Seven was the number of the gates of Thebes and the warriors who attempted to sack that city. Seven were the female captives, second in beauty to Argive Helen alone, whom Agamemnon proffered to Achilles to win his forgiveness, and seven the folds of tough bulls' hides which fenced the heart of Telamonian Ajax. Seven were the horses of Surya and the Princesses in the Indian tale of 'Punckhin,' but the examples might be multiplied indefinitely were it necessary, and we may even trace the idea in such larger totals as the appointed span of man's days, and the seven hundred wives of Solomon.

Without therefore seeking for more positive indications whether this symbol bears a planetary reference or some other religious or esoteric allusion, we may feel certain it is not fortuitously septiform in design, but intentionally framed, with reference in some way or other to that mystical number which seems to dog the student through the mazes of history, mythology and folk-lore alike.

#### 21. A 'STUPA' COMPOSED OF TWO OR THREE HEMISPHERICAL CELLS. Fig. 47.

The simple stupa is of rare occurrence on these coins, but the variants thereof to be enumerated below are among the commonest symbols after perhaps the 'solar wheel.'

Regarding the attribution of certain of these symbols to Buddhist ideas Mr. Thomas remarks in his essay on "Ancient Weights," *Numismata Orientalia* Part I, p. 58. "So also amongst the numerous symbols or esoteric monograms that have been claimed as specially Buddhist, there is not one that is absolutely and conclusively an origination of or emanation from that creed." Now this assertion is altogether too hypercritical to merit complete acceptance, though it may be partially true. The Cross is an emblem by common consent of Christians, allowed to be symbolical of their faith, yet if we accept the above conclusion of Mr. Thomas, it would cease to have any claim to be so regarded, because, long anterior to Christianity it was an esoteric emblem of a different character, or if we put aside this argument, still the instrument used by the Romans anteriorly to the birth of Christ for the punishment

of malefactors, cannot in any sense be regarded as originating in his teaching, the definition whereby Mr. Thomas would seem to exclude the claim of many Buddhist emblems, to that name. To assert, however, that now-a-days the Cross has no title to be regarded as a Christian emblem is such obvious pedantry, that a similar contention against the acceptance of Buddhist symbols may be equally rejected on similar grounds. Again Mr. Thomas adds "The Boddhi tree was no more essentially Buddhist than the Assyrian sacred tree or the Hebrew grove, or the popularly venerated trees of India at large." Now this again is confounding two wholly different matters, since the Assyrian tree and the Hebrew 'grove' have no vegetable individuality save in the name preposterously bestowed on them by euphemistic pedants, but are symbols of Nature worship homologous with the '*Sistrun*' of Isis or the '*lingum*' of *Mahadev*, while the trees revered by Buddhists in India, Ceylon, or Burma, owe their sole claim to respect to their historic (as believed) association with events in the life of Buddha. Despite therefore the expressed opinion of so great an authority as Mr. Thomas, there are, I think good and sufficient grounds for still regarding some of these symbols as Buddhist in conception and significance.

The stupa is represented either by three semicircles, one of which rests on the other two or with an additional row below, making six semicircles in all. That these are regarded as so many crypts or relic chambers *in posse*, is proved by those examples in which each division or chamber is seen occupied by a reliquary, shaped like a dice box, or the small Indian drum, called '*dag-dagi*' used by itinerant leaders of bears and monkeys. Besides the simple stupa, this symbol has many variants.

## 22. 'STUPA' WITH DOG ON THE SUMMIT. Fig. 49.

In this symbol a dog is seen standing on the *stupa* in an energetic attitude as though barking. What the precise meaning of the dog is in this situation, it is not easy to say. Mr. Thomas gives several figures of a dog, but strange to say, does not show one in connection with the *stupa*, which is so generally the case, as to seem the rule though it often happens that but a trace of the *stupa* is preserved, and I have certainly never seen a case where the dog was so figured as to render it certain that he was not represented as standing on a *stupa*. Mr. Thomas speaks of the animal as the "objectionable dog" and elsewhere as a "playful puppy," but it may be questioned if the dog was regarded as objectionable by those who placed its image on the *stupa*, or if it was merely introduced as a playful puppy without any ulterior significance.

The figure of a dog in connection with a Buddhist *stupa* recalls to mind the use to which the animal was put in the bleak highlands of Asia,



as the preferential form of sepulture, over exposure to birds and wild beasts, in the case of deceased monks or persons of position in Thibet. Strange and horrible\* as it may seem to us to be devoured by domestic dogs, trained and bred for the purpose, it was the most honourable form of burial among Thibetan Buddhists.

One of the most beautiful legends that the folk lore of any land can produce, is that in which the noble *Yudhisthir* takes high ground on behalf of this animal, and actually refuses to enter the heaven of *Indra* unless permitted to take the dog with him, which had attached itself to the hero and his party during their last sorrowful march together through the forest. The hero would not abandon to death and starvation on the mountain side his four-footed companion even to enter heaven, and his courageous behaviour on behalf of his humble attendant was rewarded by the discovery that it was no mortal dog, but the great '*Yama*' himself in guise of that animal, who thereupon, as a reward for his constancy permitted *Yudhisthir* alone to enter *Indra's* heaven without undergoing the common doom of death.

We may compare the mediæval legend of the knight who passed triumphantly through a similar ordeal, and refused to enter heaven, while the soul of the frail woman with whom he had sinned was committed to penal fires, and his self-abnegation was rewarded by the pardon of the partner of his sin, but beautiful as this old legend is, it does not approach in pathos and high sentiment the Hindu legend of *Yudhisthir* and his dog. As a symbol of '*Yama*' therefore, the dog may figure above the *stupa*; or the dog may represent the Vedic bitch *Saramá*, the messenger of *Indra*; and as the dog is standing on the *stupa* in a position often occupied by the crescent moon, we have a strong confirmation of a surmise on other grounds, by Gubernatis that *Saramá* is merely "another impersonation of the moon" (*Zoological Mythology* by Angelo de Gubernatis, Vol. II, page 21).

### 23. 'STUPA' WITH PEACOCK ON THE TOP. Fig. 50.

In this case too we have an animal connected with *Indra* watching

\* The direst extremity which the wretched *Prian* conjured up in imagination as following *Troy's* darkest hour, was to be eaten by his own dogs on his own threshold.

"On me at last the ravening dogs shall feed,  
When by some foeman's hand, by sword or lance,  
My soul shall from my body be divorced;  
Those very dogs which I myself have bred,  
Fed at my table, guardians of my gate,  
Shall lap my blood and over-gorged shall lie  
E'en on my threshold." *Iliad* XXII, 66. Lord Derby's translation.

over the 'stupa.' As the peacock yearly sheds and renews his glorious plumes there may possibly lie hidden an esoteric allusion to a life beyond the grave, but it is more probable that it is used simply as an emblematic animal, being covered with spots, in which one brand of the Aryan family saw the eyes of the unfortunate Argus, while in India the same spots would represent the 'stigmata' with which Indra was covered when the saint's curse fell on him. The peacock is, however, appropriately sacred to *Indra*, from the loud cries with which it greets and seems to call for the rain.

24. 'STUPA' WITH A RELIQUARY (OR LAMP) IN EACH CHAMBER. Fig. 48.

In each chamber of this *stupa*, is seen, what I apprehend may be intended for a reliquary, shaped like the small Indian drum, called 'dag-dagi' and used by itinerant leaders of bears and monkeys. In the *stupas* of Afghanistan described in *Ariana Antiqua* and other works no less than in those in India opened by Sir A. Cunningham there generally exists a relic chamber in the centre, containing a box of stone (steatite) or metal, in which a relic of some sort is deposited together with a few gems and coins both gold and copper, and sometimes an inscribed slip of gold.

These objects may, however, represent lamps as General Sir A. Cunningham informs me that the *stupa* of Barhut was "honeycombed with small niches all round evidently for lamps." This latter supposition is supported by the fact that each compartment of the *stupa* is provided with one of these objects and not merely the central one. The shape of the enclosed vessel certainly however supports the former supposition, as Indian lamps are all shallow.

25. 'STUPA' WITH CRESCENT ON THE TOP. Fig. 51. + 127.

This\* is the most general mode of representing this structure and the symbol is ostensibly a planetary one. The crescent may, however, refer to *Mahadev*, Lord of life and death, who is represented with the crescent moon on his forehead in right we may presume of his consort or 'Sakti'. *Parbati*, also of course represents *Ishtar* of the Assyrian religion, the moon deity of the Hindu being the male *Soma* or deus Luna with the crescent moon represented behind his shoulders. *Ishtar* it must be remembered is astronomically connected in the old Assyrian worship with the planet Venus, and it is in later times only that the attributes of *Ishtar* or the celestial mother, or virgin became associated with *Artemis* and the moon.

\* The omission of the crescent over fig. 51 is an accidental error which the reader is requested to correct.

Considering how commonly the crescent moon is associated with the 'stupa' on these coins, it does seem most strange that in his article in the *Num. Orient.* Mr. Thomas should thus express himself. "Under Class A (heavenly bodies) in the engraving seem most the single representation of the Sun; no other planet or denizen of an Eastern sky is reflected in early Indian mint-symbolization." Neither is the difficulty rendered less remarkable by any alternative explanation of the crescent being given by Thomas, either when met with above the 'stupa' or in combination with the sun in symbol No. 3. (See fig. 128).

26. 'STUPA' WITH A TREE GROWING OUT OF THE TOP. Fig. 52.

In this symbol a tree is represented as growing out from the centre of a *stupa* and replacing its terminal chamber. Whether any particular tree is intended is not easy to say, but the symbol represents what must in India have often been noticed with regard to these structures, viz, the growth from out of them of a large tree, often to their considerable injury, and this idea is perhaps intended to be conveyed by the topmost chamber being missing. The tree, however, seems to resemble more nearly the troublesome but vivacious 'cactus,' rather than any specimen of the more lordly 'figus.'

27. CENTRAL SPHERE SUPPORTING THREE 'Chatras' 'UMBRELLAS' OR BROAD-ARROWS.' Fig. 91.

This symbol would appear to be Buddhist, but tinged with solar or Nature-worship symbolism. It consists of three 'chatras' or umbrellas radiating from a central boss or sphere. Thomas calls these symbols collectively "mystic circles" which does not explain much. The 'chatra' is of course a royal emblem, and is at the present day seen over every Pagoda in Burma. In some coins of a later date than the present it is also represented on the top of the *stupa*, as in those of the *Kunandas*. It is hardly distinguishable from the 'broad-arrow' (so called) which is in use in England to mark articles the property of Government, and which must rather be considered as related to the 'chatra' or royal Buddhist emblem, than to the classic weapon of Robin Hood.

This symbol has many variants, the simplest or initial form being the present No. 27 which is rather rare. The same type of symbol also occurs in the lowest stratum at Troy 23 feet below the surface on *terra-cotta* whorls mixed with stone implements. In this archaic form of the symbol the apex of the 'chatra' is directed inwards instead of outwards, and the solar nature of the inner disk on which the 'chatras' rest (as it were topsy-turvy) is placed beyond doubt by the numerous radiating lines surrounding it. (Schlieman's Troy, page 80.)

## 28. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING BALLS. Fig. 92.

In this variant the '*chatras*' are separated by three intervening balls, and the antiquity of this form of the symbol is proved by this identical pattern being found in Troy, only the balls and "arrows" (as Schlieman calls them) are ranged on the *terra-cotta* whorls in fours instead of threes (Schlieman's Troy, Plate XLIII, fig. 458). This identity of symbols used in Troy with those impressed on the punch-marked coins of India completely upsets the speculations of Thomas on their local origin. "In brief these primitive punch-dies appear to have been the product of pure home fancies and local thought, until we reach incomprehensible devices composed of lines, angles and circles, which clearly depart from Nature's forms." (Num. Orient. Ancient Indian Weights. page 59). Thomas then goes on at some length to except the design of the "panther of Bacchus with his vine" as of clearly foreign design and not the result of local thought. I am, however, unable to recognise any 'panther' in the objects figured as such by Thomas, or on any coins which have come under my notice, so till more decisive specimens are known, the occurrence of the '*Dionysiac panther*' must remain an open question.

29. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING '*Taurines*.' Fig. 94.

An essentially planetary or Nature-worship symbol. It occurs on copper coins found by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran.

30. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE '*Taurines*' IN SHIELDS OR OVALE. Fig. 98.

## 31. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING SEMI-CIRCLES. Fig. 93.

In this form of the symbol, the balls are replaced by semi-circles which may represent 'chambers' of a '*stupa*,' as so commonly thus represented on these coins.

## 32. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING 'RELIQUARIES,' OR 'LAMPS. Fig. 102.

These objects are the same as symbol 191, which in sometimes seen within the chambers of the '*stupa*.' It may possibly be intended for a '*lamp*.'

## 33. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE OWL-HEADS. Fig. 95.

In this form, the 'balls' are replaced by a symbol which may be described as the Greek letter 'phi' with the upper projecting limb out off. It is essentially the same as occurs on symbol 20 and is also found on Trojan pottery, and has been designated "owl's head." (Schlie-