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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 Bráhmaṇ Chánakya, the adviser of Chandra Gupta "with the view of raising resources, converted, by re-coining each *Kahapana* into eight, and amassed eighty *Koṭis* of *Kahapanas*", Mahawanse, quoted by Thomas, *l. c.*, *Num. Orient.* p. 41. These same kahapanas or kárshápanas, 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 too that may be urged in support of the plan adopted by the Bráhmaṇ, as these coins 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 these 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 Shahdheri, 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 mere 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 *Cash* 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 develope 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 Meikle (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 Easic 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. LXXXIX). 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

* Ovid's Fasti; Lit. I, line 391.

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 Dunfallandy, 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, nyloghai, 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 horseman 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.

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, 48, 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 ‘*siderum 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 Tartarei 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 '*cruæ-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) *Phæbe*;

(Maidens) *silvarumque potens Diana*

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 'trisul' 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 Inch, 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 '*trisul*' 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 is 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 cistum 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 terracotta 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 esoterical 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. Franks 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 Chaldaean 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 Priam 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 '*ficus*.'

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 *terracotta* 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 is 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 cut 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-

man's Troy, p. 313, fig. 227). A variant of the same design is seen carried in the hands of the principal figures in the bas-relief at Bogharken, representing scenes in Hittite history. Fig. 258. (See *Nature* for March 1888, p. 513), and another variant is found on a Sculptured Stone in Scotland at Elgin. Fig. 276.

34. HUMAN FIGURES. Fig. 1.

The human figure is perhaps most usually represented by a group consisting of a man on the right and two women on the left. The male figure has two fillets projecting behind his head, which probably indicate royal rank. The women sometimes clasp each other's hands, or else stand a little apart, and their hair is represented as fastened up behind the head into a projecting knot or 'bun,' the same mode of wearing the hair being also seen on the *Kunanda* coins.

35. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT. Fig. 10.

The elephant is an extremely common object on these coins and is usually turned to the right. There is very little variation in the treatment of the device, though Thomas figures an example with a number of '*Taurines*' round it by way of border.

36. A HAND IN A SQUARE, DISPLAYING FOUR FINGERS. Fig. 7.

This is not a very uncommon symbol, but what it refers to is not very evident. Every one familiar with India must remember the two little foot marks, carved in stone or marked with red paint, on the spot where some devoted wife bade earth adieu as she ascended the pyre, which was soon to consume her husband's body and her own. Can it be, that this is the hand of a '*sati*' in the act of distributing the last gifts to her relatives ere she mounted the fatal pyre? In some cases all the five fingers are displayed (as in Thomas' plate J. A. S. B., 1865, Pl. XI), but the surrounding square is there wanting.

37. A RHINOCEROS. Fig. 13.

The rhinoceros is rare on these coins, and in both the figures given by Thomas (J. A. S. B., 1865, Pl. XI), the horn, though undoubtedly belonging to this animal, yet makes an unnatural curve forwards. The species intended is probably *R. Sondaicus*, the lesser one-horned rhinoceros, which at the date of these coins was probably found over the entire peninsula, and so late as Baber's time was hunted and killed by arrows and spears, in the Punjab, where it has long since been exterminated. On one copper coin in my own possession, the forepart of an animal is represented, which undoubtedly is intended for a rhinoceros,

with a long recurved horn. Fig. 14. The coin is round and very thick, and of a later type than the bulk of these coins, and is probably from Ujain, as it is impressed with symbol 202 which seems to belong to that mint in the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham.

38. HUMPED BULL, COUCHANT BEFORE THE SYMBOL OF *Mahadev*. Fig. 15.

The Indian bull (or cow) is a common symbol on these coins and where the animal is associated with the '*lingum*,' there can be no doubt that the Bull Nandi, the '*vahan*' of *Siva* is intended, as the attitude of the animal on the coins is that in which '*Nandi*' is represented in almost every temple of *Mahadev*. I am not aware if the allied animal the yak, which figures on the coins of '*Kunanda*' is also met with on the earlier issues, but I think it possible that some of the standing figures of a bovine type may refer to that animal. See 'Note on some symbols on the coins of *Kunanda*' J. A. S. B., 1886, Part I, p. 161).* And here I would draw attention to an unaccountable statement of Mr. Rhys Davids in his essay on the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon, in *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 30. Speaking of a temple at Pulastipura Mr. Rhys Davids remarks,—“That the temple is sacred to Vishnu is certain, from the four stone bulls on its summit, which are couchant like the bull on the coin.” The context goes to show that this is no accidental mistake of the printer, and yet nothing can be more certain than that in Hindustan the couchant bull is the emblem of *Siva*, his appropriate '*vahan*,' as '*Garuda*' is of *Vishnu*. Therefore so far from proving that the temple belongs to *Vishnu*, the four couchant bulls would seem indisputably to prove its dedication to *Siva*!

Mr. Rivett-Carnac in his paper on the snake symbol in India, throws out the ingenious query, if the prominent hump on the back of the Indian bull may not have led to the selection of that animal as the '*vahan*' of *Siva* from the resemblance of the hump to one of the ordinary symbols of the god a dark round stone, and I think there is much truth in the idea. The material knowledge of the present day and the unsympathetic spirit of Western culture blinds us and deprives us of the capacity for viewing trivial objects in the light in which they presented themselves to untutored men in the childhood of the earth. As Gubernatis remarks in reference to the genesis of myth from ordinary solar and atmospheric phenomena: “When faith was pure, when science did not exist, such illusions must have been continually awaken-

* For considerations of strict accuracy, I regret having used (in common with other writers) the Tribal name for these coins, in place of the King's name who issued them, but having used the term *Kunanda*'s, I prefer (with this explanation) still retaining it.

ing enthusiasm or fear in the breasts of our ingenuous forefathers, who lived in the open air with their herds of cattle, and stood with earth and sky in constant relation, and in continual communion. We busy dwellers in great cities, held back by a thousand social ties, oppressed by a thousand public or private cares, never happen to raise our eyes towards the sky, except it be to consult it on the probability of fine or wet weather; but evidently this is not sufficient to enable us to comprehend the vast and complicated epic poem transacted in the heavens." (*Zoological Mythology*, Preface p. xxiv). To give an actual instance of this child-like simplicity in men far removed from the primitive times pictured by Gubernatis, we have only to turn to the memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini and peruse his account of a Salamander he saw when quite a boy. A father of the present day who fancied he saw a Salamander, basking in the fire under the kettle, would probably seize a pair of tongs with the view of securing such a curiosity for the local Museum, but this is what Cellini's father did in similar circumstances: "When I was about five years of age, my father happened to be in a little room in which they had been washing and where there was a good oak fire burning: with a fiddle in his hand he sang and played near the fire, the weather being exceedingly cold. Looking into the fire, he saw a little animal resembling a lizard, which lived and enjoyed itself in the hottest flames. Instantly perceiving what it was, he called for my sister and after he had shown us the creature he gave me a box on the ear: I fell a-crying, while he, soothing me with his caresses said," My dear child, I do not give you that blow for any fault you have committed, but that you may remember that the little lizard which you see in the fire is a Salamander: a creature which no one that I have heard of ever beheld before." So saying, he embraced me, and gave me some money." But as it takes a strenuous effort for the unaccustomed swimmer to dive to any depth, so it costs us a severe, and generally fruitless effort, to penetrate mentally the oceanic depths of mediæval credulity, when sacred books and sacred myths were composed by earnest men, of the type of Cellini's father who would have probably gone to the stake rather than admit that there was no real Salamander seen by him whatever but only the creation of his own fancy!

39. HUMPED BULL COUCHANT BEFORE A '*Taurine*.' Fig. 16.

This is an interesting example of the interchangeable character of the symbols of Mithraism and Nature worship or Sivaism. In India the humped bull is the '*vahan*' of *Siva* alone, but in the Mithraic religion of Persia, the bull represents the sun, so that the present symbol is capable of appealing either to the worshipper of *Mithra* or *Mahadev*.

This dualism was doubtless not unintentional and found imitators in the West, in the case of those astute and religious men the Popes of Rome, when they converted the statues of Olympian* deities into objects of Christian worship.

“Till Peter’s keys some christened Jove adorn,
And Pan to Moses lends his pagan horn;
See graceless Venus to a Virgin turned
Or Phidias broken, and Apelles burned.” Dunciad, Book III.

40. A NYLGHAO (*Portax pictus*). Fig. 25.

This is an animal which has short straight horns, and is not humped like the Indian Bull. It is probably intended for the nylghao, an animal considered by the Hindus as allied to the bull and equally sacred. It is not a common symbol on the coins and is unnoticed by Thomas.

41. HARE IN THE MOON. Fig. 21.

This pretty conceit, though by no means rare, is not mentioned by Thomas. It refers of course to the relation in Hindu mythology between the Moon and Hare, the mythical hare being undoubtedly the moon. Gubernatis quotes one Buddhist legend in which the hare is described as having been translated to the moon, as a reward for its having hospitably bestowed on *Indra*, in guise of a pilgrim, its own flesh to eat, no other food being available. (*Zoological Mythology*, Vol. II, page 79).

42. GOAT BROWSING ON A VINE. Fig. 20.

This animal is not named by Thomas, but figured by him next to the rhinoceros, and also as a leopard, in the last figure of line 6, but on a coin in my possession the animal is provided with two straight horns and two very conventional or round ears, and below it, is figured a kid with the same conventional round ears, but no horns. The upright staff in front of it, with berries down each side (fig. 76)† may represent a vine, conventionally, in which case the goat is probably represented in the act of browsing on the vine as goats are fond of doing. The symbol in fact illustrates those lines in Ovid’s *Fasti* :

* The tomb of Sannazarius, the poet, who died in 1530 was ornamented with statues of Apollo and Pallas with the Gorgon’s head: these figures were subsequently altered in the prevailing fashion of the period, into figures of David and Judith; the lyre of the former becoming a harp, whilst the head of Medusa was converted into that of Holofernes!

† This branch or staff should have been represented in front of fig. 20, as it invariably accompanies the goat.

"Rode, caper, vitem! tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram
In tua quod spargi cornua possit erit."

Indian goats display two types of horn, a straight horn of the 'markhor' type (*Capra Falconeri*), and a curved horn like that of the Nilghiri 'wild sheep' of sportsmen. (*Hemitragus hylocrinus*). The peculiar round ears, may be intended to represent an artificial shape, imparted to them as a mark of ownership, as to this day goats' ears are sometimes cut for that purpose. Specimens exist in the British Museum and in my own collection.

43. A KID. Fig. 22.

There seems no reasonable doubt that this animal is intended for the young of the goat placed above it on the coin, the youthful look of the kid being well conveyed, and its ears being of the same conventional shape as those already described of fig. 20. It is probable therefore that two distinct 'punches' were employed, the 'kid' being struck wherever room was available for it. The coin is in my possession and I have noticed only I think another example in the British Museum.

44. THE CIVET-CAT, (*Viverra zibetha*. The 'Katas' of India). Fig. 27.

This is probably one of the animals which Thomas calls a "leopard," which animal I have failed to recognise on the coins, at least with any certainty. The animal occurs several times and in all the better preserved samples, it is represented with a lengthened snout quite unlike the rounded face of any feline animal. The ears too are rounded, patulous and connivent quite unlike those of the dog, but on the whole, imparting to the elongated head the appearance of the civet-cat. On some coins a small animal with long ears, is introduced just in front of the nose of the civet-cat, whose action seems to be arrested, and to represent that animal as seizing the hare, or as pausing in the act of scenting it. If we suppose the hare to be a foolish young leveret, there is not too much disparity of size between it, and the large civet-cat of India which in my opinion the larger animal is intended to represent.

45. A PANTHER (?) Fig. 19.

This animal has not been noticed by me on any of these coins. One of the animals so called by Thomas (fig. 20) is undoubtedly a goat and possesses horns! The other (fig. 19) so regarded by Thomas is probably a 'katas'.

46. A 'gharial' SEIZING A 'hilsa.' Fig. 30.

The first and second objects figured by Thomas Num. orient. l. c.,

line 7, refer evidently to one and the same subject, which though not explained by the author is sufficiently clear to any one familiar with the Ganges, to leave no doubt of the incident it is intended to convey. The rainy season in Bengal we may suppose to be at its height, the midday sun pouring down its intense rays, ('raining fire' as the natives say) tempered only by frequent clouds drifting overhead before the set of the Monsoon current. Nature is in her lustiest mood. The social Bayas (*Ploceus*) weaving their pensile nests from some '*kujur*' palm on the edge of the cultivated land afford an illustration of what is everywhere going on in every grove, brake, or swamp, where the feathered tribes are busy in attending to the wants of their young, or in preparations for their anticipated arrival. Standing on the banks of the sacred Ganges now in full flood, the traveller can but dimly discern the opposite shore across a broad expanse of turbid and seething waters, swirling onwards to the sea. Against this powerful stream, that prince of Indian fish, the '*hilsa*' (*Clupea ilisha*, B. H.) is now striving to win its way from the sea to the spawning ground in the upper reaches of the river and one of the perils that beset its path, is the incident depicted on the coin. Suddenly, at our feet almost, as we gaze down on the river from some lofty bank, against which the main stream of the river is setting, a long snout, at once seen to be that of a '*Gharial*' or the fish-eating long-nosed Crocodile of the Ganges is protruded above the waves, and in the grip of its jaws a fine '*hilsa*' is seen held well clear of the water. The '*hilsa*' is seized and held much as a pike is said to seize its prey, that is transversely and after a bite or two is swallowed and the snout of the monster disappears as noiselessly as it rose. A living tomb has closed on its victim and another scene in the kaleidoscopic tragedy of nature has been enacted before our eyes. The salutary thought "*omnes eodem cogimur*" was probably not lost on the earlier settlers in the Ganges valley and may have led to so pregnant an example of the uncertainty of life, a doctrine equally cherished by Christian and Buddhist alike, being perpetuated for its moral on these early coins.

47. A PYTHON OR ROCK-SNAKE INCUBATING HER EGGS. Fig. 29.

If I am correct in my interpretation of this symbol, it proves that long before our era the observant Hindu or Buddhist, had noticed the remarkable peculiarity of the Python incubating her eggs, which till recent years naturalists were wont to regard with incredulity, till the fact was established beyond cavil by the animal in the Zoological Gardens in London. The design on the coin has every appearance of being intended for a snake, folded round on itself, and the peculiar shape of the head suggests the python being the snake intended. Within

the folds of the body are two oval objects which can hardly be meant to represent anything but eggs, and if this interpretation is not accepted, I am quite at a loss to suggest any other, but I feel convinced the above is the correct one.

48. A COBRA. (*Naja tripudians*). Figs. 31, 32.

Neither this symbol or the last is mentioned by Thomas, nor does it appear to be common on the coins, but on two specimens in my possession, what appears to be a hooded snake is seen, though not very well preserved. Considering the part the Cobra plays in Hindu mythology, it is rather curious it is not of more frequent occurrence, being sacred to, and symbolical of *Vishnu* and *Siva* alike. The Cobra is perhaps introduced as a fortunate and auspicious symbol, just as a snake in brass is used as a canopy for idol shrines or altars at the present day, and which snake is furnished with one or a plurality of heads. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C. I. E., once informed me that a respectable Hindu family of good position in Bengal referred a certain reverse of fortune which overtook it, to the fact that in repairing the old family mansion, a number of Cobras which from time immemorial had occupied quarters below the basement of the building, had been dislodged, and either dispersed or destroyed. It may seem strange that a Hindu should not only tolerate but derive satisfaction from the presence of so dangerous a guest in his abode, but I believe the zenial tie thus established between the reptile and man is rarely dissolved through any misconduct on the part of the former. I can quite believe, that as bees are said to recognise persons they are in the habit of seeing about their hives, so the Cobras in a house, may learn to recognise their protectors, and moreover the occupants of the premises knowing what sort of animals were about the place at night, would act with all necessary care in consequence.

The peaceful and unvindictive and unaggressive disposition of the Cobra appears to be recognised not only in Bengal, but among the Karens in Burma who have, of course, a legend to account for it. Once on a time the Great Father summoned the reptile tribes before him to interrogate them as to how they would behave towards man, for in those days all snakes were poisonous. The Python replied haughtily that he should act as he pleased, for which arrogance he was driven into the water, which quickly washed away his poison and all his descendants have been harmless ever since. The Cobra, however, replied that he would not bite man, without provocation sufficient to bring tears into his eyes, and he therefore was allowed to retain his full venomous power. (Rev. F. Mason). Fig. 31 is copied from Prinsep's Plate, of

224 W. Theobald—*Notes on some of the symbols found on the* [No. 3, Ancient Hindu Coins. (Edited by Thomas) Pl. XX, fig. 25, a copper coin. Fig. 32 is from a coin in my own possession, of silver.

49. A TRIONYX, OR RIVER TURTLE. Fig. 35.

On one coin in my possession a turtle with its neck protruded beyond its shell is seen in the act of swimming, apparently, and Thomas has the figure of one with a fish on either side, as though to point out it is a water turtle and not a land tortoise which is represented. The animal may perhaps represent the mythical turtle which in Hindu cosmogony supports the universe, but it is more probably intended for an ordinary '*trionyx*' which in the Indian rivers is so prominent an object, and would be one of the most remarkable animals in the eyes of a people who had immigrated to the fertile plains of India, from the cold highlands of Asia, where such reptiles are unknown, or represented by species of insignificant size compared with such powerful creatures as the '*Trionyx*' of the Ganges. The turtle is also regarded by some as a phallical emblem, and as the worship of Mahadev is clearly referred to on these coins, the turtle may be introduced as an emblem of his cult.

The turtle is too infrequent on these coins, as compared with the very common elephant, to render it likely that by the turtle is intended the mythical opponent of the elephant, when both fell victims to the superior might of '*Garuda*,' and were carried off in his talons to be devoured by him. (See *Zoological Mythology*, Vol. II, page 363).

50. A FROG BETWEEN TWO '*Taurines*,' Fig. 28.

This symbol is not common, neither is it mentioned by Thomas. It is, however, very clearly represented on one coin in my possession, and has symbol No. 3 placed between the frog's front and hind legs.

In Vedic mythology the frog represented the clouds, and the animal may well have served as the symbol of the rainy season, when the frogs are all life and activity. Even if no esoteric meaning attaches to the animal, it is not surprising that it should find a place among the animals represented on the coins, in a land where it makes known its presence in a highly vocal and jocund manner, at a season when nature is reviving from the enforced rest of the hot season and where the hopes and labours of the husbandman depend on the same conditions which elicit a gratulatory chorus from the frogs.

51. TWO FISHES IN A TANK. Fig. 41.

Fish are frequently represented on these coins and generally in pairs either side by side, or one behind the other. As they are fre-

quently represented in a tank apparently, some domesticated species of the carp family may be intended, many of which are of large size, and when living in the vicinity of some temple are regarded as sacred, and remain unmolested. The doctrine of metampsychosis often too renders fish sacred, as in Kashmir where not long ago all fishing in the Jhilum within the city was prohibited as it was believed that the soul of Ghulab Singh, was contained in a large fish, which usually resided somewhere in the river near the palace in Srinugger.

52. FOUR FISH ROUND A SQUARE. Fig. 42.

Thomas figures this symbol, which appears to be intended for fish in a tank or piece of water, with a small island in the centre with a pillar erected thereon (Num. orient. penultimate figure of line 7).

53. A SILUROID FISH; 'CAT-FISH.' Fig. 36.

This is one of two figures given by Thomas seemingly intended to represent the same sort of fish. The peculiar shape of the head may be regarded as indicating the expanded gill covers which are very capacious in these fishes (*Siluroids*), whilst on one of the figures given by Thomas the tentacular filaments about the mouth are well displayed, which are so conspicuous in the cat-fishes, which are indeed so called, from their '*whiskers*.' My friend Dr. O. Codrington has suggested that a species of '*Trigon*' or 'ray' is intended, and I myself once thought so, but I incline rather to a 'Siluroid' as being one inhabiting inland streams with which the mass of people would more likely be familiar, and the shape of the fish points rather to an exaggerated outline of the distended gill covers, than to the body of a 'Ray.' The evident presence of tentacles or barbules, however, on one specimen is the strongest reason for regarding it as a 'cat-fish.'

54. AN ESTUARINE SNAKE? (*Cerberus rhynchops*). Fig. 34.

The triangular head of this snake is suggestive of a viperine tree snake, but the above estuarine snake, which has a peculiarly repulsive head is probably intended, and it is one too with which fishermen are familiar, and all dwellers on the banks of tidal streams in India.

55. A RAISED GRAIN-STORE WITH '*Thyrsos*' IN FRONT. Fig. 55.

This symbol may be intended for a house, but I think it is rather intended as a grain store, constructed of mats coated with clay, and raised on posts out of the reach of vermin. It may be presumed that had a house been intended, a door and some means of access would have been indicated. On the right of the store is a '*Taurine*' whilst on the

left stands a pole or 'thyrsos' whose counterpart may be seen in every cantonment bazar or lines of a native regiment, in the form of a tall bamboo, the fillets on the Greek 'thyrsos' being replaced by a long streamer of cloth by way of ensign.

56. FOOD RECEPTACLE FOR BIRDS. Fig. 118.

57. A LATER EXAMPLE OF THE SAME (ON THE COINS OF *Kunanda*). Fig. 119.

Of these symbols Mr. Thomas writes: "I am unable to conjecture the intent or import of the singular emblem which appears below the 'Swastika.' An earlier form of the device occurs on the introductory weight currency, but this outline suggests no more intelligible solution of its real import than the more advanced linear configuration" (See Note on some of the symbols on the coins of *Kunanda*, J. A. S. B., 1886, Part I, No. 3, page 167).

These devices do not seem to me hard to interpret. The first or more archaic symbol of the punch-marked coins is probably intended for a 'begging bowl' of a Buddhist monk, the two ears on one side, representing the ends of the band, by which the bowl is partly supported round the neck of the mendicant friar, as he wanders round to collect the offerings of the pious. Symbols No. 3 are mere accessories introduced here as in many other cases simply as such. The upright pole whereon the bowl or receptacle rests, is for the purpose of enabling birds to have access to the food without their lives being placed in jeopardy from cats or dogs, which would be the case were the food thrown down on the ground. Feeding animals of all sorts is a meritorious act in a Buddhist, but some criminality would attach to one, who through inattention, was the cause of an animal losing its life, as for example, tempting a bird by the offer of food within reach of a cat or dog, and hence probably the invention of the device represented by these symbols.

58. A BOW AND ARROW. Fig. 56.

The bow was the national weapon of the Aryan colonist of India long before the British yeoman made his favourite arm feared and victorious on many a well-contested field in France or in Flodden's fatal plain. In the *Ramayan* all the troubles which befell King *Dasaratha* and ended in the banishment of *Rama* were due to the unhappy accident of the king killing with his arrow the young ascetic in mistake in the forest for a wild animal, from which we learn that proficiency with the bow was a regal accomplishment in those days. Of the five

Pandu brothers, *Arjun* was a noted archer, and his unlucky escapade in bringing down a miraculous fruit, the property of a 'Muni' or Hindu saint, is the subject of a pretty poem by Sir W. Jones, familiar probably to most readers of this Journal, and another example may be quoted in the favourite hero of the Panjab, *Rasalu*, "*Sahl Byne's* redoubted son" whose bow of might brought down the *Rakus Pagrbutt*; no wonder therefore that the bow should appear on the coins whether any esoteric meaning attached to the symbol or not.*

59. A STEEL-YARD OR HAND SCALES. Fig. 9.

This is not very common, but seems without doubt intended for a 'steel-yard,' in this instance probably made of 'bamboo.'

60. A FISH. (So designated by Thomas). Fig. 45.

This creature may with equal probability be regarded as a centipede (*Scolopendra*). The figure is copied from 'Thomas'.

61. THREE HUTS, THE CENTRAL BEING THE LARGEST. Fig. 59.

As on these coins a man is usually represented with two wives, it seems probable that the taller or central hut is intended to represent the man's, or perhaps the joint dwelling of the family, whilst each of the smaller huts alongside of the central one, represents the separate dwelling of each wife.

62. A CROSS WITH ITS ARMS TERMINATING IN TREFOILS. Fig. 196.

This is an emblem which may be seen at the present day in Christian churches, on the altar for example of East Budleigh Church. The four arms of course indicate the three male and one female person of the Assyrian godhead, four persons and one god; whilst the trefoil ends stand for symbols of the masculine triad an idea which has survived to, and flourishes in our day, and was the religious germ-cell of all faiths which divide the godhead into persons or indulge in similar monkish subtleties.

63. SPHERE SURROUNDED BY FOUR '*Taurines*.' Fig. 99.

From a coin in my own possession. It is not common.

64. A THUNDERBOLT. Fig. 160.

For want of a better name I have termed this common symbol a 'thunderbolt' though in reality it is probably intended for a composite

* See Raficimento of the Legend of Rassaloo, J. A. S. B., 1854, p. 123. By Major J. Abbott.

symbol uniting two '*Taurines*' with a double *cruz ansata*. Regarding the centre of the emblem as a circle, with which the circle of the above four symbols is supposed to correspond, we have an intelligible explanation of the elements entering into the formation of this otherwise obscure symbol.

65. HUMPED BULL OR COW STANDING. Fig. 18.

This animal is sometimes depicted as standing, and is usually turned to the right. Thomas, however, figures one turned to the left.

66. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING SHIELDS WITH CENTRAL DOTS.
Fig. 97.

This symbol is figured by Thomas, and is not common.

67. A CROCODILE (?) Fig. 33.

A very indistinct symbol on one coin, perhaps intended for the above animal.

68. WELLS IN A GARDEN. Fig. 89.

This symbol probably represents a garden. In the centre, is a '*Thyrsos*,' or its Asiatic homotype. The low circular objects at each end probably represent the low wall by a well which terminates the water conduit in one direction, and the upright poles with cross levers, are the '*Shadoof*,' the common means of raising water for irrigation throughout the East. It is a common symbol.

69. A '*Thyrsos*' between two fish. Fig. 39.

70. A TREE GROWING SYMMETRICAL FROM A SQUARE ENCLOSURE. Fig. 74.

This box-like base, probably represents the brick enclosure, with which sacred trees are often fenced in, for protection and support.

71. A TREE, OR A BRANCH OF WILD DATE PALM (*Phoenix*). Fig. 68.

72. A TREE, PERHAPS A CYPRESS OR *Conifer*. Fig. 70.

73. A DOMESTIC IMPLEMENT FOR CLEANING COTTON. Fig. 228.

If this is not intended for a cotton gin, I fail to comprehend it. The symbol is a rare one.

74. AN INSECT? Fig. 54.

This symbol occurs on a coin in my own possession, and though very clearly defined cannot be very confidently explained. It certainly resembles an insect but may be perhaps intended for some fruit.

75. A RUDE CELTIC CROSS (?) Fig. 206.

I have seen no specimen which clearly shows what this is intended for, but it recalls in general appearance a rude stone cross of Celtic design, and with the proofs before us of the occurrence of ornamentation on Celtic crosses identical with symbols found on these coins, the idea of the prototype of a Celtic cross being also found on them is not so extravagant as it might at first sight seem to be.

76. AN ALMOND-SHAPED LOZENGE, WITHIN A SIMILAR AREA. Fig. 198.

This 'almond' on Assyrian gems is understood to stand as the emblem of *Ishtar*. In more modern times it came to be called '*vesica-piscis*,' and is the well-known shape used for medals of the Virgin Mary. (See Inman, *Ancient Faith embodied in ancient names sub voce*, '*Chasuble*').

77. No. 27 WITH OVALS BETWEEN THE '*Chatras*.'

This is a mere variant of fig. 92.

78. A TREE, SEEMINGLY ENCLOSED BELOW. Fig. 73.

This very peculiar symbol is not very rare, though it is far from clear what is intended by it. The basal portion looks like a box or enclosure, from each side of which a tree seems to shoot up, the right hand branch being taller than that on the left, and both ending in stiff cross twigs or shoots.

79. A TREE, OF A PECULIAR BOTTLE SHAPE. Fig. 80.

80. A BRANCH IN AN ALMOND-SHAPED LOZENGE. Fig. 82.

81. A BRANCH IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 85.

82. A PILLAR ON AN EMINENCE. A "*Gilgal*." Fig. 211.

It is curious to find on these coins an emblem so widely spread as the '*Gilgal*,' (The sun's heap of stones'). The pillar* is of course a solar emblem, or one dedicated to '*Sivaism*,' and the heap of stones is accumulated round it by every passing traveller doing reverence by contributing a stone to the existing collection.

* For full particulars regarding '*Gilgals*' whether in India Canaan, or Europe, reference may be made *sub voce* to Inman's '*Ancient Faiths embodied in ancient names*' or Colonel Forbes Leslie's '*Early Races of Scotland*.'

83. A SQUARE WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 110.

An extremely simple symbol of infrequent occurrence.

84. A COW NILGHAIE.

On some coins an animal is seen without horns and with a somewhat finer head than an ordinary bovine, and it seems not improbable that the cow of the 'blue bull' (*Portax*) may be intended.

85. A TRAPEZOIDAL FIGURE WITH SQUARE MARKS INSIDE. Fig. 125.

I am quite unable to suggest an explanation of this curious symbol. The 'blocks' inside fill up the space more closely than is seen in the figure.

86. THREE 'Thyrsi' (?) ON AN OVAL BODY SUPPORTED ON TWO LEGS.
Fig. 201.

This also is a very obscure symbol which I am unable to offer any explanation of. I have noted several examples, none very clear.

87. A SQUARE TO THE LEFT OF A TRIFID BRANCH IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.
Fig. 205.

A similar type of symbol to fig. 203. It occurs on the reverse of a coin in my possession.

88. A STAR OF EIGHT POINTS. Fig. 144.

89. A BRANCH WITH A CIRCLE.

Figs. 85, 86 and 87 seem all variants of this design.

90. A SMALL TREE. Fig. 79.

This is not a rare symbol, but is always a small device, and not very conspicuous.

91. A RUDE FIGURE PROBABLY REPRESENTING A MAN WITH A WATER POT.
Fig. 5.

92. A SYMBOL OF UNKNOWN IMPORT. Fig. 210.

Occurs on a coin in the collection of Dr. O. Codrington.

93. A CROSS ABOVE A 'Taurine.' Fig. 108.

Copied from Thomas' Plate (Num. Orient.).

94. A GROUP OF 'fungi' (??) Fig. 83.

This is not a very rare symbol, but a very obscure one. It seems hardly probable that 'fungi' are intended but no alternative supposition presents itself.

95. A PARALLELOGRAM DIVIDED INTO TRIANGULAR SEGMENTS. Fig. 123.

A somewhat uncommon symbol on a coin in my possession.

96. A 'Thyrsos' WITH A CANOPY ABOVE. Fig. 38.

The central object is a pole with an oval head, not rare on these coins, and which I am inclined to identify with the 'Thyrsos' of Greek mythology. On either side are two objects which may be intended for fish, and above is a semi-circular canopy.

97. TWO FISH (?) WITH A POLE BETWEEN AND A SEMI-CIRCLE BELOW.

Fig. 37.

It is very doubtful if these objects are fish or the precise meaning of the semi-circle. It is essentially identical with No. 96, and the same explanation will apply to both.

98. A 'Thyrsos' BETWEEN TWO 'Taurines' IN A TRIANGULAR AREA.

Fig. 181.

99. A 'FAN' PALM, OR TAL TREE. (*Borassus*). Fig. 64.

100. A HUMAN FIGURE WITH THREE DOTS ABOVE IT. Fig. 2.

Perhaps intended for *Siva*.

101. THREE DOTS IN A CIRCLE. Fig. 154.

This symbol is identical in import with No. 15.

102. FOUR 'Taurines' IN A SQUARE. Fig. 164.

103. A CIRCLE SUPPORTING TWO 'Chatras' and two 'Taurines'.

Fig. 103.

This symbol appears to be furnished with a handle. If this is really intended, it would seem to be connected with the 'sistrum' of *Isis*, and to represent a variant of that Nature-worship emblem.

104. A VINE. Fig. 76.

This is part of a composite symbol, not very rare on the coins, and which Thomas calls a leopard and vine. In the best examples, however,

the animal is clearly a goat (see fig. 20), and the plant a conventional representation of a vine (?)

105. A BOW AND ARROW. Fig. 58.

On this symbol there is a sort of loop attached to the string, the precise meaning of which I do not recognise.

106. FOUR SQUARES WITHIN A SQUARE. Fig. 111.

107. A DOG.

Thomas represents the dog independently, giving no less than eight figures of the animal or allied species. Of these the fourth figure is probably a goat and the fifth a 'jackal;' but, so far as I can judge, the dog is always represented standing on the top of a '*stupa*,' and in no other position. Occasionally toward the edge of a coin, a dog is seen by itself, but rarely, if ever, so placed as to preclude the supposition that the '*stupa*' was there, but that its impression had fallen outside the area of the coin, the upper part only of the device, namely, the dog, being impressed. I do not wish, however, to go the length of affirming the dog never appears independently, but such is rarely the case, and I regard it as a culpable license of the artist not representing the dog, in the attitude he almost invariably is seen in, that is, on a *stupa*, because it was necessary to Mr. Thomas' theory that he should not by rights be there. Strangely too, not only is the dog omitted but the peacock likewise, which is always seen in no other position than on the top of a '*stupa*.' Thomas wholly ignores the peacock!

108. SIX BALLS OR DOTS ARRANGED IN AN EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE.

Fig. 158.

This symbol is a triangle each side of which consists of three dots. Whichever way this symbol is viewed, it presents three triangles standing each on its own base, or three pyramids as they may be termed, the pyramid being a male emblem and in the centre is a fourth triangle with its apex below, or the inverted pyramid or 'delta' which esoterically represents the female principle in nature. This will appear at once, if the 'balls' are connected with dotted lines.

109. A RECTANGULAR SYMBOL IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 116.

110. ELEPHANT TO RIGHT.

The elephant on the copper coins of Eran is more freely treated than the somewhat cramped and conventional animal so common on the

silver coins of this series, due probably to the later date of the larger Eran coins.

111. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT. Fig. 88.

112. A SOLAR WHEEL. Fig. 138.

This is clearly a solar wheel, with sixteen curved rays or in other words, a wheel compounded of four '*swastikas*.'

113. BOW AND ARROW IN A SQUARE. Fig. 57.

114. SYMBOL 27 ONLY WITH SIX '*chatras*.' Fig. 229.

115. A '*Thyrsos*' AND APPENDAGES WITHIN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 178.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham and is the only example that I have seen.

Rare, however, as this peculiar symbol is, two variants of it appear to me recognisable on inscribed stones in Scotland. S. S. S. Vol. II, p. cxxvii) also figured in the Magazine of Art. Vol. VI, page 17. One variant is on a stone from St. Vigean's and consists of a scroll springing from a trefoil centre, and crossed by two spear-heads, which if produced would meet in the trefoil. (Fig. 12 l. c.). In this variant the '*Thyrsos*' is replaced by the trefoil, with which it is esoterically related as a Dionysiac or solar symbol. The second variant occurs on a stone from near Meigle, Rossie Priory, (Figs. 4 and 16 l. c.) and on one from St. Madoc's (Fig. 20). In this variant two '*Thyrsei*' (as I should term them) joined below, transfix an inverted crescent, either plain, or ornamented with scroll-work.

Another variant, or at all events a symbol esoterically related to the present one is perhaps seen in Fig. 220 to be described presently.

116.

Fig. 115.

Whatever this symbol is intended to represent, it certainly occurs on sculptural stone in Scotland. A very clear example of it occurs at Inveravon, Banffshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, p. xv), accompanied by some other symbols, but without anything to throw light on the object intended, and the only suggestion I can offer is that it may be a rudely executed variant of a '*lingam*', which idea is corroborated by a variant of it at Tillytarmont, Aberdeenshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIX) on which an inner circle is inscribed, approximating it therefore to the usual form of that symbol.

117. A DOT WITHIN A CROSS. Fig. 227.

This may easily be regarded as a Rosicrucian symbol. The Rosicrucians (who were allied in ideas with the Templars) adopted as their badge a symbol of which the present is scarcely a variant. It consisted of a cross engraved on one side of a transparent red stone, and on the reverse side over the junction of the limbs of the cross was engraved a rose; or as viewed through the stone, a *red rose*, crucified on or attached to a cross, whence the name of Rosicrucian, or Red Cross Knight. Here we encounter a galaxy of pagan ideas. The Cross, prior to its appropriation by Christians, was an old nature-worship symbol, one of whose names was "Thor's hammer," and was connected by its parallelism of ideas with the Sun. Now Adonis was the Sun in his lusty prime, and when the sun was slain by the boar of winter, he was changed, as the beautiful old fable relates, into a red rose.

Woe! Woe! for love's own Queen, since stretched in death
Adonis lies, the beautiful, whose blood,
Poured forth like water on the thirsty earth,
Is matched by tears from Aphrodite's eyes.
Where fell those tears anemonies upspring,
And where each ruddy drop, Lo! blooms a rose.

Bion Idyl I. 62.*

The Rosicrucians in their day aimed, however, (despite the absurd stories current about them) at little more probably than what Romanists and Ritualists are endeavouring in modern times to effect, *viz.*, to adorn the faith they love with the symbols and gew-gaws of paganism, the meaning of which they try to conceal under high-sounding names of their own, or of which perhaps the bulk of these 'pau' bodies' may be honestly ignorant.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham.

118. A RUDE HUMAN FIGURE HOLDING A CLUB IN THE LEFT HAND. Fig. 3.

Above it are five dots, and these are probably intended to represent five heads. As the '*Lingam*' has sometimes five 'heads,' this figure is probably intended for *Siva*.

119. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT, OR ORNAMENT. Fig. 212.

* "Αι, αἰ, τὰν Κυθήρειαν, ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις
Δάκρυον ἃ Παφία τόσσον χέει, ὅσσον Ἄδωνις
Ἄιμα χέει· τὰ δὲ πάντα ποτὶ χθόνα γίγνεται ἄνθη.
Ἄιμα ρόδον τίκτει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τὰν ἀνεμώναν."

120. A SQUARE DIVIDED INTO NINE SEGMENTS WITH A DOT IN THE CENTRE.
Fig. 112.

121. A SNAKE (?) WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 207.

It is not very obvious what this object is, as it is too blunt for any ordinary snake, but perhaps the so-called 'two-headed snake' may be meant (*Eryx Johnii*).

122. TWO HUMAN FIGURES.

This is a rare symbol and occurs on a coin belonging to Sir A. Cunningham.

123. FOUR DOTS IN A SQUARE, WITH A MARK ABOVE. Fig. 113.

A curious but somewhat obscure symbol.

124. A RUDE HUMAN FIGURE. Fig. 4.

A club which seems to rest on the ground, and some indistinct object, perhaps a water-pot in the other.

125. A CROSS FORMED BY TWO 'Chatras' AND TWO 'Taurines.' Fig. 105.

126. AN EIGHT-POINTED STAR WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA, GIRT BY SIX
'Taurines.' Fig. 151.

127. WHEEL AND BELLS. Fig. 142.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham, and if my interpretation of it is correct, is one of the most interesting in its relation to the religious usages of mediæval Europe. The wheel has eight spokes and outside the periphery eight bells. The use of bells in Buddhist worship is well known, but I was surprised to find in the work of Wilhelm Lübke on "Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the middle ages" a precisely similar instrument figured under the title of 'Mass-bells,' only in the larger illustration a rope was added to pull the wheel, which is not seen on the coins. Judging by modern analogy, however, the motive power in India may have been water, and the essential part only of the arrangement, a *wheel carrying bells*, introduced on the coin! Lübke writes: "Here we may mention also the *Mass-bells* with which were given the signs of the principal movements in the sacred service. Some were arranged in an artistic manner, so that a number of bells were united on a small wheel, which turns on an axis and is moved by a chord." Page 154, fig. 120 (l. c.).

The specimen figured by Lübke was from Gerona, in Spain.

128. TWO SEMICIRCULAR OBJECTS IN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 202.

These objects recall the caps of the Dioscuri, in Bactrian coins of a later period, but it may be doubted if these are the objects intended. It is not quite clear, from the condition of the coin, if there may not be a third similar object, now effaced.

129. A CROSS ENCLOSING FOUR '*Taurines*' WITH FOUR CROSSES OUTSIDE. Fig. 177.

This symbol partakes of a Rosicrucian character. In the centre of this cross is a dot, or it may be a 'rose'. Round this central dot, four '*Taurines*' arranged with the points directed outwards, whilst in the outside angles formed by the areas of the cross, are inserted four circles each containing a cross.

130. A BOAT (?). Fig. 60.

This is a very obscure symbol. If the symbol represents a boat, the central object must represent a standard with a crescent at the top, and a mast on either side of it, with sloped yards: or these 'masts' may be the poles used for raising water from wells by means of a long lever, whilst the central object may represent a '*thyrsos*' or staff in the midst of the garden; the vessel wherein they stand, however, is not so easy to explain, if not a boat.

131. FIVE DOTS RANGED ROUND AN OVAL. Fig. 200.

This a curiously obscure symbol. I have sometimes been inclined to consider it intended for the foot-print of some animal, as a bear; but the idea is not probable.

132. TWO '*chatras*' AND TWO SHIELDS, ON A SPHERE, WITH A '*Taurine*' ABOVE AND A HANDLE APPARENTLY BELOW. Fig. 106.

This symbol resembles No. 103, in seeming to be provided with a handle. At the top is a '*Taurine*' and on the sides are two '*chatras*' separated by two triangular shields with their apices inwards.

133. WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES WITH FOUR '*Taurines*'. Fig. 150.

This wheel is of course a solar emblem.

134. SPHERE OR WHEEL WITH EIGHT SHORT RAYS. Fig. 145.

It may possibly be a variant of fig. 142.

135. UNKNOWN DESIGN, IN A TRIPARTITE AREA. Fig. 208.

This is a most ambiguous symbol, till a better preserved specimen is obtained.

136. WHEEL OR SPHERE WITH SIX RAYS. Fig. 146.

137. A BRANCH AND ANOTHER OBJECT IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.
Fig. 203.

The object on the left hand bears some resemblance to a Greek K.

138. A SHORT-TAILED CAT, (SUCH AS THE BURMESE RACE) ON THE TOP OF
A POLE. Fig. 24.

This is a curious design, and may be intended to represent a cat which had climbed to the top of an elevated food-receptacle, in pursuit of prey. The square box is probably intended to represent a railing or some sort of enclosure round the object. The Burmese race of domestic cats has a short tail, intermediate between the Manx cat, and the common race, and it is possible the artist had some such animal in view.

139. A HARE WITH A 'Taurine' BENEATH. Fig. 23.

140. A BRANCH. Fig. 69.

141. A LOTUS OR OTHER WATER PLANT. Fig. 81.

A fish sheltering under the leaves seems to indicate that a 'lotus' is the plant intended.

142. A TREE, PERHAPS A *Cactus* OR *Euphorbia* SO COMMON IN THE WARM
VALLIES OF THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS. Fig. 71.143. A HIGHLY CONVENTIONAL FIGURE POSSIBLY INTENDED FOR *Agni*; OR
THE UPPER LINE INSTEAD OF FLAMES, MAY BE INTENDED TO REPRESENT
EIGHT HEADS. Fig. 8.

144. CENTRAL BALL WITH THREE SYMBOLS RADIATING FROM IT. Fig. 159.

This is a remarkable symbol. At first sight the three objects surrounding the central ball might be regarded as 'fish,' but there is little doubt they are intended for the object regarded by Dr. Codrington as a variant of the ordinary 'Taurine' fig. 219. The symbol is enclosed within a well defined area of corresponding shape.

145. A FISH, WITHIN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 44.

I am not quite free from doubt if I am correct in designating the

objects on these three coins, (as well as on many others) as 'fish,' as they bear considerable resemblance to that modification of the '*Taurine*' symbol, effected by adding lateral appendages, resembling fins.

This symbol is figured by Sir Walter Elliot in his article on the coins of Southern India, in *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate II, fig. 64 where the coin is erroneously recorded as of gold. The coin has subsequently been figured and described by Dr. Codrington in the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. It is essentially the symbol of Taurus, (symbol 3 of this paper) with the addition on each side of two quasi-legs, or fins. Dr. Codrington ingeniously, and in my opinion correctly, identifies it with one of the masks used in a Buddhist Mystic Play figured in J. A. S. Ben. Vol. XXIV, fig. 8, by Capt. H. H. Godwin-Austen. The figures are photographs by Capt. Melville, and the mask in question represents a Bull's or Yak's head, with two short ears at the base of the horns. In the small symbols on the coins, these ears seem to be reproduced by two short strokes, having the appearance of short legs, or fins, but by means of the link afforded by Dr. Codrington's coin from Wai, some of these 'fish' symbols may be with equal probability assumed to be mere variants of the simpler and more frequently used '*Taurine*' No. 3.

146. A SPHERE BETWEEN TWO '*Taurines*' IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.

Fig. 169.

147. A PALM TREE, PERHAPS. Fig. 65.

148. THE '*Pentagram*' OR WIZARD'S FOOT. Fig. 194.

This is the symbol which Mephistophiles, (in Goethe's matchless drama) declares his inability to pass over. As a mystic symbol of the Trinity it was held to be all powerful in coercing demons in mediæval times. It is a five-pointed star composed of three equal and similar triangles which intersect each other.

149. SEVEN DOTS OR SPHERES WITHIN A HEXAGON. Fig. 155.

A planetary symbol no doubt.

150. A CIRCLE SURROUNDED BY NINE SPHERES WITH A CENTRAL ONE.

Fig. 156.

151. RHOMBOIDAL SYMBOL IN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 190.

152. PERHAPS A RUDELY DESIGNED SQUATTING FIGURE. Fig. 213.

153. AN ALMOND-SHAPED SYMBOL SURROUNDED BY FOURTEEN DOTS.

Fig. 199.

This is merely a highly ornamented variant of No. 76, and essentially the '*vesica-piscis*' of mediæval and Romish decoration. Romish medalets for the use of nuns and young persons assume this form even now.

154. A SYMBOL OF UNKNOWN IMPORT. Fig. 209.

This looks like a child's wooden horse, but its real meaning from this single specimen can hardly be guessed at.

155. FOUR '*Taurines*' ROUND A CROSS, IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 184.

The Cross here is the old T with a crescent above, and it is either mounted on a pedestal, or surrounded by a railing.

156. A '*Triskelis*' WITH A '*Taurine*' RESTING ON A CROSS. Fig. 167.

This is a remarkable symbol. It consists of a '*Triskelis*' (as in fig. 131) within a triangular area, and on the left of it a cross supporting a '*Taurine*' turned over to the right, forming a *crux ansata* with ears, as it were.

157. A WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES, SURROUNDED BY SIX 'OWL HEADS'. Fig. 104.

This of course is a solar symbol.

158. A CIRCLE AND CROSS-LINES. Fig. 117.

The design is rather obscure.

159. A '*Triskelis*' AND '*caduceus*' UNITED. Fig. 133.

This very remarkable symbol is I believe a compound one, and not formed fortuitously by the union of two. It consists of a '*Triskelis*' revolving to the right within a circular area, and joined above to a symbol No. 17, which I regard as a mere variant of the '*Caduceus*' or staff of *Hermes* or *Æsculapius*.

160. SYMBOL NO. 34 ONLY THE MAN HOLDS A CLUB.

161. A Dog.

On one coin in the possession of Gen. Sir A. Cunningham appears the figure of a dog with no apparent connection with a *stupa*, and it may therefore be occasionally so represented, but its usual position is that of fig. 49.

162. A LEAF OF A 'Cactus' TREE, (*Opuntia*). Fig. 72.

The 'Cactus' (so called) or *Opuntia* is a common tree in India and in places thrives so vigorously as to become troublesome. There is little doubt that the object here given is intended to represent a branch of this plant, the identity of which is cleverly touched off by the groups of spines along its edge.

163. A TRIANGLE IN A TRIANGULAR AREA. Fig. 193.

164. A SQUARE IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 109.

165. A 'TRISUL' ON A STAND. Fig. 191.

This symbol is almost identical with one found on Gupta coins at a later period. (See V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Gupta coins, J. A. S. B. Vol. liii, Part I, Pl. V, fig. 8d).

It is not a little remarkable that the 'trisul' or trident in any form, though so common on coins of a later period, is nowhere represented on these early punch-marked coins. The present symbol is, however, very suggestive of a transition from the '*scarabeus*' of Egyptian hieroglyphics to the trident of Greek and Indian art. Mr. R. Sewell has, I think, conclusively shown the intimate connection between the '*Scarabeus*' and the 'trisul', 'caduceus', and 'tri-ratna' of Greece and India, and the present symbol is not improbably a very angular and conventional rendering of a '*scarabeus*', wherein the *genesis* of the trisul is sufficiently indicated. The central prong represents the rostrum or head of the beetle, the outer prongs, its forelegs, the pentagon below, its body, and the two supports, the hind legs—(See Mr. Sewell's Early Buddhist Symbolism, Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. 1886, p. 398.)

167. A HORSE, TO THE RIGHT.

The horse does not occur on the silver coins, to my knowledge, but is found on large square copper coins, of a later or transition period, as exemplified by coins in the British Museum and others procured at Eran by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham.

168. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT. Fig. 204.

169. A POPPY HEAD, OR SOME FRUIT. Fig. 90.

I am acquainted with no fruit which resembles this symbol more than a poppy head, and the identification is not improbable as the poppy was probably cultivated at the period these coins were struck.

170. A TREE OR BRANCH WITH FRUIT. Fig. 84.

A somewhat similar mode of representing fruit is seen on some sculptured stones in Scotland.

171. SIX DOTS IN A PARALLELOGRAM. Fig. 124.

172. MYSTIC SYMBOL OF DELPHI. Fig. 195.

This symbol was inscribed over the entrance to the shrine at Delphi and its significance is unknown. There was an upright stroke in front of it, and some have thought it a symbol of the male triad and female unit, but this is far from certain. Its occurrence, however, on an Indian coin is a curious circumstance that can hardly be considered accidental. It may be objected that it is nothing more than the Greek E; but why should this letter appear on a coin probably anterior to the Greek invasion? Moreover, although Greek letters are common on Greek coins, the present symbol is the only one on these coins that can be construed as a Greek letter, and I prefer therefore to regard it, not as a letter, but a copy of the Delphic symbol, whatever that may stand for.

173. A HORSE.

This is on a large square copper coin, probably from Eran, and as previously stated, of a later period than the bulk of these coins. The horse is in a spirited attitude with one of the fore-feet uplifted, as if stamping or pawing.

174. GOAT AND VINE.

There are two or three coins with the symbol figured by Thomas on them, but these specimens prove the animal is a goat possessed of horns and not a 'panther' as Thomas avers. In the best specimens, symbol No. 329 is seen over the goat's back.

175. A 'Taurine' AND A SQUARE WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 168.

176. A 'Stupa,' BENEATH A MOUND. Fig. 46.

This symbol seems to represent the primitive ideal of a 'Stupa' composed of three chambers or cinerary receptacles, beneath a hemispherical mound or 'tumulus,' and there seems no alternative supposition for the semicircular line enclosing it above, other than that it represents the earth heaped above over the dead, such as the Greek army erected over the ashes of *Thetis'* son—

ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προὔχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντοφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη
τοῖς, οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

“ These with a glorious tomb we mounded o’er,
 We, the divine host of Achaian men,
 Towards Hellespontus, on a beard of shore,
 Sign for all mariners afar to ken ”
 Now and hereafter ”.

Odyssey. Book XXIV, Worsley’s translation.

177. A CURVED MARK WITHIN A SQUARE IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 114.

A symbol of obscure import.

178. A CROSS WITH THREE ‘*Taurines*’ AND A LOZENGE. Fig. 180.

Above these symbols is a semicircle, which may be intended for a ‘*tumulus*,’ or the canopy of heaven perhaps. It is essentially identical with No. 180, fig. 182 and No. 193, fig. 183, but has the lozenge symbol in addition. The lozenge is of course the emblem of *Ishtar* or the ‘*vesica-piscis*’ of modern Ritualistic language, and in the cross we probably have a variant of the ‘*Thyrsos*,’ in combination with a ‘*Taurine*’ above and one on either side, a combination again seen on the next symbol.

179. A ‘*Taurine*’ AND ‘*Thyrsos*’ IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 170.

180. A CROSS BETWEEN TWO ‘*Taurines*.’ Fig. 182.

This ‘cross’ has an upper cross-bar, which seems to support some object, not clearly seen, but probably a ‘*Taurine*.’

181. TWO ‘*Taurines*’ AND TWO RELIQUARIES IN A SQUARE. Fig. 166.

182. A TREE, RISING FROM A SQUARE BASE. Fig. 75.

This square base probably represents either a railing or a protecting wall of stones built round the tree, as is still the practice in India, affording at once protection to the tree and a seat beneath its shade during the heat of the day.

183. A BRANCH WITHIN A NEAT TRIANGULAR AREA. Fig. 67.

184. HUMPED BULL COUCHANT BETWEEN TWO FISH? Fig. 17.

In this instance the Bull is couchant before an object which may be intended for a fish, whilst a similar symbol is seen over the bull’s rump. I am by no means satisfied, however, that the object really is intended for a fish, and think it not improbable that symbol No. 236 is intended, which is a variant of the ordinary ‘*Taurine*’ symbol (see fig. A of Dr. Codrington’s paper ‘on some old silver coins found near Wai’; Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal). The small size of

the symbol renders it difficult to determine what is really meant, but if Dr. Codrington's suggestion of its relationship to a bull's head mark used in Ladak Mystic plays be correct, these additional side strokes, resembling fins, in reality represent the ears of the Bull, though the die-engraver himself may not have correctly understood the true meaning of the symbol, and failed accordingly to give it an intelligible character. It is not a very rare symbol though usually indistinct.

185. FOUR FISH (?) WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 43.

186. AN OVAL FILLET IN A SQUARE. Fig. 152.

187. A BRANCHED OBJECT IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 87.

188. TWO TALL OBJECTS WITH A LOWER ONE AT THE SIDE.

I am unable to guess at what these objects are intended to represent. They bear a sort of resemblance to those decorative designs on Christian ornamentation termed, 'nails of the cross,' but they are not ranged in trefoil patterns as the 'nails' are.

189. SEVEN SPHERES WITHIN A CIRCLE. Fig. 157.

This is a variant of No. 149, (fig. 155) and is in doubt a symbol of planetary import.

190. A SQUARE, WITH AN INSCRIBED STROKE. Fig. 189.

191. A RELIQUARY OR LAMP WITHIN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 63.

This symbol occurs on one coin in the British Museum. It may be regarded as a reliquary, or else as a drum, it being of the precise form of the small Indian drum, or 'dag-dagi' carried in the hand by jugglers and wandering performers with bears and monkeys, with a knotted string attached to the middle which acts as a striker when shaken backwards and forwards. It may also be a lamp.

192. A '*Stupa*' OF THREE CHAMBERS WITH TWO FISH (?) BENEATH.
Fig. 53.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the British Museum, and is identical with fig. 46, only it has two objects beneath within an enclosed area which may signify fish in a tank, and be intended for miniature specimens of symbol No. 236.

193. A FISH (?) ON A CROSS WITH A '*Taurine*' ON EITHER SIDE. Fig. 183.

It is probable that in many cases where the object resembles a fish

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like the above, it is really a variant only of a '*Taurine*' turned on its side.

194. A HARE WITH A LEVERET.

From a coin in the British Museum. This symbol is not well preserved, and it is possible it may be intended as a variant of No. 44, but the position of the animals differs.

195. FOOD RECEPTACLE WITH RAILING AND '*Taurine*.' Fig. 122.

This is a variant of No. 226, both being on a large square copper coin of later type procured by Genl. Sir A. Cunningham at Eran.

196. A RAKE FOR GRAIN, OR HARROW (?) Fig. 197.

197. FOUR '*Taurines*' IN A SQUARE, SEPARATED BY A LINE. Fig. 165.

198. A WHEEL WITH THREE SPOKES. Fig. 137.

This is clearly an archaic form of the '*Triskelis*.'

199. A JACKAL WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 26.

The tail is rather short for a jackal, and still more so for a fox, to which the figure also bears some resemblance.

200. A TREE. Fig. 66.

201. THREE '*Taurines*' AND A CROSS. Fig. 230.

This symbol is figured by Thomas from a coin probably in the British Museum. It consists essentially of a *crux ansata* resting on a square base, with a '*Taurine*' turned on its side above, and a '*Taurine*' on either side. It is a variant of No. 193 (fig. 183) with the square railing below added. The figure is very faulty.

202. CROSS AND BALLS. Fig. 172.

203. A HORSE TO THE RIGHT.

204. A LOTUS FLOWER.

205. AN EIGHT-SPOKED WHEEL WITH HOLLOW NAVE. Fig. 143.

Besides the solar wheel another sort of wheel is also met with, which is not mentioned by Thomas. It has eight spokes, is larger than the solar wheel and differs essentially therefrom in having a hollow axis, from which I infer it is intended to represent a mechanical wheel of human construction. It is not easy to say why a cart-wheel should

be placed on these coins, but it may not improbably represent a sacred wheel, such as in Thibet is used to rotate prayers on, and is driven by water power for that purpose. It may seem very absurd to us, but not more so perhaps than the custom in Catholic Europe to pay for 'masses' for the soul of some deceased sinner.

This symbol is from a coin in my own possession.

206. '*Thyrsos*' BETWEEN TWO CIRCLES ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS. Fig. 176.

Figs. 171 to 176 would all seem to be variants of one symbol which in the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham is the mint mark of Eran. Except fig. 171, which occurs on a silver coin in the British Museum, these symbols all occur on large copper coins procured by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran, so that in this instance the territorial assignment of the symbol is fairly made out. The gradation between the different variants is well observed. The simplest form is fig. 171, four balls or circles arranged in a lozenge. Fig. 172 shows four balls each with a central dot connected by the arms of a cross. Fig. 173 shows four circles each containing four balls, and fig. 175 is similar, but has a cross, each arm terminating in a ball, interposed between the circles, without their being attached thereto. Fig. 174 is of a more ornate character, consisting of four circles connected by a cross, each medium circle containing a '*Taurine*' and each lateral circle a '*swastika*.'

Fig. 176 is a variant, which seems to indicate an approach to symbol 115 (fig. 178), being essentially similar in the elements composing it.

207. A TREE SURROUNDED BY A RAILING. Fig. 77.

This fine symbol clearly shows a sacred tree surrounded by a railing. Each branch is trifid, but it is not possible to hazard a guess at what tree is intended.

208. A BULL TO RIGHT.

This symbol occurs on a large square copper coin from Eran of later date than the silver coins. These large coins of the Eran mint probably are in fact transitional between the old punch-marked, and later coins struck in the usual manner, many of the punch-marked symbols retaining their place on the later dies.

209. A SIXTEEN-PETALLED LOTUS. Fig. 148.

Both this and No. 211, (fig. 147) are from large square copper coins from Eran.

210. CROSS AND BALLS WITH '*Taurines*' AND '*Swastikas*.' Fig. 174.

211. AN EIGHT-PETALLED LOTUS. Fig. 147.

212. A ROW OF DOTS, BETWEEN PARALLEL LINES. Fig. 217.

At first sight this resembles the 'vine' as conventionally represented, but the vine is represented with two rows of dots arranged on each side of a central stem, whereas the present 'dots' are in a single row enclosed by side lines. I cannot suggest what is intended by the symbol.

213. A FILLET OR BAND ORNAMENTED WITH '*Taurines*.' Fig. 216.

214. A TREE WITHIN A RAILING. Fig. 78.

A symbol of the same type in No. 207. Both are from the large square copper coins from Eran, which from their size admit of clearer details and execution, and the 'punches' and figures are larger than is usual on the silver coins.

215. A '*Taurine*' IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 188.

216. A BOAT OR 'CORACLE,' WITH TWO 'FISHES' (?) Fig. 62.

217. CROSS AND FOUR CIRCLES EACH ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS. Fig. 175.

218. AN ELEPHANT TO THE LEFT. Fig. 11.

This animal is common on the coins, and is usually turned to the right. Thomas gives nine figures of elephants, one of which only is turned to the left. Another of these figures is surrounded by a frame of '*taurines*.' In India the elephant is symbolical of Indra and the animal is probably intended for '*Airāvatas*' the elephant of Indra. The symbol is an animal personation or embodiment of those huge banks of dark clouds, which during the rainy season traverse the vault of heaven, and in India form so striking an object. Especially welcome to the parched earth is then the advance of Indra's elephant ('*Nimbus*' of meteorology) and it has given rise to the pretty metaphor in the *Meghadūta* which Griffith thus renders:

"When on a day in June, he* upward cast
The aching eyes, lo! on the mountain lay
A glorious cloud embracing it, so vast
As some huge elephant, that stoops in play
To trample down the bank, that bars his onward way."

* The banished Yaksha, servant of Kuvera (the God of Wealth) and the principal personage in the piece.

219. FOOD RECEPTACLE WITHIN RAILING WITH TWO 'chatras.' Fig. 121.

A distinctly Buddhist symbol.*

220. THE CADUCEUS, OR STAFF OF ÆSCULAPIUS, OR HERMES. Fig. 135.

This symbol in its classic form is rare on the coins, but occurs on a copper coin procured by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran; there are two aspects under which this symbol may be regarded. It may be identified with the staff of Aesculapius or the wand of Hermes, endowed with power of life or death, which Cyllenios bore when conducting the souls of the suitors to Hades.

“Ἐχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χειρὶ
Καλὴν, χρυσεῖην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει,
ὣν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.”

or it may be regarded simply as an astronomical symbol, representing the Sun and Moon conjoined, and equally applicable as a symbol of Nature-worship. I prefer, however, to look further back and regard it apart from Greek association, and to view it as a variant of the still more ancient symbol of Egyptian worship, the *Crux ansata*. The *Crux ansata* is compounded of three elements, an upright staff, two cross limbs and a circle. Now, the classic caduceus in its simplest form as in fig. 135, is similarly made up of these three elements, slightly modified, and their relative position changed. Take the *Crux ansata* and remove the side limbs of the cross, and we have a circle supported by a staff. Slightly curve these two limbs and replace them above the circle, and we have the classic 'caduceus' represented by fig. 135, and this I take to be the origin of the symbol, and if so, it affords an interesting proof of the widely spread belief and the extreme antiquity of some of the symbols used to typify it, which recur on these coins.

221. IN SYMBOL 221, (FIG. 107) WE PERHAPS HAVE THE 'CADUCEUS' IN A STAGE OF ARRESTED GROWTH, OR A VARIANT PRODUCED DURING PROCESS OF CONVERSION. Fig. 107.

A still further proof of the plasticity of mythological symbolism lies in the fact that the 'Caduceus' is either represented as two serpents turned round a rod (its classic form), or in place of two serpents a lighter form of the 'Caduceus' is made by simply attaching No. 3 symbol to a staff as in the round copper coin of Azes (Ariana Antiqua, Pl. VII, fig. 12), though the symbol on the coin there figured, is really a slight variant from the usual type, the bottom part of No. 3 symbol being there formed by a loop of the staff, formed by the top being bent

* The 'chatras' on the railing, are accidentally omitted in the figure.

round *crozier* fashion, adding another morphological link in the genealogical chain which binds our modern hierophants through the Pontifex Maximus of both old and modern Rome with Nature worship and the cult of Baal. The 'nomen' may be changed, but the Numen is the same.

222. FOUR CIRCLES ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS, BUT WITHOUT A CROSS. Fig. 173.

223. A FIGURE TO RIGHT HOLDING A SHORT STAFF. Fig. 6.

This may be intended for the figure of a 'chobdar' or Court functionary, but is rather obscure. It is on one of the large copper coins from Eran, on which many new types appear which are not found on the earlier coins.

224. A GOAT BROWSING ON A VINE. Fig. 221. -

On this coin, which is in the British Museum, the horns are clearly seen.

225. A BOAT OR 'CORACLE.' Fig. 61.

226. A FOOD RECEPTACLE WITH LOOP TO THE LEFT AND RAILING BELOW.
Fig. 120.

This symbol is on a copper coin from Eran. The oldest form of this 'receptacle' seems to be the one provided with two ears as in fig. 118. This 'loop' or ear is there contracted into a short straight stroke as in figs. 120, 121, 122, whilst the loop is entirely dropped in the latest form of the symbol, as seen on the coins of *Amogha*, fig. 119.

227. A CURVED FILLET DEVOID OF ORNAMENT. Fig. 214.

228. SYMBOL 92, ONLY OVALS BETWEEN THE 'chatras' IN PLACE OF SPHERES.
Fig. 100.

229. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT WITH A FRAME OF 'Taurines.'

A figure given by Thomas.

230. AN EEL WITH A FISH (?) ON EITHER SIDE. Fig. 40.

This symbol is figured by Thomas. It is doubtful if the lateral objects are fish.

231. A TURTLE BETWEEN TWO FISH (?)

Figured by Thomas.

232. THE 'swastika.' Fig. 134.

Figured by Thomas.

233. A WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES.

Figured by Thomas. A solar symbol, no doubt.

234. A TWINNED 'Taurine' IN A CIRCLE.

Figured by Thomas.

235. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT, WITH TRUNK RAISED TO SALUTE. Fig. 12.

This is a popular attitude of the elephant in Buddhist sculptures as well as on Buddhist coins. The symbol was figured by J. Prinsep (Pl. XX, Ancient Hindu coins).

236. THE 'WAI' SYMBOL A. Fig. 219.

This symbol occurs on a silver coin found near Wai in the Sâttâra collectorate, and is described by Dr. O. Codrington in a paper in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, who thus observes: "The figure on the obverse looks at first sight like the representation of an insect with fat body, short legs, pointed head and branching horns or large claws; but I think it may be identified with a common symbol on Buddhistic coins which has been mentioned as like that of Taurus, and is well shown on page 211, Vol. I, of Thomas's Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, where it is on a die of a similar shape to that of our coin. It will be seen, however, that the figure on this coin is more elaborate; there are the two legs on either side and the pointed angular head; and these marks, with the general shape of the figure lead to an identification of it with the *Trisul* symbol seen in the Buddhistic sculptures and carvings, which the more rude similar marks hitherto portrayed, as found on coins, do not. This is the mystic symbol found commonly in the carvings of the Sanchi and Amravati Topes. It crowns the pillars of the gateway of the former Tope, and is on numerous other positions, as may be seen in almost any of the Photographs or Plates in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, and by both these authors is described as symbolical of Dharma. It is seen too, commonly on the feet of Buddha, together with the *chakra* or wheel. In photograph No. 8 of a paper on "A Mystic Play performed in Ladak" in Journal A. S. B. Vol. XXXIV, the mask representing a bull's head is nearly the same in outline as the figure on our coin. This is not a little interesting in connection with this being a Buddhist symbol and like the sign of Taurus."

Now with much of this I fully concur, though the resemblance of this symbol to a *Trisul* is far from obvious. By aid, however, of the photograph of the mask, used in the mystic play, the puzzling side appendages are seen really to represent the Bull's ears, and the whole

symbol bears therefore a sufficient resemblance to a Bull's head to be regarded as a variant of the ordinary '*Taurine*.' By a further process of degradation, I am inclined to believe that the puzzling symbol, which I have often alluded to in this paper as a "fish," has originated; and that in many cases a '*Taurine*' is really intended and not a fish, as in figs. 17, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 62, 159, 183 and 230.

This coin weighed 110 grains, and was therefore a two karsha piece.

237. TWO '*Taurines*,' TWO '*chatras*;' A BALL, CRESCENT AND HANDLE.

This symbol is figured by Thomas.

238. A '*Swastika*' TURNING TO THE LEFT.

Figured by Thomas.

239. A CROSS WITHIN A SQUARE. Fig. 162.

Two of the arms of this cross are (on the coin) very slightly longer than the others, probably unintentionally so.

240. FOUR BALLS. Fig. 171.

This is the simplest form of a symbol that assumed a variety of shapes at a later period, and conjoined with a cross, a somewhat profuse development on the coins of Eran. The symbol occurs on a silver coin in the British Museum, but is rare on the early coins, but reappears on the later coinages of Ceylon and South India.

241. THE '*WAI*' SYMBOL C OF DR. CODRINGTON'S PAPER. Fig. 220.

This curious device was the commonest on the coins found at Wai, which embraced 50 specimens marked with this symbol, consisting of karshas, two-karshas and half-karshas. Dr. Codrington in his paper thus describes it—"On a round area are three circular prominences arranged on a triangle, round one of which is a ring; from this ring two lines pass to each of the other prominences, which are not surrounded by a ring, making the whole look like a driving wheel with connecting bands passing to two smaller wheels as is seen in a machine." Dr. Codrington also adds "Perhaps it is intended to represent the nave of the '*chakra*' or wheel with garlands hanging on it, as in Pl. 43, fig. 1 of Fergusson's '*Tree and Serpent Worship*.' I cannot add anything to this suggestion beyond the opinion that though of unusual design and composition, it is of distinctly *Shivite* character.

242. AN ARROW-HEAD IN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 101.

243. A BUDDHIST SYMBOL. Fig. 215.

Figured by Thomas and common on later issues, but not noticed by me on punch-marked coins, and unfortunately Thomas gives no references to the coins whence his devices were copied.

244. TWO SEMICIRCLES JOINED. Fig. 218.

Thomas figured this symbol which has all the appearance of being the upper portion only of No. 25, fig. 51, with fig. 127 added.

245. TREE WITH RAILINGS SUPPORTING TWO '*Taurines*.' Fig. 222.

246. JACKAL LOOKING UP AT A TREE, PROTECTED BY A RAILING. Fig. 223.

This symbol is well executed and looks as if designed to perpetuate the fable of the 'fox and grapes.'

247. FOUR CIRCLES EACH WITH A CENTRAL DOT. Fig. 224.

These circles are ranged in a lozenge, obliquely, and not in a square, and reappear on the coins of Ceylon and South India.

248. SYMBOL OF *Baalpeor* OR '*Mahadev*' WITHIN A CROSS. Fig. 225.

In this symbol, of purely *Shivite* character, we can trace the prototype of the design of the Rosy Cross round which in mediæval times so many curious ideas were abroad. The cross, in the old form of a T, is a well-known nature-worship symbol, and under the name of Thor's hammer was revered, long prior to the introduction of Christianity, among our fierce Scandinavian ancestors. But nature-worship is dualistic, the female element being represented concurrently therein. The 'lotus' is one of the numerous feminine symbols, and in Europe a 'rose' would not unnaturally replace the exotic 'lotus,' so that the 'Rose' of the *Rosicrucian* sect is the female analogue of the *Shivite* 'lotus' which conjoined with the T forms the dualistic or androgynous symbol of the Rosy Cross.

249. THREE SPHERES IN A NARROW OVAL AREA. Fig. 226.

Occurs on one coin in the British Museum.

250. A VARIANT OF No. 4. Fig. 231.

On a coin in the British Museum is a variant of No. 4, fig. 129. In this the circles are replaced by two well designed hexagons within a narrow oval area, contracted in the middle.

251. CROSS AND BALLS.

A symbol on the large copper coin of Eran. It is like No. 202, fig. 172, but has no central dot.

LIST OF SYMBOLS ON THE 'PUNCH-MARKED' COINS OF INDIA.

No.	Fig.	
1.	126.	Circle, sphere, or dot.
2.	127.	Semicircle or crescent.
3.	128.	Ball and crescent. The ' <i>Taurine</i> ' symbol, so called.
4.	129.	Twin spheres (the ' <i>spectacle</i> ' symbol of Scottish antiquaries).
5.	131.	Triskelis, revolving to the left.
6-7.	130-132.	Triskelis, revolving to the right.
8.	149.	Cluster of nine spheres.
9.	185.	Reliquary (?) surrounded by six ' <i>Taurines</i> .'
10.	139.	Wheel of the sun.
11.	140.	Eight-spoked wheel A.C.
12.	141.	Four-spoked wheel.
13.	186.	Symbol of ' <i>Baal-peor</i> ' or of <i>Siva</i> and his <i>Sakti</i> .
14.	187.	Sphere or dot in triangle.
15.	153.	Three spheres.
16.	163.	Four spheres in a square.
17.	136.	Staff separating six semicircles.
18.	179.	Crescent on a pillar between two ' <i>Taurines</i> .'
19.	161.	Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' cruciformly united.
20.	96.	Sphere surrounded by seven ' <i>owl-heads</i> .'
21.	47.	' <i>Stupa</i> ,' of either two or three tiers, (3 or 5 chambers).
22.	49.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and dog.
23.	50.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and Peacock.
24.	48.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' with 'reliquary' or 'lamp' in each chamber.
25.	51.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and crescent.
26.	52.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and tree growing out from it.
27.	91.	Sphere with three ' <i>chatras</i> ' or umbrellas or " <i>broad-arrows</i> ."
28.	92.	No. 27 with three spheres between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
29.	94.	No. 27 with three ' <i>Taurines</i> ' between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
30.	98.	No. 27 with three ' <i>Taurines</i> ' within shields or ovals. A.C.
31.	93.	No. 27 with three hemispheres between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
32.	102.	No. 27 with three reliquaries or lamps between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'

- | No. | Fig. | |
|-----|--------|---|
| 33. | 95. | No. 27 with three 'owl-heads' between the 'chatras.' |
| 34. | 1. | A man and two women. |
| 35. | 10. | An Elephant to right. |
| 36. | 7. | A hand in a square. |
| 37. | 13-14. | A Rhinoceros. |
| 38. | 15. | A Bull couchant before a 'Lingam.' |
| 39. | 16. | A Bull couchant before a 'Taurine.' |
| 40. | 25. | A Nylgao (?) (<i>Portax pictus</i>). |
| 41. | 21. | The Hare in the Moon. |
| 42. | 20. | A goat (browsing on a vine). |
| 43. | 22. | A kid (of the last). |
| 44. | 27. | A civet cat (<i>Viverra zibetha</i>) and some small animal. |
| 45. | 19. | A panther (?) T. |
| 46. | 30. | A 'gharial' seizing a 'hilsa.' |
| 47. | 29. | A 'Python,' incubating her eggs. |
| 48. | 31-32. | A cobra, (<i>Naija tripudians</i>). |
| 49. | 35. | A Trionyx or Gangetic three-toed turtle. |
| 50. | 28. | A frog. |
| 51. | 41. | A pair of fishes in a tank. |
| 52. | 42. | Four fishes round a pillar in a tank. |
| 53. | 36. | A siluroid fish, or skate (?) |
| 54. | 34. | A snake (<i>Cerberus rhynchops</i> ?) |
| 55. | 55. | A raised 'paddy' or grain store. |
| 56. | 118. | A raised receptacle of food for birds. |
| 57. | 119. | A later type of No. 56. |
| 58. | 56. | A bow and arrow. |
| 59. | 9. | A 'steelyard,' or scales for grain. |
| 60. | 45. | A fish (so called by Thomas) perhaps a 'Scolopendra.' |
| 61. | 59. | Three huts. |
| 62. | 196. | A cross with trefoil ends. |
| 63. | 99. | A sphere surrounded by four 'Taurines.' |
| 64. | 160. | A 'Thunderbolt.' |
| 65. | 18. | A Cow or Bull standing. |
| 66. | 97. | No. 27 with three shields, each with a central dot. |
| 67. | 33. | A crocodile (?) |
| 68. | 89. | Wells in a garden (?) |
| 69. | 39. | Two fish, with 'Thyrsos' between. |
| 70. | 74. | A tree. |
| 71. | 68. | A tree, or branch of some palm (<i>Phoenix</i> ?) |
| 72. | 70. | A tree, or branch of some conifer. |
| 73. | 228. | A domestic implement, perhaps for cleaning cotton. |

No.	Fig.	
74.	54.	An insect (?)
75.	206.	A rude pillar or stone cross of Celtic type.
76.	198.	A fillet or almond; (emblem of <i>Ishtar</i> .)
77.	...	No. 27 with ovals between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
78.	75.	A tree (?)
79.	80.	A bottle-shaped tree (?)
80.	82.	A branch within an almond-shaped lozenge.
81.	85.	A branch within a circular area.
82.	211.	A pillar or ' <i>Gilgal</i> .'
83.	110.	A square within a circular area.
84.	...	A cow <i>Nylgai</i> .
85.	125.	A trapezoidal figure with square marks inside.
86.	201.	A oval body on two legs, with three thyrsiform objects above.
87.	205.	A square to the left of a trifold rod.
88.	144.	An eight-pointed star.
89.	86.	A branch (?) within a circle.
90.	79.	A small tree.
91.	5.	A rude human figure.
92.	210.	A trapezoidal symbol of unknown meaning.
93.	108.	A cross above a ' <i>Taurine</i> .'
94.	83.	A group of three upright objects.
95.	123.	A parallelogram divided into segments.
96.	38.	A ' <i>Thyrsos</i> ' (?) between two fish.
97.	37.	A similar symbol.
98.	181.	A ' <i>Thyrsos</i> ' between two ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a triangular area. A. C.
99.	64.	A fan-palm (<i>Borassus</i>). A. C.
100.	2.	A human figure with three dots above. A. C.
101.	154.	Three dots within a circle. A. C.
102.	164.	Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a square. A. C.
103.	103.	A circle with two ' <i>chatras</i> ' and two ' <i>Taurines</i> .' A. C.
104.	76.	An upright vine stem and grapes. A. C.
105.	58.	A bow and arrow, with loop (?) A. C.
106.	111.	Four squares within a square. A. C.
107.	...	A dog. A. C.
108.	158.	Six balls or dots in a triangular area. A. C.
109.	116.	A rectangular symbol in a square area. A. C.
110.	...	Elephant to right. A. C.
111.	88.	Unknown object. A. C.

No.	Fig.		
112.	138.	Solar wheel with sixteen oblique rays.	A. C.
113.	57.	Bow and arrow in square.	A. C.
114.	229.	No. 27 only with six ' <i>chatras</i> .'	A. C.
115.	178.	' <i>Thyrsos</i> ' with appendages within an oval area.	A. C.
116.	115.	Sphere on stout pedestal.	
117.	227.	A dot within a cross.	A. C.
118.	3.	Five-headed figure with a club.	A. C.
119.	212.	Unknown object.	A. C.
120.	112.	Square divided into nine segments with dot in centre.	A. C.
121.	207.	Snake (?) within a rectangular area.	A. C.
122.	...	Two human figures.	A. C.
123.	113.	Four dots in a square, with mark above.	A. C.
124.	4.	A human figure with a club in right hand.	A. C.
125.	105.	Two ' <i>Taurines</i> ' and two ' <i>chatras</i> ' forming a cross.	A. C.
126.	151.	Eight-pointed star or wheel within a circle girt with six ' <i>Taurines</i> .'	A. C.
127.	142.	Wheel and bells. "Mass bells" of Mediæval Europe.	A. C.
128.	202.	Two semicircles in a rectangular area.	A. C.
129.	177.	Dot in cross, with four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' and four crosses outside.	A. C.
130.	60.	Perhaps a boat or a variant of No. 68.	A. C.
131.	200.	Five dots ranged unsymmetrically round an oval.	A. C.
132.	106.	Handled circle, two ' <i>chatras</i> ,' and two shields with ' <i>Taurine</i> ' above.	A. C.
133.	150.	Wheel of four spokes, with four ' <i>Taurines</i> .'	A. C.
134.	145.	Sphere with eight short rays.	A. C.
135.	208.	Unknown object in a tripartite rectangular area.	A. C.
136.	146.	A wheel or sphere with six rays.	A. C.
137.	203.	Trifid branch and another object, in a rectangular area.	A. C.
138.	24.	Some climbing animal on a pole.	A. C.
139.	23.	A hare, with a ' <i>Taurine</i> ' below.	A. C.
140.	69.	A branch.	
141.	81.	A fish sheltering under a plant (water lily ?)	A. C.
142.	71.	A <i>Cactus</i> , or <i>Euphorbia</i> . (T.)	A. C.
143.	8.	Perhaps intended for Agni.	A. C.

No.	Fig.		
144.	159.	Three symbols radiating from a central ball.	A. C.
145.	44.	A fish in an oval area.	A. C.
146.	169.	A sphere between two ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a rectangular area.	A. C. and B. M.
147.	65.	Perhaps a palm tree.	A. C.
148.	194.	The pentagram or "Wizard's foot."	A. C.
149.	155.	Seven spheres within a hexagon	A. C.
150.	156.	Nine spheres round a circle, with a sphere in the centre.	A. C.
151.	190.	Rhomboidal symbol within an oval area.	A. C.
152.	213.	Perhaps a rudely sketched squatting figure.	A. C.
153.	199.	An almond-shaped emblem surrounded by fourteen dots.	A. C.
154.	209.	Symbol resembling a toy horse.	A. C.
155.	184.	Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' round a railed cross, in a square area.	A. C.
156.	167.	A ' <i>crux ansata</i> ' with appendages and a ' <i>Triskelis</i> .'	A. C.
157.	104.	Four-spoked wheel surrounded by six owl-heads.	A. C.
158.	117.	Cross lines within a circle.	A. C.
159.	133.	' <i>Triskelis</i> ' and symbol 17.	A. C.
160.	...	Symbol 34, only the man holds a club.	A. C.
161.	...	A dog.	A. C.
162.	72.	A cactus leaf.	A. C.
163.	193.	A triangle in a triangular area.	A. C.
164.	109.	A square in a square area.	A. C.
165.	191.	A ' <i>trisul</i> ' on a stand.	A. C.
166.	192.	A double ' <i>trisul</i> .'	A. C.
167.		A horse to the right.	A. C.
168.	204.	An unknown object.	A. C.
169.	90.	A poppy head (?)	A. C.
170.	84.	A branch with fruit (?)	A. C.
171.	124.	Six balls within a rectangular area.	B. M.
172.	195.	Mystic symbol of Delphi.	B. M.
173.		A horse to the right, stamping.	B. M.
174.		Goat and vine.	B. M. T.
175.	168.	' <i>Taurine</i> ' and square, in a rectangular area.	B. M.
176.	46.	A ' <i>Stupa</i> ' beneath a mound.	B. M.
177.	114.	Curved mark within a square.	B. M.
178.	180.	A ' <i>Thyrsos</i> ,' lozenge, and three ' <i>Taurines</i> .'	B. M.

No.	Fig.	
179.	170.	A 'Thyrsos' and 'Taurine' in a circular area. B. M.
180.	182.	Two 'Taurines' and a cross. B. M.
181.	166.	Two 'Taurines' and two 'reliquaries' in a square. B. M.
182.	75.	A tree with railing (?) B. M.
183.	67.	A tree in a triangular area. B. M.
184.	17.	A Bull 'couchant' with two fish (?) in a rectangular area. B. M.
185.	43.	Four fish (?) in a circular area. B. M.
186.	152.	An oval fillet in a square. B. M.
187.	87.	A branch in a circular area.
188.		Two tall objects and a lower one at the side.
189.	157.	Seven spheres within a circle. B. M.
190.	189.	A stroke within a square. B. M.
191.	63.	A reliquary (or lamp) within a square area. B. M.
192.	53.	Symbol 176, with two fish (?) in a tank below.
193.	183.	A fish (?) or a cross, with a 'Taurine' on each side. B. M.
194.		A hare and leveret following? B. M.
195.	122.	Food receptacle with railing and 'Taurine.' Æ. A. C.
196.	197.	A rake (?)
197.	165.	Four 'Taurines' in a square divided in two. A. C.
198.	137.	A wheel of three spokes, a form of the 'Triskelis.' A. C.
199.	26.	A jackal within a rectangular area. A. C.
200.	66.	A tree with six branches. A. C.
201.	230.	Three 'Taurines' and cross. B. M.
202.	172.	Cross and balls.
203.		A Horse to right. Æ. A. C.
204.		A lotus flower. Æ. A. C.
205.	143.	Eight-spoked wheel with hollow nave.
206.	176.	A 'Thyrsos' between two circles enclosing four balls. Æ. A. C.
207.	77.	A tree surrounded by a railing. Æ. A. C.
208.		Bull to right. Æ. A. C.
209.	148.	Sixteen-petalled lotus. Æ. A. C.
210.	174.	Cross and balls with 'Taurines' and 'Swastikas.'
211.	147.	Eight-petalled lotus. Æ. A. C.
212.	217.	Dots between parallel lines. A. C.
213.	216.	Ornamental fillet or ribbon. Æ. A. C.
214.	78.	Tree and railing. Æ. A. C.

No.	Fig.		
215.	188.	A 'Taurine' in a circular area.	Æ. A. C.
216.	62.	Two fishes (?) in a boat.	Æ. A. C.
217.	175.	Cross and four circles enclosing four balls.	Æ. A. C.
218.	11.	An Elephant to the left.	A. C.
219.	121.	Food receptacle, railing, and two 'Chatras.'	Æ. A. C.
220.	135.	'Caduceus' or staff of Aesculapius.	Æ. A. C.
221.	107.	A variant perhaps of a 'Taurine.'	Æ. A. C.
222.	173.	Four circles enclosing four balls, but no cross.	Æ. A. C.
223.	6.	Man holding curved weapon (?)	Æ. A. C.
224.	221.	A goat browsing on a vine.	
225.	61.	A boat or 'coracle' (?)	Æ. A. C.
226.	120.	Food receptacle with 'loop' to left, and railing.	Æ. A. C.
227.	214.	A curved fillet.	Æ. A. C.
228.	100.	Circle with three ovals and three 'chatras.'	Æ. A. C.
229.		Elephant with 'Taurines.'	T.
230.	40.	An eel in an oval area.	T.
231.		A turtle between two fish.	T.
232.	134.	The 'Swastika.'	T.
233.		A wheel of four spokes.	T.
234.		A twinned 'Taurine' on a circle.	T.
235.	12.	Elephant to right standing with trunk.	
236.	219.	'Taurine' with lateral appendages.	Wai.
237.		Two 'Taurines' two 'Chatras' on ball with crescent, and handle.	T.
238.		A Swastika turning to left.	T.
239.	162.	A cross within a square.	B. M.
240.	171.	Four balls.	B. M.
241.	220.	The 'Wai' symbol C. of Dr. Codrington's paper.	
242.	101.	An arrow-head in an oval area.	
243.	215.	A Buddhist symbol.	T.

It is far from clear what this symbol is, though it is just possible it may be a portion of the Buddhist symbol commonly known as the 'Tri-ratna.' One serious objection, however, to this is, that the 'Tri-ratna,' strange to say, does not appear to occur on these coins. Possibly this may be claimed by Mr. Pincott as an argument in favour of his theory that the 'Tri-ratna' is represented in its "most condensed form" by the 'Swastika' which is occasionally seen on these coins.

Speaking of the 'Swastika,' Mr. Pincott remarks "This curious object in reality represents simply a given space, divided into four

equal parts, united in the centre; and this suggests a metaphorical combination of the four castes united in a common society, the bent divisional arms of which appear to indicate revolutions, or recurrence, *i. e.*, the endless revolution of recurring births and deaths. When looked at carefully, each side, as it revolves, suggests the figure of the '*Trisula*,' the emblem of Dharma, while the whole circulating object represents the '*Chakra*' or Buddha; and the four compartments depict the four castes or Sangha. Thus this venerated symbol presents us with the most condensed form of the '*Tri-ratna*;' and ascribing to it that meaning, we have a full and satisfactory explanation of its wide diffusion over every district to which Buddhism has penetrated" (Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1887, p. 245.) I confess I see nothing whatever of this condensation of chalk into cheese, and were it so, it explains nothing of the significance of the symbol *in times anterior to Buddhism*. This difficulty did not escape the notice of Mr. Pincott, who thus ingeniously avoids it. "It is quite possible that this distinctly Buddhist emblem may have an accidental resemblance to some object venerated by other nations." Really this recurrence to the argument of "accidental resemblance" between objects which are identical, can hardly be allowed greater weight now, than when urged a century ago, that 'fossils' were the result of 'accidental resemblance' to shells and such like organisms, but were not really organic bodies at all! It seems to me refining, under the exigency of a theory, beyond the bounds of probability or reason, to maintain that the '*Swastika*' so common an object on terracotta whorls at Troy (see Schliemann's Troy) merely bears an accidental resemblance to that symbol, but is in reality something entirely distinct.

Mr. Pincott also objects to those who view the '*Swastika*' as a solar emblem, that were it so, it would not be made to revolve in opposite directions. The same objection might be urged against the '*Triskelis*' as a solar emblem, but it is one to which I do not attach any importance. It is not improbable that the symbol, when revolving from left to right, may indicate the sun's *visible* course through the sky, whilst the same symbol, when it revolves in the opposite direction, may represent the unseen course of the great luminary, when returning along his nocturnal path to the spot wherein he is wont to rise.

It is of course quite true that the '*Swastika*' may, by adoption have come in time to be regarded as distinctly a Buddhist emblem, as the '*Cross*' is Christianity, but in neither case did the symbol originate with the faith it subsequently became selected to represent, and if this obvious conclusion is only frankly admitted, no necessity will remain for having to fall back on the inadequate, not to say exploded argument of "accidental resemblance."

No.	Fig.	
244.	218.	Symbol figured by Thomas.
245.	222.	Tree and railing supporting two 'Taurines.' B. M.
246.	223.	Jackal before tree (vine ?) and railing. B. M.
247.	224.	Four circles arranged in a lozenge form.
248.	225.	Symbol of Baal or Mahadeb within a cross. B. M.
249.	226.	Three spheres in line in an oval area. B. M.
250.	237.	Variant of No. 4. B. M.
251.		Cross and balls. Æ. A. C.
252.		Crescent moon above a 'stupa.'
253.		Symbol No. 29 only the 'Taurines' are enclosed in ovals.
254.		A square between two balls, in an oval area.
255.		Three balls, (No. 15) but in a square area.
256.		Symbol No. 24, but with 'Taurines' in place of 'Camps.' These last five are from oval silver coins.
257.		Wheel above a tree.
258.	258.	Hittite symbol. Cappadocia.
259.	259.	Variant of 'twinned <i>Lingam</i> .' Scotland.
260.	260.	Swastika. "
261.	261.	The ' <i>Triskelis</i> .' "
262.	262.	The wheel of the Sun. "
263.	263.	The ' <i>Lingam</i> .' "
264.	264.	The 'Twinned <i>Lingam</i> .' "
265.	265.	Cluster of spheres. "
266.	266.	The 'Pentagram.' "
267.	267.	Three spheres. "
268.	268.	Three spheres, (variant). "
269.	269.	Cross. "

A cross of very near this shape, that is, a square, with four equal and similar squares inscribed on its four sides, was discovered in the third tomb at Mycenæ by Dr. Schliemann. It is usual to regard this symbol as a variant of the '*Swastika*,' and it is one still venerated and in use in India at the present day. I have before me a small brass slab 2·75 by 2·25 inches procured at Poona, wherein are assembled an interesting group of objects of worship. In the centre of the raised river in front, with a perforation to carry off the holy water which has trickled over the images, is placed a cow's mouth. In the farther right hand corner squats Ganesh, the elephant-headed god. In the farther left hand corner stands the Bull Nandi, with a cincture round the base of his horns, the precise nature of which I cannot make out. In the centre stands a *lingam* in the centre of the '*yoni*' symbol, and im-

mediately behind it a small figure which I have no certain means of determining, but which may perhaps represent Parbati, the consort of the 'lingam' Lord. To the left of the central 'lingam' is a five-headed 'lingam' or pyramid of five balls. Next to this 5-headed symbol in front is a cross of the shape of Fig. 269 of this paper, whilst immediately behind the cow's mouth are the Sun and Moon, Figs. 126 and 127, the former being on the right hand. The near right hand corner was occupied by a standing figure, now broken away, which accident no doubt led to the whole finding its way as old brass into the dealer's hands from whom I purchased it.

A rude representation of this form of the 'swastika' is seen on a 'whorl' from Troy figured by Schliemann, (l. c., Pl. XXV, fig. 414, but the shape is rare at Troy, though perhaps figs. 317, 318, 319 and 320 on Pl. XXII may be intended for variants of it.

270.	270.	Linga with Cobras.	Scotland.
271.	271.	Dot in triangle.	"
272.	272.	Enclosed tree.	"
273.	273.	A 'gilgal.'	"
274.	274.	Semicircles round staff.	"
275.	275.	'Trisul' of 'Mahadev.'	"
276.	276.	Trisul (variant.)	"
277.	277.	Indian Goldsmith's anvil.	"

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SUPPLEMENT.

Whilst the present paper has been going to press, a number of additional symbols have been brought to light, which may as well be here recorded, some being altogether new, whilst others are mere varieties of symbols already noticed.

278. A 'stupa' surmounted by a 'Taurine' with two 'Taurines' on either side. This symbol is No. 21, with the addition of a 'Taurine' above, and others on each side. It occurs on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet.

279. A bear standing to the left with its head reverted, as if in the act of gazing at some object behind it. This is also on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet and the only example I am acquainted with. The figure is rude but the outline very characteristic, and the animal may even be identified with the snow-bear by one acquainted with both species of bear occurring in the Himalayas.

280. A circular 'boss' surrounded by pear-shaped bodies separated by trifid branches. A curious and wholly unintelligible symbol.

281. A 'rat' to right within a circular area. This occurs on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet. The animal has a moderately long tail, and a rat is the only animal that it can be intended for. It is a 'reverse' symbol.

282. An egg or some oval body. This symbol occurs on the same coin as the last, also on the reverse.

283. Two balls or circles, with a dot in the centre, and connected by a T, the whole within an oval area. This too is a reverse symbol on the same coin as the last.

284. Symbol No. 199, with two fish below within an oblong tank.

285. Symbol No. 1 with a '*Taurine*' on the right, within a rectangular area. Whether there is another '*Taurine*' on the left is not certain.

286. This symbol is related to, or a variant of No. 137. It is a curious symbol and seems to contain two letters of identical pattern as those met with on terra-cotta seals and pottery at Troy (Schliemann's Troy, page 24). That on the left resembles a rudely formed 'psi,' whilst that on the right consists of an upright stroke, with a short sloping stroke on either side. On the terra-cotta seals, these two letters are combined into a monogram, with two additional characters added on the right, and it is not improbable that similar characters are intended in figures 85, 86 and 87, on Plate II of this paper. Fig. 205 seems a mere variant of fig. 203, where the left hand character is replaced by a square.

288. Bow and arrow, with a '*Taurine*' below, the whole enclosed within a symmetrical area. It may be observed that the 'bow' depicted on these coins is not the straight long bow used by the aborigines at present, but the elaborately curved bow, straight in the centre, with curved ends.

288. Symbol No. 29, only the '*Taurines*' replaced by square-headed nail-shaped objects.

289. Symbol No. 28, only circles replaced by ovals, enclosing 'lamps' or whatever fig. 63, Plate I, may be intended to represent.

290. A '*Taurine*' in a square area. It is seldom this symbol occurs by itself. It is on a square silver coin in my own cabinet.

291. Symbol No. 214, but the base with only four divisions.
292. Symbol 285 in miniature; (a ball between two '*Taurines*,' and used on the reverse of a coin.) This supports the assertion that the reverse '*dies*' were cut smaller than those intended for the '*obverse*' of a coin.
293. Two fish, facing each other in oblong tank.
294. Symbol No. 21, only the hare stands within a complete circle, the full moon probably.
295. Symbol No. 5, only reversed.
296. A cactus plant, branching.
297. A tree with two branches on each side.
298. Symbol No. 28 only circles replaced by ovals enclosing '*Taurines*.'
299. Symbol No. 29 only '*chatras*' replaced by bidents, by which I mean a *trident* with the central prong absent. This '*bident*' is a remarkable and rare symbol. It occurs associated as above on a single square coin in my own cabinet, and what is very curious, four similar '*bidents*' constitute the spokes of two small lead wheels, dug up at Mycenæ, and figured and described by Schliemann in his work on Mycenæ pages 74 and 112, No. 120.
300. A wheel with six spokes. This is a wheel rather than a star, as it possesses a central boss or nave. It is a '*reverse*' symbol of small size.
301. Seven rhomboidal hexagons radiately ranged round a central ball. Each hexagon has two short and six long sides, one of the short sides being placed inwards in contact with the central ball. It occurs on the same reverse as the above.
302. Symbol No. 28 only the circles replaced by ovals, each enclosing a '*triskelis*.'
303. Ball with a '*Taurine*' on each side and two '*Taurines*' facing each other above and below, or six in all.
304. Symbol No. 13 united to a '*Taurine*.'
305. An indistinct animal to the right. The ears suggest it may represent a pig.
306. Symbol No. 27, but with the '*Chatras*' separated by a '*Triskelis*' or some similar object.
307. A turtle to left of a tank, with two '*Taurines*' above tank.
308. A spear-head, or Pipal-like leaf, surrounded by dots, seemingly thirteen in number.
309. A mushroom-shaped area, with a central dot, surrounded by three dots, and one below.
310. A parallelogram with a central dot, surrounded by four '*Taurines*.'

311. A drinking cup. This object is of somewhat uncertain import. It is essentially part of symbol Nos. 42 and 174, though the association was not at first perceived. It always occupies, however, the same position over the goat's back and may be regarded as either a drinking cup or an altar. It is a slightly tapering cone, expanded *above*, if we regard it as an altar; or *below*, if we regard it as a cup; the truncate end representing either the base of the altar, with expanded tip, or the lip of a drinking vessel, with an expanded base. Good specimens always show it over the goat's back, and in some cases the symbols seems to be spotted or studded with ornamental dots, which rather favour the idea of its representing a cup.

312. Symbol No. 146 only the '*Taurines*' face in opposite directions.

I would here make a few remarks on those symbols on the coins, which we can recognise without hesitation on the gold ornaments found in the tombs of Agamemnon and his companions (as so regarded) in Mycenæ; and one hardly knows which most to admire, the material wealth and great artistic talent in design indicated by the contents of these tombs, or the acumen and perseverance which enabled Schliemann to bring to light after forty centuries or more, the personal relics and possessions down to their very arms and ornaments, of the actors in the immortal Epos of 'windy' Troy.

To commence with the '*Triskelis*.' An extremely elegant and graceful form of this symbol occurs on a gold 'button' (Mycenæ No. 383), where it fills the acute, or upper and lower angles of the central lozenge, and is mentioned without being named (Schliemann for some reason or other nowhere using the term '*Triskelis*' either in his 'Troy' or 'Mycenæ') in the description of this button at page 262, and this is the sole instance among the figures of this extremely beautiful form of the symbol. On another button, however, (l. c. No. 382) a '*Triskelis*' (recognised as such by Schliemann l. c. page 261) occupies the same position as the last, in the acute angles of the central lozenge, but is of an altogether stouter design, and composed of three circinate arms (or legs) of the peculiar art-type adopted by the Mycenæ workmen. A third variety of '*Triskelis*' occurs on two buttons (l. c. Nos. 409 and 413) which I consider made up, of three highly differentiated '*omegas*' (to use Schliemann's term for the symbol identified by me with the more familiar '*lingam-yoni*') with one arm or '*labium*' much elongated beyond the other (*artis causâ*) and recurved so as to impart a circinate or pot-hook form to the '*omega*' symbol. Other specimens and variants of the '*Triskelis*' occur on buttons, Nos. 377, 428, 510, 511 (l. c.) and one specimen of a reversed '*Triskelis*,' revolving from right to left, No. 501 (l. c.).

Another import symbol on the coins which we can recognise at Mycenæ is the '*Swastika*,' which occurs as the central ornament on several of the objects figured, (l. c. Nos. 382, 383 and 385, 422 and 428). It is of the usual form, resolving from left to right, the four side pegs (so called) being clearly seen in one and differing only from the symbol so common on Trojan pottery, and later '*Swastikas*,' in being formed with curved lines in place of angular, in accordance with the prevailing character of art among Mycenæ workmen. The most interesting, however, and perhaps the commonest of all the symbols discovered at Mycenæ is that termed the '*omega*' by Schliemann, (a very happy name could we only adopt it in place of the current one, as it forms truly the alpha and omega of all Nature Worship), but which I am inclined to identify as an archaic, but at the same time a highly specialized and ornate form of the '*Lingam-yoni*' of later times. The elements of both symbols are the same, a central dot with a surrounding circle, in one part of the periphery produced into a 'spout' composed of two '*labia*' separated by a groove. In the ordinary form of the symbol the '*labia*' remain united, but in the artistic form prevalent at Mycenæ, the '*labia*' are separated and recurved (omega-like), with the obvious intent of their being thereby rendered capable of artistic treatment, and of being worked up into patterns in vogue there. The simplest form of this '*omega*' symbol is where it stands alone, as in the acute angles of the central lozenge of a button (l. c. No. 377) or where two opposed '*omegas*' form the central ornament of a button (l. c. Nos. 378, 381, 384 and 386). In another (l. c. Nos. 379 and 421) the central 'boss' is ornamented with three '*omegas*,' with their 'spouts,' or '*labia*' directed outwards, and round them, six other '*omegas*' with their 'spouts' directed inwards, the '*labia*' of all these '*omegas*' uniting into an endless band, which winds in and out between the central 'dots' or '*lingams*' and those ranged outside of them, *θάυμα ἰδέσθαι!* In another superb specimen of the goldsmith's art, (l. c. 422a) the outer band, immediately encircling the nine confluent '*omegas*,' is rayed, thereby indicating the solar relationship of the symbol, and on another button (l. c. 422) the same rayed border is seen enclosing the peculiar form of '*Swastika*' alluded to above as prevalent at Mycenæ, the fourfold sun, or 'four-balled Chakra,' Ujain symbol as it is also called. Fig. 171 occurs on two buttons (l. c. Nos. 406 and 411) where the symbol is seen with slight variation as four equal and equidistant spheres. On another button (l. c. 404) the four spheres are replaced by four '*omega*' symbols, pointing outwards, and with their '*labia*' confluent and forming the inner periphery of the design.

The most curious variant, however, of the '*omega*' symbol is that

seen on three buttons; (l. c. 405, 407, and 412) wherein the central dot or '*lingam*,' is surrounded by a labyrinth formed by four pair of fantastically recurved and elongated '*labia*,' beneath which guise, however, the expert in such symbols finds no difficulty in tracing the design of a four-spouted '*lingam*,' analogous with the four-headed or five-headed '*lingam*' now seen in Hindustán. Another significant symbol also, used in Mycenæ jewellery is Fig. 227, which appears on three buttons, (l. c. 378, 383 and 385). In the two first quoted instances, a row of these crosses is used as an ornamental border to the central lozenge, whilst in the last instance, the cross within a circle fills up the acute angles of the central lozenge. The fact of this symbol not occupying a more prominent position may perhaps be due, to the preference displayed in ornamental art in Mycenæ, for rounded and fluent designs, rather than those of angular pattern.

A cluster of seven spheres identical with Fig. 157 found on the coins, is seen on a button (l. c. 398), and a variant of the same (l. c. 399) wherein each of the spheres, except the central one, is a variant of the '*omega*' symbol. Yet another variant of this symbol occurs (l. c. 401) wherein seven '*omegas*' are ranged round a central sphere. Another rare symbol on the coins Fig. 129, may I think be recognised on a gold button (l. c. No. 397), where within a square area, four such '*twinned spheres*,' each pair enveloped by a sigmoidal cincture or band, are ranged round a central dot, the peculiar feature of the '*twinned sphere*' being skilfully made prominent.

Schliemann was evidently much struck with the peculiarity of this "beautiful intaglio" as he terms it, but his interpretation of it, I am wholly unable to accept. He resolves this symbol into "four long knives, whose handles are prolonged into spirals," (l. c. p. 263). In my opinion the knives or blades are simply the four blank arcs of a circle, which intervene between the internal square and the periphery of the button, and I can see no ground whatever for regarding the '*twinned*' or paired circles, as '*handles*.' Had there been only four spheres, instead of eight, it is conceivable that these might have been regarded as '*ears*,' or '*loops*' to four knife blades, but the '*twinned*' or paired spheres are clearly seen and bear, in my opinion, not the remotest resemblance to knife-handles. Another interesting symbol on the coins of symbolical import is Fig. 158. Two distinct variants of this are met with on the Mycenæ jewels. On one button (l. c. No. 410) six equal spheres are so disposed as to form an equilateral triangle, within a circle, and in the space between the periphery and the central sphere in each side of the triangle, a cluster of three small spheres is introduced (though only one perfect cluster is seen in the engraving), making nine in all. Another

variant of this symbol is seen in the centre of the elaborate gold button already alluded to (l. c. 382) where in place of six spheres, we find six hexagons similarly arranged in form of a triangle, and round about in the interspaces are six small spheres.

Fig. 9. THE BALANCE OR SCALES.

That the balance has always been an object of deep symbolical import may be judged from the fact of two miniature gold balances being found by Schliemann in the third tomb at Mycenæ. The beams of these balances were formed of tubes of gold, strengthened by a stick inside, while the scales were ornamented with a butterfly in one case and a six-petalled flower-like ornament in the other. Dr. Schliemann remarks: "Of course these scales can never have been used, they were evidently made expressly to accompany the bodies of the three princesses into the grave, and they have therefore, undoubtedly, a symbolic signification. I may here call attention to the scales in the wall-paintings of the Egyptian sepulchres, in which are weighed the good and bad deeds of the deceased."

Fig. 157.

This symbol is seen conspicuously on the splendid gold diadem found on the head of one of the three bodies interred in the third sepulchre at Mycenæ. The main fillet of which this diadem consists was 25 inches long, ornamented with 12 bosses identical in design with Fig. 157, three in a row above, five in a central row, and four below, each such 'boss' alternating with others representing a 'lotus' or other flower, with from 9 to 12 petals, almost identical with Fig. 147 only with more numerous petals, (*vide* Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, p. 145, Fig. 281.) A curious example of the deliberate prominence given where possible to the number seven in ancient symbolism is afforded by the golden cuttle-fish obtained at Mycenæ and figured by Schliemann in his great work (p. 268, Fig. 424). These cuttle-fish fifty-three in number and all perfectly alike, are remarkable for possessing not eight arms (as one might have expected from the number of arms which furnish the name of the Family *Octopodidae*), but seven only, and there can be no question, that these old gold-workers of Mycenæ were aware that, as a matter of fact, cuttle-fish are at certain seasons found with seven, instead of eight arms, and that they deliberately selected the mystical number of seven arms, rather than the more usual one of eight. We of course know that it is the male cuttle-fish only, which is reasonably deprived of one of its arms, a loss which is repaired before the following year, but which curious 'moult' did not escape the observation of the Greek fisherman, or the quick appreciation of the prehistoric worker in gold.



Theobald, W. 1891. "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." *The journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 59(III), 181–268.

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