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mais la scène qui lui appartient une fois finie, Dolon est à peine nommé dans le reste de la pièce, son rôle, en effet, est superflu pour le thème principal. Or, même ce n'est pas, je veux dire la tragédie de Rhesos proprement dite, manqué d'unité dramatique et même d'enchaînement extérieur: rien de moins indispensable que le récit du berger-messager et les griefs d'Hector contre Rhesos, du cocher contre Hector ouvrent des thèmes entièrement neufs, et qui donnent lieu à des alternations pleines de verve, mais qui à leur tour n'aboutissent à rien.

La pièce, donc, tombe en pièces. À dire cela, il n'y a malheureusement pas qu'un pédantisme logique. Supprimant la troisième dimension, pour ainsi dire, la dimension humaine, le dessin de Rhesos prie son sujet de toute perspective morale. Le mélodrame succède à la tragédie. Ce caractère fondamental n'est nullement si péniblement sensible qu'à ce qui aurait d'être le conflit dominant de la pièce, Odysseus et Diomedes contre Rhesos. Encore une mise en scène piquante et très avantageuse pour un acteur averti. Les deux Achéens en plein milieu des ennemis, les ténèbres, le mot du guet qui résonne, les feintes d'Odysséus et d'Athena, toutes les brusques vicissitudes font la matière d'un captivant divertissement, mais qui n'a rien à voir avec l'art tragique, pour la raison qu'il n'existe aucun lien spirituel entre les deux parties du conflit. Odysseus et Diomedes paraissent ignorer le nom même du roi des Thraces, jusqu'au dernier moment quand ils sont dirigés par Athena vers le dormant. Je n'ai rien contre les vaillants maraudeurs, mais dans Rhesos, et du point de vue poétique, ils ne diffèrent en rien d'un couple de gangsters qui se jettent sur la première victime venue. Il faudrait, à mon avis, pouvoir mettre le doigt sur des conflits semblables dans les vrais drames d'Euripide avant que l'on puisse seulement discuter de l'autenticité de Rhesos.
the striking of coins honouring the new Divus became a normal part of the funeral celebrations. However, during the first century A.D. the consecration coins vary greatly as to symbolism (BMCE 1, pp. CIV, CVI, CXXXI f., CXXXIV, CXXXVII ff., CXLVI, CXXIII, CXXVII f., CCIV f.) and are mainly characterized by the legend DIVI IVS or DIV-IV-A (Pich p. LXX; Brunn, Handbuch zur romischen Münzkunde I, p. 72). Not until the second century a change was introduced and from 119 A.D. onwards most coins of this kind carry the legend CONSECRATIO up to the early fourth century. On many of these coins the ascension of the dead emperor to heaven was illustrated, but also an older type survives depicting the new god or some of his adjuncts, temples, altars etc. The coins with the legend CONSECRATIO show the funeral pyre, the rostra, the eagle or the quadriga.

This symbolism prevails during the 3rd century. The flight to heaven is for the last time depicted on the consecration coins of Valerianus I and II, about the death of Trajan as a part of the consecration symbolism (cf. Buckermann, p. 4 f.). Being a symbol of the sun the quadriga frequently appears on the coins, but not until the death of Trajan is a part of the consecration symbolism (cf. Buckermann, p. 4 f.). The theory of the part played by the wax doll during the consecration seems very unconvincing.

1 Buckermann, p. 9 f. The legend CONSECRATIO does appear once earlier, on the consecration coins in honour of Marcius, the sister of Trajan, dated to 111-112 A.D., but not on the coins honouring Trajan's own consecration (ibid. p. 9, note 5).
2 Earlier, from Augustan times, the consular meals ceremony had taken place after the consecration. Now the apotheosis was directly connected with the consecration. Hence the frequent occurrence of the rostra on the consecration coins (cf. Buckermann, p. 10).
3 The eagle plays an important part in the consecration symbolism because during the consecration of Augustus an eagle was said to have taken flight from the pyre carrying the soul of the emperor (App. 91, 4). During the first century if the emperor to heaven (Dio Cassius LVI, 61, 2; Suet. August. 100, 4). During the first century if the emperor to heaven (Dio Cassius LVI, 61, 2; Suet. August. 100, 4; Dio Cassius LX, 11, 4; last April 1, 21, 2). The second pyre to heaven (Suet. August. 100, 4; Dio Cassius LVI, 61, 2; Suet. August. 100, 4).
4 The eagle is more closely to the consecration when this was performed in connection with the consecration (cf. Buckermann, p. 2).
5 Being a symbol of the sun the quadriga frequently appears on the coins, but not until the death of Trajan is a part of the consecration symbolism (cf. Buckermann, p. 4 f.). The theory of the part played by the wax doll during the consecration seems very unconvincing.

1 Cohen, V. p. 341; Dorn, R. C. V. I, p. 18; No. 4, p. 117, No. 9; Pl. IV 66 (cf. Buckermann, p. 18 f.).
4 Struck in the mints of Roma (Maur. I, pp. 211, 214 f., Pl. XVII 4); Aquileia (Maur. I, pp. 351, 352, Pl. XX 9); Treveri (Maur. I, p. 266, Pl. XXII 12); Arles (Maur. II, p. 270, Pl. VI 7); Siscia (Maur. II, p. 147, Pl. X 12) and Thessalonica (Maur. II, p. 450).
Fig. 1. a) Bare-headed Romanus consecrated, type Memoriae Aeternae (cf. Maur. I, p. 192, rev. XIII,i), struck in Rome. b) The consecration of Constantius illustrated by a burning altar and eagles, type Memoria Felix, struck in Treveri (cf. Maur. I, p. 192, rev. XII,i). — I am greatly indebted to the Department of Coins of the British Museum for all the casts published in this study.

Fig. 2. a) The consecration of Constantius commemorated by Maxentius in Rome, head without laurel wreath, a temple with eagle on the reverse (cf. Maur. I, p. 192, rev. XII,i). b) A later consecration coin struck by Constantine in Rome in honour of Constantius. Reverse showing seated emperor with the legend Requiescit Optimum Merit (cf. Maur. I, p. 211, rev. IV,i).

The Memoriam Aeterna coins with similar obverses were issued to honour three Divi, Claudius Gothicus, Maximianus Herculis and Constantius Chlorus, and constitute another type of »Abamnimos«. The reverses are clearly tetrarchic showing the Hercules lion, occasionally connected with the club, or the eagle of consecration.\(^3\) (Fig. 34.)

The comparatively few coins of the type Memoriam Divi Maximiani (or Constanti) are fairly heterogeneous with regard to symbolism; some of them show altars decorated with a bull's or a lion's head together with an eagle, others a temple with an eagle. The obverse bust has a draped head.\(^4\)

Finally we have the type Memoria Felix honouring Constantius. The most frequent symbol is the altar with a burning fire, alternatively decorated with garlands.\(^3\) (Fig. 1b). In either case an eagle is standing on the ground on both sides of the altar. The temple with the eagle occurs on one issue. Also the obverse is fairly varied. The draped bust with a laureate, draped head is the most frequent. Some of the coins struck in Lugdunum have just a laureate head and the third variety shows a laureate head and the third variety shows a laureate head and the third variety shows a head with trabea holding a laurel branch.

Now one of the most striking features of this coinage is the wording of the reverse legends. REVERIES and AETERNAE MEMORIAE are typical expressions of the syncretism of the early 4th century, well in keeping with other contemporary legends.\(^4\) This language of the legends at the same time constitutes a break with the preceding times and the consecration coinage of Constantius can be regarded as a mediatory link; to some extent the influence of century-old traditions can be traced, but the main part carries the imprint of the new terminology. One is entitled to speak of a new consecrational symbolism.

The majority of the coins have the temple of Rome on the reverse. The temple is known from coins throughout the empire even if not from consecration coins (Donald F. Brown, Temples of Rome as Coin Types). The eagle occurs on all coins except those with Herculean lions.\(^3\) The use of the altar is restricted to the coins of Constantius from Treveri, Londinium, Lugdunum and Aquileia and to the issues Aeternas Memorias Gal Maximani struck by Dara in Cappadocia and Alexandria. It is particularly interesting to see that the altar is known from coins of Constantius with the reverse CONSECRATIO, an apparent transition from the terminology and symbolism of older times to that of the early 4th century syncretism.

About ten years later — six years if the coins struck in honour of Galerius are taken into account — are the Requiues Optimum Meritores issues. These few years have brought about a fundamental change of the consecrational reverses; the break with old Roman traditions is palpable; altars, temples, pyres and eagles have been abolished and the coins show the emperor seated on a silla curulis.

The obverses are more difficult to grasp; they speak a language of their own. Most of the obverse busts have a veiled head, some of them are laureate in addition. The exceptions are few in number, i.e. the Romulus coins (easy to understand because the young son of Maxentius was a Caesar only when he died; however, on two coins his head is veiled), all coins with the reverse legend CONSECRATIO and some MEMORIAE FELIX issues (all struck in Lugdunum). To these can be added the coins of the type AETERNAE MEMORIAE G.A. MAXIMIANI. Thus also the obverses speak of a transition from traditional religious ideas to the syncretism of late antiquity.

The coins mentioned above form the necessary background for a study of the consecration coins struck after the death of Constantine the Great 337 A.D. (Nyxian, Den kristna kyrkakonsten II, pp. 147–188). Thus the impact of Christianity had not as yet made itself felt; on the contrary pagan thought very likely influenced the Christians in this respect. Likewise it is wrong to regard Aeternitas here as originating in New-Platonic, The Eternal God is known from a number of Oriental religions (Cosmogonie, Les Religions Orientales, p. 119 ff.), was with those brought to Rome, inaugurated in late Roman thought and connected with the deified emperor.

\(^1\) Mauri (I, p. 413, Note 1 and p. 342) tries — not very convincingly — to distinguish between the consecrational eagle and the eagle representing the Iovian dynasty.
When describing Constantine's death and funeral, Eusebius mentions that coins were struck in honour of the emperor: "Idus οὖν, quae post mortem sev sanctificata tătae, prope uenit usque tunc maxime encominatio quæ aeditum optima, quærataque de morte, haec prospera maxima hic eis fruatur triumpho, ut deinde se habuerint eodem loco et ut quemque quæ alius. (Vita Constantini IV 73). Not only are coins corresponding to Eusebius' description known, but also three other types of consecration coins. The Eusebian type with the quadrigen has no reverse legend, the others have the legends AETERNA PIETAS, VN MR (Veneranda Memoria) and Insta Veneranda Memoria, abbreviated either IV'S VEN MEM, IV'S VEN MEM or IV'S VENEMOR.

The AETERNA PIETAS type was struck in the three Western mints Treveri, Lygdamum and Constantina (Arelate was thus renamed 1348 A.D.; cf. The Coinage of Arelate, p. 48). The reverses show the emperor standing in military dress, the cloak spread, holding spear and globe, the obverse bust has a draped head and the legend reads simply DIVO CONSTANTINO. (Fig. 3 d).

The Veneranda Memoria and Insta Veneranda Memoria types were struck at the same time in the six Eastern mints. The obverse busts are similar to those of the previous type, on the reverse of the former of these two types (VN MR) a goddess, probably Pietas, is standing, her head draped with her dress, her hands hidden in folds of her dress. (Fig. 3 e). The reverses of the latter type show Augusta standing holding a balance and sceptre (on the coins of Constantinople and Alexandria) or with her other hand hidden in her dress. (Fig. 3 f). The fourth type, finally, as described by Eusebius has a veiled head on the obverse, and the emperor standing in a galloping quadrigen on the reverse. The emperor raises his hand towards heaven. In the upper part of the coin a head is seen pointing down. These coins were struck in all the mints except Constantina. The obverse legend of all these three coin types reads DV or DIV CONSTANTINIVS PT AVGG (Pater Augustorum), except on the coins from Lygdamum, where the legend is DIVO CONSTANTINO. (Fig. 3 b–c).

The coins are, indeed, remarkable in many ways. The language of the legends has already been touched upon. Another significant detail is the veiled head of the obverse, common to the Constantinian consecration coins and those of the first quarter of the 4th century; the quotation above shows that even Eusebius paid attention to this. Now Constantius is the first Divus to be depicted with a draped head, though some and century portraits of Divus have draped heads (e.g. Sabina and Faustina, cf. MATTINGLY, Roman Coins, PL XXXVI 8–9).

Gradually introduced on the coins honouring Constantine’s father this portrait gains ground until it is the sole type in use from 317 A.D. onwards.

The significance of the draped head is not quite clear, but it seems logical to connect it with the well-known reproductions of the emperor sacrificing as PONTIFEX MAXIMUS (cf. Ara Pacis). What is quite certain is that the Caput reliquam is of pagan origin, as is amply demonstrated by Tertullian’s words: "... Christiani ... capite nudati, quis non erudisceret ... aramanum.

The reverses of all four types except the one mentioned by Eusebius have little interest in this context were it not for the fact that the neutral tone of their metaphorical language has succeeded the familiar phrasing of old Roman traditions. The standing emperor on the AETERNA PIETAS corresponds to the seated emperor on the Reques issues, Pity and Equity on the Veneranda and Insta Veneranda Memoria are exceedingly noncommittal to have been struck in honour of the first Christian emperor; neither pagans nor Christians could have found anything offensive in their appearance on the coins.

All the more interesting is the fourth type with the quadrigen, a consecrational symbol that disappeared from the coinage more than thirty years earlier. Now it stands to reason that the Christian panegyrist Eusebius would not have paid much heed to these coins had he not looked upon them or interpreted them as Christian. And, in fact, the sun chariot turns out to be a reminiscence of the ascet of Elijah in the eyes of the Christians; hence Eusebius' interest in these coins with complete disregard of the other consecration coins also struck in the Eastern mints.

In order to understand both Eusebius' reactions to the coins and the religious policy dictating the composition of the coins, it seems justifiable to give a brief account of what is known about the use of Elijah symbolism in the early Church.

2 E.g. MATTINGLY, op. cit. p. 249; KANUTH, Die Beisetzung Constantin des Großen, pp 8 and note 56 on the same page; Pio FRANCHI DE' CAVALLERI, Constantiniana, note 118, p. 126 ff.
Above all it has to be kept in mind that the Church, originally, did not speak of the immortality of the soul but of the resurrection of the flesh on the Day of Judgement. This conception was in fact one of the corner-stones of old Christian belief. Christian writers of the 2nd and 3rd century defend with fervour this doctrine (cf. Nægren, op.cit. II, p. 65 ff.; Iustinus, Dial. 80, 3 — 4; Tatianus, Oratio ad Graecos 13, 1). The opposite of this was the Hellenistic conception — to be found also in Manicheism and Mithraism — of the immortality and ascent to heaven of the soul after death. This Hellenistic belief was strongly attacked by Christian theologians with the exception of those influenced by Hellenistic thought. (In this context it is worth while stressing that Eusebius was considerably affected by Origen, one explanation of his pro-Arian standpoint). It is significant that the New Testament only occasionally speaks of the ascent of the soul to heaven.1 Again in Judaism the ascent of Moses, Enoch and Elijah was neither the ascent of the soul nor — as in Christianity — the resurrection of the flesh; all three were carried to heaven body and soul. Nevertheless, among other things Irenaeus' defence of the Christian doctrine about the resurrection of the flesh suggests that he regarded Elijah as some sort of prototype of the Christian resurrection (Adv. haeres. V, 5, 1 — 2, cf. Nægren, op.cit. p. 202 f.).

However, regardless of resistance the doctrine of the immortality of the soul asserted itself also within the church, partly alongside of the belief in a resurrection e.g. in Clement and Origen and later, during the 4th century, in Gregory of Nyssa. This trend owes its strength to Hellenistic influence, it grew on Hellenistic soil. Speaking of Elijah Gregory asks for the heavenly ladder that like the flaming chariot of Elijah shall carry the soul to heaven (De Beatusdibus, Oratio VI, Migne, PG 44, p. 1772 D).

All this suggests that the consecration coins with the quadriga and the hand beckoning from heaven are more closely related to Hellenistic thought than to Christian. This view is confirmed if we consider the significance of the hand. It is a well-known fact that the outstretched right hand of a king and a god had magic powers (L'Orange, Cosmic Kingship, p. 159). From the god depicted with the right hand raised (like Constantine standing in the quadriga on the coins), the gesture of power of Oriental origin (L'Orange, op.cit. pp. 133 — 119), artistic reproduction arrives at the symbolic simplification of showing the hand alone. De' Cavalieri (Constantiniana, p. 129) points out that the celestial hand on Christian monuments is unknown until the 4th century (cf. Wildpert, Roma soterranea, pp. 34, 42) but is known from the synagogue of Dura from the first part of the 3rd century; also he records the custom in Asia Minor and in Syria of offering votive hands of bronze to Sabazius, Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Heliosplanetus owing to old Semitic and Hebraic traditions. The use of the symbol of the hand was not restricted exclusively to the East; 310 A.D. the panegyrist in Gaul speaks of the father of Constantine: sibi superum templo paterni rectangulam est concusa caelium, lucis ipsum dextorem portans (Paneg. VI (VII) 7).

Against this background the real meaning of the consecration coins becomes apparent. The dominating feature is the Hellenistic conception of the immortality of the soul combined with the traditional consecrational symbolism. The parallel to the ascent of Elijah, an image influenced by Hellenism and in reality alien to the essence of the Christian resurrection of the flesh, was the link to Christianity. The same applies, mutatis mutandis, to the celestial hand. Eusebius' readiness to stress the Christian character of the coins is probably due to his own dependence upon Origen. Simultaneously the passage in Vito Constanina quoted goes to prove how the church gradually was hellenized and that not even prominent representatives of Christianity reacted against this slow evolutionary process. What was unacceptable to a church father of the 2nd century was now approved with satisfaction.

The paramount importance attached to the reign of Augustus for the ceremonial of the principate was in a way equalled by the importance of the reign of Constantine with regard to the early Byzantine empire and to Christian art. The metaphorical language spoken by the Constantinians was later accepted as unquestionably Christian and has accordingly made its impact felt right up to the present day. The composition of the reliefs of the arch of Constantine recurs on later Christian mosaics (Carlo-Otto Nordström, Ravennastudien, p. 10) and in the same way the celestial hand occurs on a mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe from about 414 a.D. (ibid. p. 125, Pl. 31).1 These are two instances only, but there are numerous others,2 and one of the most interesting is surely the popular

1 Nordström's reference to the Gospels does not seem to be a sufficient explanation. He omits the whole previous history of the Consecrator's sign (L'Orange, op. cit. Chap. 16).

2 Many of these reflect the struggle between Sun worship and the Church and illustrate the partial amalgamation of Christ as Sol Nubilis with Sol Invictus. There is the wheel with four spokes, an old symbol of the sun, used to brand horses (Dönhoff, Profane and religious Brandmarkung der Tiere in der heidnischen und christlichen Antike, Antike und Christentum III, p. 51); there is the boy's armour (Dönhoff, Eine Knaben-Balle mit Christus-Monogramm, A. & Chr. III, p. 276. Pl. 13 — 16) and apparently the famous ROTAS inscription can be added to these examples (late) interpreted by Bundsch in Soc. Scient. Fern., Ambix XXIII, 1892, No. 4, p. 164 ff.)
The Consecration Coins

The Consecration Coins

Now, the bulk of the bronze coinage had a mainly local circulation as e.g., Alfoldi’s survey of the large Nagyvárad hoard shows (II tesoro di Nagy-
várad, Riv. It. Num. 1921, p. 111). When we find that the type Astura Pietas was struck solely in Gallic mints, the Veneranda Memoria and Invo Veneranda Memoria exclusively in the East, but the quadriga in all mints of the empire, that must be a reflection of imperial religious policy. It is, then, not surprising that the Gallic type with the standing emperor on the reverse had the most matter-of-fact character, whereas the Eastern types were much more ambiguous and there was no type of clearly Christian character. Rightly Schönebeck (Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maximianus und Constantin, p. 52) when discussing the coins with at least seemingly Christian symbols says: «Der Befund der Münzen entspricht sowohl und ganz den Feststellungen über die Ausbreitung des Christentums, die immer noch am anfachreichen der Karte von Harnack abzu-
lehnen ist.»

1 In some cases he seems too keen to interpret the symbols as pro-Christian, e.g. the cross on coins of Maximianus (p. 7). A series of coins of this type is known, many of them with crosses of Saint Andrew. It is certainly far-fetched to interpret an incidental Greek cross as Christian particularly as crosses of varying shapes were frequently used as pagan symbols above all in the 4th cent.

Thus it is no wonder that the consecration coins with the quadriga were struck and distributed all over the empire; they could be accepted by everybody regardless of faith. Considering the circulation of the three other types of consecration coins one has to recall the expansion of the Christian faith. In the early 4th century the Church more or less had conquered the East, whereas the West, particularly Gaul, was almost completely pagan: «Nous n’avons pas pour tout l’Occident, en dehors des catacombes romaines, une seule inscription chrétienne antérieure à la paix de l’Église» (Gregoire, Les Persecutions dans l’Empire Ro-
main, p. 17 f.). The church, even if in no dominating position, had, however, invaded North Africa, Rome, the Mediterranean coast and the Rhône valley. See particularly Leglerq (Carrol - Leglerq IV 2, col. 2679 – 274 S.V. Elle) who dates all sarcophagi with Elijah symbolism to the 4th cent., and also Gerke, Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorchristlichen Zeit, pp. 91, 92, 93, and Kaniuth, p. 8, especially note 56.