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wohl ebenfalls noch mit Emissionen zumindest der Prägestätte Amisos nach dem von F. Imhoof-Blumer auf die Jahre 105 bis 90 v. Chr. begrenzten Prägezeitraum zu rechnen ist — eine Annahme, für die gerade auch die Vielfalt der verwendeten Monogramme sprechen mag.

COLONIA IULIA VIENNENSIIUM

Dawson Kiang

Recent research on the iconography of Julius Caesar has greatly benefited from the numismatic work of Professor Alföldi on the large volume of portrait denarii issued at Rome by the *quattuorviri* in 44 B. C. and the years immediately following¹. Interest has rightly centered upon this coinage from Rome, and Alföldi suggested that the most faithful representation of Caesar is to be found on the issue of M. Mettius with *DICT QVART*². The purpose of this paper, however, is to set aside the Rome issues momentarily, and to draw attention to a neglected coin portrait of Caesar on the large bronzes struck at Vienna (Vienne) in Gaul under Octavian (figs. 1—3)³:



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

¹ See A. Alföldi, *SM* 16, 1966, 4 ff., 145 ff., with reference to previous publications, especially Alföldi, «The portrait of Caesar on the denarii of 44 B. C. and the sequence of the issues», in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, ed. H. Ingholt, New York, 1958, 27—44.

² A. Alföldi, «Das wahre Gesicht Cäsars», *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, 27—31.

³ C. no. 7. My three illustrations are from H. Willers, *NZ* 34, 1902, Taf. VI, 9—11.

Obv. Bare heads of Caesar and Octavian back to back.

IMP (above) CAESAR (below) DIVI IVLI (left) DIVI F (right).

Rev. Ship prow right, upon which at left a multistoried structure, and at right a vertical mast-like element.

C I V (above).

The obverse legends securely identify the head at left as Julius Caesar, and the head at right as Octavian (DIVI FILIUS). The inscription on the reverse, C. I. V., must surely be *Colonia Iulia Viennensium* or *Vienna*, and identifies the mint ⁴. Its denomination is probably the *as* ⁵. The exact date of issue has not been determined, but it may be said with some degree of confidence to be in the 30's B. C., that is, after the Pact of Brundisium (40 B. C.), and before Octavian's adoption of the name Augustus (27 B. C.) ⁶.



Fig. 4

A glance at the rather crudely rendered portraits on the obverses of the three above examples is enough to indicate why the Caesar portrait on the left has been almost completely ignored in previous discussions of the iconography of Caesar ⁷. It is in fact necessary to look at an unusually fine example of the Vienne issue in order to appreciate the importance of its Caesar portrait. Only one specimen of sufficient quality is known to me (fig. 4) ⁸. Its existence was noted, and its significance correctly gauged, by A. Hekler in his review of E. Boehringer's *Der Caesar von Acireale*, Stuttgart, 1933 ⁹. Probably because of the circumstance that this

⁴ RE VIII A, 2 (1958), s. v. Vienna (A. Bruhl). According to H. Willers, NZ 34, 1902, 117, the reverse inscription was first correctly read in the 18th century by Panel, *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences*, 1738, p. 1272.

⁵ RIC p. 43, note 1.

⁶ C. Kraay, NC 15, 1955, 85: 30's B. C. Mattingly and Sydenham, RIC I, 41: 40—28 B. C. But see M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1946, 337: not earlier than 21—19 B. C.

⁷ For the earlier literature see now F. Johansen, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 4, 1967, 7 ff. I wish to thank Dr. Johansen for kindly sending me a copy of his publication, which appeared when the author was completing his *Studies on the Iconography of Julius Caesar* (Columbia Ph. D. diss., 1968).

⁸ *Monnaies Romaines Impériales* provenant des Collections de M. Paul Vautier et de feu le Prof. Maxime Collignon (Vente Naville II), Genève, 1922, Pl. I, 31, from which my fig. 4, and also Kiang, *Studies*, fig. 14. Another illustration of apparently the identical coin is known to me only from the American Numismatic Society photo file, where it is recorded as having been in «Merzbacher 1910». I would welcome information on the present location of this coin.

⁹ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1936, 350 ff. Hekler referred to a second example of much inferior quality, in *Catalogue de Monnaies Romaines Antiques*, Collection de H. C. Levis, Auct. Naville — *Ars Classica* XI Luzern, 1925, Pl. VII, 164 (not 167, as in Hekler).

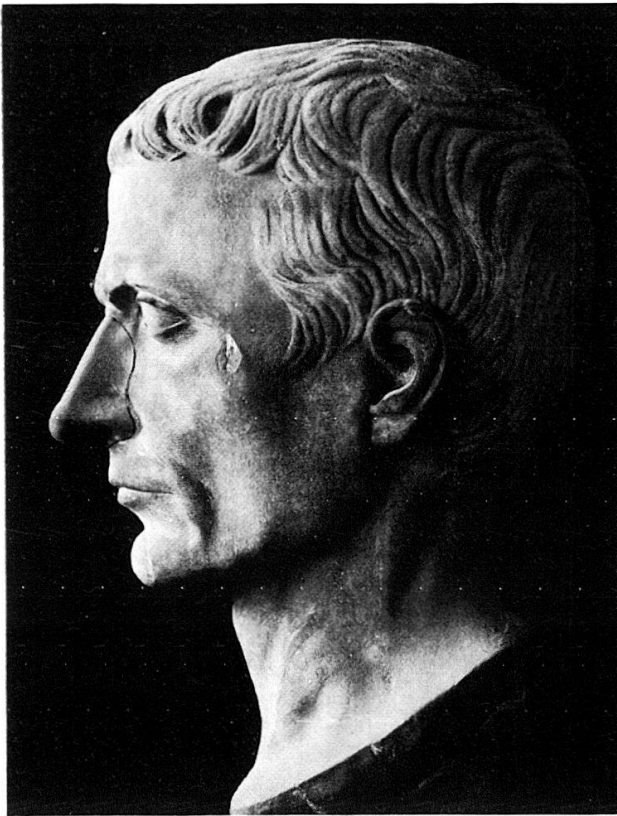


Fig. 5

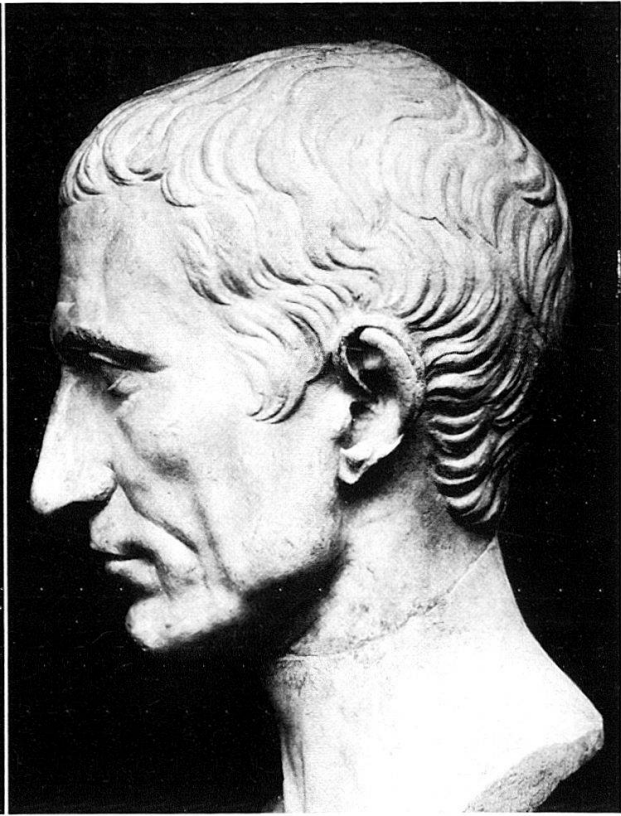


Fig. 6

remarks were unaccompanied by an illustration, this extraordinary coin portrait of Caesar has managed to escape the attention of scholars until the present time.

The monumental character of both the Caesar and Octavian portraits is striking, and I am in agreement with Hekler, who did not hesitate to assume sculptural prototypes for them¹⁰. Because the Octavian portrait may be seen as the Hellenistic version of 35—30 B. C. (Brendel's Type C), it reinforces the dating of the Vienne issue to the 30's B. C.¹¹. In the case of the Caesar portrait I believe we have a close numismatic parallel to the group of marble portraits of Caesar known as the Campo Santo, or Campo Santo-Chiaramonti type¹². Here I compare the coin portrait with the left profiles of only the key members of the group which have given it its name, the head in Pisa (fig. 5), and that in the Vatican (fig. 6)¹³. Keeping in mind that the nose and chin on both sculptures are restored, one may note the agreement in the general outline of the head. In all three we see a somewhat elongated form, more rectangular than square, which at the back of the head curves inward, accentuating the rounded mass of the skull. On the coin the elongated impression of the face is strengthened by the long wiry neck, a familiar feature in numismatic representations

¹⁰ GGA, 1936, 352.

¹¹ GGA, 1936, 352. See O. Brendel, *Ikonographie des Kaisers Augustus*, Nürnberg, 1931, 47.

¹² I again follow Hekler, GGA, 1936, 352. For bibliography on the Campo Santo type, see F. Johansen, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 4, 1967, 25 ff. See especially the fundamental discussion by L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.* 47, 1942, 218 ff.

¹³ The Pisa head, F. Johansen, *Anal. Rom. Inst. Dan.* 4, 1967, tav. VI, is now in the office of the President of the Operaio Primaziale. The Vatican head, Helbig, *Führer* 4 I, no. 158, is now in the Sala dei Busti.

of Caesar ¹⁴. The forehead is high and straight, and has two horizontal furrows or wrinkles. On the sculptures the line of the forehead is somewhat differentiated, in that the rounded projection of the brow ends at the lower of these furrows, and is followed first by a slight bulge in the profile between the furrows, then by the steep straight line of the upper portion. On the small coin representation, though the two furrows are visible, they do not interrupt the continuous line of the forehead. The hair of the coin portrait is in worn condition and does not readily lend itself to detailed comparison. There is good agreement, between coin and sculptures, in the line of the jaw, leading from chin to ear, and the way that the skin appears to be drawn tightly over the bones.

Such comparisons are necessarily a subjective matter, and I should perhaps simply state that no other coin portrait of Caesar seems to me to have such close stylistic ties with the Campo Santo and Vatican sculptures as the Vienne example ¹⁵. Whether or not one can say that the sculptural model behind the coin portrait is identical to the prototype of the Campo Santo type, is difficult to determine. But clearly any discussion of the Campo Santo type must take into account the «new» evidence offered by the Vienne coin portrait. It is likely that Curtius' interpretation of the type as an Augustan creation of about 20 B. C. is too late by at least a decade, and will need to be reexamined ¹⁶. More precisely, when we are able to isolate the several stylistic components combined in the Campo Santo type, it may be that the Augustan contribution is less than generally assumed, and that the basic concept of the type might even be as early as the time of Caesar. Not the least of my intentions here, however, has been to present an object which, quite apart from its documentary value, is in its own way a little masterwork of ancient art.

Résumé

M. A. Alföldi considère que le meilleur portrait de Jules-César est celui de la frappe de M. Mettius avec DICT QUART (Syd. 1057). L'auteur attire l'attention des lecteurs sur les pièces frappées en Gaule, à Vienne (Coh. I. 22. 7 / La Tour VII. 2943). Pour apprécier ce portrait, il faut à la vérité un exemplaire de grande qualité, ce qui est rare. L'auteur en reproduit un sur lequel le caractère monumental des portraits de César et d'Octave est saisissant. Selon l'auteur le graveur des coins se serait inspiré du groupe de marbres communément appelé «Campo Santo-Chiaramonti» à cause des bustes conservés à Pise et au Vatican (hélas tous deux avec des nez et des mentons refaits).

Constatons à cette occasion, une fois de plus, combien les documents numismatiques sont précieux: alors que quasi toutes les statues ont dû être réparées et ont perdu une partie de leur valeur documentaire, les monnaies elles, restent telles que les graveurs les ont faites.

Colin Martin

¹⁴ See, for example, E. Boehringer, *Der Caesar von Acireale*, Stuttgart, 1933, Taf. 8—9.

¹⁵ The Caesar portrait on another large bronze, H. A. Grueber, BMC no. 106, pl. 105, 10, is rightly considered by Hekler, GGA, 1936, 352, a less satisfactory parallel, though on the same stylistic level. The portrait gem published by M.-L. Vollenweider, *Antike Kunst* 3, 1960, Taf. 12, 1—2, 4, as Caesar, receives additional support from the Vienne coin.

¹⁶ L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.* 47, 1942, 223 ff.