ON THE SARCOPHAGUS OF VALERIUS AMANDINUS, DISCOVERED AT WESTMINSTER.

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THE substance of the following remarks on the tomb of Valerius Amandinus has already been submitted to the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, and is now brought forward at his wish. Were it not so, it might seem somewhat presumptuous on my part to venture to address you on a subject which has engaged the attention of some of our most eminent archæologists, and on which papers of very great ability have been read. I have been indebted to the Dean's kindness for the fullest permission to examine this remarkable tomb on more occasions than one, and have obtained careful impressions both from its inscription and its lid. Having compared the results with various records and memorials of Roman date, I have arrived at certain opinions as to the tomb and lid which do not agree with those that appear most prevailing. I communicated to the Dean the grounds on which my opinions have been formed, and he has thought them of sufficient importance at least to be propounded for discussion. I am quite aware that judgments of the greatest weight may be found adverse to mine, but I would say (though with much diffidence) that if the conclusions I seek to establish should prove themselves to be reasonable and sound, we shall have raised a claim for this sarcophagus of Westminster to be regarded as one of the most interesting Roman monuments preserved to our times, whether in England or on the continent of Europe, or even in Imperial Rome itself.

The prevailing view at present appears to be that the sarcophagus is of the second or third century, and that the lid belongs to a wholly different date, probably later by some hundreds of years. The opinion I am about to advocate now is that the sarcophagus belongs to the period of Theodosius

the great, that is the last decades of the fourth century—A.D. 380—400, and that the lid is the original cover of the tomb, and of the same date.

I purposely avoid recurring to the remains contained within the tomb. They may have been those of a second occupant, as it clearly was not found in its original place, and had undergone extreme violence to wrench off its cover, which is broken into many pieces, though the coffin itself is singularly uninjured. The lid found on it was undoubtedly forced, and that at a most remote period, as indicated by the depth at which it lay.

The tomb is of great size, its cover being 7 ft. 1 in. long and 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. across, at the widest part. No doubt has been expressed as to the fact that the shelly oolite, of which both tomb and lid are made, came from the same beds. The great size of the stone coffin is one indication of its lateness, as a Roman tomb.

At the first glance it may seem as if there were but little to guide our judgment in the coffin itself. I shall examine it separately from the lid, and I shall inquire whether it contains any internal evidence by which to conjecture its date, from the names, the style, or the lettering of the inscription.

The Dean of Westminster has already pointed out, as regards the names, that neither the father to whom the tomb was erected, nor the sons who had it made, are described by the "Tria nomina." This shows that its period must fall later than the middle of the third century. Now the name Valerius, if considered with regard to its frequency, whether on coins or inscriptions, is peculiarly attributable to the fourth century. It came into popular use after Diocletian ascended the throne, until which date the imperial names were Marcus Aurelius. The prevalence of these at the end of the third century, may be traced in the curious fact that between the year 250 A.D. and 300 A.D. the Emperors Claudius II., Quintillus, Probus, Carus, Numerianus, Carinus, and Maximianus Herculius, are all severally styled, upon some of the coins they struck, by the two names "Marcus Aurelius," placed before the appellation by which they are better known. With Diocletian, Valerius was introduced as an imperial name, to the complete exclusion of those which had been before so much favoured, and it will be found on the coins

of Constantius I., Gal. Maximianus, Severus II., Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, the two Licinii, Constantine the Great, and Constantius II., as their common Gentile designation. The last-mentioned reign carries this name on into the second half of the fourth century. Therefore, if we call to mind that Roman inscriptions, wherever found, testify to the fact that the imperial names were much in vogue, then, other circumstances concurring, there would be an *à priori* probability that the tomb of a Valerius belonged to some period during the century in which Valerii [1] were rulers of the world.

I am able to offer one singularly interesting parallel to this inscription on the Westminster tomb. It states, as you are aware, that the two Valerii, Superventor and Marcellus, had made this memorial to their father, Valerius Amandinus. There is on record another inscription remarkably like it. A sepulchral slab was found at Arles, inscribed to Titus [2] Valerius; and curious to say, this memorial also was erected to a father's memory by his two sons, Valerii, one of whom likewise was named Marcellus. The Westminster inscription runs in these words:—"VALERI · SVPERVENTOR · ET · MARCELLVS · PATRI · FECER." That found at Arles, in the following:—"VALERI · MARCELLVS · ET · FELICIO · PATRI · PIISIMO."

I pass on to speak of the name Amandinus. This is not by any means a usual appellation in inscriptions, and in fact I am not able to quote any other instance of it. The form of this name is clearly late, as has been pointed out by the Dean of Westminster. There is one particular which I am desirous to call attention to, and which has, I think, escaped notice hitherto, in reference to this class of Roman names. They are well-known as elongations of more usual forms, perhaps used as terms expressive of endearment, respect, or seniority. We have thus, for instance, Valentinus from Valentius, Secundinus from Secundus,—and a great variety of others. Amandinus would be elongated from Amandus, in the same way, and the name Amandus [3] is

[1] The abbreviated form of this name is almost always found as VAL. It is to be noticed that it stands on this sarcophagus as VALER. I am strongly of opinion that this is itself a marked indication of a late date in the fourth century, but I am not prepared to support the opinion by proofs.

[2] Gruter, I. dccxlvi.

[3] The Rev. Padre Garucci has expressed an opinion that the name of the Amandini occurs in some Italian inscriptions of the end of the fourth century.

Inscriptions to Amandi. Two have been found at Augsburg, two at Lyons. Le Blant gives that referred to here from Spon. They have been found in England.

one very well known. The particular which appears to me to have escaped notice in inscriptions is, that the short name and its elongation occur frequently together, as belonging to parent and child respectively, or *vice versâ;* and that in fact they often, in their relation to each other, indicate a close affinity of blood. I will illustrate this by an example. A tablet, quoted by Gruter, is inscribed to Julia Valentina; here is the elongated name. The person who inscribes it to her is Julius Valentius, her son; here is the short form. I call attention to this, because whilst the name Amandinus itself has not been found by me anywhere else, I am able to point out to you an inscription in which the names both of Valerius and Amandus occur in the relation of father and son, and where at the same time, curiously enough, this relationship is indicated by a third name in its two forms, the shorter and the elongated. In this inscription the father, "VALERIVS SOLINVS," erects a memorial to his son, "SOLLIVS AMANDVS." Observe here the connecting link between "Sollius," the son's name, and "Solinus,"[4] the father's. There can be little doubt that the names Amandus and Amandinus may be similarly related, and a daring speculator might even hazard a guess that Valerius Solinus and his son Amandus may have been kinsmen to our Valerius Amandinus himself.

So far, then, as the names Valerius and Amandinus are indicative of a period, they would suggest the fourth century. Both would be more likely to occur at that date rather than at any earlier.

I must invite you now to consider a third name, occurring in this inscription; that is, the cognomen of the son, "Superventor."

From the collocation in which this word is found on the tomb there can be no doubt that it is the name of a man and not a descriptive title or name of office. It is so very unusual and peculiar a name for a man, that it is itself evidence of a very decided kind. It carries on its face a weight of internal proof which nothing short of incontro-

[4] The inscription is as follows:

D . M
SOLLI · AMANDI
QVI · VIXIT · ANN
VII. DIEB. XXX
SEXTILIA AMANDA
ET · VAL · SOLINVS
PARENTES · PIENTISSIMI

Spon. Recherches sur les antiquités de Lyon, 65. The name of the father was Valerius Solinus Amandus.

vertible facts should lead us to set aside. "Superventor," a word wholly unknown in classical Latinity, is a term belonging to a particular period of Roman history. It as definitely belongs to its own date, as do the distinctive fossil, or the fashion of a weapon, or the characteristic moulding of an architectural work, to theirs. In discussing the age of this monument, it is not more philosophical to attribute the name "Superventor" to the second or third century, than it would be to speak of a vertebrate fossil as derived from the Silurian or Devonian rocks, or to assign to the Elizabethan age an English inscription in India, containing the word "Sepoy." It is absolutely necessary to historical truth, to take full and clear cognizance before we draw our conclusions, of the twofold mark of lateness inseparable from this proper name. The first of these is the place held by the word in its original use in the Latin tongue. It is there employed as a military technical, and as such belongs to the latest period of Roman military science. It is entirely unknown to writers of a classical age, and even at a date so late as the wars of Constantine the Great and his immediate successors, it has not found any mention. It occurs for the first time in the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, the contemporary historian of the reign of Valens, who died A.D. 380, soon after Gratian had associated Theodosius as Emperor of the East. It was known then in the common parlance of the camp, as a term descriptive of auxiliary troops, whose position was not very unlike that of "irregular horse," attached to our Indian armies. I should like to point out that the very recent use of the word at that date in its first meaning, is quite plain from a passage in Vegetius, who flourished immediately after Amm. Marcellinus (about A.D. 385), and who, in writing on military matters, thinks it needful to enter into an explanation of the term itself, which he would not have done had it been long familiar.[5]

The other mark of lateness is the place held by the word in its secondary use on this tomb. It would seem to have been recently coined about A.D. 370, and it had

[5] Vegetius, De re militari, III. vi. "Hi ergo ab aliis separati, quod repentina incursione hostes invaderent, 'Superventores' potuerunt appellari; sicut et 'Preventores' qui hostes præveniebant, et turbabant, vel ante ipsos locum castris opportunum præoccupabant."

crept from the language of the camp into the vernacular, and had established itself as a well-known descriptive appellation (probably in some connection with military affairs), before it could arrive at the position where we meet with it. We have it before us here as the name of a man, precisely as in our own language we have such names, in common use, as Archer, Bowman, Horsman, Spearman, Bannerman. But before this could happen,[6] some little time must have intervened, as the popular acceptance and growth of a new word was never a rapid process, and less so then, in the absence of any public journals, than at present.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the names on this tomb, viz., Valerius, Amandinus, and Superventor, it does not appear unreasonable to say that they all point to the fourth century, and in that century to a date about the age of Ammianus Marcellinus.

We must pass on to examine now what characteristic marks of date may be discerned from the style in which the inscription runs.

These marks may be described as the following. The absence of the usual "Diis Manibus"—the formula commencing with "Memoriæ"—the use of the term "fecerunt"—and the terseness of the language.

M. Le Blant, the most experienced of modern writers on the inscriptions of Gaul, has some remarks in his Preface which are singularly pertinent. In characterising the earliest of all the periods of Christian epigraphy, he states that at that epoch a distinctive formula for Christian memorials had as yet no existence—that the epitaphs, drawn up according to the ancient mode, offer but a word, or one primitive symbol of the faith—or, "as it would seem, the absence of Diis Manibus"—to distinguish them. "They are still, so to speak, Pagan, from the mould in which they were cast."[7] So far these characteristics exactly describe the tomb we are examining; but he goes on to say that in this earliest epoch the "tria nomina" are to be found, a particular in

[6] A strong confirmation of the reasonableness of this view exists in the fact quoted by the Dean of Westminster (p. 106, *ante*), that "Superventor" is subscribed as a proper name among those attached to the first Council of Orange the date of which is A.D. 441.

[7] Le Blant, Inss. de toute la Gaule, Pref. xxxii.

which this inscription differs, as being of a somewhat later date.

It will be observed that M. Le Blant particularises the absence of 'Diis Manibus" as a mark of Christian epigraphy. I will mention the peculiarity attaching to this omission in this inscription, which places it beyond doubt that the absence of the two initial letters standing for these words was not accidental, but designed. The Dean of Westminster has referred already to the great number of similar formulæ to this, which exist in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons. The whole collection of Roman Sepulchral inscriptions there, including all the varieties of form in which they are couched, is 185. Nearly one-third of the entire number, that is to say, 53, begin as the Westminster inscription, with "Memoriæ." But there is one slight, yet very important, difference. Of these 53 similar inscriptions, all except two have the initial letters D.M., one on either side, and a little word stands before "Memoriæ." This little word is the conjunction ET, which always (saving the two instances specified) commences the inscription. The ET is the grammatical link, in the sense, which joins the "Diis Manibus" to "Memoriæ." Thus no less a number than fifty-one out of fifty-three run "D.M. et memoriæ,"—*i.e.* "To the departed spirit, and the memory of ——," &c. Now it is in reality the omission of ET from the commencement before "memoriæ," which gives significance to the absence of the D.M., otherwise it might be supposed the absence of these letters was but accidental. In illustration of the importance of this, I should wish to refer to one of the two instances mentioned above, in which the same omission occurs. It is the case of a very large and important sarcophagus, of the description known as a "bisomus," and capacious enough to have contained two bodies. The inscription on this commemorates Exomnius Paternianus, a Legionary Centurion, and his daughter. There is no D.M. on this tomb, and no ET before "memoriæ," but there is nothing else in the commemorative part of the inscription to indicate that it is the memorial of Christians. On each side, however, of the commemorative words, and just under the place where the two letters D.M. would ordinarily stand, there are cut in Greek certain pious ejaculations, addressed to the departed, which leave no doubt as to the faith of the occupants. No heathens

would carve on the memorial of one whom they mourned as lately dead, such a form of parting salutation to the lost as "ΥΓΙΑΙΝΕ ΕΥΨΥΧΙ." Slight as the indication certainly is, yet the fact that this Westminster inscription is remarkable for the absence of D.M. is ground for considering that the tomb contained a Christian, and we detect that the absence of these letters is no accident, because the conjunction ET is also absent from before "memoriæ." In point of fact, the inscription differs from the ordinary formula of heathens in these two particulars.

The common use of the word "memoriæ," in commemorative inscriptions, may be said to have culminated during the reigns of Constantine the Great and his family, though it extended to a period somewhat later. There is a very significant proof of this in the Imperial coinage. There were struck during the reign of Constantine no less than [8] nineteen different types of commemorative coins to his deceased father Constantius Chlorus, bearing on their reverses the word "memoriæ." This circumstance is wholly without a parallel at any other period during the entire history of the coinage of Rome.

The phrase PATRI FECERVNT is a form very common in the fourth century, and which must not be thought in any way to signify that the brothers Valerii were stone-carvers and made the tomb with their own hands. In the Plates which accompany this paper, there are many examples of it. The incription of A.D. 355, Plate I., is precisely similar, "PARENTES FECERVNT." In Plate II. the inscriptions 3, 4, 5, and 6 run in the same formula. All are the memorials of Christians. In fig. 3 the word which is not expressed in the others, after the verb "fecit" or "fecerunt," is supplied · and it is one which appears to refer rather to the obsequies than the sepulchre, "Appelles exitum fecit Venustæ." Though "exitum" is thus employed, it appears more consonant with usage that "fecerunt" should generally be taken to refer to the memorial. The use of the term belongs to that epoch of transition, in the history of such inscriptions, when older forms were still retained, and when

[8] See Cohen, Const. Chl. 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191. Five of these were struck by Maxentius. There is no such reverse commemorative of Diocletian, and three only of Maximianus, the preceding emperors.

as yet those distinctive of Christian burials had not fully established themselves. As we reach the end of the fourth century, we find the mention of the day of burial, and the presence of the word "depositus," growing universal. These are coupled with the verb "fecit" sometimes, as in the inscription in De Rossi's Inss. Christ., No. 372. This is upon a large sarcophagus which held the remains of a Christian maiden of eighteen, named ADEODATA. The day and year of the burial are told,

"DEPOSITA · XVI · KAL · FBR · CONS · MAGNO · MAXIMO · AVG."[9]

In the line which follows is the same form of expression which we have in the Westminster tomb, "PATER CELESTINVS FECIT." The two formulæ were, therefore, in use at the same period towards the close of the fourth century.

I have now to speak of the character in which the inscription is cut.

The letters are remarkably well shaped, their height is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and they are engraved with a certain squareness in their form, which gives them an appearance of great regularity. No ligulate letters are among them, and in one case only is a letter enclosed inside another. An opinion has prevailed, I am informed, that two of the letters as used here are decisive as to the period to which the inscription must be referred. These are the two letters O and I. It has been surmised that these belong to the second century, or the early part of the third,—the O, because of its perfectly round form, it being a complete circle.—the I, because it appears in two of the words as an enlarged letter, standing higher than the rest, as it constantly does in more ancient inscriptions, of the date of Augustus, Tiberius, and others of the earlier emperors.

This is, in fact, a crucial point. Unless it can be quite clearly shown, in the most unequivocal manner, and from many examples, that a circular O and an enlarged I were in ordinary use, and that lettering of great beauty of shape was employed up to the close of the fourth century, the internal evidence of the letters of the inscription itself must

[9] De Rossi assigns it to the year A.D. 388, in which the troops of Theodosius the Great put an end to the usurpation and the life of M. Maximus.

compel us to assign it to an earlier age than that to which other indications seem fairly to lead.

As the sarcophagus may be said, for so many reasons, to be almost of national interest, I venture to ask attention to the setting at rest of this important point, by a somewhat elaborate chain of evidence, which appears not unworthy of being put on record in connection with the date of this tomb.

I am about to quote, as evidence which cannot be questioned, certain records having undoubted marks of well-ascertained date, in order to demonstrate that during the reigns of the whole Constantinian dynasty, and subsequently throughout those of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, an O, of perfectly round shape, is as frequent as one of the oval type; and again, that the enlarged I, so far from having become extinct with the second century, remains in public and in private inscriptions up to the year A.D. 400; and lastly, that we have the most adequate and impartial testimony to show that a very beautiful character was employed at, and up to, the date of the last year of Theodosius the Great, *i.e.*, A.D. 395.

The Imperial coinage of Constantine the Great and his sons exhibits a very perfect lettering, and which in the best examples has a certain squareness of form approaching very closely to that which marks this inscription. Throughout this series of coins, extending in his own case to the extraordinary number of over 600 varieties of type, and in the cases of Fausta and his sons to close upon 800 varieties more, the perfectly round O appears everywhere in the Imperial mints; and if some rare instances should be found which seem to differ, they will readily be seen to have been issued as semi-barbarous pieces, and not from the well-established mints of the empire. For dates subsequent to this epoch,[1] between the years A.D. 360 and A.D. 385, the coins of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, will show, from the examples before us, that an O of perfectly round form was commonly used in the mints of Treves, Lyons, Arles, and Aquileia. The mint[2] of Constantinople, which was the

[1] A considerable number of the coins found in the Forum at Silchester were exhibited when this paper was read. As the fourth century advances, the form of the O is altered on some examples to an oval, but on others it remains, as in the age of the Constantines, a complete circle.

[2] The similarity in shape between the letters (O included) on the gold medallion

principal source of Imperial money in the world, continued to coin with a perfectly round O, in the well-known exergue "CONOB," up to an advanced date in the fifth century.

In the case of the enlarged I, which occurs twice in the short inscription on this sarcophagus, it is not possible to call in the evidence of the coinage, because this letter is not used in its enlarged form on coins. It is, however, in my power to supply a most complete chain of actual inscriptions, every one of which is dated, and which will be found to extend throughout the entire length of the fourth century.

For the beginning of the century we will take the reign of Constantine the Great. Here are three inscriptions in his honor, selected purposely from three different periods of his life. One, whilst he was yet only a Cæsar, before he had become emperor, date about A.D. 304. A second, after he had crushed Maxentius, date about A.D. 312. A third, subsequent to his having conferred the dignity of Cæsar on Crispus and Constantinus, date between A.D. 317 and A.D. 320.

Date, about A.D. 304.

PIISIMO · AC · FORTISSIMO
FVNDATORI · PACIS
AC · PVBLICAE
LIBERTATIS
AVCTORI
D · N · FLAVIO · VAL
CONSTANTINO
NOBILLISSIMO · CAES [3]

Date, about A.D. 312.

IMP · CAES · FL · CONSTANTINO · MAXIMO · TRIUMFATORI
PIO · FEL · AVG · P · P
OB · RES · BENE · ARMIS · CONSILIISQ · GESTAS · ET · REMPVBL
PACATAM
S · P · Q · R [4]

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of Honorius (Rev. Gloria Romanorum), date about A.D. 400, in the Blacas collection, and those sculptured on the sarcophagus, is very remarkable. This medallion is engraved in Cohen, vol. VI. Pl. xvii. 2.

[3] Gruter, I. cclxxxii.

[4] Gruter, *ibid.*

Date, A.D. 317 to 320.

****** SACRO. DD. NN. CONSTANTINI. MAXIMI . VENERANDISSIMORVMQVE . CAESARVM
***** VVLCEIANAE. CIVITATIS. ACILIO. SEVERO. ET. VETTIO. RVFINO. CONS. PETVRCI ***
PAGO *****ANA.M.D.CCCXCI.K.VELLIANA..M.XVIII.FF.VANVS.M.XLV.F.MVSCINIANVS.M.

In the lists of names which follow here, the enlarged I *occurs fourteen times.* [5]

For the middle of the fourth century we will take a date historically certain, by its being in the interval between Nov. 6th, A.D. 355, when Constantius II. created Julian a Cæsar, and the assumption of the purple by the latter in A.D. 361.

REPARATORES. ORBIS. ADQVE. VRBIVM. RESTITVTORES. D.D
N. N. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS. P. F. SEMPER. AVG. ET. IVLIANVS
NOBILISSIMVS. AC. VICTORIOSISSIMVS. CAES. AD. AETERNAM
DIVINI. NOMINIS. PROPAGATIONEM. THERMAS. SPOLETINIS
IN PRAETERITVM. IGNE. CONSVMPTAS. SVA. LARGITATE
RES TITVERVNT [6]

Of the same period are many examples of private inscriptions, *e. g.* the following epitaph, which is dated July 22nd, A.D. 358.

☧ EXSVPERIA ☙ CONIVX ☙ CASTISSIMA
MIHI ☙ QVE ☙ VIXIT
ANNOS ☙ XXXIIII ☙ DEPOSITA ☙ XI ☙ KAL ☙ AVG
DATIANO ☙ ET ☙ CEREALE ☙ CONSS
IN ☙ PACE [7]

The public inscriptions of the reign of Valentinian I. supply several instances which belong to A.D. 370 to 375.

Date, about A.D. 370.

PIISSIMO
FELICISSIMOQ
PRINCIPI
VALENTINIANO
INVICTISSIMO
SEMPER · AVG [8]

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[5] Gruter, I. ccix. 2.
[6] Gruter, I. clxxix. 2.
[7] De Rossi, Inss. Christ., 134. See also that to Pelegrinus, No. 144, date 19 Dec. A.D. 360. Both of these have the triangular stops between the words, similar in character to those upon the Westminster tomb; also see the stops, No. 241, date A.D. 368.
[8] Gruter, I. cclxxxv. 7.

Date, A.D. 370—375.

EXTINCTORI · TYRANNORVM
AC · PVBLICAE · SECVRITATI
AVCTORI

D. N. VALENTINIANO
PERPETVO · AC · FELICI
SEMPER . AVGVSTO

CEIONIVS.RVFIVS.ALBINVS.V.C
PRAEF · VRBI · ITERVM
VICE · SACRA · IVDICANS

D · N · MQ EIVS [9]

We have now arrived at the period as to which I am desirous no doubt should be left, the age of Gratian and Theodosius. On the 19th January, A.D. 379, Gratian invested Theodosius with imperial rank. Gratian was killed Aug. 25th, A.D. 383.

Date, A.D. 380—383.

D. D. D. N. N. N. IMP. CAES. GRATIANVS. VALENTINIANVS. ET. THEODOSIVS
PII · FELICES · SEMPER · AVGGG.

HVNC. ARCVM. AD CONCLVDENDVM. OPVS. OMNE. PORTIC. MAXIMAR. AETERNI
NOMINIS. SVI. PECVNIA. PROPRIA. FIERI. ORNARIQ. IVSSERVNT [1]

The foregoing was inscribed at the commencement of the reign of Theodosius, the following at its end. When this was carved he had associated his two sons in the Empire.

Date, A.D. 395.

IMPPP. CLEMENTISS. FELICISS. TOTO. ORBE · VICTORIB
ARCADIO · HONORIO · ET · THEODOSIO · AVGGG ·
&C. &C. &C. &C.
S. P. Q. R. [2]

The enlarged I has now been followed through every part of the fourth century, and I only abstain from accumulating additional proofs, because those now adduced are ample for the satisfaction of any fair and reasonable mind. There is however one more inscription of the reign of Theodosius

[9] Gruter, *ibid.*, 6.
[1] Gruter, I. clxxii. 1.
[2] Gruter, I. cclxxxvii. 1.

which has so important a bearing upon the lettering of the sarcophagus that I am led to quote it. The name of Cæcina Decius Albinus, the præfectus urbis, is known from other inscriptions, and is mentioned also by Macrobius. He appears to have dedicated some sculpture in commemoration of the safety of the Emperors, and to have subsequently added to it. Here is the inscribed record.

Date, A.D. 395.

SALVIS · DD · NN.
HONORIO.ET. THEODOSIO
PP· IF· SEMPER· AVGG

CAECINA · DECIVS
ACINATIVS· ALBINVS
V· C· PRAEF· VRBIS

FACTO.A.SE.ADIECIT
ORNAVIT [3]

This inscription was found upon a very large marble pedestal. There are three particulars relating to it which render its evidence most valuable. First, it exhibits the enlarged I as you would have found that letter in the Augustan age. Secondly, it has all the terseness of the most classical period of the language. Lastly, and what is of more pertinence than either of the other particulars, the shape of the lettering is so extremely beautiful, that even Gruter, whose experience of the forms of Roman letters of all periods may be said to have exceeded that of any other person whatever, was so struck by the character in this instance that he departed from the absolute taciturnity of his ordinary habit, and has gone so far as to place on record along with this inscription his sense of its unusual excellence. He has appended this note of his admiration, "*Basis marmorea grandissima et litera pulcherrima.*"

This is the strongest proof we can possess, because it is the evidence of a perfectly impartial, as well as a perfectly capable witness, to show that in the reign of Theodosius, at the very end of the fourth century, not only were the peculiarities of certain letters adhered to, but that the character of the lettering at large would bear comparison (at least in good examples) with that of a classical age.

[3] Gruter, I. cclxxxvi. 7.

Only that I may not appear to have overlooked it, I touch upon the shield-shaped ornament in each of the panels enclosing the centre. It can yield no evidence of date worth considering. In the case of the sarcophagus at Autun, which has the same ornament, and almost in the same position, there is upon the cover a late type of the sacred monogram—a dove and a small cross—all of them indicative of later work than that now before us. On the other hand, you have an interesting example of the use of the same pelta-like ornament for a centre in an illustration accompanying this paper, of much more ancient date, from the Catacombs, where it is depicted covering the sepulchre of Urbica (Plate II. fig. 2).

I have now examined the internal evidence as to date which may be extracted from the sarcophagus itself, by a scrutiny into the names, the style, and the lettering of the inscription. An enquiry remains now into what appears to me to be of even still deeper interest, namely, the sculpture in relief upon the lid.

The lid of this sarcophagus is in a very different state to the tomb itself. It has not only sustained excessive violence in forcing open the coffin, when it was broken into several pieces (though a slab of great thickness), but besides this, it has all the appearance of having at some time lain level, or nearly level, with a floor, perhaps slightly raised above it, but exposed to the action of weather and the tread of feet, whilst the sarcophagus beneath was safely buried and remained uninjured. Mr. Poole, the Abbey mason, has expressed his opinion that it is formed of the same oolite as the coffin. He says, "it is of a material similar in quality with the slight difference found in adjacent strata or blocks of the same kind of stone."

I have examined with much care the execution of the ends and back of the coffin, and making allowance for the corrosion of the surface of the lid from exposure, it does not appear that the workmanship of the back, the ends, and the cover, can be said to differ much, if at all. It has been assumed hitherto almost without hesitation, that the cover, though of the same stone and apparently from the same quarry, is of a very different date, and to account for this it has been surmised that it is the original slab, but re-cut at a later period. There is one circumstance only which can

give the least ground for such an opinion. I will state what this is, and an explanation of it.

The foot of the coffin, at both its sides, is shaped away in a slight bevel, and no sculpture is worked upon this portion. The design of the paneled front being symmetrical, and placed so as to fit exactly the space from the head to this bevel, it is clear that the beveled part of the tomb was intended to slide in out of sight behind a jamb or pilaster, leaving when it was *in situ* the whole of the wrought front exposed to the eye.

The lid is also narrowed at its foot, to correspond with the bevelled portion of the tomb, but whereas there is no sculpture upon the coffin on that part meant to be hidden behind some projection, the cross upon the lid reaches the whole length of the slab. The foot of the cross fills that part corresponding to the bevel.

This circumstance may seem to imply at first a want of perfect correspondence between the sarcophagus and cover, but there is a perfectly simple explanation for it. The back and ends indicate that they were placed originally so as to be little seen, the coffin apparently being intended to stand above or upon the floor and against a wall. If you imagine it in such a position, with its beveled end hidden behind a jamb (some five or six inches only), and conceive yourself standing over it, you will at once perceive that if the spectator was close to the tomb he would have the whole of the cover exposed to his eye. Any person near the head would see quite behind the jamb or pilaster at the foot.[4] It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that the sculpture on the cover extended to the end, because it would be visible, whilst that on the coffin stopped short at the bevel because it would be hidden.

I must now ask you to consider the cross which is in relief upon this lid. A very careful representation of it, accurately drawn to scale, will be found in Plate III. A most exact drawing of the foot, executed at the largest scale which the pages of the journal will admit, will be found also in the same place.

The cross before you is evidently an unusual one. Its head is formed of three nearly equal limbs, each of which has the shape of a wedge, expanding from the centre out-

[4] It may have stood within a loculus or low niche.

ward. So peculiar is this wedge-like form that the central limb will be found to expand from a dimension of 4 inches where it leaves the shaft to 12 inches at its extremity (*i. e.* three times its original width); the expansion of the side limbs not being quite so great. At their outer termination the three limbs of the head of the cross appear as if cut off abruptly, having a truncated character. The fourth limb or shaft of the cross appears disproportionately long, and it is of the same width throughout.

This very peculiar cross, though one not familiar to our eyes, is yet well known, especially to numismatists. It will be most readily recognized, and will be found to have an epoch of its own, marked by most definite limits, in which it was the universally accepted symbol of the Christian faith. But its period is one long anterior to the age hitherto assigned to this sculpture, and as this form of cross has as yet scarcely come within the range of modern archæology, I propose to speak of it in contradistinction to other and better known forms of the same emblem, under the distinctive name of the "wedge-limbed"[5] cross.

The wedge-limbed cross of this lid is however not the only symbol here. It is combined with another, and that too one of the very earliest employed by Christians in the sepulture of their dead. The termination of the shaft of the cross is most singular, and does not appear hitherto to have been satisfactorily accounted for on any hypothesis put forward. It has been called a "floreated foot." It has been assigned to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, as though it were possible that, under any circumstances, an ending, if floral, so flamboyant, could have been combined with a cross-head whose ends are so abruptly terminated, or as if it were conceivable that one limb, and that one the fourth (which at the base would be likely rather to terminate in steps), could have been curled into foliage by mediæval workers, without the faintest hint of a curve or of any other shape but the most rigid and inflexible, elsewhere upon this lid. Such a supposition, it must be admitted, is in the last degree inconsistent in itself. Proofs will now be adduced to show that this singular foot is also a perfectly well-known symbol, and that the place it occupies here in combination

[5] I prefer this Anglo-Saxon epithet to the word "cuneiform," not only because it is more simple and forcible, but also because "cuneiform" has become so completely a technical of Assyrian archæology.

with that very peculiar[6] cross in whose company it is found, is not only capable of easy solution, but is perfectly in keeping with the received customs of Roman burial, and that moreover instead of forcing us to grope in the middle ages for some clue to an unaccountable paradox, it will demand rather that we consent to give this double emblem of faith in Christ a place as far back in the fourth century as a strict adherence to archæological truth will admit.

I return to the wedge-limbed cross. I propose to exhibit to you evidence of the process, step by step, under which this form of our Christian symbol arrived at its peculiar and characteristic shape. It is the first, the very first, conception under which that which is now designated as the "Latin cross" became accepted in the western world.

The sepulchral slab of the Boy Marcianus, of which Plate I. has a representation,[7] bears upon it the date of his burial, Nov. 30th, A.D. 355. Upon this slab is sculptured a child holding in his right hand a cross taller than his own stature. The cross he holds has the general character of a Latin cross, save that its limbs are wedge-shaped, and that the Greek P, as a symbolic letter, forms its shaft.

The date of the Boy Marcianus's burial was twenty-four days after Julian (not as yet "the Apostate") had been raised to the rank of Cæsar by his cousin Constantius II. The representation of the cross beneath which the boy stands, compared with the contemporary coinage of the Empire, will furnish curious and significant proof as to where

[6] Since this paper was read, my attention has been directed to two somewhat similar instances of crosses on sepulchral stones. One of these is that of which a drawing, furnished by the Venb. the Archdeacon of Stow to Mr. Albert Way, has been engraved in this journal (*ante*, p. 196), the other was found last year in Normandy. Of these, the first-named is certainly much later, the arms are not strictly wedge-shaped at all, the limbs of the cross are elongated and are scooped or hollowed in their outline until the cross assumes very nearly the form of a "cross-patée," the foot also stands upon a stilted semi-circular arch of comparatively late character, whilst two other smaller crosses of similar type are on either side. These are incidents clearly suggestive of later date. In the second instance, the cross on the Norman slab approaches more nearly the true wedge-like shape; the arms are (apparently) less scooped in outline, but at the middle of the shaft there is a short plain bar, forming with the stem a Latin cross of the present recognised type, beneath the wedge-shaped head, and which Latin cross is entirely without a trace of expansion in the limbs. The foot is wholly wanting. This example from its wedge-shaped head appears of earlier date than the former, but the presence of the Latin cross without expanding arms is a strong indication that even this is much later than the Westminster tomb, and in all probability belongs (as has been surmised by Padre Garucci) to a period when the cross had been long borne as a processional ornament, and from the handle on the staff of which the bar forming the Latin cross on the Norman stone was perhaps derived.

[7] This may be found in De Rossi's work, and also in that of Mamachi.

this symbol, thus beginning to be recognized, had come from. The cross which overtops the boy's head is one of the forms of that monogram or cipher of the name of Christ which had been adopted for the banner of the Imperial power. It is from the very singular fact that it was a monogram, made up of two well-known Greek letters, the X and the P, that it derives its peculiar wedge-like limbs. This monogram, the Chi Rho, since the defeat of Maxentius by the father of the reigning Emperor, was associated in the minds of all men with triumph. It was borne, as is well known, at the head of the Roman armies. It appears on the coinage of Constantine the Great (though not prominently), placed upon his own helmet, and upon the standard guarded by his legionaries. But a few years before the Boy Marcianus was born this monogram had already assumed on the coinage a much more important prominence. The ancient and long-recognized reverses of the Roman money were disused. On one type of the common bronze currency of Constans, Constantius II., and Magnentius, almost the entire field of the reverse was filled now by the mystic letters placed between the Greek *alpha* and the *omega*, in allusion to the well-known passage which describes Christ as the beginning and the end. Specimens of this reverse are engraved on Plate I. from coins struck between A.D. 345 and A.D. 350, and which have been found recently in the Forum at Silchester. If the large and conspicuous cipher upon these is compared with the cross in the hand of Marcianus, the connection will be evident It is but another form of the same monogram ; and it is found in the identical shape in which the boy holds it upon the "Two Victories" type of the coins of Magnentius, where it surmounts the inscribed oval supported by the winged females.

The cross upon the memorial of Marcianus is the earliest I am acquainted with upon a sepulchral stone. We cannot doubt that this wedge-limbed symbol was then the one popularly accepted, and it is clear where the wedge-like form of its limbs was derived from. I would take now another step in following this cross. It is not merely in this example of a memorial tablet of the year A.D. 355, but in every other representation you can find of this period that you will trace invariably the same expanding limbs. It is, in a word, the characteristic of the earliest Latin cross, a

peculiar feature derived directly from the Greek letters of the sacred monogram, and adopted rapidly and universally throughout the West as the received representation of the emblem of redemption, because of the supreme dignity of the place given to it upon the great Imperial standard of Rome. I am not aware that this striking fact has ever been pointed out before to which I call attention now, namely, that the cross which first found universal acceptance with the western world was not the representation of the patibulum or tree on which the Redeemer suffered, but was (according to the habit of that age) an allusive emblem, derived under the form of a cipher from the greatest symbol of temporal authority ever known on earth—the labarum of Constantine the Great.

To pursue this emblem and trace it from the memorial of Marcianus, and the coins of Constantius II., until we can identify it in the very shape it bears upon the tomb of Valerius Amandinus at Westminster, must be our next proceeding.

The wedge-limbed cross, without the loop of the Greek P, that is to say, a cross having a head of three equal expanding limbs, and a shaft of longer but also of expanding shape, is first found on the coinage of Rome, so far as I am at present aware, in the reign of the Emperor Gratian. It may be placed at A.D. 383. It is to be observed that this form is intermediate between that on the memorial of Marcianus and this sarcophagus. It is identical with that on the tablet of A.D. 355 in every particular but the absent loop of the P. It is also identical with that on the sarcophagus, with the exception of its fourth limb. The shaft is wedge-shaped on the coins of A.D. 383, whereas it is of equal width throughout on the sarcophagus. The processes of this alteration can be traced at every step in the coinage of Rome.

When the wedge-limbed cross appears on the coins of Gratian, it is found there under circumstances of most curious and peculiar interest. During the reigns of Constans and Constantius II., about A.D. 350, a striking reverse was coined to symbolise the adoption of the Christian faith by the Empire. This reverse is represented on Plate I., from a coin of Constans.[8] It depicts the Galley of the Empire, steered

[8] This, and the coin of Constantius next to it, were also found in the Forum at Silchester.

by Victory. Upon the deck stands the Emperor, fully armed for battle. On the palm of his right hand he holds the ancient emblem of Roman triumph, the winged Victory, who raises up her wreath to crown his helmeted head. With his left hand he bears aloft the labarum, and on it the mystic monogram of Christ. Constantius II. struck a coin almost identical with this, yet having one point of difference, which denotes the growing influence of Christian ideas. A comparison of the two reverses, as placed side by side in the accompanying Plate, will make the nature of the alteration clear. The galley is the same, the Victory sits at the helm as before. The Emperor, in arms, bears the labarum on the deck. The legend around the edge is identical, "FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO," but the winged Victory of the ancient Mistress of the World is gone from the Imperial right hand, and in its place stands now the symbolic phœnix, with rayed head, the significant emblem of a belief in the resurrection of the dead.

From this reverse of Constantius II. we step at once to the introduction of the cross. It is necessary again to refer to Plate I., where the third coin of the second line represents the type in question. The identity of this coin with the two preceding is quite evident. The galley, the Victory at the helm, the armed Emperor on the deck, occupy precisely the old places; yet there is a still further departure here from the first type of the reverse. It will be observed that the Emperor, though armed, bears no weapon, nor does he hold the labarum, nor any sceptre, or symbol of power. Standing on the deck he holds aloft his right hand, whilst he stretches his left towards the figure who steers; but his head is turned to regard a wedge-limbed cross,[9] which appears high up on the field, above his left shoulder. This change in the attitude of the Emperor denotes once more the still increasing influence of Christianity. The position in which he is placed would at that time have been instantly recognised. He lifts his naked right hand towards heaven in the well-known attitude of Christian prayer, so frequent in the catacombs, and he points with his left to the Victory at the helm as the object of his petitions. The change in

[9] It is not unlikely that this may have been struck after the rebellion of Maximus had broken out, and that it covers an allusion to the cross seen by Constantine in the sky before he encountered Maxentius: see Euseb. v.; Cons. i. 28, 29.

the attitude of the Emperor's head implies that he has fixed his regard on the cross as his hope, and that he looks to that for success. We have now distinctly traced the links by which the monogram upon the imperial labarum makes way for the symbol of the cross itself, whilst we see that the symbol retains the immediate memory of the monogram in its wedge-shaped limbs.

We have thus the actual Latin cross distinctly adopted as the recognised symbol of the faith, and disengaged from the allusive form of the "Chi Rho." As we see it in this, its first appearance in a conspicuous position, all the four members are expanded, adhering as closely to the type of the Greek X as the cross held by Marcianus. But at this date we meet with an alteration, and that alteration rapidly became the most marked feature in the emblem, and is perpetuated in a great variety of ways throughout the century which ensues.

As the fourth century draws to a close, the fourth limb of the cross ceases to have a wedge-like shape, and begins to assume the character of a straight shaft; advisedly a shaft,—not yet a processional staff. In the fifth century, as we shall see, the shaft itself was still further elongated and drawn out until it became a veritable staff, clearly used in processional pomps, and occupying, as it would seem, the place of the imperial standard in the imperial hand. We must again observe at this point that the change which the cross undergoes in the fourth member does not seem to have been made in order that it might assimilate more nearly in shape to the actual cross on which the Saviour suffered, but solely because it supplants the labarum, and was borne in processions. This is evident from the fact that the three remaining limbs continue to adhere throughout the fifth century most closely to the expanding shape of the limbs of the letter "Chi." The head of the wedge-limbed cross always appears as being disproportionately small.

I shall very briefly follow this important change in the shaft of the cross, through the coinage; and it will bring us, so to speak, face to face with the cross of the sarcophagus.

The Boy Marcianus, in the tablet of A.D. 355, holding in his right hand a cross taller than himself, is certainly sug-

Dated. Nov. 30. AD 355.

MIRAE · INNOCENTIAE · AC · SAPIENTIAE
PVERO · MARCIANO · QVI · VIXIT · ANN IIII ET
MENSES · IIII · DIES · II · QVIESCET · IN · PACE
Ø · PRID · KAL · DEC · ARBETIONE · ET · LOLLIANO · COSS · PARENTES · FECERVNT

De Rossi. Inss. Christ^ae 125.

COINS. AD 350 to 450.

AD.345

Constantius II.

AD. 345.

Constans.

AD. 350

Magnentius.

AD 350

Constans.

AD. 355-360

Constantius II.

AD. 375

Gratian.

AD 425

Galla Placidia.

AD 440

Licinia Eudoxia.

AD 455

Petronius Maximus.

AD 440

Valentinian III.

AD 455

Avitus.

AD 470

Anthemius.

gestive that even as far back as that date [1] a cross of large size was held or borne in some of the ceremonies of the Christian Church.[2]

A comparison of the figure of Marcianus, at the top of Plate I., with the coin of the Empress Galla Placidia in the third line directly under it, strongly favours the idea that the attitude thus portrayed with regard to the cross must have been one which was at that date very familiarly known. The exact period when this coin was struck is difficult to fix. She received the imperial title in A.D. 421, but it is probable her coins are somewhat later. The winged Victory of ancient Rome is here associated with the wedge-limbed Latin cross, and holds it as a processional ornament. This Latin cross has the fourth member represented as a straight shaft. A period of some seventy years had elapsed when this was struck, from the date of the memorial of Marcianus. The influence of Christianity was now paramount. The cross sculptured on the lid of the sarcophagus, if compared with that on this coin, will be found to be the same. Its identity in shape is an archæological fact, which it is not possible to question.

A series consisting of five later examples is supplied in the two lowest lines of Plate I., for the purpose of making it clear that the cross on the sarcophagus must be assigned an early place among the varieties [3] of this symbol having wedge-like members. These examples commence with the reign of Valentinian III., about A.D. 440, and end with Anthemius in A.D. 470. We trace in these coins the change which this cross had undergone by the middle of the fifth century. That which is depicted on them is a processional cross, evidently constructed to be borne in the hand. The somewhat wide and straight shaft of the older shape, which

[1] This seems all the more likely, because the boy, being only a little over four years old at his decease, cannot be portrayed here as doing an act which he personally had been accustomed to perform. His engraved portraiture therefore in reality represents a custom.

[2] A few fragmentary words from an inscription supplied by De Rossi, the date of which belongs to the consulship of Stilicho, and therefore falls within a year or two of A.D. 409, commemorates one who was apparently a cross-bearer in the processions :—

(*locus Joan*)NIS · STAVROFORIS · · ·
· · · · · IN · PACE · FORTVNA · QVI · VIXIT
· · · · · KAL · OCTOBRIS · STIL(*ichone* V C CONS)

[3] In the wedge-shape proper, the arms of the head are very short compared with their width, and they expand rapidly, so much so, that in the Westminster tomb the wide end of the wedge is three times the width of the narrow; the outline of the wedge-shaped arm is not scooped or hollowed, but rigid and straight. By the middle of the fifth century the arms were much more hollowed.

most closely resembles that of the sarcophagus, has become now a long and slender staff, and it is surmounted by a head which looks out of proportion, as if too small for the length of its support. The coinage of this age testifies in a most remarkable way the universal adoption and supreme importance to which this wedge-limbed Latin cross had now attained in the State ceremonial. The grandson of the great Theodosius, Valentinian III., bears it instead of the ancient sceptre of his predecessors upon his shoulder, as depicted in the imperial portrait. The Empress Eudoxia, seated on the throne in full majesty, and crowned with the jeweled diadem, has resting on her left arm, as she sits, a stately cross of this peculiar shape, remarkable for the length of its staff. In her right hand is seen an orb surmounted by the more ancient cross with four expanding limbs, as displayed first on the coins of Gratian. Petronius Maximus, and also Avitus, are portrayed upon their coins fully armed for battle, like the ancient emperors, but instead of grasping with the right hand the standard of the legions, as these would have been represented, they hold in the place of the labarum the same cross, with long and slender staff, and with a small wedge-limbed head. Petronius stays himself upon it, whilst he crushes beneath his heel a serpent with a human face. In the last of this series, Anthemius and Leo, with their right hands, conjointly support the same cross, which placed at the centre forms the principal object of the group, and rises above their heads, having apparently a jeweled stem. Although changes appear soon after this in the shape of the three members which compose the head, still the wedge-limbed cross with its expanding and abruptly-terminated arms, maintained a conspicuous place for many ages. In the mosaics of the sixth century it is frequent. It stands at the back of the mystic lamb upon the altar in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Rome (date A.D. 530). It appears between the alpha and omega in the central medallions, supported by the flying angels, in St. Vitale at Ravenna (date A.D. 547). In the same shape as we have seen it last upon the Imperial money it is represented in the Church of St. Laurentius in Verano, Rome. In this mosaic, borne as a processional ornament it appears in the left hand of the Saviour, and in that of St. Peter, and also of St. Laurentius. Thus, in truth, in this peculiar

form of the cross, faint echoes of the original monogram of the sacred name, the unconscious traditions of the Greek Chi of the great banner from whence it derived its origin, continued to be repeated from age to age through the long vistas of Christian art.

The most important and, in my opinion, the most interesting part of the explanation of the sculpture on the lid of this sarcophagus is still to be added. I mean the identification of the peculiar foot which forms the termination of the shaft of the cross.

Students of Christian archæology are aware that the earliest figures by which our fathers in the faith sought to record their belief were entirely allusive and emblematic. They avoided direct representation of anything which might betray the truths in which they trusted. By common consent of all who have given study to the subject, it is admitted that the fish and the anchor are the earliest Christian emblems we are acquainted with. The two are continually together upon the older slabs and sarcophagi. Of these the anchor was especially dear to the hearts of believers. It expressed on the memorials of their dead the hope of reunion; it symbolized, to the baptized, fortitude under the pains of persecution or martyrdom; it spoke always of stability, amid the waves of this troublesome world. Where the Christian dead were, the anchor also was; and it preceded by a long interval any representation of the cross. By degrees allusions to the cross, but not the cross itself, rather the several forms of the sacred monogram, began to appear on memorials. The two emblems speedily coalesced, the expanding ends of the wedge-limbed cross are seen occupying the place of the bar of the anchor. One symbol conveys now to the initiated all the treasured associations which belong to both emblems. Several illustrations are before you, in Plate II., of these touching expressions of belief in Christ, and in the greater number of them the symbol itself is the only part of the inscription which declares the Christianity of the departed, a fact which renders them peculiarly fitted to illustrate the tomb we are interested in.

The anchor of early Christian archæology is a figure which can scarcely be mistaken for any other when once well known. But it must not be supposed that the ancient

Roman anchor is identical in shape with that now used. In the collections of inscriptions published with such praiseworthy diligence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an anchor is frequently represented in the letterpress, and almost always with the barbed fluke of modern times. It can but mislead to rely on this figure as any guide. There are now abundant representations which are more exact, and the anchor of the loculi of the catacombs is reproduced with the utmost fidelity in the works of De Rossi, and of others. The examples engraved, both in Plate II. and Plate III., will supply a sufficient representation of it. Its form [4] may be perfectly gathered from here. At each end of its stem or shaft this anchor has a knob of rounded shape, which at the upper part certainly stands for a large ring, and perhaps also at the lower. The shaft at the bottom spreads out into two wide arms, which take generally a somewhat flattened curve, leaving the knob at the end, in the space between them. The two arms, as they spread from the shaft, depart from its straight line without making any angle or break in passing into a curve, so that they might be taken—if the rest were indistinct—for the starting of a floreated termination. These arms were often slightly re-curved, and flattened at their extremities, where the fluke would appear in a modern anchor, and this renders their assimilation to a floral shape still more possible. In the Spicilegium of Pitra is an article by De Rossi on monuments marked with the ἰχθύς, and at the end of it is a list of those who have described engraved gems exhibiting the combination of this anchor with the cross. There are numerous instances of it, and it may be that some not within my reach may prove more striking than even that which I invite you to examine from an engraved opal, figured in the work of Martigny, and which you will find here in Plate III., fig. 4. Associated with these examples in this plate is as perfect a representation as could be obtained (allowing for its injured condition) of the whole symbol on the lid of the tomb, with a very accurate drawing to as large a scale as could be employed of the anchor foot.[5]

I have assigned the sarcophagus to the time of Theo-

[4] See the figure from Bottari in Plate III. fig. 3.

[5] I cannot allow this paper to appear in print without expressing the obliga-

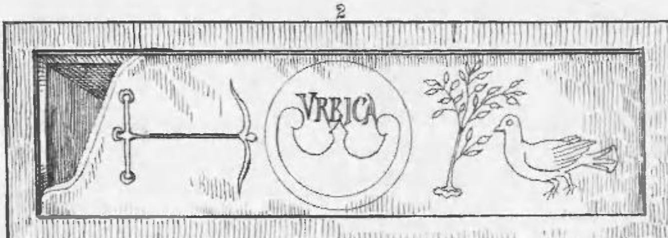
CRVCIFORM ANCHOR

ON EARLY CHRISTIAN SEPVLCHRES.

1

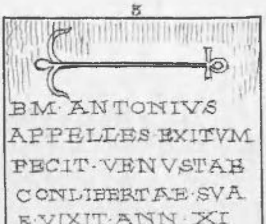
Catacombs. De Rossi. R.S.

2



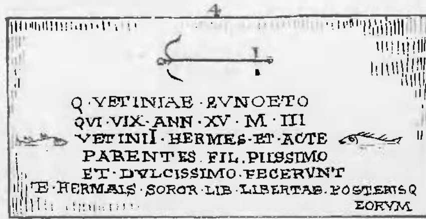
Catacombs. De Rossi. R.S.

3



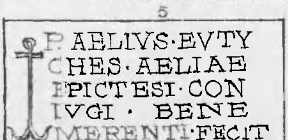
Muratori. IV. MDCCCXXI.

4



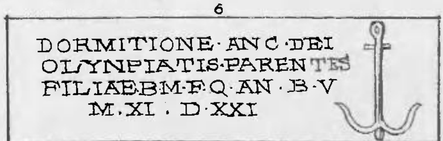
Le Blant. Insc. de toute la Gaule. Pref. XXXII.

5



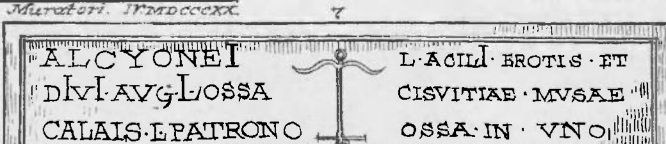
Muratori. IV. MDCCCXX.

6



Muratori. ibid.

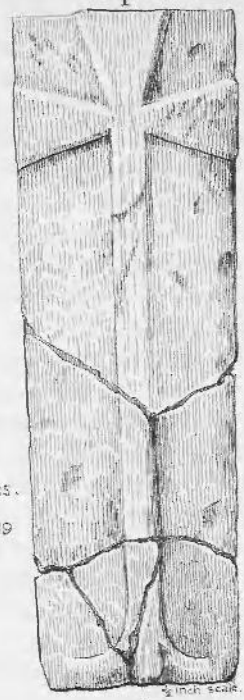
7



Gruter I. Dcy.

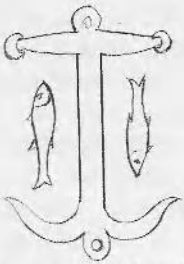
COFFIN-LID OF VAL: AMANDINVS

1



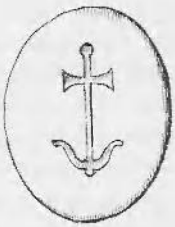
½ inch scale.

3



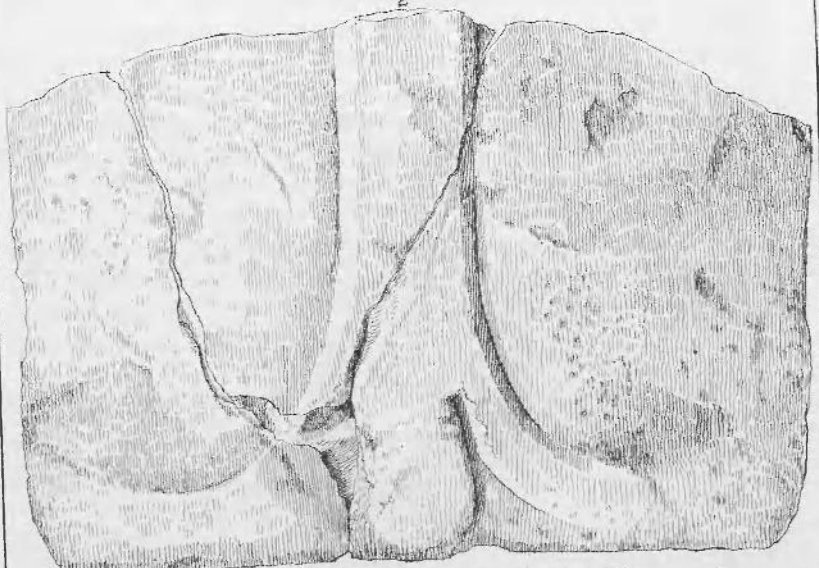
ANCHOR WITHOUT CROSS.
Sepulchral Symbol.
Bottari III. p. 19

4



ANCHOR WITH CROSS.
Engraved Opal.
Martigny. Dict. p. 845

2



2 Inches to a Foot.

THE FOOT OF THE CROSS.

dosius,—A.D. 380 to A.D. 400,—because "SVPERVENTOR" forbids it to be earlier, whilst "FECER," being without the day of burial, requires that it should not be later. The great wedge-limbed cross, with its rigid rapidly-expanding arms and straight shaft, is everywhere on the coins of the same date; the anchor symbol, so well known in its sepulchral use, is the one only consistent explanation of the foot, and, accepted, it reconciles and completes the rest. These can only meet on the same memorial at some point about the period I have named; but at that time they may, and with ample warrant. Christianity had become supreme.[6] Sacrifices to the gods were high-treason, punishable by death. Every heathen ceremony was proscribed. Gregory Nazianzen sat at Constantinople, Basil at Cesaræa, the great Ambrose at Milan. The Emperor of the world himself submitted to open penance in a cathedral church, at the command of a Christian bishop, for an act of cruelty to his subjects.

Having thus placed before you the grounds on which the opinion was formed which I ventured, in April, to express to the Dean of Westminster, I have the hardihood now, despite the weight of adverse judgments, to submit to you a claim on behalf of this most venerable sarcophagus, that, besides the unique interest of its other associations from the place where it was for so many ages buried, it may be acknowledged to bear upon its lid an authentic and original sculpture of the fourth century,—the largest and most important in existence, as far as my experience reaches,—which displays the very ancient, but well-known union of the anchor, the symbol of hope, with the cross, the emblem of salvation. Should this mute but eloquent memorial make good its own claim,—as I have no doubt it ultimately will,—then we may congratulate our nation on possessing one early Christian monument of surpassing interest, even among the records of the great dead which are the glory of Englishmen, in Westminster Abbey.

tions under which I have been laid by the Dean of Westminster, who ordered a cast to be taken, in order to assist the production of this drawing. By this means it was made possible to place the object in various positions beneath the light, so as to obtain the most correct representation of its relief.

[6] Edict of Theodosius, A.D. 390.