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THE CHRISTIAN SIGNS ON THE COINS OF CONSTANTINE¹

Patrick Bruun

A turning point in the history of Western Civilization, fascinating and controversial, the reign of Constantine the Great is approached by ever new scholars using ever newer and more refined methods of research. Numismatists have lately shed some light on the central question, the Emperor's attitude towards the Christian faith, his conversion, when endeavouring to date and explain the appearance of certain signs on the coins of Constantine². Reconsidering the numismatic evidence for the religious policy of the Emperor, the present writer has very little entirely new material to offer; the purpose is rather to attempt a complete survey against the background of the coin material collected during the last ten years.

Among the signs, that today are or could be considered Christian the so called Greek cross is the earliest, appearing on the reverse of an issue of *SOLI*

¹ The main points in this paper were presented in a public lecture »L'Imperatore Costantino e il segno della Croce alla luce numismatica« held March 16, 1959 at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae in Rome. — The illustrations are, with very few exceptions, from casts from the British Museum; my sincere thanks are due to Mr. R. A. G. CARSON of the Coin Department for his friendly co-operation. He kindly consented also to read the manuscript.

² Particularly ANDREAS ALFÖLDI has devoted much interest to this question, the first time in his description of the Nagytétény hoard (*Rivista italiana di numismatica*, 1921, pp. 113—190), later in »The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram«, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1932, pp. 9—23, »Eine spätrömische Helmform und ihre Schicksale im germanisch-romanischen Mittelalter«, *Acta archaeologica* 5, 1934, pp. 99—144, »Hoc signo victor eris«, *Pisciculi* 1939, pp. 1—18, »The Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine«, *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, 1951, pp. 303—311. Other important contributions are: HANS VON SCHOENEBECK, »Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Constantin«, *Klio*, Beiheft 43, KONRAD KRAFT, »Das Silbermedaillon Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogram auf dem Helm«, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 1954/55, pp. 151—178 and GUIDO BRUCK »Die Verwendung christlicher Symbole auf Münzen von Constantin I. bis Magnentius«, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1955, pp. 26—32. Older treatises are MADDEN's in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1877—8 and VOETTER's in *NZ* 1892. MAURICE, of course, has dealt with this question both in the systematic part of his *Numismatique Constantinienne I—II* and particularly in the introduction to vol. II (»Politique religieuse de Constantin le Grand« and »Nouvelle théorie sur les marques monétaires et les signes chrétiens«, pp. XLIX—CIX).



Fig. 1a



1b



1c



1d

INVICTO COMITI at Ticinum, without doubt struck after Constantine's conquest of Italy 312 and before the appointment of the Caesars in Serdica, March 1, 317¹. During this period Ticinum strikes the reverses *SOLI INVICTO COMITI* and *MARTI CONSERVATORI*. Arranged in chronological order on internal, numismatic evidence alone (the details of which can be omitted in this context) we find three consecutive issues marked with a star to left

in the field. These issues are marked $\frac{*}{PT}$, $\frac{*}{P.T}$ and $\frac{*}{PT.}$, respectively

(fig. 1 a, b, c). The last of the Soli issues prior to March 1, 317 has the letters P R in the field; stylistic criteria and reduced standards of weight clearly connect this issue with those of the following period². It is interesting to see that this issue was struck in the name of Constantine only with the exclusion of Licinius and, therefore, dateable to the first war between these two Emperors. Before the P R issue we have a series of coins with a star in the field, as on the coins of three previous issues, but this time to the right and a Greek cross to the left (fig. 1c). Apparently the Licinian obverses disappear from the coinage during the course of this issue, an indication of the fact that the good relations between East and West had been broken. Naturally, Licinian obverses are always scarce as compared with the Constantinian ones, but here the proportion in the writer's material is as low as 48/3. We may conclude that the cross occurs solely in connection with a single issue and a not very rich one at that, an issue which seems to be a logical continuation of a system with star-marked issues of *Soli invicto comiti* and *Marti conservatori*³. Thus the cross can be considered only one sign among others.

¹ Cf. J. P. C. KENT, »The Pattern of Bronze Coinage under Constantine I», NC 1957, p. 46 f.

² KENT, *ibid.*, p. 47 considers this the very last Soli issue of Ticinum.

³ It may be added that no issue with a cross and a star in inverted position has been found by the author in spite of VOETTER (NZ 24, p. 44) and KENT (*ibid.*, p. 46). ALFÖLDI points



Fig. 2a



2b



2c



2d

Another interesting detail emerges out of this little survey, namely that the *Soli* issue which immediately precedes the issues with obverses of the Caesars, is the issue which was struck without obverses of Licinius. This fact confirms the theory earlier propounded by the author that the first Civil War was fought in 316, not 314¹. The occurrence of the cross as a mark of issue can, therefore, be dated to 316 as the star-and-cross-issue immediately preceded the P R issue.

A similar Greek cross occurs on later issues of Ticinum, the *VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP — VOT PR* of 319. Here, too, the cross is a mark of issue while the exergue consistently carries the mark of the mint, T, preceded by the mark of the *officina*²; the mark of issue is found on the altar between the two victories. The marks are six in all, of which five were reserved exclusively for coins with obverses of Constantine alone, whereas the sixth comprised obverses of all five rulers. The first group shows an empty altar, in the following groups the altars are marked with P, R (fig. 2 a, b), a star and a Greek cross (fig. 2 c), respectively; the sixth and last, the five-ruler-issue was marked with C (fig. 2 d). Of the 153 coins in the present writer's material, only 13 belong to the issue marked with the cross sign. Here, as earlier, the cross appears equivalent to a star.

Almost contemporary with these coins of Ticinum are three issues of the Sol-coinage struck at the mint of Rome. The marks of issue are, in chronological order, the letter A to left in the field, a wreath and the letter T

out (Pisciculi, p. 2) that »bei der damaligen straffen Zentralisation und bei der Delikatesse der Sache nicht bezweifelt werden (kann), dass dafür die vorherige Zustimmung des Hofes eingeholt wurde«, in the writer's opinion a gross exaggeration of the possible impact of a sign of dubious significance in a scanty issue of decidedly pagan symbolism (cf. also JRS 1932, p. 14 f.).

¹ Cf. The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate, pp. 17—21.

² The author's »The System of the Vota Coinages« (Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift 1956), p. 2 ff.



Fig. 3a



3b



3c

in a wreath¹ (fig. 3 a, b, c). The letter in the wreath has been identified by some as a Christian Tau-cross² on the grounds that, the cross on which Jesus died resembled the letter T — the Greek letter Tau — as is emphasized by several early Christian writers³. There seems, however, to be little reason to regard this T within a wreath differently than the many other marks of issue struck on the *Soli* reverses of Roma.

A similar case is known among the coins of Londinium, where the marks of issue of the type *Victoriae laetae princ perp* as on the coins of Ticinum are to be found on the reverse altars. The first series of coins is characterized by plain wreaths (fig. 4 a), the second by a wreath and dots, the third by a star within a wreath (fig. 4 b) and the fourth and last by a Greek cross within the wreath (fig. 4 c)⁴. Of the 64 coins known to the author to carry wreaths, 18 belong to the series with a cross. The *Victoriae laetae* coins listed total 135. Obviously the cross, a variety of the star, was here used to denote an issue or a subdivision of an issue.

Of all the Constantinian coin types no one has attracted more attention than

¹ Cf. KENT, »Pattern», p. 51.

² MAURICE, Num. Const. I, p. 219 f. and Bulletin des antiquaires de France 1901, pp. 197—201, an interpretation accepted by PIGANIOL, Constantin, pp. 51, 65 ff., but not by v. SCHOENEBECK, p. 50 ff. Unfortunately v. SCHOENEBECK completely has misinterpreted Maurice's text and misunderstood the actual system of coining; no issue was marked I, no officina was reserved for the Licinii. CECHELLI, Il Trionfo della Croce, p. 62 f. attaches much importance to the T and in a misleading way illustrates the T in the wreath as the dominating element on the reverse (fig. 4).

³ *Clemens Alex.* Strom. VI 11, *Origenes*, Selecta in Ezechielem IX, *Tertullianus*, Adv. Marc. III 22. Cf. also SULZBERGER, »Le Symbole de la Croix» Byzantion II pp. 353, 366, DÖLGER in *IXΘYC* I, p. 321, particularly note 1 and CECHELLI, op. cit., pp. 58 f., 62 f.

⁴ Cf. »The System of the Vota Coinages», p. 2 ff. MAURICE II, p. 50 ff. is not quite certain whether or not the cross should be regarded a Christian symbol, whereas v. SCHOENEBECK, p. 44 f. writes: »Die Zeit ist vorbei, dass das + als Merkzeichen in den Münzwerkstätten verwendet werden konnte».



Fig. 4a



4b



4c

the *Victoriae laetae princ perp* (with all its varieties). The main subject has been the new high crested state helmet of the Emperor occurring at all the mints striking this type. The most interesting feature of the helmet, in this context, is the christogram found on some bronze coins of Siscia and a medallion of Ticinum (fig. 5 a).

The christogram appeared on the silver medallions *SALVS REIPVBLICAE* of Ticinum, of which three pieces are known¹. ALFÖLDI has described the helmet with the christogram in detail and in a brilliant analysis of the minting of Ticinum shown it to belong to the festival issues occasioned by the *decennalia* of Constantine 315—316². His main argument is based on stylistic criteria, and Kraft supports him, strongly emphasizing that the unusual facing portraits must have been created simultaneously with the facing and nimbate Constantinian portraits on the gold coins³. ALFÖLDI identifies this helmet with the one on the Treveran *Victoriae laetae* issue from 312—313 and

¹ In Vienna (cf. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni Romani* I, p. 59, no. 18, Pl. 29, 3 and MAURICE II, p. 501 f.), the Hermitage (cf. PRIDIK, *ZfN* 40, 1930, p. 78, Pl. 3, 18, DELBRÜCK, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, p. 72, no. 11, Pl. I, 11, ALFÖLDI; »The Initials of Christ», pp. 303—311 and Pisciculi, p. 4) and MUNICH (KRAFT op. cit., pp. 151—178, Pl. 11, 1—2).

² ALFÖLDI, *Pisciculi*, p. 4, »The Initials of Christ», pp. 307—311.

³ KRAFT, pp. 152—156. ALFÖLDI actually proves that the facing portraits (except those of the Licinii obviously consciously conceived as counterparts to the earlier Constantinian busts) occur only twice between those of Postumus from 263 and those of Constantius II of 353 namely on some coins of Maxentius and on the festival issues of Constantine 315. He even shows that these portraits were created by the same artist. MOREAU (REA 1953, p. 313) and PIGANIOL (*Historia* I, p. 88) do not accept Alföldi's dating, without being able to refute his argumentation (cf. KRAFT, l.c.). Again, v. SCHOENEBECK builds a theory on the occurrence of busts with shield and spear, dating the medallions to 321 at the earliest (op.cit., p. 62 ff.); here, too, KRAFT (p. 156) demonstrates the weakness of the argument, although without taking into account that the artist with other personnel of the mint could have been transferred to Sirmium or Constantinople. Note particularly the SOLI INVICTO COMITI with facing, nimbate portrait from Siscia (struck after A. D. 317). — Finally, it may be mentioned that MAURICE, who knew the Vienna piece only, the piece least well preserved, dated the medallion to 324—326 and attributed it both to Rome (I, p. 241) and Constantinople (II, p. 501 f.).



Fig. 5a

5b

the helmets from the later bronze issues of the same type (fig. 6—7)¹. Now, the crucial point is the christogram on the helmet on some coins of Siscia, but in order to be able to evaluate properly the significance of these coins, a survey of the Siscian issues appears necessary.

An analysis of the occurrence of the christogram helmets in Siscia presupposes an arrangement of the issues with the rev. legend *VICT(ORIAE) LAETAE PRINC PERP — VOT PR*. Without accounting for all the details, the present writer has approached the problem in another context². Here it seems appropriate to restate the basic facts about the *Victoriae laetae* issues regarded as a whole in the Constantinian empire, i.e. that they consist of two parts, of which the former comprised obverses solely of Constantine whereas the latter contained obverses of other rulers also, in some mints both the Licinii and the sons of Constantine, in other mints the sons of Constantine only. The many-ruler-issues were, in some mints, connected with abbreviated reverse legends.

In Siscia the issues with short reverse legends have the letters I (off. A, B) or S (off. Γ, Δ, E) on the altars; this custom was adopted during the only issue with long reverse legend to strike obverses of all five rulers, ASIS•. This issue must accordingly have immediately preceded the issues with short legends. Of the remaining two issues, ASIS and ASIS*, the former seems to be chronologically later as is suggested by the existence of some obverses of other rulers than Constantine: 1 of Licinius (uncertified, publ. by VOETTER, NZ 1920, Pl. 8), 3 of Crispus (1 uncertified, publ. by VOETTER, l.c.) and 1

¹ JRS 1932, p. 11 ff., Pisciculi, p. 2 ff. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI (Constantiniana, p. 15) rejects ALFÖLDI's identification of the Gallic helmet with the Siscian one. This does not, however, affect ALFÖLDI's main argument.



² »System of the Vota Coinages», p. 2 ff.

of Constantine II. Both the uncertified Voetter coins have S on the altar; in addition a third coin in Copenhagen (BSIS) has an I on the altar¹.

The cases of coins with obverses of Constantine II and with I and S on the altars, recorded by MAURICE (II, p. 335 ff., rev. V 8) have not been found in the collections referred to (Paris, London, Voetter), nor the coins with obverses of Licinius II cited by him (ibid., rev. V 9) and the same applies to the coins of Constantine II (with an I on the altar) and of Licinius II cited by Voetter in the Catalogue Gerin. All coins of the first issue have obverses of Constantine and one coin only has an I on the altar. The sequence of issues is thus:

Long rev. leg.	ASIS*
	ASIS
	ASIS.
Short rev. leg.	ASIS*
	·ASIS.

When publishing the great Nagytétény find (RIN 1921) ALFÖLDI endeavoured to establish the chronology of the *Victoriae laetae* of Siscia. It seems to the present writer that he was led astray by inadequate material; for the hoard did not contain more than 70 coins of the Siscian *Vict(oriae) laetae*. He divided the coins into three different groups. Observing that the coins of the issues ASIS* and ASIS with long legends were struck on smaller flans and were more crudely executed than the others, he classified these two issues as his third and last group »la copia deformata, di stile trascurato del gruppo I». His first group consists of all other coins with long reverse legend, divided into three issues

- (a) A-ESIS· with varying altar designs
- (b) ·BSIS· (strangely enough), with two different altar designs ( and )
- (c) A-ESIS· with I and S on the altars.

His second, or middle, group comprised all the coins with short reverse legends, subdivided into three issues, all with I and S on the altars, namely ASIS·, ·ASIS· and ASIS*.

¹ Through an unfortunate slip the 2 first mint marks in the diagram in the »System of the Vota Coinages» were switched.

Now, ALFÖLDI's material does not seem to be sufficient to reconstruct all these issues (nor is that of the present writer with some 500 *Victoriae laetae* coins of Siscia in addition to the 70 from the Nagytétény hoard). It is quite possible that the long legend issue ASIS· was struck in two parts, first with varying altar design, then with I and S on the altars, but the material available gives very scanty series with I and S altars, 11 coins with obverses of Constantine struck in off. A-E, 1 of Licinius I struck in off. E, 5 of Crispus struck in off. A, Δ, E, 3 of Constantine II struck in B and E and 1 of Licinius II struck in off. E. The rest of the issue in the listed material, comprising altogether some 160 coins, shows that obverses of Constantine and his sons were struck in all *officinae*, of Licinius I in all off. except B and of Licinius II in all off. except Δ. We have therefore no more reason to pick out the coins with I and S on the altars as a separate issue, than to pick out any particular altar design of this series of coins.




As the first issue of his middle group ALFÖLDI (p. 121) records ASIS· with short reverse legend with the remark: »Maurice non conosce questa rara serie. È importante perchè indica l'immediato nesso col I gruppo». Altogether the author has recorded 24 coins with this mintmark and this reverse legend but hesitates to regard them as a separate issue. Some of the coins are fairly worn and it is, therefore, quite possible that, in some cases, the first dot of the mint mark has been worn away. The material comprises 3 obverses of Constantine (off. A, Γ, E), 7 of Licinius I (Γ, Δ), 6 of Crispus (B, Γ, E), 3 of Constantine II (Γ, Δ) and 4 of Licinius II (A, Γ). A reason for disqualifying these coins as a regular issue is, among other things, the paucity of Constantinian obverses — considering that in all other five-ruler-issues obverses of Constantine were at least 40 per cent of the entire material.

Whether or not ALFÖLDI's issues 1 a and b (the cryptic ·BSIS·)¹, and 2 a should be regarded as regular, is a point of minor importance as compared with the fundamental difference between his arrangement and that of the present writer, namely his contention that the five-ruler-issues were prior to those two with obverses of Constantine only. And here the present writer believes that a comparison of the Siscian minting with the corresponding coins

¹ In order to check ALFÖLDI's views with regard to the ·BSIS· issue (which really has the mint mark BSIS· : cf. MAURICE II, Pl. X 4) the author has undertaken to work out all the *Victoriae laetae* coins with long rev. leg. mintmarked BSIS·. The material comprises some 36

of other mints, particularly with those of Lugdunum, bears out the view that the many-ruler-issues constitute the later part of the *Victoriae laetae* coinage¹.


Now, let us proceed to study the various signs and decorations on the helmet. ALFÖLDI himself, on the basis of the material in the Nagytétény hoard, arrives at the following conclusion (l.c. p. 121):

»... per quanto mi consta, il monogramma  appare soltanto nella primissima serie (I, 1), sul nastro che divide in due parti l'elmo; ma nella raccolta del Voetter vi è un pezzo VICT· LAETAE, ecc., sul quale il nastro in parola porta l'altro monogramma, o meglio la forma del primo travisata e malintesa dall'operaio pagano:  (colla marca ·BSIS·)². Queste iniziali ( = I e X) le troviamo sulle due faccie del nastro intercalate da stelle. Invece delle stelle nei gruppi I e II figurano anche croci».

Later ALFÖLDI elaborated his theory by deducing from the fact that, in his opinion, the christogram appeared in the course of the first issue, that the stars and dots in later issues were degenerated christograms: he even

coins, 22 of which have obverses of Constantine; again, of these, 16 display the jewel-bedecked high crested helmet. No obverses of Licinius are included in the material, although no particular importance need be attached to this as Licinius' portrait is known from the output of other *officinae* of this series and as the obverses of the other rulers, i.e. the Caesars, are comparatively scarce: 6 for Crispus, 4 for Constantine II and 4 for Licinius II. Finally, it may be added that three of the reverse altars were marked I and that the material included nine different altar designs whereas ALFÖLDI knew only two, a further indication of the paucity of the material at his disposal. — The question of the monogram on the helmet will be dealt with later on.


¹ Before concluding the argument about the organization of the *Victoriae laetae* issues of Siscia a few words should be said about VOETTER's arrangement in NZ 1920 (cf. particularly his *Tafel 8*). A thoroughly good numismatist with an unusual feeling for the coinage and its structure, VOETTER in this case appears to have formed his series rather optimistically; the coins now in Kunsthistorisches Museum, comprising not only VOETTER's own coins but also the former Westphalen collection, almost as impressive as was VOETTER's and stray pieces from many other collections, do not verify his arrangements. Faulty reproduction of his drawings probably accounts for some inexactness, some specimens, previously recorded e.g. in the Gerin collection may have disappeared, but nevertheless, there is no trace e.g. of the full series IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG wear. laur. helmet and cuir. to right, mintmarked A-ESIS with star on the altar, or of the A-ESIS* (× on altar) with the obverse IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG wear. high crested helmet to left, cuir. with spear acr. right shoulder. The A-ESIS* (long rev. leg.) series with I and S on the altars is probably due to a slip as is his recording of the two coins with christogram on the helmet mintmarked BSIS·, by VOETTER noted as BSIS, a tiny but disastrous slip. Accordingly VOETTER's drawings cannot be used as a basis for an analysis of the issues in question.

² The coin actually has the long reverse legend and is mintmarked BSIS·. There is, however, in the issue with the short reverse legend, mintmarked ·BSIS· a coin with the sign  on the bowl of the helmet, not on the crossbar as the christogram proper (Vienna, ex Voetter coll.).

maintained this to be valid for the prototypes from Treveri (312—313)¹.

ALFÖLDI (JRS 1932, quoted in note 1 below) and v. SCHOENEBECK (p. 47) both agree that the high crested helmet must have been designed by the central administration and the same prescription sent to all the mints ordered to strike the contemporaneous bronze issues of *Victoriae laetae*. v. SCHOENEBECK now considers that the coins of the mints striking this particular type should be compared in order to enable us to form a picture of the prototype distributed to the mints — at least as long as decisive proofs have not been brought forward to show that Siscia and particularly BSIS started coining earlier than the other mints².

The high crested helmet is known from six of the Western mints, Londinium, Lugdunum, Treveri, Arelate, Ticinum and Siscia in connection with the type *Victoriae laetae* and from Roma on a series of special reverses. The christogram-helmet on the bronze is known only from Siscia. Now, the author has listed some 321 coins with helmeted obverses of Constantine from Siscia, and of these 145 have the new state helmet with high crest, decorated with jewels. These 145 coins belong to five different issues (cf. p. 11, *supra*). The first issue is dominated by the usual laureate helmets (fig. 6 b), 75 against 9 high crested ones decorated with six-pointed stars (resembling the christogram composed by the letters Chi — X — and Iota — I) one on each side of the crossbar of the helmet (fig. 6 c). In the following issue the ratio of laureate helmets to high crested helmets drops to 32 of the former against 23 of the latter (of which only eight have monogramlike stars; the others are decorated with small ordinary stars). The following issue is the only one with monograms on the crossbar of the helmet and with monogramlike stars on the bowl

¹ JRS 1932, p. 11 ff (cf. also Pisciculi, p. 3, The Conversion of Constantine, p. 41): ». . . the vast mass of coins in the following period showed in place of the letters of the name of Christ nothing but tiny stars; it goes without saying that this formal degeneration in copying makes no difference to the meaning of the prototype. What we have here, then, is always the helmet with the Christian monogram, even when in place of the  feeble imitations, stars and points, appear — and this will be true not only of Siscia, but of the parallel issues in all the Western mints, in which we find nothing but these stars or similar substitutes for the monogram, but their contemporaneous appearance and uniform character illustrate clearly enough their origin from the same prescription of the central administration, which in Siscia was interpreted in the Christian sense».

² That the coins with the christogram helmets belonged not to the first but to the third series has been shown above. v. SCHOENEBECK cherishes the curious idea, absolutely incompatible with the coin material, that off. B in Siscia was employed for special tasks, such as a »Monogrammserie» (p. 46). The normal character of the work of off. B has been exemplified in note 1, p. 12.



Fig. 6a



6b



6c



6d



6e

(fig. 6 a). The writer's material comprises two such coins and, further, one coin with a star in the crossbar and another with a curious circular design (these are the only instances of symbols in the crossbar). Against 42 laureate helmets we have 45 high crested ones: of these 8 have monogramlike stars on the bowl, 31 normal stars (fig. 6 d) and 3 so called crosses of St. Andrew (fig. 6 e); the three with marks in the crossbar were mentioned above.

In the two last issues the high crested helmets dominate, always decorated either with ordinary stars or with monogramlike stars. The last issue shows a surprising ratio of crosses of St. Andrew, 10 out of a total of 36. No single coin displays any sign in the crossbar of the helmet.

A rapid survey clarifies the design of the helmet in the five other mints. The prototype was struck in Treveri and on the coins of this mint we encounter one or two dots on the crossbar (similar dots clearly without symbolic significance appear on the helmets of all mints) and three or four dots on the bowl; occasionally we find even eight-pointed stars (fig. 1 c). The same applies to helmets of Lugdunum. Of the six series of coins of Ticinum (cf. *supra* p. 7) only two show the high crested helmet. One of these has stars on the bowl of the helmet, the other big stars, in certain cases resembling the I X monogram (fig. 7 a). The coins of Arelate frequently have irregular eight-pointed stars on the bowl, whereas the majority of the coins of Londinium displays plain stars (fig. 7 b), exceptionally crudely executed crosses of St. Andrew or simply three dots. The same applies to the coins of Lugdunum (fig. 7 d). Typical of the quality of engraving is that a cross of St. Andrew in one of the fields of the bowl can correspond to either an I X monogram or an eight-pointed star in the other.

The above survey reveals that in four instances only of all the coins with high crested helmets considered, when a sign was placed on the crossbar, can the decoration of the helmet have had any symbolic significance. All other so called stars, crosses and monograms, or dots, can scarcely have had



Fig. 7a



7b



7c



7d

any symbolic meaning at all. As KRAFT has aptly pointed out¹ they represent varying shapes of the large rosettes of jewels and rivets on the model, best known to us from the medallions of Ticinum.

Having disposed of all the stars and crosses originating in the rosettes of the *imago* of the helmet, it is time to reconsider the three coins with monograms on the crossbar of the helmet (fig. 6 a). They all belonged to the same issue and they were all struck in off. B. But even so, also within the narrow frame of the minting of one *officina* during one issue, they appear to be exceptions; 13 other obverses of Constantine with the high crested helmet are listed in the material, all without any particular signs on the crossbar (cf. summary in note 1, p. 12). This together with the fact that the issue with the monogram-helmets chronologically was the third of the Siscian *Victoriae laetae* definitely excludes the possibility that the intention of any central authority was to display the christogram on the helmet². Another point to consider

¹ P. 158 when refuting MOREAU's contention (op. cit., p. 320) that the christogram was a development of a pagan star, first introduced on the issue of Treveri from 312—313. He admits that ALFÖLDI himself has opened this line of thought (cf. note 21 *supra*) and continues: »Die Sterne auf dem Helm sind aber reine Zierornamente und können kaum als magische göttliche Zeichen aufgefasst werden . . . Dass sie mit dem Christogram nichts zu tun haben, sieht man sodann ganz deutlich aus der Tatsache, dass das Christogram in Siscia auf dem zu diesem Zweck verbreiteten seitlichen Helmbügel sitzt, wo weder in Trier 313 noch anderswo jemals ein Stern erscheint. Die Sterne befinden sich immer in den Füllflächen des Helmes zwischen den Spangen und sie sind dort auch bei den Münzen, welche das Christogramm tragen, vorhanden. Wie diese Sterne wirklich aussahen, zeigt das Silbermedaillon, wo das grössere Bildformat erkennen lässt, dass jeweils eine Metallniete, vielleicht auch ein Edelstein oder Glassfluss in der Mitte sitzt und rund herum kleinere Niete oder runde Steine gruppiert sind, so dass eine Sternförmige Rosette entsteht, die natürlich bei dem kleineren Bildformat der Münzen sehr leicht zu einem mit Linien gezeichneten Stern werden konnte — übrigens oft auch nur durch ein x-förmiges Kreuz oder 3 Punkte dargestellt ist. Eine Entwicklung des Christogramms des Helmes aus den »Sternen« des Helmes ist sonach ausgeschlossen.»

² The author cannot accept the theory of Dr. BRUCK that the monogram be regarded a kind of mark of issue — with due regard to his profound knowledge of the pertinent coin material.

is that the helmet, probably resembling most closely the official model, the one depicted on the Ticinese medallions, carried the monogram on the front, in a kind of badge at the root of the crest. Whoever was responsible for the monograms on the Siscian helmets, an engraver or a higher mint official, the change of the place of the monogram implies that details of the helmet could be varied to a certain extent, although it seems clear that the execution of the christogram went beyond the intentions of the court ¹.

That these intentions could not have aimed at showing the christogram on the bronze coins is beyond doubt; that Constantine's victorious sign formed an intrinsic part of the medallion portraits, is equally obvious. Whether the difference was due to the fact that, the medallions had a very restricted circulation whereas the formidable output of *Victoriae laetae* bronzes made this minting a more important, and therefore, more sensitive instrument of the imperial propaganda, is difficult to estimate ².

It would, however, be incorrect to deprive the high crested helmets of all

¹ ALFÖLDI (Pisciculi, p. 3) points out that: »Der Christusname erscheint hier auf einem Bestandteil des kaiserlichen Kostüms, auf der *sacra vestis* also, deren leichteste Modifizierung einen staatsrechtlichen Eingriff bedeutete und deren willkürliche Änderung ausgeschlossen war und als *crimen laesae maiestatis* durch Todesstrafe geahndet worden wäre». Again, KRAFT (p. 156) remarks: »Und wenn nun der Stempelschneider in Siscia das Christogramm durch seitliche Anbringung sichtbar macht, so braucht das nur eine formale Veränderung zu sein, jedoch nicht eine Verfälschung oder willkürliche Zufügung. Willkürliche und dem Kaiser nicht genehme Zufügung des Christogramms wäre überhaupt undenkbar.» — It may be permissible in this context to mention another instance of changes, if not in the actual imperial garb, so in the adjuncts of imperial persons, namely in the shield, usually carried together with a spear. In the BEATA TRANQVILLITAS issue of Treveri (·PTR·) the usual portrait to the obv. leg. IVL CRISPVS NOB CAESAR is a bust, laur., cuir. l hold. spear acr. r shoulder, shield on l arm. The design of the shield is extremely varied; e.g. 5 coins of off. S in Oxford all show different imagery (v. SCHOENEBECK, p. 54, note 5, lists 11 different designs on the coins in Berlin, unfortunately without recording the mintmarks). A similar coin in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (ex Coats Coll.), off. P displays a clear christogram covering the entire area of the shield (✠). Undue importance should not be attached to such details obviously left at the discretion of mint officials (though it is correct to say with Kraft that nothing expressly contrary to the imperial policy could be sent into circulation). Thus we have two coins of the last BEATA TRANQVILLITAS issue of Treveri mintmarked· PTR· (cf. the »System of the Vota Coinages», p. 12 ff.) now in Munich. The one CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C, bust laur. r with trabea, hold. Victory on globe with l hand, sceptre in r hand, the other exactly similar but with Sol radiate hold. globe standing on the globe instead of the Victory (cf. also BAHRFELDT, Münzen Constantinus d. Gr., Pl. III 14).

² KRAFT (p. 157) disputing the views of MOREAU (op. cit., p. 313) rightly stresses the official character of the medallion. Both imagery and iconography of a medallion, designed for distribution to certain persons or groups of persons (KRAFT, note 28: »Aus dem inmitten der Operationsbasis des Heeres gelegenen Prägeort Ticinum, wie aus den Fundorten der Medallions, wird wahrscheinlich, dass die Empfänger vorwiegend Offiziere des constantinischen Heeres waren»), could rather be expected to be of a higher quality and more closely than otherwise

positive significance as regards the employment of the christogram in the Constantinian Empire. The very fact that the Ticinese medallions purposely, the few bronze coins of Siscia incidentally, carried the christogram, certainly mirrors the vision of Constantine before the battle at Saxa Rubra and his subsequent use of the new emblem¹. Lactantius in *De mortibus persecutorum* and the medallions together demonstrate that, a legend or an official account regarding the course of events at Ponte Molle was being circulated in the Empire.

Before concluding the argument about the christogram on the high crested helmets, it may be noted that the new Constantinian state helmet, which in a decisive way was to influence the future imperial crown of Byzantium and the imperial iconography, at later stages of its development preserved but little traces of the stars and/or crosses originating in the jewel and rivet rosettes on the Ticinese medallions. The christogram disappears entirely, another indication of the limited and temporary character of its use in Ticinum in 315². But on a gold coin struck at Constantinople for the *tricennalia* of Constantius II with the wellknown facing helmeted bust on the obverse, the present writer has found a little cross above the diadem of the helmet (fig. 5 b). This is particularly notable at a time when decorations such as pearls and foliage dominate on the helmet (cf. Paris no. 1775 a, *GLORIA-REIPUBLICAE*). In the reign of Tiberius Constantinus the cross on globe becomes a

correspond to the policy of the court. Nevertheless MOREAU is right in stressing the limited issue of a medallion even if, as in this case, all three specimens preserved were struck from different dies. And the message, by means of a medallion sent out to selected persons, might well be differently formulated than the propaganda intended for the masses. The metal and the standards of weight of the Ticinese medallions, makes it very improbable that it ever was sent out to circulate on the market (TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions*, p. 39 regards them as »border-line pieces» slightly heavier than the *miliarense* to be introduced later). Note that, the bronze medallion with the full rev. leg. *VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINCIPIS PERPETVI/VOTIS PR* (cf. ALFÖLDI in *Acta arch.* 1934, p. 100) in Trier had no christogram but simply three dots on the bowl of the helmet.

¹ KRAFT (p. 160) advances the interesting theory that the appearance of the christogram on the medallions actually is the first documentary proof of the existence of the new sign; the account of Lactantius in *De mortibus persecutorum* should, accordingly, be of later date and, possibly, based on the writer's familiarity with the christogram on the helmets of the medallions.

² Conceivably, as the high crested helmet was of oriental origin, the stars of the original (ALFÖLDI, *Acta arch.* 1934, p. 101 with figg. 4 a, b and DÉER, »Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone», *Schweizer. Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 8, p. 54 ff.) in the later Christian era might have been considered an inopportune allusion to astrology. The monogram, of course, survived in other connections and gradually even was granted an official character — but not on the helmets. The reason is possibly that it not was properly authorized on the helmets of Siscia, and in Ticinum merely served as an opportune illustration of the wonder at Ponte Molle.



Fig. 8a



8b



8c



8d

normal complement of the helmet-diadem (Kyll, »Christliche Symbolik auf Helmen der Völkerwanderungszeit», *Kunst und Kirche* 16/1939, p. 103, according to Wessel, »Iconographische Bemerkungen», *Festschrift Jahn* 1957, p. 61). In the end, thus, the cross and not the monogram survives on the helmet (cf. also Franchi de' Cavalieri, p. 84, note 76).

It is time now to continue with other coin types and other issues. The type *Victoriae laetae* was succeeded by the reverse *VIRTUS EXERCIT*, struck in all the mints except Roma, which sustained the particular position of the old capital by striking varying *Vota* types.

The coining of three different mints are of special interest in this context because certain coins were countermarked with the I X monogram on the field: Ticinum, Aquileia and Thessalonica. Undoubtedly the signs in all these cases are something else than varieties of stars, such as we encountered on the helmets. Whereas the monogramlike stars on the helmets had equally long rays ending in points, the vertical axis in this case is perceptibly longer than the two others (those of the X) with a point in the upper part only.

The mints of Aquileia and Thessalonica both issue three series of coins (cf. the author's »The System of the *Vota* Coinages», p. 7 ff.). Aquileia commences with *VOT X*, striking, however, only in the second and third officina, not in the first, reserved for Constantine. This issue and the following with *VOT XX*, struck with obverses of all five rulers, was mintmarked S F (fig. 8 b). Thessalonica starts with the unique *VIRT EXERC* without *vota* for all five rulers without letters in the reverse field (fig. 8 a) and continues with the usual type carrying *VOT XX* on the standard and with S F as mark of issue (fig. 8 c). The third and last issue in both mints is marked with the I X monogram to left in the field (fig. 8 d).

Radically different is the build up of the corresponding issues of Ticinum (»System of the *Vota* Coinages», p. 9 f.). Three issues were struck in double series, the latter part of each, marked with the I X monogram, being reserved



Fig. 9a



9b



9c



9d

for the younger Caesars, Licinius II and Constantine II (fig. 9 b, c). The first issue has no particular mark (fig. 9 a), in the second issue each officina is given a distinguishing mark, P a star, S a crescent (fig. 9 d) and T a dot in the exergue, in the third issue this distinguishing mark is to right in the field (fig. 9 c). A diagram of the Ticinese *Virtus exercit* with *VOT XX* thus turns out like this:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(i a) } P, S, TT; \text{ (i b) } \overline{P}, \overline{S}, \overline{TT} \\
 \text{(ii a) } P * T, S \smile T, T \cdot T; \text{ (ii b) } \overline{P * T}, \overline{S \smile T}, \overline{T \cdot T} \\
 \text{(iii a) } \overline{P^* T}, \overline{S \smile T}, \overline{T \cdot T}; \text{ (iii b) } \overline{P * T}, \overline{S \smile T} \text{ (lacking in the material), } \overline{T \cdot T}
 \end{array}$$

Thus it can be seen that the monogram in this particular case was used to indicate not an issue but a certain part of an issue, in actual fact the two rulers lowest in rank¹, whereas in Aquileia and in Thessalonica it was a mark of issue.

Finally it may be mentioned that MAURICE (II, p. 345 f., rev. IX 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) records a series of *Virtus exercit VOT XX* from Siscia marked with the christogram. When checking his references the author could not find more than two of the five obverses, one of Licinius I (MAURICE II, Pl. X 10 and VOETTER, NZ 1920, *Tafel* 9) of regular appearance and another of Licinius II (MAURICE II, Pl. X 11 and VOETTER, *ibid.*), irregular as regards the obverse legend

¹ v. SCHOENEBECK, p. 49 regards the christogram on coins of Licinius »als religionspolitische Demonstration mit deutlicher Spitze gegen Licinius» whereas KRAFT (p. 168; note 68) takes the *Virtus exercit* with \overline{P} on coins also of the Licinii as a proof of the fact that these signs could be given any importance as regards the general religious policy.

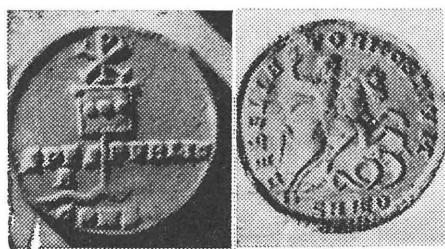


Fig. 10a

10b

LICINIVS IVN NOB C (otherwise always — *CAES*), and the reverse with *VOT XX* (otherwise always *VOT X* for the Caesars). Nothing prevents us from assuming the existence of a fourth series of *Virtus exercit* on the evidence of a regular coin and a hybrid of the three earlier issues (cf. »The System of the Vota Coinages», p. 10 f.), but the christogram on these coins cannot have been anything except a mark of issue¹. As in Aquileia and Thessalonica it would have followed an issue marked with S F.

Taking the coins in chronological order we now proceed to the extremely rare type *SPES PVBLIC* (fig. 10 a), struck in the new capital of Constantine in the years 326—330 at a time when Constantine was sole ruler in the Empire and when he ostentatiously had demonstrated his interest in matters ecclesiastical — at the Council of Nicaea in 325. The reverse with the *labarum* piercing a serpent has usually been accepted as an instance of outspoken Christian symbolism, occasionally also interpreted as the sign of Christ piercing the dark powers of paganism (cf. MAURICE II, pp. 506—513, ALFÖLDI, JRS 1947, p. 14 and LAFaurie, RN 1955, p. 237).

We have, however, little reason to give such a biblical interpretation to this reverse type as another much simpler explanation seems to be closer at hand. In her thorough treatment of the Roman medallions Miss TOYNBEE (Roman Medallions, p. 182) notes the frequent occurrence of the reverse type »Emperor galloping over the bodies of one, or two, falling or prostrate foes»².

¹ It may be pure chance, but the coin of Licinius I was struck in off. B and the coin of Licinius II in off. Δ, the *officinae* attributed to these rulers when the new division of labour was carried through in the last S F issue (»The System of the Vota Coinages», p. 11).

² Constantine I: *VIRTVS AVG N, GLORIA ROMANORVM* (GNECCHI II, p. 134, no. 2), *VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM NN*; Constantine II as Caesar: *VIRTVS CAESS*; Constantine II: *DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR, VICTORI GENTIVM BARBARR*; Constantius II: *DEBELLATORI GENTT BARBARR, VIRTVS AVG N*; Constans: same legends and *VICTORI GENTIVM BARBARR*; Decentius: *VIRTVS AVGG*.

Now, the *DEBELLATORI* type occurs once more under Constantius II with the legend *DEBELLATOR HOSTIVM* and the reverse showing a serpent under the horse's leg (fig. 10 b). The serpent, Miss TOYNBEE writes (*ibid.*), »the traditional emblem of the powers of darkness, is the appropriate symbol» of the most dreaded foes of the ancient world, the »barbaric hordes who threatened to destroy all that the ancient held dear»¹.

In order to understand, correctly, the symbolism of the *Spes public* yet another series of medallions should be mentioned, i.e. those picturing Constantinopolis as the imperial Victory, seated turned left on a stool, winged and turreted with a branch and *cornucopiae*.² Thus, it is against the background of the conception of Constantinopolis as Victory we should interpret also the *Spes public*, the new capital, the site of which was chosen on strategic grounds, and the new miraculous sign of the Emperor, crushing the foes of the Empire.

The coins with the reverse *Spes public* are very rare, a strange fact underlined also by Dr. BRUCK in a recent analysis of the coins in the large Viennese collection (NZ 1955, p. 27). The collections examined by the present writer³ contained 3 pieces of *Spes public*, 136 *CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE* and 72 *GLORIA ROMANORVM*, all belonging to the same special issues of Constantinople. Dr. BRUCK supposes the imagery of *Spes public* to have been so provocative even in the new Christian capital (Christian at least in comparison with the old Rome) that, it proved necessary either to withdraw the coins

¹ ULRICH BANSA (*Moneta Mediolanensis*, pp. 1 f., 11) interprets the foes of *DEBELLATOR HOSTIVM* to be Magnus Magnentius and his rising and dates the medallion celebrating his defeat to 352. Internal strife, usurpers and rebels were, of course, even more dangerous than the barbaric hordes. Now, the Victory-imagery partly designed to hail the victory at Chrysopolis (TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, p. 196). The *labarum* piercing the serpent on the type *Spes public* could therefore, very well have been conceived to illustrate a similar case.

This interpretation is supported by Constantine's own words (V. C. II 46, 2 ed. HEIKEL) when he in his letter to Eusebius writes: »νννι δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποδοθείσης καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου προνοία ἡμετέρα δ' ὑπηρεσία διωχθέντος, ἡγοῦμαι . . .». The snake on the coin is thus Licinius depicted as the »ἀνόσιος βούλησις καὶ τυραννίς» (V. C. II 46, 1) persecuting the followers of the Saviour God, a real person. The same imagery on the coin and the same words could very well have been used in an appeal to the pagans. DÖRRIES, *Das Selbstzeugnis*, p. 55, however, does not agree.

² *VICTORIA AVGG NN*, *VICTORIA AVG N*, *VICTORIA AVGVSTI*, *VICTORIAE AVGVSTI*, *VICTORIA AVG*, *CONSTANTINOPOLIS* (TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, p. 188).

³ The British public collections in London, Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow, the collections in Paris, Vienna and Munich, the three major collections in Rome, the public collections in the Northern Countries, several hundred sale catalogues and publications of the major Constantinian hoards.



Fig. 11a



11b



11c



11d



11e

from circulation or to stop coining this type. If this really was the case, we should here have an indication of the fact that, the wondrous sign of Ponte Molle, once, and most certainly, for a considerable time an emblem of uncertain content, by the course of events, had emerged as a purely Christian sign. By now, about 15 years after the battle, the Christians certainly to the utmost had used its inherent possibilities in the way of propaganda. Thus, for every year, the sign \times or P (cf. VOGT, Relazioni del X congresso internazionale di Scienze Storiche 1955, vol. VI, p. 397 f.) became more and more closely connected with Christian symbolism regardless of its origin and the original intentions behind its conception. On the other hand, the *labarum* on the *Spes public* might even at the time of issue have appeared to the general public mainly as a new imperial standard, crowned by a new sign of uncertain significance. But the sudden abandonment of the coin type, in that case, appears more mysterious. At any rate, the number of coins preserved to our days, do not demonstrate any propagandistic offensive purporting to display the imperial standard with its christogram.

During the last phase of Constantinian bronze coining we find the reverses *VRBS ROMA* and *CONSTANTINOPOLI(S)* (fig. 11 a-d) regularly connected with the reverse *GLORIA EXERCITVS* in all the imperial mints, and these issues were continued even after the death of Constantine. Leaving aside the intricate question regarding the relations between Rome and the new creation of Constantine on the Bosphorus (the medallions are very telltale in that respect, cf. TOYNBEE, *Roman Medallions*, p. 196 and »Roma and Constantinopolis« in *JRS* 1947, pp. 135—144; also ALFÖLDI, »On the Foundation of Constantinople«, *ibid.*, pp. 10—16), the particular cross-sceptre with globe on the *Constantinopolis* reverses (fig. 11 d) is worthy of some attention. This is definitely an instance where the cross symbol is an intrinsic part of the imagery as it was of the imperial portrait on the Ticinese silver medallions (fig. 5 a). We have, of course, no means of confirming that this sceptre really



Fig. 12a



12b



12c



12d

ought to be interpreted as the cross carrying and governing the universe, but probably Christian ideas influenced the formation of the new sign of sovereignty. One can say that among the hundreds and thousands of coins of this type preserved to this day, tiny and frequently crudely executed, a great number lacks the transverse of the cross, some of them with one or two enlargements in the upper part of the sceptre instead of the cross beam and the globe. But the cross occurs frequently enough to permit us to conclude that the official prototype had the form of a cross; this view is substantiated by the fact that the cross-sceptre later became an important imperial attribute and sign of power.¹

The last bronze coins to be dealt with are the *Gloria exercitus* of the peaceful 330's. The imagery is simple and straightforward: in the earlier issues two soldiers, both holding a standard (fig. 12 a), in the later issues two soldiers with a single standard. Christian signs are not rare on these coins, in certain mints, but the decisive fact is the part they played on the coins. Two mints used such signs during the life time of Constantine, Arelate (renamed Constantina) and Aquileia. In Treveri and Lugdunum they appear on the first issues struck after the death of Constantine.

Arelate struck a long series of issues of the *Gloria exercitus* with two standards, all fairly easy to date (here as in other mints) as Constans was nominated Caesar in December 333 and Delmatius in September 335. Now, we have two issues only of the two-standards type with obverses of Delmatius, the sole difference being the sign on the field between the standards. One of these signs is \times (fig. 12 b; cf. HILL—KENT, Spink's Numismatic Circular LXIV

¹ Illustrated on the coins at least of Valentinian II (ALFÖLDI, »Insignien und Tracht«, Abb. 3, 2, globe with christogram). Cf. also ALFÖLDI in JRS 1932, p. 10 ff., Acta arch. 1934, p. 102. Pisciculi, p. 4 ff., JRS 1947, p. 15, and FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, pp. 16 and 84, notes 73, 76.

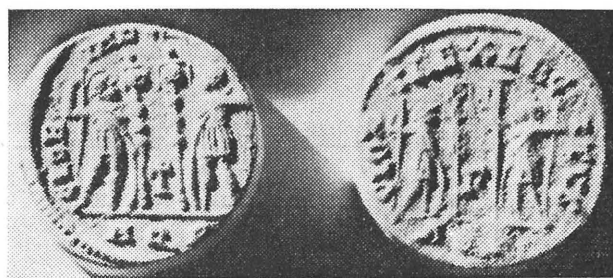


Fig. 13a

13b

4, nos. 384—390). After these issues the one-standard type was introduced at reduced standards of weight. Three issues are known to have been struck before the death of Constantine, the third of these to have been continued even after the death of the Emperor and before his sons assumed the title of Augustus. The only difference between these issues is the design of the standard. The first issue showed a cross of St. Andrew (fig. 12 c), the second a christogram $\chi\rho$ (fig. 12 d) and the third a circle (HILL—KENT, *ibid.*, nos. 398—418). The cross and the monogram are accordingly marks of issue. In this context it may be pointed out that the standard with the christogram is not identical with the Constantinian *labarum*. That victorious standard, earlier depicted on the *Spes public* coins (fig. 10 a) of Constantinople, carried according to Eusebius (*Vita Constantini* I, 3) three medallions or badges with portraits of the emperor and his co-regents, Crispus and Constantine II — at least at the time when Eusebius with his own eyes had an opportunity to see the standard. That the christogram under post-Constantinian times developed into an intrinsic part of an ordinary *vexillum*, probably the Emperor's personal standard, is a different matter (fig. 15 c; cf. ALFÖLDI, *Pisciculi*, p. 10 f.).

Among the few issues of Aquileia one, dateable to 334 or 335, carries an unusually shaped Latin cross as mark of issue (fig. 13 a). The cross was later replaced by the letter F (fig. 13 b). The christogram appeared on the reverses of the one-standard type (HILL—KENT, *ibid.*, LXIV 5, nos. 656—668, 693—694), only after the death of Constantine.

The issues of Lugdunum and Treveri really are beyond the compass of this study, but as a complement to the remarks above we can state that, the first issues after the death of Constantine comprising the consecration coins carry Christian signs as marks of issue, in Lugdunum $\chi\rho$ (fig. 14 a), in Treveri



Fig. 14a

14b

Greek cross (fig. 14 b). On the coins of the reverse *Gloria exercitus* the signs naturally are engraved on the standard (HILL—KENT, *ibid.*, LXIV 3, nos. 238—244 for Lugdunum, LXIV 2, nos. 98—105 for Treveri).

A discussion of two gold issues concludes this survey. The first comprises the *PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS* medallions of Constantinopolis, the second some solidi of Antiochia with the reverse legend *VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG.* The former is in many respects difficult to understand in so far as the medallion issue comprised two different obverses, one for Constantine II as Caesar, another for Constantius Caesar. The only difference of the reverse concerns the vital point, the *vexillum* held by the prince. On the reverse of Constantine II the top of the *vexillum* has the shape of a cross (fig. 15 a, cast in Berlin; the original was preserved in Paris but disappeared in the great theft of 1831), whereas the *vexillum* on the other reverses has nothing but a slight enlargement on the top of the shaft (fig. 15 b). Theories have been built on the evidence of the standard with cross, and on that alone, as the existence of the parallel piece of Constantius II not has been taken into account¹. That can scarcely be the right point of departure for an interpretation of the significance of the *vexillum*. As an isolated case, however, the medallion could be rapidly dealt with, but now the *vexillum* in the hand of the prince clearly points forward to later fourth century imagery, where the Emperor is depicted with a military sign in his hand, e.g. by PEARCE called *labarum* (RIC IX, p. XLI), usually with the christogram, sometimes with the Greek cross or the cross of St. Andrew on the drapery (cf. PEARCE, *op.cit.*, Index VI, p.

¹ ALFÖLDI (Pisciculi, p. 10 f.) maintains that, the cross crowning the standard echoes the vision of Constantine although incorrectly reported to the East. According to ALFÖLDI's interpretation of the course of events 312 the standard was crowned by the christogram. It is, however, difficult to understand how officials of the new capital in close contact with the court, could have been unaware of such an important detail.

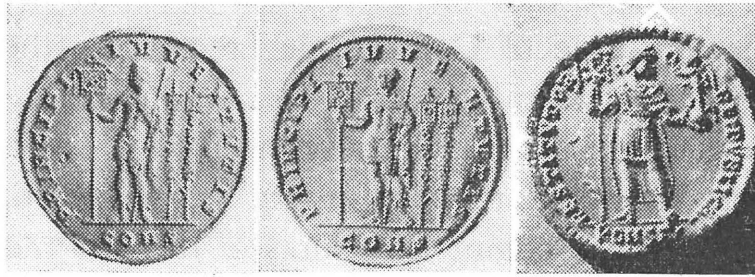


Fig. 15a

15b

15c

324). We have, therefore, every reason to assume the *vexillum* on the *Principi iuventutis* to be a forerunner of this particular sign.

We have earlier met the *labarum* proper on the *Spes public* coins of Constantinople, where the execution closely corresponded to the description of Eusebius (p. 21 ff. *supra*). The church father became acquainted with the sign after 325 (HEIKEL, *Eusebius Werke* I, p. LVI, supported by FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, p. 27), the rare coin type was dated to 326—330 and the medallions, they too, struck at Constantinople are dateable to 326 (TOYNBEE, *op.cit.*, p. 115), to the latter part of the vicennial celebrations of Constantine and to the former part of the decennial festivities of the Caesars. Thus all three events are almost contemporaneous, and moreover, they coincide also geographically. Eusebius saw the *labarum* in Constantinople, where the coins and the medallions were struck. Yet, the two signs called *labarum* differ fundamentally from one another.

There seems to be but one explanation of this strange fact. We will not dwell upon the problem of the original shape of the *labarum*¹ in this context; may it suffice to state that, whatever the design of 312, in the time after the Civil War II it had been given the form described by Eusebius and depicted on the reverses of *Spes public*². On the other hand, the main importance of the reverse *Principi iuventutis* is that it illustrates the prince holding a personal or imperial standard different from the two *signa* standing behind him. ALFÖLDI has rightly stressed the novelty of this imagery (Pisciculi, p. 10 f.).

Considering the close connection between sculpture and the art of engraving—

¹ Recently FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, pp. 22—28, particularly note 107, pp. 95—98, and CECHELLI, pp. 48 ff., 56 ff.

² Cf. BAYNES, *Constantine the Great*, p. 401: »I fail to see why Constantine should not have added to the *labarum* in 317 (or after) the medallions of his sons . . .».

ing¹, it is highly probable that the model of the prince with his standard was the controversial statue of Constantine erected by the senate in the centre of Rome, possibly identical with the statue now in the Lateran, although the wondrous sign of Ponte Molle originally in its hand has been lost.²

Now, interpreting the standard with regard to its Christian content, the outstanding fact is that, the common features of the two medallion reverses show no traces of Christian symbolism. A study of the top of standards on coin reverses reveals many varieties (cf. the author's *Arelate*, p. 86, note 1 accounting for two different designs³) and the inference is that the engravers were at

¹ Cf. e.g. JEAN BABELON, discussing PHYLLIS LEHMANN'S »Statues on coins» and LÉON LA-CROIX' »Les statues de la Grèce ancienne et le témoignage des monnaies» (Bull. Soc. Franç. Num. 1950, V 6, p. 1 f.) and VERMEULE, »Aspects of Victoria on Roman Coins, Gems, and in Monumental Art», Spink's Num. Circ. LXVI 6, 1958, p. 139.

² The most recent theory has been propounded by CECHELLI, who categorically refuses to accept the Lateran Constantine as the statue in question: »Quella notissima . . . proviene dalle terme Costantiniane del Quirinale (non certo il luogo piu frequentato di Roma) e puo attribuirsi ad un epoca intorno al 315, quando cioè le terme dovettero essere costruite, o poco dopo.» Instead he proposes the colossal statue of Constantine seated, the remains of which now are in Palazzo dei Conservatori, designed for the Constantinian basilica. The dating of the fragments by CECHELLI (pp. 35—40) and previously by Kähler, have later been corroborated by KRAFT (p. 174—178). Nevertheless, a year earlier, at the inauguration of the basilica of Tyrus, EUSEBIUS (H. E. X 4, 16; cf. also IX 9, 10—11) speaks of the fact that Constantine by means of inscriptions on statues had acknowledged his adherence to the Christian faith (ALFÖLDI, *Pisciculi*, p. 8). In this context we may note that also the pagan *rhetor* in July 313 in Treveri (Paneg. lat., IX 25, 4, Galletier II, p. 143) mentions that the senate had dedicated a *signum dei* to Constantine; this wording has been taken as pointing to a statue (CECHELLI, p. 17, note 1; cf. FRANCHI DE'CAVALIERI, note 105, p. 93 f.). CECHELLI overcomes the difficulty with the early date (the first notice about a statue commemorating the victory of Constantine would thus originate in Gaul some eighth months after the battle) by suggesting that *dedicare* here should have expressed only the intentions of the senate. This, however, cannot apply to the church father as he expressly mentions inscriptions on statues.

As the statue in the Lateran with regard to style and portraiture appears earlier than the colossal head of Palazzo dei Conservatori, nothing prevents us from accepting this statue as the model of the coin imagery, all the more as this is a standing statue of Constantine, military dressed. Similarly first the emperor, then his son are depicted on the first coins to show a ruler with the *labarum*, i.e. the *SOLI INVICTO COMITI* from Sirmium (about 320, cf. ALFÖLDI, *Pisciculi*, Pl. II 1) and the *Principi iuventutis* from about 326.

FRANCHI DE'CAVALIERI (p. 24) in general terms speaks of »la statua di Costantino elevata nel foro Romano» without, in his pertinent survey of all the known monuments (note 113, p. 98 f.), giving preference to any of the existing possibilities. It remains an open question whether the statue of the Lateran ever was erected on the Forum. CECHELLI (p. 14 ff.) is probably right in asserting that the words about the most lively frequented place in Rome need not necessarily concern the Forum (as according to him the topographical notes about the Forum do not record any acceptable statue of the Emperor), but could equally well apply to the Constantinian basilica. We may add: why not the baths at the Quirinal. That would simply imply an exaggeration on the part of Eusebius when describing the place as the most lively frequented in Rome.

³ E.g. the *Virtus exercit-vot xx* issue of Aquileia mintmarked SF shows at least seven different tops of standards (in the material of the author) and a coin with an obverse of Licinius (in Vienna ex Coll. Voetter) actually has a top in the shape of a Latin cross.

liberty to form this detail according to their liking. The same applies to the top of the *vexillum* on the medallions, although we may assume the artist to have been influenced by Christian ideas. The cross, therefore, cannot have any official meaning.¹ Our case is strengthened by numerous issues of *solidi* with the same reverse. One of these was struck by the same mint that struck the medallions, by Constantinopolis, with obverses of Constantine II, Constantius II and Delmatius². Other mints striking similar series are Treveri³, Siscia⁴, Thessalonica⁵ and Antiochia⁶. As the obverses and the frequently diademed portraits show, all these issues were comparatively late, 326 being a *terminus post quem* for all of them, several dating from the last years of Constantine⁷. On no single solidus of all these issues in the *vexillum* crowned by a cross. That undue importance has been attached to the cross on the medallion, is therefore evident.

The last coins to be considered are the *solidi VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG* of Antioch with P (fig. 16 a, b; cf. ALFÖLDI, *Pisciculi*, p. 10) to left and *LXXII* to right in the field. It appears with two different marks in the exergue, SMAN and SMAN·. Some time ago M. PIERRE STRAUSS made an interesting discovery when examining the coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, namely that, the figure *LXXII* now occupies the place of an erased *VOT XXX* (fig. 16 illustrates the Paris coin. M. Lafaurie has been kind enough to draw my atten-

¹ In post-Constantinian times, reverses such as Vetricano's with its telltale legend *HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS*, prove the connection between the imperial *vexillum* and the victorious standard of Ponte Molle, probably as perpetuated on the statue of Constantine. Notably enough, the Christian signs of post-Constantinian *vexilla* are found, not on the top of the standard, but on the drapery. This, also, proves the top-cross on the medallion to be incidental, not official.

² Coins in L (Constantine II), Münzhandlung Basel 1939 no. 586 (Constantius II), Schulman 1923, no. 2701 (Delmatus).

³ Mintmark TR, Const. II P (laur.), C (diad.); Constantius II (diad.) in Vienna according to Maur., but not to be found; Constans V (laur.).

⁴ Mm. SIS, Const. II Naples (Fiorelli Cat. no. 14297), Constantius II d'Amécourt no. 726, Constans P.

⁵ Mm. TS: Const. II L (diad.); Constantius II L (diad.). TSE: Const. II Rome, Mus. Naz. (diad.); Constantius II Baranowski 1931 no. 3167 (laur.) and V (diad.); Constans P (diad.); Delmatius P (diad.). MTS: Constantius II Basel Cat. 159, no. 29 (diad.).

⁶ Mm. SMAN, Constantius II Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Cat. VII 666 (laur.) and RN 1906, p. 174 (diad., upward looking) from the Helleville hoard.

⁷ It is interesting to see that, the original conception of this type, struck in Sirmium with obverses of Crispus and Constantine II (and, therefore, probably earlier than November 324) shows the prince holding a *signum*, not a *vexillum*, although the Sirmian *Soli invicto comiti* (note 40 *supra*) was the first coin type to show the Emperor's personal standard. In Antioch among the very first post war issues we have a similar with an obv. of Const. II (Jameson Cat., no. 365).

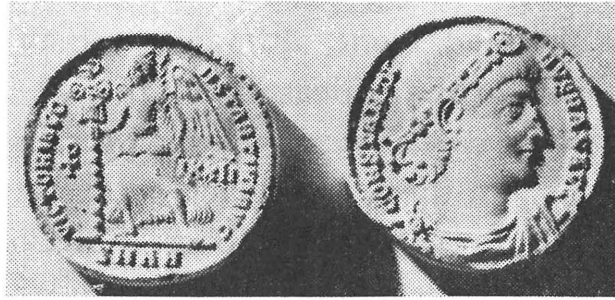


Fig. 16

tion to this fact. The coin *Ars Classica* XII 3023 is a similar case.) and he, certainly correctly, assumed the monogram P and the *LXXII* to have been engraved at the same time instead of the obliterated *vota* inscription; on the corresponding issues of *Victoria Constantini aug* with *VOT XXX* the field to left is empty.

Thus we get the following series of gold issues at Antiochia:

(i)	<i>Victoria Constantini aug</i>			marked SMAN
(ii)	»	»	» — <i>VOT XXX</i>	SMAN P <i>LXXII</i>
(iii)	»	»	» —	SMAN P <i>LXXII</i>
(iv)	»	»	» —	SMAN·

The issues (i) — (iii) do not contain coins for the Caesars, but for the issue with SMAN· in the exergue we have the type *VICTORIA CAESAR NN*

* | *LXXII*


marked SMAN· with obverses of Constantius II and Constans (the absence of Constantine II and Delmatius is probably accidental, as the material is very scarce)¹. Thus we find here, as on two instances earlier, the

¹ Cf. STRAUSS, RN 1947/48, p. 130 f. Several errors confuse the issues in MAURICE's account of the last gold issues of Antiochia (vol. III). The coin on p. 214, rev. VII 1 has P and *LXXII* in the field, p. 215 rev. X 2 (not possible to check as the coin has disappeared) has a unique rev. leg., otherwise always *CAESAR NN* in Antiochia. The absence of signs in the field is also mysterious. We have either to accept the coin as a desired complement of the Caesarian issue above (and correct MAURICE's readings) or assume the existence of a Caesarian issue parallel to no. (i) above. — P. 214 f., rev. VIII 2 is rightly described as a hybrid.

Christian sign as a distinguishing mark, the mark of Constantine, whereas the star was a mark of the Caesars.¹

Summing up the results of the preceding analysis we find that, (i) many of the so called Christian signs were never intended to be, nor were they interpreted as, Christian. This certainly applies to the letter T inscribed in the laurel wreath, used as a mark of issue to the reverse *Soli invicto comiti* in Roma. This very likely applies to the Greek crosses used as marks of issue on the *Victoriae laetae* of Ticinum and Londinium, in some exceptional cases in Treveri also ², and on the *Soli invicto comiti* of Ticinum. Usually the crosses can be regarded as one type of star alternating with another.


(ii) the christogram in one single case forms an intrinsic part of the reverse imagery, on the rare *Spes public* of Constantinopolis. In other cases, and these appear to be much rarer than MAURICE and VOETTER assume, they are marks of issue without any official significance as indicative of the religious policy of the Emperor. In two instances they were used as distinguishing marks within an issue, in Ticinum about 321, regularly connected with the infant Caesars Constantine II and Licinius II, and in Antiochia 336—337 (MAURICE III, p. 214) connected with the Augustus alone.

(iii) the christogram on the obverses, i.e. on the new high crested state helmet of Constantine, is a rare exception, on the bronze coins occurring in Siscia only, and in the Siscian material collected by the present writer, solely on two coins out of 145 ³. Moreover, these coins belonged to the third of the five issues struck at Siscia. To assume the christogram to have been part of the original design and regard the other signs displayed on the helmets as degenerated christograms, would therefore, be impossible (particularly as the origin of these other signs has now been satisfactorily traced by KRAFT). The responsibility for the exceptional christograms on the helmet must, therefore, rest with the engravers or with other mint employees, as was proved by a comparison with the *Beata tranquillitas* of Crispus with the exceptional  on the obverse shield.

However, christograms as part of the official design were found on the silver medallions of Ticinum, struck 315. On the other hand, these medallions

¹ Ticinum, p. 20, *supra*, and Siscia (cf. »The Disappearance of Sol«, p. 24 f.).

² The crude execution and the irregularity of the signs on the reverse altars exclude the possibility that they should have had any religious significance.

³ The sign  was found on the crossbar of the helmet on a third coin, on a fourth coin a circular design.

were necessarily limited in numbers and thought of as gifts; their importance as a means of propaganda was, therefore, restricted. They were scarcely expected to reach the general public. That the helmet was decorated with the victorious sign of Ponte Molle was, naturally, appropriate for the year, devoted to celebrations of the tenth year of Constantine's ascent to the throne, and his victory in Italy 312.

The final question is how the message of the christogram was received by the general public. Surely, at that time, it cannot have been known, and even less properly understood in very wide circles. It should be noted that, all the so called Christian signs discussed above were struck in the very part of the Empire, where the Christian faith had expanded least; the christogram was a Greek monogram in Latin territory. Note that, even in the period when Constantine was sole ruler in the Empire, actively engaged in questions concerning the Church, we cannot find more than a single trace of Christian symbolism in the Eastern part of the Empire, the P on the *solidi* of Antiochia. It is possible, even probable, that the christogram in 315 was known as the miraculous sign connected with the victory at Ponte Molle, but the general public lacked the pre-requisites to draw further conclusions. The same applies to the new attribute of sovereignty carried by the Emperor on the Ticinese medallions, the cross-sceptre with globe.

The sign of Ponte Molle should be regarded in that light. Conceivably, it was shaped P , as VOGT recently has assumed (*ibid.*, p. 397 f.) and in this form it appeared on the gold coins from the last years of Constantine, but it could also have been a P monogram as is suggested e.g. by the Ticinese medallions (here KRAFT's theory that the literary tradition is later than the archeological evidence of the medallions is worthy of particular attention). Whatever its original form, it must have had one dominating characteristic (as has been underlined by VOGT, *l.c.*, p. 398), novelty, and, even better, ambiguity. Now we know that P prior to 312 had been employed as a Christian symbol, although very rarely, but it is equally certain that it had been used profanely¹. Its later frequent use in Christian symbolism must accordingly be regarded a *vaticinium ex eventu*.

¹ How very unusual P as a Christian sign was before Constantine is shown by CECHELLI's, comprehensive survey, e.g. pp. 66 f., 73 ff., 167, 195 (P). Generally we may remark that, CECHELLI tends to interpret the signs rather too »optimistically». As to P as a pagan monogram, cf. also CECHELLI, p. 164 f. (from Doura). The use of P as a powerful sign, cf. DÖLGER »Sol Salutis», *Lit. gesch. Forschungen* 4, p. 60 and p. 308 together with note 1.

This view is supported by the use in a later, more decidedly pro-Christian period, of symbols, partly also as marks of issue, when all these signs clearly were acknowledged as Christian. At that time, the Valentinian—Theodosian epoch, the *labarum* was known and accepted as an imperial standard, as a rule depicted on the coins with a christogram on the drapery.

Crosses and christograms occur frequently on the coins, but not on those struck by the Western mints, Arelate, Londinium, Lugdunum, Mediolanum, Roma, Sirmium and Treveri, only on coins from the Eastern mints Alexandria, Antiochia, Aquileia (a border-line case), Constantinopolis, Cyzicus, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Siscia and Thessalonica, i.e. in regions, where Christianity had expanded most widely, and where the general public, engravers and mint officials really had possibilities of comprehending the significance of the signs (cf. PEARCE, RIC IX, Index III, p. 308 ff.)¹. Such pre-requisites were, during

¹ A survey of the mintmarks used on bronze coins during the IV and V centuries based on (to 346) HILL-KENT and (from 348—498) on CARSON-KENT (Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the late Empire — BRIC —, Spink's Num. Circ. 1957 LXV 9— 1959 LXVII 5; both papers are due to appear in book-form shortly with inclusion of the sections about Cyzicus Antioch and Alexandria for CARSON-KENT):



Aquileia: HILL-KENT no. 693 $\overline{\text{AQP}}$, the fifth m.m. in a series of six, struck A. D. 337—341. The next relevant series is from A. D. 351—352 under Magnentius when *VICTORIAE DD NN*

AVG ET CAES carries the mintmarks $\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{AQP}}$, $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (BRIC 915-6). Under

Constantius II and Gallus the *FEL TEMP REPARATIO* sequence $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ (BRIC 919), $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$ | $\overline{\text{AQP}}$ | $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$ |

$\overline{\text{AQP}}$ is followed by six other issues of the same type. Finally under Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364—367) the types *GLORIA ROMANORVM* and *SECVRITAS REIPVBLI-*

CAE were struck in 13 issues, six before and six after the m.m. $\overline{\text{SMAQP}}$ (BRIC 984—87).

Siscia: A. D. 337—341, *Gloria exercitus* with $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ *, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ ☉, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ *, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ (HILL-

KENT 765—784), A. D. 341—346, *VICTORIA AVGG* with $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ *, $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ * (HILL-KENT 785—789) followed by five issues of *Victoriae dd avggq nn*.

Thessalonica: A. D. 367—375, *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* in a sequence of 33

issues (mintmarks). $\overline{\text{TES}}$ (BRIC 1755—6) is the fourteenth.

Constantinopolis: A. D. 367—375 as the fourth of seven issues of *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* $\overline{\text{CONSA}}$ (BRIC 2130—6). A. D. 378—383, the third of six issues of the same

the reign of Constantine lacking in the West as is proved by their disappearance in the latter part of the IV century. That they nevertheless were

types $\overline{+ \text{O}}$ CONSA (BRIC 2129—30). A. D. 383—392, *VIRTUS EXERCITI* appears with the following sequence: CONSA, $\overline{+}$ CONSA, $\overline{+}$ CONSA, $\overline{+ +}$ CONSA, \overline{P} CONSA, \overline{P} CONSA (BRIC 2170—82). A. D. 393—95 as the third of four issues $\overline{+ +}$ CONSA (BRIC 2198—2201). About 400 A. D., of *Gloria Romanorum* the sequence CONSA, $\overline{+}$ CONSA, CONA, $\overline{+}$ CONA (BRIC 2214—20). *Nicomedia*: A. D. 367—375 of *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas Reipublicae* the sequence SMNA,

\overline{P} SMNA, \overline{P} SMNA (BRIC 2334—42). A. D. 378—383, two types of *CONCORDIA AVGG* as the fifth issue of seven $\overline{+}$ SMNA (BRIC 2361—62). A. D. 383 of *Gloria Romanorum* (2 types) and *Salus Reipublicae* as the fourth of five issues $\overline{+}$ SMNA (BRIC 2376). A. D. 383—392 of the same rev. types as the third issue \overline{T} SMNA (BRIC 2392). During the same years of *Virtus exerciti* and *Salus Reipublicae* (2 types) the sequence SMNA, \overline{P} SMNA, \overline{P} SMNA, $\overline{+}$ SMNA, $\overline{+}$ SMNA, $\overline{+}$ SMNA, $\overline{\oplus}$ SMNA (BRIC 2403—20).

Cyzicus: A. D. 378—383 the sequence SMKA, $\overline{+}$ SMKA, $\overline{+}$ SMKA, \overline{P} SMKA (BRIC 2534—2544) for *Concordia augg* (2 types). A. D. 400 $\overline{+}$ SMKA (BRIC 2693).

Antioch: A. D. 383 as the third and fourth of five issues of *Gloria Romanorum* and *Salus reipublicae* $\overline{+}$ ANTA and $\overline{+}$ *ANTA (BRIC 2718—26). A. D. 383—392, for the same types the sequence \overline{T} ANTA, \overline{T} ANTA, $\overline{+ T}$ ANTA (Æ 2, BRIC 2745—53) and for *Salus Reipublicae* (Æ 4) the sequence $\overline{+}$ ANA, $\overline{+}$ ANTA, ANTA, \overline{P} ANTA (BRIC 2761—71) and A. D. 393—395 for the type *Salus reipublicae* $\overline{+}$ ANTA and \overline{P} ANTA (BRIC 2771—78).

Alexandria: A. D. 383—392 *Gloria Romanum* (2 types) the issues \overline{P} ALEA and \overline{T} ALEA (Æ2, BRIC 2884—88) and *Salus reipublicae* (Æ 4) the sequence \overline{P} ALEA, $\overline{+}$ ALEA and $\overline{\cdot}$ ALEA (BRIC 2898—2906).

ADDENDUM. By the time this paper had advanced to the proof stage, the book by HILL-KENT, CARSON-KENT had been published as *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (London 1960). The numbering of the coin lists nevertheless remains the same.

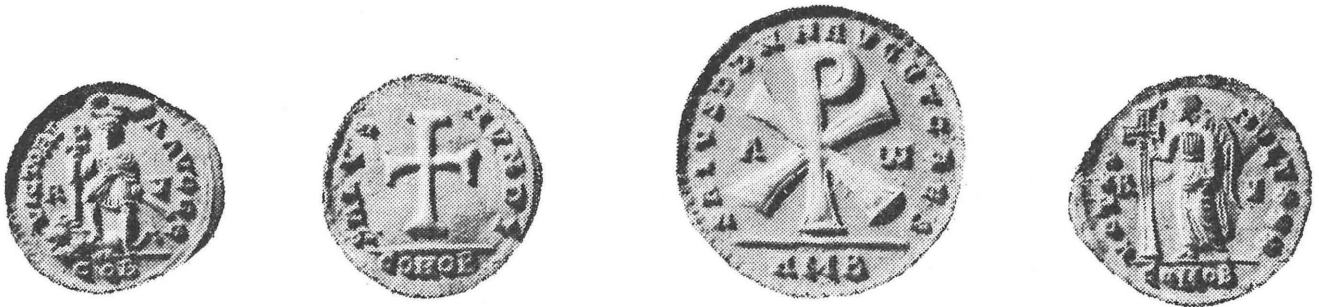


Fig. 17a

17b

17c

17d

employed in Constantinian times proves their origin in, and connection with the legend about the victory at Ponte Molle.

(iv) in a single case a so called Christian sign was an intrinsic part of the reverse, namely on the *Spes public*. The cross-shaped top of the *vexillum* on the *Principi iuventutis* medallion, although possibly created under the influence of Christian ideas, nevertheless lacked the stamp of officialdom. On the *Spes public* we encountered the *labarum*, the miraculous standard, which also in the Civil War II brought victory to Constantine, piercing the foe of the Empire, in this case symbolized by a serpent, possibly identical with Licinius. We can be convinced that the propaganda of the Church had made its utmost to emphasize the Christian character of this sign. To what extent this propaganda succeeded cannot be estimated.

(v) the iconography in two different cases points towards a cautious advance of a new official symbolism; on the Ticinese medallions, where Constantine was depicted with the new cross-sceptre with a globe on top, and on the *Constantinopolis* issues, where the Tyche of the new capital was shown with a similar sceptre — in conscious contrast to Roma, depicted without sceptre.

What does all this teach us about Constantine? We know today that, the cross did conquer with Constantine, at Ponte Molle and at Chrysopolis some 12 years later. That this was the case might even have been the conviction of pious Christian contemporaries of the Emperor; the general public must have perceived that something was happening, the final outcome of which would become apparent only in a nebulous future. The coins, in times past such a faithful mirror of imperial policy, provided only a watered-down generalisation of the symbolism. The day when the Christian signs should finally conquer the reverses of the coins also lay still far ahead (fig. 17 a-d).¹

¹ Coins of (a) Honorius, (b) Olybrius, (c) Magnentius and (d) Galla Placidia.