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- FIRST CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS ON  
ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS
- ROMAN IMPERIAL PERSONS IN NORTH AMERICA
- COINS AND CONTRACEPTIVES:  
THE PLANT THAT MADE KYRENE FAMOUS



# First Christian Symbols on Roman Imperial Coins

by Mark Dunning

The scope of early Christian art includes architecture, paintings, mosaics, sculptures, intaglios, pottery and Roman coins. The reign of Constantine I (307-337) brought a major boost to Christianity and to its iconography. Constantine was the first Christian Roman emperor. He was a great benefactor for the Christian faith, legally and financially.

Symbols of the emperor's new faith, the Chi-Rho Christogram (XP), forms of the cross including the Tau-Rho (TP), and the hand of God are depicted on Constantinian coinage. Many believe this was the first time Christian symbols appeared on Roman Imperial coins. There has been much discussion and controversy concerning the origins and meanings of these emblems. The author is a collector, not an expert. At the risk of traveling familiar territory, here is a brief history of these symbols and a short review of the coins.

## The Chi-Rho

The Chi-Rho monogram appears on the reverse of a third century BC bronze coin of Ptolemy III (BMC 6.55, 87). Obviously this was not a Christian symbol. Thousands of abbreviations, abstract monograms and letter ligatures (letters sharing the same line or overlaid on another) are found on ancient coins and their countermarks. They refer to a name, title, date, mintmark, denomination, officina, etc. Ancient coins were designed to advertise information, just as today's governments, corporations and sports teams

display their logos. Some 530 years after Ptolemy III the XP was popularized as Christ's ensign.

Jesus Christ was a relatively new deity among gods in the Roman Empire. Roman emperors were generally tolerant of people worshiping any god they chose. Cities and towns had patron gods. Emperors were often named chief priests of the empire, entitled *Pontifex Maximus*. They oversaw temple ceremonies in Rome and were supreme judges on religious matters. Emperors were sometimes deified after death. Christianity opposed the worship of other gods and humans. Some emperors persecuted Christians and tried to destroy their churches and writings. Some Christians refused to offer sacrifices to the emperor (Pliny the Younger, *Epistle x*). Both Suetonius and Tacitus wrote of Roman contempt for the sect that rose from Judaism. Following Christ was a "new and wicked superstition" (Suetonius, *Nero*, xvi). But Christianity continued to spread through periods of persecution and relative calm. Transition was coming, most notably by a bridge. In 312 Constantine's army fought the army of Maxentius by the Milvian bridge near Rome. Constantine's forces were some 90,000 foot soldiers compared to 170,000 foot soldiers of Maxentius, but these numbers may be inflated (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall...* 1, xiv, note 51). Civil wars were common in the empire. However, this time Constantine reportedly prayed to a non-traditional god for help and saw a miraculous vision. The next day, Constantine won the battle and Maxentius was killed.

Years later Bishop Eusebius (260-339) visited with Constantine. Eusebius clearly has a Christian bias and he glorifies

Constantine, but his *History of the Church* and *The Life of Constantine* are important sources of the period. Eusebius wrote what the emperor said of the vision (L. of C., 1, xxviii-xxxi). To summarize, at mid-day Constantine looked above the sun and saw a "trophy of a cross" of light having on it an inscription saying to conquer by this sign. That night in a dream Constantine saw Christ and the same cross. Christ commanded him to use this sign as a safeguard against his enemies. Constantine ordered a likeness made of what he saw. To display the sign, a long spear with a transverse bar was made and overlaid with gold. On top was made a gold and jeweled wreath, which within contained the Chi-Rho sign, the first two Greek letters of Christ,  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . Eusebius states he actually saw this standard and specifically says the P was intersected at the center with the X. A beautifully decorated cloth was hung from the crossbar below the XP. Constantine also had an XP placed on his helmet.<sup>1</sup>

There has been some misunderstanding and disagreement over what Constantine saw in the sky partly because of the rather confusing manner Eusebius describes the event. Eusebius says Constantine saw a "trophy of a cross" with the inscription (L. of C., 1, xxviii). Eusebius later describes the spear/crossbar as having a cross shape (L. of C., 1, xxxi). Eusebius continues by stating a golden image of the emperor and his children was fixed to the spear above the banner but below the "trophy of the cross." Eusebius thus uses "cross" to refer to the spear/crossbar shape and to the XP. Evidently, Eusebius understood the letter X as having a serendipitous double meaning. It represented Christ's crucifixion cross and also was the first letter of Christ in Greek.

Christian author Lactantius (250-325) knew Constantine and was a teacher for Constantine's eldest son Crispus. Lactantius wrote soon after the event and states the emperor saw a divine sign prior to the battle of the Milvian bridge, a tilted X with the upper bar having a bent top to form a P (*Deaths of the Persecutors*, 44.5). Christian writers Socrates (380-450) and Sozomen (early 5th cent.) also record Constantine's vision/dream, but they may have taken their information from Lactantius or Eusebius. Whether or not Constantine

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really had this vision/dream is not as important as Constantine's growing acceptance of Christianity.

Constantine's Christian tendencies feasibly came more from a gradual change in his theology rather than a moment of rebirth. His father, Constantius I, allowed Christian teachers to instruct the youths of the royal family (Gibbon, *Decline and*



The XP (Chi-Rho) between the eagle's legs, shown here on the reverse of a Ptolemy III bronze, could be an abbreviation for the Greek word *XPESTON* meaning "good". (Photo from *Die Münzen der Ptolemäer*, Frankfurt am Main, No. 117).

*Fall...*, 1, xviii). Eusebius states Constantius I worshiped the one supreme God (L. of C., 1, xvii). After reflecting on the downfall of former rulers who worshiped many gods, Constantine made a decision to follow his father's monotheism (L. of C., 1, xxvii; Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, 1, ii).

In 313 Constantine and Licinius I decreed at Milan that Christians be given freedom to worship and that churches could regain confiscated property. Constantine expressed tolerance toward the ancient religions, but also issued edicts against them (L. of C., 2, lvi, lx, 3, lxiv, lxv). In about 320 Licinius placed restrictions on Christians in his realm by issuing several laws against the faith. Constantine's relationship with Licinius was sometimes strained and their armies met in battle several times. Constantine used Christ's standard in combat, entrusting at least fifty soldiers to its care (L. of C., 2, vii-viii). Licinius was concerned about the power of Christ's standard and ordered his men not to attack where the standard was located (L. of C., 2, xvi). In 324 Constantine defeated Licinius. Licinius relinquished power, but was soon confined and executed.

Constantine demonstrated his Christian inclinations by helping to fi-

nance the construction of splendid churches in Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem and also caused the destruction of several temples of the ancient gods. In 325 Constantine convened the great ecumenical Church council at Nicea which created a confession of faith called the Nicene Creed.

Critics of Constantine's sincerity of faith emphasize the executions of Crispus and Constantine's second wife Fausta. In 326 Crispus was apparently accused of conspiracy or immoral conduct by his stepmother Fausta. Constantine ordered his son to be killed. On similar suspicions, Fausta was shortly thereafter put to death. Another criticism of Constantine is that he was not baptized until close to his demise. This could indicate Constantine was not completely dedicated to the Christian faith. Gibbon speculates because baptism cleansed only past sins, Constantine may have thought he should postpone the sacrament (*Decline and Fall...*, 1, xx).

Numerous books, articles and web sites discuss Constantine's vision/dream and the Chi-Rho. Some scholars and numismatists doubt if the XP originally meant Christ. Explanations for the XP on Constantine's coins have been proposed by coin experts, historians and others who have a theological agenda. Rounding up the suspects, here is a list of interpretations:

a) *Military Logo*. Roman military standards were called *vexillum*, derived from *velum*, meaning sail. A piece of decorative cloth sometimes hung from a standard's crossbar. The top of the standard occasionally had an ornament, an eagle, etc. Some Roman coins depict an inscribed cloth banner on the standard. The famous tenth legion likely displayed an X on the cloth or on top of their standards. But this author is not aware of any Roman coins showing letter ligatures on a standard until Constantine's XP. If the XP was initially a military logo, not intended to symbolize Christ, then what was its military meaning? A military definition for a secular XP was not found by this author.

b) *Denomination value*. The Greek numeric value of XP is 700. The Constantinian XP appears on bronze, silver and gold coins, eliminating any chance the XP is a mark of value.

c) *Moneyer's Name*. Since the XP appears on issues from several mints and was occasionally struck from Constantine into the Byzantine era, it is doubtful the symbol has any connection with a mint official's name.

d) *Sun-god*. This interpretation has X as rays of the sun, and P "pater" as father,

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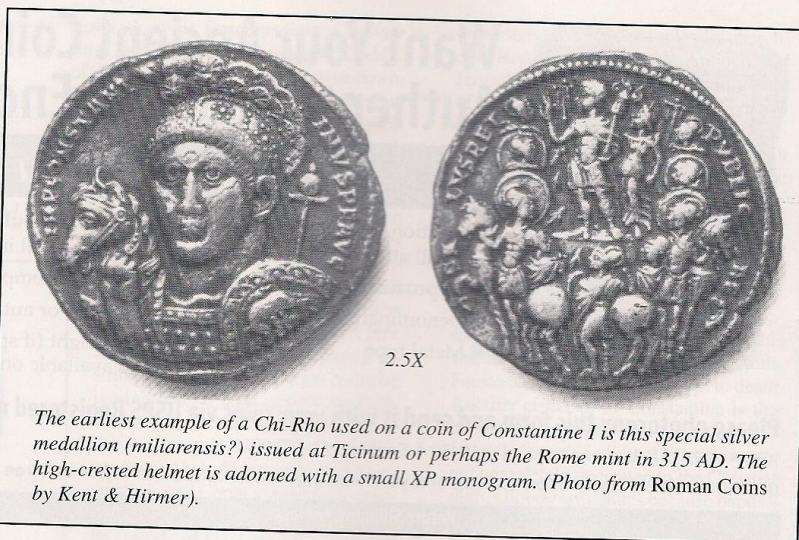
the sun-father, Sol. Or, X as the rays of the sun, and P is Ra, the Egyptian sun-god. The X or XP as possible sun worship symbols amazingly comes from two opposite points of view. Some atheist web sites label Christianity as a myth that borrowed common spiritual themes from older religions such as good/evil, light/darkness, death/resurrection. Christianity supposedly took Sol's X or XP symbols and used them for Christ. On the other extreme are fundamentalist Christian Web sites that proclaim the Church was corrupted when pagan worship practices were introduced, including Sol's X or XP sign. The Persian sun-god Mithras, Helios to the Greeks, became Sol in Roman times as *Sol Invictus* (invincible sun). Sol was a major competitor of Christianity during Constantine's reign. Constantine struck coins with images of Jupiter, Mars and most frequently Sol.

Early Christians were accused of being sun worshippers, a charge Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 225) refuted:

"Others, again, certainly with more information and greater verisimilitude,

*believe that the sun is our god. We shall be counted Persians perhaps, though we do not worship the orb of day painted on a piece of linen cloth, having himself everywhere in his own disk. The idea no doubt has originated from our being known to turn to the east in prayer.*"

Apology, xvi



*The earliest example of a Chi-Rho used on a coin of Constantine I is this special silver medallion (miliarensis?) issued at Ticinum or perhaps the Rome mint in 315 AD. The high-crowned helmet is adorned with a small XP monogram. (Photo from Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).*

Several pagan practices were indeed incorporated into the Christian faith. The title *Pontifex Maximus* was adopted by the popes. The nimbus was shown above the head of the sun-god before being used in Christian art. Victory (Nike) was recast as an angel of the Lord. The true date of Christ's birth is unknown. December 25 was chosen by the Roman church to correspond with the winter solstice and the *Natalis Invictus* festival of the Sun's birth (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall...*, 1, xxii, note 22). Pope Leo the Great (ca. 400-461) wrote that some Christians, due to ignorance or heathenism, turned to the rising sun and bowed to it (Sermon xxvi).

However, if the X or XP were ever Sol's symbols, this author found little evidence. Of seven reference books on signs and symbols consulted, only one mentions a Chi-Rho connection with the Chaldean "sky god" and without citing any substantiating sources.<sup>2</sup> The usual symbols for sun-gods were the solar disk and radiate crown. Letters, words and symbols evolve. Their usage and meanings can change. If the X or XP were used for Sol worship, pronouncing them inherently corrupt is ludicrous.

e) *Mint Mark*. Patrick Bruun, author of *Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII* (RIC VII), states the XP on Constantinian coinage was a mintmark for issue or imperial rank. He is skeptical of an initial Christian connection (pp. 61-64, 418-419). Looking at RIC VI, VII and *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (LRBC), the only letter ligatures this author found for Constantine issues are the Chi-Rho and Tau-Rho. Why were these chosen over hundreds of

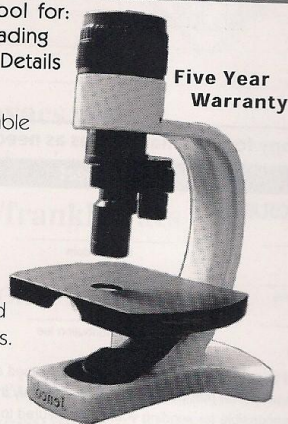
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possible letters combinations? The Romans infrequently struck monograms and letter ligatures, although they seem to appear more often after Constantine, such as the monograms of Marcian.

Numerous objects and letters were struck for mint identification and series marks. Presumably the mints kept records of the many combinations of letters, wreaths, stars, crescents, branches, etc.<sup>3</sup> Mint officials conceivably made these design changes for quality control. A degree of politics was certainly involved in design decisions. Perhaps the Chi-Rho and Tau-Rho were simply the artistic flare of mint officials, intended only for series identification without broader meaning.

f) *Chi-Rho = Christ*. In ancient texts variations of the Chi-Rho were used to abbreviate several words. Two non-Christian uses of the Chi-Rho are found on several Greek papyri that predate Constantine. The authors or readers who added comments abbreviated the noun *XPEISTON* (CHRESTON) meaning "good," and wrote the XP monogram in the margins of the lines to denote a valuable passage.<sup>2</sup> Another Greek author used XP for "time" *XPONOS* (CHRONOS), though in a different form than Constantine's XP.<sup>3</sup>

In Christian context, the Chi-Rho monogram is specifically used to represent Christ in two papyri of the Greek New Testament dating from the late second and

ently neither the XP nor the TP were ever used on Imperial Roman coinage until Constantine. It does not seem logical that mint officials meant "time" for Constantine's XP. The generic "good" could explain the XP on the bronze coin of Ptolemy III and may be the solution to Constantine's XP. However, this author found no writings from the Roman period that specifically cite Constantine's XP as "good" or any other secular meaning.

Without contradictory contemporary sources it is reasonable to believe that Eusebius and Lactantius are correct, Constantine's XP is a Christian symbol. Eusebius and Lactantius were not eyewitnesses at the battle of the Milvian bridge, but they were acquainted with the imperial family and expressed no doubts about the monogram's meaning. Mint officials likely used the XP knowing it was the emperor's ensign, the symbol of his favorite god. Mint officials would not have needed in-depth knowledge of Christianity, an understanding that fully developed Christian faith meant rejecting all other gods. If mint officials were polytheistic, they possibly perceived the XP as representing Constantine's patron god and struck it as a mintmark.

The origin of the XP for Christ most probably came from Christians before Constantine's vision/dream and he simply adopted the sign. In Christian art, the Chi-Rho appears on the Passion Sarcophagus ca. 350, on several fourth century epitaph inscriptions and on late Roman oil lamps. When the first Constantine XP coins circulated we might wonder if there was great interest among the populace. Most people were illiterate and many still worshiped ancient gods. But the Christian meaning of Chi-Rho would have been spread by the clergy and the imperial family. If not from the start, the XP on Roman coins was soon understood to be Christ's sign.

#### The Cross

The cross symbol, two conjoined lines, was used long before Christianity. The earliest crosses are on walls in pre-historic caves in Europe.<sup>5</sup> Ankh, the Egyptian hieroglyph for life is a T with an oval on top.<sup>6</sup> The Chaldean god Tammuz (the son who rises) was sometimes represented by the Greek letter tau T. Swastikas are seen on Greek coins and Hittite monuments. Plato, in *Timaeus*, discusses how the spirit-being demiurge unites the physical world with the spirit world by using two sutures forming a X.<sup>7</sup> Intersecting lines in the fields of ancient coins often represent a star or are part of a monogram.



2.5X

*The reverse of an AE follis depicting a military standard with 3 medallions and a XP monogram above. The standard is piercing a snake below. (Photo from Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).*

third century AD.<sup>4</sup> If this dating is correct, it proves the Chi-Rho was used for Christ before Constantine's vision/dream. Appar-

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Early Christian crosses came in several forms including the equilateral or Greek +, the letter tau T, the letter chi X sometimes called St. Andrew's cross, the Tau-Rho monogram and the Latin cross *crux immissa* (†). Cross symbols from the Roman era before Constantine are difficult to interpret as Christ's cross. A cross on an object, wall or coin without knowledge of a Christian context could easily have a different meaning than Christ's crucifixion.

The Greek writer Herodotus (484?-425? BC) in *Histories*, 9, cxx, mentions crucifixion. The primitive form of the crucifixion beam was an upright wooden stake or pole, which the Greeks called a *stauros* (Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv, 453; Thucydides, *History*, v, 90). The *stauros*, *crux simplex*, did not have a crossbar. During the Roman era Cicero, Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, Josephus and others cite incidents of crucifixion. Crucifixion was most often a punishment for non-citizens of the Roman Empire. Victims were tied or nailed to the upright structure, sometimes suffering several days before dying. Nero had Christians crucified (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 44). Galba had an individual crucified

higher than ordinary as if to honor the condemned (Suetonius, *Galba*, ix). A Roman stone figure from Halicarnassus depicts a



1.5X

A gold medallion of Constantine I depicting his bust with an upward, heavenly gaze. (From Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).

man on a *stauros*, his hands tied to the pole above his head. Sometimes the top of the *stauros* was sharpened so the condemned could be impaled.

Christ's crucifixion is recorded in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Some of the earliest surviving copies of these gospels are written in Greek. These Greek copies use the noun *stauros* to describe the wood Christ was nailed upon, and the verb *stauroo* for the act of crucifixion. Most English Bibles translate the word *stauros* as "cross." Cross is derived from the Latin *crux*. Cross and *crux* do not accurately characterize the original meaning of *stauros*.

Some Christians therefore believe that images of Christ on a cross with his arms outstretched at about 90-degrees is incorrect. Christ may have been crucified on a *stauros* without a crossbar, his hands nailed together or separately above his head. Some contend the Christian cross evolved from the pagan sign of Tammuz, T. However, first century Judaea was a mixture of Jewish, Greek and Roman worlds. For those who spoke and wrote in Greek, the original meaning of *stauros* almost certainly broadened as a general term to include all the beams used in a crucifixion. Bible commentaries and encyclopedias commonly state the Romans used a crossbar, *patibulum*, for crucifixions. Translators of ancient Greek texts often substitute "cross" for *stauros* without comment. Unfortunately, it seems unknown when the Romans began using crossbars for crucifixions. Adding a crossbar to the *stauros* could have come from peoples and cultures that Rome conquered. Seneca (ca. 4 BC-AD 65) describes such methods of torture:

*"Yonder I see instruments of torture, not indeed of a single kind, but differently contrived by different peoples; some hang their victims with head toward the ground, some impale their private parts, others stretch out their arms on a forked-shaped gibbet."*

Marcia on Consolation, xx, 3

Another non-Christian source is Lucian (ca. 120-180), who wrote a fanciful judgement of vowels. Lucian characterizes the personified letter tau T as violent, criticizing him (tau) for being the shape of the *stauros*:

*"Stauros the vile engine is called, and it derives its vile name from him. Now, with all these crimes upon him, does he not deserve death, nay many deaths? For my part I know none bad enough but that supplied by his own shape; that shape which he gave to the gibbet named stauros after him by men..."*

Trial in the Court of Vowels, x.

In villages and rural areas a *crux simplex* or a living tree was sufficient for crucifixion (Tertullian, *Apology*, ix). Major cities used a designated place outside city walls for crucifixions, such as Rome and

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Jerusalem (Tacitus, *Annals* ii, 32; xv, 60; Matthew 27:33). In the metropolitan sites, it was probably typical for several people to be crucified on the same day (Matthew 27:38). In times of revolt or war there were mass crucifixions, as with the Spartacus slave rebellion. Josephus records several mass crucifixions of Jews; in one instance 2,000, and another where 800 hung from the stauros watching their children and wives being killed in front of them before they died (Josephus, *Antiq.* 13, xiv; 17, x; JW 5, xi).

Scourging customarily preceded an execution. Another practice was to force the convicted to carry their death pole to the execution site (Plutarch, *Tard. Dei Vind.*, ix). Christ was beaten so badly that another man had to carry the stauros (Matthew 27:30-32). Occasionally an insulting inscription, *titulus*, was placed on the person or on the stauros (Suetonius, *Domitian*, x). Christ's *titulus* was placed above his head (Matthew 27:37). If a rectangular *titulus* was put on a *crux simplex* above the hands, it could have given the stauros the appearance of a T.

It seems impractical to erect, then uproot and throw away a new stauros for every victim, especially in cities with multiple executions or when wood was scarce. Sometimes a stauros was fixed in the ground and used repeatedly, even on Ro-

man citizens which Cicero (106-43 BC) abhorred (*Speech...on Behalf of Gaius Rabirius*, iv, 11; v, 16). A stauros was also erected for visual intimidation absent a body (Josephus, *JW* 7, vi). Victims could



2.5X

The reverse of a bronze *maiorina* of Magnentius, struck circa 353 AD, depicting the Christogram. (From Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).

still have carried a crossbar to the execution site, then the crossbar would have been fastened to the stauros. Perhaps wooden framing, a scaffold, was at times constructed to make gibbets for multiple executions.

From Christian authors, Irenaeus (ca. 130-200) provides one of the earliest descriptions of Christ's execution pole. He states Christ's cross had five extremities, two in its length, two in its breadth and a fifth in the middle (*Adv. Haer.* II, 24). Perhaps he was including a *titulus*, a foot support and bracing. In countering the accusation that Christians worshiped the cross, Tertullian explicitly mentions the crossbar and argues the idols of other gods are themselves forms of a cross:

"Every piece of timber which is fixed in the ground in an erect position is part of a cross, and indeed the greater portion of its mass. But an entire cross is attributed to us, with its transverse beam, of course, and its projection seat...Now every image, whether carved out of wood or stone, or molten in metal, or produced out of any other richer material, must needs have had plastic hands engaged in its formation. Well, then, this modeler, before he did anything else, hit upon the form of a wooden cross, because even our own body assumes as its natural position the latent and concealed outline of a cross...if you simply place a man with his arms and hands outstretched, you will make the general outline of a cross."

Ad Nationes, xii.

Minucius Felix (2nd or early 3rd cent. AD) in *Octavius*, xxix, analogizes the cross to the mast of a ship with its sails at full wind (Roman ships often used a crossbar to support the sail). *The Epistle of Barnabas*, ix, (ca. 130?) says Christ's cross was a T shape.

Justin Martyr (ca. 100-160) compares the shape of Christ's cross to a ship's sail and to the human form with hands extended. In the same passage he states the Romans do not realize their standards resemble the Lord's cross:

"And the power of this form is shown by your symbols on what is called vexilla and trophies, with which all your state possessions are made, using this as the insignia of your power and government, even though you do so unwittingly."

First Apology, LV

In Origen's (ca. 185-251) commentary of Ezekiel 9:4, he states the mark on the forehead was similar to tau, which was the shape of the sign of the cross that Christians made.

On a Palatine wall in Rome is a graffito of a donkey-headed human hanging on a T cross. To the left is a man looking at the morphed creature. The inscription reads "Alexamenos adores his god." The date of this graffito is attributed to the early third century AD. Interestingly, Tertullian argues against the notion of the Christian god having a donkey's head, and blames Tacitus for spreading this vicious rumor (*Apology*, xvi).

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Admittedly, the graffito and these Christian writings were made many years after Christ's crucifixion. But it is ridiculous to suppose that they have any connection with the sign of Tammuz. They indicate Roman use of the crossbarred stauros, more precisely called a crux by Latins.

In 326 Constantine's mother, Helena, visited Jerusalem and supposedly found the True Cross at the present site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Eusebius records her visit but does not mention the Cross. St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (ca. 315-386), provides an early reference of the finding of the True Cross in his *Catechetical Letters*. Rufinus (ca. 345-410) helped establish a monastery in Jerusalem and describes in his *Church History* how Helena found three crosses. Christ's cross was identified by a miraculous healing. The other two crosses were proclaimed for the two thieves crucified with Christ. Helena took part of the True Cross to Constantinople and pieces of the nails were placed on Constantine's helmet and bridle. These Constantinople artifacts were lost or destroyed.

According to tradition Helena brought similar relics and part of the titulus of the True Cross to Rome. These

now reside at the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which is next to the ruins of Helena's palace. This titulus has not been carbon dated, but the style of its extant Hebrew, Greek and Latin inscriptions date to the time of Christ.<sup>8</sup> The remainder of the True Cross left at Jerusalem was venerated for several centuries. In 614 during a war between the Sasanians and Byzantium, the forces of Chosroes II captured Jerusalem and took this portion of the True Cross. Heraclius (610-641) regained this Cross segment in 627 and while returning to Jerusalem presumably small bits of it were mixed with clay to make pilgrims tokens.<sup>9</sup> Jerusalem was eventually captured by the Muhammadans and the Jerusalem piece of the True Cross was lost in battle when the Crusaders were defeated in 1187. As with all religious relics, believe it or not.

The Tau-Rho cross, called a Staurogram, was struck on a Constantine gold coin (#14 below) and is similar to Lactantius' description of Constantine's vision. TP as an abbreviation is on a Greek scroll for the word "character" *τροπος* (TROPOS).<sup>10</sup> A coin of Herod the Great depicts the TP monogram and it has been interpreted as meaning "Tetrarch" (Hendin 486). More contemporary with Con-

stantine are several TP monograms found on three Greek New Testament papyri in the Bodmer collection.<sup>11</sup> On these papyri the Greek word *stauros* was shortened by using the second letter T overlaid with

the fifth letter P. These TP monograms unquestionably refer to Christ's cross. The papyri are dated to about one hundred years before Constantine and if dated accurately they prove Christians were using this symbol before Constantine. The Tau-Rho cross is also on a Christian inscription from Egypt dated to the time of Gordian III (238-244).<sup>12</sup>

By the late fourth and certainly the fifth centuries AD the cross had become the dominant Christian symbol on Roman coins. Crosses on late Roman and Byzantine coins are often shown with an emperor or Victory and were sometimes struck as the central reverse motif or on a shield. A look at present-day church fixtures and the jewelry people wear proves the cross prevailed over the XP as Christendom's premier emblem, emphasizing more what Christ did for sinners than His name. Of the various cross forms, the Latin cross  $\dagger$  seems the most favored to represent Christ. The Latin cross is a worthy representative of the stauros with room for a titulus above a victim's head. The possibility Christ was crucified without a crossbar does not lessen the Christian significance of the cross today, or diminish the sincerity of the faithful.



An example of a Tau-Rho monogram or Staurogram on a gold solidus of Valens. (From Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).

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In the Old Testament God's hand denotes power (Isaiah 23:11, Joshua 4:24). In the New Testament sometimes touching provided power, as with Christ's gar-

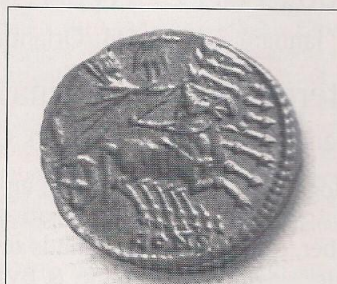


ment and with the Apostles' laying on of hands (Matthew 9:20-22, Acts 5:12; 8:19, etc). One of the most famous representations of divine touch is Michelangelo's painting on the Sistine Chapel's ceiling, with God's arm stretched, his finger extended to create Adam. God's hand has not been the preferred symbol for Christianity. The cross, XP, chalice, bread, fish, etc. pervade Christian art. We could lightheartedly say the hand of God was somewhat of a marketing failure. But if used as a method of portraying divine right to rule, it could have been politically beneficial for Constantine's sons.

A commemorative coin of Constantine shows the *Manus Dei*, the hand of God (#16 below). Nothing on this coin proves the hand in the upper reverse field represents the Biblical God. But with Christianity in the house of Constantine, it is sensible to believe this hand could not be pagan. This hand belongs to the Judeo-Christian God. Below God's hand, Constantine is in a quadriga with one hand reaching upward. Constantine isn't just merrily riding along. Eusebius describes this coin as Constantine ascending into heaven (L. of C., 4, lxxiii). This resembles Elijah's flaming chariot ride to heaven (II Kings 2:11). In addition to advertising divine right to rule, this coin may also tes-

tify to Constantine's true relationship with God, that in his latter years he was a bonafide convert. After Constantine, the coins of Arcadius, Eudoxia and others show God's hand holding a wreath above the head.

For centuries the Romans struck coins showing images of their gods. Except for the divine hand, there was no expeditious effort to portray God or Christ on coin-



2.5X

*The reverse of a Constantinian bronze showing the Manus Dei (hand of God) reaching down toward Constantine in a quadriga right. (From Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).*

age. This might be due to the Biblical prohibition of graven images (Ex. 20:4; Acts 17:23-25; Romans 1:23) and that Christianity stressed inner spirituality rather than giving homage to idols. Images and paintings in churches became an ecclesiastical quarrel from roughly the fifth through eighth centuries called the Iconoclastic Controversy. This no doubt affected the use of Christian symbols and images on coins. Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) was the first emperor to strike coins with the perceived image of Christ. Perhaps due to pervasive illiteracy, Christian icons became an accepted method for teaching the faith. The Eastern Romans, or Byzantines, struck many coins with facing busts of Christ or the Virgin Mary.

### The Coins

The +, T, and X on most coins of Constantine I are dubious as Christ's cross. They appear in the field, as part of the mint mark, within an altar, or in the standard. Late in his reign the +, T and X on certain coins might refer to Christ's cross. As stated previously, the Chi-Rho on Constantine's coins may have initially been a mark of issue, just one of many symbols for series identification having no relation to Christ. This explains the mintage purpose of the XP, but requires an explanation of how and when a secular XP was transformed into the Christogram after Constantine had already struck it on his coins. The XP is made of alphabet letters, not abstract unintelligible lines. Roman coins often show single letters representing an entire word. It is commonsensical to conclude the XP on all Constantinian coins had a specific meaning and the preponderance of evidence points to Christ and His cross. The XP Christogram appears on Constantine's helmet, as part of his standard and prominently in the field. According to Sozomen, Constantine abolished crucifixion and ordered Christ's sign to be placed on his coins:

*"He regarded the cross with peculiar reverence, on account both of the power which it conveyed to him in war, and also of the divine manner in which the symbol had appeared to him. He abolished the law, which had prevailed among the Romans of putting criminals to death by crucifixion. He commanded that this divine symbol should be affixed to his image on coins and pictures."*

Eccl. Hist., I, ix.

Apparently there was no specific edict to strike the XP or TP at every mint. If that were the case, it wasn't enforced. Constantine may have ordered the first strik-

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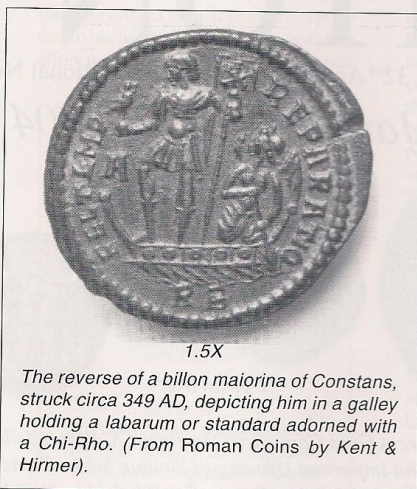
ing of XP coins, with XP on his helmet, and thereafter the XP and TP were used independently by some mints.

Rarity ratings in RIC VII for some types are somewhat outdated, yet Constantine era coins with Chi-Rho or Tau-Rho are still scarce to extremely rare. Of approximately 1,363 coins of Constantine I in RIC VII, covering the period of 313-337, roughly one percent might be classified as having Christian symbols. An estimated one percent share is paltry, albeit convincingly indicates the expansion of Christianity. Listed below are Constantine era coins, some of which are generally acknowledged as the first Roman coins with Christian symbols. The others are speculative yet fascinating. Of the seventeen mints in operation during Constantine's reign, just six or seven struck coins with the Chi-Rho; Ticinum and perhaps Siscia with XP on the helmet; Constantino-ple, Arelate and possibly Siscia with XP on the standard; Trier with XP on the shield; Arelate, Aquileia, Ticinum, Thessalonica and Siscia (irregular issue?) with XP or primitive XP in the field or next to the mint mark. Arelate struck an X on the standard. Antioch struck a Tau-Rho cross in the field. Aquileia struck a Latin cross † in the field.

This is a cursory list, not a thorough

analysis of all varieties. For full descriptions and further study see RIC, LRBC and other works:

1. AR medallion. O: Constantine three-quarters facing bust, wearing high-crested helmet with XP, horse to his right,



1.5X  
The reverse of a billon maiorina of Constantine, struck circa 349 AD, depicting him in a galley holding a labarum or standard adorned with a Chi-Rho. (From Roman Coins by Kent & Hirmer).

shield to his left. R: Constantine standing on platform, soldiers and horses around. Mint: Ticinum, struck 315. RIC

VII 36. This famous and especially rare coin is the earliest extant Constantine Chi-Rho type and was a special issue, not for general circulation.

2. Æ follis. O: helmeted bust of Constantine left, XP on helmet? R: two Victories holding inscribed shield. Mint: Siscia, struck 319. RIC VII 61 variant. Rare specimens of this type show what looks like a Chi-Rho on the center band of the helmet. Patrick Bruun postulates these are unintended die engraver's slips.<sup>13</sup> Other Siscian helmeted Constantine types show two to four intersecting lines or five pointed stars on the bowl of the helmet (RIC VII 95, etc.). Kenneth Jacob states in his book *Coins and Christianity* that a few of these are a Chi-Rho.<sup>14</sup> The example Mr. Jacob shows in his book could be a Chi-Rho, just decoration, or a six-pointed star with dotted tips.<sup>15</sup>

3. Æ follis. O: Constantine bust right. R: two seated captives, between them a VOT XX banner, in left field an XP, star or XI. Mint: Aquileia, struck 320. RIC VII 58. This type was also struck at Aquileia for Licinius I, Crispus and Constantine II. Ticinum, Thessalonica and Siscia struck similar reverses in 319-320. The reverse field mark sometimes appears to be a stylized XP with the top of the P looking like a dot, similar to a few markings on the Siscian helmets.

Historian Andrew Alföldi interpreted Lactantius' description of the XP as being hastily painted on soldiers' shields so the top of the P looked like a round-headed pin.<sup>16</sup> On some issues the reverse left field mark is three plain intersecting lines without an upper dot, the top limb is sometimes elongated. These look like a star, but could be interpreted as primitive XP. Another possibility is to view this sign as IX, Iota-Chi, the first letters of Jesus and Christ in Greek, *Ιησους Χριστος*. The IX monogram for Jesus Christ is found on some late Roman tomb inscriptions. The star or IX was occasionally struck next to the mint designation. Plain left field examples without an upper dot seem spurious as Chi-Rho or Jesus Christ since this form was a star on several issues before and after the Milvian bridge battle (RIC VI 258A, Trier; LRBC 1982, Heraclea, etc.). One example from Ticinum has an X with dot shaped P in left field and a star in the right field (RIC VII, 129). Mr. Bruun states that the XP, TP and XI were at the outset regarded as Constantinian signs.<sup>17</sup>

Accepting these left field symbols as Christograms causes curiosity as to why die engravers did not replicate the Chi-Rho as seen on the earlier Ticinum medallion.

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Perhaps the engraver of the Ticinum medallion was better skilled or more knowledgeable of the XP form. This author has not seen the works of Bastien and Maurice, but has been told that they support a Chi-Rho reading of X with a dot-shaped P. This interpretation is defensible. Therefore the X with dot shaped P signs, and possibly the plain examples, are the first regular issues of Constantine's Chi-Rho. The decision to strike the Chi-Rho plausibly came from Christian mint workers as an expression of faith or to reflect some tolerance of Constantine and Licinius toward Christianity.

4. *Æ* follis. O: Crispus bust left, Chi-Rho on shield. R: globe on altar. Mint: Trier, struck 322-323. RIC VII 372 rare variety. This is the only instance of XP shown on a shield that was issued during Constantine's reign and is a plate coin in the Hunter collection (Vol. 5).

5. *Æ* follis. O: Constantine bust right. R: military standard with 3 medallions and XP above. Below, a snake is being pierced by the standard or the standard sits on top the snake. Mint: Constantinople, struck 327. RIC VII 19, 26. This is the first known striking of the XP as part of the standard, the so-called labarum. The significance of the snake has been debated. Some authors identify the snake as Licinius I, as serpent Satan (Genesis 3; Rev. 12:9) or evil incarnate.

Another interpretation offered by Marvin Tameanko has the snake symbolizing power or rejuvenation.<sup>18</sup> Greek and Roman Provincial coins depict mystical snakes, such as the cista mystica and the snake-wrapped staff symbol of Asklepios, god of medicine and healing. The serpentine staff symbol is still used today by the American Medical Association (AMA) and others in the medical profession. But the snake positioned underneath Constantine's standard seems more submissive than beneficial, similar to the snake being trampled by an elephant on a denarius of Julius Caesar.

6. AV multiple Solidus. O: Constan-

tine bust right with upward gaze. R: Constantine standing, dragging captive. Mint: Siscia, struck 326-327. RIC VII 206. Constantine was so impressed by the power of faith he ordered the striking of coins with his image looking up in a posture of prayer (L. of C., 4, xv). Similar obverses were struck at other mints and in silver and bronze. Constantine wasn't the first to show an upward gaze. Some Greek and Roman Republic coins display tilted up eyes or busts, probably to indicate the divine. The heavenward look was also minted for Crispus and Delmatius.

7. *Æ* follis or 3/4. O: Constantine bust right. R: two soldiers either side of two standards, XP between the standards. Mint: Arelate (Arles), struck 334. RIC VII 381. LRBC 384. The XP between standards was also struck at Arelate for Constantine's sons Constantine II, Constans and Constantius II.

8. *Æ* 3/4. O: Helmeted bust of Roma left. R: she-wolf and twins, XP and two stars above. Mint: Arelate, struck 334. RIC VII 385 (and 400). LRBC 389. This reverse might be the ultimate iconography for Chi-Rho collectors. The mythical founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus, are nursed by a she-wolf. Above is an XP indicating the growth of Christianity in the empire.

9. *Æ* 3/4. O: Helmeted bust of Constantinopolis left. R: Victory standing on prow, XP in left field. Mint: Arelate, struck 334. RIC VII 386 (and 401). LRBC 390. Casual searches on Ebay indicate this is the most available of all Chi-Rho types struck during Constantine's reign, but only about one per year has been auctioned.

10. *Æ* follis or 3/4. O: Constantine bust right. R: two soldiers to either side of two standards, cross between the soldiers above mintmark. Mint: Aquileia, struck 334-335. RIC VII 124. LRBC 656. The text in RIC shows an equilateral cross + while LRBC shows a Latin cross †. This author has seen three examples of this type and all have a Latin cross †. The Latin

cross seems more than sloppy workmanship. The raised crossbar was likely done intentionally by Christian engravers. A cross was also struck at Aquileia for Constantine II, Constans, Constantius II and for the she-wolf and twins type.

11. *Æ* follis or 3/4. O: Constantine bust right. R: two soldiers with one XP standard between them. Mint: Arelate, struck 336. RIC VII 394. LRBC 398. The XP standard was also struck at Arelate for Constantine II, Constans, Constantius II and Delmatius.<sup>19</sup>

12. *Æ* follis or 3/4. O: Constantine bust right. R: two soldiers, between them one standard with X. Mint: Arelate, struck 336-337. RIC VII 402. LRBC 405. Does the X mean chi for Christ, X for Christ's cross, the Roman letter or numeral X, or just ornamentation? Interpreting the X standard is challenging. To a degree Christ is still identified with an X. Some dictionaries list the word "Xmas" for Christmas. The X standard was also struck for Constans, Constantine II, Delmatius and other emperors. XI standards appear on later issues.

13. *Æ* 3/4. O: Constantine II or I bust right. R: two soldiers, one XP standard between them. Mint: Siscia, struck 337-341. RIC VIII 89. LRBC 770. Most experts believe these belong to the eldest surviving son, Constantine II. But a few dealers have sold this type as RIC VII 252 variant, struck 335-336, with XP standard for Constantine I.<sup>19</sup> Both father and son used the legends CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG on the obverse and GLORIA EXERCITVS ("glory of the military") on the reverse. Constantine's sons were given the rank of Caesar while their father was alive, but they were not appointed Augusti, joint-rulers of the empire, until their father's demise. This eliminates the simultaneous use of MAX AVG for father and sons. Neither RIC nor LRBC lists a Siscia issue of Constantine I with XP standard. Coin attribution is sometimes an opinion based on years of experience, comparing bust style or other features. Siscia may have used one or two XP standard dies for Constantine I before his death, but this is uncertain. Whether all these belong to the son or a few to the father makes little difference in terms of being early Chi-Rho Roman coins. Advertising this type as Constantine I might increase the price, so discuss this with the seller before buying. Siscia struck a similar reverse for Constans and Constantius II.

14. AV Solidus. O: Constantine bust right. R: Victory advancing left, Tau-Rho cross in left field. Mint: Antioch, struck



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336-337. RIC VII 98. It was at Antioch that believers were first called Christians (Acts 11:26). The TP represents Christ's stauros as evidenced by the Bodmer papyri. Dealers often view the Tau-Rho as a Christogram variation, but Staurogram better describes the form. The Staurogram also appears on the coinage of others including Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius.

15. Æ 3/4. Posthumous issue, struck 337-341. O: veiled bust of Constantine left. R: Constantine standing holding globe, XP in field. Mint: Lugdunum. LRBC 238.

16. Æ 3/4. Posthumous issue, struck 337-341. O: veiled bust of Constantine right. R: Constantine in quadriga, the hand of God above. Mints: Heraclea, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, and Alexandria. LRBC 943, etc. This is a common type.

Two post-Constantine coins should be mentioned. They are historically important exhibits of Christianity's triumph over Rome:

17. Æ Centenionalis of Magnentius. O: bust right. R: large XP, Greek letters A and W. Mint: Amiens, struck 350. RIC VIII 34. The alpha and omega letters refer to Christ's statement of being the beginning and the end (Rev. 1:8). Large XP reverses were also struck for Constantius II and by Decentius.

18. Æ Centenionalis of Vetranio. O: bust right. R: emperor right, carrying XP standard, being crowned by Victory, with legend HOC SIGNO VICTORERIS ("by this sign conquer"). Mint: Siscia, struck 350. RIC VIII 283. This scarce type recalls Constantine's vision/dream 38 years earlier. A similar reverse is on a Centenionalis of Constantius II, struck by Vetranio.

## Conclusion

The earliest Christian symbol on a Roman coin may not have come from the Imperial mints, but from a third century Christian who carved the Chi-Rho on a Cyzicus provincial coin of Caracalla (198-217).<sup>20</sup> This coin is in the British Museum and ostensibly the type was not in circulation by the 270s. Whoever carved this graffito was unaware that a future Roman emperor would embrace Christianity.

Constantine was a typical Roman emperor, more warrior and politician than righteous priest. He formerly appealed to Mars for protection and in 310 he supposedly had a vision in which Apollo-Sol appeared to predict success.<sup>21</sup> When Constantine had his Milvian bridge vision/dream was it an act of God, a hallucination, or a fictional story that was embellished as years passed?

An emperor seeking divine assistance for military victory was not unusual, except this divinity was Christ. We do know Constantine increasingly favored Christianity during his reign. This is illustrated by his coinage, which by the end of 325 had ceased depicting gods except those viewed more as personifications than as having cult status (Roma, Victory, etc.). The emperor's mint at his new capital, Constantinople, opened in 326 and also neglected the traditional gods. Constantine laid the foundation for the symbols of Christianity to replace the images of the ancient gods. On his last visit to Rome, Constantine declined to lead a procession to offer vows to Jupiter. After Constantine's death the Senate deified him, indicating pagan practices were still in vogue.

Romans continued to seek a spiritual intercessor, but less so in the temples or through the emperor. Gratian (367-383) refused the pontifical robes. People increasingly looked to Church leaders for spiritual guidance. In 380 Theodosius I decreed Christianity the official state religion and branded non-Christians as "her-

etics." Julian II (360-363) was the last emperor to strongly favor the Roman gods.

The transformation of the empire from polytheism to monotheism was sometimes violent. Fighting for power and political killings did not cease with Christian emperors. The formerly persecuted Christians occasionally became persecutors. Emperors issued decrees criminalizing worship of the ancient gods. It must have been difficult for the dwindling numbers of adherents to the "old time religions."

Christianity conquered the Greek, Roman and tribal religions of Europe. Contrary to Christ's message of love, the history of Christianity becoming western civilization's major faith was not always just or peaceful. Like the few Islamic extremists of today, Catholic and Protestant Christianity had its "faith by force" radicals, such as the leaders of the Spanish Inquisitions. But that's another story.

*About the author*—Mark Dunning, a resident of Lincoln, Nebraska, is a maintenance worker for Lincoln Public Schools, a member of the Nebraska State Historical Society, and a member of the Nashville Songwriters Association International.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Constantine* can be read at: <http://www.ccel.org>

<sup>2</sup> *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols*, J. C. Cooper, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978, pg. 92.

<sup>3</sup> An automobile uses the wreath for its emblem. When a wreath is shown as part of the mintmark this affirms the emperor owned a Cadillac.... just kidding!

<sup>4</sup> *Constantine the Great*, Michael Grant, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1994, pg. 142.

<sup>5</sup> *The Quest for the True Cross*, Carsten Peter Thiede and Matthew d'Ancona, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 2000, pg. 133.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

<sup>7</sup> *Dictionary of Symbols*, Carl G. Liungman, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, 1991, pg. 139.

<sup>8</sup> The Ankh was used by early Egyptian Christians (Copts) on their gravestones to symbolize eternal life: *Dictionary of Symbolism*, Hans Biedermann, Facts of Life, 1992, pg. 83.

<sup>9</sup> *A Dictionary of Symbols*, J. E. Cirlot, Philosophical Library, N.Y., pg. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Many medieval forgeries were sold as holy relics and displayed in churches. There may have been enough pieces of the "True Cross" to build an entire house. But the authors of *The Quest for the True Cross* therein provide a worthy study of the Santa Croce titulus.

<sup>11</sup> Today these pilgrims tokens are sometimes offered for sale.

<sup>12</sup> *The Quest for the True Cross*, pg. 133.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* pg. 134.

<sup>15</sup> RIC VII, pg. 62.

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<sup>16</sup> Seaby, London, 1985 reprint, pg. 42.  
<sup>17</sup> Dot tipped stars were sometimes struck, LRBC 1067, Constantinople, etc.

<sup>18</sup> *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, Andrew Alföldi, Oxford, 1998 reprint, pg. 18.

<sup>19</sup> *The Numismatic Chronicle*, v. 157, "The Victorious Signs of Constantine, a reappraisal," Patrick Bruun, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1997, pg. 43.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.ancientcoinmarket.com/mt/article9/1.html>

<sup>21</sup> CNG auction XII, 1990, lot 1097. Frank S. Robinson sale 53, 2002, lot 480.

<sup>22</sup> This coin can be seen at: <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass>

<sup>23</sup> *Coinage in the Roman World*, Andrew Burnett, Seaby, London, 1987, pp. 143-144.

#### Major References

*Roman Imperial Coins* (RIC) VII, *Late Roman Bronze Coins* (LRBC), Works of Josephus, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius, Works of Tacitus, Works of Seneca, Works of Lucian, *The Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* by Everett Ferguson, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, *The Bible*. Several Web sites were also helpful. A good site is by Craig Barclay, Keeper of Numismatics at the Yorkshire Museum in York, U.K. <http://www.new-byzantium.org/HocSigno.html>.

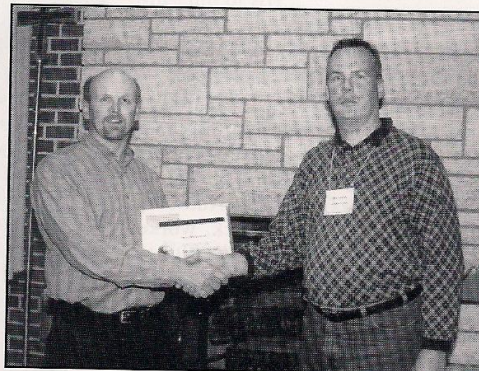


## Wetterstrom Discusses Roman Provincial Coins at Twin Cities Ancient Coin Club Meeting

ST. PAUL, MN—Kerry Wetterstrom, editor of *The Celator*, spoke to the Twin Cities Ancient Coin Club in St. Paul, Minnesota, on September 25<sup>th</sup>. In his presentation, "A Story to Tell: Greek Mythology on Roman Provincial Coinage," Wetterstrom brought the stories of the Greeks and Romans to life through coins. He explored coins which reflect narrative scenes from mythology. Photographs of many outstanding examples were shared with the club, including superb pieces from Roman Egypt.

Some of the coins were formerly in Wetterstrom's collection.

The Twin Cities Ancient Coin Club has been active since the early 1960's. The club meets monthly at Immanuel Lutheran Church, 104 Snelling Avenue, in St. Paul, Minne-



Kerry Wetterstrom (left) receives a Certificate of Appreciation from TCACC president Bill Daehn.

sota. For more information, please contact club secretary Art Noot at [anoot@pctcnet.net](mailto:anoot@pctcnet.net).



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 Aetius  
 Ancient Byways  
 Ancient Eagles  
 Ancient Imports  
 Ancient Worlds  
 Andeavor After Coins  
 Archivum Ancients  
 Art of Money  
 Atlantis, Ltd.  
 Beast Coins  
 Barry & Darling Ancient Coins  
 Harlan J. Berk  
 Byzantine Coin Store

Bold listings are new this month.

#### Carsley Whetstone Company

Calgary Coin  
 Canmoose Coins  
 Carsley Whetstone & Co.  
 Civitas Galleries  
 Classical Numismatic Group  
 Compressor  
 Kirk Davis  
 Ralph DeMarco  
 ECIN Associates  
 E&T Kointainer  
 Eukratides Ancient Numismatics  
 Tony Fein  
 Flavian Logic Ancient Numismatics  
 Freeman & Sear  
 Herakles Numismatics  
 Jencek Ancient Coins & Antiquities

#### FRANK L. KOVACS ANCIENT COINS & ANTIQUITIES

Frank L. Kovacs  
 Bart Lewis  
 Malter Galleries  
 Dmitry Markov  
**Melqart**  
 Minor MasterPieces  
 Moneta  
 Barry P. Murphy  
 Nemesis Ancients & Antiquities  
 Nilus Coins  
 Numisart Galleries  
 Numismatica Argenteo  
 Pars Coins  
 Richard Pearlman  
 Pegasi Numismatics  
 Pieces of Time

#### Glenn W. Woods

Realms  
 RomanLode  
 Rosenblum Coins  
 RSN Coins  
 Wayne G. Sayles  
 Andy Singer  
 Sphinx Numismatics  
 The Time Machine  
 Top Coins  
 Twelve Caesars  
**Vaughn Rare Coin Gallery**  
 Venus Galleries  
**Victoram**  
 Jerry Walker  
 Glenn W. Woods  
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