

Borrower: TXM
(TXM-TN: 134945)
Lending String: *TJC
Trans.Date: 3/8/2007 03:22:53 PM

Patron: Clark, Victor

Journal Title: Arctos; acta philologica fennica.

Volume: 3 **Issue:**
Month/Year: 1962
Pages: 10-18 & 31

Article: Patrick Bruun; The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine

Imprint: Helsinki [Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kir

ILL Number: 28624178



Call #: PA25 .A723 n.s.v.1-5

Location: CENTRAL STACKS

ODYSSEY: 161.45.205.112

Ariel

Maxcost: Free

Billing Category: Exempt

Charge:

Shipping Address:

Middle Tenn. St. Univ. Lib

ILL

Box 13/1500 Greenland Drive

Murfreesboro, TN 37132

****VIA ATHENA COURIER****

Fax: (615) 898-5551

Odyssey

ARIEL: 161.45.205.82 OK

Notes

TJC-TN: 265217



Needed: 3/13

TXM --- ATHENA

NOTICE: This Material May
Be Protected By Copyright
Law (Title 17 U.S. Code.)



Fig. 3a 3b

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(OR)IAE 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 Licinius 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. T, 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. Piccoli, p. 2 ff. FRANCK 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 Nagyvácsény 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 *Vic(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-FSIS. 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 Nagyétény hoard). It is quite possible that the long legend issue ASIS¹ 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, J, 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 *offinae*, of Licinius I in all off. except B and of Licinius II in all off. except J. 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 ASIS¹ with short reverse legend with the remark: »Maurice non conosce questa rara serie. È importante perché indica l'immediato nesso col I gruppo». Altogether the author has recorded 24 coins with this minmark 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, F, E), 7 of Licinius I (F, J), 6 of Crispus (B, F, E), 3 of Constantine II (F, J) and 4 of Licinius II (A, F). 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 BSIS²)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 BSIS¹ issue, which really has the mint mark BSIS¹, cf. MÜLLER II, Pl. X 4, the author has undertaken to work out all the *Victoriae laetae* coins with long rev. leg. minmarked BSIS¹. 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 Nagyétény hoard, arrives at the following conclusion (l.c. p. 121):

»... per quanto mi consta, il monogramma ✠ appare soltanto nella primissima serie (I, J), 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 BSIS²)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-crested 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 *offinae* 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 IMP 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, minmarked A-ESIS with star on the altar, or of the A-ESIS* (X on altar) with the obverse IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG wear, high crested helmet to left, cuir. with spear act. 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 minmarked BSIS¹, by VOETTER noted as BSIS¹, 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 minmarked BSIS¹. There is, however, in the issue with the short reverse legend, minmarked BSIS¹ 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 mints.²

The high crested helmet is known from six of the Western mints, Lugdunum, 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 χ 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

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 'Monogrammeserie' (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 Lugdunum 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

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 court¹.

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 estimate².

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

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 ARFÖLD himself has opened this line of thought (cf. note 21 *supra*) and continues: »Die Sternen 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 Christogram 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 Glasfluss in der Mitte sitzt und rund herum kleinere Niete oder runde Steine gruppiert sind, so dass eine Sternförmige Rosette entsteht, die natürlich bei den 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. BAUCK that the monogram be regarded a kind of mark of issue — with due regard to his profound knowledge of the pertinent coin material.

¹ ARFÖLD (Pisciculi, p. 3) points out that: »Der Christusname erscheint hier auf einem Bestandteil des kaiserlichen Kostüms, auf der *sacca 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». AGAM, KRAFT (p. 156) remarks: »Und wenn nun der Stempelstecher 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 TRANQUILLITAS issue of Treveri (PTR-) the usual portrait to the obv. leg. IVL CRISPVS NOB CAESAR is a bust, laur., cuir. I hold, spear act. 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. SCHÖNEWEDECK, p. 34, 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 (K). 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 TRANQUILLITAS 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 trabuca, 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 BAUKELER, 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 innigen der Operationsbasis des Herrs gelegenen Prätorat Ticinum, wie aus den Fundorten der Medallions, wird wahrscheinlich, dass die Empfänger vorwiegend Offiziere des constantinischen Heers 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 *intendia* 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 MORAVIČ 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 (TOXWRE, *Roman Medallions*, p. 39 regards them as »border-line pieces» slightly heavier than the *milliare* to be introduced later). Note that, the bronze medallion with the full rev. leg. *VICTORIAE LAETIAE PRINCIPIS PERPETUITATIS PR* (cf. *Aurion* 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 Concretely, as the high crested helmet was of oriental origin, the stars of the original (*Aurion*, *Acta arch.* 1934, p. 101 with figg. 4 a, b and DEER, »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.

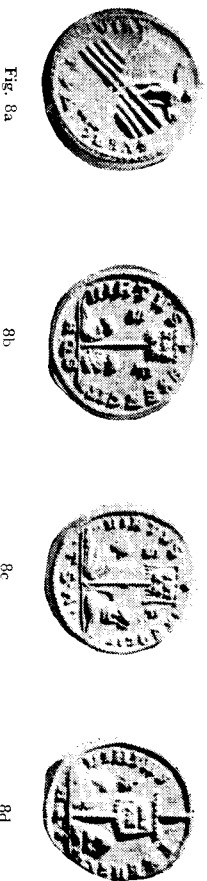


Fig. 8a

8b

8c

8d

normal complement of the helmet-diadem (KVL, »Christliche Symbolik auf Helmen der Völkervanderungszeit», *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 FRANCIU 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 X*, struck with obverses of all five rulers, was minnumarked 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 XY* 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

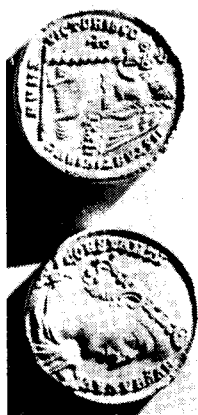


FIG. 16

tion to this fact. The coin Avs Classica XII 3023 is a similar case.) and he, certainly correctly, assumed the monogram $\overline{\text{P}}$ 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 *VOI 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>VOI XXX</i>		SMAN
			$\overline{\text{P}}$ LXXII
(iii)	» » —		SMAN
			$\overline{\text{P}}$ LXXII
(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 NV*

* | 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. SRAUSS, 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 $\overline{\text{P}}$ 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 NV* 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 also², 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 publicae* 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 145³. Moreover, there 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 KRAVITZ). 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 $\overline{\text{P}}$ 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. *op. cit.* The Disappearance of Soli, 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 $\overline{\text{P}}$ was found on the crossbar of the helmet on a third coin, on a fourth coin a circular design.