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XVII.

RESEARCHES RELATIVE TO THE CONNECTION OF
THE DEITIES REPRESENTED UPON THE COINS
OF EGYPTIAN NOMES WITH THE EGYPTIAN
PANTHEON.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.

SOME period has elapsed since the discoveries and labours of Dr. Young, M. Champollion, and their school, have decyphered the names of the various deities whose types are found in the different temples scattered along the valley of the Nile; but, up to the present period, no attempt has been made to link the Egyptian mythology, as it stands now revealed, with the divinities and symbols connected with the long suite of currency which issued from the mints of Alexandria, and the Nomes of Egypt. Isis and Osiris, with an occasional Horus, were the circle of explanations to the old medallic writers upon this subject, and all attributes by a stretch of imagination, called flowers of the lotus, except where the type was too plain to admit of such an explanation. It is but just to add to these observations, that the Greek authorities were searched¹ into with a zeal far greater than their relative value, and that many of the works abound in reveries and conclusions, supported by a depth of extraneous erudition, which the progress of modern science more unexpectedly than agreeably refutes.

It will, perhaps, add an additional archæological value to these coins, at present scarcely regarded with interest, except by the colonial collector, to shew the analogy of many of the types with myths purely Egyptian; and, passing by

¹ See Vaillant, *Numi Egyptii*. Zoëga *Mus. Borg.* tom. i. *Numi Ægyptii*, 4to. 1787.

all those in which the hand of the artist has copied the efforts of Greek art, or Roman personifications, to trace the type to its origin, and to afford some theory of the principles by which the hybrid race, under whom and for whom they were executed, were guided in their selection. It is unnecessary here to quote the "pliant spirit of polytheism," a fact and a truism to account for the liberty in local governments enjoyed under the Roman power; nor is it intended to enter into any discussion upon the money of the Lagidæ; still less do the limits of the present paper, or research, profess to explain every type with a facility usually proportioned to its rashness.

The coins of Egypt are at present divided into two classes, the first exceedingly extensive in the variety of its sizes and types—that of Alexandria commences with Cæsar, and gradually becomes extinguished under the lower empire;—the second, far more confined, but embracing several types of the very highest interest, appears intercalated into the monetary system, at the time of Trajan and the Antonines, and disappears in a manner as unexpected as its appearance—it is that of the Nomes, or chief districts and towns of the country. For a very ample account of both, we have only to turn to the *Museum Borgianum*, tom. i. *Numi Egyptii*. 4to. Rom. 1787, edited by George Zoëga, and the *Medailles des Nomes de l'Égypte*, 4to. Par. 1822, by M. Tochon D'Annecy, who has united with indefatigable research, a considerable degree of critical acumen relative to the false coins which had gradually crept into the series. Besides these, several other writers have published different specimens of this currency, especially M. Sestini. But none of them have touched the question of the mythology—the earlier ones because little was known, and the later, through that distrust with which

the enunciation of discovery is universally received. They are, however, often capable of a solution, when viewed through this medium, which otherwise they cannot present, and they confirm the truth of points previously fixed, by giving a kind of circumstantial evidence to what has already been elicited. In point of execution, the majority of them are wretched: not more so than the colonial currency in general; but still often so indifferently has the die been cut, that no ingenuity, without a knowledge *à priori*, could discover what many of the attributes and symbols are meant to indicate. The animals, for example, which many of the deities hold in their hand, often appear beyond the pale of zoology, and the head-attire, the distinctive and specific mark of the divinity represented, so disguised, contracted, or changed, as to be all but unassignable. In the adoption, however, of certain forms, the artist seems to have been guided by rule. The two principal types of Egyptian² deities, it is well known, appear under two forms of dress; either as wearing the short garment, called *shenti*,³ which covered the loins, or else with the body swathed, or enveloped in bandages from the neck to the feet, a form called in the ritual *mors em hbôs*,⁴ "enveloped in clothes." The Greek artists substituted, for the first form, a soldier in his ordinary dress, and the lower part of the paludamentum;⁵ and for the second, the augural or priestly attire, consisting of the ample toga, with the cucullus or cowl upon the head. As it would have been

² See Wilkinson Mat. Hieroglyph. Champ. Pantheon Egyptien. Monumens de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, folio. Paris. Rosellini, Tavole. folio, M. R. passim.

³ Rosellini Monumenti Civili Parte Seconda, tom. ii. p. 411, *et seq.*

⁴ Ritual Cadet. Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé e Thebes. fo. Par. 1805.

⁵ Rosinus Roman. Antiq. p. 713.

shocking to the Greek population to have represented the deities with the animal head, to which nothing could be paralleled in the Greek or Roman pantheon, they adopted the expedient of placing the sacred animal in the hand of the deity, in the same manner as the eagle appears in the hand of Jupiter. The type of the Nome generally presented the figure or emblem of the chief deity of the district, especially where it had received a Greek name indicative of the local worship; and if the deity was not figured on the type, the living emblem or animal type of the deity appeared, and the application of these principles affords considerable clue to the deities represented. The same observations apply to the female forms upon the currency, whether they are the principal or parhedrals of the chief deity, except that they appear clothed in the ordinary peplon, which approaches sufficiently near to the basou⁶ or long tunic of the Egyptians. They also occasionally hold upon their hands their living emblems. The gom or kou-coupha⁷ sceptre, emblem of power not purity, was indicated by the long staff or hasta pura. The cap or head-attire of the Egyptian pantheon forming the *specific*, as the head generally did the *generic* mark, and not being repugnant to the principles already laid down, was almost always placed upon the head, but often so imperfectly executed as to be difficult to decide upon, and the proportion of the head-ornament to the size of the form being far beyond the limits of symmetrical proportion, was reduced to a size more pleasing to the eye, which often rendered it less distinct, and the disk and horns often look very like a clumsy lotus of three

⁶ Champollion. Gram. Egypt. folio. Paris, 1838. p. 53.

⁷ See my Observations on the Quarry Marks of the 1st Pyramid, in Drawings of the Pyr. of Gizeh, long folio. Messrs. Andrews and Perring. London, 1838.

petals. The living emblems, or animals, are sufficiently distinct when they appear in the field as the principal subject; but, often owing to size and execution, not conusable when in the hands of the figures. The arts were evidently in the rapid progress of decay, and the hand of the foreigner had annihilated that which it could not appreciate, clothing Egyptian deities in Roman dresses, substituting his language for that of the country, and enacting all which conquest dare attempt when under the suspicion or fear of loss, unless it give the show of liberty.

The mode proposed is that of first examining the currency of the Nomes, many of whose fac-similes are found among the efforts of the Alexandrian mint, and then to review the differences and peculiar forms found upon that currency, many of which present the types of deities not seen upon the coins of the Nomes; the observations will follow the arrangement of M. Tochon, who has adopted a classification purely geographic, instead of the mixed alphabetic and geographic divisions of M. Mionnet.

Ombite Nome, 4th brass coin, *Ob.* head of Hadrian, laureated; no legend. *R.* a crocodile OMBIT·L·IA. The crocodile was the living emblem of the deity, Sebek, Savak, or Sabak, one of the forms of the Egyptian Seb, or Saturn, the father of Osiris and Isis, the youngest of the gods. This deity generally appears in the religious scenes with the head of a crocodile, and his determinative or tropic name is always formed by that animal seated on a pedestal in the shape of a propylon. Sebek seems to have been especially worshipped at Ombos. At the right side of the pronaos of the great temple of Ombos, is a dedication from Ptolemy Evergetes II. and his wife Cleopatra to "Sebek-ra, the great lord of Ombos, Keb (or Seb) father of the gods," &c. (Ch. Monum. Egypt. Pl. xcix.); and in

the same locality, the god Sabak-ra is seated upon a throne at the head of a triad, composed of himself, the goddess Athor, and Khons, or Shons, facing another triad of Hor (Horus), Tsonenofre and Pnebto. On the other side he is accompanied by Athor and Pnebto, the son of Horus. He is always named in these scenes, "*Savak-ra, lord of Ombos, great god . . . and Seb, the youngest of the gods.*" In relation with him, considered as the father of time, the months are represented personified under the forms of hippopotami, standing erect, with the tail of the crocodile upon the back, at the same place. It is clear from this, that the crocodile was worshipped at Ombos, not because Typhon assumed this form when he attempted to elude the pursuit of Horus,⁸ but as the personification of time, from the mystical doctrine of numbers—living sixty years, gestating sixty days, laying sixty eggs, and having as many vertebræ;⁹ and being, upon this account, identified with Seb, or Saturn, the father of Osiris and Isis. No instance, indeed, of Typhonic worship has as yet been found, and Plutarch appears to have confounded a popular tradition with a religious doctrine. In one of the chapters of the Ritual is a vignette, representing the hawk-headed deity, Hor, spearing a crocodile.¹⁰ The crocodile is not restricted to the currency of Ombos, but appears among the small coins of the Alexandrian series.

Apollonopolites Nomos, Æ. 1. (Tochon. p. 55.) R. of Trajan, a military figure, standing looking to the right, in the paludamentum; in his right hand a hawk crowned in the pschent; in his left a long staff ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ. In accordance with the general principles already laid

⁸ Plutarch de Isid. et si Osirid. cap. 28—21.

⁹ Ælian, x. c. 21, 24.

¹⁰ Hieratic Ritual, Brit. Mus.

down upon this medal, must be the figure of Har-si-esi, or Har-ôëri in his Roman form. The identity of the type of Horus¹¹ (a generic name of several deities) is well recognised, and the city of Apollonopolis Magna, the present Edfou,¹² is known to be termed, in hieroglyphics, the region of Har-hat.¹³ Two other coins of the same nome represent a male bearded figure, holding in one hand a hawk, emblem of Horus, and the other raised to the back of the head. In one, this appears like a form of Jupiter; and, although it may refer to Har-hat, it possibly represents some parhedral deity of the same temple. The most prominent among these are Harsaphes,¹⁴ Ra, and Khons. Harsaphes, as the form of Amon, in the swathed dress of Osiris, and identified with Horus, through his titles of Amon-ra,¹⁵ the victorious son of Isis and Osiris may possibly be indicated, and the attitude of the hand is exactly the same. Khons Ioh, the *deus lunus*, or lunar Hercules, was also worshipped in the same nome, and the train of solar hawk-headed types, all directly or indirectly refer to one principle, the essence of light from the eyes¹⁶ of the hawk on account of their brilliancy symbolising this principle. Besides, there is a female deity standing, holding in one hand a hawk, and having upon her head an ornament, apparently the disk and horns. Among the female deities

¹¹ Ælian. x. c. 14. Macrob. Saturn, p. 276. 12mo. Ven. ap. Joh. Gryphium.

¹² Descr. de l'Égypte, tom. i. pl. 57, where a train of deities adore Har-hat.

¹³ Ch. Grammaire Egyptien.

¹⁴ Descr. de l'Égypte, tome i. pl. 95. 5. ¹⁵ Ch. passim.

¹⁶ Ch. Mon. de l'Égypte, et de la Nub. "where Horus is said to illuminate the world with the splendour of his eyes." A cartouche calls him "the ray illuminating the upper and lower world." Desc. de l'Égypte.

most prominent in this temple are, Isis, having upon her head the disk and horns, and Maut, wearing the pschent, a superior form of Isis; but the female deity most in connection with Harsiesi is Tsonenofre,¹⁷ the good sister, or Egyptian Diana, the second personage of the Ombite triad, wearing the disk and horns like Isis. To either of these forms the figure in this coin may be referred; and the whole subject of the temple, to the astronomical projection of the heavens upon the ceiling, refers to the Sun, Phre or Hor.¹⁸ Other coins represent a male figure standing looking to the right, holding in his left hand a hawk crowned by the pschent, and in his right a long sceptre; round his loins a tunic. No form of Horus occurs with the disk and horns; which appears to have been peculiarly attributed to female deities, and the symbol is of uncertain signification.

On one unique medal of the Latopolites Nomos, is found the fish *latus*, the more important as it affords us some clue to the discovery of the fish so called, which agrees with the *Lates Niloticus* of Cuvier, and *Perca Nilotica* of Latreille.¹⁹ This fish is said to have been dedicated to the goddess Minerva, probably one of the forms of Neith. In the paintings of the hypoges the *latus* occurs, but the small amulets of fish in the various museums seem to represent a species of the *cyprinus*, the *silurus*, the *chætodon*, and the *oxyrinchus* or *oxyringus*. The *latus* may, however, be indicated in the Ritual, by the term *rami*: if this is not a general expression for fish, as in the chapter, of going to the Hall of the Two Truths, the deceased affirms that he has not caught the *rami*, or *oxyringi*,²⁰ where the two species must have

¹⁷ Ch. Panth. Egyp.

¹⁸ Tochon, p. 58.

¹⁹ Cuvier, Regne Anim. vol. ii. p. 137.

²⁰ Ritual Descr. de l'Egypte. Ch. Gr. Eg.

been sacred. On another medal, a figure similar to Neptune,²¹ stands holding the fish, which shews it was dedicated to a male deity, perhaps Hapi-moou, or Chnouphis, both of whom appear in the great temple of Esnah, the ancient Latopolis.²² On the head, indeed, of the figure, is a small distinctive ornament very similar to the two tall plumes or rows of feathers on the cap of Amon-ra.

The coins of the Hermonthites Nomos represented an old bearded figure holding a hasta pura, and an animal, called by M. Tochon an ichneumon,²³ but more probably the hawk-headed dragon, similar to the griffin, or rather vivern, an emblem sacred to the deity Month-ra, and which appears in the temple of Erment, seated upon a chest, and crowned with the *otf*, or head-dress of Osiris.²⁴ The human figure may possibly be referred to the grotesque or leonine form of Phthah, if such assignation can be allowed to the type so described by M. M. Champollion and Rosellini.²⁵ A severer criticism would assign it to a form of Typhon;²⁶ but this unaccountable being seems allied with the Harsaphic form of Amon, or Amon-Osor.²⁷

Those of the Coptites Nomos,²⁸ represent Saturu holding the hasta, or harpe in one hand, and in the other, the sacred animal of the Nome, on one coin represented as a stag, erroneously for a goat, which, in the other instance, appears, contrary to the opinion of Ælian, of the

²¹ Tochon, p. 60.

²² Descr. de l'Égypte, A. I. pl. 82. Ch. Mon. de l'Égypte, tome ii. pl. cxlv. *bis*.

²³ Tochon, p. 67.

²⁴ Descrip. de l'Égypte, A. I. pl. 95.

²⁵ Champollion Monumens du Musée Charles X. p. 3. Rosellini Monumen, civ. tom. iii. p. 17.

²⁶ Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. 51. Part I.; he is there called "the beast *Hei* or *Bas*."

²⁷ See Synopsis Brit. Mus. Case A. sh. 1. ²⁸ Toch. p. 79.

female sex; on the head of Saturn is the disk and horns: and this personification must point to the worship of Chnoumis, or Chnouphisra, as the principal deity of Coptos.

On the coins of Tentyris,²⁹ we find Athor, or Venus, with her hawk, emblem of her maternity of Harôeri.

The Diospolitan types point to Amon-ra,³⁰ and the Egyptian ram, his living emblem: the female form upon one may represent Maut, or Muth, the Egyptian Juno, the wife of Amoun, and second personage of the Egyptian triad.

The Panopolites Nomos³¹ gives an ancient figure, holding an ichneumon, or rather shrew-mouse, *mus araneus*, in one hand, and victoriola on the other—one type presents the shrew-mouse alone. The victoriola, probably, is the peculiar cornucopiæ-shaped object held in the hands of deities, called ægis by M. Champollion. The authority of Herodotus would assign this to the god Chnouphis, the αἰγωπρόσωπος type of Amoun-ra, and the shrew-mouse is said to have been dedicated to Buto, a name not recognised in hieroglyphics, but probably a form of Athor, or Maut, who, under the form of Anoucis, or Anouke, accompanies Chnouphis in the texts; but two small bronze figures of this animal, refer to Har, lord of Shatem,³² which coincides with neither of the ancient authorities, and indicates some form of Har, or Horus, possibly in connection with Ra and Re, as Chnouph-ra: at all events, it is difficult to believe that Seb, the true Egyptian Saturn, can be meant.

The coins of Antæopolis represent Hercules and hawk,

²⁹ Tochon, p. 82.

³⁰ Tochon, pp. 72, 73.

³¹ Tochon, pp. 90, 91.

³² See small figure of Dr. Lee's Collection, and Brit. Mus., Case F. 2.



or a military figure and hawk. The hawk appears to have been applied exclusively to solar types and to Horus, and the confused accounts relative to this city seem to point distinctly to Horus, who, as the avenger of his father, the destroyer of the Egyptian Typhon, under his various transformations, was compared by the Greeks with their Hercules; for the other types represent a crocodile in the hand of a figure in a pallium on this animal by itself, here evidently emblematic of a typhonic form, of which the Egyptian Antæus was a metamorphosis.

At Hypsele is a female deity, holding in her hand a sheep, or ram, indicating, probably, a prevalence of the worship of Amoun-ra in that locality; while at Lukopolis³³ and Kunopolis, an old male figure appears holding in one hand the Egyptian dog, or jackal emblem of Anubis, or Hop-hioue of M. Champollion; but figures of Anubis, with any distinctive ornament, are excessively rare.

On those of Aphroditopolis,³⁴ the city of Athor, the Egyptian Venus, is a female figure, holding in her right hand, what M. Tochon calls an uncertain emblem, but evidently a hawk placed upon some object; this may be the hawk standard of the Ement so frequently placed upon the head of this goddess in her quality of "*Regent of the happy West.*"

The larger coins of Hermopolis,³⁵ present an aged figure of Hermes with his head bound with the strophium, or fillet, holding in one hand a caduceus, and in the other a small seated mummied figure, which M. Tochon imagines may be a cyuocephalus. On the head of the figure is the

³³ At the ruins of Lycopolis Syout are no figures of deities.— See *Descrip. de l'Égypte.*

³⁴ Tochon, *loc. sup. cit.* p. 110.

³⁵ Tochon, p. 116, *loc. sup. cit.* p. 117.

attire called *otf*, frequently found upon figures of Thoth, and characteristic of his office in the Noutehir or Hades, especially of the judgment-scene in the Hall of the Two Truths;³⁶ another type gives a similar ancient head like the Hermes of the most ancient Greek work, wearing another species of head ornament, commonly found upon the head-dress of this deity, and Pnebto³⁷, the son of Horus; before this head is also an ibis. The last type gives a cynocephalus, seated, having on its head a disk imperfectly drawn, or developed, for a dichotomised one of the moon, of which luminary and the lunar Thoth, this animal was the peculiar emblem. The small figure in the hands of the first Thoth, though possibly a cynocephalus, may also be a small seated figure of the goddess Thmei or Truth, of which Thoth was the scribe in the Amenti. The distinctive emblem of the ostrich feather on the head of the goddess, does not, however, appear on the coin, and Thoth occasionally holds in one hand and upon a basket,³⁸ the left symbolic eye indicative of the moon, but the choice lies between the cynocephalus and figure of Truth, not so easily decided, owing to the bad execution of the Græco-Egyptian mint, and the medal appears to be much rubbed in that place; the ibis upon the standard is also half obliterated.

The coins of the Oxyrinchite Nome present the Athene³⁹ Nikephora of the Greeks, probably a form of the Egyptian Minerva, but the bipennis which appears upon these coins is difficult to parallel: and though the whole may typify the Neith-akhor, or Nitocris of the Greeks, the absence of the

³⁶ See Hieroglyphic Ritual, *passim*.

³⁷ Ch. Mon. Egypt, tome i. pl. lxxxii.

³⁸ See also Obelisk B. M. 2. This is called the "guardian of truth."

³⁹ Toch. loc. sup. cit. pp. 119, 120.

oxyrinchus, so commonly found in the Texts, and mentioned in the Ritual as impious to catch, is extraordinary.

The Heracleopolites⁴⁰ Nomos gives the head, club, and figure of Hercules, and the deity himself holding in his hand the Cerberus, according to M. Tochon, but apparently some very indistinct object; and in every instance the object is too indistinct to judge. The opinions of Strabo seem to justify the supposition that the worship of Horus prevailed; for the ichneumon and crocodile were here adored, and the medal of the Nome, cited by M. Tochon, gives a figure of Harpocrates, or Khons, under Greek attributes.

To the Arsinoites,⁴¹ Nomos scarcely an observation could be added, except that the serpent upon the head of the portrait of the foundress, is the uræus or sort of cobra di capella, and that the male figure with the disk and horns, holding the portrait, is probably the god Sebek, or Savak-*ra*, as other reverses exhibit the crocodile, his living emblem, for reasons before stated.

The Memphite⁴² coins exhibit Apis and Pasht, or Bubastes; the Merephtah or Hephaistoboule, holding in one hand a snake, the uræus, and accompanied by the bull Apis. This may possibly be Isis; but Pasht, the Egyptian Diana, in her character of Nemesis, had occasionally uræi dedicated to her. Thus, on a plinth of one of these reptiles, in case 4, shelf 2, Brit. Mus., is the pedestal and coiled tail of an uræus, and on the edge of the plinth an inscription to Oeri-hek, or the great avenger, one of the titles of Pasht, from "*Amounem-ophth, who give celebration to Oeri-hek.*" Other types give the bust of a deity in the tall plumes and disk, with the vulture-shaped klast or head-

⁴⁰ Toch. loc. sup. cit. 121—126. ⁴¹ Toch. pp. 127—130.

⁴² Toch. loc. sup. cit. pp. 134, 135.

dress common to female deities, or a female with some indistinct head attire, holding the victoriola and serpent, with the modius upon the head, which might refer to Isis, as the Thermuthis, or great mother of the Greeks, which has been confounded with the deadly effects attributed to the bite of the reptile.

The coins of Heliopolis, or San,⁴³ present Apollo, to indicate Ra, holding in his hand some animal, apparently a goat, but difficult to determine satisfactorily from the plate of M. Tochon; and no quadruped has as yet been found dedicated to this deity, except in his other characters of Chnouphis and Amôn; while the only solar type named upon the obelisk at San, is Month-ra, or Mandoulis.

Pelusium has a female head, with disk, and a triple conical crown, which, from the fruit upon one reverse, very similar to the heglyg or perseæ,⁴⁴ is the bust of some form of Athor,⁴⁵ the Egyptian Venus, to whom this fruit was sacred.

The Sethroites Nomos is the only one which has a figure with a hawk's head, and upon it the disk and horns (?) or possibly lunar disk; and as the capital of this Nome was Heracleopolites Parva, Hor or Horus is probably indicated by the figure.

The Tanites⁴⁶ Nomos is too indistinct to give any opinion upon; and though the animal in the hand of the figure in the Neout⁴⁷ Nome looks very like a calf, some of Hamlet's guesses would equally apply. Serapis is not the figure which bears more resemblance to a female than a male form.

The Mendesian⁴⁸ Nome gives the goat, and Mendes, wearing upon his head the otf, and holding in his hand the sacred animal; but Mendes is well known not to be found

⁴³ Rosellini, M. R. Tav. No. 25, a. b. 2.

⁴⁴ Balanites *Ægyptiacus*.

⁴⁵ Wilk. Mat. Har. Pl. xxiii. Toch. 153.

⁴⁶ Toch. p. 159. ⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 161. ⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 161—168.

in the hieroglyphics, and the goat-headed type refers to Chuouphis or Kneph, the deity, *par excellence*, and the chief of the other gods. The description of the head ornaments in M. Tochon are wrong as usual.

The ornament on the head-dress of the deity represented upon the currency of the Leontopolites Nomos is too indistinct to judge the particular form intended to be represented; and the lion is said by the Greek authorities to belong to Vulcan (Phthah) and the Sun (Ra), into the composition of which name it enters as a phonetic element. Its connection with Phthah is not distinct in any of the hieroglyphical scenes; and the authority of Champollion would rather assign it to Bubastes,⁴⁹ the Hephaistoboule, or Merephtah; and small figures of porcelain frequently have the lion placed under the feet of Nofre Thmou, or Nofre Atmou, the son of Phthah, and Merephtah. He may probably have been the tutelary deity of Leontopolis.

The animal in the hands of the figure of the Bubastite Nome is too indistinct to assign, while the name of the district would imply a prevalence of the worship of Pasht or Bubastes.


At the Athribites Nomos Athor again appears holding in one instance an indistinct animal, possibly her cow, and in the other a hawk apparently crowned in the upper part of the pschent.

The coins of the Prosopites Nomos present Khons or Hercules, not in his lunar type, but identified with Har or Horus, having on his head the triple conical attire, based on the horns of the goat and flanked by uræi. In one type a bird appears upon the club of the deity; and another type represents a bird upon the club alone. This bird

⁴⁹ Ch. Gr. Eg. p. 119. This assignation seems correct; the lion appears on the Sistrum dedicated to Athor, and at the throne of Pasht.—See case B, div. 4, Egyp. Room, Brit. Mus.

is probably the swallow, or bird of evil augury, which appears before this god when seated at the prow of the boat of solar deities. In the Ritual, published by M. Cadet,⁵¹ and subsequently in the Description de l'Égypte, in one of the vignettes of the chapters appears a drawing of a swallow, and the whole chapter refers to the mystic quality of the bird; as, "*I am the swallow—I am the swallow, I illuminate Selk, the daughter of the Sun nourished with the scent of fire manifested in the abode of the sun;*" identifying the connection of this bird with solar deities, through his type of Horus; and it is possible that the gom, or sceptre of power, surmounted by the head of a koucougha on the pedum, the crooked sceptre held in the hands of Osiris and Horus may be intended.

The Nome of Phtemphu⁵² gives an old deity holding in his hands a small figure; but of what type is not readily distinguished. The name of the Nome would apparently indicate the worship of the god Phthah, but the precise type is difficult to recognise, as well as the object held in the right hand of a female figure standing, which bears most resemblance, in M. Tochon's drawing, to a basket, from which issues flame; but flame-headed deities are not only rare, but very inferior types in the Pantheon, and the coin is unfortunately in a bad state of preservation. If Phthah be the eponymous deity of the Nome, some form of Pasht, as Tafne, Menhi, Merephtah, or the deity named

 ⁵³ is probably indicated.

At Xoïs,⁵⁴ a female deity appears holding in her hand some

⁵¹ Papyrus trouvé à Thebes Cadet, Sect. 15.

⁵² Toch. p. 187.

⁵³ Champollion, Mon. Egypt. Wilk. Mat. Hier, p. viii.

⁵⁴ Toch. p. 189.

uncertain animal, which the other types would rather tend to prove to be a sheep or ram; in the other hand she holds a club, perhaps indicating the gom or koucoupfa sceptre, which female deities hold as well as male. The other types have a ram with a disk upon its head, an emblem of the god Amoun and Chnough-ra. The female deity should, therefore, be some parhedra of the two deities, as Maut, or Anouke, who, in another type, appears to represent Sate, the Egyptian Juno.

Busiris⁵⁵ presents a female deity, apparently a form of Isis, holding in one hand a serpent, and in the other a quadruped, possibly the cow, her living emblem; the head ornament may be the two tall plumes, but is of too small proportions to define accurately; while the evidence of the Greek authorities represents the Nome as dedicated to the worship of Osiris among other deities, and Osiris is the eponymous deity of the place.⁵⁶

The military figure on the Sebennytes Nomos may possibly represent some warlike form of Bacchus, although I am not aware of any such recognised personification of the Greek Dionusos, or the Roman Bacchus, which upon one type is unarmed. M. Tochon very ingeniously sees this deity holding a bunch of grapes, the especial produce of the district. The animal at the feet of this figure is not a stag, as M. Tochon erroneously supposes, but the Egyptian hare, an animal dedicated to Osiris, Onnophris,⁵⁷ the Dionusos Luaios, the "opener of good," and the hare formed the ideographic initial of his name Onnofre. The identity⁵⁸ of Bacchus and Osiris is well known from the Greek authorities, and is

⁵⁵ Toch. p. 190, loc. cit. Steph. de Urb. Βουσίρις

⁵⁶ Toch. pp. 192—195. ⁵⁷ Ch. Mus. de Charles X†

⁵⁸ Herod. 11. c.—Οσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. Diod. Sic. lib. i. Ἀπότε τῶν πατρῶς καὶ τοῦ τόπου Διόνυσον μετονομασθέντα.

confirmed by the hieroglyphical texts, and the paintings of the hypogæus;⁵⁹ the pard skin upon a pole, terminating in a basket being placed before this deity, and his priests⁶⁰ being clothed in a panther skin, while the hare was sacred to him, from mystic motives connected with its sonal value, especially as the Luios, or "loosener," if such etymology can be conceded to the Greek term. Connected with the Egyptian system is the Bacchic or Dionysiac conquest of India, in which characters the present form of Bacchus appears, if it be this god, in military attire; and Osiris in the texts is frequently called "the restrainer of the world;" or, the "lord of the East," in allusion to his martial qualities. One medal presents a bunch of grapes, symbolic of the produce of this Nome, at the Roman period. Although the cultivation of the vine extended to a remote epoch, yet the allusions to it in the texts are not common, as it was, perhaps, superseded by the use of beer.

The female deity of the Onuphites Nomos has no particular emblem, and the animal in her hand is apparently a crocodile, an animal dedicated to several deities, and appearing at the feet of the goddess Neith, and a deity, supposed to be Typhonian, but since demonstrated to be a form of Isis. A black bull is said to have been worshipped in the name of Onuphis, but the only animal on the coin of the Nome is too indistinct to assign satisfactorily.

The coins of Phtheneotes⁶¹ present Harpocrates, the Egyptian Har-si-esi, the Horus, the son of Isis, seated upon the calix of the lotus, and two hawks, "*mitrés*," according to M. Tochon, but apparently, as far as the small and indistinct ornaments can be distinguished, having upon

⁵⁹ And Heles, Papyri, &c. passim.

⁶⁰ Ch. Gr. Eg. Musée de Charles X. p. 67. no. 50th.

⁶¹ Toch. p. 202—204.

their heads the entire pschent, which distinguishes these birds from those consecrated to other deities connected with light, as the hawks of Ra, Monthra, Ioh, &c. In another instance,⁶² a naked figure holds in each hand an animal too unsatisfactorily engraved to attempt to assign.

The Saïtes⁶³ Nomos gives us only the figure of the Athenian Minerva, indicative of the goddess, Neith, who was particularly cultivated there, as all the monuments of the XXVI. or Saïte dynasty, who made this town their capital, affirm: in the lower world, indeed, she was frequently called the "mistress of Sais;" and the worship of this type seems to have been carried from Egypt to Athens.⁶⁴ The owl does not appear to be the living emblem of the Egyptian inventress of the sciences, although of the Athenian.

Naucratis, evidently a Greek name for some Egyptian city, presents indications of the worship of Pasht or Bubastes, and Isis, as is evident from the serpent held in the hands of the female deities on the coins; and the representation of the Tesoro Britannico of Haym. tome ii. p. 206, must be false, for the hawk in the hands of Anubis is a combination unparalleled in any Egyptian painting. This hawk, from the grotesque and caricature engraving of Haym, *probably* had upon its head, the pschent, indicative of its being the living emblem of Har-si-esi, and the head ornament of the brutalised deity may be meant for the disk and horns; the head, if animal, to correspond, should be that of a hawk, and the whole represent one of the solar types. A greater libel was never perpetrated upon a coin.

⁶² Toch. p. 204.

⁶³ Ibid. Toch. p. 206.

⁶⁴ M. Etienne de Quatremere, Mem. Geogr. sur Egypte, tom. i. p. 366.

The modius upon the head of the female deities of M. Tochon represents the similar-shaped object entwined by a row of vertical uræi, which is seen upon the head of Isis, the great mother, and the head-dress of the asp in one specimen of the Alexandrian⁶⁵ mint as the reverse of Trajan appear crowned with the upper part of the pschent, called the shaa, or elevated, and the oeit, or white crown, of which region the goddess Soaven, or Seben, was the especial mistress. On other coins forming reverses of Trajan and Hadrian, the same asp appears distinguished from the uræus, and facing it to distinguish it from the ordinary uræus.

The coin of the Metelites Nomos,⁶⁶ though small, appears to indicate that the worship of Harsiesi there prevailed, as the elements of a pschent are visible in the engraving of M. Tochon on the head of the hawk, on one of the reverses of that district. The ichneumon at Letopolis, which occupies the whole reverse, or appears in the hand of a female deity, is a rare instance of this animal in Egyptian painting or sculpture, its appearance being limited to a few scarce amulets;⁶⁷ while the specific deity, who is the equivalent of Leto in the Egyptian pantheon, is not satisfactorily recognised.

Gynæcopolis⁶⁸ presents us with a female figure, holding in her hand an indistinct quadruped; and although Athor, the Egyptian Venus, was probably the patron deity of the city, the only divinity that I have recognised as the "regent of women,"⁶⁹ in the hieroglyphical texts is the

⁶⁵ Zoega, Mus. Berg. Numi. Egyptii, has engraved specimens. See also Cabinet of Brit. Mus. A serpent, not the uræus, enters into the phonetic name of Sate.

⁶⁶ Toch. p. 219.

⁶⁷ Ch. Mus. Ch. X. Animaux Sacrés.

⁶⁸ Toch. p. 225. ⁶⁹ Sep. Box. Salt's Orig. Collection, B. M.

goddess Nephthys, who, upon a sepulchral box is called "mistress of women, Sothis, or the dog-star," a title usually appropriated to Isis: the living emblem of Nephthys, has not as yet been discovered.

At the Menelaïtes Nomos, a type of Horus Harpocrates was worshipped, to which it would be difficult to find an Egyptian parallel; the bust of the deity holding his finger to his mouth is united to the body of a crocodile. This union is one of those which did not exist during the purity of the Egyptian worship under the native monarchs, but is allied to the Pantheic forms which appeared during its decline, and the name of the Nome itself cannot be of very ancient date. The alliance of Harpocrates with the crocodile is at present far from explicable, as the Texts represent him slaying this animal, a tradition which the inhabitants of Apollonopolis practically preserved in contradistinction to the reverence paid to the animal at Ombos; and the type of the Menelaïtes can receive no sound explanation from any of the ancient monuments. The ornament on the head of Horus is the pschent, not the perseu, as supposed by M. Tochon.

The last Nome in the work, that of Mareotes,⁷⁰ presents an old bearded figure, similar to Jupiter, standing, having upon his head the disk and horn, and holding in his hand an animal apparently a ram, indicative of the type of Chnouph-ra, or Amoun, the local deity; and this closes the list of the coins of the Nomes of Egypt, one of the most extraordinary and least known of the colonial series. The British Museum, although very rich in this series, having specimens of the Nomes and cities Arsinoïtes, Coptites, Diopolites, Hermopolites, Leontopolites, Memphis, Mendesius, Menelaïtes, Oxyrinchites, Pelusium, Prosopites,

⁷⁰ Toch. p. 238.

Sethroites, and Tanis, has not one which has escaped the vigilance of M. Tochon, who sent for casts of all the coins existing in the national cabinets of Europe. On these coins the erudition of a Zoëga and a Vaillant have been expended with the inadequate sources of the Greek authorities. The materials now existing in Europe, and the hieroglyphical researches of M. Champollion, and his followers in the paths of discovery, shed a new light upon the subject. All is far from cleared, but as much as can be done towards a subject, hitherto untouched in this light, has been, in the present memoir, to the humble capability of the writer, and while it is trusted that it may prove of interest to those acquainted with the creditable labours of M. Tochon, it is also with the hope of exciting future inquiries to a deeper analysis of the representations on these coins. The obscurity of such subjects is but a fresh stimulus to exertion, and the barrier to the understanding of Egyptian myths has at length been thrown down, and allowed an appeal to be made from the traditions of the Greek authors to the monuments and arcana of the inhabitants of the Nile.

 XVIII.

COIN OF MAGNESIA, WITH THE HEAD OF CICERO.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour of calling your attention to a coin which, although not unedited, is still of such high importance in an archæological point of view, as to justify a re-engraving in your journal. It is that struck in honour of Cicero by the town of Magnesia a Sipylo, and which has been already edited and alluded to by Fulvius Ursinus, Pedrusi, Winckelman, Cousinery, Mionnet, and other me-