

LILY ROSS TAYLOR ON  
“THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COINAGE TO THE STUDY OF  
CAESAR’S DICTATORSHIP AND DEIFICATION”<sup>1</sup>

— 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*At the heart of this essay is the transcription of a collection of Lily Ross Taylor’s unpublished notes.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.”<sup>2</sup>

## 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).<sup>3</sup> 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*

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Potter (2001) 320.

<sup>3</sup> Even earlier in Taylor (1918). Many thanks to Corey Brennan for pointing this out to me. Her consideration of the priestly types of the Caecili 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).<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

As Sydenham’s Preface to *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* states,<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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*,<sup>8</sup> and of American numismatists only Aline Boyce produced an academic assessment of this work, though even that in a British journal.<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> The same feature is apparent in the more recent work of Woytek (2003).

<sup>5</sup> 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 *triumviri 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).

<sup>6</sup> P. vii.

<sup>7</sup> Spink and Son (1952), reissued by Sanford Durst (1976).

<sup>8</sup> *EHR* 68 (1953) 422–444.

<sup>9</sup> *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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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,"

<sup>10</sup> See the comments of Aline Boyce (1953) 194.

<sup>11</sup> For her early career see Linderski (1999) and Potter (2001).

an echo of Mommsen’s view of Caesar as “an almost messianic figure,”<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ehrenberg (1974) 128.

<sup>13</sup> Nearly quoting the thoughts of E. Meyer (1919)

<sup>14</sup> Her (unpublished) views are exactly those expressed by Syme (1958).

<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

### **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."<sup>17</sup>

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 *IIIviri 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.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> On the next priestly issue (*RRC* 456/1, of 47 BCE),<sup>19</sup> the symbols of axe and *culullus* reappear and are combined with the reverse augural symbols of jug and *lituus*.<sup>20</sup>

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 symbols<sup>21</sup> and the legend AVGVR PONT MAX.<sup>22</sup>

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 *IIIviri 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.

<sup>18</sup> See Caesar, *BC* 2.21.5 and Cicero *Att.* 9.9.3 and 9.15.2.

<sup>19</sup> 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*.

<sup>20</sup> On the obverse the axe and *culullus* and on the reverse the *lituus* (wand for reading the omens) and *situla* (pitcher).

<sup>21</sup> *Culullus, aspergillum, situla* and *lituus*.

<sup>22</sup> 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."<sup>23</sup> 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."<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> As quoted in Hallett (2021) n. 19.

<sup>24</sup> See the National Science Foundation website (2019).

<sup>25</sup> 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.

## FOLDER 1

## Folder 1, p.1

Caesar Grant p. 3  
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* Grant p. 38  
One issue with Anthony imp.  
cf. Caesar imp. on his way to imp. Caesar  
Only one *aes* of Anthony that shows similar  
tendency.

Folder 1, p. 2

Caesar – Grant p. 422.  
 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.

Caesar Grant p.11  
 Amisus  
 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

Caesar Grant p.16  
 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.

## Folder 1, p. 3

Caesar

Grant p. 318

Portrait on coins. Rare in cities except those he founded or freed.

e.g. Sinope, Apamea, Alexandria

Troas, Lampsacus, Parium, Achulla, Hadrumentum.

Anthony at Philippi

Caesar in Julio-Antonian foundations at Lampsacus & Troas

Agrippa, *parens patronus* at Gades.

Special honor for founder.

Grant p.13

Orichalcum-has zinc instead of tin

for alloy of [?word crossed out] copper

used for coins of Clovius, perhaps of Sulpicius,

also of Thessalonica (?)

Can't get the evidence on Thessalonica

p.19 thinks that this coinage [?word crossed out]

in orichalcum was Caesar's

pragmati[sm] & was profitable

Caesar – Thessalonica?

Grant p.14

Reverse- *fiscus*

Obv[verse]

Pl. II.3 *sella quaestoria*

portrait to r.

*hasta*

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

over

[see next p.]

Folder 1, p. 4

[on back of note above]

He does not convince me that *Princeps Felix* is Caesar

Orichalcum            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  
cit.[izen] communities & a vast peregrine  
coinage stopped. p. 474 *Peregrini*  
depressed in favor of Romans. Augustus  
lavish only in Spain on foreign  
colonization.

Folder 1, p. 5

Caesar – Grant – Corduba p. 4  
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*

Cesano, Le monete di Cesare, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Acc. di Arch.* 23 (1947) 103–151  
 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]



Folder 2, p. 5

Reasons for my redating of the coins 49–48 [e.g., changing Pink's dates] 4)

*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  
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.

Folder 2, p. 6

5)

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 *III 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.

Folder 2, p. 7

NON-ROMAN MINTS

?6]

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.

Folder 2, p. 9

## GRANT'S THEORIES

?7)

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

8)

[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.

## FOLDER 3

Folder 3. p. 1

## CONSUL

8)

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 *IIIvir* of 44

Folder 3. p. 2

DICTATOR

?9)

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 *IIIIViri* in

in 44 with *dictator IIII* & *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]

Folder 3. p. 3

## RELIGIOUS OFFICES

Statement on great priests [introduction to priesthoods 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, *IIIvir* 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.

Folder 3, p. 5

## CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA

13)

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 &amp; Pansa &amp;

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

pp. 507 ff.

ALBINVS BRVTI F.

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

Folder 3. P.6

OTHER CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA

11)

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.

Folder 3, p. 8

[Unreferenced note with Dion. Hal. 1.70 in Greek; translated here]

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 Julius, the fruits of which his family, who are called Julii after him, enjoy even up to my time.

Folder 3, p. 9

Hirtius coins. Aurei

12)

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  
COSor 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.

[?]

?

Folder 3, p. 10

CAESARIAN PROPAGANDA

14)

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  
 PALIKANUS

Gr. 517  
 Pl. 50.8  
 [RRC 473/1]

den. 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.

## FOLDER 4

[Folder 4 continues and completes LRT's notes for this talk (pp. 15–22). Once again, the numbers in the top right corner of each page are LRT's. At times, as before, these are difficult to decipher]

Folder 4 p. 1

## KINGSHIP, DEIFICATION &amp; PROPAGANDA FOR THESE

15)

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. AURELIUS 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

Folder 4. p. 2

Coins of 45 *Tr[iumviri] Mon[etales]* 16)

T. Carisius

- D Sibyl  
 R) Sphinx [Gr.] 529; 52.3  
 [RRC 464/1 dated 46]
- D Roma  
 R) celestial globe with cornucopia, scepter & rudder  
 Laurel wreath around it [Gr.] 531,  
 [Gr.] 52.6  
 [RRC 464/3 dated 46]

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

C. Considius Paetus

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

Emended at bottom of p. with notation Ref[erence]:

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  
 (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  
 [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:

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| Gr. 52. 12-14<br>(RRC 465/1) | Head of Apollo to r.<br>R) Chair, draped, wreath |
|------------------------------|--|

Folder 4, p. 3

Coins of the *IIIviri monetales* in 44

17)

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

BMC Pontus & Bith. Pl. 31.13 Known two or three years earlier in Bithynia.

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

18)

Temple. Coin of Sepullius Macer.

Cesano 4.4  
Gr. 54.22  
*RRC* 480/20]  
Temple. 4 columns, closed doors CLE-  
MENTIAE.CAESARIS  
R) P.SEPULLIUS 2 horses - desultor  
Referred to by Dio 44.6.4, by Appian & Plutarch  
Might not have been believed if it were not for coins. No  
Reference in Cicero.  
Was not built.  
Instead temple  
of Divus Julius

Folder 4, p. 5

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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> *saeculum* or beg[inning] of 10<sup>th</sup>.

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]

Folder 4, p. 6

DEIFICATION

20)

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

Gr.II 405

[Gr] Pl.104.12  
[RRC 497/2]

R) Curule chair with wreath inscribed  
CAESAR.DIC.PER.  
Chair carried into theater with chairs of the gods

Folder 4, p. 7

21)

COINS OF 42 - DEIFICATION

Juillian star in heavens – to bring a new age.

5<sup>th</sup> eclogue

9<sup>th</sup> eclogue

4<sup>th</sup> eclogue

poems of 41–40

Alföldi [1930] Moneyers of 42 have portraits of *triumviri* and  
212 an additional series Clodius.Anthony  
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]

24 *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

Folder 4, p. 7 (continued)

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* [????}

Folder 4, p. 8

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

Back of

21)

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*

Folder 4, p. 9

WHAT DO THE COINS CONTRIBUTE?

22)

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

*p[ontifex 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.

Denarii	But on Pompeian coins		
Aurei	CN.MAGNVS.IMP & IMP.F.	46	[RRC469/1; 470/1]471/1]
	MAGNVS PIVS.IMP & IMP.F.	45	[RRC 478/1]
	IMP.SEX. MAGNVS	~~~~~	[477/1–3]
	Latter at end of the year –dealings with senate		
	Title inherited		
Denarii	Urbs Imperatoria Salacia		[RRC 477/1–3]
	Later Sextus takes MAGNVS as first name		[RRC 478/1]
	One <i>aes</i> – Antonius imp.		[RRC 489/2]
	Octavian takes <i>imperator</i> as <i>praenomen</i> – 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 [RRC 494/40]  
R) Victory in biga  
  
Aureus for all 3 not A.P.F.  
Mark Anthony  
R) cornucopiae tied with fillets  
[Gr. 56.11  
(RRC 494/14)  
Similar for Octavian and Lepidus  
[Gr.] 56.12&13  
[RRC 494/13&15]  
Aureus  
Goddess, diadem, necklace  
R) Name of moneyer within wreath of corn  
[RRC 494/46]  
Denarii  
Concordia, veiled, diadem CONCORDIA  
R) 2 right hands joined. Name of moneyer  
[Gr.] 56.17  
(RRC 494/41)  
Head of Julius Caesar r., laureate  
Cornucopiae on globe bet[ween] rudder, caduceus,  
apex, name of moneyer  
[Gr.] 56.18  
[RRC 494/39]

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. LVII.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 IIVIR R.P.F.

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

[?????] foot on globe, *caduceus*,

*Cornucopiae*, bow, quiver, eagle, shield

Alföldi 18

[RRC 494/5]

Head of Octavian, r.. C. CAESAR

r) Venus Genetrix – dove, above Cupid

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

[RRC 494/6]

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

r) Concordia – scepter and *cornucopiae*

[RRC 494/4]

Denarii

Anthony, rev. Mars [RRC 494/17]

Octavian, rev. Mars [RRC 494/18]

Julius Caesar, laureate, rev. Mars

[[RRC 494/16]

Octavian rev. Ceres

[RRC 494/19]

Aurei and denarii

Head of Sol, radiate

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

[RRC 494/20–21]

Head of Apollo, r. laureate

R) Diana Lucifera, bow and quiver, lighted

torch in each hand [RRC 494/22–23]



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 5<sup>th</sup> Ecl[ogue]

Ganter

Grant Anniversary Issues

Folder 5, p. 9

[More of the notes to herself]

Alföldi

Cesano

2 copies of Grueber

Get ref[erence] 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]

Folder 5.p.10

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

Folder 6

Folder 6, p. 1

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  
bronze of Apamea and Sinope. Pl.8.13. Grant.

Final letters on coin DIC  
(D)*eduxit* I(*ussu*) C(*aesaris*)

This may be orichalcum

Thessalonica (?) Pl.II.3 Grant.

*Hasta*  
*Sella*  
*Fiscus*

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.

Folder 6, p. 2

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

Cesano fig. 3 p. 111  
[RRC 476/1]

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

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)

o) Female head r. fillet

r) 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

maybe e.g. P. Sulpicius Rufus now  
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

Folder 6, p. 7

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*.

## FOLDER 7

Folder 7, p. 1

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.
  2. Symbolism on the coins of 45–42 B.C.in relation to the deification of Caesar and the prospect of a new age.

READING

H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I*,  
527–553 (omitting footnotes)

M. Bahrfeldt, *Römische Goldmunzen-prägungen*, 30–40; 50–54.

M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. 408–423

SUGGESTED READING

L.R. TAYLOR, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 65–73, 90–99.  
p. 71 fig. 9 wrong

A. Alföldi, “Der neue Weltherrscher der vierten Ekloge Vergils,”  
*Hermes* 65 (1930), 369–384.

LRT-72552-ar

## Folder 7, p. 2

## 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*

Special issues

*NERI	QVRB		D
CAESAR	LII	AU	D Qu
(48) C. VIBIVS C F C N PANSA			D S
(48) ALBINVS BRVTI F			D
(48) Also a joint issue by these two			D

## 48 B.C.

(47) L PAPIVS CELSUS	IIIVIR on D		D Qu S
(47) L HOSTILIVS SASERNA			D
(47) L PLAUTIVS PLANCVS			D

## 47 B.C.

(48) L LICINIVS NERVA	IIIVIR on D		D Qu S
Special Issue			
*CAESAR	DICT- ITER	AU	

## 46 B.C.

M' CORDIVS RUFVS	IIIVIR on D		D Qu S
C ANTIVS C F RESTIO			D Qu S
PALIKANVS			D Qu S
Special issues			
Cordius, as above	SC		D
*A HIRTIVS	PR	AU	

## 45 B.C.

T CARISIVS	IIIVIR on D and S		D Qu S
C.CONSIDIVS PAETVS			D Qu S
L VALERIUS ACISCULUS			D Qu S
Special Issues			
Carisius, as above	SC		D
L PLANC	PRAEF URB	AU	

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

*L AEMILIUS BVCA	IIIVIR on Qu		D Qu S
------------------	--------------	--	--------

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- QVINC	AU

Folder 7, p. 3

II

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 or IIIIVIR	D
------------------------	------------------------------	---

42 B.C. (copy of Pink's list)

C VIBIVS VARVS		AU D
L (LIVINEIUS) REGULVS		AU D
P.CLODIVS		AU D
L MUSSIDIUS 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 MVSSIDIUS T F LONGVS (as above)	IIIIVIR APF	Au

Further REGIVS F	PRAEF VR	D
------------------	----------	---

Folder 7, p. 4

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

Folder 7, p. 5

Cesano  
Pl. I

See above in this document for *RRC* numbers.

- Den. 1. o) CAESAR. Elephant & *carnyx*  
r) Symbols of pontificate. *simpulum*, *aspergillum*, axe with wolf's  
Head, *apex* (?) Grueber II 390, attrib. to Gaul  
c. 50–49 Pl.103.5
- Den. 2. o) Head of Venus to r.  
r) Aeneas, *palladium*, Anchises in his arms CAESAR  
Grueber II,469 attrib. to East  
PL. 110.20
- Den. 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
- Den. 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
- Au. 5. o) Female head, r. oak crown LII  
Den. r) Gallic arms including *carnyx*. CAESAR  
Quin. Gr. 505–506  
Pl. .99.13  
Date 49  
Note female head is much like Pietas  
on coin of Albinus Brutus, Pl. 49.18
- Den. 6. o) Female head, r. COS .TER .DICT .ITER  
r) AVGVR.PONT.MAX *simpulum*, *aspergillum*,  
pitcher, *lituus*  
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 LII; variant of I. 5 [above]<br>r) Gallic arms, CAESAR                | Gr 505   |
| Den.            | 2, | o) Female head to r. (Venus) CAESAR IMP. COS.ITER<br>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.<br>r) A. HIRTIUS PR <i>lituus</i> , <i>urceus</i> , axe      | Gr 525ff.<br>Bahrfeldt pp.35-37<br>[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.<br>r) L. PLANC PRAEF VRB or PR URB [jug with handle]         | Gr 537{-538]<br>Bahrfeldt, 37[ff .no.20]   |
|                 | 6. | o) Female head to r. CAES DIC QVART<br>r) Wreath COS QVIN   | Gr 54<br>Pl. 53.19<br>44 B.C.  |
| Quin<br>Half Au | 7. | Same as 5   |  |
| Aur             | 8. | o) CAESAR DICT axe and <i>capis</i><br>r) Pitcher & <i>lituus</i> ITER                                | Gr. II, 470<br>Pl. 111.1<br>47 B.C.<br>Attributed to East because<br>of crude fabric |

Folder 7, p. 6 (continued)

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

Folder 7, p. 7

Cesano

Pl.3 [4 crossed out]

1. Head of Caesar. laurel crown, r. Behind *capis* and *lituus*. CAESAR IMP  
r. Venus to l. scepter and Victory, shield on globe. M.METTIVS
2. Head of Caesar, r. laurel w[reath]. *Lituus* 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 *fascies*. 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, diademed 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?*

Folder 7, p. 8

Cesano

Pl. 4

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 SEPULLIVS MACER Venus Nicephora, sceptre on star  
Gr. 548
4. o) CLEMENTIA CAESARIS Temple, 4 columns, closed doors  
r) P SEPULLIVS 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

PATRIAE 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 PATRIAE Laureate veiled head of Caesar  
bet[ween] *lituus* and *apex*

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

Gr. 552 Pl. 55.4

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

Grueber says Juno Moneta ?)

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

Gr. 565

Folder 7, p. 9

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 IIIIVIR 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 o[bf 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
10. Considius Paetus 46 [r} Cornucopiae on globe [o] winged child = *nascens puer*  
[RRC 465/8]
11. C. Vibius Varus  
[RRC 494/passim]
12. Domitian [showing] the *felicitum 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 Septimius 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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