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Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

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in 312, Constantine transferred the mint of Ostia to Rome.⁷⁶

§ X. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND CONSTANTINE II.

After 330.



89. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Head of Constantine I. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**SPES PVBLIC[A]** in field under **SPES**. The *labarum* on which three globules; on the top of the staff ✠; the extremity of the staff piercing a serpent. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopolis*). Æ.

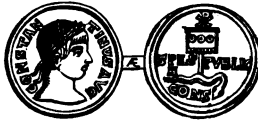
(From the Museum of Berlin, for the impression of which I am indebted to Dr. J. Friedlaender. Another specimen, but not from the same die, is in the museum of the Prince Christian von Waldeck, and has been published and engraved by Friedlaender in the "Blättern für Münzkunde," vol. i. p. 149, Pl. VI. No. 6, Berlin, 1863. This piece has also the exergual letters **CONS.** Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 9, No. 5; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 30; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 100, No. 30; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 488, from *Tanini*, and "Suppl.," p. 376, from *Friedlaender, Musée Waldeck.*)

A specimen of this extremely rare and interesting coin, which has been from time to time published by different writers,⁷⁷ was seen in the cabinet of the Prince de Waldeck

⁷⁶ F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 47; 1865, vol. v. p. 111.

⁷⁷ Baronius, "Ann.," 325, No. cevi.; Gretzer, "De Cruce,"

by Eckhel, and was recognised by him as a genuine coin.⁷⁸ The drawings that are usually given of it, such as that reproduced after Baronius by Aringhi,⁷⁹ and again engraved in Martigny,⁸⁰ are of such a size as to lead most numismatists to infer that the coin was false. But there is no doubt that at least *two* genuine specimens are in existence—that at Berlin, and the example of the Prince de Waldeck.⁸¹



40. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Head of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**SPES PVBLIC[A]** in field under **SPES**. The *labarum* on which three globules; on the top of the staff ✠; the extremity of the staff piercing a serpent. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*). Æ.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis. Unpublished.)

iii. c. 5; Banduri, vol. ii. pp. 218, 800; Ducange, "Fam. Byz.," p. 118; Tanini, p. 275; Oiselius, Pl. LIV., No. 11, &c.

⁷⁸ "*Integerrimum* vidi in illustri museo principis de Waldeck scripto infra **CONS**" (Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 88.) The Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," vol. i. p. 649) states that Eckhel speaks of this coin as "a probable forgery," which is not the case.

⁷⁹ "Roma Sotteranea," vol. ii. p. 705. Roma. 1651—1659.

⁸⁰ "Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes," s. v. Serpent. The Abbé Martigny here speaks of a coin of Constantine I. and of *his son Constantius II.*, of this type, and refers to the articles "Numismatique" and "Draconarius." In the former there is no mention at all of this coin, and in the latter he quotes a coin of *Constantine II.*, as well as a coin of his father, to which he further alludes in the article "Monogramme de Christ." He is wrong in attributing a specimen of this coin to *Constantius II.*—at least as far as I know.

⁸¹ Since writing the above, Messrs. Rollin and Feuarent have kindly sent me a specimen cast of this rare coin; but I am unable to say in what collection this example may be found.

This rare little coin—of the smallest size, smaller even than the similar piece of Constantine I.—which I have introduced here, instead of in its proper chronological place, for better illustration, is in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who most kindly sent it to me to look at. It was formerly in the Wigan collection, and is the first and only known example of this type of Constantine II., unless the piece described and engraved by Gaillard with the obverse legend **CONSTANTINVS AVG.** be another specimen.⁸²

I have spoken of it as unpublished: it virtually is so, but to be correct I should add that it has been laid before the public, and an imperfect engraving given of it *twice* the actual size by Mr. C. W. King,⁸³ who thus describes it:—“Emblazoned on the banner, the practised and (what is greatly to the present purpose) *unprejudiced* eye of my draughtsman has distinguished the word **DEO** in what, upon the previously published specimen, appeared only three unmeaning circles. The appositeness of this inscription to the sense of the device gives the idea a still further claim to the praise I have already bestowed upon it before this very interesting discovery was made. The head on the obverse presents the boyish not to be mistaken features of Constantine II., with title **CONSTANTINVS AVG.**”

⁸² “*Descript. des Monnaies de J. Garcia de la Torre*,” p. 304, No. 4929, Pl. X. No. 5. Garrucci (“*Num. Cost.*,” 1st ed., Nos. 57, 58) appears to have thought this to be a coin of Constantine II., from the *youthful appearance of the head*; but such arguments are *primâ facie* generally fallacious (Eckhel, “*Doct. Num. Vet.*,” vol. viii. pp. 105, 106; Cavedoni, “*Appendice*,” p. 7, *note*). He does not, however, repeat his suggestion in his second edition.

⁸³ “*Early Christian Numismatics*,” pp. xvi., xxiii., and 25, *note*; engraved on title-page.

The italics are Mr. King's, and I must confess my extreme astonishment that such a statement could ever have been made by any one calling himself a numismatist.⁸⁴ The supposed word **DEO** turns out on examination to be nothing more than the *three globules or pellets*, as on the coin of his father, which probably represent gems or other ornaments of the *labarum*, or perhaps *three stars*, as on the coins with the legend **BEATA TRANQVILLITAS** (see § VI. note 46).

As to the letter **A** in the field, Mr. King writes, "Probably a mint-mark, for which no room was left in the exergue;" but this letter Mr. King failed to see was the concluding one of the word **PVBLIC-A**.

Mr. Feuarent's opinion as to the date of its issue (quoted by Mr. King) is that it was coined upon the elevation of Constantine II. to the dignity of *Augustus* in the last days of his father's life-time.

Though on his death-bed Constantine I. made his will and appointed his three sons his heirs to the empire,⁸⁵ it does not appear that they received the title of *Augusti* till so declared by the soldiers *immediately after the death of their father*.⁸⁶

At the division of the empire, which was ratified in a

⁸⁴ And yet at p. 52 of the same work Mr. King, alluding to a coin of Crispus, speaks of an "indistinct symbol such as a Victoriola, converted into the Christian badge by the fancy of the draughtsman." Here the italics are mine.

⁸⁵ Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 39; cf. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," ii. c. 34; Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 68.

⁸⁶ Ὡςπερ δ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας κρειπτόνος, τὰ πανταχοῦ στρατόπεδα τὸν βασιλέως πυθόμενα θάνατον, μιᾶς ἐκράτει γνώμης, ὡσανεὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, μηδένα γνωρίζειν ἕτερον, ἢ μόνους τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δ' ἤξιον μὴ Καίσαρας ἐντεύθεν δ' ἤδη τοὺς ἅπαντας χρηματίζειν Ἀνυγούστους. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 68; cf. c. 69.

personal interview of the three brothers, it is recorded that "Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained with a certain pre-eminence of rank the *possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father,*"⁸⁷ in addition to Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauretania Tingitana.

It is, therefore, most probable that Constantine II. reproduced at Constantinople in 337 or 338 the type of the "public hope" that his father had caused to be issued in 330 on the foundation of the new city.

One of the most remarkable features of these coins is their exergual letters **CONS**. There is no other interpretation to be put upon them than *Constantinopoli*, and the coin of Constantine I. was therefore probably struck, as I have stated, in 330. This being the case, I may observe that these coins are the only examples (as far as I am aware) of coins of Constantine I. and his son bearing *positive* Christian emblems having been issued at the mint of Constantinople.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. ii. p. 366, who adds in a *note* (No. 53), "The reign of the eldest brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the Alexandrian Chronicle." I have been unable to verify this statement.

⁸⁸ On certain coins of Constantine I., struck at Constantinople, his head bears the *nimbus* (see § XVII., "Coins of Constantine I. and his Family, with the *Nimbus*"), whilst on the magnificent gold medallion of Constantius II. *Cæsar*, also struck at Constantinople, which is preserved in the Musée de Vienne (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 21, Pl. VIII.), and weighing about 3,920 grains, or 56 *solidi*, Constantine I. is represented standing between his two sons, Constantine II. and Constans, whilst *a hand from heaven crowns him with a wreath*. This piece must have been issued between the years 323 and 337, as Constantius II. is *Cæsar*. Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 114) thinks it was probably struck a little before the death of Constantine I. in 337, in connection with the preparation for war with Persia; but perhaps Constantius II. struck it on

The type of these pieces and the inscription indicate how the "public hope"⁸⁹ was centered in the triumph of the Christian religion over the adversary of mankind—"the great *dragon*, that old *serpent* called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2), and Eusebius tells us how Constantine I. had a picture painted of the dragon⁹⁰—the flying serpent—beneath his own and his children's feet, pierced through the middle with a dart, and cast into the depths of the sea.⁹¹

The serpent or dragon, as a distinctive type, is not of common occurrence on Roman coins.⁹² On some silver

his marriage in 336 (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 49). There is also the gold medallion of Constantine II. with the *spear-head ending in a cross* and exergual letters **CONS.** See § VI., "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross," and § XIII., "Consecration Coins of Constantine I.," note 117.

⁸⁹ The "public hope" expressed on the coin is doubtless that well-grounded *hope of security* to which Constantine, by the Divine power, had raised each nation of the world, as he himself wrote to Sapor, king of Persia (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 9), and that *heavenly hope* which he considered to be the leading principle of people's lives (Euseb., "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 29); but the legend is by no means a new one, occurring as it does from the time of Commodus to that of Constantine (Cohen, "Suppl.," p. 484).

⁹⁰ Constantine thanked God in a letter to Eusebius that liberty had been restored, and *that dragon* driven from the administration of public affairs (*καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως, τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγίστου προνοία*, "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 46), alluding to Licinius, elsewhere called by Constantine "the common enemy of mankind" (*τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρὸν*, "Vit. Const.," ii. c. 66; cf. iii. c. 80).

⁹¹ *Διὸ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποσὶ, βέλει πεπαρμένον κατὰ μέσου τοῦ κύτους, βυθοῖς τε θαλάσσης ἀπερῶμενον, διὰ τῆς κηροχύτου γραφῆς ἐδείκνυ τοῖς πᾶσι τὸν δράκοντα.* "Vit. Const.," iii. c. 3. The *κηροχύτου γραφῆς* (cf. "Vit. Const.," i. c. 3) signifies encaustic painting by means of melted wax (see Heinichen's note *ad loc.*; cf. Euseb., "Const. Orat. ad Sanctior. Cœtum," c. 20).

⁹² The serpent, however, occurs frequently on Roman coins

and brass coins of Philip I., described by Eckhel,⁹³ with the legend **TRANQVILLITAS AVGG.**, the female figure is said to hold a *draco bipes*, a type likewise occurring on a coin of Tacitus.⁹⁴ The former is given by Cohen (No. 102), but the female is described as holding *un capricorne*? though he notices in his "Supplement"⁹⁵ that, according to Cavedoni, the object is *un dragon bipède*; the latter is not published by Cohen, unless the coin on which the female is described as holding *un dauphin*, from the "Musée de Vienne," is meant to be the same piece. It may again be found on a rare gold medallion of Constantius II. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 7), with the legend **DEBELLATOR HOSTIVM**, and the type Constantius galloping to the right; under the horse a *serpent*. In the exergue **S. M. MED** (*Signata Moneta Mediolano*). On the coins of Valentinian III. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 11—13), Petronius Maximus (Cohen, No. 1), Majorian (Cohen, No. 1), Libius Severus (Cohen, No. 6), and Anthemius (Cohen, No. 13), the Emperors are represented placing the right foot on a *serpent with a human head* (cf. Cohen, "Suppl.," pp. 411, 412); and on a gold coin of Honorius, struck at Ravenna, the Emperor, crowned by a hand from heaven, is represented holding a spear, surmounted by P , on the head of an animal which appears like a *lion with a tail ending in a serpent's or dragon's head*.⁹⁶

as the companion of *Salus* (*Υγίεια*), and on a medallion of Faustina Senior Pallas is accompanied by the serpent, and this reptile may be often found on the coins of Athens, and on ancient works of art in connection with this goddess ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1870, vol. x. p. 119).

⁹³ "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 328.

⁹⁴ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 497.

⁹⁵ P. 251.

⁹⁶ This coin is in the collection of Dr. John Evans, to whom I

The dragon was one of the military symbols of the cohorts,⁹⁷ and was used frequently by the legions at the time of Trajan, having been adopted from the Parthians.⁹⁸ Gallienus, in celebrating the *decennalia* in 263, used the dragon-marked banners in his grand procession,⁹⁹ and the troops of the Emperor Constantius II., on his visit to Rome in 357, employed in his triumphal march the dragon standards.¹⁰⁰

The spear-head on these coins ends in the *monogram of Christ*; on those struck at Thessalonica, Aquileia, and London, the spear-head ends in a *cross*.¹⁰¹

am indebted for an impression. A similar piece, but the animal simply described as "a lion," is published by Cohen, No. 20; see § XXV. It will be remembered that the Chimæra had the fore part of her body a *lion*, and the hind part a *dragon*, while the middle was a goat (Hom. "Il." vi. 180; xvi. 328). The cross ✠ crushing and conquering Satan, the old Serpent, is represented on an engraved stone or seal of the earliest epoch. It bears the word **SALVS**, and is accompanied by two doves and the letters **A** and **Ω** (Didron, "Christ. Icon.," vol. i. p. 396; see § XXI.).

⁹⁷ "Primum signum totius legionis est aquila, quam aquilifer portat. *Dracones* etiam per singulas cohortes à *draconariis* feruntur ad prælium" (Vegetius, "De Re Mil.," ii. c. 18). The eagle (*Aquila*) was carried by the legion, hence a legion was frequently called *Aquila*; whilst the cohort had a different standard—"atque una tres *aquilas* et *signa* cohortium locant" (Tac. "Ann.," i. 18).

⁹⁸ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. vii. p. 329; vol. viii. p. 494; *Persici dracones*, Vopisc., "In Aurel.," 28.

⁹⁹ "Vexilla centena et præter ea quæ collegiorum erant, *dracones*, et signa templorum omniumque legionum ibant" (Treb. Poll., "In Gall.," 8).

¹⁰⁰ Amm. Marcell., xvi. c. 10. The dragon (*draco*) was woven on a square piece of cloth (*textilis anguis*, Sidon. Apoll., "Carm.," v. 409) elevated on a gilt staff, to which a cross-bar was adapted for the purpose (Smith, "Dict. of Antiq.," s. v. *Signa Militaria*).

¹⁰¹ See under § VI., "Coins of Constantine I. with Spear-head ending in a Cross."

§ XL COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CONSTANTIUS II.,
AND CONSTANS.

838—835.

41. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG.** Victory walking to the left holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left **Ɔ**. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ*). *N.*

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 1. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 7, No. 1; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 24; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 99, No. 24; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 112, No. 123, from *Caylus*.)

42. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**VICTORIA CAESAR. NN.** Victory walking to the left holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left a star with *seven* rays, ✱, but probably erroneously drawn for one of eight. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ*). *N.*

(Sabatier, "Icon. Rom. Imp.," Pl. XCVI. No. 8; "Mon. Byz.," vol. i. p. 56, but incorrectly attributed to *Constantius Gallus*.¹⁰² Not published by Cohen. I do not know where this coin now is.)

43. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C.** Bust of Constans to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

¹⁰² Among the reasons for assigning this coin to Constantius II. I may observe that the bust or head on the coins of Constantius Gallus is *never* laureated, but always bare (Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 61; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 274).

Rev.—**VICTORIA CAESAR. NN.** Victory walking to the left, holding trophy and palm; in the field to right **LXXII.**; to left a star with eight rays ✱. In the exergue **S. M. AN.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiá*). *N.*

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 2. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 7, No. 2; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 25; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 99, No. 25; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 255, No. 65.)

These gold coins were in all probability issued about the same time. They cannot have been struck before 333, in which year Constans was made *Cæsar*, and perhaps not till 335, when Constantine celebrated his *tricennalia*, and divided the empire between his sons and nephews. The mint of Antioch was in the dominion of Constantius II.

The form **Ɔ**, instead of ✱, is that specially employed in the East.

The letters **LXXII.** signify that 72 *solidi* were coined to the pound, Constantine I. having reduced the *aureus* about the year 312.¹⁰³

The coin of Constans was formerly in the collection of M. Dupré, and as such was published by M. Chabouillet,¹⁰⁴ who, however, gives the star as ✱, which is repeated by Cavedoni and Garrucci. It eventually passed into the hands of Mr. Wigan, who exchanged it with Mr. de Salis, from whom it came to the British Museum.¹⁰⁵ The star is, as the plate shows, one with *eight rays*.

It was at Antioch that the name of *Χριστιανός* was first

¹⁰³ Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. iii. p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ "Rev. Num.," 1849, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ F. W. Madden, "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," 1861, p. 169, Pl. V. No. 5.

used¹⁰⁶ about the year 44. Suidas and Malahas¹⁰⁷ say that the name arose under Evodius at Antioch, who was appointed by Peter as his successor in 45.¹⁰⁸

§ XII. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I., CONSTANTINE II.,
CONSTANTIUS II., CONSTANS, AND DELMATIUS.

385—387.

A. WITH CROSS ☩ ON LABARUM.

44. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem ornamented with jewels and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers standing holding spear and leaning on shield; between them the *labarum* on which ☩. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinā*—Arles). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 3.)

I must here mention that this coin has been attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II., but a comparison with the head of Constantine II. on the next coin, as also on pieces struck at Lyons and Siscia, when he became *Augustus*, make it doubtful if this attribution can be accepted (see § XX.). Mr. Grueber is also of this opinion.

45. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated, with cuirass.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☩. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinā*). Æ.

(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 4.)

¹⁰⁶ "The disciples were called *Christians* first in Antioch"—*χημαρίσαι τε πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς*, Acts xi. 26. The word "Christian" only occurs in two other passages of the New Testament (Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Peter iv. 16).

¹⁰⁷ "Chronograph," x.

¹⁰⁸ Jerome, "Chron.," p. 429; Rev. F. W. Farrar, *Kitto's Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.*, new ed., s. v. Christian.

46. *Obv.*—**FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Dalmatius to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. On the *labarum* ☩. In the exergue **S. CONST.** Æ.
(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 5.)

The coins of Constantius II. and of Constans are not in the British Museum, but were no doubt issued with this series.

B. WITH ☩ ON LABARUM.

47. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem ornamented with jewels and with *paludamentum* and cuirass.
- Rev.*—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Two soldiers standing holding spear and leaning on a shield; between them the *labarum* on which ☩. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantiná*). Æ.
(British Museum. Pl. III. No. 6. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, No. 1, Pl. VII. No. 1; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 6; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 248, No. 31; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 101, No. 31.)

This coin was attributed by the late Mr. de Salis to Constantine II. *Augustus*, but with even less reason than in the former case.

48. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C.** Bust of Constantine II. to the right, laureated.
- Rev.*—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ☩. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantiná*). Æ.
(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 7. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 253, No. 4, Pl. VII. No. 4; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 7; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 32; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 101, No. 32.)

49. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C.** Bust of Constantius II. to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ✠. In the exergue **S. CONST.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 8. Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 254, No. 6, Pl. VII. No. 6; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 8; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 33; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 33.)

50. *Obv.*—**FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C.** Bust of Constans to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ✠. In the exergue **S. CONST.** (*Secunda Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 9. Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 34; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 34; Feuardent, "Rev. Num.," 1856, p. 254, No. 5, Pl. VII. No. 5, with **P. CONST.**; Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 9; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 266, No. 132.)

51. *Obv.*—**FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES.** Bust of Delmatius to the right, laureated.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Same type. The *labarum* with ✠. In the exergue **P. CONST.** (*Prima Constantinâ*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 10. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 11, No. 10; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 249, No. 35; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 102, No. 35; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 210, No. 8; cf. No. 9. Garrucci quotes other examples with **S. CONST.**)

These two series of coins with the *labarum* adorned with the cross and the monogram of Christ were not issued before 335, as the type is found on coins of Delmatius, who was made *Cæsar* in this year, and it continues to the death of Constantine I. in 337. [See § VII.]

§ XIII. CONSECRATION COINS OF CONSTANTINE I.

887—888.

52. *Obv.*—[**DIVO CONS**]TANTINO [P]. Bust of Constantine I. to the right, veiled.

Rev.—[**AETERNA**] (sometimes **AETRNA**, *sic*) **PIETAS**. Constantine standing to the left holding globe and spear; above the globe ☩; in the exergue [? **P. LG.**, *Prima Lugduno*]. Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 11.)

53. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend. Constantine standing to the right, holding spear and globe; above the globe ☩; in the exergue **P. LG.** (*Prima Lugduno*). Æ.

(British Museum.)

54. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—Same legend. Constantine standing to the right holding spear and globe; above the globe ☩; in the exergue [? **P. LG.** or **S. CON.**]. Æ.

(British Museum.)

55. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—**AETERNA PIETAS**. Constantine standing to the right, holding spear and globe; in the field to right below the globe ✕; in the exergue **P. CON.** (*Prima Constantinā*); sometimes **P. CONST.** Æ.

(British Museum.)

56. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

Rev.—**AETERNA PIETAS**. Constantine standing to the right holding spear and globe. In the field to left ✕; in the exergue **S. CON.** (*Secunda Constantinā*). Æ.

(British Museum, Pl. III. No. 12.)

These coins are very imperfectly described by Cave-

doni,¹⁰⁹ by Garrucci,¹¹⁰ and by Cohen,¹¹¹ who omits altogether the letter **P.** (*Patri*) on the obverse.

They must have been issued shortly after the death of Constantine in 337, or at latest in 338.

Cavedoni thinks¹¹² that the figure on the reverse is a representation of the statue of Constantine mentioned by Zonaras, and to which I have alluded under § V., "Coins with the *Mars Conservator* and *Sol Invictus* types."

Other consecration coins of Constantine were struck by his sons, having on the obverse the legend **DV.** [*Divus*] **CONSTANTINVS AVG.** or **DV. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG.** (*Pater Augustorum*),¹¹³ and on the reverse

¹⁰⁹ "Ricerche," p. 18.

¹¹⁰ "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., pp. 249, 250, Nos. 36 and 37; "Rev. Num.," 1866, pp. 102, 103, Nos. 36 and 37.

¹¹¹ "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 188, 189. ¹¹² "Disamina," p. 222.

¹¹³ With respect to the letters **DV.** Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 92) threw out the suggestion that they might stand for *Divus Victor*, as we know from Eusebius that Constantine I. had this title, though the coins with **VICTOR** are now attributed to Constantine II. (see § I. under A.D. 323, note 97); but on the strength of an inscription which he quotes, commencing **DIVO AC VENERABILI**, he inclined to explain them *Divus Venerabilis*. As there are, however, other coins with the word **DIV.** or **DIVO** in full, it seems preferable to consider these letters as standing for **Di Vus**. The letters **PTAVGG** are explained by Eckhel as certainly **Pater Trium AVGGustorum**; but, as Cohen has observed ("Méd. Imp.," vol. vi. p. 170), for this reading it would be necessary to have three **G**s. The system of consecration seems to have obtained even after the time of Constantine among his Christian successors. Constantius II. "meruit inter *divos* referri" (Eutrop., x. 15; cf. "*divus* Constantius," Mamertinus, "Grat. Act. Jul. Aug.," c. 3); Jovian "benignitate principum qui ei successerunt inter *divos* relatus est" (Eutrop., x. 18; cf. "*Div. Fl. Joviano triumphatori semper Aug.*," Gruter, p. 285; Clinton, F.R., vol. ii. p. 113); Valentinian I. was consecrated by his son Gratian, "hujus vero laudis locupletissimum testimonium est *pater divinis honoribus consecratus*" (Ausonius, "Ad Grat. Act.," c. 8); to which may be added the name of Valentinian III.,

IVST. VEN. MEM. (*Justa Venerandæ Memorïæ*),¹¹⁴
IVST. VENERAN., or **VN. MR.** (*Venerandæ Memorïæ*),¹¹⁵
 and notably those of which the following is a description:—

57. *Obv.*—**DV** (rarely **DIV.**) **CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG.** or **DIVO CONSTANTINO AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, veiled.

Rev.—No legend. Constantine in a quadriga galloping to the right, holding his hand to another hand which descends from heaven to receive it. In the exergue **CONS.** (*Constantinopoli*) or **S. M. AN. E.** (*Signata Moneta Antiochiâ 5*), or other mint-marks.¹¹⁶ (Cohen, Nos. 568, 569). Æ.

(Pl. III. Nos, 13, 14.)

as appears from a marble of Chiusi, in Tuscany, published by Cavedoni ("Cimit. Chius.," p. 45; Modena, 1853). No coins, however, bearing the title *divus* are known of any of these Emperors.

¹¹⁴ ". . . . nimirum *soluta*, quo nomine antiqui intellexere *pias exequias mortuis impensas*"—the opinion of Bimard, quoted by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 93). I do not understand Cavedoni's note ("Ricerche," p. 19, *note*) on the interpretation of these legends.

¹¹⁵ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 353, 354, 549; "Suppl.," No. 27. The word **MEMORIAE** occurs upon the coins of Agrippina I. and Domitilla, and originally was not a direct mark of consecration, but only a sign of affection and honour towards the deceased (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. viii. p. 465). But the inscription **MEMORIAE AETERNAE** occurring upon the coins of Claudius Gothicus (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 131—134), Maximian Hercules (Cohen, Nos. 323—325), Constantius Chlorus (Cohen, Nos. 188—191), and Romulus (Cohen, Nos. 1—11) was a formula of consecration. On some of the coins of *Divus* Constantius Chlorus the legend is **MEM.**, or **MEMORIA DIVI CONSTANTII** (Cohen, Nos. 178—181), or else **MEMORIA FELIX** (Cohen, Nos. 182—187; cf. F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 265). It afterwards became a Christian formula (Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," s. v. *Confessio*).

¹¹⁶ Mr. King ("Early Christ. Num.," p. 53) speaks of these coins as issued at "Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage alone,"

This coinage is minutely and especially described by Eusebius as representing Constantine in the act of ascending to heaven.¹¹⁷

On some specimens of these coins there is a *star* above the head of the Emperor (though not mentioned by Cohen), which is doubtless the comet alluded to by Eutropius as appearing after his death,¹¹⁸ and reminds us of the *stella crinita*, which blazed for seven days together after the death of Julius Cæsar,¹¹⁹ and which is represented on his coins.¹²⁰

a statement repeated by the Rev. J. Wordsworth (Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," p. 649); but I doubted about *Carthage*, and Mr. Grueber confirms this, as there are no coins of Carthage of so late a date. These pieces were coined at Heracleia, Alexandria, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, and Antioch.

¹¹⁷ Ἦδη δὲ καὶ νομίσμασιν ἐνεχαράττοντο τύποι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἐντυπῶντες τὸν μακάριον, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν σχήματι, θατέρου δὲ μέρους ἐφ' ἄρματι τεθρίππῳ ἠνιόχου τρόπον, ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς ἄνωθεν ἐκτεινομένης αὐτῷ χειρὸς ἀναλαμβάνομενον. "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 78. On the word *σχήματι* see Heinichen's note, who thinks it ought to be expunged. This type was in all probability suggested by the Biblical account of Elijah taken up to heaven in a chariot of fire and horses of fire (2 Kings ii. 11; cf. vi. 17). Eusebius ("De Laud. Const.," c. 10) speaks of the Almighty King *extending his right hand from above*, and giving Constantine I. victory over all his enemies, and establishing his kingdom for many years. On a gold medallion of Constantius II., *Cæsar*, to which I have previously referred (§ X. note 88) a *hand from heaven* is crowning Constantine I. with a wreath.

¹¹⁸ "Denunciata mors ejus etiam per *crinitam stellam* quæ inusitatæ magnitudinis aliquamdiu fulsit; eam Græci *Cometam* vocant."—"Hist.," x. 8.

¹¹⁹ "*Stella crinita* per septem dies continuos fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam; creditumque est, animam esse Cæsaris in cælum recepti; et hac de causâ simulacro ejus in vertice additur *stella*."—Suet., "Jul. Cæs.," 88; cf. Plin. "N. H.," ii. c. 25; Dion Cass., xlv. 7; Plut., "Cæs.," 69.

¹²⁰ Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," Nos. 20, 21. The star was originally a Pagan symbol, but Pagan symbols for long after the time of Constantine were mingled with Christian ones. I

§ XIV. COINS OF CONSTANTINE I. AND II. WITH
CROSS, NOT PREVIOUSLY ALLUDED TO.

58. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**GLORIA EXERCITVS.** Soldier standing facing, looking to the right, leaning on a spear and a shield; in the field to left a *cross*. *N.*

(Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 9, No. 3, from Tanini, "Suppl. ad Bandur.," vol. ii. p. 264; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 247, No. 19; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 19; and Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 17, from the same author.)

A similar type exists in brass, described by Cohen (No. 321) as "Constantine standing," but there is no mention of the cross.

may mention as an example the phoenix, occurring first on the gold consecration coins of Trajan as a symbol of Eternity (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 294; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1861, vol. i. p. 95, Pl. IV. No. 6; Cohen, "Suppl.," No. 30. See under § XVII. "Coins of Constantine I. with the *nimbus*"); on a gold coin of Hadrian, representing Trajan (?) holding a phoenix on a globe within an oval ("the zodiac," Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 49; Cohen, No. 471); on an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius with the legend **ΑΙΩΝ** (*æternitas*, Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 69), and again re-appearing on the brass medallions of Constantine I., with the legend **GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAES.**, and struck after 315, as they bear the title of **MAX.** (Cohen, No. 164), on the brass coins of Constantius II. and Constans when *Augusti*, with the legend **FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO**, and the type, the Emperor standing holding the phoenix on a globe, and the *labarum* with ✠ (Cohen, CONSTANTIUS II., "Méd.," No. 159; Nos. 215, 216; CONSTANS, Nos. 112—115). Sometimes the phoenix occurs *alone* as a type with the same legend (CONSTANTIUS II., Nos. 233, 234; CONSTANS, Nos. 122, 123). [See § XX.] Eusebius ("Vit. Const.," iv. c. 72) alludes to the phoenix, but will not compare Constantine I. to that bird, but rather to our Saviour.

It is not easy to fix the period when this coin was struck, more especially as the form of the cross is not given. Its issue may perhaps be approximately fixed between 326 and 333.¹²¹

59. *Obv.*—**IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG.** Bust of Constantine I. to the right, with diadem and with *paludamentum*.

Rev.—**PAX. AVGVSTORVM.** Constantine standing to the left in military dress, holding a standard ornamented with the *cross*. In the exergue **TES.** (*Thessalonicá*). **R.**

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 76, from the *Musée de Vienne*.)

The date of issue of this piece also cannot be defined with certainty. It does not bear the title of **MAX.** and would therefore seem to have been struck previous to 315, but this rule cannot be considered as *absolute*, as coins of Constantine I. were certainly struck after 315 without this title, as may be seen from the series of brass coins with the legend **VIRTVS EXERCIT.** issued probably about (?) 317 or (?) 319—323.¹²² The shape of the cross not being given militates likewise against its classification. Other coins struck at Thessalonica have the monogram **Χ** in the field, or † and † at the top of the standard.¹²³

60. *Obv.*—**CONSTANTINVS NOB. C.** Helmeted bust of Constantine II. to the left, with the helmet ornamented with a *cross of pearls*, and

¹²¹ See § VII. "Coins of Constantine I., Constantine II., and Constantius II."

¹²² No coin of Constantine I. of this legend, and with the title **MAX.**, is given by Cohen. See § IV., § VI., and § VII.

¹²³ See § IV. "Coin of Licinius I." No. 9; § VI. "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross."

with the cuirass, leading a horse by the bridle and holding a shield, on which are engraved two females shaking hands.

Rev.—**BEATA TRANQVILLITAS.** Altar on which a globe, above three stars; on the altar, **VOTIS XX.** In the exergue (?) Æ.

(Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 86, from *Ducange*).

This specimen being only quoted from *Ducange*, much cannot be said about it. It is not earlier than 317, the year when Constantine II. was made *Cæsar*, but its issue may probably be assigned to about 323.¹²⁴

The obverse reminds one of the very rare copper *quinarius* of Carinus and his wife Magnia Urbica, on which the bust with horse, &c., is similarly delineated.¹²⁵

§ XV. REMARKS ON THE FORMS OF THE CROSSES ADOPTED BY CONSTANTINE I.

(See TABLE on pages 292 and 293.)

There is not much doubt that Constantine the Great did not *invent*¹²⁶ the forms of the cross or monogram

¹²⁴ See § VI. "Coins of Constantine I., &c., with Spear-head ending in a Cross," *note* 46.

¹²⁵ F. W. Madden, "Handbook to Rom. Num.," Pl. III. No. 2; Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," vol. v. p. 368.

¹²⁶ For the general history of the cross from the earliest times, see Letronne, "De la Croix ansée Égyptienne imitée par les Chrétiens d'Égypte," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi. Part II., pp. 236—284; Raoul Rochette, "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi. Part II., p. 290; Münter, "Christ. Sinnbilder;" Rapp, "Das Labarum und der Sonnen-cultus," in Part XXXIX. of the "Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande," 1865; Rev. Baring Gould, "The Legend of the Cross," in "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," 2nd ser. p. 76; "The Pre-Christian Cross," in "Edinburgh Review," Jan. 1870, p. 222, &c. &c.

which he adopted on his coins. The monogram ✠ may be seen on the coins of Alexander Bala, King of Syria (B.C. 146), and on those of the Bactrian king Hermæus (B.C. 138—120);¹²⁷ and also occurs on the coins of Trajan Decius (A.D. 249—251), forming part of the word Α✠ (ἀρχοντος), and placed in a marked manner in the middle of the legend at the top of the coin,¹²⁸ whilst the *complete form* of the *labarum* ☩ may be found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian King Azes¹²⁹ (B.C. 100), and on those of the Bactrian kings Hippostratus the Great (B.C. 140—135) and of Hermæus (B.C. 138—120), which monogram has been interpreted by General Cunningham to signify □ΡΤ□ΣΠΑΝΑΣ, or *Ortospana*, another name for Kabul.¹³⁰

The ✠ may have sometimes signified ΧΡυσιππός. It was used as an abbreviation for ΧΡηστόν, since a collection of passages so marked might make up a ΧΡηστομάθεια. It also stood for ΧΡυρός and ΧΡόνος,¹³¹ but it eventually

¹²⁷ Mionnet, "Suppl.," vol. viii. p. 96, No. 187, monogram No. 788; Pl. III. No. 187.

¹²⁸ C. Lenormant, "Mélanges d'Archéologie," vol. iii. p. 196; F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 215. See my INTRODUCTION.

¹²⁹ "Journal des Savants," 1836, p. 199; Rapp, "Das Labarum, &c.," Pl. figs. B and C.

¹³⁰ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 203, Pl. VII. monogram No. 46; 1872, vol. xii. p. 165, No. 6, Pl. VI. No. 11; p. 169, No. 6, Pl. VII. No. 11; cf. E. Thomas, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1864, vol. iv. Pl. VIII. No. 3. Gen. Cunningham ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 181, *seq.*) shows that all the monograms on Bactrian coins are the names of cities, and not those of magistrates or mint-masters.

¹³¹ Liddell and Scott, "Lex.," s. v. ✠. Isidore, Bishop of Seville (601—636), gives a sign very like the ✠ as a marginal mark to note certain important passages, which he calls *Chrisimus*—"Κρίσιμον, hæc sola ex voluntate uniuscujusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur" ("Orig.," vol. i. c. 20).

Date.	Forms of Crosses, etc.	Mint.	Emperor.	Remarks.
? 312—? 317		Siscia. Tarraco. ? Treves, ? London. Tarraco. ? Arles, ? London.	Constantine I. " "	
? 317—323		London. Siscia. Thessalonica. Aquilaia. Tarraco.	Crispus <i>Cæsar</i> . Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i> . Constantine I. Licinius I. Licinius I. and Crispus <i>Cæsar</i> . Licinius II. <i>Cæsar</i> and Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i> . Licinius II. Constantine I.	
? 319—323		Tarraco. Treves. Rome. Tarraco.	" " "	Mars type. " Sol type. "
? 312—323		Tarraco. Treves. Rome. Tarraco.	" " "	Mars type. " Sol type. "

<p>? 317 or ? 321 —323</p>	<p>十 † · † 卍 † † † 卍</p>	<p>Thessalonica. London. Aquilaia. Aquilaia. Arles (<i>Constantina</i>). Treves. Arles (<i>Constantina</i>). Constantinople. Antioch. Arles (<i>Constantina</i>). Lyons. Arles (<i>Constantina</i>).</p>	<p>Licinius I., Crispus <i>Cæsar</i>, Licinius II. <i>Cæsar</i>, and Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>. Constantine I., Crispus <i>Cæsar</i>, and Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>. Licinius I. and II. Constantine I., Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, and Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>. " " Helena and Theodora. Constantine I. Constantine I. and Constantine II. Constantine I., Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, and Constantine <i>Cæsar</i>. " " Constantine I. Constantine I., Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, and Constantine <i>Cæsar</i>. Constantine I., Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, Constantine II. <i>Cæsar</i>, Constantine <i>Cæsar</i>, Delmatius <i>Cæsar</i>. Constantine I. " "</p>	<p>See also coins issued at Treves, Lyons, and Arles, § VI. note 54. GLORIA EXERCITVS. "Two soldiers" type. Monogram in <i>field</i>. " " Restoration coins. <i>Constantinopolis</i> and <i>Urbs Roma</i> types. GLORIA EXERCITVS. "Two soldiers" type. Monogram on <i>labarum</i>. Consecratio coins. " "</p>
<p>326—333</p>	<p>卍 † † †</p>			
<p>After 328 " 330 " "</p>	<p>卍 卍 † † 卍</p>			
<p>333—335 335—337</p>	<p>† † † 卍 †</p>			
<p>337—338</p>	<p>† † ? † ×</p>			

became the Christian monogram, composed of **X** and **P**, the two first letters of the name of **Χριστός**.

The form with the vertical line ending in a circle or a pellet (✱ ✱) may be compared with the monogram ✱, supposed to signify **Χιλίαρχος**;¹³² to that occurring on the coins of the Ptolemies varied in the following manner—✱, ✱, ✱, ✱;¹³³ to the ✱ on some (though rarely) of the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus,¹³⁴ and to the star or comet above the heads of Julius Cæsar and Augustus.¹³⁵

The form ✱ occurs on the coins of Tigranes, King of Armenia¹³⁶ (B.C. 96—64), on coins of Arsaces X., XII., and XIV.¹³⁷ (B.C. 92—38), forming **ΤΙΓΡ** *αυκερας*, or

¹³² Letronne, "Inscript. de l'Égypte," vol. i. p. 493; Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 242; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 89.

¹³³ Cf. Mionnet, "Suppl.," vol. ix. p. 22, No. 122, monogram No. 966; C. Lenormant, "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. p. 198.

¹³⁴ Koehne, "Musée Kotschoubey," vol. ii. p. 309.

¹³⁵ Cohen, "Méd. de la Répub. Rom.," Pl. XV. No. 30; "Méd. Imp.," Pl. I. and Pl. VI. The form ✱ occurs on the coins of the kings of the Bosphorus (Koehne, *op. cit.*; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas et De Witte, vol. iii. p. 298), and indicates the *denarius aureus* (cf. F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1876, vol. xvi. p. 191), whilst ✱ or ✱, as also the simple ✱, indicate the *denarius* of early Roman times (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 191). Garrucci, in the Italian version of his paper ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 242), referred to De Saulcy ("Num. Jud.," Pl. XIII. 8) for the form of the *Vau* ✱ on a coin of Simon Bar-Cochab, but this sentence is excluded from the French translation ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 89), though without any explanation, which I therefore now add:—The form of the *vau* on the coin is ✱ and not ✱, as pointed out by me in my "Jewish Coinage" (p. 176), a discovery which was graciously acknowledged by M. de Saulcy ("Rev. Num.," 1864, vol. ix. p. 30, *tirage à part*).

¹³⁶ Mionnet, vol. v. p. 108, No. 939, monogram No. 1151; C. Lenormant, "Mél. d'Arch.," vol. iii. p. 198.

¹³⁷ Gen. Cunningham, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 196; Pl. VII. monogram 10.

Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia; on the coins of the Jewish king Herod I.¹³⁸ (B.C. 38), and on the coins of Chios of the time of Augustus.¹³⁹

St. Ephraem the Syrian, who flourished about A.D. 370, describes the form P as a cross surmounted by the letter **P**, which itself was equivalent to *βοηθία*, "help," the **P** being equal to 100, and the Greek letters of which the word *βοηθία* is composed also giving the complete number of 100,¹⁴⁰ from which it would seem that this sign did not in the East signify the name of Christ, as the monogram X certainly did.

The symbol P seems to have been that exclusively used in the East, and Letronne states¹⁴¹ that he never found the X on any of the Christian monuments of Egypt. Its adoption was doubtless from its affinity to the *crux ansata*.

The P is the only monogram which may be found in the "Vatican codex" (first half of the fourth century), in the "Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis" (end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century), and in the "Codex Sinaiticus" (middle of the fourth century), where it occurs

¹³⁸ F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 83, 85, 87.

¹³⁹ F. W. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¹⁴⁰ Διὰ τί ἱστοροῦμεν ἐν διαφόροις τύποις ἐκ [τῶν πλευρῶν] τοῦ σταυροῦ Α καὶ Ω, ὅτι ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ὁ σταυρωθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ ἐπάνω Ρ σημαίνει Βοηθία ψηφίζόμενον ἑκατόν. "Opera," vol. iii. p. 477, ed. Assemani, Rome, 1782; quoted by Garrucci ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 255) who adds—"In the text of Assemani we read *βοηθεία*, but it seems certain that St. Ephraem wrote *βοηθία*, which has some parallels in the codices of Holy Scripture, and in the opinion of Sturz is to be considered the proper form of the Alexandrian dialect ('De Dial. Mac. et Alex.,' p. 121). Since if this were not so, we should not have from the letters of this word the numerical value of a 'hundred,' but rather that of a 'hundred and five.'" Cf. Cavedoni, "Ricerche," p. 8.

¹⁴¹ "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi.

in four places—at the end of Jeremiah, twice at the end of Isaiah, and in the middle of the word **ESTAVPΩΘH** (*crucifixus est*), in the eighth verse of the eleventh chapter of Revelation.¹⁴²

It will have been observed that this form of the monogram occurs upon the coins of Constantine struck at *Antioch* about the year 335, but it is repeated on his consecration coins struck at Lyons and Arles.

The earliest example of the equilateral cross ☩ may be seen on the breast of, or suspended from the neck of one of the kings on the slabs brought from Nineveh.¹⁴³ At a later date its form was †,¹⁴⁴ sometimes accompanied by

¹⁴² *Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.* De Rossi, "Bullet.," 1863, p. 62; Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 416, who erroneously gives the reference as "huitième verset du deuxième chapitre." The **☩** is also represented above the head of our Saviour, on an ivory preserved in the Christian Museum of the Vatican, which is considered to be the most ancient of all representations of our Lord (Martigny, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," vol. i. p. 876).

¹⁴³ Bonomi, "Nineveh and its Palaces," pp. 333, 414; cf. p. 303. Garrucci, in the Italian edition of his paper ("Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 243), alludes to a brass coin of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian *Cæsars*, which is in the British Museum, and which has been engraved by Cohen ("Méd. Imp.," vol. v. Pl. XV. p. 587), with a cross ☩ and with the obverse legend **CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS AVG.**, but adds that from an impression of the same he can only see a *star* ✱. This sentence is suppressed in the French translation ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 91). Garrucci is quite right in his surmise, it is only a *star*—but a star of eight rays—in the field of the reverse; moreover, the obverse legend is **CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS NB. C.** (F. W. Madden, "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 168; Pl. IV. No. 3).

¹⁴⁴ M. de Witte, in a note to Garrucci's paper ("Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 90, note 2) says this sign is suspended to the neck of a Victory on a painted vase published in the "Élite des Monuments céramographiques," vol. i. Pl. XCIII. This form of the

globules, †, as on the painted vases,¹⁴⁵ both of which symbols may have had their origin in the sign ☩,¹⁴⁶ which occurs on the coins of Gaza—frequently called “the monogram of Gaza”—on monuments and vases of Phœnician origin, on Gallo-Celtic coins, on Scandinavian monuments called “Thor’s Hammer,” and on Indian coins called “the Swastika cross.”¹⁴⁷

The three principal forms of crosses in antiquity are—

1. The cross **X**, called *decussata*,¹⁴⁸ and also “St.

cross is also found placed in a circle ⊕, and is probably the earliest symbol of the sun (Rapp, “Das Labarum und der Sonnen-cultus;” Thomas, “Num. Chron.,” N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 224). The same sign occurs on a rare gold coin of the Empress Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, and wife of Galerius Maximian, formerly in the Wigan collection and now in the British Museum (F. W. Madden, “Num. Chron.,” N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 101; 1868, vol. viii. p. 29), and she has been supposed to have embraced Christianity (De Witte, “Du Christianisme de quelques Impératrices Romaines,” in “Mél. d’Arch.,” vol. iii. 1853). In describing this coin, I pointed out that Cohen had incorrectly described it as having the legend **VENERI VICTRICI N K L V** (in monogram) **X C**. A specimen, however, of this coin, with the monogram **ΚΥΧC**, is in the collection of Dr. J. Evans. Very similar letters occur on the coins of Maximian Hercules (Cohen, No. 68; cf. No. 67, and *note*, in vol. v. p. 447), and of Constantius Chlorus (No. 12), and I dare say on other examples. I cannot explain the letters.

¹⁴⁵ ✕, or ἀσπερίσκος, is a mark used to call attention to any particular passage (Liddell and Scott, “Lex.,” s. v.).

¹⁴⁶ Garrucci, “Num. Cost.,” 2nd ed., p. 242; “Rev. Num.,” 1866, p. 90.

¹⁴⁷ Rapp, “Das Labarum und der Sonnen-Cultus;” Baring-Gould, “Curious Myths of the Middle Ages,” 2nd ser., p. 86; Thomas, “Num. Chron.,” N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 283.

¹⁴⁸ The meaning of *decussis* is the number “ten;” it is also the name of a coin of “ten asses,” and as the Roman numeral was **X**, it came to signify the intersection of two lines in the form of a cross (Vitruv., x. 11; Plin., “N. H.,” xviii. 34)—“**X** litera et in figurâ *crucem* et in numero *decem* demonstrat” (Isidor., “Orig.,” i. 9).

Andrew's Cross," because it has been supposed by some that it was on a cross of this shape that he suffered martyrdom.¹⁴⁹

The form **X** was doubtless an abbreviated monogram of the name of Christ. Julian the Apostate, in speaking of his hostility against Christianity in his satire against the people of Antioch, writes, "You say I wage war with the *Chi*, and you admire the *Kappa*,"¹⁵⁰ and again, "They say that neither the *Chi* nor the *Kappa* ever did the city any harm; it is hard to understand the meaning of this wise riddle of yours, but we happen to have been informed by some interpreters of your city that they are initial letters of names, the one denoting *Christ*, the other *Constantius*."¹⁵¹

2. The cross **T**, called *commissa*, and also "St. Anthony's Cross," as it is found embroidered on his *pænula* or cloak. It is in the form of a *Tau*, and appears to be a variety of the *crux ansata*, or "cross with a handle," † found on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

The *tau* cross has been supposed to have been foretold in the passage of Ezekiel (ix. 4, 6), where "the man clothed with linen" is ordered to go "through Jerusalem and set a mark upon the foreheads of men that sigh and cry," &c. (Heb. כֹּף חַיִּי חַיִּי; LXX. δὸς σημεῖον; Vulg.

¹⁴⁹ Representations of St. Andrew with the decussate cross, as the instrument of his martyrdom, belong to the *Middle Ages* (Rev. S. Cheetham Smith, "Dict. of Christ. Antiq.," s. v. Andrew).

¹⁵⁰ Καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χί, πόθος δὲ ἡμᾶς εἴσεισι τοῦ Κάππα. "Misopögon," Juliani opera, p. 111: Paris, 8vo, 1583.

¹⁵¹ Τὸ Χί, φησὶν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. Τί μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἶνιγμα, συνείναι χαλεπόν. τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὀνοματιῶν εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ' ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν τὸ δὲ Κωνσταντίον. "Misopögon," Juliani op., p. 99.

signa *thau* super frontes).¹⁵² It will be observed that the *tau* does not appear in the LXX. version, and Letronne affirms¹⁵³—"Ce n'est que dans la version de Théodotion écrite sous Septime Sévère que le nom de la lettre *thau* se trouve joint au mot *σημείον*," whilst the Rev. Baring Gould, apparently following Letronne, writes¹⁵⁴—"St. Jerome testifies that the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, written the one under Hadrian, the other under Marcus Aurelius, were without it, and that it was only in the version of Theodotion, made under Septimius Severus, that the **T** was inserted. Nevertheless St. Jerome adopted it in his translation."

But Origen noticed it in his "Commentaries on Ezechiel" in the following words:—"Οἱ μὲν ὁ σημεῖον· ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας καὶ Θεοδοτίων φασι σημείωσις τοῦ θαυ ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα . . . τὸ θαυ ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ἑβραίοις κβ', στοιχείοις ἐστὶ τὸ

¹⁵² Cf. Gen. iv. 15. Heb. מִן; LXX. *σημεῖον*; Vulg. *signum*. Rev. vii. 3, ix. 4, σφραγίζω and σφραγίς, used of the seal of God; xiii. 16, 17, xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, χάραγμα, used of the mark of the beast; omitted in some MSS. in xv. 2. Among the Egyptians, if a slave ran away from his master, and gave himself up to the god at a certain temple, and received certain sacred marks upon his person, whosoever his master was, he could not lay hand on him (Herod., ii. 113). Schroeder, quoted by Dr. Currey ("Speaker's Com.," vol. vi. p. 50), writes, "The Egyptian Apis was distinguished by a white triangle (or square), the signature of the power of nature (or of the world). On the forehead of the Indian Schiva is the image of the Ganges river. Schiva's or Vishnu's sign was imprinted on the forehead of the Hindoo, who was purified in the holy water. The Japanese, who undertakes a pilgrimage to the temple of Teusjo Dai Sin, receives as a farewell token a small box, on which is written the name of the god, and which he carries home bound to his forehead. Marking on the forehead was in use in the Mithra mysteries."

¹⁵³ "La Croix ansée."

¹⁵⁴ "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," 2nd ser., pp. 111, 112.

τελευταῖον,"¹⁵⁵ whilst St. Jerome, who doubtless took his views on this point from Origen, writes,¹⁵⁶ "Pro signo quod *Septuaginta Aquila* et *Symmachus* transtulerunt, *Theodotion* ipsum verbum Ebraicum posuerunt *thau*, quæ extrema est apud Hebraeos viginti et duarum litterarum," which, as Garrucci observes,¹⁵⁷ should be corrected to "Pro signo quod *Septuaginta* et *Symmachus* transtulerunt *Aquila* et *Theodotion*," &c. Symmachus, who made his Greek version *after* that of Theodotion, as may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus and the language of Jerome in his Commentary on the Thirty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, flourished in the reign of *Septimius Severus* (193—211),¹⁵⁸ and Theodotion is generally supposed to have lived in the time of *Commodus*¹⁵⁹ (180—192).

Tertullian also translated the passage, "Da signum *thau* in frontibus virorum."¹⁶⁰

The word ט means "a sign in the form of a cross," whence the name of the letter ט,¹⁶¹ and those who have studied the ancient Jewish coins will have observed that there are two forms of the *tau* used, one like the Greek X, as on the Moabite stone, the other more like the cross †.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ "Com. ad Ezech.," vol. iii. p. 424, ed. De Larue, 1740, quoted by Garrucci, "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 256, *note*; cf. "Hexaplorum Origines quæ supersunt," vol. i., ed. Montfaucon, 1713.

¹⁵⁶ "Opera," vol. iii. p. 754, ed. Martin, 1704.

¹⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ Dr. S. Davidson, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," s. v. Greek Versions; cf. Lardner, "Credibility," vol. ii. p. 826; Montfaucon, "Hexapl. Orig.," Præf., p. 51, c. vi.

¹⁵⁹ Lardner, "Credibility," vol. ii. p. 168.

¹⁶⁰ "Ipsa enim litera Græcorum *Tau*, nostra autem T species crucis," "Adv. Marcion.," iii. 22.

¹⁶¹ Gesenius, "Lex.," ed. Tregelles, s. v. ט.

¹⁶² F. W. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," Plate.

The *tau* was sometimes used in the same manner as the \times in the middle of the name of the deceased, as may be seen on a marble of the third century in the Callixtine Cemetery, with the legend **IRE T NE**.¹⁶³

3. The cross † *immissa*, called "the Latin cross." This cross has been generally supposed to be the kind on which our Lord was crucified, which seems further corroborated from the fact that the title of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin was placed *above* his head (*ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν*, Matt. xxvii. 37), or *over* him (*ἐπιγραφὴ γεγραμμένη ἐπ' αὐτῷ*, Luke xxiii. 38; cf. Mark xv. 25), or *over* the cross (*ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, John xix. 19), and so would have a form like ‡ .

De Rossi has shown¹⁶⁴ that no Christian monument of certain date before the fifth century gives examples of the *crux immissa*, or of that which has been called the Greek †. On the other hand, an epitaph which, from its consular date, is earlier than the reign of Constantine, proves that the Christians had a monogram composed of the letters I and X (*Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς*), thus formed ✠ .¹⁶⁵

The most ancient and most correct form of the monogram of Christ occurs upon a monument of Sivaux, in France, which is considered by De Rossi,¹⁶⁶ from its style and palæography, to be earlier than the time of Constantine,¹⁶⁷ having the arms of the cross of great length,

¹⁶³ De Rossi, "Bullet. Arch. Christ.," p. 35, 1863.

¹⁶⁴ "De Christianis Titulis Carthaginiensibus," Paris, 1858, inserted in vol. iv. of the "Spicilegium Solesmense," ed. J. B. Pitra.

¹⁶⁵ De Rossi, "Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ septimo sæculo antiquiores," vol. i. p. 16, No. 10. Paris, 1855.

¹⁶⁶ "Bullet. Arch. Christ.," p. 47, 1863; "Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 414; Babington in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 856. I am indebted to Mr. John Murray for the electrotype of this interesting monument.

¹⁶⁷ Le Blant, however, considers it ("Inscr. Chrét.," No. 576) to be of the fifth century.



✠. This was not long afterwards modified, and it is at the time of Constantine that the ✠ occurs for the first time on Roman dated *tituli*. There has been discovered¹⁶⁸ a monument of the year 323, which is precisely *the year*

· · NO QVI

· · XIT ANN·XXIII·MVIII·~~Ø~~XXVII·DEP·DI
IDVS SEPT·SEVERO ET RVFINO CoNSS·
FECER·PARENTES IN PACE ✠

of the defeat of *Licinius*, having on it the monogram ✠. Other marbles of the dates 331, 339, 341, and 343 are also in existence.¹⁶⁹ In 347 the form ✠ occurs, but not

¹⁶⁸ De Rossi, "Bullet.," p. 22. He also publishes ("Inscr. Christ.," vol. i. No. 26) a fragment with the inscription [VI]XIT . . . ✠ . . . GAL. COSS., which he thinks might *perhaps* be of the year 298, when Faustus and Gallus were consuls, adding that if he could only find the missing portion and it bore the name of Faustus *auro contra et gemmis cariorem estimaret*. It is, however, more than probable that the Gallus in this inscription was consul at a much later date.

¹⁶⁹ De Rossi, "Inscr. Christ.," vol. i. p. 38, No. 39. In a description by Mr. C. T. Hemans of some recent works in the Roman Catacombs ("Academy," October 21, 1876) it is said

for long, for the **X** is dropped, and this form, together with the ancient one, continue in existence to the end of the fourth century. From the fifth century the **P** disappears, and the *Latin cross* † or the Greek † take the place of the monograms, so that after 405 the ✠ (at Rome at least), especially on epitaphs, is entirely eclipsed, and the plain cross is found on all monuments¹⁷⁰ excepting on coins.

The cross on the coins of Constantine and his two sons, struck at Aquileia, is formed as follows ☩. This cross Cavedoni¹⁷¹ considers to be, not the *Latin*, but the *Alexandrian* or *Egyptian*.¹⁷²

According to Letronne,¹⁷³ the sign of the cross was not adopted by the Christians in Egypt before the time of Theodosius the Great, under whom (A.D. 389) the Serapeum, on which some hieroglyphic writing was discovered, including the *crux ansata*, or symbol of *life to come*,¹⁷⁴ was destroyed; but at the same time he admits that,

that no less than 150 Christian epitaphs have been discovered. The inscriptions which are complete indicate in phrase and orthography a period earlier than that of Constantine, and not later than the 3rd century. *In no instance was found the monogram XP.*, known as the Constantinian. Martigny, ("Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 185), citing Perret ("Les Catacombes de Rome," vol. iv. Pl. XVI. No. 74), says that there exist antique stones belonging to rings on which the cross is engraved, and the style of many of them seems to fix their date prior to Constantine.

¹⁷⁰ Martigny, "Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.," p. 416. See § XXI.

¹⁷¹ "Nuove Ricerche," p. 3.

¹⁷² See under § VII. "Coins of Constantine I.," etc., 326—333.

¹⁷³ "La Croix ansée," in the "Mém. de l'Acad.," vol. xvi. Part II. p. 236.

¹⁷⁴ Ζωή ἐπερχομένη, Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 17; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," vii. c. 15; Theodoret, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 22. Cavedoni ("Nuove Ricerche," p. 4, note 2) remarks, "ἐπερχομένη, properly translated, means *coming*, but the participle present can also be taken in the future sense when the event to come is of divine prediction." Cf. ὁ



anterior to this period, there occurs an inscription of the Catholic Church in the Porphyry Caves as follows—

ΚΑΘΟϞΑΙΚΗ + ΕΚΚΛΗϞΙΑ

where not only may be seen two *cruces ansatæ* intercalated, but a *Greek cross* between the two words.

The ecclesiastical historians relate¹⁷⁵ that the cubit of the Nile, which it was the custom of the pagans to carry to the Serapeum when the time of the annual inundation of the Nile approached, was brought about the year 325 to Alexandria by order of Constantine,¹⁷⁶ in order to show the people that the great blessing of the annual inundation was due to the providence of the Creator. The pagans supposed that the annual swelling would consequently fail, but, to their astonishment, the inundation rose to its usual height, proving that this great blessing

ἐρχόμενος as applied to our Lord (Matt. iii. 11). In the letter of Hadrian to Servianus, the husband of Domitia Paulina, the Emperor's sister, preserved by Vopiscus ("In Saturnino," 8), he writes, "Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves Christian bishops are worshippers of Serapis The Patriarch himself, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by one party to worship Serapis, by the other Christ. . . . They have but one God, him the Christians, Jews, and Gentiles worship alike." This last passage is in all probability corrupt (Milman, "Hist. of Christianity," vol. ii. p. 108, *note*; Sharpe, "Hist. of Egypt," vol. ii. p. 168); indeed it is a question if any of the letter is genuine, as has been observed by Mr. Merivale ("Hist. of the Romans under the Empire," vol. vii. p. 467, *note*), for in the first place Verus is mentioned as the *son* of Hadrian, whereas he was his *adopted son*, and in the second the letter is not given by Spartian, the biographer of Hadrian, but occurs incidentally in the life of Saturninus, a usurper in the East, under Probus, by Vopiscus.

¹⁷⁵ Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 18; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," i. c. 8; cf. Euseb., "Vit. Const.," iv. c. 25.

¹⁷⁶ It was restored with other symbols to the Serapeum by Julian the Apostate (Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," v. c. 8), where it doubtless remained till the reign of Theodosius, and the

had not its source in vain superstition, but was a dispensation of divine providence.¹⁷⁷

In the opinion of Cavedoni¹⁷⁸ it was at this time that the Christians appropriated to themselves the *cruz ansata*, signifying "life to come," and that consequently its use would be greatly diffused throughout Egypt, and through the cities that held most frequent communication with it, such, for example, as *Aquileia*, the great maritime port of Illyricum. He also states that spiritual communication must have continuously existed between the churches of Alexandria and *Aquileia*, citing in corroboration the letter of the Council of *Aquileia*, held in 381, addressed to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.

Garrucci¹⁷⁹ does not accept Cavedoni's interpretation of the words of the Council of *Aquileia*, nor does he agree with his opinion that the cross on the coins of *Aquileia* is an *Egyptian cross*, adding that it might be valid if there was but one example of this Christian sign in Alexandria itself, and that the marbles of *Aquileia* do not give the monogrammatic cross, but the

demolishment of the Temple in 389. On some of the brass coins of Julian, there is on the obverse, **DEO SANCTO SARAPIDI**, and on the reverse **DEO SANCTO NILO** (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 56) or **SANCTO NILO** (No. 72), and the reclining figure of the Nile.

¹⁷⁷ On a beautiful gem published by Winckelman ("Mon. Ined.," p. 109; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 38; Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 9, note 10), the Nile is represented as a bearded man surrounded by four little boys, with the inscription **ΘΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ**, *Dei providentia* (cf. Marini, "Iscr. Alb.," p. 232). Some remarks on the legend **PROVIDENTIA** on coins of Septimius Severus, and on the term *πρόνοια*, will be found in my account of the Blacas collection ("Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. vii. p. 316).

¹⁷⁸ "Nuove Ricerche," p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 259.



monogram ✠, and in one case a *Latin cross* with a square top.¹⁸⁰

Further, Garrucci has published¹⁸¹ a coin with the *square*, instead of the rounded top.

As to the rounded top, Garrucci suggests¹⁸² that it may have been meant to allude to the sacred head of the Redeemer, which was thus intended to be represented projecting *above* the cross.

Cavedoni, in reply to these strictures of Garrucci,¹⁸³ alluded again, and with justice, to the inscription on the Porphyry Caves, which I have already described, and to the fact that, owing to the constant invasion of the Saracens, it is rather a matter of wonder that even the few Christian monuments of Egypt that Letronne has illustrated have been preserved; and, as regards the Council of Aquileia, adds that "among the fathers who professed to have always observed the order and disposition of the Alexandrian Church, Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, held the first place."

It is, however, doubtful if the cross on the coins of Aquileia is the *crux ansata*, and even Borghesi¹⁸⁴ did not know what the *rounded* extremity could have in common with the *handle* of the Egyptian cross, for the cross called *ansata* has not a round, but an *ovoid top*, into which the hand might be introduced, as may be seen on existing monuments.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Bertoli, "Le Antichità di Aquileia profane e sacre," pp. 352, 354—358.

¹⁸¹ "Num. Cost.," 2nd ed., p. 246, No. 17, Pl. No. 11; "Rev. Num.," 1866, p. 97, No. 17, Pl. III. No. 11. See § VII. No. 30.

¹⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

¹⁸³ "Rivista," pp. 213, 214.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted by Cavedoni, "Nuove Ricerche," p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Wilkinson, "Anc. Egyptians," 1841, "Suppl.," Pl. 20,