LILY ROSS TAYLOR ON

“THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COINAGE TO THE STUDY OF
CAESAR’S DICTATORSHIP AND DEIFICATION”1

— JANE M. CODY —

ABSTRACT

At the heart of this essay is the transcription of a collection of Lily Ross Taylor’s unpublished notes. These were first presented at a colloquium held at Bryn Mawr College in November 2019 as a memorial to the fiftieth anniversary of her death. As presented here, they provide her view of the coins as evidence for Caesar’s aims between 49 and 44 BCE and for his later deification. They also clearly articulate her methodology for using numismatic sources in historical research. A short introduction attempts to put these notes in their scholarly context and points toward Miss Taylor’s planned work, much of it uncompleted at the time of her death.

KEYWORDS

Lily Ross Taylor, Julius Caesar, Roman Republican coins, deification of the Roman emperor

“The pencil of Miss Taylor is always one to be watched.”2

Introduction

Lily Ross Taylor’s interest in combining the evidence of Roman coins with the historian’s other tools for reconstructing Roman Republican history and politics goes back at least as far as her first book, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (1931).3 Here copious illustrations of Roman coins dot the pages. In the years that followed, and especially after the 1946 publication of Michael Grant’s From Imperium

1 This is the title that Lily Ross Taylor gives to her lectures on this subject in her archive housed in the Special Collections Department of the Canaday Library at Bryn Mawr College. I have added a few scattered working notes of my own toward a future monograph on this subject, but in general have tried to leave her thoughts in their original context.


3 Even earlier in Taylor (1918). Many thanks to Corey Brennan for pointing this out to me. Her consideration of the priestly types of the Caecilii Metelli (1944) is also apparently prior to her notes below.
to Auctoritas, she grew to understand fully that the scholar trained in Roman history often does not understand the complex and very different methodologies of the numismatist and vice versa. One page (Folder 5, p. 10) of her notes that I paraphrase below clearly expresses this:

A warning against both historians and numismatists on the failure to pool knowledge:

1. The ignorance of historians — They don’t know the full range of types, mints, weights, hoards, etc. and thus often disregard the numismatic evidence. Sometimes when they don’t disregard this evidence, they make crass mistakes, e.g., as she says she herself did on p. 71 of The Divinity of the Roman Emperor!

2. The ignorance of numismatists — They often are ignorant of historical sources, and thus equally make crass mistakes, e.g. in the notes of Babelon (1885) and Grueber (1910). In addition, in numismatic publications the text and plates are separated and not well labelled, making it hard to relate the two effectively, e.g., Grant (1946) and Cesano (1947–1949).

As a result she, as an historian, consciously cultivated the expertise of numismatists, most especially by reacting to the publication of important numismatic works such as that of Grant, but also by working with numismatists like Aline Boyce, the Curator of Roman and Byzantine Coins at the American Numismatic Society. It is in this spirit that in 1952 she participated as a lecturer in the first Summer Seminar for graduate students at The American Numismatic Society, and it is in this context — and perhaps even for this occasion — that we have her lecture notes on the topic of this presentation now archived in the Canaday Library at Bryn Mawr College.

In From Imperium to Auctoritas Grant made a Herculean effort to combine the study of more than 1,000 unpublished issues of the Roman aes coinage with an historian’s theory of imperium maius. However, he was largely unsuccessful, as the reviews by Harold Mattingly (1946), C.H.V. Sutherland (1947), and R.O. Fink (1949) demonstrate. All three agree with Taylor’s assessment above as to the difficulty of successfully combining the numismatist’s with the historian’s skills. That is not to say, however, that Grant’s numismatic work did not release fifty years of interest in the aes coinage that has led at last to a true comprehensive
catalogue of this material with the publication of Roman Provincial Coinage (1966–current).  

Not only did Grant’s numismatic work fail to provide a much-needed replacement for the more than forty year old encyclopedic catalogue of Grueber, but two important general studies of the Republican coinage by Sydenham and Pink, both published in 1952 and thus contemporary with the notes of Lily Ross Taylor, also failed to erase this deficit.

As Sydenham’s Preface to The Coinage of the Roman Republic states, his work was never meant to replace the work of Grueber, but rather was intended simply to provide a reorganization and chronological reordering of this coinage based on the advances of numismatists since Grueber. After Sydenham’s death in 1948 five additional hands (G.C. Haines, C.A. Hersh, L. Forrer, C.H.V. Sutherland, and H. Mattingly) continued to work on his material, modifying and adding to what he left behind, and this work resulted in the final compendium published some three years later. Sydenham’s division of the coinage into nine chronological sections is perhaps most notable for its combination of the various mints of this coinage into the chronology and, even more, for its incorporation of the hoard evidence into the consideration of this sequencing, but it adds little to our understanding of the meaning of the coin types themselves.

Perhaps because Sydenham himself was not an academic and because this work was both published and republished by coin dealers, his The Coinage of the Roman Republic did not receive much attention in American academic publications. In Britain a serious review of this publication by Michael Grant appeared rather unusually in The English Historical Review, and of American numismatists only Aline Boyce produced an academic assessment of this work, though even that in a British journal. Lily Ross Taylor’s relationship with Aline Boyce makes the fact that she does not mention this work anywhere in her notes seem even more unusual, but it may be that the factors mentioned above simply led her not to take this work under consideration.

The same feature is apparent in the more recent work of Woytek (2003).

Pink’s work, although nominally a catalogue, falls short in that it does not address the types or mints in any detail. Instead he concentrates on establishing a series of triumvir monetales and on identifying them where possible with persons known from other sources. See Aline Boyce’s review of Sydenham’s The Coinage of the Roman Republic (1952).

P. vii.

Spink and Son (1952), reissued by Sanford Durst (1976).

EHR 68 (1953) 422–444.

JRS 43 (1953) 193–196.
Whereas Sydenham’s primary interest lay in the chronology of the *aes grave* and earliest issues of the denarius, Pink’s was more attentive in the later denarius coinage where there was a far greater probability of identifying the moneyers with men known from other historical sources and, thus, of these moneyers being grouped together in annual colleges of three. In adopting this approach, however, Pink did not consider the mints or hoards as Sydenham had done and also, like him, had little to say about the types of the coins themselves.\(^{10}\)

Pink did much of the work on his *The Triumviri Monetales and the Structure of the Roman Republican Coinage* as a curator in Vienna, though the work finally reached publication in New York. In her notes Lily Ross Taylor reacts to it in much the same way as she did to Grant’s numismatic work, i.e., as an historian attempting to assess the contribution of the numismatist’s work to that of the historian.

One illustrative (and instructive) example of her methodology is the redating and reclassification of Pink’s *triumviri* of 48 BCE to an exceptional appointment in 49. She bases this reassignment of the very extensive coinage of C. Vibius C.f. Pansa and Albinus Bruti f. not only on the fact that from the historical sources we know that both men were too old to actually hold the very junior office of *triumvir monetalis* in 48 as it is known from historical sources that Pansa had already held the tribunate in 51 and that Albinus not only had been *quaestor* before 49 (he was over 30), but that he was not even in Rome in 48. She therefore removes this inextricably connected group of coins from Pink’s list of *triumviri* for 48 and puts them as a special issue in the year 49. That this is a special issue is undoubtedly the case, but that these coins date to 49 rather than 48 has not met with the agreement of later numismatists (*RRC* 449/1–5, 450/1–3, and 451/1).

As an historian Lily Ross Taylor began her career as a student of Italic cults and from this grew her first book, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931). This work centered on ruler cults of both Italy and the Hellenistic East and their relationships to the conceptions underlying the transition from the Roman Republic to the principate of Augustus.\(^{11}\) As time went on, she developed what she came to realize was the remarkable connection between Roman religion and Roman politics in the late Republic and began to focus on Cicero and, especially, on Caesar in *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949), a work that is contemporary with, or slightly antedates, the notes in her archive. Although here she notes more than once that Caesar’s use of his *cognomen* alone is “almost prophetic,”

\(^{10}\) See the comments of Aline Boyce (1953) 194.

\(^{11}\) For her early career see Linderski (1999) and Potter (2001).
an echo of Mommsen’s view of Caesar as “an almost messianic figure,” she began in these notes to look much more closely at the typology of the coins to see what the intentions of Caesar and his adherents actually were. Her notes on the numismatic material of 49–42 BCE have exactly this as their ultimate aim. In other words, here Lily Ross Taylor follows her own admonition, and her arguments are far more convincing.

One important illustration of this approach is her consideration of the titles of Caesar that appear on his coins and those of his adherents between 49 and 42 as summarized below.

Caesar

As Miss Taylor notes, the name Caesar has become so familiar to us that it may seem a prophetic look into the future titles of Roman emperors, Tsars, and Kaisers. But, of course, Caesar could have known none of that. With this in mind, what then does Caesar’s own use and the use by his adherents of his cognomen alone tell us? To answer this question, Taylor presents us with a thorough set of notes on Caesar’s and his adherents’ coins on which the cognomen CAESAR appears alone or in conjunction with other titles.

She notes that on his first issue of 49 BCE (RRC 443/1) he, Gaius Julius Caesar, is identified merely with his cognomen CAESAR. Although this might be attributed to the fact that at the time the coin was issued Caesar held no office, she also observes that this simple usage appears again on several later issues and, thus, remains a preferred title when others were certainly available for his use: on the reverse of the denarii issued in 48 (RRC 452/1–5) that celebrate Caesar’s prior military accomplishments at the Battle of Mytilene and in Gaul as well as his position of pontifex maximus; again in 47–46 on coins minted in Africa (RRC 458/1), and yet again on coins issued in Spain in 46–45 (RRC 468/1–2) with Venus Genetrix on the obverse and a reverse that is a variation of his by then familiar military trophy type.

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13 Nearly quoting the thoughts of E. Meyer (1919)
14 Her (unpublished) views are exactly those expressed by Syme (1958).
15 In this section I reference the numbers of Crawford (1974) with RRC and its number there for the convenience of the contemporary reader. RRC 482/1 also has the legend CAESAR IMP that alternates with C.CAESAR. She gives the coin a tentative date of 49, but this rather mysterious and very small issue should probably be dated considerably later (?44). As a result, I have not included it here.
In other words, it is important that Gaius Julius Caesar used his *cognomen* alone to identify himself throughout the 40s BCE, especially when the coins were not issued jointly with another magistrate and when the coins were issued outside of Rome and/or in a military context.¹⁶

**Imperator**

The historian’s sources state unequivocally that Caesar used the title *imperator* as a *praenomen* (Dio 43.44.2) and also had the privilege of handing down this title to his descendants (Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 76.1). However, in his 1946 *From Imperium to Auctoritas* Michael Grant mustered evidence to argue that it was the position as the individual with *imperium* rather than the *praenomen* that was used and was all-important to Caesar as a late Republican “marshall” or “warlord.”¹⁷

Miss Taylor takes up the evidence of the coins in detail. IMP appears for the only time on Caesar’s own coinage in 47 on coins issued in Sicily jointly with A. Allienus, as proconsul there (RRC 457/1). Its only possible reappearance during Caesar’s lifetime, though probably not, is on the much disputed issues of the *IIIiviri monetales* of 44 (RRC 480/3,4,5,17 and 18).

The resultant conclusion is that the single occurrence of the title itself does not confirm Grant’s theory that Caesar’s self-presentation centered on his position as “marshall” or “warlord,” at least when it comes to this series of coins.

**Pontifex and Augur**

To quote Taylor’s notes, “Caesar loved these symbols.” In fact, the pontifical and/or augural symbols appear on coins issued in every year from 49 until his death. Although the identification of these symbols with a given priesthood may remain a subject of discussion, the fact that they are religious symbols is not in doubt.

The obverse type of his very first issue of 49 (RRC 443/1) gives notice of his position as *pontifex maximus* with a group of symbols visualizing the fact that the very safety of Rome lies, through authority over the preservation of the sacred fire, in this priesthood’s power.

¹⁶ This is confirmed by Caesar’s statement, recorded by Dio 44.10.1, Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 79.2, and Appian *BC* 2.450 that he was not *rex*, but Caesar. It seems to me that is the case in however many ways one wants to construe the comment: see Gelzer (1968) 319 n. 4.

¹⁷ Grant (1946) 408–453.
The theme continues on the issue celebrating Caesar’s completion of his fifty-second year (RRC 452/3 of 48–47). Here on the obverse is a veiled head of Vesta facing right and, behind the head of the goddess over whose cult the pontifex maximus presided, the dipper (culullus) reappears.

Taylor does note that Caesar needed to become an augur (Folder 3 below). Indeed, he did in order for his own power to secure legitimacy for the offices he had held — and hopefully would continue to hold.¹⁸ On the next priestly issue (RRC 456/1, of 47 BCE),¹⁹ the symbols of axe and culullus reappear and are combined with the reverse augural symbols of jug and lituus.²⁰

On aurei issued as COS.TER (consul for the third time) with Hirtius as PR(aetor) in 46 (RRC 466/1) the head of Vesta reappears on the obverse and a mix of priestly symbols on the reverse. In the same year from an unknown mint in Africa (RRC 467/1), Caesar issued coins with yet another mix of priestly symbols²¹ and the legend AVGVR PONT MAX.²²

In 45 the theme again appears on aurei issued as C. CAESAR DICT. TER with L. Plancius as PRAEF.VRB. Here the jug appears alone and carries us into the issues of early 44 where it reappears scattered through the issues of the IIIvir monetales, in most cases behind or before the portrait of Caesar (RRC 480/2,3,6, 19 and 20).

In short, as Miss Taylor rightly saw, these titles are the most persuasive and important of the various ways in which the political power of Caesar is represented on his coins and the coins of his adherents. Indeed, as Taylor says, Caesar “loved these symbols” and they clearly prove her point of the political importance of the Roman priesthoods to Caesar, especially in this period when he was attempting to consolidate and define his power.

¹⁸ See Caesar, BC 2.21.5 and Cicero Att. 9.9.3 and 9.15.2.
¹⁹ Between these two issues, I would include RRC 452/3 (48 BCE) with an obverse of Vesta (or Rhea Silvia, the first Vestal) whose cult, which preserved the safety of Rome, was in the hands of the pontifex maximus. Behind the head there is another culullus.
²⁰ On the obverse the axe and culullus and on the reverse the lituus (wand for reading the omens) and situla (pitcher).
²¹ Culullus, aspergillum, situla and lituus.
²² She misses the lituus behind the head of Venus Genetrix on denarii issued in Spain in 46–45 (RRC 468/2).
Conclusion

Celia Schulz has pointed out to us how, in the language of scientists, Lily Ross Taylor’s solutions to knotty multifaceted problems would be termed “elegant.”23 I would like to add that Taylor’s method of solving knotty and complex problems of understanding the Roman Republican world in the language of contemporary scientists, also would be termed “convergent.” I quote from the National Science Foundation’s website: “Convergent research is a means of solving vexing research problems, especially complex problems focusing on societal needs. It entails integrating knowledge, methods, and expertise from different disciplines and forming novel frameworks to catalyze scientific discovery and innovation, focused on solving a specific, compelling problem.”24 If the accurate reconstruction of our history is a societal problem — and it certainly is — Lily Ross Taylor was not only the master of the elegant solution, but as her last book, Roman Voting Assemblies (1966) shows, she was the master of the convergent solution. We are very much diminished by the fact that her death in 1969 abruptly cut off the path to a new work funded by a 1960 grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, but never completed. Its subject was to be Roman Politics in the Late Republic.25

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23 As quoted in Hallett (2021) n. 19.
24 See the National Science Foundation website (2019).
25 P. IX of the preface.
TRANSCRIPTION OF LILY ROSS TAYLOR’S NOTES

There are seven folders of notes in box VII of the LRT archive. Folder 1 consists of LRT’s notes to herself on Michael Grant’s *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946). The notes, which represent what LRT found interesting for her own work on Caesar, are on small pieces of paper as reflected in the format I have adopted below. The attribution to folders and page numbers is mine and reflects the way they are organized in the Bryn Mawr archive.

I have respected her divisions, and tried to replicate the size and shape of the note paper used for each section. In all cases I have indicated new paragraphs to represent underlining or indentations that divide her material and I have italicized Latin words in the text, but not in quoted inscriptions. I also have noted the places I find indecipherable with question marks in square brackets that represent the apparent length of each. My comments or additions also in square brackets; hers are in round brackets. There are further introductory notes to folders 2–7. What remains is at times inconsistent, but authentic, although I have regularly italicized where she has not always done so and have at times included references to Crawford (1974) to assist the contemporary reader.
Caesar
Roman aes had not recovered from its suppression in the 80’s
Few pieces struck – A. Hirtius signs issue in Treveri. IX.25 Fiduciary currencies not possible in Italy.

p. 4 Efforts to revive coinage under Caesar

Caesar's municipal policy
p. 311
Important
Romanization in provinces parallels development in Rome

Title imperator
One issue with Anthony imp.
cf. Caesar imp. on his way to imp. Caesar
Only one aes of Anthony that shows similar tendency.
Commands of 49–28 were diverse, including dictatorships, proconsulates, triumvirates and finally consulships. All based on *imperium maius*. Vision in all this is term *imperator* in new sense. First an informal description of *imperium maius*, & had crept into official parlance of one of the rival factions in 44. Soon is designation of the war lords.

P. Sulpicius Rufus *pro praetor* suggests that Sulpicius was governor of Pontus & Bithynia. Colony led to Sinope. Dates his governorship in 45. Caesar provides *aes* coinage for Empire.

Numismatic portrait of Julius appeared in 47–46 under C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus in 47–46. See Curtius, *RM* 47 (1932) p. 231. Thus 45 is preferable to 44 for postquam of denarii. I don’t follow this.
Caesar

Portrait on coins. Rare in cities except those he founded or freed.
e.g. Sinope, Apamea, Alexandria Troas, Lamphacus, Parium, Achulla, Hadrumentum.

Anthony at Philippi
Caesar in Julio-Antonian foundations at Lamphacus & Troas
Agrippa, *parens patronus* at Gades.
Special honor for founder.

Grant p.13
Orichalcum—has zinc instead of tin
for alloy of [?] copper
used for coins of Clavius, perhaps of Sulpicius,
also of Thessalonica (?)
Can’t get the evidence on Thessalonica
p.19 thinks that this coinage [?] in orichalcum was Caesar’s
pragmati[sm] & was profitable

Caesar – Thessalonica?

Reverse- *fiscus*  Obv[verse]
*Pl. II.3 sella quaedestoria*
*hasta*
portrait to r.
which Grant takes to be Caesar

Pl. II.2 or
Prow  Letter q  *Hasta=imperium*
Therefore official is a *q.pr.pr*
Don’t follow

Exact copy has PRINCEPS.FELIX
Colonia Julia  AL[E]=Alexandria Troas

[see next p.]
He does not convince me that *Princeps Felix* is Caesar

Oriphalcum  
Grant. pp. 87ff.

I find this highly uncertain. Tries to prove that Caesar worked out an alloy with zinc which was a “relic” of characteristically brilliant & unethical financial policy” [pp.88–89] Cicero’s scornful remarks – *De Off.* 3.23. Look up.

Grant on Spain  
p. 296
Coinage mainly entrusted to Roman citizen communities & a vast peregrine coinage stopped. p. 474 *Peregrini* depressed in favor of Romans. Augustus lavish only in Spain on foreign colonization.
Cn.Iuli L.f.Q.

Venus

Cupid – with *cornucopiae* & *caduceus*

Corduba or Corduba Bal

Corduba alone must precede colony there, therefore 46–45

Corduba still peregrine with *vicus*

of Roman citizens

Thinks Bal=Balbus

Grant on monetary policy.  p. 300

Bronze circulated along with official orichalcum and copper.

Bronze seems to have been considered less valuable than orichalcum and even copper.

Augustus embraced Caesar’s plan of fiduciary currency.
Folder 2

[Folders 2–7 contain notes for an important paper probably delivered in 1952. The heart of the talk is on 22 numbered pages as noted below at the top right of each of LRT’s pages.]

Folder 2. p. 1

[Page 1 of this folder is an outline of the paper that is fleshed out on pp. 2ff.]

[The outline:]

1. Recent Bibliography
2. Period and Scope of discussion
   Career of Caesar
3. Coins of the Roman mint
   Efforts to date them
4. Coins of non-Roman mint[s]
5. Bronzes and Grant’s theories
6. Coins & their evidence for Caesar’s position
   Imper[ator]
   Consul
   Dictator
   Religious offices
7. Caesarian propaganda
   Peace, concord. etc. in 49
   Caesar’s family
8. Caesar’s deification
   General evidence on coins of 45
   Coins of 44, particularly strong [the latter crossed out]
   Portraits
   Temple
   Star
   Divus Iulius
   Divi filius
   chair
   symbols of new age.
9. General summary
   What coins contribute to Caesar
Folder 2, p. 2

RECENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

2)

Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* 1946

*Roman Anniversary Issues*


Good summary by Mrs. Boyce in *Numismatic Literature*

K. Pink, *The Triumviri monetales and the structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic*

Old article of Ganter [*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*] 19 (1895) 183ff. Of some importance for fixing Caesar’s titles

Career of Caesar—follow it out on the sheet [see Folder 7 below]

Coins of Caesar [This and the repetitive section below it is crossed out]

Coins of Caesar - None before 49. Never was *triumvir* of mint. No coinage of Gaul.

None as curule aedile. Curious

Coins of Roman mint.

Important problems

Coinage with symbol III

Take up Pink’s dating of the *triumviri monetales*.

Coins of Caesar [a new start on this section]
Coins of Caesar

Curious that there are none before 49
He was not *IIIvir monetalis*
He did not issue special coins as curule aedile. Curious – We should expect it –
Perhaps senate wouldn’t let him
Events of his early career. Civic crown – on female head on coins of 49
Coinage begins in year 49

Official Roman coins and at same time issues in Gaul.
Large amounts of gold – issues for his troops who received 2000 sestertii each – Aurei significant for that.
Bearing on the date of Caesar’s birth. LII [RRC 452/1–5]
Mommsen’s suggestion

Cesano Opposing views
Fig.1 & 2 argue that date is 101.
p. 186
Gr. 49.13

My date is 100
Caesar born July 13
Should date coins after July 13th and before Oct. 49 when Caesar was 51 & in his 52nd year.
Reasons for my redating of the coins 49–48 [e.g., changing Pink’s dates]

Triumviri monetales in Pink’s list for 48–47
He puts C. Vibius Pansa and Brutus Albini f. as triumviri in 48
Impossible. Both too old. That was preliminary office.
Pansa was trib.pl. in 51 [??]
D. Brutus had been quaestor before 49, was therefore over 30. However, he was not in Rome in 48

Their coinage is special – not stated
Why – no offices existed on Caesarian side.
Moreover their coinage has relations with Caesar.

Gr. 49.17 Connections with Gaul. carnyces
[RRC 449/1–451/5] Relation to propaganda of 49
2 joined hands, Pietas, Libertas
Have transferred coins of 48–47 in Pink –
Reason – Coins of the 3 [3 crossed out] men I have assigned to 48 have relations to Caesarian coins of 49
Gallic spoils
Lady with oak crown, identical with coins of 52
Perhaps Gallic spoils on reverse

Have put in only one moneyer in 47.
No elections until October that year.
Not much time for coinage.
Accept Pink’s dates for coins of 46 to first half of 44, except that I have omitted coinage of 2 praetors who coined [?55]. They are L. Cestius, C. Norbanus. Can find no criteria. Pink puts in 45 [RRC 491/1–2 dated to 43]

44 IIII monetales.
Do not believe Pink’s theory of 2 sets of moneyers that year. There was no second set of elections.

The curious case of L. Flaminius Chilo pri fl. Should put him in 43. [RRC 485/1 dated to 43]

Special reason for such a claim in that year. Propaganda for Octavian. Plenty of people against him. Note that his portrait of Caesar differs from that on moneyers of 44. To be considered later.

Other moneyers. Accept Pink for 42. Will come back to this later.
9 [? more or less] additional names to fill out 43, 41, 40

12 places in those years. One (Chilo) taken for 43. [RRC 485/1–2]. We have nine names for 11 places. Can’t distribute them.
NON-ROMAN MINTS

COINS OF GAUL, ETC.

C. CAESAR IMP. COS. TER Sicilian mint
Den[arius] Venus r. 47
r) A. ALLIENVS PRO COS
Hero Trinacrus

Gr. II 559 & 20.44.
[RRC 457/1]

Head of Ceres r. DICT ITER coin of Africa 46 B.C.
COS. TERT

Emblems of pontificate & augurate
Simpulum, aspergillum, urceus,
lituus [AVGVR] [Gr.] II 576
[PONT.MAX] Gr. 121.13
[RRC 467/1]

Coins of Gaul and Spain in year 49. All with
CAESAR, with one CAESAR IMP
Folder 2. p. 8

[A note from Folder 1 possibly misplaced]

[Grsnt] p.7 Bronze of C. Clovius praef
Caesar dict.ter until Dec. 45
Thinks Clovius is praefectus under Caesar’s imperium maius
Was in Cisalpine Gaul [RRC 476/1]

[?] Hortensius had title praef.colon.ded[?u]
Analogy with Clovius is [??????]
p.33 but title doesn’t seem same. I
question
Clovius is convincing – He was working
in Cisalpine Gaul as Caesar’s praefectus to
lead colonies.
I take first his theory of Caesar’s colonial policy pp. 302–8, important – Caesar’s great problem was settlement of his veterans and the surplus city population to prevent violence; therefore to share treasury. No more public land in Italy. He confiscated & bought what he could but he had to send colonies overseas. Had done much. Brutus – see speech after death of Caesar promised to carry out Caesar’s plans – & did make further settlements. Triumviri with large numbers of veterans to reward had to carry out policy & went on with it. But this great series of settlements – Sicily, Sardinia, east, west provinces, Africa was essentially design of Caesar. We have His charter for Urso – and we have numerous series of coins. Corinth long known – but there were many others.

Not cosmopolitan – Did not accept empire – Took Rome to empire. Roman citizens, soldiers and civilians – Latin splendidly attested by inscriptions on coins – Caesar’s grandiose design. Abandoned under Augustus Series of officers who helped assign land. Puts in there:

Cesano fig. 3 p. 111 C. Clovius praefec (agr.dand) They represent significant new metal Orichalcum – zinc and copper – cheap.
Folder 2. p. 10

COINS AND THEIR EVIDENCE FOR CAESAR’S POSITIONS

[CAESAR]
Name Caesar alone on coins of 49
Elephant which plays on name
Very significant.
There was no other CAESAR
Prophetic – Kaiser, Czar
Name was enough in 49 when Caesar
had no legal position. Revolution.
Complete absence of Julius
Absence of Gaul
[C.????]
[Gr. II 390–391]
[Gr. 103.5]
[RRC 443/1]

IMPERATOR]
But perhaps in that year comes his
first use of imperator
   Female head to r. with fillet
   R) Trophy with arms
   CAESAR.IMP
[The following crossed out with NO:]
Cesano I.8
Gr. 100.19
Gr.Spain 70 [references to Cesano and Gr. Crossed out and replaced with this]
[RRC 482/1, but dated to 44]

Continuance of title —
On Sicilian mint – coin of A. Allienus in 47
Title comes into its own in Roman mint in 44 on portraits of Caesar
of M. Mettius and L. Buca
[The following crossed out with NO in margin:] Cesano 3.3; Gr. 54.5; replaced with] 4137
Title had according to Dio been given to Caesar and his descendants
according to Suetonius–had been given as
as praenomen. No case of it as praenomen.
This is a new use. Develops from Pompey.
Had no real meaning before
Pink’s theory of imperium maius.
Something in it, – but Caesar not
quite so theoretical as Pink makes him
out.
Wish coins could prove when Octavian
began to be called imp.Caesar. I think
in 40 B.C.
CONSUL

Found on a number of coins with
the enumeration. But in Roman mint
is more apt to be on aurei than on silver
e.g. coin of Hirtius in 46 [RRC 466/1] with
C.CAESAR.COS.TER
and aurei of 44 [RRC 481/1]
Gr 53.19 Bust of Venus, R
Gr. 54.1 CAES.DIC.QVAR
[?den.] Cesano
I.6 R) COS. QVINC within laurel wreath

Consulship not on coins of IIIiviri of 44
Folder 3. p. 2

DICTATOR

Great emphasis on this title in issues of triumviri & of non-Roman mints. This was real basis of Caesar’s power. *Imperium* went with it as well as with consulship. Coin[s] of Clovius & Plancus dict.ter. Most significant on coins of IIIvir in in 44 with *dictator III & dictator perpetuus* They will be considered later. *Dictator perpetuus* also on revivals of Caesar types in the next years – but only on issues combined with Octavian.

Gr. 104.10

[**RRC 490/2**]

Anthony destroyed office of dictator.

CONSUL and DICTATOR

Caesar’s issue of 44

[**RRC 481/1**]
RELIGIOUS OFFICES

Statement on great priests [introductio to prieshoods by LRT]

*Pontifex maximus* was only official title
Caesar had in 49. Note there is no indication of it on coins of Roman mint in 49.
But it is found in symbols of on Gallic series of same year. Series with elephant
& symbols on other side.
Pontificate only
Gr. 103.5
C[esano] I.1;
[RRC 443/1] Pontificate only.
Caesar needed to be an augur.
Augurate acquired by Caesar almost certainly in elections of Dec. 49.
Coins help to fix date. First is aureus, attributed by Grueber to East, by Pink to Rome
  *capis*
  axe and *simpulum* CAES.DICT
  R) Pitcher, *lituus*. laurel wreath ITER
C[esano] II.8
Gr. 121.1
[RRC 456/1]

Inscription fixes date in 47 & to my mind fixes Caesar’s election to augurate in 49.

Others with symbols of both offices –
  *den*. Coin of 46
  Gr. 121.13. Female head to r. COS.TER.DIC.ITER
  [RRC 467/1] r) AVGVR.PONT.MAX
  African mint
IM PM on one of coins of 44, *IIIviri mon*. [RRC 480/4]

Symbols on other coins, e.g., Hirtius C[esano] II. 3 &4
[RRC 466/1]
Others of 44. C[esano], III.1&2; IV.6&7
[RRC 480/2]
Caesar loved these symbols.
Folder 3. P.4

[A note from Folder 1 on Grant; seemingly misplaced from notes on Deification below]

Caesar. Grant p.13
Crab on coin of P. Sulpicius Rufus –
Alföldi RM 1935 p. 146 associates
it with cosmocrator who will inaugurate birth
of nature under the crab.
CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA

In 49
D. Iunius Brutus Albinus
C. Vibius Pansa
show on their *denarii* propaganda for
Caesar (both of them his associates)
Emphasize Pax [crossed out], Libertas, Concordia [crossed out],
Pietas. Idea of peace and concord.

Dates – attributed to 48 by Pink
to 49 by Grueber

49 seems to me to suit the propaganda better. Should suppose that officers of mint
were out of commission & Pansa & D. Brutus made special issue – (Grueber)
They are too old for *triumviri monetales*

Emphasis on Gallic spoils fits 49

Grant C. Vibius Pansa was *tr. pl.* in 51.

Types – Brutus
den. Head of Mars r. with beard, crested helmet
Grant r.) 2 *carnyces*, oval & round shield

Gr. 49.17

*RRC 450/1*

PIETAS Head r.
r) 2 right hands joined, holding winged
caduceus. ALBINVS.BRVTI. F.

[Gr.] 49.18

*RRC 450/2*

Head of his ancestor
r) Wreath of corn ALBINVS.BRVTI F

[Gr.] 49.19–21

*RRC 450/3*

Types – Pansa C. Vibius Pansa. C.f C.n Pansa
Folder 3, p. 5 (continued)

Head of Bacchus
R) Ceres, wreath of grain
   C.VIBIVS.C.F.C.N.
       [Gr.] Pl. 50. 1&2
       [RRC 449/2]

Mask of Pan [RRC 449/1]
Jupiter Anxur

Head of LIBERTAS
R) Roma on Gaulish armor [incorrect description} C.PANSA C.F.C.N.
   [RRC 449/4]

   {Gr. 50.8]
   [RRC 451/1] Mask of Pan PANSA
Brutus and Pansa r) right hands joined ALBINUS. BRVTI.F
OTHER CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA

Gallic spoils on coins of 49, esp. there in Gallic and Spanish mints.
Cesano I.3,4,5,7,8
Caesar & his [??????]
Who is the lady associated with these arms?
On 3 and 4 prob. Venus.
With oak crown? Perhaps Pietas, but
I can’t find other examples of the type [crossed out]
Why Pietas? From den.[arius] of Herennius [????]
labeled Pietas, Has Anchises & Aeneas
Gr.30.20 Does [? 1 2 = RRC 454/1] give the clue? Aeneas
[RRC &Anchises – Is this an advance
452/1–4] notice of Pius Aeneas?
Or can the veiled head be Rhea Silvia? [crossed out]

That brings us to aurei of Hirtius in 46
Cesano II. 3 & 4
Gr.51.20,21,22,23, 24 false
[RRC 466/1]

Habit of moneyers to celebrate achievements of ancestors.
But Julii hadn’t any good [?crossed out]
legends –
Virgil had to go back to Aeneas & his immediate descendants

Caesar in pretty much same state.
Family elements needed.
Folder 3, p. 7

[An unreferenced note on Julius-quoted in Meyer (1919) p. 511

[??????] in Eusebius (p.138 Karst) – Silvius was made king; Iulus having lost leadership was put in the high priesthood in which until today the Julian family is.
Dion.Hal. 1.70. To Iulus in place of kingdom a priestly office was given which was superior to this monarchy in security & tranquility. This office the Julian [crossed out] house descended from him & called Julian still enjoys down to my time.
However, instead of the kingship, a certain sacred power and dignity exceeding that of the monarchy in lack of danger and ease of life was granted to Julus, the fruits of which his family, who are called Julii after him, enjoy even up to my time.
Hirtius coins. Aurei

Bahrfeldt pp. 35–37. Pl. IV 1–5
[RRC 466/1]

Obv. C.CAESAR.COS.TER
Veiled head right
Rev. A.HIRTIVS PR. lituus, pitcher, axe (pontificate & augurate)

Date clearly 46 B.C. Caesar’s triumph in September. Large donations.
Many examples. One of 80
Variation in weight- from 7.40 to 8.31 gr.

[In left margin:] check in Bahrfeldt
Head now [??] with older features, now small with younger. In former case inscription n reverse is more careless. Final S is either smaller or lacking. Often periods after COS or PR are lacking on these.
2 groups so different that it has been suggested that there were different mints and different times. Suggestion that older head is Caesar – Bahrfeldt thinks without reason.
Other coins leave COS.ITER off & Hirtius’ name – signs of laurel crown on some of them – effort to make them like Caesar.
Undoubtedly spurious. Examples in Paris & London and one or two others [Bahrfeldt] Pl.. 4..6–8
I suggest Rhea Silvia and Iulus.
Veil fits both. Rhea Silvia a Vestal. Iulus was p.m. of Alba, Dion.Hal.
[?]
Not a coin of Caesar emphasizes popular politics – liberty, *populi potestas*. But one series gives each emphasis. Coins of Lollius Palicanus – Gr. dates in 47, Pink in 46. I prefer 46, for I doubt much coinage in 47.

Types –
- Head of Libertas to R. LIBERTATIS
- den. R) Rostra or represented with beaks of ships *subsellium* on top
- Gr. 517
- Pl. 50.8
- [RRC 473/1]
- Head of Honos to r., HONORIS
- R) Curule chair bet. 2 ears of grain
- Gr. I 518 Pl. 50.19
- Gr. 50.19
- [RRC 473/2]
- sest. Voting urn
- NO! R) Voting tablet with ring attached PALIKANUS

Refers to family history – son of a prominent tribune – 71 B.C.

Seems to suggest more popular government than Caesar permitted.

Voting tablets no longer emphasized though Caesar was building great *saepta* for voting units.
KINGSHIP, DEIFICATION & PROPAGANDA FOR THESE

Here it is the merit of Alföldi to have to have seen
relation of coins of 45 to Caesar’s
desire (or other’s propaganda) for kingship
and to have related these to coins of 42
when propaganda was established.
Sibylline Books. [2 words crossed out] Oracle to be brought
forward that Parthians only to be conquered by
a king. [Suet.] Jul. 79; cf. Cic. Div. 2.110; L. Au-
relius Cotta to bring out oracle – Cicero distressed
about him in summer of 45.
On coins Sibyl
Of 45 Figures of Apollo and Diana
` Globe
  Double cornucopia with fillets

Not once the name of Caesar
This would all be meaningless if the
themes did not reappear in 42
T. Carisius

D
Sibyl
R) Sphinx
[Gr.] 529; 52.3
[\textit{RRC} 464/1 dated 46]

D
Roma
R) celestial globe with cornucopia, scepter & rudder
Laurel wreath around it
[Gr.] 531,
[Gr.] 52.6
[\textit{RRC} 464/3 dated 46]

Sest.
Head of Diana, diademed
R) Hound running
[Gr.] 531
[GR]. 52.11
\textit{RRC} [464/8]

C. Considius Paetus

D
Head of Apollo, r. laureate
[Gr.] 531–2
R) wreath on curule chair
[Gr.] 52.12–14
\textit{(RRC 465/1–2)}

Emended at bottom of p. with notation Reference:

Head of Apollo to r.
R) Chair, draped, wreath
44 B.C. Dio 44.6 A gilded chair
was granted him (crossed out). His golden chair &
crown set with precious stones and
overlaid with gold should be carried
[just as those of the gods – Greek text]
Gr. 52.12–14

Sest.
Bust of Cupid, r.
R) Double cornucopia, with fillet on globe
[Gr.] p. 533
[Gr.] 52. 22–23
\textit{(RRC 465/8)}

L. Valerius Acisculus

D
Head of Apollo Soranus (last word crossed out)
diademed (?????) headed pick, within laurel wreath
R) female fig[ure] on heifer
[Gr.] 534
Pl. 53.1
[\textit{RRC} 474/1 dated to 45]
D  Head of Apollo, r.
R) Sibyl as on obverse of Carisius’ coins
   [Gr.] 536; 53.7
   [RRC 474/3]

[In pencil below; should go above under C. Considius Paetus:
   Head of Apollo to r.
Gr. 52. 12–14  R) Chair, draped, wreath
(RRC 465/1)
Coins of the *IIIvirī* *monetales* in 44

Portraiture. Appears first on coins of Roman mint in this year.

BMC Pontus & Bith. Pl. 31.13

Heads on obverse of Roman coins practically always gods or kings though recently there had occasionally been ancestors of moneyers. No living man on coins of Roman mint until 44.

Caesar's own aurei of that year also lack portraits. But the four moneyers all bear portraits Bildniss redit. Pink p.39-53

On interpreting Dio
I believe in the Bildnis redit
If only because it was withheld until This year and gods belong there
Represents deification
Not much time to make good portraits.

Gr. Pl. See Cesano plates III&IV

54

[RRC 480/passim]
Folder 4.P.4

Other signs of deification  

Temple. Coin of Sepullius Macer.

- Temple. 4 columns, closed doors CLEMEN

MENTIAE.CAESARIS

- Cesano 4.4  
  R) P.SEPULLIUS 2 horses - desultor

- Gr. 54.22  
  Referred to by Dio 44.6.4, by Appian & Plutarch

RRC 480/20

Might not have been believed if it were not for coins. No Reference in Cicero.
Was not built.
Instead temple of Divus Julius
Star. Behind Caesar’s head
    on coin of Sepullius Macer
Cesano 4.1  cf.] 4.2 & 4.3 with Venus
Gr. 54.15–17 scepter on star.
[RRC 480/5]
These coins come after Caesar’s death.
Appearance of Julian star.
Pliny N.H. 2.94 quotes from Augustus’ memoirs: “During the very times of my games
a comet was seen for seven days in the northern region of the sky. It would rise about
the 11th hour and was very bright and conspicuous in all lands. This comet the people
thought indicated that Caesar’s soul had been received among the immortal gods. For
that reason this symbol was placed above the head of the statue of Caesar which I
consecrated in the Forum soon afterwards.[“
Baebius Macer on Ecl 9.47. Some said that star arose to glorify young Caesar; he said
it was his father’s soul & put star on statue. But haruspex said it was the end of 9th
saeculum or beg[inning] of 10th.
First appearance of this star on coins of 44. Historical identification.
Curious that Cesano doesn’t use this star in determining dates.
Cesano 4.6  Knows that another coin of Sepullius Macer is
Gr. 54.23  after the Ides of March.
[RRC 480/20]
DEIFICATION

Coin of Gaul  Gr.II 405
Head of Octavian, r. slight beard
CAESAR.III.VIR.R.P.C

[Gr] Pl.104.12
[\textit{RRC} 497/2]

R) Curule chair with wreath inscribed
CAESAR.DIC.PER.
Chair carried into theater with chairs of the gods
COINS OF 42 - DEIFICATION

Juilian star in heavens – to bring a new age.
- 5th eclogue
- 9th eclogue poems of 41–40
- 4th eclogue

Alföldi [1930] Moneyers of 42 have portraits of triumviri and an additional series Clodius.Antony
P.Clodius M.f. Pink See plate, enlarged
Head of Sol, radiate See also Alföldi Plate no. 20

Gr. 57.2&3 r) crescent moon – 5 stars P.CLODIVS.M.F.
[RRC 494/ 20–21]

Cicero N.D. 2.51 quarum (2 planets) ex Disparibus motionibus efficitur cum solis et lunae et quinque errantium ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversion. Cesano 18.11

Alföldi [1930] Felicitas temporum of Septimius Severus
[RRC 494/ Apollo
22–23] [r] Standing figure of Diana between torches

Babelon I, p. [3??] no.14 [crossed out]

C. Vibius Varus
No particular significance

L. Livineus Regulus
No particular significance

L. Mussidius Longus
21) [continued]

Gr. 56.11 L. MUSSIDIUS LONGUS
{Gr. 56.12} Reverse of coin of Anthony, Lepidus & Oct[avian]
[Gr. 56.13] Cornucopiae with fillets
[RRC 494/14]

Den. Head of Caesar r.
Gr. 57.18 R) cornucopiae on globe between
(RRC 494/39] rudder and winged caduceus
L.MUSSIDIUS LONGUS

Look up P[????????]......
& Sall. Jug [????]
Back of p. 21

Gr. 582 no plate
Winged radiate fig., r. foot on globe;
caduceus in r, cornucopia [?????]
bow & quiver; eagle on cippus; shield

Gr. p. 582
no Plate
(RRC 494/5)
Winged radiate fig., r. foot on globe;
caduceus in r, cornucopiae in l.
bow & quiver; eagle on cippus; shield

Felicitas – symbols, empire=
caduceus & cornucopiae
WHAT DO THE COINS CONTRIBUTE?

Grant’s theories

Colonization & Romanization

Development of idea of *imperium*

Value he set on *imperium*

*Dictator* rather than *consul* – something that was not to be precedent.

Great importance of his religious offices

* pontifex maximus.
  * augur* when he finally got it. Coins give the date.

Kingship and deification

Coins of 45 prove the ideas were in air for both. They went together.

Coins of 44 support sources – portrait on coins –

*Clementia* which simply would have been rejected.

Star. Confirm stories about that.

Chair

And great background for ideas that are all in Virgil

Background for Secular Games.
Folders 5–6 contain pages of scattered notes on topics related to the talk on pp. 1–22 above and Folder 7 contains handouts and lists of sources of her images for presentations on this subject.

Folder 5, p. 1

Grant on imperium 408ff.

Statement of Suetonius that Caesar took praenomen imperatoris & of this he got title and privilege of handing it down to his descendants

Not found on Caesar’s coins or inscriptions.

But on Pompeian coins

Denarii \[ RRC469/1; 470/1\]

Aurei \[ RRC 478/1 \]

\[ RRC 478/1 \]

\[ RRC 477/1–3 \]

\[ RRC 477/1–3 \]

Later Sextus takes MAGNVS as first name

\[ RRC 478/1 \]

One aes – Antonius imp.

\[ RRC 489/2 \]

Octavian takes imperator as praenomen – when?

?38 B.C.

The marshal
The warlord
Commands of 48–28 were diverse – dictatorships, proconsulships, triumvirates, consulships; But peculiarity was subordination of other imperium to one supreme
Folder 5, p. 2

Original note of the type of Folder 1 (smaller piece of paper) transferred to this position:

Caesar-
Grant p. 317

Caesar abolished *IIIviri col.ded.* in favor of more personal methods.
Folder 5, p. 3
Coins of 42

L. Mussidius Longus
Aurei. A.P.F with names of 3 triumviri
  Anthony, head
  R) Mars, foot on shield
  Octavian, slight beard
  R) Mars
  Lepidus
  R) Mars

Denarii
  Victory
  R) Victory in biga

Aureus for all 3 not A.P.F.
  Mark Anthony
  R) cornucopae tied with fillets

  Goddess, diadem, necklace
  R) Name of moneyer within wreath of corn

Denarii
  Concordia, veiled, diadem CONCORDIA
  R) 2 right hands joined. Name of moneyer
  Head of Julius Caesar r., laureate
  Cornucopae on globe bet[ween] rudder, caduceus, apex, name of moneyer
Folder 5, p. 3 (continued)

Head of CONCORDIA
R) Circular platform, CLOACIN
   [Gr.] 57. 4–5
   [RRC 494/42]

Bust of Sol
R) CLOACIN
   [Gr. LVIL.4 & 5
   [RRC 494/43]
Folder 5, p. 4

Coins of 42 (c’d)

L. Livineius Regulus  
[Gr. 578–82]

Aurei
Head of Mark Anthony with inscrip[tion]  
Rev) Anton (?).  L.REGVLVS.IIIIVIR APF  
Gr. 57.6–7  
[RRC 494/2]

Head of Octavian  
R) Aeneas carrying Anchises  
L.REGVLVS IIIIVIR APF  
Gr. 57.8–9  
[RRC 494/3]

Head of Lepidus  
R) Vestal Virgin Aemilia, l with simpulum & sceptre  
Same inscript[ion].  
[RRC 494/1]

Denarii
Head of Octavian  
R) Victory, bearing wreath & palm branch  
[RRC 494/25]

Other types figure pr. Regulus  
and Regulus F PRAEF.VR.  
[RRC 494/31]

None of these have application except one  
with head of Julius Caesar r. winged caduceus  
& laurel branch – Bull on reverse  
[Gr.] 582;57.18  
[RRC 494/24]
Folder 5, p. 5

Coins of 42

Aurei

Gr. 582–586

P. Clodius M.F.

M.ANTONIVS IIIVIR R.P.C. Portrait, bearded C.CAESAR IIIVIR A.P.F.

r) P.CLODIVS M.F. IIIIVIR A.P.F.

[??????] foot on globe, caduceus, Cornucopiae, bow, quiver, eagle, shield

Alföldi 18

[RRR 494/5]

Head of Octavian, r.. C. CAESAR

r) Venus Genetrix – dove, above Cupid

P.CLODIVS M.F. IIII A.P.F.

[RRR 494/6]

Head of Lepidus. M.LEPIDUS IIIVIR R.P.C.

r) Concordia – scepter and cornucopiae

[RRR 494/4]

Denarii

Anthony, rev. Mars

[RRR 494/17]

Octavian, rev. Mars

[RRR 494/18]

Julius Caesar, laureate, rev. Mars

[RRR 494/16]

Octavian rev. Ceres

[RRR 494/19]

Aurei and denarii

Head of Sol, radiate

R) Crescent moon, 5 stars P.CLODIVS M.F.

[RRR 494/20–21]

Head of Apollo, r. laureate

R) Diana Lucifera, bow and quiver, lighted torch in each hand [RRR 494/22–23]
Folder 5. P.6

Coins of 42 Gr. 587–590 [RRC 494/34–38]

C. Vibius Varus

Aureus 3 series coins with portraits of Anthony, Oct. & Lepidus
r) C.VEIBIVS VARVS
Two right hands joined  [RRC 494/10–12]

Also other types

Den Head of Anthony, r. D[enrius]
Oct.
R) Fortuna  [RRC 494/32]

Minerva on Oct. D[enarius]
 [RRC 494/33]

Also other types with with no connection with triumviri [:]

Bacchus & Panther  [RRC 494/36]
Roma & Nemesis  [RRC 494/35]
Apollo and Venus  [RRC 494/34]
Hercules & Minerva  [RRC 494/37]
Minerva & Hercules  [RRC 494/38]
Folder 5, p. 7 [re. Pietas as reminiscent of Vurgil’s Eclogues]

Coins of Gallienus
PIETAS.SAECVL.
r) Heifer nourishing 2 young

Alföldi, Num. Chron. 1929
Jupiter & Gallienus p.268

Pl.X  G[allienus]
IOVI EX ORIENTI
Baby Jupiter on goat

Similar fig. therefore implies LAETIT
TEMP X.9
PIET. SAECVLI X.8
IOVI CRESCENTI X.10

Also [X.] 12, 13 14, 15, 16

Circ. 287ff. A.D.
Folder 5, p. 8

Needed [a note to herself].

Mattingly on 5th Ecl[ogue]
Ganter
Grant Anniversary Issues
Folder 5, p. 9

[More of the notes to herself]

Alföldi
Cesano
2 copies of Grueber

Get reference] p. 16 [crossed out]
P. 17 [crossed out]
What is Grueber Pl. 31.13? [crossed out]
Have to find in Nicaea portrait of Caesar [crossed out]
Text of Alföldi [crossed out]
Warning against both historians & numismatists

Failure to pool knowledge
Ignorance of historians – don’t know types, mints, weights, hoards etc.
Often disregard evidence.
Sometimes when they don’t,, make crass mistakes

p. 71 of *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*
   Venus & Victory

Warning against numismatists.

Often ignorant of history. Grueber’s footnotes – also Babelon’s. Crass mistakes. Nothing very different
Also for Grant, Pink, Am. Num. Soc.
Moreover they don’t help you in your investigation.
Failure for instance to explain [last word crossed out]
provide description of plates
   Grant
   Cesano

Value of present experiment
CAESAR AND ISSUES OF BRONZE & ORICHALCUM
(ZINC ALLOY)

In provinces - his governors make issues -
An important one with portrait of Caesar is that
of C. Vibius Pansa in Nicaea in Bithynia
(other types in other cities, Apamea, Nicomedia)

Association with city foundations – Caesar’s vast
colonial policy – mingling whole empire
Grant tries to make out a series of officers to
found colonies and allot land – praefecti

Thus C. Clovius is interpreted as such an
officer (coin Cesano fig. 3 p. 110)
Grant thinks in Cisalpine Gaul. I wonder.

P. Sulpicius Rufus who seems to have been
governor of Pontus and Bithynia in 45 – found on
Final letters on coin DIC
(D)eduxit I(ussu) C(aesaris)
This may be orichalcum

Thessalonica (?) Pl.II.3 Grant.

Portrait head often taken as Brutus but
more likely Caesar. Is found on coin of Alexandria
Troas. Princeps Felix (I don’t think that is Caesar)

Q. Hortensius Hortalus under Brutus
(Macedonia) PRAEF.COLON.DEDV.

Was carrying out Caesar’s policy as Brutus promised he would.
Grant.
Caesar’s restoration of bronze coins. Grant.
Hirtius’ coins among Treveri, c. 50 B.C.

Coins of Corduba.
CN.IVLI.L.F. Q
attributed to about 47
[Grant] 1.1

Orichalcum of Clovius

C.CLOVI. PRAEF. Minerva to l.,
Carrying shield with [These two lines crossed out.]
Draped bust of winged Victory, sometimes with star in field
CAESAR.DIC.TER
r) Minerva walking l., shield with gorgoneion,
trophy, arms. C.CLOVI.PRAEF
examples found in Italy, Germany, Bohemia, France,
not in East

What sort of praefectus?
Grant identifies him with the Clovius
in Cisalpine Gaul

Cesano fig. 3 p. 111
[RR 476/1]
Folder 6, p. 3

49 B.C.
[may not belong here]

Coins with LII

Roman mint

AV
o) Lady with oak crown
r) Trophy of Gallic arms, including *carnyx*
CAESAR
Gr. 49.12&
13
Cesano I.5
[RRC 452/1]

Den.
o) Same lady with oak crown
r) Trophy & Gallic arms; captives below
Gr. 49.14
Cesano p. 106 fig.1&2
[RRC 452/2]

Quin. o) Veiled female head
r) Gallic trophy
Gr. 49.16
Cesano I.7
[RRC 452/3]

The lady with oak crown also appears on coins of L. Hostilius Saserna
Gr. 50.9
[RRC 448/1]

Is she Pietas?
That is usual identification
The goddess has various attributes, the most common of which is the stork. But veiled head found on imperial coins.
Sestertii of Caligula – veiled.
Folder 6, p. 4

49 B.C.
Gallic and Spanish and Eastern Coins with CAESAR

Den.  o) Elephant CAESAR
      r) symbols of pontificate
          Cesano I.1
          Gr. 103.5
          [RRC 443/1]

Den.  o) Head of Venus to r.
      r) Aeneas with Anchises and palladium CAES
          Cesano I.2
          Gr. II 469
          [Gr.] 110.20
          [RRC 458/1]

Den.  o) Head of Venus to l. *lituus* and Cupid
      to r. scepter
      [?] at neck
      r) Gallic arms, figures
          Cesano I.3
          Gr. 101.9
          Attributes to Spain & 45 B.C.
          [RRC 468/2]

Den.  o) Female head r. fillet
      r) Trophy with arms CAESAR.IMP
          Cesano I.8
          Gr. 100.19
          [RRC 482/1]

[This entry is crossed out and reappears below]

Note only one has CAESAR IMP [See above and below]

o) Venus with Cupid at back of neck
r) Gallic trophy, 2 figures CAESAR

          Cesano I.4
          Gr. 101.9
          [RRC 468/1]
Folder 6, p. 4 (continued)

- Female head r. fillet
- Trophy with arms CAESAR.IMP
  
  | Gr.100.19 |
  | [RRC 482/1] |

Others dated later, but Cesano puts it in Spain in 49. possible rival of Pompeian titles at period.
Folder 6, p. 5

Character of Coins of 49

Stress Gallic victories
One stresses pontificate with elephant
Stress Venus
Possibly Pietas, but anyway oak crown
Family history in Aeneas and Anchises

Significance of CAESAR without titles
Almost prophetic
But Caesar had no legal title at this time.
Folder 6, p. 6

His generously funded colonies
e.g. P. Sulpicius Rufus now
maybe identified as governor of Pontus and Bithynia
orichalcum Relation to Sinope. Date 45

orichalcum Thessalonica? This isn’t clear to me
PRINCEPS.FELIX ought not to be
Caesar– Identification of a portrait as Caesar [??]
Cesano 13 & II.3

[?Peregrine] Bronze of Nicaea under
Vibius Pansa has first known portrait
of Caesar ca. 46. B.M.C. B&P 153; 31.13

Numerous city foundings – going back
to Caesar – See Grant’s appendices 3–6. Grant
pp. 458–62
Second aspect of Grant’s work concerns the term *imperium, imperator*. To be discussed here since this is first title of Caesar I shall take up. Central feature of his work, explanation of CA on Augustan images. Here he is entirely convincing but but he builds on it elaborate theory of the *imperium maius*. 
THE CONTRIBUTION OF COINAGE TO THE STUDY OF CAESAR’S DICTATORSHIP AND DEIFICATION
Conducted by Professor Lily Ross Taylor

1. The importance of the coins of 46–44 for Caesar’s position in the state and his titles. Stress on religious offices, notations of dictatorship, the title imperator with consideration of Grant’s theories.


READING

H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* 1, 527–553 (omitting footnotes)
M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. 408–423

SUGGESTED READING

p. 71 fig. 9 wrong

LRT-72552-ar
Issues of Roman Mint, 49–40
Unquestioned dates are starred; Pink’s dates (pp. 42–44) 
are given in parenthesis where they differ from mine.

49 B.C.
No issues of triumviri monetales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49 B.C.</td>
<td>CAESAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>C. VIBIVS C F C N PANSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>ALBINVS BRVTI F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>Also a joint issue by these two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48 B.C.
(47) L PAPIVS CELSUS
(47) L HOSTILIVS SASERNA
(47) L PLAUTIVS PLANCVS

47 B.C.
(48) L LICINIVS NERVA

46 B.C.
M’ CORDIVS RUFVS
C ANTIVS C F RESTIO
PALIKANVS
Special issues
Cordius, as above
*A HIRTIVS

45 B.C.
T CARISIVS
C. CONSIDIUS PAETVS
L VALERIUS ACISCULUS
Special Issues
Carisius, as above
L PLANC

44 B.C. Only one regular issue. Pink tentatively provides two, but his 
Second issue should come later.

*L AEMILIUS BVCA
Folder 7, p. 2 (continued)

*M METTIVS       D QU S
*P SEPVLLIVS MACER      D Qu S
*C COSSUTIVS MARDIANVS      AAAFF       D
Special issue
*CAESAR       DIC QVAR-COS-       AU
              QVINC
From 43 on I list below only issues which have an obvious connection with Caesar and his successors. I accept Pink’s dates for the moneyers of 42 but do not understand his criteria for the other dates.

43 B.C.
(44) L FLAMINIUS CHILO IIIIVIR PRI FL D
or IIIIVIR

42 B.C. (copy of Pink’s list)

C VIBIVS VARVS AU D
L (LIVINEIUS) REGULVS AU D
P.CLODIVS AU D
L MUSSIDIOUS LONGVS AU D

Special issue. Each has three types. Revival of the “arg.pub” issues.
L REGVLVS (as above) IIIIVIR APF Au
Clodius as above IIIIVIR APF Au
L MVSSIDIOUS T F LONGVS IIIIVIR APF Au

Further REGIVS F PRAEF VR D
Significant Dates for Caesar’s Career and his Deification

Birth 102, 101, or 100 B.C.

Elected pontifex maximus 63

Consul. 59

Proconsul of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. And Illyricum 58–50

Proconsulship terminated by senate; Caesar crosses Rubicon January 49

Dictator for eleven days December 49

Elected augur probably. December 49

Consul II 48

Consul II, dictator II October to December. 48

Dictator II 47

Consul III dictator II January to April 46

Consul III dictator II January to April 46

Consul III, dictator III April to December 46

Consul IV, dictator III January to April 45

Consul IV, dictator IV April to December 45

Consul V, dictator IV probably to February 14, 45

Consul V, dictator perpetuus February 44

Parens patriae February 44

Senate votes to deify him as Divus Julius and to grant him a priest and a temple (with Clementia) February 44.
Folder 7, p. 4 (continued)

Anthony, Octavian and Lepidus established as *triumviri rei publicae* 

*Constituendae* November 27, 43

Caesar formally deified as Divus Julius. January 42

Assassinated March 15, 44
Cesano
Pl. I

See above in this document for RRC numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Den.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1    | o) CAESAR. Elephant & *carnyx*  
   r) Symbols of pontificate. *simpulum*, *asperrillum*, axe with wolf’s Head, *apex* (?) | Grueber II 390, attrib. to Gaul. c. 50–49 Pl.103.5 |
| 2    | o) Head of Venus to r.  
   r) Aeneas, *palladium*, Anchises in his arms CAESAR | Grueber II,469 attrib. to East. PL. 110.20 |
| 3    | o) Venus to left  
   r) Gallic arms CAESAR  
   including *carnyx*  
   2 figures (prisoners or Gallia & Hispania [????]) | Grueber II, 368 ; PL 101.9  
dates ca. 45  
attrib. to Spain |
| 4    | o) Venus to r.  
   Cupid behind her neck  
   r) Positions of 2 figures transposed – shields both oval  
   [Gr.II, 369 Pl. 101.10]  
dates to 45 |
| 5    | o) Female head, r. oak crown  
   LII  
   Den.  
   r) Gallic arms including *carnyx*. CAESAR | Gr. 505–506  
   Pl. .99.13  
   Date 49  
   Note female head is much like Pietas  
on coin of Albinus Brutus, Pl. 49.18 |
| 6    | o) Female head, r. COS .TER .DICT .ITER  
   r) AVGVR.PONT.MAX *simpulum*, *asperrillum*,  
   pitcher, *ltuus* | Gr II, 576  
   Attrib. Africa  
   Gr. Says Ceres |
Quin.  7.  o) Veiled female head LII [??] oak crown
               r) Gallic trophy CAESAR
                  Gr. 507
                  Pl. 49.16

Den.   8.  o) Female head to r., fillet
               r) Trophy, with arms CAESAR IMP
                  Gr.II. 363 dated 49
                  Pl. 100.19
                  attrib. to Spain
                  [Cesano] dated 45

Fig. 1&2 p.106

Den.   o) Female head to r., crowned with oak LII
               r) Trophy. Figure of man below. CAESAR
                  Gr. Pl. 49.16

Fig. 3 p. 111

Aes     o) Female head to r. CAES.DIC.TER
               r) Minerva with shield, gorgoneum, serpent C.CLOVI. PRAEF
                  GR I. 539
                  Pl.33. 17 & 18
                  Dates 45

            See Grant
Folder 7, p. 6

Cesano
Pl.II [III crossed out]

| Den. | 1. | o) Female head to r., oak crown LI; variant of I. 5 [above] |
|      |    | r) Gallic arms, CAESAR |
|      |    | Gr 505 |

| Den. | 2. | o) Female head to r. (Venus) CAESAR IMP. COS.ITER |
|      |    | r) A. ALLIENUS PROCOS Trinacrus standing to left |
|      |    | Gr II 559 [nos.] 5&6 |

| Aur. | 3. | o) C. CAESAR COS TER Veiled figure to r. |
|      |    | r) A. HIRTIUS PR lituus, urceus,axe |
|      |    | Gr 525ff. |
|      |    | Bahrfeldt pp.35–37 |
|      |    | [citation incorrect_ no 19] |

| Au.r | 4. | Same as 3 with female head |

| Au.r | 5. | o) C. CAESAR DIC TER winged figure to r. |
|      |    | r) L. PLANC PRAEF VRB or PR URB [jug with handle] |
|      |    | Gr 537[-538] |
|      |    | Bahrfeldt, 37[ff .no.20] |

| 6. | o) Female head to r. CAES DIC QVART |
|    | r) Wreath COS QVIN |
|    | Gr 54 |
|    | Pl. 53.19 |
|    | 44 B.C. |

| 7. | Same as 5 |

Quin
Half Au

| Aur | 8. | o) CAESAR DICT axe and capis |
|     |    | r) Pitcher & lituus ITER |
|     |    | Gr. II, 470 |
|     |    | Pl. 111.1 |
|     |    | 47 B.C. |
|     |    | Attributed to East because of crude fabric |
Figure 4 p. 135

Bronze

o) Venus diademed to r.

r) Q. OPPIVS.PR Victory in flight to r.

Cesano would not attribute to Caesar though it is orichalcum.

Dates ca. 41
Cesano
Pl.3 [4 crossed out]

1. Head of Caesar, laurel crown, r. Behind capis and litiuus. CAESAR IMP	r. Venus to l. scepter and Victory, shield on globe. M.METTIVS

2. Head of Caesar, r. laurel w[reath]. Litiuus behind. CAESAR DICT.QVART
r. Juno Sospita in biga to r. M.METTIVS

3. Head of Caesar, r., laurel CAESAR.IMPER
r. Venus to l., scepter & Victory M.METTIVS
Gr.543; Pl. 54.5

4. Head of Caesar, r. laurel. CAESAR DICT.PERPETVO
r. L.BUCA. Winged caduceus & crossed fasces. 2 joined hands,.
globe and axe.
Gr. 546. Pl. 54.11

5. CAESAR IM PM. Laurd head to r., behind crescent
r. L. AEMILIVS BUVCA Venus to l., resting on scepter
Gr. 545

6. CAESAR DICT PERPETVO, laureled head to r.
r. L.BVCA Venus Nicephora, seated to r. with transverse scepter L>AEMILIVS
BUCA
Gr. 548 Pl. 54.10

7. CAESAR DICT PERPETVO, laureled head of Caesar to r.
r. Venus, standing to left on scepter L.AEMILIVS BUCA
Gr. 548 Pl. 54.8ff.

8. L.BVCA effigy of Venus, diadem to r.
r. Venus with Endymion [??]
Gr. 1, 546 Pl. 54.12
Gr. Says Sulla’s dream. Selene comes
Crescent on her head. Takes other figure as
Victoria
What is story of Sulla’s dream? Plut. *Sulla*?
1. o) CAESAR.IMP Laureled head of Caesar to r. Behind star
   r) P. SEPULLIVS MACER Venus on standing to left; sceptre on a star
      Gr. 547–8 Pl.54. 15–17

2. o) CAESAR.DICT.PERPETVO, laureled portrait to right
   r) P. SEPULLIVS MACER Venus Nicephora, shield on star
      Gr. 549

3. o) CAESAR. DICT PERPETV Laureled portrait to r.
   r) P SEPVLIVS MACER Venus Nicephora, sceptre on star
      Gr. 548

4. o) CLEMENTIA CAESARIS Temple, 4 columns, closed doors
   r) P SEPVLIVS MACER Desultor galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
      Gr. 549 Pl. 54.22

5. o) CAESAR. DICT PERPETVO or. Caesar’s portrait r., laureled
   r) C. MARIDIANVS Venus Nicephora standing left, shield in left, resting on globe.
      Gr. 551 Pl. 55.3

6. 2 different coins [second with no number at bottom of the page]

   o) CAESAR PARENS.PATRIAE Veiled laureate head between
      lituus and apex
   r) C MARIDIANUS xi galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
      Gr. I, 549 from Babelon [Blacas]

   [??????]
   o) Head of Mark Anthony, bearded, veiled [between]
      lituus and urceus
   r) as on no. 6 [above]
      Gr. 550 Pl. 54.23
PATRIAIE Veiled laureate head between
*lituus* and *apex*

r) C MARIDIANUS xi galloping, 2 horses, laurel crown
   
   Gr. 549

Folder 7 P. 8 (continued)

7.  o) CAESAR PARENS PATRIAIE Laureate veiled head of Caesar bet[ween] *lituus* and *apex*

r) C. COSSUVTIVS MARIDIANVS written in cross in spaces [of] AAAS

   Gr. 552 Pl. 55.4

8. Head of goddess [Venus crossed out] to r. IIIIVIR.PRI.FL (*primus flammavit*)

   Grueber says Juno Moneta ?)

r) Victory in *biga* to r. horses galloping L. FLAMINIVS CHILO

   Gr. 565
Small change linked by Cesano, not referenced p. 143

quin. arg.  o) Juno Sospita; serpent behind
r) M.METTIVS, *Biga*, Victoria to r.
   Gr. [544]
   [RRC 480/23]

Sest.arg.  o) Diademed head of Venus to r.
r) M.METTI Girl in front of serpent
   Gr. 544
   [RRC 480/28]

Quin. arg.  o) PAXS Woman to r.
r) L. AEMILIVS BVCA IIIIVIR. 2 hands joined
   Gr. 547 Pl. 54.14
   [RRC 480/24]

Sest.  o) Venus head, diademed, crescent moon above
   (Diana) to r.
r) L. AEMILIVS BVCA Star, six rays
   Gr. 547 Pl. 54.14
   [RRC 480/26]

Den.  o) Veiled and bearded head of Anthony bet. lituus and urceus
r) P. SEPVLLIVS MACER *Desultor*
   Gr 550, Pl. 54:23

Sest.  o) Bust of Mercury, with caduceus
r) P.SEPVLLIVS. Winged caduceus
Folder 7, p. 10

Portrait of Caesar
with no inscription
L FLAMINVS CHILO

This is a note on Bryn Mawr College letterhead, not one of the two more usual types of “note cards” that are on either 2x4 or 4x6 inch paper.

o) Head of Caesar, r. laureate; finer more idealized types
r) Pax, l wearing long drapery, caduceus in r. hand
on scepter. L. FLAMINIVS CHILO
Gr. 566 55.13
[RRC 485/1]

Seems to be later.
His other types, female head & Victory in *biga* & Victory in *biga*
Has IIIIIVIR PRI.FL
Seems to be later like portraits of Caesar in the forties
Folder 7, p. 11

This the back of the sheet of paper with the notes on p. 9. It is an assignment or completed assignment of a student Maria Gamble and is thus not reproduced here.
Folder 7, p. 12

Alföldi’s [1930] Plate

1. Denarius of L. Manlius Torquatus 0[by of]7 (below) Head of Sibyl, [wreathed] [RRC 411/1]
2. T. Carisius 45 Head of Sibyl and r. Sphinx [RRC 464/1] T. Carisius
3. T. Carisius 45 Globe with cornucopiae in bet(ween) sceptre and rudder [RRC 464/3]
4. 44 Denarii of Mussidius Longus, globe, cornucopiae Caduceus = felicitas temp(oris) apex = kingship [RRC 464/39]
5. [???]of 44 Caesar’s portrait
6. Aemilius Buca in 44. [?????????] Clasped hands=clementia Caesaris Iso caduceus [not here] [RRC 480/24]
7. [See 1 above. Reverse is amphora on tripod between 2 amphorae; star to left]
8. Egyptian coin. Arsinoe cornucopia with diadem
9. Sullan coin cornucopiae with diadem
11. C. Vibius Varus [RRC 494/passim]
12. Domitian [showing] the felicium temporum reparatio
13. Cornucopiae with diadem 43–2
14. Temporum felicitas Double cornucopiae & caduceus Commodus 190 Mattingly&Sydenham 3, 389
15. Symbols of luck 43–40 (2) denarius of Anthony double cornucopiae
16. L. Antonius – Pietas type
Folder 7, p. 12 (continued)

17. 43–42 Aeneas & Anchises

18. So-called Pantheos type Septmius Severus SAECULUM FRUGIFERUM

19. Tetradrachm of Pharnaces

20. Severus SAECUL(um) FRUGIFER(UM) Mattingly and Sydenham 4, pp. 180, 182

21. L. Antonius – Pietas type

22. C. Clodius 43 Apollo & Diana

23. [Blank]

24. Septimius Severus crescent & 7 stars [??????] FELICITAS TEMPORUM can’t find

25. C. Clodius 43 Sol, crescent & 5 stars - magnus annus

In pencil, two notes at bottom of the page]

Felicitas, caduceus, cornucopiae

[Gr.] Spain 70 4137
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