



The Cappadocian Symbol

G. A. Wainwright

Anatolian Studies, Vol. 6, Special Number in Honour and in Memory of Professor John Garstang.
(1956), pp. 137-143.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0066-1546%281956%296%3C137%3ATCS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>

Anatolian Studies is currently published by British Institute at Ankara.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/biaa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE CAPPADOCIAN SYMBOL

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

THERE ARE TWO well-defined varieties of the Cappadocian Symbol ; one with bosses and one without. It is the first type that is considered here.

Apart from the presence or absence of the bosses there is a fairly well-defined difference in the curved members, Figs. 1, 2.¹ Those with the bosses almost invariably curve upwards and inwards as if embracing the limb of the cross, while those without the bosses are so strongly recurved outwards as to double back on to the other limb of the cross, and perhaps were finally thought of as belonging to it.

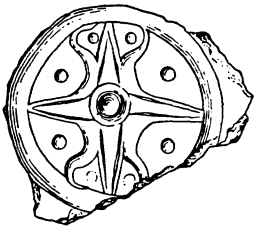


FIG. 1.

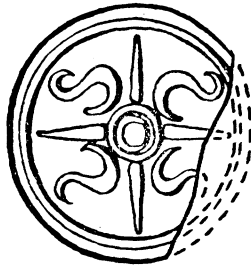


FIG. 2.

The two types very rarely combine, but on one occasion we have a curious case where there are only four bosses inside the curves and the curves themselves are very strongly bent backwards in the manner of those without the bosses. On yet another occasion we have a case which again only has the four bosses within the curves, but here the latter have come completely apart from the cross and lie almost on the horizontal limbs, see Figs. 6, 7 *infra*. As will appear later on, these seem to provide a link between the two types, that with the bosses and that without.

The design being circular in form there is generally no means of telling which is its right way up, hence to which pair of limbs of the cross the curved members belong. Were they conceived as embracing one pair of limbs or as turning outward from the other? Fortunately there are three cases that are decisive, and they are the silver-plated bronze example from Ras Shamra,² and another, also from Ras Shamra, as well as the pendant from Shechem, both of which are noted in the postscript. The bronze one has a tang for fixing it to something and thus shows that it was so placed that the curved members embraced the pair of upright limbs of the cross.

Hitherto attention seems to have been given almost entirely to the type without the balls or bosses when the design has been thought to

¹ Fig. 1 is drawn from von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1930-32*, Pt. II, Fig. 257, e 1584, p. 220. Fig. 2 is drawn from Id., *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor*, 1929, Fig. 14a, p. 27 (Chicago Univ. Or. Inst. Communications, No. 8).

² Schaeffer in *Syria*, XII (1931), Pl. XIII, Fig. 4, facing p. 12.

represent a four-rayed star with serpents, the lightning, or the flaming sun,—or even on one occasion a combination of a four-rayed star and an ant!¹—and when the type with the bosses has been noticed the bosses are taken to represent stars. But there are various difficulties in the way of such interpretations. The shape is quite unlike the oriental ways of representing the lightning,² and besides this the curved members often turn back on themselves forming an S which could not possibly represent the striking, splitting, lightning flash. The serpent theory fails because the curved members are never shown with serpents' heads. Again the curved members are not like the usual representations of the rays of the sun, for those are shown as wavy lines shooting straight out from the sun's

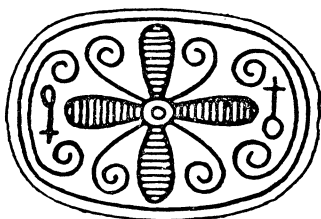


FIG. 3.

disc.³ The members on the Cappadocian Symbol are quite unlike this, for they are curved and sometimes very strongly. Again plain round bosses or half balls are not the usual way of representing stars, and indeed in one case they have holes in the middle.⁴

Yet another suggestion is put forward in this article. It is that the design originated in one, Fig. 3, that is quite common on Egyptian scarabs of the late Twelfth Dynasty,⁵ the Second Intermediate Period⁶ and the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷ Such scarabs, some with varieties of the pattern,

¹ Matz, *Die Frühkretischen Siegel*, p. 121.

² For example, P. Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*, Pl. I, Figs. 1–11, where, moreover, a central boss or disc is not shown, though it is the regular thing in the Cappadocian Symbol.

³ There is, however, one curious instance of what seems to be a representation of the sun that has been influenced by that form of the Cappadocian Symbol which has no bosses (Woolley, *Carchemish*, III, Pl. A. 30, Fig. h, left face, and p. 260). It shows a central disc with eight rays, instead of four, and between the rays there are eight curling lines. Two pairs of these curls embrace the horizontal rays just as they embrace the upright ones on the Cappadocian Symbol. The four others curl about indiscriminately. The sculpture is probably datable to the time of a grandson of Shubbiluliuma, i.e. to the fourteenth century B.C.

⁴ Woolley, *Alalakh*, Pl. LXXVII, top and p. 290, no. AT/38/79. It comes from Niqme-pa's palace, Level IV, c. 1450 B.C., p. 377.

⁵ Some dated examples are: Sealings of the Late Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties, Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. X, 35, 39, and p. 31.

⁶ Some dated examples are: Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Pl. XXI, Apepa I, no. 2 (a variety); Id., *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. IX, 139, 140. Our Fig. 3 dates to the early Thirteenth Dynasty, being taken from Reisner in *Bull. of the Fine Arts Museum* (Boston), XXVIII (1930), p. 53, Fig. 7, no. 22 and p. 49 for the date.

⁷ *Thutmosis III*, Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Pl. XXVII, 53, XXVIII, 115; *Amenhotep II*, Fraser, *Catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to George Fraser*, Pl. VIII, 240; *Thutmosis IV*, Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXX, 5, bottom row where the spirals are degraded into

are widespread in Palestine during these times, coming for instance from Tell el Fara, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el Ajjul, Tell ed Duweir, Ain Shems, Gezer, Jericho, Balâta, and Megiddo.¹ They were also known at Byblos in central Syria² and again in north Syria, as for instance at Zincirli (Zinjirli),³ and at least one reached Cilicia where it was found at Tarsus.⁴ These scarabs were thus popular over a period running from about 1785 to 1320 B.C.

As the scarab-design originated about 1780 B.C., it is some three



FIG. 4.

hundred years older than the Hittite New Empire, for that did not begin until about 1460 B.C. The Cappadocian Symbol is not known until this phase of Hittite civilization, at which time the scarabs with that pattern were still in vogue and so continued for about another one hundred and fifty years, at least in Egypt and Palestine. As we happen to know that at some time during this period the design had reached Cilicia, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was the origin of the very similar Cappadocian Symbol.

concentric circles; *Akhenaton*, Id., *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. XVI, 211. A later one is dated to *Sheshonk III* of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, Id., *Scarabs, etc.*, Pl. 50, 8. In *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. XXIII and p. 36 Petrie approximately dates no. 58 to Amenhotep I, no. 70 to Thutmose IV, and no. 107 to Ramesses II. A collection, which is without information, is published in Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, 259, 261-8, 271, 275-7. Nos. 246, 247, retain the simple design without the bars at the side and no. 248 has the horizontal limbs but not the upright ones. There are also a number of patterns developed from the original one.

¹ A Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs . . . in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Pls. II, III, IX, XVI, XVII.

² Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Pl. LXV, no. 456.

³ Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli (Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, v)*, Pl. 38, Fig. h.

⁴ Goldman, in *AJA.*, XLI (1937), p. 280, Fig. 37. This is no isolated wanderer, for other Egyptian things and of an earlier date have been found in Asia Minor. Thus, there is the statuette of a woman called Sat-s-neferu which was found at Adana in Cilicia (Winlock in *Bull. Metropol. Mus. of Art*, XVI (1921), pp. 209, 210, and fig.) the details of which lead Evers to put it to the time of Senusret II of the Twelfth Dynasty (H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, I, Pl. 62). Another, also of Twelfth Dynasty date, was actually found at Kürigin Kaleh a few miles west of Boğaz Köi itself in the heart of Cappadocia (von der Osten in *AJSLL.*, XLIII (1926-27), p. 100 and fig. 19, and p. 293, Figs. 11-13, and Allen, pp. 294-6; Roeder in *OLZ.*, 1927, cols. 545 ff. and Pl., *Ibid.*, 1928, vol. 426. Allen republished his account of the statuette in von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia, Season of 1926*, pp. 66 f., where the site is called Kirik Kaleh. By a strange coincidence all these three Egyptian objects were found with things of much later date; the scarab in an Iron Age stratum and each of the two statuettes with classical things.

The pattern on the scarab goes back to one, Fig. 4, which appears on the end of a cylinder seal with barbaric versions of Egyptian hieroglyphs,¹ and belongs to the repertory of the button seals which poured into Egypt in the First Intermediate Period² between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties, say 2200–2000 B.C. Here we have the cross, and apparently the central boss, but the volutes are doubled being applied to each arm of the cross instead of only to two.

The change from four pairs of volutes to the two of the scarabs, has no doubt been influenced by another new pattern which appeared in Egypt in the next phase. This was in the reign of Senusret I, 1969–1926 B.C. at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, Fig. 5.³ Here there are only two



FIG. 5.

pairs of volutes as on the scarabs and between each of them lies a palmette sometimes one way up and sometimes the other. The connection between this and the design on the scarab is seen on one of the XIII/XIV Dynasties from Tell ed-Duweir in southern Palestine where the palmettes are replaced by lotuses.⁴ The Twelfth Dynasty design has a long history and a far-flung distribution. Perhaps its most noticeable feature is provided by the splendid spirals in which the volutes end. They are of importance to this study, for they are liable to centre on balls or large discs,⁵ and then to degenerate into mere blobs, as they do on the kilt of the Keftiuian about 1450 B.C.⁶ Already by the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty, and therefore dating to the nineteenth century, one of the rings from Dahshur was decorated with wire soldered on to the bezel and the wire takes the form

¹ Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres orientaux de la bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 515b and Text, p. 290, from which our Fig. 4 is drawn. The spaces are filled in with four uraei.

² Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 298 and Pl. XLVI, Fig. n.

³ Fig. 5 is taken from Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, Pl. I, Fig. 2. This design and its history have been studied in my article, *Keftiu and Karamania (Asia Minor)* in *Anatolian Studies*, IV (1954), pp. 33–48.

⁴ Rowe, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 97, and p. 26.

⁵ For example, EGYPT, Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien i, Architecture, Plafonds*, 31st Plate (in the list though they are not numbered), Figs. 4, 6; CRETE, Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, Pl. I, Fig. k, facing p. 231; MYCENAE, Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Pl. LVI, no. 649.

⁶ Wainwright in *op. cit.*, p. 36, Fig. 2.

of two pairs of volutes.¹ The spirals in which one of these pairs of volutes ends curl round little balls, though the centres of the other pair are empty. Five other little balls act as space-fillers occupying the vacant spaces in the form of a cross in such a manner that two of them lie within the volutes.

To return to the Cappadocian Symbol with the bosses. As is seen in Fig. 1, it consists of a cross of which the two upright limbs are embraced by volutes, and it normally has eight bosses as space-fillers, four within the volutes and four outside them. However, as already noted, there are two aberrant cases where there are only four bosses and they lie inside the volutes. They thus seem to represent the four blobs into which the spirals are liable to degenerate, the four large discs or bosses round which the spirals often turn, or the balls of the Twelfth Dynasty ring. In both cases, Figs. 6, 7, the volutes have come loose from the central boss and the arms of the cross to which they belong, and moreover the bosses have come loose from their volutes also.²

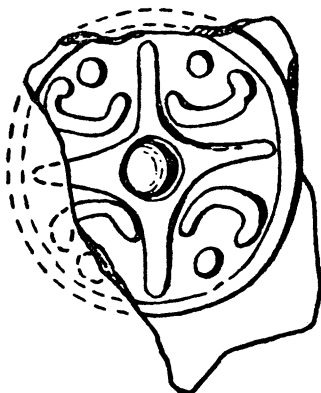


FIG. 6.

Does not this give the clue to the origin of the free-standing bosses usually seen on this type of Cappadocian Symbol which are eight? It is seen that the design had varied somewhat and was liable to disintegrate. The four bosses, which it was appreciated should be there, became mere space-fillers, and then for the sake of symmetry four others were added filling up the other spaces outside the volutes and between them and the horizontal arms of the cross.³ This specimen (Fig. 6) is aberrant in another

¹ Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, Pl. XXII, no. 52239 and Text, p. 89. They are arranged differently from the volutes of our pattern, for they are placed facing each other instead of back to back. As the ring's ornamentation consists of granulations and twisted wire it is an example of that class of jewellery which appears suddenly in Egypt at this time fully formed without antecedents.

² Fig. 6 is drawn from von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32*, II, Fig. 257, no. e, 1611.

³ Used in this way between the points of a star, bosses are not uncommon in the Near East, for example, GAZA, Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, IV, Pl. XVII=XVIII, 112; RAS SHAMRA, Schaeffer in *Syria*, XVIII (1937), Pl. XVIII; ARSLAN TASH, Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash*, Pl. XLVI, no. 104; SUSA, de Morgan and others, *Délégation en Perse*, VII, Pl. XII, nos. 5, 6, 7, Figs. 129, 130, 132, 133, 156, 157. On Fig. 131 rings replace bosses, and on Fig. 127 there are three bosses between the rays except in one place where there

way, which is that although the bosses are present the remains of the volutes have so fallen outwards that they almost lie on the horizontal limbs of the cross.

In the second of these aberrant forms, Fig. 7,¹ the volutes are again so strongly bent backwards that they seem to belong to the horizontal limbs of the cross rather than to the upright ones. They are also so strongly recurved as almost to have lost any suggestion of the original simple volutes from which they derive. They have thus acquired the shape of

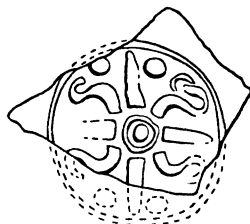


FIG. 7.

those on the type without the bosses, though they still retain the four representing the original spirals. Thus, these two examples seem to provide links between the full form with bosses and the other without them.

Thus, through its scarabs Egypt seems to have originated the Cappadocian Symbol, and in return Cappadocia sent the Symbol back to Egypt as an amulet. This was in the Eighteenth Dynasty when Egypt was in close contact with the Hittites. Certainly the amulet never became common in Egypt, but still at Tell el Amarna a little mould was found for making the type with the bosses.² Another example of this same design with the bosses comes from Harageh and is also of Eighteenth Dynasty date.³ It decorates a gold plaque with a loop for suspension and, like some of those from Asia Minor, it is in process of disintegrating.⁴

are four, and on Fig. 128 there are none ; PERSIA, Herzfeld in *Ill. London News*, 1 June, 1929, p. 943, Fig. 10, where, as at Susa, rings take the place of bosses. The pendant is decorated with granulations ; CRETE and MYCENAE, as rings once again, Bossert, *Altikreta*, Figs. 166, 312 j.

¹ Fig. 7 is drawn from Remzi Oğuz Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, Pl. XII, Fig. 18.

² Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. XVIII, 440, at the bottom right hand corner of the plate. In his *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World*, Pl. LXXXV, no. 28, Petrie has already classified this with some Hittite examples. See p. 9 for the statement.

³ Petrie, *loc. cit.*, no. 29, and p. 9, where it is called Z 9. But it does not seem to be published in Engelbach, *Harageh*. It is, however, said to be in the University College Collection, London.

⁴ Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, Pl. 107, publishes a gold disc ornamented with a design described as an impoverished version of our Symbol. However, it is hardly that, but would more accurately belong to a family that is perhaps related to, or influenced by, our design. It consists of a central boss from which spring four pairs of volutes instead of two and there are four bosses, though they are placed one at the centre of each pair of volutes, a position which has already been seen on the Twelfth Dynasty ring. The cross is lacking. The ornament comes from Smyrna and is supposed to be of the Second Millennium. The design, though without the bosses, had already appeared on a scarab of about the XIV Dynasty, say c. 1700 B.C. (Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, Pl. VIII, no. 269, and p. 16.)

POSTSCRIPT

Since the foregoing article was written, M. Claude Schaeffer has published a number of splendid ivories from Ras Shamra dating to the first half of the fourteenth century. One of them shows a Hathor-like goddess who wears on her head a disc bearing the "Cappadocian" Symbol.¹ Here again, as in our bronze example with the tang, the curved members embrace the upright limbs of the cross. They also do so on a pendant from Shechem where the ring for suspension shows which way up it was to be worn.²

Schaeffer has already noted the identity of his two specimens, and it is now evident that the silver-plated bronze example was worn on the head by some deity. In this the Ras Shamra gods are like those of Maltai, who wear on the top of their headdresses discs with various devices and one of them is winged.³

¹ Schaeffer in *Syria*, XXXI (1954), Pl. VIII and pp. 54, 55, 59.

² Sellin in *Zeits. d. D. Palästina-Vereins*, XLIX (1926), Pl. 30, following p. 260.

³ W. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien*, Pls. 26-28, 30, 31.