THE INDIAN SWASTIKA

4ND

ITS WESTERN COUNTERPARTS.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.,

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT, AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADÉMIE IMPÉRIALE, ST. PÉTERSBOURG.

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So many learned and enthusiastic scholars have attempted in times past to explain the origin and purport of the so-termed Mystic Cross, the counterpart of the Indian Swastika 4, that it is with some diffidence that I now venture to propose a more simple and less enigmatical solution of this much-discussed problem.

¹ After the outline of this paper had been taken as read at the meeting of the Numismatic Society on the 16th October, 1879, it was pointed out to me that I had been, to a certain extent, anticipated in my conclusions as to the interpretation of the meaning of the Swastika by M. Ludwig Müller.

While welcoming so competent a precursor, I do not find anything in his publication that conflicts with my theory. Our starting-points are different; our ultimate results are similar. He has elaborated every item of the consecutive Western Systems; I take my point of departure from Eastern sources. I am not aware that I have been under any obligation to M. Müller while working out in detail the earlier phases of the Oriental evidence; but I may frankly congratulate him upon the method which has produced the mass of evidence, a summary of which is here subjoined in his own words:—

"Il y a d'autres symboles d'origine asiatique qui montrent comment la figure du signe (4) doit être comprise et quelle en a été la signification symbolique, savoir le triskèle et les signes linéaires correspondants. Le triskèle, composé de trois jambes humaines tournant autour d'un centre, indique évidemment un mouvement circulaire perpétuel. Il était dans l'Asie-Mineure méri-

As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients.

The earliest phase of astronomical science we are at present in a position to refer to, with the still extant aid of indigenous diagrams, is the Chaldean. The representation of the sun in this system commences with a simple ring or outline circle, which is speedily advanced towards the impression of onward revolving motion by the insertion of a cross or four wheel-like spokes within the circumference of the normal ring. These crossbars are subsequently elaborated into new patterns and delineations,2 which will have to be noticed hereafter.

As the original Chaldean emblem of the sun was typified by a single ring, so the Indian mind adopted a

lon" (1853), pp. 211, 351, 592—6, 603—5.

dionale l'emblème du dieu suprême, Zeus assimilé à Baal, comme on peut l'inférer des monnaies frappées à Aspendus au milieu du V. siècle av. J.-C. Les Phéniciens l'appliquaient à Baal, surtout comme le dieu du soleil; c'est ce qu'on voit par une stèle punique, vouée à ce dieu, sur laquelle il est sculpté avec un visage humain au milieu des jambes (Gesenius, "Monum. Phœn." pl. xxi.); sur une monnaie celtibérienne, frappée dans le sud de l'Espagne, le disque du soleil apparaît derrière le visage (Lorichs, "Recherches num. sur les Médailles celtib.," pl. lxxvi. 12). Les signes qui forment le type ordinaire sur les monnaies de la Lycie avant le temps d'Alexandre étaient de même des symboles du dieu principal des Lyciens" ("La Croix gammée," par Ludvig Müller, Copenhagen, May, 1877, "Résumé," p. 103).

"Sun Symbols," pl. ii., Figs. 1, 2, 3, &c.; Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," i. 161; Layard's "Nineveh and Baby-

similar definition, which remains to this day as the ostensible device or caste-mark of the modern Sauras, or sunworshippers. The tendency of devotional exercises in India, indeed, seems from the first to have lain in the direction of mystic diagrams and crypto symbols,4 rather than in the production of personified statues of the gods, in which it must be confessed that, unlike the Greeks, the Hindus did not attain a very high style of art.

The hymns of the Veda, which, perhaps, represent a mixture of primitive Aryanism, combined with a certain amount of Indian home-thought, describe the sun in the following terms:-"The golden-handed, all-beholding Savitri, who travels by an upward and by a downward path," 5 finally, "unyokes his horses" and "night extends, veiling darkness over all." 6

The Vishnu Purána, which, in its later date and distinctly local compilation, of course, appeals more

^{3 &}quot;The sixth class of Sauras, in opposition to the preceding, deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun: they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered; they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons" (H. H. Wilson, "Religion of the Hindus," i. 19). See also Colebrooke's "Essays" (Cowell's edition), 1878, i. pp. 210, 212, ii. 181, and "Asiatic Researches," vols. vii. and ix.

^{4 &}quot;Num. Chron.," vol. iv. N.S. 1864, p. 270.

⁵ Wilson's "Translation of the Rig-Veda," London, 1850, vol. i. p. 98. Mr. Muir's extracts from ancient Sanskrit texts invoke the sun in his early stage as "Rise, Savitri":-

[&]quot;Thrice every day, O Savitri! send us desirable things from the sky;"

and further describe him as stretching out "his golden arms to

vivify," &c. (vol. v. 166-7; see also vol. iii. p. 27).

6 Wilson, "Rig-Veda," i. 805. See also "Ancient and Modern India," by Mrs. Manning, i. p. 860: London, Allen, 1869.

directly to indigenous conceptions, compares the motion of the sun to that of a potter's wheel. If these expressions exemplify the persistent and abiding belief of India at large, our task in demonstrating the aim and intention of the *Smastika* as a type of the sun is obvious and easy.

No. 24 of the accompanying Plate II., copied from one of the votive clay offerings placed on the shrine of the sun at Bárahát, perhaps best conveys the leading idea of consecutive rays or following curved limbs, such as should denote an early stage of the definition of the flashes of the rays of the sun in motion.8

Nos. 25, 26, and 27 indicate the development of the same idea, and the natural transition from the curved to the angular pattern so favoured in Greece.

Nos. 28, 29, 30 carry on the impression of quadruple rotation, and lead up to the possibly still to be contested cross entered as No. 31, whose intent and meaning, apart from other proofs, seems to be determined by the arrowheads projected at the angles of an identical double cross, No. 32, which to my apprehension are used to emphasize the mid-day sun.

Indeed, if we are prepared to admit that the cross with spurs ## symbolises the sun in motion, a similar conces-

"He, the impeller, the chief of charioteers (Púshan), ever urges on that golden wheel (of his car) for the radiant sun" ("Rig-Veda," Wilson's translation).

[&]quot; "Vishnu Purána," Wilson's translation, edited by Professor Hall, vol. ii. pp. 246-7.

[&]quot;The twelve-spoked wheel of the true (sun) revolves round the heavens and never (tends) to decay: 720 children in pairs [360 nights and days], Agni, abide in it" ("Rig-Veda," Wilson, ii. 130).

[&]quot;Púshan's wheel is not shattered, nor does its box fall, nor is its rim broken. . . . And this most skilful charioteer drove that golden wheel of the sun through the speckled cloud" (Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," v. pp. 177-8; see also note, p. 157).

sion will have to be made to the identical cross divested of such adjuncts, as indicating an imaginary stop in the onward course of the great luminary.

The mid-day or meridian sun in these examples seems also to be discriminated by the fixed wheel of many spokes, who for a moment may have been supposed to stand still, and to shoot out his rays like the arrows of No. 33 furnishes a curious example of this belief. No. 34, with the rising trident-like sun forming a support or pedestal to its own meridian development, displays on its full circumference the contrasted forms of conventional Indian arrows. Nos. 39 and 40 contribute the alternative forms of exterior tridents, whose purport is thus proved to be similar to the parallel and associate arrow-heads of other examples. No. 37, which is taken from the upper compartment of the archaic pillar containing the distinct representation of the classic chariot and four horses of the Sun at Buddha-Gayá, is supplemented and confirmed in its import by the banner of the Sun held aloft in the sculptures of Bárahát, No. 38.10

Amid these casual and incidental notices of the illustrations in Plate II., which will be more closely defined in the table of contents, it remains for me to notice the Vishnu pada entered under No. 41. As this material device was in later times adopted and appropriated by the Indian Buddhists, in defiance of the pretended higher aims of the creed, it is necessary to reclaim it and indicate its proper purpose as a merely elaborated sun symbol.

Rájendra Lála, "Buddha Gayá," Calcutta, 1878, pl. 1. p. 160.

^{10 &}quot;The Stúpa of Bhárhut," by General A. Cunningham, India Office, London, 1879, pl. xxxii. Fig. 4.

The majority of these "sacred feet" in their primitive outlines are simply marked with a central sun, in wheel-like form, on the soles of the feet. But there are two remarkable examples (now in the British Museum) rescued from the Tope or mound of Amarávati, which improve upon the highest position of Vishnu, like an "eye fixed in the sky," 11 and present us with symbolical references to the three aspects of the luminary—the rising, the meridian, and setting sun. 12 Our power of interpretation of the crypto intent of the Indian mind may be imperfect, but we have here some shadowy indications of a leading purpose or design which may aid future investigations.

In the lower compartment, rising upwards from the heel, may be seen the trident emblem of the rising sun

¹¹ Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," iv. p. 64, "Rig-Veda"; see also passages pp. 229, 440.

 ¹² Colebrooke's "Essays," ii. p. 155; Wilson, "Rig-Veda,"
 i. p. xxxiv., vol. iv. p. 17; Max Müller, "Rig-Veda," i. pp. 117-18; Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," v. pp. 86, 186, 188.

There are many and various interpretations given by the scholiasts to the term Trivikrama, which, however, seems to imply something more than three mere steps, and to extend to a continuative action, as vi-kram means primarily "to step beyond," "to pass beyond," "to step on," &c. The latest version is given by Dr. Muir, on the authority of Aurnavabha Acharya, as "he plants one foot on the 'samārohana' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another], on the 'vishnupada' (the meridian sky); [a third], on the 'gayasiras' (the hill of setting)" (Hall, "Vishnu Purána," vol. iii. p. 19, note). This is a valuable commentary, and may serve to explain the invariable insertion of the full, wheel-like sun in the centre of the footprints of Vishnu. Illustrations of these "feet" may be seen in Dr. Schliemann's "Troy," p. 108, and in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," iii. N.S. p. 159, illustrating Mr. Fergusson's article on the "Amarávati Tope." No. 41 of the accompanying plate is taken from the left foot in the pair of feet there depicted.

helped on his way by the two Asnins, 13 or Dioscuri, as harbingers of the dawn, in the quaint form of Indian Swastikas, which are contrasted with the fading lights of the expiring night in the smaller reduced outlines of the same figure. In the centre of the foot-tread the wheel-like circumference of the sun appears with two outer rings, the closely-joined spokes of the wheel possibly indicating the 1,000 rays of Indian astronomy. In an admittedly imaginary composition we may possibly connect the single leading Swastika placed above the mid-day sun with Púshan, 14 the Western Pan. The parallel coincident symbols on each side have not hitherto been interpreted, but they seem to indicate a spreading out upwards (in the general device, but downwards or descending in the arc of the sky) of the simple cross of the sun tending towards

¹⁵ The Aswins (horsemen) are described as "the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her" (Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," v. p. 235).

[&]quot;Púshan, as a cowherd, carries an ox-goad, and he is drawn by goats. In character he is a solar deity, beholds the entire universe, and is guide on roads and journeys and to the other world. He is called the lover of his sister Súryá. He aids in the revolutions of day and night. According to Professor Roth, Púshan is not only the tutelary god of travellers, but also, like Savitri and Agni, and the Greek Hermes, a ψυχοπομπός, who conducts departed spirits on their way to the other world. The texts say, 'May Pushan convey thee onward on thy distant road; may Savitri place thee where the righteous abide, in the place whither they have gone. Pushan was born to move on distant paths, on the far road of heaven and the far road of earth. He goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes. One of thine (appearances) is bright, the other is venerable; thy two periods are diverse; thou art like Dyaus, for, O self-dependent god! thou exercisest all-wondrous powers thou actest as the messenger of the Sun; him, vigorous and rapid, the gods gave to Súryá'" (Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. v. pp. 171 et seq.).

the final dispersed setting, which is indicated more distinctly in the toes, four of which repeat in smaller *Swastikas* the fading glow, while the great toe reproduces in a reduced form the trident of the rising sun.¹⁵

I have not attempted to explain the purport of the four dots associated with the *Smastika* of Púshan, as I have already encountered unproved "enigmas" enough. The ordinary conventional meaning of the unilluminated balls in the solar systems of the valley of the Euphrates is understood to be that they represent planets; and at times the *seven* planets are fully shown in company with and independent of the corresponding devices of the sun and the moon. The four dots "in the present" instance should also mean something beyond a mere filling in of the pattern.

Whether the intention was simply to indicate the regained power of sight or of observation of certain planets as the day waned, may be a legitimate question of inquiry. But when we begin to discover that the Hindus had learned to associate certain details of sun-spots with fortunes and with famines, we must be guarded in too hastily interpreting their methods of astronomical calculation, or in this case of solving ab extra their process of mystic definition.¹⁶

¹⁵ This symbol is only imperfectly defined in the Plate. It is, however, sufficiently obvious on the original stone in the British Museum.

^{16 &}quot;J. R. A. S.," iv. N.S., "The Brihat Sanhita," translation by Dr. Kern, p. 430: "Victory to the All-soul, the source of life, . . the Sun, who is adorned with a crown of a thousand beams like unto liquid gold!" . . "There are thirty-three spots on the sun;" when these are seen on the sun, one must foretell the consequences from their colour, place, and figure, p. 447. "One of such figures brings famine." The date of Varáha-mihira's work is discussed in Dr. Kern's Preface to the Sanskrit Text: Calcutta, 1865.

In another direction we have abundant examples of the primitive belief in the three positions of the sun: almost all the old pillars at Amarávati are ornamented with a triple *lotus* pattern, ¹⁷ consisting of a semicircle or half-flower at the foot, in its uprising stage, succeeded by a central front-face flower, in the full maturity of the sun's emblem, surmounted on the capital by a duplicate half-flower reversed, the upper semicircle being omitted, which seems to denote the subsiding sun. ¹⁸

In these instances, too, we find a remarkable exemplification of the hesitating or delayed disappearance of the after-glow in a pillar of a similar character in the Nassik caves, copied by Mr. West, where the fading light of the sun is exhibited in the form of a secondary or retreated repetition of the outline of the half-circle above the normal definition of the setting sun.¹⁹

I have elsewhere adverted to the claims of the local Buddhists to incorporate into their own system certain sun and other conventional symbols of the aborigines, which were inconsistent with the professed aims and more pretentiously elevated faith of their reformed religion.²⁰

¹⁷ The Indian mythology connected the lotus in all manner of forms with the Sun, who is alluded to as "sprung from the lotus, seated on a lotus, holding a lotus, friend of the lotus," &c. &c. The Persian Mithra, or Ormazd, is represented in the sculpture at Ták-i-Bustán as standing on a lotus, Ker Porter, pl. lxvi.; Flandin, pl. xiv.

¹⁸ "Tree and Serpent Worship," by J. Fergusson: London, 1868, pl. l. et seq.

¹⁹ Ib., woodcut, p. 168.

Tt must not be supposed that I stand alone in this inference. Reference may be made to Colebrooke's "Essays," vol. ii. p. 278; "Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. i. p. 520; Captain J. Low, "Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society," 1880, vol. iii. p. 64; and "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. ix. pp. 65, 163; Major J. Delamaine, "Transactions, Royal

So far I merely contend that the Buddhists on these occasions followed an immutable law of nature, in conciliating the resident populations by incorporating or assimilating, as far as possible, the outward signs and symbols of a pre-existing religion.

But they further appear to have carried out their purpose in an ignorant way, and to have admitted the element of pious fraud into their methods of adaptation.

We have recently been put in possession of a remarkable instance of the latter, in the publication of General Cunningham's work on the Bárahát *Tope* or Tumulus. On the first discovery of this mound some years ago, there was great rejoicing among our European Buddhists at the fact, announced with great formality, that all the sculptured scenes were duly labelled with full descriptions, in words, of the purport, and it was supposed in authentication of the original design of the subject pictorially illustrated.

A large proportion of these so-termed labels are now found to consist of after-insertions placed in odd corners of the field,²¹ and couched in less formal archaic characters than the independent authentic marginal entries of the primary devotional dedications.²²

Asiatic Society," vol. i. p. 411; Dr. Stevenson, "Kalpa Sútra," 1848, p. xii.; and "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. v., &c.; General Cunningham, "Archæological Report," 1871, vol. i. p. xxiv.; the Rev. S. Beal, "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," 1871, vol. v. N.S. p. 168; Childers, "Pali Dietionary," sub voce "Dhammacakkam"; M. E. Senart, "Journal Asiatique," 1875, vol. vi. p. 116; and my summary of the relative bearings of Jainism and Buddhism, in a paper on Asoka's Faith in the "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," 1877, vol. ix. N.S. p. 155.

See pls. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xv. 1, xvi. 1, xviii. 2, xix. 1, &c.
 Pls. xiv. 8, xvi. 2.

But the crucial test of the truth and sincerity of these cuckoo entries may be estimated from a single example amid the details of the unimpeachable sculptures themselves. The supposed triumphant record of

" Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodhi,"

or the

"Holy Pippal of the Buddha Sakya Muni," 28

is now discovered to be merely vaguely incised on the dome of a temple devoted to the sun—whose very worshippers are seen in their proper position in the lower compartment in the act of prayer, with a full series of sun symbols displayed on the votive slab: ranging from the various round forms and lotus patterns of the clay-cake imitations of the sun itself to the more crude reproductions of the sacrificial Gond pottery horse's head.²⁴

In the instance of the sculpture in question, which is reproduced intentionally in General Cunningham's second photograph, pl. xxx., Fig. 3, there can be no possible doubt but that the later possessors of the temple endeavoured to adapt the more ancient descriptive scenes to the purposes of their own religious revival.

As Pliny has told us, the earliest temples of the gods were trees.²⁵ So, to this day the village tree is an institution among the forest tribes,²⁶ but it is not *the tree* that is

²³ General Cunningham, the "Stupa of Bharhut," p. 45.

²⁴ Pl. xiii. Fig. 1.

²⁵ xii. 2; Herodotus, ii. 56; Deuteronomy xii. 2; 1 Kings, xiv. 28; Jeremiah xvii. 2.

²⁶ The process of forming an aboriginal village, still practised by the forest tribes in India:—" Nadzu Peunu, the Village God, is the guardian deity of every hamlet. This deity is familiarly approached by all at his shrine, which is simply a stone placed under the great cotton-tree which stands in or

primarily worshipped, so much as the stock or stone under it. And so with later Buddhism, the tree was made sacred because Sakya Muni was supposed to have sat under it, not on account of any inherent sanctity in its own branches; quoad the new revelation.

In this case the tree overshadows the temple, in the same manner as on some of the Andhra coins the tree is made to grow out of the apex of the conventional mound or *chaitya* formed of four superimposed rows of arches.²⁷

But as if to climax the rest of the evidence in regard to the higher claims of the simpler sun worship, this tree is supported on either side by figures carrying in the form of standards representations of *Garudas*, or Indian harpies, half man, half bird, the special váhana or "vehicle" of Vishnu.

I have devoted one section of Plate II. to reproductions of Chaldwan and Assyrian forms of the sun, in order to exhibit their identities and contrasts with the symbols of the Indian system.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are taken from the facsimiles in Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies." 28 They show the progress from the normal ring towards more ornamental wheel-like devices. Figure 4 is important, as being the

²⁸ Vol. i. pp. 161, 163.

near every village. That tree, it may be observed, is planted at the foundation of each village, and is regarded with feelings of veneration which may be best understood from the following ceremony. . . . On the day fixed for the ceremony, the village Janni brings from the jungle the stem of a young cotton-tree . . . saying, 'I bring you, by order of Boora Pennu, who commanded us to build this village.'" (Captain Macpherson, "On the Religion of the Khonds," "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society." vol. xiii. O.S. p. 268.)

Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xiii. O.S. p. 268.)

27 "Andhra Coins," "Indian Antiquary," March, 1880,
No. 4a, p. 62, "Coin of the Gotami family."

apparent prototype of the figure of the sun so largely employed by the Greeks, and which numismatists have hitherto hesitated to designate as anything more definite than "a star." Figures 5 and 6 are the Assyrian counterparts of the Chaldean forms, combined in both cases with the associate outline of the moon.29 No. 7 is a counterpart symbol of the sun from Bavian,30 where it is found in company with the moon and seven planets and other enigmatical devices. Mr. Layard³¹ at once detected its likeness to "a Maltese cross, symbolical of the sun." The medal worn by Samsi Vul IV., B.C. 825, is equally open to a similar interpretation. 22 As the cross in No. 2 formed the leading design of advanced types of the sun, it is possible that thus, when divested of the outer ring and reduced to a single elementary cross, it may have suggested the alternative emblem in its more ornamental form.

But we have closer approximations to the outline of the normal cross at so early a period as 1500 s.c., where it is found on the engraved cylinder-seals used for the authentication of documents endorsed upon the ordinary moist clay of the impressed writing of the period.

No. 12, pl. xxxvi. of M. Lajard's work, reproduces a leading specimen of these examples. The general

²⁹ Vol. ii. p. 249.

² Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon:" London, 1853, p. 211.

³¹ Our artist has not been very accurate in his supposed copy from the cut in Mr. Layard's book. The likeness to the Maltese cross is much more marked in the original.

³² An essay has lately been written by Mr. Mourant Brock, London, 1879, entitled "The Cross, Heathen and Christian," which takes for its basis this particular pattern.

²³ "Culte de Mithra," par M. F. Lajard: Paris, 1847. A later Sassanian example of the Maltese cross is to be seen in pl. xlii. 8a, where it has the tridents attached to the four points, as in the Indian instance of No. 40 of our plate.

device consists of a crudely-outlined seated figure, in the act of extending the open palm of the right hand towards a small fire or incense-altar; above which, separated by a horizontal line, are inserted three crosses, or quasi suns, in the form here given . The cuneiform legend refers to the Lady of E-anna at Erech.³⁴

Both above and below this leading design, separated by horizontal lines, there appear three well-defined representations of the sun, consisting of two inner rings and nine pointed rays; the three orbs are detached in the intervals by small almond-shaped or oval shields.

The most important diagram in the Assyrian series is, however, No. 8, which is also taken from Canon Rawlinson's work.³⁶ It exhibits, like the Indian examples

³⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Pinches for the subjoined note on these cylinders:—

[&]quot;Both the cylinders appear to be of Babylonian workmanship, and probably of about the fifteenth century B.C. That on pl. xxxvi. contains a notice of the Lady of E-anna, and as E-anna was one of the temples of Erech, that is probably the exact locality. The inscription of No. 15, pl. liv. b, is not copied well enough to make out anything certain."

in Mr. Loftus' work on Chaldea, 1850, p. 419, and noticed in Walpole's "Turkey," 1820, vol. ii. p. 426. See also Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 467.

³⁶ Vol. ii. p. 233. Some later traces of the belief in the three

already adverted to, a clear recognition of the three positions of the sun in its upward ascent, balanced by an equally revolving figure of the luminary in its descent, both forms being marked, though apparently in different degrees, with the signs of centrifugal speed. Whereas the central half-orb is discriminated by wheel-like spokes, and below its circumference there appears a hand holding a bow, from which we must imply that the mid-day rays in the shape of arrows had lately been discharged.

The written evidence towards the belief in the three forms of the sun is not so complete as could be desired, but the following passage from an earlier volume of the same work gives indications of the existence of some such a theory among the Chaldseans:—

"Ai, Gula, or Anunit, was the female power of the sun, and was commonly associated with San in temples and invocations. Her names are of uncertain signification, except the second Gula, which undoubtedly means 'great,' being so translated in the vocabularies. It is suspected that the three terms may have been attached respectively to the rising, the culminating, and the setting sun, since they do not appear to interchange; while the name of Gula is distinctly traced in one inscription to belong to the 'great goddess, the wife of the meridian sun.'"—
"Chaldæa," vol. i. p. 161.

Among the other nations of the old world, the Egyptian records testify in complete and definite terms to the discriminated worship of the three phases of the sun's course. Dr. Birch, our most competent guide on these subjects, writes:—

"The religious notions of the Egyptians were chiefly

positions of the Sun are to be detected in the creed of the Nosairis. See "Journal Asiatique," 1879, p. 195, et seq.

connected with the worship of the Sun, with whom at a later period all the principal deities were connected. As Har or Harmachis he is represented as the youthful or rising sun, as Ra the mid-day, and as Tum the setting sun. According to Egyptian notions, that god floated in a boat through the sky or celestial ether, and descended to the dark regions of night or Hades. Many deities attended on his passage or were connected with his worship, and the gods Amen and Kheper, who represented the invisible and self-produced god, were identified with the Sun." ⁸⁷

Sir G. Wilkinson had previously indicated to what a pitch of elaboration this system of sun worship had arrived at, when, to use his own words, "So great was the veneration paid to this luminary, that in order to propitiate it they burnt incense three times a day—resin at its first rising, myrrh when in the meridian, and a mixture called kuphi at the time of setting." 38

Another phase and signs of a wider spread of the natural selection of the sun as the first object of worship of primitive mankind also reaches us from Egyptian sources.³⁹

³⁷ Dr. S. Birch, "Ancient History from the Monuments," "Egypt.," p. ix. See also Sir G. Wilkinson's "Egypt," new edit. vol. iii. p. 182.

³⁸ Vol. iii. p. 884.

³⁹ I am unwilling to break the continuity of a somewhat complex series of comparisons by enlarging, in my text, upon the admitted identities of the earliest civilisation of Egypt and India; but in adverting to the fresh evidences previously adduced, I may suggest a more extended and comprehensive examination of a new branch of the subject, embracing the coincidences to be detected in the worship of animals in Egypt, and the adoption of parallel symbols derived from animal life, as the religious devices of the Jain saints and hierarchs in India.

On the 16th of the month (Athyr) Amenhetp III. (Memnon) celebrated a festival, and brought into it the boat of the solar disc, called Atennefru, "the most lovely disc." This worship of the sun's orb or disc was not unknown in Egypt, and was allied with that of Ra. In the Aten may, perhaps, be recognised the solar disc or orb specially worshipped by the Ethiopians, and the mother of Amenophis was of that race. In it some have seen the Hebrew Adonai or "Lord," and the Syrian Adonis.

The practical developments of the Egyptian creed in the threefold aspect of the sun lead us naturally to . inquire as to whether Pausanias' description of the Temple of the Sun in Arcadia, and his reference to Syene, do not equally point to prototypes from the banks of the Nile?

The curious credulity of Pausanias, which made him believe in tropical suns in latitudes where such conjunctions were impossible, induced me to examine the passage quoted below; and on further investigation I found that the subordinate details of the three representative temples of the rising, meridian, and setting sun had been already worked out in detail by that accomplished archæologist, the late Ch. Lenormant. I append so much of his commentary as will suffice to explain the nature of his conclusions.

"Lycosura, indeed, is certainly the most ancient of all cities which are either contained on the continent or in islands: and this was the first the sun beheld. Hence,

[&]quot;Dr. S. Birch, "Egypt," p. 107; Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 52. See also a new work on "Nile Gleanings," by Villiers Stuart, Murray, 1879, pl. v. p. 82; "Bas Relief on a Tomb at Thebes," recently discovered by the author, representing the Solar Disc with arms and hands pouring down from a midday ring.

from this city men learnt how to build other cities. But on the left hand of the Temple of Despoina is the mountain Lycaeum, which they call Olympus; and by others of the Arcadians it is denominated the sacred summit. They say that Jupiter was educated on this mountain; and there is a place in the mountain which is called Cretea, and which is on the left of the grove Parrhasius, which is sacred to Apollo. In Lycaeus, too, there is a Temple of Pan the Lupercalia were the first celebrated in this place. Here too are the bases of certain statues, the statues themselves being removed. But the mountain Lycaeus, among other particulars with which it abounds, has the following:—There is a grove in it of the Lycaean Jupiter, into which men are not permitted to enter. They further report that both men and beasts which happen to come into this place cast no shadows from their bodies. Indeed, in that part of the year in which the sun is in Cancer, there is no shadow either from trees or animals in Syene, a city near Æthiopia. But in this grove of the mountain Lycaeus, this circumstance respecting shadows takes place perpetually and during every season of the year. On the highest summit too of this mountain there is a heap of earth which forms an altar of Lycaean Jupiter In that part of the mountain which is situated towards the east there is a temple of Apollo, who is called Parrhasius; they likewise denominate him Pythius."—Pausanias VIII. xxxviii. Translation of T. Taylor, ii. 308.

M. Ch. Lenormant, under the head of "Jupiter Lycéus," in the "Trésor de Numismatique" ("Galerie Mythologique," p. 24), continues his comments on this passage in the following terms:—

"Ou je me trompe fort, ou il est impossible qu'on trouve établi d'une manière plus positive le rapport des phénomènes qu'on observe à l'apogée du soleil, et ceux qu'on suppose appartenir au feu porté à sa plus haute puissance: afin de mieux confirmer encore l'exactitude de nos rapprochements, Pausanias (viii. 38) nous montre le sanctuaire de Jupiter Lycaeus, entre le Temple de Pan, is situé au milieu d'un bois touffu, et celui d'Apollon Parrhasius, bâti dans la direction du soleil levant. A la porte du sanctuaire de Zeus se trouve en outre l'autel où, à l'époque où vivait Pausanias, fumait encore en certaines occasions le sang des victimes humaines."

The arrangement of the diagrams and representations of the sun discovered at Hissarlik, reproduced in Pl. II., is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, as the ground levels at which the various clay objects, on whose surfaces they are inscribed, do not suffice to determine their relative age.⁴³ It is sufficient for our present purpose that they all

[&]quot;Nous trouvons en effet cette espérance réalisée dans le dieu primitif de l'Arcadie, celui qui certainement précéda Zeus dans cette contrée, je veux dire Pan, dieu des campagnes, ce qui indique toujours la religion primitive, la population des champs n'ayant jamais accepté les transformations que subissait le culte des villes. Pan, dieu lumineux par essence, ainsi que son nom nous l'indique, a la double forme dont nous poursuivons la trace" (p. 25).

⁴² Nous avons vu dans les observations précédentes le caractère propre de *l'Apollon Lycaeus* d'Argos, qui figurait comme un dieu vainqueur des ténèbres. En Crète, c'est le héros Talos qui est l' ἡμεροδρόμος, le soleil accomplissant sa course chaque jour, selon le témoignage formel d'Hésychius; Jupiter Tallaeus se confond avec lui. Passant ensuite au *Jupiter Lucetius* des Romains, nous voyons que ce Jupiter lumineux est le même que le *Zeus loup* des Grecs; il est le *Diespiter* " (p. 26).

⁴³ No. 15. Dr. Schliemann's No. 849, from a flat clay cake, pierced with two holes near the circumference, was found at a depth of 2 mètres = 6½ feet, or in the stratum which he calls

typify or denote, in their several gradations, some one or other phase or form of the worship of the sun as locally adapted from time to time to the claims of the presiding families of the hierarchs in possession.

The sequence of the present numbers may, therefore, be indefinitely transposed. But the ruling theory of the revolving motion of the sun is consistently maintained in its various forms from Nos. 9 to 16, whose outline comes home to us in the surviving types of our own land.⁴⁴

No. 15 merely represents a finished form of the current *Smastika*, so common on the earlier examples of these clay objects.

No. 17 theoretically may be taken to indicate a midday sun, with its rays focussed, but the form is not important.

No. 18 is remarkable as representing a flower pattern, intended, perchance, to carry out the Egyptian idea of the morning sun rising or emanating from a *Lotus* into the full flower of noon.

No. 19, like several other examples of the same cha-

[&]quot;Greek Ilium." No. 12 comes from the fourth stratum, 6½ to 13 feet downwards. Nos. 9, 10, 18, and 19 were discovered at a depth of between 13 and 23 feet; and Nos. 14 and 17 were found imbedded in the stratum, from 28 to 83 feet below the surface, which Dr. Schliemann designates as "the Troy of Homer." Below this level, from 83 to $52\frac{1}{3}$ feet, there occurs another stratum before the native rock is reached ("Troy and its Remains," London, 1875, Diagram, p. 10).

[&]quot;Roman Wall" depicted in C. Bruce's work, 1867, pp. 127—399, where the distinct entries of DEO INVICTO MYTRAE and DEO SOLI INVICTO MYTRAE leave no doubt about the meaning of the symbols. At p. 404 the revolving sun on the side of the altar might almost be taken as a copy of No. 18 Pl. from Troy. Numerous examples of the archaic form of the sun, figured as No. 2 of our Plate, are to be found in Ireland. See "Christian Inscriptions," &c., R. Arch. Assoc. of Ireland, 1878, p. 138.

racter, seems designed to show the "shooting of arrows," which, as we have seen, was supposed to mark the mission of the sun in the meridian.

In citing with but scant introduction these selected emblems of the worship of the sun from the multiplicity of the patterns contributed by Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, I feel bound to put on record my own profession of faith in this direction. Dr. Schliemann in his latest publication has reiterated ⁴⁵ an early impression that the so-called whorls of Hissarlik were EX VOTO's; in that general conception, with some modifications, I am fully prepared to concur.

In the first place we have to refer to localities. The dominant hill of old Troy seems to have presented a natural observatory, the like of which had to be built up in the valley of the Euphrates, and piled up in less finished forms on the alluvial plains of India. The easy transition, in the present instance, from the pre-historic worship of the sun to the higher level of the "sacred Pergamus" of Homer's Apollo 46 seems to follow in the ordinary course.

We are, however, for the moment chiefly concerned with the earlier developments of the home civilisation in what Dr. Schliemann defines as the stratum, nearly twenty feet below, or many years in advance of the "Troy of Homer."

In examining the objects recovered from the lowest level, or "black clay" stratum, we find probably the very earliest and crudest type of a candlestick, fashioned by

46 Il., v. 444.

^{45 &}quot;In my present excavations I shall probably find a definite explanation as to the purpose for which the articles ornamented with such significant symbols were used; till then I shall maintain my former opinion that they served as Ex votos, or as actual idols of Hephæstos" (Sch., "Troy," ch. vi.).

the rough chipping of the edges of the flat surface of a potsherd, which apparently had once formed part of a more important dish or vessel. No attempt seems to have been made to smooth or finish off the outer edge, and the central hole is in some cases merely punched through, with the inner edges equally left in the rough. An advance is seen in one instance of a red clay potsherd, found at between forty-seven to fifty-three feet below the highest level, which, though still irregular in its chipped edges, seems to have had the central orifice more carefully bored, and the hole itself is surrounded on the upper surface with an ornamental circle graved into the baked clay. Similar, but unornamented, red clay cakes become frequent at the higher levels, and an advance is made in the method of adaptation by boring the hole near the edge of the circumference; this, again, is improved upon by a repetition of the hole in intentional juxtaposition with its fellow opening, forming, perchance, a double candlestick. And in the stone articles of similar design,47 in the twenty-six feet level, the two holes are bored to balance one another outside the true centre, and less close to the circumference than in the clay objects.

These changes in the position of the perforations seem to be altogether inconsistent with the supposed use of these objects as "spinning whorls." The alternative inference I should venture to suggest is that they were intended to hold the stick or sticks of fir, which we learn was the method of obtaining artificial light followed in certain parts of Asia Minor from all time.

"Sir C. Fellows' description of these fir candles is as follows:—

⁴⁷ In Case 8, South Kensington Museum.

"I think I have not mentioned that the light generally used in this part of the country, even in the large town of Kootáya and the other towns through which I have passed, is a chip of the fir-tree. The people make a wound in the tree, which draws the sap to that part, and the tree is then cut for firewood, reserving this portion filled with turpentine for candles. I was surprised to find how long they burned. . . At Æzani they brought some of this resinous wood to light our fire; and when any one of our party quitted the room he, with his large knife (a weapon they all carry), split off a slip, which served him for a candle. We met people in the streets of Kootáya carrying them."—" Asia Minor," 1839, p. 140.48

If this explanation of the use to which these unadorned clay and stone contrivances were put be correct, the higher mission of their successors, decorated so constantly on their upper surfaces with symbols of the sun, would seem to point to the worship of the great luminary, associated with an incidental illumination at the sacrifice of the "lighting of lamps" so religiously observed by the Carians.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ In a subsequent edition (1852) the author adds in a note (p. 105), "This use of fir-wood cleft or torn into strips, and especially of the root of the tree, is well known, and is described in an instructive essay published by Mr. A. Aitkin in the "Transactions, Society of Arts," vol. liii. p. 4. Mr. James Yates is of opinion that this method of obtaining artificial light has prevailed in Asia Minor for nearly three thousand years." Theophrastus' account of the torchmakers of Mount Ida is also referred to.

[&]quot;Herodotus, ii. 61. "All the Carians that are settled in Egypt do still more than this, in that they cut their foreheads with knives, and thus show themselves to be foreigners, and not Egyptians." 62: "When they are assembled at the sacrifice, in the city of Sais, they all on a certain night kindle a great number of lamps in the open air around their houses. The lamps are flat vessels filled with salt and oil, and the wick

One objection might suggest itself as to the suitability of these ornamented clay forms for the purpose of holding a light, that is that the lower surface is usually rounded off, and would render them unfit to stand erect without support; but if these were merely to be placed on the surface of the soil, this obstacle might easily be met. Or, if used for chamber lights, the ready access to moist clay, implied in the local use of pottery for all purposes, even to the fabrication of hooks whereon to hang garments, &c., would secure them a handy and appropriate pedestal.

There are many curious and instructive parallels, among the devotional observances of primitive sections of the local Indian communities, tending to support the conjecture that the so-called Trojan whorls were in effect votive offerings to the sun.

One of the surviving aboriginal "forest tribes"—the Gonds—to this day substitute for "the living sacrifice" a clay model of a horse, a type especially identified with their form of the worship of the sun.

An effective illustration of this practice in its hereditary aspect has lately been furnished us in the newly discovered sculptures of the Bárahát Tope, where crude figures of horses' heads are depicted on the votive slabs in combination with apparently fresh flower offerings and more formal clay cakes, representing the sun in his various conventional forms of wheels, lotus patterns, and more definite Snastikas enclosed within a simple outer ring (Pl. II. 24).

floats on the surface, and this burns all night; and the festival is therefore named 'the lighting of lamps.' The Egyptians who do not come to this public assembly observe the rite of sacrifice, and all kindle lamps, and this not only in Sais, but throughout all Egypt. A religious reason is given why the night is illuminated and so honoured."

These Gond clay horses seem to have been also devoted to ancestral or Manes' reverential purposes, and we find them described by modern observers, as "large collections of rude earthenware, in the shape of horses, which have accumulated from year to year at the tombs of such men."

I myself have had some experience in unearthing buried sites in the East, and am able personally to testify to similar and occasionally chaotic profusion of crude votive clay tablets, sanctified by the progressionally advanced forms of prayer-inscribed models of *Dagopas*, as turned up from the soil of the later Buddhist location at Sárnáth, near Benáres.⁵⁰

My impression of the aim and purpose of these offerings is that each clay symbol represented the individual prayer of successive pilgrims—having served the turn of each devotee they became sacred deposits, and could scarcely be used again, even if the officiating priests were likely to encourage such economy—and hence we find such heaps and mounds of comparatively indestructible baked-clay objects—the untouched accumulation of ages, whose limits were simply defined by the evanescent faith of the living multitude.

General Cunningham, whose range of Indian antiquarian researches is so extensive, in adverting to the "cart-loads" of votive images of Buddha found near

^{50 &}quot;Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal," vol. xxiii. (1854) p. 469. The more advanced temple-like votive offerings, impressed with the inner seal prayer, were found, collected together in one spot, to the right-front of the pedestal, which was supposed to have supported the statue of Buddha. The more simple flat clay cakes, impressed upon the upper surface only (Figs. 4 and 5), were "found promiscuously mingled with the débris in the open court. generally at the level of the original surface."

Benáres in 1794,⁵¹ and at Buddha Gayá early in the present century,⁵² concludes his summary of the general spread of the custom of offering such symbolic forms—"In the temples of Ladák I have seen small chambers quite full of similar little figures of deceased Lámas. In Burmah also I have seen small figures of Buddha in burnt clay accumulated in heaps equal to cart-loads, both in the caves and in the temples." ⁵³

COINS.

The prehistoric clay and other sun symbols from Hissarlik have in a measure anticipated anything we can produce in evidence from coined money, but in regard to the spread of such symbols among Western nations, and their association with more advanced forms of worship, the extant coins will be found to prove highly instructive. To proceed upon the ex oriente lux principle, we can follow the originals, or adapted modifications, of types of the sun from the ancient site of Aspendus, along the Lycian coast and the home of Sarpedon's traditional sun-worship, to the 'Abéliov hlov, Kphres,54 and the island of Trêvarqua, sacred to Helios, which may well complete the geographical sequence of the present paper. A more or less full description of the coins themselves will be found in the appended "contents" of Pl. III.

I have alluded to the progressive advances upon the

^{51 &}quot;Asiatic Researches," vol. v. 181.

⁶² Moor's "Hindu Pantheon," pl. lxx. figs. 6, 7, 8. See also Colonel Sykes, "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," xvi. 1861, p. 87.

^{* &}quot;Archæological Survey," vol. i., 1871, p. 119. See also his "Ladák," London, 1854, p. 878.

Hesych., s.v. See also ABELLIO, Smith's Dic., s.v.

primitive worship of the sun. As we find the Vedic Aryans speaking of him as "the universal deity," 55 so Persians, Scythians, 56 and Greeks alike recognised the most potent mass in the planetary system. But as civilisation progressed, intuitive forms of worship were not found to pay a priesthood, and so the simple devotional prayer which each man could say for himself, or, if untaught, could place in evidence by small votive offerings "after his kind," came to be superseded by things more mystic, tending to the glorification and profit of ministering Brahmans and Greek hierarchs. A curious passage in Lucian 57 shows how, in his time, the sun had been virtually deposed from his leading position, and his throne left vacant:—

"The temple (of the Tyrian goddess at Hierapolis) fronts the rising sun. . . In the fore part of the temple, to the left hand of the comers in, stands the throne of the solar deity, but his image is not thereon; for the sun and the moon are the only divinities that are not sculptured here. On inquiring the reason, I received for answer: 'Of the other deities it is permitted to make likenesses, because their figures are not known to all men; but

p. 10. "The sun.." the supreme spirit, or Parabrahma. "Vishnu is the Sun. How?" &c., "Rig-Veda," x. 88, 10. Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," ii. 204.

[&]quot;If the doctrines of the Veda, and even those of the Puránas, be closely examined, the Hindu theology will be found consistent with monotheism I have only to remark that modern Hindus seem to misunderstand the numerous texts which declare the unity of the godhead and the identity of Vishnu, Siva, the Sun, &c. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 219).

In a parallel degree we have—Efs Zeús, είς Αΐδης, είς 'Ηλιός ἐστι Σάραπις (Julian, Orat. iv. p. 136).

⁵⁶ Herodot., i. 212, 216.

⁵⁷ The authorship of the "De Dea Syria" is not altogether uncontested.

the sun and moon are visible to every one; accordingly, there is no reason for delineating them.' Behind this throne stands the statue of Apollo; but not as he is commonly figured" (Lucian, translation by W. Tooke, 1820, i. p. 456, text, sec. 34).

CONTENTS OF PL. II.

(With the derivation and authority for each form.)

Nos. 1, 2, 8, 4. Chaldean sun symbols, copied from Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," i. pp. 161, 163.

Nos. 5, 6. Assyrian ditto, with the subjunct moon (R.A.M., vol. ii. 249).

No. 7. Sun symbol, in the form of a Maltese cross, from Bavian (Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," 1853, p. 211).

No. 8. Representation of the ascending, midday, and declining sun (R.A.M., ii. 288, "Assyrian").

Nos. 9-19. Various forms of the sun, from the archaic ideals depicted in Dr. Schliemann's "Troy."

Nos. 20—22. Primitive or normal outlines of the Indian

Nos. 28, 24 (Pls. XIII.a, XVI.b, XVII.c, &c.). Symbolic clay figures of the sun, deposited on the shrine of Vishnu, as developed in the sculptures at Barahat.

Nos. 25—88. Indian sun symbols derived from various sources, but chiefly from the coins of Ujjain sketched in pl. lxi. vol. vii. "Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal," and in General Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes." No. 82 is to be found in vol. iv. pl. xxxv. of the "Jour. As. Soc. Beng."

The uprising and the full meridian orb of the sun in sequent conjunction ("Bhilsa Topes," pl. xxxii. fig. 1).

Nos. 85, 86. From coins of Ujjain.

No. 87. Standard of the sun discovered above the chariot and four horses of Súrya, in the earliest sculptures at Buddha Gayá (pl. l.).

No. 88. Standard of the sun, from the sculptures of the Barahat Tope, pl. xxxii. fig. 4.

Nos. 89, 40. The former from coins, the latter from the

ancient rock-cut cave at Bhaja, in the Western Gháts (Fergusson's "Indian Architecture," 1876, p. 112).

No. 41. One of the Vishnu-padas at Amarávati, now in the B.M., copied from Mr. Fergusson's woodcut ("Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," iii. N.S. 159).

No. 42. A crude clay model of a horse's head, "offered in sacrifice in lieu of the living victim." This outline is reproduced from one of the symbols on the votive slab at Bárahát, pl. xiii. 1.

No. 43. An open palm of a hand, whose precise signification is still obscure. It may possibly have some reference to votive "handfuls." The Indian *Mushti-*" Manipulus."

This form appears frequently at Bárahát. In pl. xvi. 2, 3, it is associated with other sun-like offerings on the slab or folded carpet above the Garudas, and the ancient Vishnu padas, or "feet of Vishnu," under that form of the sun. A striking example, however, of its archaic use occurs in the Cypriote Series, in pl. xxxiii. fig. 24, Cesnola, where it is combined with symbols of the eagle, fish, stag, and six balls or planets. The hand device is more directly identified with solar emblems in No. 2, pl. lxi. vol. vii. "Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal," and perhaps accomplishes its modern career in the Punja, or "fists," of Prinsep's "Table of later-day Symbols," No. 114, p. 68, of his "Useful Tables."

CONTENTS OF PL. III.

SYRACUSE, CIRCA 317-810 B.C.58

No. 1. Silver. Obv.—Head of Persephone.

Revs.—(a) Quadriga, with female charioteer; above, triquetra. Legend, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

(β) Similar type, with the sun in place of the triquetra. Legend identical.

⁵⁶ These Sicilian coins have been classified and described in detail in Mr. Head's admirable article in vol. xiv. of our journal. I am indebted to the Medal Room authorities of the B.M. for all the examples in this plate.

No. 2. Copper. Obv.—Head of Apollo. Legend, ΣYPA - $KO\Sigma I\Omega N$.

Rev.—Triquetra, the feet ornamented with winged pedila; in the centre a Gorgon's head.

No. 8. Silver. Obv.—Head of Pallas, with ornamental Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—Pegasus, with triquetra in the field above. Legend, $\Sigma YPAKO\Sigma I\Omega N$.

CIRCA B.C. 807-289.

No. 4. Silver. Obv.—Head of Pallas.

Rev.—Pegasus, with the sun in the field above. No legend.

CIRC. B.C. 289-278. HIKETAS.

No. 5. Gold. Obv.—Head of Persephone. Legend, ΣYPA - $KO\Sigma I\Omega N$.

Rev.—Biga driven by Nike; in the field above, the moon. Legend, EII IKETA.

CNOSSUS, IN CRETE.

No. 6. Silver. Obv.—Female head.

Rev.—The sun, surrounded by a double-lined figure of the swastika, in the form of a labyrinthine pattern, indicative of rotative motion. (In the Indian example, Pl. II. Fig. 29, the motive swastika is placed within the outer circle of the sun.)

No. 7. Silver. Obv.—Female head.

Rev.—Similar pattern to No. 6, but the windmill-like arms enclose a half-moon.

LYCIA.

No. 8. Silver. Obv.—The Lycian wild boar.

Rev.—Triquetra, with cocks' heads. The cock was sacred to and was supposed to welcome the rising sun (Pausanias, book v. cap. 25).

No. 9. Silver. Obv.—Lion devouring a bull.

Rev.—Triquetra. Legend, KO PP AAE.

No. 10. Obv.—Female head, wearing earring and necklace, hair bound with cord and turned up behind.

Rev.—Circular figure of the sun, with four curved arms, as in the early Trojan example in Pl. II. Fig. 9. The central space is filled in with the device of an owl. (Whether this conception is intended to apply to his seeking his own ivy with the rise of the sun, or his reappearance at sunset, is doubtful.) Legend, WYPEYP FAXXT.

ASPENDUS, IN PAMPHYLIA.

No. 11. Obv.—Archaic warrior, with spear and shield.

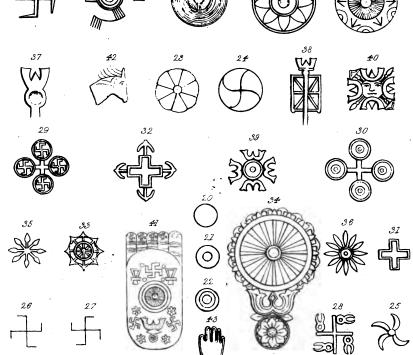
Rev.—Triquetra, with lion moving to the right. Legend, $\mathbf{E} \mathbf{\Sigma} \mathbf{\Pi}$.

These coins seem to have furnished the prototypes of the Seljúk "Lion and the Sun," which has descended to the Persians as their national symbol. See Marsden's "Num. Orient.," pl. vi. No. 89, &c.).

No. 12. Obv.—Two wrestlers engaged in conflict.

Rev.—Slinger, in shirt of mail; triquetra to the front; below, Π. Legend, coTFEΔωνς.





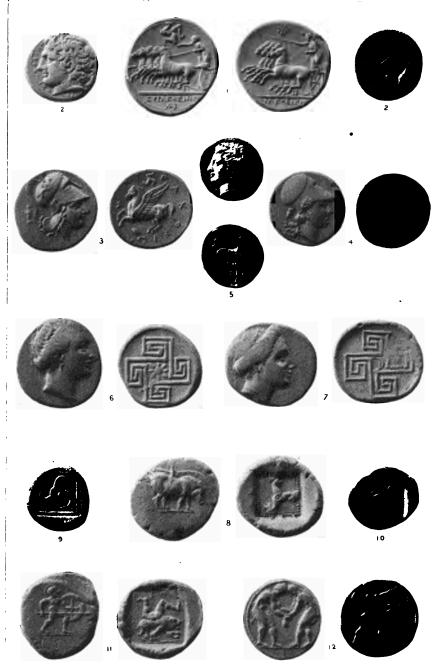
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J J Lees

SUN SYMBOLS, I.

CHALDÆAN: TROJAN: INDIAN:

Num. Chron. N.S. Vol. XX. Pl. III.



SUN SYMBOLS II. GREEK COINS.

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