FROM THE ROMAN REPUBLIC TO AUGUSTUS

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOME MOTIFS ON ROMAN COINS

1. Introduction

Coins, in antiquity, were more than an instrument of economic exchange. They almost inevitably served to convey the chosen image of the government that produced them, both to its own people and to other states—rather like postage stamps in many countries today, except that coins were the only means of doing so, since none of the other media of national and international mass circulation that we take for granted were available. Most developed ancient coinages in some degree perform both functions, and they cannot be neatly separated. Not that of national representation is normally the more important.

This is certainly true of the first specifically Roman silver coinage, based on the denarius, introduced at the most critical period of Roman history, early in the war with Hannibal. It replaced what had essentially been a dual system, of bronze for internal use and exchange with immediate Italic neighbors, and of Greek silver for dealings with most foreigners. The history of the denarius-based coinage over the next two centuries is unusually fascinating in that it mirrors the process by which a closely-knit aristocratic society, chiefly concerned with stability at home and military success abroad, became increasingly absorbed by the pursuit of individual success in the political process, ultimately (as foreign threats faded) almost to the exclusion of every other concern. Real power was concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, until, after a series of civil wars, it came to rest with Augustus as monarch. The coinage reflects the pace and scope of both continuity and change. Public motifs, for a long time taken for granted, were gradually either annexed by families and then by individuals or superseded by the families' and individuals' own. The result—an unusual spectacle in the history of coinage—was a state coinage treated as a vehicle for private communication and propaganda. This politicized coinage of the late Republic is already far closer to that of the Principate of Augustus, into which it emerges, than to its own origins as a national coinage of the usual kind a century and a half earlier.

The coins here displayed have been chosen, within the limits of what was available, to illustrate a small selection of political motifs. All coins, except where otherwise stated on the card, are silver denarii. Each coin has one card to explain it, usually in slightly simplified form; first the side shown, whether obverse (the "heads" side) or reverse, then the reference, usually to one of two standard works. For coins minted down to 31 BC, the references are to M.H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge 1974) [=RRC], and the dates, unless underlined, are Crawford's. (All dates are BC.) For coins minted after 31, numbers refer to the Augustus section in The Roman Imperial Coinage volume I, edited by C.H.V. Sutherland (London 1984). For coins not in those works, references are given in full.

Some of the coins are on private loan. The rest are taken from the George D. Chase, Randall Thompson, Frederick M. Watkins and the general Fogg collections, and from the Alice Corinne McDaniel collection of the Department of the Classics.

The first coin (nos. 1-12) illustrates the development of the personal portrait as a political statement. The second (nos. 13-24) selectively illustrates some qualities and achievements that Roman aristocrats, and finally Augustus, claimed as their own.
The earliest denarius coinage was conservative in its type: on the obverse a helmeted goddess (conventionally called "Roma", though contemporary Romans knew no such goddess), on the reverse the Divine Twins Castor and Pollux: a suitable type for the dangerous time when the denarius first appeared (see Section I above), since they were believed to have miraculously saved Rome in a battle around 500 BC. The obverse remained unchanged for decades. In due course, starting with Mars in the 130s BC, other deities were introduced and ultimately replaced "Roma". There is an astonishing personal obverse in 58 BC (see no. 17), but it is only in 54 BC that ancestral portraits appear (see below).

The Twins on the reverse also endured for a time, though here change was much more rapid. From the 190s, Diana driving a two-horse team occasionally appears, and after the end of the victoriate (see Section III below) Victory sometimes takes the place of Diana; a slight change involving mere the substitution of wing for the two horses. Before long the reverse is opened up to a variety of vehicles and teams, including some that (uniquely, in the Roman coinage) seem to approach light-heartedness. (E.g., a team of stags, lions, and even centaurs; and Victory trying to drive a fractious three-horse team.)

The earliest denarii are anonymous: at most, occasional symbols or abbreviations may identify a moneyer. Very slowly, identifiable names come to predominate, but the types (as we have seen) remain strictly "public". This begins to change in the 130s. The moneyers were men of wealthy and, in many cases, prominent families, and those who planned a political career were now apparently permitted to improve their chances by advertising their family's history and achievements. The latter was soon to include ancestral representation (see nos. 1 and 2), but only in a form that was not a likeness. Around 100 a major step forward appears. Two young quaestors of the highest aristocracy, issuing a special coinage on behalf of the Senate for the purpose of a grain distribution to the People, actually depict themselves on their official seats, perhaps in the process of the distribution (see no. 1). But the figures in this delightful genre piece are strictly featureless. Nor did Piso and Caepio find imitators until the Dictator Sulla (see no. 4), and even he did not go beyond them. By then, ancestral representations were common, but the taboo on it was broken, suddenly and deliberately, by a pair of moneyers in 54, one of them the famous Brutus (see no. 5). Perhaps the taboo was reinforced by the fact that ancestral portraiture in Rome had long had an established and important political function. By 100 BC, portraiture as such had become an important form of sculpture. Greek artists, perhaps as early as the fifth century BC, had experimented with ways of producing individual and recognizable likenesses, and the Hellenistic period had achieved a high degree of realism and of sophistication. But the society of Rome, with its tradition of venerating distinguished ancestors, provided the patronage for some of the most creative developments in ancient portraiture.

Polybius tells us that, in the early second century BC and no doubt much earlier, Roman aristocrats were keeping, in shrines in their houses, life-like masks of their ancestors who had held high offices and won major distinctions. Whenever a member of a great family died, actors wearing those masks, each arrayed in the splendor of the highest office and distinction that ancestor had gained, accompanied their "descendant" to the grave. The right to have such a mask kept was restricted to men who had held those highest offices. In this way, all men of major distinction through the generations of the great families remained "known" in a personal way to all Romans in the city. Those families constituted the "nobles" (from Latin nobilis = "known"), who claimed a right to govern on account of their ancestors' familiar achievements. It will be clear that realistic portraiture played a major role in the working of the aristocratic Republic.
A remarkable coin (see no. 5), just before 110, uniquely shows the head of Philip V, a Macedonian king of the late third and early second century who had fought, and lost, two wars against the Romans: this in order to stress a connection with him claimed by the moneyer's family. This first head of a mortal man on a Roman obverse probably evoked disapproval, for it found no imitators for a long time. It was only around 89 that the heads of a Sabine and a Roman king (both of legendary antiquity) more respectably appear on obverses (see no. 6 and 7). Even this kind of head recurs only two or three times, at long intervals. Deities, though in increasing variety, continue to be the rule down to 64 (see next paragraph).
Artistically, this practice provided strong support for realism in Roman portraiture at this time. As it happens, one of the earliest two pairs of ancestral portraits on Roman coins, in 38 BC, is likely to have been imaginary, since the men themselves were semi-legendary. (See no. 1 and cf., 20 years later, no. 1b.) But Brutus' colleague, coining in the same year, put both of his grandfathers (one of them Sulla) on one of his coins, to correspond to Brutus' ancestral portraits. Unfortunately, it was not available for these men were remembered, and the portraits are realistic.

Portraits of living men remained banned. It was only in the last weeks of Caesar's life that, as "perpetual dictator" and approaching divine status in his lifetime, he had his portrait put on the obverse of a coin (cf. no. 1). After his death, the principal claimants to his succession, M. Antonius and C. Caesar Octavianus, had no hesitation in following the new example (see no. 2 and cf. no. 18). What is far more surprising is that Brutus, while claiming to have saved his fellow-citizens and the State on the great Ides of March (see no. 1), had no hesitation in putting his own head on the obverse of his coinage, like the tyrant he had killed. (His associate Cassius did nothing of the kind.) We must remember that it had been the same Brutus who had first dared to show portrait heads of his ancestors on a Roman coin. In the Greek East, even more could be dared. Those long familiar with the coinages of the Hellenistic kings did not quibble over the double portrait of Antony and his wife (see no. 21). On Roman coins, there was to be no coin portrait of a woman as long as Augustus lived.

On the other hand, dynastic portraiture was bound to appear. What is worth noting is how long it took. It in fact first appears with Augustus' adopted sons, even then only in the form of full figures, perhaps with recognizable features (see no. 22). That was a whole generation after Augustus had obtained that name and legitimized his power.

Though the coin portrait, with its limited scale, does not permit die-cutters the same detail and subtlety as does life-size sculpture, and though we must allow for different levels of skill and even different conceptions on the part of individual craftsmen, yet the examples here displayed may be taken to show a range of styles in which Roman leaders of the late Republic chose to present themselves. The portrait of Caesar (see no. 12) and that of Pompey (see no. 16) combine the unflattering realism of Republican portraiture with the proudly lifted head and dramatic, wide-eyed gaze typical of portraits of Hellenistic rulers. In the case of Pompey, of course, we must remember that this portrait is due to the pietas of his son Sextus, who may well have chosen this style in order to compete, as best he could, with the descent of his enemy Octavian from the Deified Julius (see nos. 3b, 12). We might compare the way in which he matched the story of "pious Aeneas", annexed by his opponent. (See Section V below.) We have no strictly contemporary portrait of Pompey.

Octavian, in his capacity of triumvir, is realistically portrayed with the soft, immature features of a very young man (see no. 19), and with a short beard, which had at one time perhaps conveniently indicated his state of mourning for his father Caesar, but which remained on the coins and made his extreme youthfulness more acceptable. After his establishment as sole ruler, however, he is portrayed, for the rest of his long life, with serene and ageless beauty (see nos. 11, 19).

III. Victory

By Roman standards, victory was the most important achievement. She was one of the first abstractions to receive a temple, and on the silver coinage preceding the denarius she appears driving Jupiter in a chariot (see nos. 15a). The victoriaca, a new coin whose weight was based on the Greek drachma (see nos. 25b), proclaimed the victories of the Roman People to foreigners, at a time of Roman weakness during the Second Punic War when it was politically necessary to stress them. It soon ceased to be minted (c. 170), no doubt because Roman denarii were by then generally accepted abroad, and to replace its symbolism, the figure of Victory driving a two-horse chariot was developed out of the moon-goddess by now quite common on the reverses of denarius and frequently takes her place.
It is only c. 130 that moneyers begin to use reverses of denarii for proclaiming family distinction: nos. 4 and 5 are early examples of claims to military glory. (Cf. Section II above.) The supreme reward of glory was the triumph. Even when reverse types became more flexible, only selected divine figures (starting with Jupiter in mid-second century) were shown riding triumphal four-horse chariots. Around 100, a man perhaps meant to represent C. Marius first appears as triumphator. The first certain living triumphator is L. Sulla (no. 3), still avoiding recognizable portraiture. This kind of representation was not disdained by ambitious men much later (see no. 36).

By the second century BC, a commander hailed by his men on the field of victory as their General (Imperator) began to retain the title as a special honor. (See nos. 10, 12, etc.) Sulla first recorded the number of times he had been thus acclaimed. (No. 36 is the only instance.) He was not imitated until the generation of civil war (see no. 1). Augustus, who won few victories in person, was politically constrained to claim all victories won by Roman commanders as his own (cf. nos. 14, 16): he reached a total of 21 acclamations in the end. He also, quite early, adopted "Imperator" as his first name! (See nos 15, 26, 28, 265.)

Pictures of trophies (see nos. 21, 27, 28), which had once been symbols of victories won by the Roman People (see no. 255), of prisoners or hostages (see nos. 17, 28), and (very frequently) wreaths or branches of laurel, palm, olive, etc., could vividly "document" glory won. Here as elsewhere, other forms of art could show the same motifs: the scene depicted in no. 36 is shown on one of the magnificent silver cups from Boscoreale. Caesar's glorious conquest of Gaul (see no. 26) was urged by him as entitling him to special political privileges in 49, and, when he did not get them, as justification for starting a civil war.

Two amusing "documentations" of victory have been singled out here: nos. 26a and b show exotic animals, which the Roman public would have seen in triumphs and in the circus and would associate with distant countries to enhance the glory. The crocodile series represented by 26b, which was issued over a long time, imitates a famous gold coin of Augustus, proclaiming the conquest of Egypt.

IV. Priesthoods

Priesthoods were closely connected with victory, for the senior magistrate acted as a priest, charged with obtaining the favor of the gods. The state priesthoods proper (apart from these ex officio ones), by interpreting the gods' will to the People, conferred great power: they were much more tightly restricted in membership than even the Senate. They are inevitably shown on coins as claims to distinction. Usually, priesthoods are alluded to by representative symbols, since this was most fitted for the small surface at the die-cutter's disposal. (See nos. 13, 15, 16b, 22.) A full-length figure, such as we have on no. 164, is very exceptional. Monuments could show the full figure without trouble, and freely did so. We may compare the figure of Augustus in the processional frieze of the Ara Pacis. The coins would thus have the additional function of serving as a reminder to those who had seen the monuments.

V. Pietas

Pietas (=loyalty), especially toward one's family, but also toward one's friends and indeed fellow-citizens and the gods, was a cherished aristocratic virtue. She received her first temple in 181 BC. (The obverse of no. 21 may show the head of the cult statue.) By 100, pietas had become a political virtue. It first appears on coins minted by a M. Herennius, commemorating a relative's loyalty to the tribune C. Gracchus in 121, and, by the choice of a Sicilian motif (later to become common in this symbolic use), perhaps intending to allude to the cognomen Siculus borne by that man. It was adopted as a name ("Pius") by Q. Metellus, consul 80, who had earned the name by his successful efforts to have his father recalled from exile in 100-99. Later, it was strikingly claimed by the sons.
of Pompey, who chose it as their watchword at Munda, then by L. Antonius (consul 41), who claimed to be loyally defending his brother, the triumvir, against the intrigues of Octavian. He in fact adopted "Pietas" as a name. Sextus Pompeius before long adopted "Pius" and is seen illustrating it (following an earlier precedent) with the myth of the two youths of Catana who carried their parents to safety during an eruption of Etna. (See no. 7, going back to 54.) The classic instance was, of course, Aeneas carrying his father Anchises (and the Palladium) to safety out of Troy, (his epithet "pious" in the Aeneid.) The flight of Aeneas and his family from Troy formed part of the foundation myth of Rome, familiar in other artistic media to all Romans; hence it would have been readily recognizable as a visual symbol of pietas.

Unfortunately for Sextus, it was not available to him, since Aeneas was a reputed ancestor of the Julii Caesares and Octavian, his "descendant", had in fact used that motif on one of his gold coins, a little earlier, no doubt to indicate his loyalty to his adoptive father Caesar's memory and to the task of avenging his death.

It will be seen that pietas shaded into vendetta. What Sextus did was to adopt, as the symbol of his own loyalty to a similar task, a scene clearly reminiscent of the Aeneas scene: their visual resemblance could not be missed. (Cf. also Section II above, on the head of Pompey on no. 7.)

Octavian's pietas was embodied in a vow to Mars Ultor ("the Avenger") to avenge his father and punish the assassins. The sentiment was easily extended (thus already on Caesar's coinage, not to mention the Aeneid, a little later): Mars Ultor was again invoked to stress Augustus' pietas in avenging his fellow-citizens killed by the Parthians in 53 (cf. no. 22). Again the coins epitomize in small space what can be more elaborately and explicitly celebrated in sculpture and architecture. The breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Primaporta represents the surrender of the standards by the Parthians in 20 BC in narrative and allegorical detail, as did the arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum. The standards were ultimately deposited in the great temple of Mars Ultor, which was the focal point of Augustus' new Forum.

VI. "Capricorn"

One coin displayed here defies easy categorization and shows that a new era has begun. It is no. 66, expressing Augustus' conviction that he was divinely predestined to rule. The zodiacal sign of Capricorn, which he was eventually joined to symbols of power and prosperity, appears on two coins in this display, one from Ephesus (no. 76) and one from Mérida in Spain (reverse of no. 17: see card) — mints at opposite ends of the empire. That the motif was popular and widespread is attested both on the coinage and in other media: it also appears, e.g., on the great sardonyx cameo called the "Gemma Augustea", between the heads of Augustus and of Roma, and amid elaborate allegories of Augustus' victories and of the peace and prosperity brought by him and his chosen heir.

It was dramatized by the great astrological sundial, with an Egyptian obelisk—a reminder of his conquest of Egypt—as its gnomon, which Augustus constructed in the Campus Martius and which was recently discovered by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. On the autumnal equinox (September 23, which was Augustus' birthday) the shadow of the gnomon moved along a straight line toward the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of the Augustan Peace), until it fell directly over its entrance. Thus the actual movement of the sun was pressed into service to stress the relationship of Augustus' victories to the peace and prosperity resulting from them and to the ordained system of the universe. This idea was imitated by later emperors, notably Nero and Hadrian.

The design and text of this exhibition are by F. Batten, with the assistance of Susan W. Wood.
Horseman facing left, holding sword and enemy's severed head in his left hand. Legend: Q; M. SERGI (exergue: SILVS). [Silus' ancestor had fought with distinction after losing his right arm in battle, and this is strikingly commemorated.]

Obv.: "Roma" head. Legend: ROMA EX S(enatus).C(onsulto)

RRC 286/1

Statue of horseman carrying laurel branch; symbol underneath horse. Legend: X; (on a tablet) L. PHILIPPVS [Philippus' ancestor had won a triumph and the right to a public statue.]

Obv.: Head of Philip V of Macedonia, identified by Greek letter. Legend: ROMA (contracted)

RRC 293/1

Augustus in triumphal chariot, carrying a branch of a tree. Legend (exergue): CAESAR.DIVI.F(ilius)

Obv.: Winged Victory on ship's prow, carrying wreath and palm.

RRC 367/1

Two unidentifiable figures sitting in conversation on (quaestors') bench, between ears of wheat. Legend (exergue): AD. FRV(mentum).EMV(ndum) ["for the purchase of wheat"] EX.S(enatus).C(onsulto)

Obv.: Head of Saturn with symbols; Legend: PISO.CAESIO.Q(uaestores)

[Advertises a distribution of cheap wheat by these quaestors on behalf of the Senate]

RRC 330/1

Bearded head facing right. Legend: BRVTVS [i.e., L. Iunius Brutus, ancestor of the moneyer, reputedly responsible for the foundation of the Roman Republic; the moneyer is the later assassin of Caesar]

Rev.: Bearded head facing right. Legend: ANALA [i.e., C. Servilius Ahala, ancestor of the moneyer by adoption, reputed to have killed a man aspiring to be tyrant]
Bearded head right. Legend: AHENOBAR(bus). [Probably an ancestor, not the moneyer himself] 
Rev.: Ship's prow with trophy. Legend: CN. DOMITIVS. IMP(erator) [celebrating a naval victory in the civil war after Caesar's death] 
RRC 519/2

Wreathed head of Caesar, facing right; crescent behind. Legend: CAESAR. IMP(erator) P(ontifex) M(aximus) [stressing his military and religious rank] 
Rev.: Venus [Caesar's reputed ancestress] carrying a figure of Victory and a staff (sceptre?). Legend: L. AEMILIVS BVCA [the moneyer] 
RRC 488/4 (See RRC I 488 a. 1)

Head of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (the moneyer's father) facing right, between priestly symbols. Legend: MAG(nus). PTVS. IMP(erator). ITER(um) [referring to two victories by the moneyer] 
Rev.: See no. 14 below. 
RRC 511/3a
NB: Sextus Pompeius put his own head on the obverse of his only issue in gold.

Head of Brutus, assassin of Caesar, facing right. Legend: BRVT(us). IMP(erator); L. PLAET(orius). CESt(ianus) [the proquaestor (?) in charge of the actual coining] 
Rev.: Cap of Freedom between two daggers. Legend: ETID. MAR [the Ides of March, when Rome was freed by Brutus' dagger] 
RRC 508/3

Head of Octavian, bearded, facing right. Legend: IMP(erator). CAESAR. DIVI. F(ii)lius). TIT. VTR. ITER(um). R(etri). P(ublicae). C(onstitutionae) [his claim to be the deified Caesar's son and his full triumviral title at this time] 
Rev.: See no. 14 below. 
RRC 538/1

Silver tetradrachm (four-drachma coin) of Ephesus with a double portrait of Antony and Octavia, Octavian's sister, whom he married in 40 BC 
Rev.: "Cista mystica" (ritual chest) of Dionysus, with head of Dionysus and his sacred snakes. [On account of these symbols, such tetradrachms are called "cistophori"] 
Sydenham, Coinage of the Roman Republic 1198. [RRC does not list coins not intended for a Roman public]
Head of Augustus, facing left.

Rev.: Capricorn (see no. 18 below) with globe, rudder and cornucopiae [symbols of rule and plenty]. Legend: AUGVSTVS

RIC 209 130 0.

Antony (full-length figure), facing right, with priestly veil and augur's staff. Legend: M. ANTONIVS, M. F, M. N. AVGVR, IMP(erator), TER(tium) ["acclaimed victor for the third time"].

Rev.: Head of Sun god facing right. This could be taken for a-ominous-oriented symbol. Legend: III. VIR, R(es) P(ublicae) C(onstituendae), CO(n)s(ul), DESIG(natus), TER(um), ET, TER(tium) [his official triumviral title and, by arrangement with Octavian, his claim to two consulships to come].

RIC 533/2

Obv.: See no. 14 above.

RIC 538/1

Octavian's priestly symbols. Legend: CO(n)s(ul), TER(um), ET, TER(tium), DESIG(natus) [claiming, by arrangement with Antony (cf. no. 14a), two consulships to come].

Obv.:

RIC 539/1

One of the legendary brothers from Catana, carrying his father to safety. Legend: M. HERENNI.

Obv.:

RIC 308/1

Priestly symbols of Caesar as Pontifex. [He was Pontifex Maximus].

Rev.: Elephant trampling snake. [The symbolism of this is not intelligible to us, but must have been to contemporaries.] Legend (exergue): CAESAR

RIC 443/1
Neptune with foot on ship's prow, carrying cloak and symbol. On each side, one of the legendary brothers from Catana, carrying his parent to safety.

Obv.: See no. 12 above.

RRC 511/3

NB: Both the name "Pius" which he took and the allusion to the Sicilian legend symbolize Sextus Pompeius' loyalty to his father's memory and determination to avenge him.

Statue of Mars, holding legionary eagle and trophy, in round temple (four columns showing) on podium. Legend (exergue): MART(i). VLT(ori) ["To Mars the Avenger"].

Obv.: Head of Augustus, facing left. Legend: CAESAR AVGVSTVS

RIC 522 704

This temple was built by Augustus on the Capitol in 20 BC, owing to the delay in completion of the large temple in his Forum (dedicated 2 BC), vowed over his vengeance on Caesar's assassins. With a second vow (over "vengeance" on the Parthians) coming due, this temple was quickly built to receive the standards returned by them.

Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Augustus' grandsons and adopted sons) standing armed; between them priestly symbols. Legend: AUGVS­T(I).F(Illi).C(h)N(S)UELS. DESI(N)ATIVIT(US). PRIV- CIP(ES).IVVENT(UTIS); (exergue:) C.L.CAESAR- RES. [They were designated consuls at an exceptionally early age and given the title "Leaders of the Young Men"]

Obv.: Head of Augustus, facing right. Legend: CAESAR.AVGVSTVS.DIVI.F.PATER.PATRIAE

Gold Coin (Aureus)

RIC 590

Victory driving a two-horse team. Legend: L. IVLI

Obv.: "Roma" head; behind it, ear of wheat.

RRC 323/1

Victoriate (silver). Victory crowning a trophy. Legend (exergue): ROMA

Obv.: Head of Jupiter with laurel wreath

The victoriate, perhaps preceding the denarius coinage (introduced in the Second Punic War) and in any case integrated into it, is a mystery to modern as it already was to ancient scholars. See RRC pp. 7 and 28, with further references. Both obverse and reverse symbolize victory, and the coin must have been first minted to commemorate one type as adaptations of it remained predecessors, the "victorie",
Kneeling bedouin, holding olive-branch tied with fillet [symbols of peace and supplication] and leading camel, facing right. Legend: M. SCAVR(us) AED(ilis) CVR(ulis) EX S(enatus).C(onsulto); (exergue:) REX ARETAS.

Rev.: (An elaborate reference to the capture of Privernum by an ancestor of the other moneyer, P. Hypsaeus.)

RRC 422/1b

NB: Commemorates the surrender of an Arab king to Scaurus when he served in the East under Pompey. The type was so popular that it was imitated in 55 BC!


Obv.: Augustus with laurel wreath and Agrippa with "rostral" wreath (symbol of naval victory), back to back. Legend: IMP(erator).DIVI.F(ii) P(ater) P(atris) [note that Augustus' name is omitted: his praenomen denoting military command and victory, his status as son of the deified Caesar, and his title of "Father of his Country" suffice].

Bronze coin, minted (in slightly differing forms) at Nîmes, for the western provinces. See C. Kraay, Numismatic Chronicle s. 7, v. 15 (1955) 75 ff.

Trophy between bearded male prisoner of war on right and female prisoner of war on left. Legend (exergue): CAESAR

Obv.: Head of Venus [Caesar's reputed ancestress] with Cupid and priestly symbol. [The nature of the trophy and the prisoner's beard show that the reference is to Caesar's Gallic conquest.]

RRC 468/1

Symbolical female figure, armed, facing right, handing palm-branch to soldier landing from ship. Legend: CN. MAGNVS. IMP(erator). [This is Pompey's elder son, claiming a victory. But the figure of Spain, welcoming the arriving soldier with a palm-branch, is a reminiscence of his father's Spanish victories.]

Obv.: "Roma" head. Legend: M. POBLIC. LEG(atus).PRO PR(aetore) [the officer in charge of the actual coining].

RRC 469/1

Augustus (his features recognizable) in a toga, seated on a magistrate's chair, facing left; a barbarian in a cloak hands an infant (hostage) to him. [The scene symbolizes peace and submission after victory.] Legend (exergue): IMP(erator). XIII[.] [His 14th major victory.]

Obv.: Head of Augustus, facing right.

Gold coin (Aureus)