Re-writing Numa:

The political usage of Numa Pompilius in the Age of Augustus

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Statement of Originality

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University’s Digital Repository**, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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Abstract

A startling similarity appears when comparing Plutarch’s *Life of Numa* with the historical life of Augustus, a similarity largely overlooked in modern scholarship. In fact, few scholars have focused on the reign of Numa for close study at all. My thesis sets out to determine which elements of the tradition of Numa were developed during or after the Augustan period and to provide plausible motives for the adaptation of the accounts of these authors. In order to identify these developments, I have undertaken a survey of Republican accounts of Numa in order to create a base for comparison. In the process, I have determined that little variation of the tradition occurs in this period, although it remained open to political and personal manipulation. This tradition is then compared to Augustan accounts and areas of change are identified. These changes are then placed into the historical context in which they occur, namely the events of the second Triumviral period and the early Augustan principate. By placing these traditions into this context, parallels can be seen between the adaptations of the accounts and the actions of Octavian/Augustus. A careful examination of surviving Augustan monuments, statuary and coins concludes the study and suggests that the growing connection between Augustus and Numa in this period may, in part, have stemmed from the princeps himself. This reveals that the iconography and character of Numa were an important and integral aspect of Augustan propaganda and that this propaganda influenced the authors of the period. This connection was so strong that it suggests that Plutarch, writing a century later, drew on the life of Augustus as inspiration for his biography of Numa.
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Introduction

Literature Review

When reading Plutarch’s *Life of Numa*, there are immediate parallels between the reign of this king and the life of Rome’s first emperor, Augustus Caesar. This raises the question of when the tradition of Numa Pompilius was developed. Edna Hooker’s article, “The Significance of Numa’s Religious Reforms,” although written over forty years ago, is invaluable to the study of Numa Pompilius.¹ It provides a detailed overview of his reign including his achievements in the religious sphere and a comprehensive account of the surviving literary sources which refer to his reign. Hooker notes, “the information about [Numa] is somewhat meagre, but it is reasonably coherent and consistent.”² She has, however, made no attempt to clarify when the tradition began or in what points in time it underwent change. Examination of the ancient sources cited by Hooker reveals more inconsistency than previously recognised, as many of the Republican authors, such as Varro, mention Numa only in passing, usually while explaining the origin of religious institutions or practices. To fully understand these discrepancies, a systematic analysis, focusing on when and why the tradition developed is required. An important aspect of this arises in Emma Dench’s study, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman and Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines*, which identifies the beginning of a positive Sabine stereotype in the context of the Roman political sphere.³ Gary Farney’s book, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome*, provides further analysis of the Sabine traditions, setting the development of the initial tradition of Numa into a

² Hooker, "Numa’s Religious Reforms," 89.
Republican context. Neither of these works, however, focuses on the tradition of Numa itself nor do they look at developments beyond the Republican period.

The other question about this tradition, as noted above, concerns the similarity between Plutarch’s Numa and the historical Augustus. Given the parallels found, analysis of the Augustan period could provide an explanation for the development of the tradition of Numa. Hooker briefly connects the reforms of Numa to the religious reforms of Augustus by stating that he restored Numa’s religious order. She does this to highlight the longevity of Numa’s religious law, but the connection between the two major figures is not fully explored. Paul Rehak, in his article “Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae,” provides an overview of the parallels which appear when comparing Augustus and Numa. He uses this comparison to strengthen his re-interpretation of a frieze on an important Augustan monument, the Ara Pacis Augustae and provides limited analysis of how these similarities arose. G. Stern, in his dissertation Women, Children and Senators on the Ara Pacis Augustae, asserts that Augustus only began to associate himself with Numa after failing to assume the name Romulus but provides no evidence in support of this claim. In order to understand the development of these similarities, analysis of the motives of Augustus and the evidence of his reign is required.

The events of the Augustan era have recently received the attention of a number of scholars. Among these, Anthony Everitt, Augustus : The Life of Rome’s First Emperor in 2006, and Warner Eck, The Age of Augustus in 2007, have written comprehensive accounts of the life of Augustus and the events of the first principate.

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7 G. Stern, "Women, Children and Senators on the Ara Pacis Augustae" (University of California, 2006): 467.
Everitt’s biography of Augustus is descriptive, providing a background for further research. He undertakes limited analysis of the events and briefly deals with the religious reforms undertaken in this period. Similarly, Eck’s book provides an overview of the achievements and political career of Augustus, which acts as a foundation for further research.\(^8\) He focuses on events as they unfolded and offers little analysis of the motivations and propaganda of Augustus, mentioning religious reforms only in passing, and he does not explore their impact on the Roman world.

Although both Everitt and Eck provide accounts of the events of the principate, neither analyse the wider issues and minutiae of the era. Other scholars have focused on key elements of these periods, and two of these, the imagery and propaganda of the principate and the use of religious traditions, are integral to the development of this thesis. In 1988, Paul Zanker’s work, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, was rereleased as an English translation, which comprehensively explored the meaning of visual images employed by Augustus, explaining the purpose of the imagery as well as its impact on the viewer, both immediately and in the long term.\(^9\) His analysis shows that the iconography and visual message employed by Augustus focused on peace and prosperity for the Romans, ensured by war and the continuing safety of the emperor and his family. It was further ensured by the renewed piety of the Roman people. The evolution of this iconography and its impact suggest that Augustus promoted the idea of a Rome at peace. A similar study of the imagery and intent of Augustus was completed by Barbara Levick in 2010, in *Augustus: Image and Substance*.\(^10\) More recently, John Pollini has analysed the political use of visual imagery, in *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion and Power in the Visual* 

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*Culture of Ancient Rome.* While none of these works analyses the physical evidence of the Augustan period in view of connections with Numa Pompilius, they do stress the importance of including such evidence in any study of Augustus. In addition, they provide a broader framework in which to place the potential development of imagery related to Numa in this period. All three authors identify messages of peace and the importance of the religious restoration of the period.

Analysis of the major monuments of the Augustan period in the main encompass the Forum Augustum and the Ara Pacis Augustae. Corrado Ricci provides the first detailed account of the excavation of the Forum Augustum and its development by Augustus, in *Gloriose Imprese Archeologiche.* Zanker builds on this work and provides speculation regarding the probable structure of the Forum in *Il Foro di Augusto.* While these authors provided detailed accounts of the surviving archaeological evidence, limited analysis of the implications of Augustus’ forum for his political motivations are undertaken and no connection is made to the symbolism of the features they cite. Joseph Geiger, in *The First Hall of Fame: A Study of the Statues in the Forum Augustum,* provides a detailed analysis of the statues which can be stated with some certainty to have stood in the Forum, with brief speculation on other figures likely to have been included there. Although he does not include Numa among them, Geiger’s identification of the civic and military fame of these individuals highlights the focus of the Forum’s message, as the balance between war and peace. With this balance in mind, the message can be placed into the wider context of Augustan imagery and analysed for reference to Numa Pompilius.

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In an article in 1960, Stefan Weinstock offered arguments disputing the identification of the Ara Pacis, based on a lack of evidence, and questions various iconographic images displayed on the monument.\(^\text{15}\) He also convincingly argues that the commonly-identified Aeneas scene does not, in fact, show Aeneas, although Weinstock offered no alternative. As the Ara Pacis is a major monument from the Age of Augustus, this left the way open to challenge previous interpretations and to seek new understanding of its imagery, especially regarding the Aeneas scene. J. M. C. Toynbee successfully refuted Weinstock’s argument concerning the identification of this monument found in the Campus Martius, which modern scholarship recognises as the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, but she also argues against the re-identification of the ‘Aeneas’ panel.\(^\text{16}\) Rehak, in an article in 2001, again questions the widely accepted identification of Aeneas on the Ara Pacis.\(^\text{17}\) Rehak makes a convincing argument for this figure to be Numa, based on the imagery of the scene and analysis of the events – both those surrounding the dedication of the Ara Pacis and those based on the legendary figures of Aeneas and Numa. The re-identification of this scene leads to suggestions of the importance of Numa to Augustus and, in particular, how the figure of Numa was employed by Augustus.

The focus on peace in the Augustan period has led to the exploration of the concept of war and peace as it was perceived by the Romans. William Greene’s article “Some Ancient Attitudes towards War and Peace,” examines the literary presentation of war in the works of Greek and Roman authors. He notes that the Greeks were more prolific in their questioning of the morality of war.\(^\text{18}\) For Greene, no clear distinction between the concept of war and peace appears in the Roman sources. He has noted that the Romans saw civil war as a punishment from the gods but does not recognise


\(^{17}\) Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?," 190-208.

the distinction between internal and external conflict. Philip De Souza, in his chapter “Parta Victoris pax: Roman emperors as peacemakers,” traces the development of the ideology of war in Rome to the late Republic. His analysis of the message of Augustus’ leadership draws on both the visual imagery, in the form of the Ara Pacis Augustae, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum and the authors who expressed relief at the end of the civil conflict, Vellius Paterculus and Horace. This range of evidence supports the conclusion that the key idea of Augustan propaganda was one of “peace created through victories.” A. Parchami builds further on this delineation between war and peace in Roman perception. While he traces the development of the concept of peace to the Augustan age, rather than to the late Republic, his general views of the concept are in keeping with those of de Souza – peace was a result of victory. In addition, Parchami analyses the development of the concept of the pax Augusta, which he argues encompassed three elements – peace and internal security in Rome, Roman supremacy abroad, and the revival of religion and tradition. He asserts that the dual concept, war and peace, was conceptualised as reflecting the first two kings of the city, Romulus and Numa, and speculates that Augustus was, through his Res Gestae, presenting himself as an incarnation of both Romulus and Numa. Parchami does not explore the wider evidence for the Augustan period and so limits his conclusion to Augustus’ presentation in the Res Gestae. In contrast, J. W. Rich, in his chapter, “Augustus, War and Peace,” presents the case that Augustus was commemorated as victor with more frequency across the Empire than he was celebrated as a bringer of peace. This is in keeping with the Roman

20 de Souza, "Parta Victoris pax," 82.
22 Parchami, Hegemonic Peace and Empire: 20.
23 Parchami, Hegemonic Peace and Empire: 19, 23.
conception of peace, which was created through the defeat and subjugation of enemies. Rich presents a range of monumental evidence supporting the presentation of Augustus as victor but does not analyse the placement of these monuments, many of which are found in provinces rather than at Rome. Stern has also commented on the concept of pax in the Augustan period, stating that "Augustus achieved Pax by a mix of Romulus and Numa (more heavily Romulus), but with the promise to govern according to Numa’s precepts." Although these scholars have explored the concept of war and peace in the Augustan world, they have only used limited evidence and have not analysed the wider implications of their theories. I will attempt to develop these theories further within the broader context of Augustan propaganda.

The importance of the concept of war and peace in the Augustan era is linked by Parchami to the restoration of religious practice and traditions in Rome. This restoration is a significant element of Augustus’ self-promotion and has received attention of its own. Although Walter Eder does not focus on the religious restoration performed by Augustus, his conclusion, "only the power of tradition enabled [Augustus] to transform a republic safely into a principate," provides an excellent starting point for analysis of his religious reforms. Alan Wardman, in Religion and Statecraft among the Romans, traces the role of religion in Rome as part of the political structure of the city. He claims that the religious revival undertaken by Augustus reflected the desires of the population and places his religious reformation in terms of Republican political tradition. John Scheid has explored the development of religious restoration and creation in the Augustan period, in “Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation,” and presents the restorations undertaken by Augustus

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27 Alan Wardman, Religion and Statecraft among the Romans (London: Granada Publishing Ltd, 1982).
28 Wardman, Religion and Statecraft: 65f.
as a “political necessity.” Scheid traces the majority of Augustus’ religious activity to the Triumviral and pre-Actian period, 44 BC – 28 BC and claims that all measures following this continued the policies of the earlier period. Scheid systematically presents the religious restorations and innovations of Octavian from this period but does not place them in the full context of other events. While these authors highlight the importance of tradition, they do not provide suggestions regarding Augustus’ use of a role model in the process of restoring religion in Rome.

The religious restoration performed by Augustus revived four major priesthoods and practices which tradition credits to the reign of Numa. These four – the Vestal Virgins, the fetiales, the temple of Janus in the Forum Romanum and the Salii – have strong traditions in the Republican period and can be traced through to the principate. Each of these four needs to be examined in terms of its political and ideological connection to the messages presented by Augustus and each has received specific scholarly attention.

Work on the Vestal Virgins is extensive and the most recent has focused on the symbolism of the virginity of the priestesses. Robin Wildfang’s work, *Rome’s Vestal Virgins: A Study of Rome’s Vestal Priestesses in the Late Republic and early Empire*, notes a number of instances in which these priestesses come to the attention of Augustus, but it does not explain the significance of these incidents and glosses over their foundation by Numa completely. Although this work is descriptive, it is an excellent starting point for further study of the Vestals. Mary Beard, in an article in 1980 and again in a chapter in 1995, investigates the symbolism of the virginal priestesses of Rome.

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Vesta.\footnote{Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," \textit{The Journal of Roman Studies} 70, (1980): 12-27; Mary Beard, "Re-reading (Vestal) virginity," in \textit{Women in Antiquity: New Assessments}, ed. Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 166-77.} She provides a number of hypotheses linking the priestesses to various members of the original royal family of Rome – wives and daughters. In the 1995 paper, she further highlights the importance of the purity of the Vestals to the future of the Roman Empire in the minds of the Romans. Beard posits that Augustus exploited the symbolic purity and promise of the future inherent in the Vestal Virgins to further promote his own image. More recently, Holt Parker has linked the virginity of the priestesses to the inviolability of the city.\footnote{Holt N. Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State," in \textit{Virginity Revisited: Configurations of the Unpossessed Body}, ed. Bonnie MacLachlan; Judith Fletcher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007): 66-99.} These studies have provided a symbolism to the Vestal Virgins which can be used to explain their ‘restoration’ by Augustus, but they do not further connect them to the political events and movements of the \textit{principate}. The full impact of the restoration of the ‘office’ of Vestal Virgins requires understanding of the context in which they occurred.

The \textit{fetiales} present their own problem, as the ancient authors disagree over their origin and foundation in Rome. Thomas Wiedermann’s article, “The Fetiales: A Reconsideration,” explores the practices of the fetial priests in the middle and late Republic, providing evidence for the exploitation of their rites and laws to the advantage of Rome or her politicians.\footnote{Thomas Wiedermann, "The Fetiales: A Reconsideration," \textit{The Classical Quarterly} 36, (1986): 478-90.} Alan Watson, in \textit{International Law in Archaic Rome: War and Religion}, and David Bederman, who relies heavily on Watson, in \textit{International Law in Antiquity}, approach the fetial priests from a legal standpoint, providing overviews of the practices of the priests but without exploring the implications.
of the ambiguous ancient tradition surrounding them. None of these works explores the significance of their restoration by Augustus.

The Temple of Janus was, according to Augustus himself, closed three times in his lifetime. Ronald Syme, in his article “Problems about Janus,” uses literary evidence from the imperial period to attempt to date the third closure of these gates. Jane Evans, in The Legends of Early Rome Used as Political Propaganda in the Roman Republican and Augustan Periods, provides added speculation regarding this closure, and further debate appears from C. J. Simpson in “Where is the Parthian? The Prima Porta Statue of Augustus Revisited,” revealing that the dating of the third closure is still largely open to conjecture. More recent analysis, by S. J. Green in the article “Multiple Interpretations of the Opening and Closing of the Temple of Janus: A Misunderstanding of Ovid ‘Fasti’ 1.281,” focuses on the Roman understanding of how this temple functioned as an indicator of war and peace, leading to exploration of this dual concept. Analysis of the Temple of Janus, however, has tended to be isolated from analysis of Augustan politics and propaganda, yet it is important to include, in the wider context of Augustan Rome, the assessment of the significance of the closures, their dates and the rise in literary exploration of the function of the Temple which appears.

The Salii are specifically mentioned by Augustus, who states that the Senate ordered his name included in their song. Ancient literature surrounding the cult is, however, meagre and limited attention has been given to the cult. J. P. V. D. Baldson, 

in his article “The Salii and Campaigning in March and October,” focuses on the limitations placed on the Salian priests when it came to military campaigns. He does not explore the practices of the cult in detail or speculate on their significance to Augustus. More recently, Thomas Habinek, in The World of Roman Song: From Ritualized Speech to Social Order has attempted to place the hymn of the Salii into the wider context of music in Rome. No modern work has examined the development of the literary tradition surrounding the Salii or explored their importance to Augustus in depth.

A number of gaps have been identified in the literature surrounding the comparative elements of the life of Numa and the rule of Augustus. No detailed examination of the development of the literary tradition surrounding Numa Pompilius has been undertaken, and so assessment of any elaboration during the Augustan period has been overlooked. The similarities between the reign of Numa and the life of Augustus have been largely disregarded and analysis of the physical evidence of the Augustan period has largely ignored any symbolic reference to the king. In addition, exploration of the significant religious priesthoods and practices attributed to both Numa and Augustus have failed to explain the importance and meaning of their restoration.

Approaches

According to Neville Morley, the “historian’s main aim is to identify patterns, trends, rules and laws, underlying structures, overall frameworks and essential features” of history. As such, I aim to identify trends in the development of the literary tradition of Numa Pompilius and to identify the essential features of accounts of his

reign. I will also identify patterns for any changes in the literary tradition. The scope of this thesis is defined by distinctions between Republican and Augustan traditions, but the events discussed are limited historically to those that occur after 44 BC and prior to AD 14. The archaeological evidence is limited to that which was produced in Rome or for Roman consumption.

For this thesis, my approach takes on three distinct and complementary parts. Chapter One will attempt to survey all references to Numa Pompilius from surviving Republican sources in order to determine, if possible, when the traditions began to form and to establish the Republican perception of the king. A number of issues must be considered when examining ancient literature. First, according to David Schaps, we are often deluded into believing “that we know … what the ancient authors wrote. This is never the case.” While this is generally true, as we rely largely on copied manuscripts and, in some cases, the work survives solely as quotations in later texts, it poses a problem only where discrepancies in such manuscripts or quotations arise. It is not the purpose of this thesis to account for such issues and they need not form a barrier to developing an understanding of the literary development of an historic character. Second, although this thesis attempts to provide an account of Numa Pompilius as he was seen by the Republican Romans, it must be remembered that “we tend to rely on the accounts of the educated elite.” Therefore, it is impossible to state that the image of Numa portrayed in the surviving literary accounts is the image perceived by all Romans. At best, it is the idea of Numa as perceived by the educated elite at specific points in time. Taking these issues into account, Chapter One sets out

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44 This canvass is based on a search of the online database provided by the Packard Humanities Institute. To access this database, go to: [http://latin.packhum.org/](http://latin.packhum.org/)
to examine the literary tradition surrounding Numa Pompilius, as it has survived in the Republican period.

Chapter Two attempts a similar survey of Augustan literature in order to be able to compare the portrayal of Numa in this period with that of the earlier works and, where possible, to posit events that may have motivated authors to undertake modifications of the tradition. I will examine a range of these period sources, but, in particular the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In order to avoid duplication, only those accounts which display divergence from Republican traditions are included in this chapter. Events from this period (44 BC – AD 14), are used to propose motivation for any changes found. Morley has stated that “we cannot study directly the actual processes of ancient thought, only their products” and with this in mind, it is important to note that any motivations applied to authors are purely theoretical. When examining these texts, intertextuality must be considered. This means that the Augustan authors were likely influenced by the Republican accounts to which they had access.

Chapter Three examines surviving physical evidence from the Augustan period in order to locate other motives for the development of the literary tradition of Numa and to determine if this change, which eventually resulted in Plutarch’s account of Numa Pompilius could have been prompted by Augustan propaganda. By propaganda, I refer to any visual display within the city of Rome which promoted either Augustus or his family. For this reason, it is important to distinguish between the official acts of the princeps and the Senate and the private expressions of art that may have appeared.

While Pollini creates a further distinction of that between the princeps, acting as the leader of the state, and the acts of the Senate, such ‘fine-tuning’ has not been needed

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48 Intertextuality can also refer to the fact that these authors lived and experienced the same thing, as Schaps states, “sometimes ... intertextuality is simply something in the air.” Schaps, Handbook: 109.
in this chapter – those acts of the Senate accepted by Augustus were undoubtedly
influenced by him and express his ideology. The distinction between public and
private visual evidence is important, as it is by this criterion, together with the
geographical limitation of Rome, that the extensive range of surviving Augustan
imagery is delineated. For example, the Ara Pacis Augustae, as an official monument,
decreed by the Senate, will be examined, while the Gemma Augustea, belonging to the
world of private art, will not. In addition to public monumental buildings, the Ara Pacis
Augustae and the Forum Augustum, numismatic evidence from the Augustan period
will be considered. Schaps states that propaganda was the motivation for every aspect
of ancient coinage and as such, this evidence is essential for understanding the
public image Augustus was promoting, even when he was not the minter. Prominent
statues from Rome, such as the Augustus of Prima Porta, also provide evidence for the
public image of Augustus in this period. It is especially important in the analysis of this
evidence to remember that we cannot directly analyse the process of ancient thoughts,
we can only produce “a range of theories about their possible meaning.”

Numa Pompilius: An overview

The question of the historicity of Numa Pompilius has been raised by previous
scholars. In truth, the problem of Numa’s historicity is in two parts: first, actual
existence of a king called Numa Pompilius as the second king of Rome and second,
the tradition of tracing a variety of religious institutions to his reign. Edna Hooker,
accepting the literary tradition as written, argues for Numa as an actual reformer following the reign of Romulus, one who was accurately remembered by the Romans initially through oral and then written histories, in particular through the traditions and practices of the pontificate.\textsuperscript{54} In this respect, both the historicity of the king and the religions associated with him are treated as accurate. R. M. Ogilvie states that the only factual element of the king that has survived is his name. He maintains that the institutions accredited to the reign of Numa were Etruscan in origin and, therefore, introduced to Rome under the Etruscan kings and he adds that the name Numa also has Etruscan connections, casting doubt on the traditional Sabine origins attributed to the king.\textsuperscript{55} More recently, T. J. Cornell, linking Numa with Tullus Hostilius, concedes their names to have been historically correct but otherwise these kings were “little more than contrasting stereotypes.”\textsuperscript{56} William Smith and Eugene Lawrence, although admitting that many incidents preserved in early Roman history may have occurred, claim that the entire account of Roman history until the war with Pyrrhus can be viewed as no more than legends and cannot be regarded as fact.\textsuperscript{57}

A full depiction of the reign of Numa Pompilius can be developed, based largely on the accounts of Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch. In this amalgamated narrative, Numa, aged forty, is elected by the Senate and people of Rome to replace Romulus, based on his reputation for piety and wisdom.\textsuperscript{58} Becoming king, he immediately embarked upon a campaign of religious innovation with the sole intention of softening the warlike nature of the Romans.\textsuperscript{59} To this end, he established \textit{pontifices},\textsuperscript{60} introduced the Vestals\textsuperscript{61} and the Fetials,\textsuperscript{62} added to the college of augurs,\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{58} Cic. \textit{De re pub.} 2.25; Livy 1.18.5-10; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.58; Plut. Num. 3.3-4, 5.1.
\textsuperscript{60} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.73.1; Plut. Num. 9.1.
established the *flamen Quirinus*, and provided diversion in the form of “sacrifice, procession and religious dance,” most noticeably through the introduction of the Salii. In the forum, he built the Regia which served as his home and later became the home of the Flamen Dialis in the Republic. Nearby, he established the temple of Vesta with the house for the Vestals adjacent to it. At the other end of the Forum, where the *Argiletum* entered the area, he erected the temple of Janus. He also dedicated the first temples in Rome to Terminus and Fides, on the Capitoline. He distributed land captured in war to the citizens of the city and added two months, January and February, to the calendar. His reputation for religious knowledge was enhanced by his association with a nymph named Egeria, who provided religious insight to the king on a number of occasions. His wisdom and peaceful actions caused some ancient scholars to link him with Pythagoras. Having ruled for forty tranquil years, he died peacefully and was buried, along with his personal religious texts, near the Janiculum. This account of Numa appears intact in Plutarch’s *Life of Numa*, written in the second century AD.

Exploration of the tradition reveals, however, that Numa became associated with religious rites and cults and with the actions of the pontiffs over time. He appeared in the rhetoric of politicians and the traditions of the families who claimed descent from

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64 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.5; Ov. Fast. 6.257-60; Plut. Num. 9.5-10.2.
66 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.4.
67 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2-3; Plut. Num. 7.4-5.
68 Plut. Num. 8.3.
73 Plut. Num. 8.4-10.
74 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.76.6; Plut. Num. 11.4-12.2.
him, as well as in the annals and histories of the Romans. His statue stood with the images of the other kings of Rome, on the Capitoline, most likely among the figures of the Area Capitolinia. Numa Pompilius, therefore, was an important figure in Roman history and the image and representations of Numa, as both an historical and legendary figure were in place even by the late Republic.

In order to study the development of the tradition of Numa’s reign, it is useful to focus on those areas of strong association with the king and which reflect clear change. As a religious figure, Numa was closely associated with a number of cults and practices in Rome. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the representation of four of continuing prominence – the Vestal Virgins, the fetiales, the Salii, and the cult of the Temple of Janus – as case studies for the changing literary tradition associated with Numa.

The Vestals

The Vestal Virgins, six priestesses who served the goddess Vesta in Rome, were believed to be essential to the continuation of a successful Rome, in the growth of the population and in victorious war. Many modern scholars believe they originated as the wives and daughters of the head men of archaic villages. These origins are based on the main duties carried out by the priestesses which included tending and

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75 Cass. Dio 43.45.3; Pliny NH 34.22.23; Plut. Brut., 1.1; Platner, Topographical Dictionary: 49; Coarelli, Rome and Environs: 34.
maintaining the hearth fire, cleansing the temple of Vesta daily, guarding holy relics in the *penus* and in performing specific religious ceremonies, and on the enforced chastity of the priestesses which spanned their thirty years of service, and on their clothing which was similar to that of a bride on her wedding day. Their on-going importance to the success of Rome, evidenced in their prominence until the conversion of the Empire to Christianity, makes them an essential study for the development of the tradition surrounding Numa.

The origins of the cult were considered by the Romans themselves to be archaic. Although the worship of Vesta was of great importance to Rome, the traditions had the Vestals predate the foundation of the city. Aeneas was believed to have brought the cult of Vesta out of Troy with the Penates when the city was sacked by the Greeks, taking it with him to Italy. The communal worship of Vesta was developed for the benefit of the community, with virginal priestesses, girls chosen from among the best families, who served for a period of five years. The worship of Vesta at Alba Longa is said to have differed slightly from the worship that was practised later at Rome,

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77 Cic. *De Leg.* 2.8.20; Livy 5.52.7, 12; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1. 64.5, 66.2-3, 67.3-4, 2.68.1-5; Ov. *Tris.* 3.1.29-30; Val. Max. 1.1.6, 1.1.7; Plut. *Num.* 9.4-5, 10.4; Flor. 1.3; Cass. Dio 1.6.
78 Dion. Hal. 1.77.1; Ov. *Fast.* 6.233-34; Cass. Dio 1.2.
81 Livy 1.20.3, 4.44.11-12, 8.15.7-8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.78.5, 1.79.2, 2.64.5, 2.66.2-3, 2.67.2, 3.67.3-4, 9.40.3-4, 8.89.3-5; *Res Gest.* 3.5, 18; Ov. *Fast.* 6.455-60; Plut. *Num.* 10.1-2, *Quaest. Rom.* 83, 96; Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.4-9; Gall. *NA* 7.7.1-4; Cass. Dio 2.1, 26.77.1-5, 67.3-4, 78.26.1-3; Hdn 4.6; Oros. 2.8, 3.9, 4.2, 5, 5.15, 6.3; Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2.1064-1113. For the belief that the position was held for life, see: Cass. Dio 1.6.
which was adapted at the time of its adoption. The priestesses of Alba Longa were only required to serve for five years, and the punishment of those who broke their vows were not as severe.

The priestesses fulfilled a number of functions for the city of Rome. As virginity personified, they perhaps acted as a metaphor for the state, with their virginity, when intact, representing a stable and unpenetrated state and city. In their guarding of the eternal flame, the Vestals were ensuring the continuation not only of the state but also the fertile line of descent, ensuring that more generations would follow. They themselves could represent the fertile potential of the Roman citizen body and sacrificed their personal fertility, in the form of thirty years of chaste service, a term that corresponds with a woman’s peak fertile years, for the Roman people. As a sacrifice in and of themselves they were able to act as intermediaries with the gods and they purified and sanctified the religious rites of the city, through a combination of their presence and duties.

The Fetials

The fetial priesthood remained significant in Rome from the earliest times into the Empire. It was established in order to ensure that Rome only entered into a ius bellum, a just war. The conflict which arises in sources surrounding this priesthood makes it an important case study for the progression of the literary tradition of Numa.

The exact origin of the priesthood is lost in obscurity. The use of stone items – a stone knife to offer sacrifice and a stone tipped spear to symbolically declare war – point to a Neolithic tradition. It has been argued that fetials belong among the

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84 Staples, From Good Goddess: 132-35; Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins?" 68-71.
85 Takács, Vestal Virgins, Sibyls and Matrons: 80.
88 Cic. De re pub. 2.16.31; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.72; Livy 1.32.5.
common practices of the Latin tribes. While Watson points to a Latin practice, which then spread to neighbours, it is eminently possible that the practice began elsewhere and spread to the Latin tribes. The Romans themselves maintained that the practice had been introduced to Rome in the Regal period but the ancient authors disagree as to who established it at Rome. This divergence, combined with the ongoing significance of the priesthood in Rome, allow it to be used to trace the development of the literary tradition of Numa.

The fetial priesthood was charged with the responsibility for avoiding or declaring war. It was the function of these priests to negotiate and establish peace treaties, to seek redress from neighbours who had breached their obligations, or provoked a response, and to supervise the declaration of war, ensuring that only conflicts supported by the gods were undertaken. The manner in which they conducted these tasks was highly formulaic and precise, as were all religious practices of the Romans.

As the borders of Roman territory expanded, the use of fetials in demanding reparation and declaring war gradually fell out of use because it became impractical. Part of the reason for this rapid decline in the importance of the fetials in war can be explained by the time required to travel to and from Rome to the border. If, as seems probable, the Roman people (or even just the Senate) were required to vote on the decision to declare war, the fact that the demand for restitution and the declaration of war occurred within a limited time frame – the thirty days required by the fetials between the two acts – then Rome’s expanding borders made this both impractical and

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impossible. Their traditional functions were assumed by appointed officials – consuls, proconsuls, magistrates – acting with the permission of the Roman people that had previously been granted to the fetials.\textsuperscript{95} Instead, the fetials came to act as an advisory board for the Senate. In cases requiring expiation of broken treaties, either by or for the Romans, the fetials would expound the religiously correct actions to take.\textsuperscript{96} On occasion, at the direction of the Senate, they would perform their traditional rituals while remaining in Rome, helped by the plot of land in front of the Temple of Bellona which officially represented hostile, foreign nations.\textsuperscript{97} In some cases, where disputes among allies arose, the fetials acted independently in a judicial capacity, hearing the foreign claims and passing judgements.\textsuperscript{98} In these ways, the fetials continued to play an active role in Roman international relations and the priesthood remained strong and respected.

The priesthood itself consisted of twenty members who held the position for life.\textsuperscript{99} The priests were required to be of patrician status and, although it has been speculated that this requirement was removed with the \textit{lex Ogulnia} in 300 BC, the fetials was retained as a privilege of the \textit{patriciate}.\textsuperscript{100} Men holding positions such as consuls, proconsuls and quaestors have been identified as members of the fetial

\textsuperscript{95} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 128.
\textsuperscript{98} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.72.5; Halliday, \textit{From Numa to Augustus}: 71; Watson, \textit{International Law}: 40.
\textsuperscript{99} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.72.1; Halliday, \textit{From Numa to Augustus}: 71; Watson, \textit{International Law}: 8.
\textsuperscript{100} Watson, \textit{International Law}: 8.
priesthood. In addition, three emperors were co-opted into the college – Augustus, Claudius and Marcus Aurelius.

The Temple of Janus

Janus began as a member of the penates, the household gods of the Romans, allegedly introduced to Italy by Aeneas, having carried them from Troy, which would place Janus among the earliest gods of the Romans. He was the god of doorways and gates, but he also gradually became the god of transitions and change, a development of his role that can be seen as a natural progression; he was depicted as two-faced, with each face looking in opposite directions. The introduction of the worship of Janus by the state was traced back to Numa Pompilius by the Romans and, like that of Vesta, the cult appears to have brought a private god into the public arena.

There were a number of shrines dedicated to Janus in Rome, all associated with arches erected throughout the city. The temple of Janus identified by the ancient sources as the most significant of these shrines was located in the western end of the Forum Romanum where the Argiletum entered the forum. It was dedicated to Janus Quirinus and, as yet, no remains have been found. The image of the temple has, however, been preserved on a Neronian coin. The temple was undoubtedly rebuilt on a number of occasions, and the preserved image shows the temple as it appears in the

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101 Livy includes Aulus Cornelius Arvina, dictator in 322 BC as a member of the fetiales. Livy 9.10.8. Inscriptions reveal the following men as members of the fetiale college: Nero Caesar, emperor of Rome (C.I.L. 6.913) and Laeliano Larcio Sabino, consul of 163 AD (C.I.L. 6.1497). Watson also indicates other inscriptions reveal other ranks. See: Watson, International Law: 8.

102 Watson, International Law: 8; Beard, North and Price, Religions of Rome 1: 229.


105 Bridge, "Janus Custos Belli," 611; Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals: 287.

time of Nero. By this time, the temple had accumulated a series of styles into its structure, reflecting the growth of the empire and the influences of Greek and Eastern architecture. Despite the accrual of decorative development, the basic design of the temple would have remained largely unchanged. It was a small, rectangular building with two arched doorways opposite each other, framed by columns. The roof was open to the sky and a two-faced statue was placed inside, with each face looking out one of the doors. This temple stood as a visible reminder for the Romans that they were at war. The gates of the temple were open in times of war and closed in times of peace.

The original purpose of the temple has also generated considerable debate among modern scholars. Wright argues that the shrine was originally the entrance to the royal courtyard of Rome, from the time Numa moved the Regia to the Forum region. Taylor and Holland attribute use to the shrine as a kind of calendar, stressing his importance as a god of (or even the father of) time. Bridge suggests a purification rite, conducted before soldiers marched to war and reversed upon their return, whereby the act of passing through the gates sanctified the departing soldier and purified him upon his return. The concept of purification is further embellished by Holland, who posits a strong relationship between Janus and running water. Whatever the original purpose of the shrine, it had taken on its specific role as an indicator of war and peace by the early principate.

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111 Wright, "Janus Shrine," 81.
**Salii**

The two colleges of the Salii, the *Salii Palatini* and the *Salii Collini*, were other antique associations of the Romans attributed to Numa Pompilius. The *Salii Palatini* were so called because their main hall was located on the Palatine, while that of the *Salii Collini* was located on a different hill, most likely, given the association of *colline* with the hills of the northeast and that of this group of Salii with Mars Quirinus, the hall of the *Collini* was located on the Quirinal.\(^{115}\) There has been little speculation into the origins of the Salian priesthood apparent in modern scholarship, but a likely explanation for the two colleges goes back to the original settlements of the region, one of Romans on the Palatine, and another of Latins or Sabines on the Quirinal. The Romans themselves had lost the knowledge of the original purpose of the *Salii*, including the meaning of the hymn which the *Salii* sang, so much so that the antiquarians of the Late Republic and early Empire were unsure regarding the origins and meaning of this cult.\(^{116}\) The sources all agree that twelve *ancilia*, shields, were used by the priests, who would carry them through the city as they danced and sang on an annual pilgrimage to feasting halls and temples throughout the city.\(^{117}\) The *ancilia* were of an old-fashioned shape, oval and indented. Speculation has arisen regarding the number of shields and priests. After one dropped from the sky, Numa is said to have ordered eleven copies of this created, making twelve *ancilia* to be carried through the city,\(^{118}\) and both colleges of Salii, the *Palatini* and the *Collini*, required twelve members, which suggests that they were numbered according to the number of *ancilia*. Dumezil connects this recurrence of twelve with the calendar, claiming that each *ancile* ...


\(^{116}\) The Romans accredited their establishment largely to the second king of Rome, although different accounts attribute different motives for their instigation. Cic. *De re pub.* 2.14.27; Livy 1.20.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70-71; Ov. *Fast.* 3.259-392.


\(^{118}\) Varro, *Ling.*, 5.85; Cic. *De or.* 3.197; Livy 1.20.4; Ov. *Fast.* 3.349-92.
represented a month that the rites protected.\textsuperscript{119} Although there is a strong connection between Numa and the calendar, especially given that it is Numa who is accredited with adding two months to the calendar to make a total of twelve for the year, there is no connection made between the creation of the Salii and the calendar.\textsuperscript{120} If the \textit{ancilia} were round and could be claimed to represent the sun or the moon, this theory would be more likely. However, as their shape is elliptical and indented, no such connection can be affirmed.\textsuperscript{121} Instead, it seems likely that the \textit{Salii} were forced to perform at twelve distinct locations throughout the city, probably over the course of twelve days.

Salian priests, unlike the members of most of the colleges of Rome, served for a limited time, rather than for life. They were of patrician birth and were required to have both parents living.\textsuperscript{122} When a Salian priest took on higher roles religiously, such as having been co-opted into the colleges of pontifices or augurs, or by appointment as a flamen, he was required to resign his position as a Salian priest.\textsuperscript{123} He would also resign from the priesthood upon his election as consul.\textsuperscript{124}

During March and October, the \textit{Salii} were required to be in Rome to perform their religious roles. It is for this reason that there was an apparent ban on Salian members conducting or being involved in military campaigns, as was shown when Publius Cornelius Scipio delayed joining the army in Asia in 190 BC.\textsuperscript{125} This may have lessened the popularity of the Salian priesthood for members of the aristocracy, who relied on success against Rome’s enemies to promote their political careers.

\textsuperscript{119} Dumezil, \textit{Archaic Roman Religion}: 166.
\textsuperscript{120} Warde Fowler, \textit{Roman Festivals}: 43-44.
\textsuperscript{121} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.70.3; Plut. \textit{Num.} 13.5-6.
\textsuperscript{122} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.70.1; Warde Fowler, \textit{Roman Festivals}: 42; Beard, North and Price, \textit{Religions of Rome} 1: 43.
\textsuperscript{123} Baldson, "The Salii and Campaigning," 146.
\textsuperscript{124} Baldson, "The Salii and Campaigning," 146.
\textsuperscript{125} Polybius notes that the reason for the delay in the advance against Antiochus experienced by the Roman army, who were camped in Asia while they awaited his arrival. Polyb. 21.13; Baldson, "The Salii and Campaigning," 146.
Chapter One: The Republican Tradition of Numa Pompilius

This chapter focuses on the traditions surrounding Numa Pompilius in the Republican period and it has two parts. The first establishes the general character of the king evident from the earliest fragments and sources for the Late Republican period. Non-literary sources for Numa will also be examined to determine their connection to the written record. Both types of sources will help to date the development of the tradition concerning Numa. This chapter sets out to test whether a consistent image of Numa existed in the Republican period, and it will simply reveal the nature of the image of Numa as it appeared in the literary sources, thus creating a basis for a comparative study with similar portrayals of Numa from the Augustan period. The second part of this chapter examines the traditions specifically related to the major religious institutions I have selected for examination which came to be strongly associated with Numa: the Vestal Virgins, the Salii, the fetiales and Janus. By understanding the Republican ideals epitomised through the depiction of these institutions, a deeper comprehension of the 'Republican' character of Numa and his political usage will be uncovered. Both areas will create a basis for comparison, allowing the identification of changes in the ideals attributed to Numa and appreciation of the political implications of any significant changes and the uses to which the characterisation Numa was put in the imperial period.

Part One: The Character of Numa

Non-literary Evidence

Sculptural traditions for Numa survive or may be inferred. Numa’s name and deeds were preserved in the traditions of the great patrician gentes who claimed descent from him or Sabine origin – the Marcii, the Aemilii, the Pomponii, the Calpurnii and the Pinarii, and evidence of these family traditions have survived in the
archaeological record, in the form of monuments. An important one of these is the Basilica Aemilia, located in the Forum Romanum, which was erected and maintained or restored by the Aemilian family over a number of generations and this contained friezes depicting Sabine legends. While other monuments survive, most are fragmentary and many more have been lost. For example, only a length of twenty-two metres out of the estimated original one hundred and eighty-four of the frieze of the Basilica Aemilia, believed to have encircled the structure, has survived. The extant friezes of the Basilica Aemilia depict the earliest legends of the Sabine-Roman tradition – the abduction of the Sabine women and the treachery and punishment of Tarpeia. It is plausible, therefore, that incidents from the reign of Numa appeared among the missing scenes of the frieze.

In addition to sculptural evidence, coinage of the Republic presented symbols and images to commemorate the families of individual moneyers which makes coins an excellent source of evidence for the representation of early legends and the kings of Rome. Examination of coins reveals that only four kings were regularly used: Romulus and the three Sabine kings (including Numa).

129 Albertson, "The Basilica Aemilia Frieze," 806-08; Coarelli, Rome and Environments: 50.
The British Museum Republican Coin Collection contains six coin types identifying iconography of Romulus. The earliest is a series of silver didrachm, as in Figure 1, dated between 269 BC and 266 BC, which feature the head of Hercules and a club, with the skin of the Nemean lion draped over his shoulder on the obverse, while the reverse depicts a she-wolf suckling twins, bearing the inscription ROMANO. The she-wolf suckling twins clearly refers to the well-known legends surrounding the birth of Romulus. The coin coincides with the establishment of the Ogulnian statue of the she-wolf suckling twins on the Capitol, and this is likely to have been the inspiration for the image on the coin. The same wolf image is used on the obverse of a series of sextans from 217-215 BC, on the reverse of a series of asses from 169-158 BC, on a series of triens from 169-158 BC and on a series of denarii from 115-114 BC, all authorised by unidentified moneyers. The series of sextans feature further scenes from the legend of Romulus' survival, which includes a bird feeding the twins, revealing

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132 See Figure 1. Didrachm were minted for use in trade between Rome and southern Italy and, as such, their iconography merges Greek and Roman historical legends of the Italian peninsula. Harold Mattingly, A Guide to Republican and Imperial Roman coins in the British Museum (Chicago: Obol International, 1980): 10; Michael H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 714. Hercules, with his temple in the Forum Boarium, was associated with foreign trade in Rome and is also believed to have represented victory. John Melville Jones, A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins (London: Seaby, 1990): 135; Cornell, The Beginnings of Rome: 162.
134 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 39.3.1-6, 183.1.1-3, 83.3.1, 287.1.1-12.
that the legend had not achieved a fixed iconographic form in the third century BC.\textsuperscript{135} This suggests that other early myths were at this time, including the stories and representations of Numa. The \textit{asses, triens} and \textit{denarii} featuring Romulus also use traditional iconographical features on the obverse of their respective coin types. The addition of the she-wolf suckling twins is conservative, incorporating the foundation of Rome without altering the original markings and represents the beginning of deviation from the numismatic iconography of the bronze and silver denominations.\textsuperscript{136}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Denarius 137 BC.\textsuperscript{137}}
\end{figure}

In 137 BC, the moneyer Sextus Pompeius minted a series of \textit{denarii} featuring a detailed scene in which a she-wolf suckling twins is situated in front of a tree containing birds while a man, identified as Faustulus by the inscription FOSTLUS, looks on from the left, as seen in Figure 2.\textsuperscript{138} This is the only coin featuring the iconography of Romulus with an identifiable moneyer.\textsuperscript{139} The obverse depicts the traditional image of Roma.\textsuperscript{140} In all six coin types the she-wolf holds the same pose, as do the twins,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[135] Although it is more commonly identified as a wood-pecker, a bird associated with Mars, it is believed that a connection between the eagle and victory influenced its use on these coins and represent a variation of the original myth. Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 39.3.1-6; Bernard F. Curran, "The Cult of Mars" (University of Newcastle, 1973): 26, 120; Jones, \textit{A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins}: 106.
\item[136] Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 183.1.1-3, 83.3.1, 287.1.1-12; Mattingly, \textit{A Guide to Republican and Imperial Roman Coins}: 3, 8-9.
\item[137] Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 235.1.1-14
\item[138] See Figure 2. Faustulus was the shepherd who discovered the boys as they were being suckled and he became their foster father. Crawford, \textit{Roman Republican Coinage}: 267.
\item[139] Mattingly claims this coin is one of the first instances of a moneyer promoting their family, believing that Sextus Pompeius claimed descent from Faustulus. Mattingly, \textit{A Guide to Republican and Imperial Roman Coins}: 6.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
suggesting that they were based on an image their audience would immediately recognise, such as the previously mentioned Ogulnian statue of 296 BC. The detail of the denarii of Pompeius suggests also that a larger frieze, possibly based on or incorporating the Ogulnian statue, was used as the basis for the coin. The coins of Romulus demonstrate that the representation of kings took on stereotypical forms in the iconography of the Republic and this conclusion can be applied to the image of Numa as well.

Numa and the other two kings recorded on coins are of Sabine origin, indicating the esteem in which these kings were held. In 89 BC, for example, three series of denarii were minted by L. Titurius Sabinus featuring the bearded head of Titus Tatius, the Sabine king who co-ruled with Romulus, on the obverse, carrying the inscription SABIN. The reverse depicted the Rape of the Sabine Women, as seen in Figure 3, the Death of Tarpeia or the goddess Victory in a biga, carrying a wreath. The first two types are representations of the legends of the early city which bring the Sabine element into Rome. The moneyer Titurius claimed descent from Sabine stock, and these coins celebrates the antiquity of the Sabine connection with Rome and the

Figure 3: denarius 89 BC.


Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 344.1.1-14.

See Figure 3. Also, Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 344.1.1-14, 44.2.1-11, 44.3.1-74; Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage: 352.
achievements of early Sabines.\textsuperscript{144} In 70 BC, T. Vettius Sabinus, who also carried a
cognomen proclaiming his Sabine descent, celebrated his family history in a series of
denarii serrati, featuring too the bearded head of Titus Tatius.\textsuperscript{145} In all four coin-types of
Vettius, Tatius is presented in profile as a bearded man of middle years, facing right,
with short, well-kept hair and identified by the inscription SABIN, demonstrating the
established image of the king which connected him to the rustic origins of the city.

![Figure 4: denarius 97 BC.\textsuperscript{145}](image)

Numa Pompilius is represented on coins from 97 BC, when L. Pomponius Molo,
who claimed descent from Numa through a son called Pompo, minted a series of
denarii.\textsuperscript{147} These carried the head of Apollo on the obverse, while on the reverse is a
sacrificial scene, being conducted by Numa who stands to the left of an altar, as a
victimarius, leading a goat, approaches from the right.\textsuperscript{148} This coin establishes the
religious character of the king through sacrificial acts. In addition, it creates a
connection between Numa and the worship of Apollo in Rome.

\textsuperscript{144} Jones, A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins: 73, 319; Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage: 355.
\textsuperscript{145} Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 404.1.1-7; Jones, A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins: 278; Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage: 414.
\textsuperscript{146} Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 334.1.1-9.
\textsuperscript{147} Plut. Num. 21.2; Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage: 332-33.
\textsuperscript{148} See Figure 4.
In c. 88 BC, C. Marcius Censorinus, who claimed descent from Numa through his grandson Ancus Marcius, also minted a series of denarii and asses featuring the heads of Numa and Ancus Marcius on the obverse. The denarius, shown in Figure 5 had a desultor, wearing a cap and holding a whip, on the reverse, while the asses,
depicted in Figures 6 and 7, depicted harbour scenes. The image of Apollo on the *denarii* of 97 BC and the *desultor* of 88 BC are both believed to refer to the *ludi Apollinares*, creating a connection between the minter’s family and their founding. The *ludi Apollinares* were established in Rome in 211 BC, featuring games in the circus, animal games and theatrical performances, and became an annual event from 208 BC as a way of fending off disease. The connection between the descendants of Numa and the *ludi Apollinares* suggests that they wanted to promote their concern for religion by displaying their regal ancestor, and the appearance of Apollo further emphasises Numa’s religious nature.

In 49 BC, Pompey the Great and Cn. Piso issued *denarii* featuring the bearded head of Numa, wearing a diadem inscribed with NUMA on the obverse. Piso’s connection with the obverse is created by the inscription CN PISO, and he claimed descent from Numa. The reverse is clearly designed to promote Pompey, as indicated by the inscription MAGN and PRO COS, featuring the use of a prow, which

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153 For the *denarii*, see Figure 5. For the *asses*, see Figures 6 and 7. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*: 357, 60; Farney, *Ethnic Identity*: 85 fig. 7B.

154 Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*: 361; Farney, *Ethnic Identity*: 84 fig. 7A. The harbour scenes of the *asses* refer to the founding of Ostia, which was attributed to Ancus Marcius. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*: 361; Farney, *Ethnic Identity*: 85 fig. 7B.


156 Ghey and Leins, “Roman Republican Coins,” 446.1.1-5.

157 See Figure 8.

promotes his naval dominance, demonstrated by his victories over pirates in 68 BC and his position as augur.

In all of these images, Numa appears as a mature, bearded man, revealing his depiction by stereotype as a representative of the Sabine race, as his beard, like that of Tatius, represents the traditional rustic and frugal type which embodied the moral ideals of Rome’s past.\(^{159}\) Although there is no archaeological evidence to support the tradition of Sabine involvement in early Rome, there is also nothing which disproves the stories, and it is clear that they were believed by the Romans from the third century BC.\(^{160}\) Farney has examined the Sabine stereotype, which represented *prisca virtus* “old-fashioned virtue” and was portrayed through their disciplined and austere image and their unkempt and hirsute physical appearance, reflecting a rustic upbringing.\(^{161}\) Although this image was certainly a feature of the literature of the Republic, the bearded, unkempt image of Numa and Tatius on coins demonstrates that the stereotype had found physical expression by 97 BC. The repeated use of setting, expression and iconography suggests that the image of Numa appeared in a temple of the city as a source for the stereotype.

The later Sabine king Ancus Marcius who appears on three coins in conjunction with his grandfather Numa does not follow this Sabine stereotype, and he appears beardless.\(^{162}\) There is only one series of *denarii* in which he appears alone, from 56 BC, produced by the moneyer L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of the later Augustus. Again the same beardless face of Ancus Marcius is used, but he is wearing a diadem as a symbol of his kingship.\(^{163}\) Since Ancus does not represent the same

\(^{159}\) Farney, *Ethnic Identity*: 97-98.
\(^{160}\) Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*: 75-77.
\(^{162}\) Ghey and Leins, “Roman Republican Coins,” 346.1.1-65, 46.3.1-2, 46.4.1-4.
elements of the Sabine stereotype, as Titus Tatius and Numa, this reveals that the stereotype of each king was unique in the coins of the Republic.

The archaeological and numismatic evidence reveals that Sabine legends and characters had become popular for use in the promotion of aristocratic families, suggesting a respect for the stereotypical traits associated with the Sabine ethnicity. This allowed the development of a physical iconography specific to each king, as revealed by the numismatic evidence. This image of Numa is one of a hirsute appearance, which was in keeping with his ancient Sabine origins. In addition, Numa is depicted performing religious rites in the only surviving scene which portrays more than Numa’s profile, suggesting that an association between the king and religious practice had been established. This consistent iconography indicates that a physical image of Numa can be inferred in a temple frieze of the period. This suggests that there were an accepted number of stories about Numa, which possibly developed at the same time.

**Literary Evidence**

Histories of the Regal period and early Republic can also be found in the ‘annals’ of the city, year-by-year details about Rome that included the names of the consuls and reference to important events.\(^\text{164}\) It has been argued, however, that these records were actually begun only in 367 BC, following the reforms of the *Leges Liciniae et Sextiae*.\(^\text{165}\) Therefore, anything about Numa was undoubtedly based on unofficial records, especially oral stories, and private historical narratives of families who claimed descent from the king.

Those who wrote about Numa in the Republic based their accounts on aristocratic genealogies, as represented in their *imagines*, monuments and coins, and on annals, whose contents are suspect and likely to be based on the same


\(^{165}\) The *Leges Liciniae et Sextiae* required one consul of each year to be plebeian. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*: 15; Wiseman, *Unwritten Rome*: 235.
genealogies and images as those which the Latin authors utilised. This would naturally have resulted in a narrow account of the king, which no doubt emphasised regal stereotypes and characteristics valued by the *gentes* such as we saw above, where Numa is portrayed as a middle aged man of a rustic type, with a full beard, performing religious sacrifices.

A wide range of ‘Republican’ authors mention Numa by name. Unfortunately, the majority of these texts are fragmentary and are of little value in our attempts to reconstruct the ‘standard’ image of Numa. The earliest surviving fragments are those from the *Annales* of Ennius (239-169 BC) and it appears that he played a leading role in establishing the literary tradition surrounding Numa. His contribution can be seen in the incorporation of the Sabines into Rome and the development of a Romano-Sabine history. Apart from fleeting references by Ennius, the extant sources for Numa are of the second and first centuries BC. In other words, most of the traditions about Numa represent the impression of the king from the Late Republic, and as such represent views of Numa at least six centuries removed from his attributed dates.

What are the main features of Numa revealed by these literary sources of the third to first centuries? Ennius attributes the introduction of state priesthoods, the *flamines* of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus along with a series of other deities. According to the suggestion of Otto Skutsch, Ennius offered a brief catalogue of the institutions of

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167 The other sources for Numa include C. Cassius Hemina (c. 146 BC), L. Calpurnius Piso (c. 120 BC), C. Lucilius (180-102 BC), M. Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC) and Titus Livius (59 BC – AD 17). Livy has been identified as a transitional author. His early life, under the Republican system, clearly impacted on the ideals reflected in his writing. Although there is clear evidence of an Augustan influence with the work, his Republican values and preferences remain dominant, especially in the early books. For this reason, his account of Numa largely reveals the ideals attached to this king under the Republican literary tradition.
168 Volturnal, Palatual, Furinal, Floral, Falacrine and Pomponal as *Eundem Pompilium ait fecisse flamines, qui cum omnes sunt singulis deis cognominati, in quibusdam apparent ἐτυμα, ut cur sit Martialis et Quirinalis; sunt in quibus flaminum cognominibus latent origins, ut in his qui sunt versibus plerique: Volturnalem, Palatualem, Furinalem, Floralemque Falacrem et Pomonalen fecit hic idem: Enn. Ann. 1.2 fr. 115; Varro Ling. 7.45.
Numa. Cicero expands Ennius’ reference to these priesthoods, reporting that Numa added to the college of augurs and established five pontiffs before introducing religious practices. Livy, too, follows the tradition set in place by Ennius, attributing to Numa the introduction of state priesthoods, flamines of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus and pontiffs, and he states that Numa directed the pontiffs regarding all rites of worship, concerning victims, days of sacrifice and days of business, temples, sacrifices and payments.

In their accounts of the institutions established by Numa, perhaps also based on the authority of Ennius, Cicero and Livy include the temple of Janus, the Salian priests and the Vestal virgins. Livy even has Numa introduce the annual worship of Fides and the sites and rituals associated with the Argei, which are associated with purification. The festival of the Argei is also associated with Vestal Virgins, since Argei, rush puppets, were placed throughout the city to collect impurities, following which they would be thrown into the Tiber by the Vestals. These accounts reflect a similar emphasis on religious matters on the part of Numa, but one that is systematic and concerned for the welfare of the state and people.

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171 These priesthoods were important for the religious landscape of Rome throughout the Republic, although the position of flamen Dialis (flamen of Jupiter) fell vacant in the late Republic because of the restrictions placed upon the priest. Being a flamen or pontiff carried significant political weight. Livy 1.20.1, 20.5-6; Ramsay, A Manual of Roman Antiquities: 333; Halliday, From Numa to Augustus: 68-70; Bailey, Phases in Religion: 155-57, 62-64, 74; Weinstock, Divus Julius: 28, 30; Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy: 97; Andrew Lintott, The Constitution of the Roman Republic (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 183-84; Beard, North and Price, Religions of Rome 1: 130-31, 34-35.
172 Cic. De re pub. 2.26; Livy 1.19.2, 20.3-4.
173 Livy 1.21.4-5.
Other extant references to Numa are contributed by Lucius Cassius Hemina, one in a fragment that endures as a direct quote by Pliny in *Historia Naturalis*. ¹⁷⁵ According to Pliny’s report, Cassius Hemina explained that Numa introduced offerings of corn and *mola salsa*,¹⁷⁶ and he required emmer wheat be roasted when offered to the gods in order to ensure its purity. Cassius Hemina’s reference to *mola*, therefore, connects Numa once again to the Vestal Virgins, and his other material links Numa to every form of sacrifice in the city, those of grain and those of blood. In a second fragment, Cassius Hemina allegedly explained that the religious practice of using fish without scales as offerings to the gods had been introduced by Numa as a cost saving measure.¹⁷⁷ Both these fragments connect Numa with the introduction of a new method to perform sacrifices in Rome, routines performed by the Romans throughout the year, and they show a belief that Numa possessed a deep religious understanding, which he used for the benefit of the state in its dealings with the gods.

A third reference to religious innovation by Numa has been attributed to Cassius Hemina, although the source, Pliny, makes no explicit mention of Cassius Hemina in the passage.¹⁷⁸ This fragment reveals that Numa introduced a law, sponsored by Postumius (?) which banned the use of wine in funeral libations, despite its use in other forms of offerings, and that he forbade the use of wine from unpruned

¹⁷⁵ *Numa instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare atque, ut auctor est Hemina, far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset id uno modo consecutus, statuendo non esse purum ad rem divinam ni tostum*: Plin. *HN* 18.7-8.

¹⁷⁶ Mola salsa was a mix of ground grains from the first harvest and salt prepared by the Vestal priestesses and was used in every sacrifice within Rome, to sanctify the victim. Worsfold, *History of the Vestal Virgins*: 34; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*: 159; Staples, *From Good Goddess*: 155; Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome* 1: 51-52.

¹⁷⁷ *Numa constituit ut piscis, qui squamosi non essent, ni pollucerent, parsimonia commentus, ut convivial publica et private cenaque ad puvinaria facilius compararentur, ni qui ad polluctum emergent pretio minus pacerent eaque praemercarentur*: Plin. *HN* 32.20.

¹⁷⁸ Elizabeth Rawson, "The First Latin Annalists," *Latomus* 35, (1976): 695. Rawson bases her inclusion on the work of an earlier scholar and provides no case for its inclusion. However, its similarity with the other fragments of Hemina, cited above, in subject at least, argues for its inclusion in the discussion of Numa.
vines for any form of libation.\textsuperscript{179} Numa is again credited with the modification of religious traditions, which had a serious impact on the worship of the Romans.

In addition to the introduction and changes in methods of worship, Cassius Hemina states that Numa established the \textit{Fornacalia}, a festival for the roasting of wheat, which celebrated the oven goddess, and did not have a set date but was announced each year by the \textit{Curio Maximus}.\textsuperscript{180} He also introduced the \textit{Terminalia}, which celebrated the sacred boundary stones used to define the land owned by each citizen, which occurred annually on the twenty-third of February.\textsuperscript{181} These two festivals, which were agricultural in nature and important elements of the Roman festival calendar, further demonstrate the range of activities attributed to Numa regarding religious practices that surely had their origins far in the past. Both the \textit{Terminalia} and \textit{Fornacalia} have clear connections with the earliest settlement of the Roman site, and both festivals were established to purify the boundaries of the expanding territory but archaeological evidence dates the foundation of Rome to approximately 1000 BC, some three centuries prior to the dates attributed to the reign of Numa.\textsuperscript{182} This places the establishment of these festivals outside the scope of any historical narrative, but the Romans found a place for their creation within the established tradition of the settlement of Rome. Their ties to boundaries suit a reign in which territory claimed by war was first won and then consolidated and so their connection to Numa, while artificial is logical, as Numa was seen to be the successor to the warlike Romulus and the religious founder of the city.


\textsuperscript{180} \textit{is et Fornacalia instituit farris torrendi ferias:} Plin. \textit{HN} 18.8. For the \textit{Fornacalia}, see also Ov. \textit{Fast.} 2.525-27.


\textsuperscript{182} Cornell, \textit{The Beginnings of Rome}: 48, 117, 204.
In all the fragments attributed to Cassius Hemina, Numa is depicted as having dual motives for his religious reforms, first, to ensure correct conduct of rites, and second to encourage industry and frugality among the Romans, as Pliny suggests, but this characterisation of Numa, or selection of anecdotes about him, may have suited Cassius Hemina’s purpose, to rationalise the religious practices of his own time.\textsuperscript{183} This suggests that Cassius Hemina may have been using the innate authority of Numa to give credence to his own agenda, much the way that the moneyers used the image of Numa to promote their ancestry. The emphasis on the religious innovation of Numa by Cassius Hemina, therefore, may be a reflection of the stereotypical character attributed to Numa but it also reveals rising interest in the origins of Roman religion apparent in Cassius Hemina’s time and the innate authority that reference to Numa could impart to any argument.\textsuperscript{184}

Numa was believed to have committed religious practices to writing. Pliny preserves a fragment of Piso, which claims that the rituals introduced by Numa were written down, and in another fragment Piso states that seven books on pontifical law were compiled by Numa and buried with him upon his death.\textsuperscript{185} This correlates with the mention of the Postumian Law by Pliny, which was undoubtedly written down.\textsuperscript{186} A reference to Numa’s books along similar lines is found in Varro’s \textit{Menippeae}, but without a firm context, although this work does provide a connection between Numa and a written form of religious practice.\textsuperscript{187} Cicero adds that knowledge of Numa’s laws was evident in Cicero’s time, implying a written account, and Livy too claims that Numa


\textsuperscript{186} Plin. \textit{HN} 14.88. See footnote 178 for Latin text.

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Haec Numa Pompilius fieri si videret, sciret suorum institutorum nec volam nec vestigium apparere}: Varro \textit{Menippeae}, fr. 537.
provided complete and accurate written instructions for the performance of rites of worship, among which he includes funeral cult. The reference to Numa’s written religious rituals and laws suggests that there was a common belief in the Late Republic which emphasised both his religious nature and the fact that this was committed to writing. The link between Numa’s religious tradition and writing is highly improbable. Although writing developed in Rome around 700 BC, coinciding with the reign of Numa, it was largely used in inscriptions throughout Latium, marking ownership and to record sacred and legal regulations. Such inscriptions do not include the books attributed to Numa and do not appear to have survived to the time of our authors. The Romans attributed writing to Numa because of the belief that written records bound men to act in certain ways, preventing the abuse of power. In addition, religious writing conferred power on those who could read them or who were entrusted with their safe keeping. It also suggests that the authority of Numa, particularly regarding religious matters, was so strong that many believed he would have provided written instructions.

Numa’s religious authority was connected to his personal relationship with the gods and other divine creatures. A fragment of Piso, preserved in Pliny’s Historia Naturalis, reveals that Numa was believed to have possessed the ability to summon Jupiter for consultation and had even written down the rituals required for this purpose. The story is repeated by Livy, but he merely states that Numa erected an altar to Jupiter Elicius. Livy has reduced the story in importance perhaps either because it lacked dramatic possibilities or this was part of Livy’s ongoing dismissal of

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188 Cic. De Leg. 2.23; Livy 1.20.5-7.
The dramatic possibilities of a scene between the King and Jupiter seem self-evident, however, and have been captured in the accounts of Ovid and Plutarch. But it may be that Livy found no moral lesson in this material and for this reason passed over the story. Piso and Livy claim that Tullus Hostilius, attempting a rite recorded by Numa to call forth Jupiter, was instead struck by lightning, revealing that the process itself was not enough to produce the desired response. Tullus had failed to maintain the religions established by Numa and it was for this reason that his reign ultimately failed.

Numa’s ability to communicate with gods was not, however, limited to Jupiter. Lucilius claims that Numa established the Lamiae, terrifying child-eating demons, which he did in conjunction with Fauns, manifestations of the wilderness, who were feared in their own right, as they were believed to harass men who travelled alone. In addition, Varro, quoting Ennius, states that Egeria, a nymph, spoke with Numa but only as a voice heard by the king through the murmuring of water, rather than as a physical presence. Livy also knows of this tradition, as he reports a relationship between Numa and the goddess Egeria, but he claims that Numa pretended to meet with Egeria, to create authority for the religious reforms Numa instituted. Water, however, also features in his account, as Livy claims that Numa dedicated the grove and spring at Camenae to reinforce this deception, claiming it as the place where he met the goddess, whom he claimed as his wife. By reporting that Numa claimed Egeria as his coniunctus “wife”, Livy adds respectability to Numa’s relationship with the nymph.

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193 Livy 1.20.7; Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy: 101; Wiseman, Unwritten Rome: 155.
194 Ov. Fast. 3.321-49; Plut. Num. 15.3-6.
197 Terriculas Lamias, Fauni quas Pomphilique instituere Numae, tremit has hic omnia ponit: Lucil. 15.484.
199 Livy 1.19.5. See also Enn. Ann. 2.1 fr. 113[119].
200 Livy 1.21.3-4.
These stories suggest that Numa possessed power over a variety of numinous beings and explain his developed understanding of religious matters.

Another element of the character of Numa is also a feature of the tradition. When noting the type of fish Numa decreed for sacrifice, Cassius Hemina provides Numa’s motive as *parsimonia* “frugality.”\(^{201}\) Pliny also credits Numa with banning the sacrifice of some fish in order to reduce the cost of public banquets and Livy too includes the costs of sacrifices among the instructions for pontiffs written by Numa.\(^{202}\) The Sabine stereotype had received attention from Cato, who traced the Sabines to a Spartan ancestor.\(^{203}\) From this time, the Sabines took on many properties of the Spartans, particularly their frugality. This further demonstrates Numa’s concern for preserving the wealth of Rome and his connection to the Sabine sense of frugality, and it perhaps demonstrates that this feature went back to the stereotype of the Sabines.\(^{204}\)

Pythagorean philosophy is attributed to Numa by some Republican sources. Cassius Hemina states that, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, in 181 BC, a scribe called Gnaeus Terentius uncovered the coffin of Numa, which was buried on the Janiculum, containing the king’s books.\(^{205}\) Cassius Hemina states that these contained the philosophies of Pythagoras, but that these books were burnt by the praetor Quintus Petilius, allegedly because they contained ‘philosophy.’\(^{206}\) This story is supported by Piso who claims that fourteen books were recovered from Numa’s grave, seven on pontifical law and seven regarding

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\(^{202}\) Livy 1.20.5-6.


the philosophies of Pythagoras.\textsuperscript{207} The story is repeated by Varro in \textit{Logistorici} \textit{(frag. 40)}\textsuperscript{208} and by Livy (40.29-30).\textsuperscript{209} Varro adds another element to the story, in which objects sacred to Numa were also buried in an area of the Cloaca Maxima called the \textit{Doliola}.\textsuperscript{210} All the books found, both Greek and Latin, appear to have been burnt because they were considered detrimental to the religious stability of the city.\textsuperscript{211} It is clear that any connection to Numa was greatly desirable for the legitimacy of religious practices within Rome and demonstrate how later religious cults, such as the Pythagoreans, might perhaps want to be connected to Numa. Both Cicero and Livy reject the connection between Pythagoras and Numa as impossible, however, with Cicero going so far as to claim it to be “ignorant and absurd.”\textsuperscript{212} Although later authors deny the connection with Pythagoras on the grounds of chronology, the strong association in earlier accounts has implications for the perceived characterisation of Numa. It is implied that Numa and Pythagoras were admired for similar qualities. Cicero, in the \textit{Tusculanae Disputationes}, claims that the admiration of Pythagoras by the Romans led to a belief that Numa was his student.\textsuperscript{213}

The main doctrine of Pythagorean philosophy involved the transmigration of the soul, from which came the belief that all animate objects should be treated

\textsuperscript{207} Plin. \textit{HN} 13.87. See footnote 185 for the Latin text.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Terentius quidam cum haberet ad Ianiculum fundum et bubulcus eius iuxta sepulcrum Numae Pompilii tracios aratrum eruisset ex terra libros eius, ubi sacrorum institutorum scriptae erant causae, in urbem pertulit ad praetorem. Ubi cum primores quasdam causas legissent, cur quidque in sacris fuerit institutum, Numae mortuo senatus adsensus est eosque libros tamquam religiosi patres conscripti praetor ut combureret censuerunt: Varro \textit{Logistorici} fr. 40.
\textsuperscript{209} Livy 40.29-30.
\textsuperscript{210} Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.157.
\textsuperscript{211} They were likely created at the time by Pythagorean followers who wished to gain authenticity for their practices. Prowse notes that this incident occurred soon after the repression of the Bacchanalia and argues that the creation of this hoax was designed to protect the followers of Pythagoras from similar prosecution. Prowse, "Numa and the Pythagoreans: a Curious Incident," 40-42.
\textsuperscript{212} \textit{neque solum fictum, sed etiam imperite absurdeque fictum: Cic. De re pub.} 2.28; Livy 1.18.2.
\textsuperscript{213} \textit{Pythagoreorum admirationem Numam quoque regem Pythagoreum a posterioribus existimatum: Cic. Tusc.} 4.1. Modern scholars place the creation of this connection in the fourth century BC, claiming that this connection existed in the work of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, whose date for the arrival of Pythagoras in Italy (532 BC) is the same as that used by Cicero, suggesting that Aristoxenus was a source for both Pythagoras and his teaching of Numa. Cornell, \textit{The Beginnings of Rome}: 125; C. J. Smith, "A Greek Interlude at Rome: Numa in Roman Historiography," (University of St Andrews, 2008): 21.
humanely.\textsuperscript{214} Pythagoras, a vegetarian, was believed to have held conservative views emphasising moderation and piety.\textsuperscript{215} Cassius Hemina’s focus on Numa’s views on grain and \textit{mola salsa} perhaps led to the belief that the sacrifices promoted by Numa involved, to a large extent, no bloodshed.\textsuperscript{216} The connection to Pythagoras implies similar conservative views on the part of Numa, which are reflected in our sources through his religious knowledge and reforms and through his frugality. This further implies that the tradition of Numa could be exploited to promote ideals.

From this study of the characterisation of Numa in the fragmentary Republican sources, a clear image of his character has emerged. Ennius was the first to portray Numa as a man of vast religious knowledge, and this trait was picked up by later authors who indicate he was also practical in his approach to instituting a wide range of priesthoods, festivals and general religious practice, with special reference to the Vestal Virgins, Janus and the Salii. Piso begins the tradition that Numa committed Rome’s religious principles to writing, but these were allegedly destroyed in the second century BC. Historically, books of Pythagorean philosophy allegedly found in the coffin of Numa were burnt following the Bacchanalia scandal in 186 BC, around the time that Ennius was writing his account of the second king.\textsuperscript{217} Following the development of the Sabine stereotype based on a Spartan ancestry by Cato, Numa is portrayed in this way as frugal, like a Spartan Sabine, who understood the importance of preserving wealth and acting in moderation.\textsuperscript{218} Numa is said to have worked towards a peaceful Rome, although this is not stressed, and his philosophical approach to life closely paralleled that of Pythagoras. The image of Numa from these fragments is consistent, identifying the same traits for the king and agreeing on major points, such as his relationship with


\textsuperscript{215} McKirahan, \textit{Philosophy Before Socrates}: 79.

\textsuperscript{216} Plin. \textit{HN} 18.7-8; Plut. \textit{Num.} 8.8.

\textsuperscript{217} Skutsch, \textit{The Annals of Quintus Ennius}: 263-64.

\textsuperscript{218} Dench, \textit{From Barbarians to New Men}: 85-86; Farney, \textit{Ethnic Identity}: 109.
Egeria. It is clear that these elements of the reign of Numa became fixed and authors could not completely ignore or omit them, despite the incredulity with which they present them.

Cicero and Numa

What can Cicero’s use of Numa tell us? Cicero uses Numa extensively throughout his surviving works, in political and philosophical contexts. The majority of his references to Numa appear in De re publica, a treatise on the philosophy of politics published prior to 51 BC, which focuses on theoretical ideals over political realities and demonstrate Cicero’s personal views regarding the perfect state. In contrast, Numa also appears in Pro Rabirio Perduillionis Reo and Pro Sulla, both political speeches presented before the law courts. In these speeches, Cicero is pragmatic in his approach towards Numa, sacrificing his personal opinions for the sake of stereotypes in order to make the best arguments in each case. Although the views he expresses are not necessarily his own, they reveal a point of view that was accepted and expected by his audience of jurors and onlookers. Examination of the references to Numa which appear in these works can demonstrate the ways in which the character of this king was manipulated in the late Republic to serve the purpose of an individual.

What ideas, ideals and stereotypes does Cicero’s account of Numa focus on in these two types of work? In De re publica, Cicero establishes the credentials by which Numa became king, as he has Scipio explain that nostri illi etiam tum agrestes viderunt

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219 Cicero researched extensively when completing this text, which he began in May 54 BC and it is likely that this research was the basis for his understanding of Numa. The text takes the form of a dialogue between Scipio Africanus Minor, as an old man, and his friends and clients and discusses the “best possible State and the best citizens.” Cic. Q Fr. 3.5.1; W. W. How, “Cicero’s Ideal in his de Republica,” The Journal of Roman Studies 20, (1930): 24; Manfred Fuhrmann, Cicero and the Roman Republic, trans. W.E. Yuill (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1995): 112-13.

virtutem et sapientiam regalem, non progeniem quaeri oportere, “our ancestors, rustics though they even then were, saw that kingly virtue and wisdom, not royal ancestry, were the qualities to be sought.” Cicero reveals that Numa had been chosen as the successor to Romulus by the citizens of Rome, on the advice of the senate, because Numa had a reputation for being foremost in these qualities. Cicero is using these concepts, virtus and sapientia, to make the transition from the warrior king, Romulus, to the philosopher, Numa. This transition relies on the dual meaning of virtus, first as the military prowess of a general or soldier and second as the ethical, abstract conception of morality. Virtus had been an important quality for Roman leadership as early as 205 BC. Many men had gained renown and advanced their political careers through military success and a reputation for virtus and the epithet was later applied to politicians who gained political success through oratory and advocacy, including Cicero. The meaning of virtus was ambiguous and even links the martial Romulus and the religious Numa, and so, through this contrast, Cicero was perhaps making a suggestion for the leadership of his own time, indicating the need for a change from the military leaders traditionally chosen, such as Pompey and Caesar, to those of a more peaceful virtue, such as Cicero himself.

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221 Cic. De re pub. 2.24.
222 Cic. De re pub. 2.25.
Cicero also combines *virtus* with *sapientia* – wisdom. Lind notes that the concept of *sapientia* had been used in conjunction with *virtus* in Scipionic inscriptions, along with *honos* (public recognition), *gloria* (fame and renown) and *fortitudo* (strength and bravery).\(^{225}\) *Sapientia*, however, plays an even more important role for Cicero, as his description of Numa is given by proxy of a Scipio to form part of Stoic philosophy, which Cicero applied to his philosophical works.\(^{226}\) If the connection between *virtus*, *honos*, *gloria*, *fortitudo* and *sapientia* are correct, Cicero’s audience would have been aware of these associations. The use of Scipio and reference to both *virtus* and *sapientia* would call to mind these other values as well. It implies that these ideals were also concentrated in Numa, and the implication for his image is that he was a man with both virtue (*virtus*) and divine knowledge (*sapientia*), and all that is associated with them. Cicero has used the accepted tradition of Numa’s religious knowledge in order to promote his Stoic values.

Cicero also uses Numa in his exploration of the concept of *regnum*, which had assumed negative political connotations because, traditionally, *regnum* (kingship) had become associated with the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, a tyrant, and represented Etruscan domination of Rome.\(^{227}\) In the late Republic, to charge a politician with seeking *regnum* was used as invective in Roman political life.\(^{228}\) It is for this reason that Cicero is able to use the title of kingship against T. Labienus in 63 BC in *Pro Rabirio*

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\(^{228}\) For the use of *regnum* as political invective, see: Dunkle, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic," 151-71; Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective," 106-20.
Perduellionis.\textsuperscript{229} In this speech, Cicero implies that Romulus and Numa demonstrated more \textit{libertas} “liberty” and \textit{mansuetudo} “clemency” than that currently found in Rome which was unexpected in Regal times. He in fact uses Numa rhetorically to suggest injustice on the part of Labienus.\textsuperscript{230} Cicero compares Labienus to Tarquinius Superbus, and calls his actions “most arrogant and most cruel”.\textsuperscript{231}

In \textit{Pro Sulla}, Cicero reveals that his opponent, L. Manlius Torquatus, tried to discredit him by calling him \textit{Tarquinium et Numam et me tertium peregrinum regem} “Tarquinus and Numa and the third king,” and claimed that \textit{a\textit{i}t se \textit{i}le ... regnum meum ferre non posse}, “he could not endure [Cicero’s] kingly power.”\textsuperscript{232} Berry claims that “Tarquinius and Numa” were chosen as comparators because they were the “two most conspicuously foreign kings of Rome” in order to emphasise the insult,\textsuperscript{233} which possesses two parts: first, that Cicero is \textit{rex} “king;” and second, that he is \textit{peregrinus} “foreign”. The exploitation of \textit{rex} is an indication of the anti-monarchical sentiment of the Republic, and that Cicero was called this was an attempt to undermine his political standing.\textsuperscript{234} Cicero deflects the charge by pointing to his consulship as the only time he truly exerted power, claiming to have acted only on the command of the Senate and, as a private citizen, to wield no such power.\textsuperscript{235} He proceeds further to negate the charge by claiming to have acted moderately and on behalf of the real interests of the people, rather than on his own desires, and that his behaviour is the opposite of what would be expected of a tyrant.\textsuperscript{236} Cicero makes no attempt to persuade his audience that \textit{regnum}...
was a positive quality, and the negative implication extends to the kings of the past, but Cicero's audience fully understood the implications of such an argument.\footnote{Dunkle, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic," 151-52; Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective," 111-12; Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 151.}

However, Torquatus' political usage of Numa as an insult is directly contrasted with Cicero's portrayal of the king in his philosophical works. While it has been noted that Cicero distrusted all forms of monarchy,\footnote{Marcus Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," Greece and Rome 21, (1952): 52.} examination of the evidence reveals that Cicero, in fact, held monarchy in high esteem.\footnote{Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 235.} This is evident in De re publica where Cicero has Scipio declare that monarchy is the best form of simplex "simple" government.\footnote{Cic. De re pub. 1.54. Modern debate has focused on the 'ideal' government proposed by Cicero as scholars attempt to define it and determine the broader implications tacitly contained within the text. It is generally agreed that Cicero preferred a mixed constitution, with a princeps at the top, acting as a king, the senate advising and the citizens having their input through elections (R. Reitzenstein, "Zu Cicero De Re Publica," Hermes 59, (1924): 360-61; How, "Cicero's Ideal in His de Republica," 29-30; Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," 51; Fuhrmann, Cicero and the Roman Republic: 114.). The debate focuses on Cicero's intention. How dismisses earlier theories that Cicero intended to justify Pompey's claim to establish a principate, stating instead that Cicero's ideal was both 'real and historical' and his moderator was Scipio himself (How, "Cicero's Ideal in His de Republica," 36-37, 39.). He is supported by Carter, who claims that governmental perfection had been achieved (J.M. Carter, "Cicero: Politics and Philosophy," in Cicero and Virgil: Studies in Honour of Harold Hunt, ed. John R. C. Martyn (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972): 35-36.). Wheeler takes How and Carter's arguments a step further and claims that Cicero saw himself as the ideal moderator (Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," 55-56.). Reitzenstein focuses on the degree to which Augustus based his government on Cicero's ideal (Reitzenstein, "Zu Cicero De Re Publica," 361-62.).}

Cicero has Scipio base this argument largely on the fact that only one man rules a household, a ship sails best under one captain and a patient recovers from the care of a single physician, si digni modo sint iis artibus "if they are proficient in their profession."\footnote{Cic. De re pub. 1.61-62; Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 234.} In a similar way, it is argued, monarchy remains the best form of simple government, so long as the king is just, as it was the insolence and pride of a single king which ruined the system in Rome.\footnote{Cic. De re pub. 1.62; Born, "Animate Law in the Republic and the Laws of Cicero," 130-31; Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 234.} Early Roman kings, including Numa, are provided as evidence for this optimal model.

\footnotetext[237]{Tarpeian rock when he was found guilty of attempted tyranny. Cic. Sull. 27; Berry, Cicero Pro P. Sulla Oratio: 190-95.}
\footnotetext[238]{Dunke, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic," 151-52; Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective," 111-12; Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 151.}
\footnotetext[240]{Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 235.}
\footnotetext[241]{Cic. De re pub. 1.54. Modern debate has focused on the 'ideal' government proposed by Cicero as scholars attempt to define it and determine the broader implications tacitly contained within the text. It is generally agreed that Cicero preferred a mixed constitution, with a princeps at the top, acting as a king, the senate advising and the citizens having their input through elections (R. Reitzenstein, "Zu Cicero De Re Publica," Hermes 59, (1924): 360-61; How, "Cicero's Ideal in His de Republica," 29-30; Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," 51; Fuhrmann, Cicero and the Roman Republic: 114.). The debate focuses on Cicero's intention. How dismisses earlier theories that Cicero intended to justify Pompey's claim to establish a principate, stating instead that Cicero's ideal was both 'real and historical' and his moderator was Scipio himself (How, "Cicero's Ideal in His de Republica," 36-37, 39.). He is supported by Carter, who claims that governmental perfection had been achieved (J.M. Carter, "Cicero: Politics and Philosophy," in Cicero and Virgil: Studies in Honour of Harold Hunt, ed. John R. C. Martyn (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972): 35-36.). Wheeler takes How and Carter's arguments a step further and claims that Cicero saw himself as the ideal moderator (Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," 55-56.). Reitzenstein focuses on the degree to which Augustus based his government on Cicero's ideal (Reitzenstein, "Zu Cicero De Re Publica," 361-62.).}
\footnotetext[242]{Cic. De re pub. 1.61-62; Lintott, Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion: 234.}
Cicero, however, introduces the idea that the Roman administrative system was a success because it was *non unius esset ingenio, sed multorum* “based on the genius not of one man but of many.”

He follows this statement with a recitation of the achievements of each king of Rome in order to demonstrate that each contributed something good and useful to the state. Cicero does not condemn all kings without examination, and his study of Rome’s past has revealed the value of kings. He applies this to his philosophy, encouraging his audience to recognise and appreciate men who will guard and protect the state by their wisdom. Cicero, therefore, sees Numa as a positive character, and in turn he uses Numa to support his arguments.

Cicero adopts Numa as an authority in order to negate the political impact of Torquatus’ insistence that he was the “third foreign king” of Rome. Numa and Tarquinius emphasised that Cicero is *peregrinus*, since Numa Pompilius came to Rome from the Sabine town of Cures, and Lucumo Tarquinius Priscus came to Rome from the Etruscan town of Tarquinii. In a way similar to Numa and Tarquinius Priscus, Cicero claimed two homelands for himself, the place of his birth, Arpinum, and the place of his service, Rome. Cicero viewed Numa as a man of great religious knowledge, *sapientia*, who demonstrated the qualities Cicero valued in a leader, such as *mansuetudo* ‘clemency,’ and as such served as a positive exemplar of *virtus*. By

243 Cic. *De re pub.* 2.2.
244 Cic. *De re pub.* 2.37.
247 Cicero was born in Arpinum, not Rome and this municipal background became a political target for his enemies, as they believed, as noted by Ramage, “that what originated in and emanated from his city was far superior to anything outside.” Edwin S. Ramage, “Cicero on Extra-Roman Speech,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 92, (1961): 481. Although Ramage focuses on the accented Latin of the Italian and foreign men in Rome, many of the attitudes he explores can be applied to the general attitude to non-Romans in the city. On the foreign origin of the kings, see: Cic. *De re pub.* 2.25; Livy 1.18.1, 34.1-6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.58.3, 3.46-47; Plut. *Num.* 3. 4; Berry, *Cicero Pro P. Sulla Oratio*: 181.
supporting Torquatus’ comparison of Cicero and Numa, Cicero was suggesting that he possessed similar qualities.

Cicero stresses that Numa’s selection as rex alienigena in De re publica, over the leading men of Rome, was acceptable to the factions of the city because of his reputation for virtus and sapientia.249 Cicero has turned the earlier insult of Pro Sulla into a virtue by stressing that Numa was chosen based on his ability rather than on the city of his birth. Cicero could expect parallels to be drawn with his own election as consul, where he won all his elections based on his merits. Numa’s Sabine origin and his positive character conception allows Cicero to use him as a positive example of the election of foreign leaders, or ‘new men.’ To summarise, the idea of Numa is raised by Cicero in political and philosophical contexts. Politically, Cicero uses the negative elements of the tradition of Numa, that is his foreign birth and his status as a king, as invective against his opponents while deflecting such accusations when they were directed at him. Cicero also taps into the generally positive attitude towards Numa evident in the Republican tradition in his philosophical works. By doing this, Cicero is able to use Numa as one of the main reasons for Rome’s success and as an example of the ideal leadership which his contemporaries should be seeking. Cicero’s usage of the character of Numa demonstrates the ways in which the image of the king could be manipulated to suit the needs of the author.

Livy and Numa

Livy must be considered a transitional author who reflects Republican values in his writing. First, Livy’s ideals and values were developed in the last years of the Republic, as he was born c. 59 BC in Patavium and his pro-Senate writing suggests an Italian aristocratic background and is supported by his training in Greek, Latin and rhetoric. This traditional education would have focused on the development of character and the importance of mos maiorum and this would have established Livy’s

249 Cic. De re pub. 2.25.
Republican values although these were no doubt challenged during the civil wars which ended the Republican system.\textsuperscript{250}

Second, Livy’s sources were clearly Republican in origin, his main sources being identified as C. Licinius Macer, Q. Aelius Tubero and Valerius Antias.\textsuperscript{251} Macer was a prominent politician from 83 BC until his death in 66 BC, and his history, which began with the Regal period, reflects his political standing, in favour of the sovereignty of the Roman people.\textsuperscript{252} These political leanings are not reflected in the work of Livy, however, who takes a ‘senatorial’ approach. Tubero’s identity is relatively unknown, although it has been speculated that he was the patron of, and influenced, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy’s contemporary.\textsuperscript{253} Tubero’s work, as used by Livy, appears to have been a reworking of the history of Valerius Antias.\textsuperscript{254} It is not clear to what extent Livy used Tubero, although Ogilvie believes that Livy did not use Tubero extensively.\textsuperscript{255} Valerius, who wrote between 80 and 60 BC, does not appear to have had a political career and his work, which has a tendency to exaggerate, inserts his own family into important roles in history.\textsuperscript{256} While Livy claims to have consulted Greek and Latin annals, evidence suggests that his access to these materials was second-hand, and so his use of Valerius may well have been filtered through Tubero’s work, which might explain the differences between Valerius’ history and Livy’s account.\textsuperscript{257} In any case, his sources are certainly Republican and appear limited to the accounts of the aristocracy.

\textsuperscript{251} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 7ff.
\textsuperscript{253} W. Soltau, "Der Annalist Tubero," \textit{Hermes} 29, (1894): 631; Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 16-17.
\textsuperscript{254} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 17.
\textsuperscript{255} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 17.
\textsuperscript{257} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 6, 17. Howard notes that Livy only specifically refers to Valerius twice in the early books and approached this work with caution. Howard, "Valerius Antias and Livy," 162f.
Third, the dating of Livy’s writing places his account of Numa in particular into a manifestly Republican setting. Although the first books of Livy’s work contain references to Augustus and his actions, the first pentad was completed before 27 BC, which places it prior to Octavian having been awarded the title ‘Augustus’ and before the implementation of his policies and programs.\(^{258}\) The fact that these books were completed before the establishment of the principate limits influence by the propaganda of Augustus on Livy’s account of the Regal period. Livy is, therefore, the last ‘Republican’ author to present an account of the reign of Numa, and his work, in fact, represents the culmination of the Republican tradition.

Livy begins his account of Numa with a statement of his qualities which emphasises justice, piety and his knowledge of divine and human laws.\(^{259}\) Although this notice is provided as part of the reason for his being selected, it also provides Livy with the opportunity to introduce and dismiss Numa’s connection with Pythagoras. Livy does this not just to correct a common misconception, but also to emphasise that Numa’s reputation was based entirely on his natural character, rather than on Greek education.\(^{260}\)

Livy provides Numa’s first act upon arriving at Rome through a detailed account of a consultation of the augural omens, establishing that Numa followed the religious practices of the city from his arrival. Livy indicates that, although augurs practised in Rome, they had no official priesthood until Numa granted a permanent state position to

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\(^{259}\) Livy 1.18.1.

the augur who conducted the augural rites for Numa’s ascension to the throne. Livy thus began his account of Numa with the introduction of one of the major priestly colleges and his inclusion of augural details suggests an antiquity for the process and its relationship to Numa which was no longer common knowledge. He has also united Numa with Roman religious ideals.

Livy links the religious reforms of Numa with the establishment of peace. According to Livy, Numa’s first act was to build the temple of Janus as an indicator of war and peace. Having built this, he secured peace with Rome’s neighbours and closed the temple. Livy emphasises the significance of Numa’s closure by including reference to the only other times in Rome’s history when the gates were shut, demonstrating the scarcity of peace as it was celebrated by the city. This is an indication of the emphasis that Livy places on Numa’s reign as the inauguration of peace, and a clear hint of the nexus between Numa and Janus.

Also with a focus on peace, Livy provides details regarding the religious institutions founded by Numa. He includes in his catalogue the creation of the flamines for Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, so that their rites would not be neglected in times of war; the Vestal virgins, to whom Numa granted a stipend and whom he invested with sanctity; the twelve Salii of Mars Gradius, temples to Jupiter Elicius and Faith; and finally the places and practices of the Argei and the pontifex maximus, to whom Numa entrusted written directions for the maintenance of the state rites of worship. In the case of these priesthoods, Livy emphasises Numa’s role in establishing practices to create and maintain a successful relationship with the gods. Livy also claims that Numa, by focusing on religious matters, ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omnia vi et armis conserva “diverted the thoughts of the whole people from

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262 Livy 1.19.2-4.
263 Livy 1.20.1-7, 21.5.
violence and arms.” Livy needs to provide no further details in order to link these particular practices to the creation of peace, and he implies that their maintenance would preserve concord within the city. The brevity of detail given by Livy is a result of his concentration on peace and the moral purpose of Numa’s reforms. 

As with earlier sources, Livy too states that Numa pretended to meet with a goddess, Egeria, as the source of his religious commands, and that Numa then dedicated the grove where he claimed to meet with the goddess to complete this deception. The relationship between Numa and Egeria, as noted, was a long-established element of the tradition, and so inclusion of this material would have been required in any account of the king. Livy, however, uses the tradition as evidence of Numa’s understanding of the Romans, since they would not have turned to peace without such ‘divine’ intervention. Numa is, therefore, an exemplar of Roman character, and Livy’s explanation of his relationship to Egeria suggests a practical approach towards the institution of religion, in which Numa used fear and the beliefs of the common people to develop the state. This practicality was then imitated by Numa’s subjects, becoming a key element of the Roman character. Just as Cicero has adapted and emphasised the account of Numa’s character to suit his political and philosophical purpose, Livy has similarly stressed and interpreted Numa to meet his literary and political objectives. He uses Numa to demonstrate the positive impact of a role model on the Romans and to stress the importance of peace which is maintained or restored through correct religious practice.

264 Livy 1.21.1.
266 Livy 1.19.5; 21.3
Part Two: The Institutions of Numa

This section analyses the ‘history’ of the formation of the Vestal Virgins, the fetiales, the Temple of Janus and the Salian priests and I will ask whether it is likely that their establishment occurred in the reign of Numa and how they inter-relate with the tradition concerning Numa.

The Vestal Virgins

Despite a dearth of reliable Republican traditions, it is recorded that the establishment of the Vestal Virgins in Rome occurred very early in the history of the city and that the Vestals themselves were the daughters of the headman or king.268 Traditionally the Vestals comprised six priestesses who were chosen between the age of six and ten, to serve as virgins for thirty years. In order to qualify for this position, the girl had to be unmarred by physical blemish, mark or deformity, she had to speak without impediment, and both her parents were to be alive, to have experienced neither divorce nor emancipation from her paterfamilias, and to be from a superior family.269 A girl was exempt from selection if she had a sister who had already been chosen as a Vestal, or her father had served as an augur, flamen or in a specific priesthood, or if the girl was betrothed to a pontiff.270 They acted as intermediaries for the people with the gods, and their duties included purifying and sanctifying the religious rites of Rome.271 They played a significant role in religious matter throughout the Republic.272

In terms of a link with Numa, the traditions of the Vestal Virgins are unanimous. Varro states that Vesta, together with Pales, Salus, Fortuna, Fons, Fides, Feronia, Minerva and the Novensides, had Sabine origins and Varro believed that the worship of

268 Staples, From Good Goddess: 132-35; Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins?,” 68-71.
269 Gellius N.A. XII.2-5; Tac. Ann. 2.86.
270 Gellius N.A. XII.6-8
272 Cic. De re pub. 2.27.14; Livy 1.20.3; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.5; Ov. Fast. 4.257-60; Plut. Num. 9.5; Flor. 1.3; Gell. N.A. 1.12.10-11; Cass. 1.6; Prudent. C. Symm. 1.193-96.
Vesta, with a communal hearth tended by virginal priestesses, had been adopted from the local practices of the Sabine region. Livy, on the other hand, states that Numa adapted the concept of priestesses of Vesta from a practice in Alba Longa, as demonstrated by his account of the birth of Romulus and Remus and their mother, Rhea Silvia. According to this tradition, Rhea Silvia was forced into the service of Vesta at Alba Longa after her uncle, Amulius, had taken the throne from her father, Numitor, which was to prevent her from marrying and producing an heir to the throne. Although a Vestal, Rhea Silvia was raped, she claimed by Mars, and she became pregnant, eventually giving birth to twins.

Livy’s account serves two purposes, providing Rome with a divine origin for Romulus which added dignity to the beginning of the city and provided a reason for the creation of Rome in the first place. Livy, in the preface, has stated that if any state is deserving of such a divine origin, it is Rome, and the birth of the twin sons of Mars provides that foundation. As the bastard sons of a disgraced Vestal, Romulus and Remus, however, were a reminder of the corruption of the sacred hearth. As such, their presence in Alba Longa would have acted as a continued source of pollution of the city. For this reason, they had to leave, creating the excuse required to found a new city.

While Varro has focused on the linguistic origins of Latin words, explaining their origin through their etymology, Livy is providing an account of the city, focusing on the moral character of its great men. As Varro suggests, Vesta may have been appropriated from a Sabine dialect, but for Livy and others, her significance for the foundation of the city could not be overlooked and was more important than linguistic

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273 Varro Ling. 5.74.  
274 Livy 1.20.3.  
275 Livy 1.3.10-11.  
276 Tib. 2.5.51-54; Livy 1.4.2.  
277 Livy pre.7.  
278 Livy pre.7-8.
Livy is not alone in his belief, and Cicero too claims that the priestesses of Vesta were instituted in Rome by Numa. Since his mother was a disgraced Vestal Virgin, Romulus could not establish the cult of Vesta in Rome, and instead the establishment of the cult was left to his successor, Numa who had no direct connection with Romulus. As such, he was free of the taint caused by Romulus’ questionable parentage and could bring Rome under the divine protection of Vesta, ensuring the bloodlines of Rome remained strong and fruitful. Despite this, Varro claims that Tarpeia, who opened the gates of the city to the Sabines following the abduction of the Sabine women by the Romans and was subsequently killed by those whom she let in, was a Vestal. There is no other Republican evidence to suggest that Romulus founded the cult in any form within the city. The accounts of Cicero and Livy are consistent and likely represent the accepted tradition.

What practices of the cult of Vesta are revealed by Republican authors? Varro makes reference to a festival of Vesta called the Vestalia, presumably attended by the Vestals, at which he claims the temple of Vesta was swept and the rubbish disposed of in a specific spot on a certain day of the year. Varro also links the Vestals with the worship of Ops Consiva, whose shrine was inside the Regia and could be entered only by the flamen Dialis or by Vestals. Varro explains elsewhere that the shrine of Ops was established by Titus Tatius, which, therefore, places the creation of this shrine prior to the foundation of the priestess of Vesta, but this suggests that the restriction on entry was a later adaptation, probably accredited to Numa upon establishing the

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279 This significance relates to the Greek historians who had traced the founding of Rome back to a Trojan survivor, Aeneas, whose line established Alba Longa and so were the ancestors of Romulus. This placed Rome within the scope of Greek history, into a framework they understood. Cornell, The Beginnings of Rome: 36-37, 63-68.
280 Cic. De re pub. 2.27.14; Livy 1.20.3.
281 Cic. De re pub. 2.27.14; Livy 1.20.3.
282 Varro Ling. 5.74. In his translation of Livy, B. O. Foster notes that Tarpeia was a Vestal. However, there is nothing in the text to support his claim. See: B. O. Foster, Livy: History of Rome, Books 1-2 (Harvard: Loeb, 1919): 42.
283 Varro Ling. 6.17, 32.
284 Varro Ling. 6.21.
285 Varro Ling. 5.74.
Vestal Virgins. This shows that the authority attributed to Numa was superior even to long-established traditions.

Other duties are less controversial but limited in scope. Cicero states that it was the duty of the Vestal Virgins to guard the fire burning on the sacred hearth. He reveals too that a Vestal conducted the annual rites of Bona Dea, a festival restricted to women, and he notes that, on at least one occasion, the Senate consulted the Vestals regarding matters of sacrilege. Livy adds that the Vestals had charge of sacred objects, which they protected and cared for in their temple. This lack of detail regarding the duties of the Vestals in late Republican texts is paradoxically evidence of the continued importance of the cult as it would seem that Varro, Cicero and Livy have no need to provide the specifics of this institution because such information was widely known in Rome. As such, the audience of our authors was aware of the duties, punishments and origins of Vestal Virgins.

How important were the Vestals Virgins in the Republic? Cicero refers to the Vestals in political speeches, playing on the respect and reverence in which they were held. In *Pro Fonteio*, he reveals, for example, that Marcus Fonteius’ sister was a Vestal and that she had appeared before the court to speak on her brother’s behalf. That she was a character witness shows the high esteem of the Vestal Virgins. In a different context, when declaiming against Catiline, Cicero claims to have saved not just Rome but the Vestals from the depravity of Catiline, Lentulus and Gabinius. Cicero also

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286 Cic. *De Leg.* 2.20.
287 The Bona Dea scandal in 62 BC was an important event in Cicero’s political career. Publius Clodius Pulcher was accused of dressing as a woman in order to sneak into the Bona Dea ritual, conducted by a Vestal and held that year in the home of Julius Caesar, the pontifex maximus. Although Pulcher was found not guilty, the rites were polluted by his presence and the ritual had to be performed again. Cic. Att. 1.12.3, 13.2; *Hor. Resp.* 37-38; W. Jeffrey Tatum, “Cicero and the Bona Dea Scandal,” *Classical Philology* 85, (1990): 204; Staples, *From Good Goddess:* 13; W. Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999): 64; Wildfang, *Rome’s Vestal Virgins:* 98-99; Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome 1:* 129; Lintott, *Cicero as Evidence: A Historian’s Companion:* 117-18, 54-55.
288 This care included protecting the items from the Gauls in 390 BC. Livy 5.11.7-10.
289 This is an honour granted to the Vestals to distinguish them from normal women, who were not permitted to speak in law proceedings. Cic. *Font.* 46-49.
claims that he was encouraged by a Vestal to pursue this case. In Pro Caelio, he uses the story of the Vestal Claudia saving her father during his triumph as an image of correct womanly behaviour against Clodia, the wife of Quintus Metellus. Throughout his political speeches, Cicero was attempting to manipulate his audience into responding in a particular way and by using the Vestals to achieve his aims, he attempted to evoke outrage against his opponent.

Livy also similarly uses their reputation, on this occasion in the speech of Camillus, arguing against abandoning Rome for Veii in 390 BC. Ogilvie claims that this speech was an appeal by Livy for peace and the preservation of Rome’s traditions and customs. In this case, the Vestals are tied to the city and are a core component of the religious practices of the Romans. The use of Vestals by both Cicero and Livy reveal the respect with which the Vestals were regarded and it is clear that the Vestals played a public role in the Republic. The attribution of their institution in Rome to Numa, therefore, increases his religious authority.

Livy, like Cicero, provides evidence for occasions when Vestals played a historical role. In two instances, he reveals that Vestals had broken their vows of virginity, causing them to be buried alive near the Colline Gate. In his account, Livy has these events coincide with conflict between the plebeians and patricians, and he implies that the indiscretion of a Vestal either led to the conflict or was a result of it. This suggests that the Vestals were seen as a stabilising force in the city, ensuring

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291 Cic. Cael. 34.
293 Livy 5.52.7-13.
294 Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy: 743.
295 Livy 4.45.11-12, 8.15.7-8.
296 In 420 BC, the trial of the Vestal Postumia coincided with unrest between the patricians and plebeians. Livy 4.45.1-10. The conviction of the Vestal Minucia, in 337 BC, is linked by Livy with the election of the first plebeian praetor. Livy 8.15.9.
peace, and this feature of their importance perhaps explains their attribution to Numa, who first introduced peace as a permanent condition to Rome.

The overall impression of the Vestals from the literature of this period is one of purity and respect. The establishment of the Vestals in Rome was attributed solely to Numa, although some Romans believed the cult to have predated the foundation of the city and link it back to Alba Longa. Their religious duties were closely tied to purifying and sanctifying the city and were associated to the peace and safety of Rome, which together created further connections to Numa, whose reign was dedicated to religious innovation and peace. The Vestals remained a significant and prominent priesthood in the Republican period, as is shown by their role in politics and in the respect with which they were treated.

The Fetials

The fetials were a college of priests chosen from among the patricians, who originally acted as diplomats for the Romans, negotiating and enforcing treaties with their neighbours and ensuring that all wars entered into had the approval of the gods. In Republican literature, the foundation of the fetial college in Rome is not strongly associated with Numa but, the accounts regarding the origin of the fetiales are contradictory and confused. This suggests that Numa may have been associated with the establishment of this priesthood but that later propaganda changed this tradition, weakening their connection to Numa and leading to major inconsistencies.

Was there any clear link between Numa and the fetiales in the Republican traditions of the priesthood? The Romans believed that the practices of the fetials were ancient in origin and elements of their rites, described by Livy, support this belief. When, for example, the terms of a treaty had been agreed upon between the Romans

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297 Varro Ling. 5.86; Cic. De re pub. 2.17; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.72; Gell. AN 16.4.1; Plut. Num. 11.3; Weinstock, Divus Julius: 243-44; de Souza, "Porta victoriis pax," 77; Parchami, Hegemonic Peace and Empire: 18.
and their opponents, a stone knife was used to sacrifice a pig.\textsuperscript{298} This early practice is matched by another bronze age element of the fetial practice which involved the use of a fire-hardened wooden spear in the declaration of war.\textsuperscript{299} These primitive tools place the foundation of the fetial ritual to a time well prior to the reign of Numa.

Despite the antiquity of these practices, Cicero attributes the creation of the fetial rite to Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, it being a natural result of his military character.\textsuperscript{300} Tullus' motive, Cicero claims, was to ensure that wars "announced and declared" using this ritual would be just and pious.\textsuperscript{301} For this reason, the fetials reflect the nature of Tullus, a war-focused king, whose contribution to the Roman state matched his character. In contrast, it is not clear who Livy believes introduced the fetial cult to Rome, as his evidence is contradictory, emphasising both Tullus and Numa as potential founders.

Livy's first reference to fetial practice occurs in the earliest days of Tullus' reign, when the new king was actively seeking conflict; Tullus sent legati to the Albans with demands that he was allegedly confident the Albans would refuse.\textsuperscript{302} Although Livy calls the envoys used by Tullus legati rather than fetiales in this passage, their actions closely mimic the fetial ritual. Ogilvie states that Livy has implied that the procedures of the fetials had already been instituted and that this is evident in the processes followed by the legati.\textsuperscript{303} As recorded, the envoys are sent to demand restitution from the Albans, but when their ultimatum is refused, a period of thirty days elapsed before the declaration of war took effect.\textsuperscript{304} In imitation of fetial law, Tullus also calls the gods to witness which side first broke faith and should be held responsible for the ensuing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{298} Livy 1.24.6-9.
\item \textsuperscript{299} Livy 1.32.6-14; Watson, \textit{International Law}: 7; Bederman, \textit{International Law}: 234.
\item \textsuperscript{300} Cic. \textit{De re pub.} 2.31.
\item \textsuperscript{301} Cic. \textit{De re pub.} 2.31.
\item \textsuperscript{302} Livy 1.22.
\item \textsuperscript{303} Ogilvie, \textit{A Commentary on Livy}: 107.
\item \textsuperscript{304} Livy 1.22.4-5.
\end{itemize}
conflict. Tullus has followed this ritual, Livy includes, so that he *pie bellum indici posse* “can declare war religiously.” The focus of the entire passage is on war, and Livy is highlighting the difference between this king and his predecessor, Numa Pompilius. According to Livy, Tullus was *non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit* “not only unlike the last, but was actually more warlike than Romulus” and *undique materiam excitandi belli quaebat* “everywhere sought excuses for stirring up war.” In order to emphasise this difference, Livy has perhaps deliberately avoided reference in this context to Tullus’ use of an official priesthood, the fetials, so that he might limit the religious aspect of Tullus’ reign, distancing him from Numa, the creator of many of Rome’s sacred institutes. Later in the account, Tullus creates a treaty with the Albans, and Livy states emphatically *nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est* “nor has tradition preserved the memory of any more ancient compact.” Although no mention of the fetial college has been made, Tullus uses both the fetial right for treaty-making and fetial priests to negotiate and determine the terms of any agreement. Livy is claiming this to be the first time that this form of treaty was used and implies that the process described is still used in his time. The implication is that the fetial college had been established prior to Tullus’ need for their services, without any direct reference to the creation of the priesthood, and it is also implied that Tullus instituted the ritual for making treaties. It follows, therefore, that Livy believed the fetials must have been established prior to the reign of Tullus, and a likely candidate is Numa.

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305 Livy, 1.22.6.  
306 Livy 1.22.5. Foster has translated this as “declare war in good conscience”, however, given the fact that Tullus later in the same incident calls the gods to witness, I believe this to be a better translation.  
307 Livy 1.22.2.  
308 Livy 1.24.4.  
309 Livy 1.24.4-9.
However, Livy complicates the issue when he claims that Ancus Marcius introduced *ius fetiale* to Rome, as it had been practised by the Aequicoli. Modern scholars have used this statement to claim that Livy credited Ancus with the institution of the fetials, but that Livy was using two conflicting accounts without attempting to address the obvious discrepancy. A closer reading of Livy makes it clear, however, that he is not claiming that Ancus created the college but only gave them the law *quo res repetuntur* “by which redress is demanded.” Livy has not attributed the creation of the fetial college to either Tullus or Ancus, and he has merely depicted how these kings expanded the rituals and responsibilities of the priests. This ambiguity, therefore, makes it possible that Numa was in fact credited with the establishment of the priesthood.

Did fetials play a significant role in the Republic and was this significance linked to Numa? Varro explains that fetials ensured a just war, since they were sent to deal with the enemy before war could be declared, to demand restitution. For Varro, these actions are placed in the far past, actions the fetials had once undertaken, but in contrast, he states, *etiam nunc*, “even now,” that treaties are made by the fetials. Support for their continuing importance appears too in *In Verrem*, where Cicero reveals that Verres had received unspecified training in foreign relations from the fetials. Livy indicates that the procedure used by the fetials to create a treaty in the time of Tullus remained unchanged in his own time. While some of their functions, such as

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310 Livy 1.32.5.
311 Foster, *Livy: History of Rome, Books 1–2*: 114, n. 1; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*: 550. A different explanation has been provided by Robert J. Penella, who ascribes the incongruity to Livy’s purpose in his construction of the character of Ancus. For Penella, this king represented the medium between the extreme stereotypes experienced by Rome previously – the military kings, Romulus and Tullus, and the secular, priestly king, Numa, and so the *ius fetiale* represents a similar balance between religion and war that Livy could not ignore, which explains his attempt to link the practice with Ancus. Robert J. Penella, “War, Peace, and ius fetiale in Livy 1,” *Classical Philology* 82, (1987): 234-37.
312 Livy 1.32.5.
313 Varro Ling. 5.86.
314 Varro Ling. 5.86.
315 Cic. Verr. 2.5.49.
316 Livy 1.25.1.
demanding reparation and declaring war, had been delegated, they still played an active role in Roman foreign affairs in the late Republic and therefore remained a prominent and respected college. In his study of the college, John Rich notes that they were “consulted … on ritual issues within their field of expertise,” but other functions attributed to them arise in later traditions and are, therefore, suspect.\textsuperscript{317} As such, their resemblance to other cults established by Numa would have been apparent.

The Republican accounts of the fetial priesthood focus on their role in declaring war and strongly associate the college with Tullus Hostilius, a king whose reign is almost completely filled with war. However, the ambiguity of Livy’s account suggests that fetials were created by an earlier king, allowing later authors to speculate and form new associations for the college in line with the propaganda of their time. It is clear that the fetials were actively involved in Rome’s foreign relations throughout the Republic despite the fact that their role had been curtailed over time, with their duties passing to secular magistrates. Their remaining duties were in keeping with the character of Numa and the fetials remained prominent and respected, suggesting that positions within the college must have been highly sought for their potential political power.

\textbf{The God Janus}

One of the most important gods in the Roman pantheon was Janus. He marked the opening of the year and was called upon first in all oaths.\textsuperscript{318} His place as the God of January was established by the calendar reforms attributed to Numa. The most important shrine of Janus was located in the Forum and served as a visible symbol of


\textsuperscript{318} Dumezil, \textit{Archaic Roman Religion}: 327; Wissowa, \textit{Religion und Kultus}: 103; Takács, \textit{Vestal Virgins, Sibyls and Matrons}: 29.
war and peace for the city, giving it both political and religious significance, and the shrine was believed to have been built at the direction of Numa.\(^{319}\)

What can the location of the shrine reveal about Numa? Piso states that the shrine of Janus was the ‘third’ gate of the inside wall, and that it contained a statue of Janus;\(^{320}\) Varro adds that there were originally hot springs near the shrine of Double Janus;\(^{321}\) and Livy places the shrine in the Forum at the bottom of the Argiletum.\(^{322}\) The location of this shrine of Janus in the Forum placed it in a central location that was associated with the politics of the regal and Republican periods, the heart of the state. Its placement also creates an association with other ancient cults, as the temple of Vesta, the house of the Vestals and the Regia were in close proximity. All of these buildings were attributed to the reign of Numa. Wright claims that the path it sits on was originally part of the Sacra Via, the sacred road of Rome, along which triumphs and religious processions passed.\(^{323}\) This reinforces the physical connection between the buildings of Vesta, the Regia and the shrine of Janus and also emphasises their united religious role, an essential element of the reign of Numa.

The gate of Janus in the Forum became famously an indicator of war and peace. Varro, quoting Piso, states that the gate was not closed \textit{nisi cum bellum sit nusquam} “except when war is nowhere.”\(^{324}\) When Varro was writing, it had been closed twice, first, while Numa was king and again at the end of the first Punic War, although this second closure was brief, as it reopened in the same year it was closed.\(^{325}\) Livy provides a similar explanation for the gates, stating that it served as \textit{indicem pacis}

\(^{320}\) Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.165.
\(^{321}\) Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.156. The Double Janus could refer to the statue located inside the temple, which was double faced or to the structure itself, which took the form of two gates, connected by walls. Warde Fowler, \textit{Roman Festivals}: 286; Wissowa, \textit{Religion und Kultus}: 104.
\(^{322}\) Livy 1.19.2.
\(^{323}\) Wright, "Janus Shrine," 79.
\(^{324}\) Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.165.
\(^{325}\) Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.165.
bellique “as an index of peace and war,” and when open Rome was at war, but when closed, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret “all the peoples round about were pacified.”326 He includes reference to the closure by Manlius at the end of the first Punic War and adds that Numa secured, through alliances and treaties, peace with Rome’s neighbours before closing the gate.327 The first Punic War had been an extended conflict that severely tried the resources of Rome and the closure of the Temple of Janus marked the monumental achievement of Rome’s victory. The magnitude of this event was unmatched in the proceeding wars and could be the reason that the gates of Janus remained open for the remainder of the Republican era. The use of the gates of Janus was clearly important for the Republicans, and the limited number of closures indicates the emphasis placed on war in this period.328

A reference to Janus occurs in the fragmented hymn of the Salii, which itself has been recorded by Varro. As the Salii were also instituted by Numa, the use of Janus in their hymn demonstrates a deep connection between Numa and Janus, as well as between Numa and the Salii, and the Salii and Janus. The surviving section of the hymn referring to Janus links the song to the beginning of spring.329 Here Janus is called the ‘Doorkeeper,’ the ‘Good Creator’ and the ‘Good God of Beginnings.’330 As the god of the doorway, Janus represented transition, from outside to inside, and from public to private. It is easy to understand how an association between the god of transitions and a festival of transition, either from peace to war or from winter to spring, developed.331 Janus appears as a god of transition in the Republican era, associated with agriculture, change and war. The gates dedicated to him in the Forum by Numa had visible, political implications and remained important indicators of peace and war.

326 Livy 1.19.2.
327 Livy 1.19.3-4.
328 The importance of the closure of the Gates of Janus are discussed in Chapter Two, p 99f.
329 Varro Ling. 7.26.
throughout the period. His association with Numa was further developed by an
association with the Salii through their song. The continuous expansion of Rome’s
dempire during the Republican period created opportunities for political and monetary
advancement, and this greed for glory and money is reflected in the fact that the gates
of Janus were only closed once in the Republican period. This period created a
contrast with the reign of Numa, during which the Gates were built and closed for
approximately forty years. For this reason Numa’s reputation for peace and frugality
was firmly established.

The Salii

In the Republican literature, the colleges of the Salian priests were viewed as
ancient. Livy states that the Salii wore an embroidered tunic, bronze breastplate and
each carried an ancile as they danced through the city, giving them the appearance of
ancient warriors.\footnote{Livy 1.20.4. See also Ennius Ann. 2.2 fr. 114 (120); Varro Ling. 7.43.}
As noted above, their establishment is linked to the original
settlements of the region, one of Romans on the Palatine and Latin or Sabine on the
Quirinal, with the colleges of Salii representing the warriors of each settlement, and
with the priesthood dedicated to Mars.\footnote{Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals: 43.}
Few references to the Salii have survived in
the Republican tradition, however, and these shed little light on their functions in
Roman society.

Both Cicero and Livy attribute the creation of the priesthood to Numa as part of
the religious innovation of his reign, but the Salii are mentioned only in passing by
these authors, as part of a list ascribed to Numa, and they are attributed no particular
prominence or importance.\footnote{Cic. De re pub. 2.14.27; Livy 1.20.4.}
Varro connects the name of the priesthood with the verb
salitare “to dance,” on the grounds that, during their annual ceremonies, the priests
danced.\footnote{Varro Ling. 5.85.}
understanding of poetry and music evident in the songs of the Salii. It remained a popular priesthood, despite its origin, meaning, function and relationship to Numa’s kingship having been lost.

The existence of two colleges of Salii is explained in the Republican tradition by the priesthood having been enlarged after Numa’s time. In addition to the twelve Salii instituted by Numa, a second college was said to have been dedicated by Tullus in order to prevent a military disaster. It is clear that Tullus was thought to have been attempting to imitate Numa and win favour with the gods by instituting the second college, and this in fact is the only successful religious reform attributed to his reign, but this serves to emphasise the contrast between peaceful Numa and warrior Tullus.

The Salian hymn has a Republican pedigree, as Livy and Cicero note the existence of the song, they do not include any of the words. Varro describes fragments of the hymn sung by the Salii as part of their annual rites, stating ut in Carmine Saliorum prosicium est “in the Song of the Salii is slice,” Mamuri Veturi “O Mamuris Veturius” and Luciam Volumniam Saliorum Carminibus appellari “the Salian Song names Lucia Volumina.” An extract is even provided by Varro;

Conzevi oborieso. Omnia vero ad Patulcium commissei. Ianeus iam
es, duonus Cerus es, duonus lanus. Venies potissimum melios eum
recum

336 Cic. De or. 3.197.
337 The Roman colony of Fidenae, under the urging of the Albans, had rebelled against Rome and Tullus led his army against them. The Albans marched with Rome but as the battle began pulled away from their assigned position to expose the Roman flank. Informed of this betrayal, Tullus vowed to establish twelve Salian priests and build shrines for Pallor and Panic. This college was in service to Quirinus. While the two colleges could represent the two settlements which merged to form Rome, they also, through the gods with which they are associated, reflect a connection with war. Livy 1.28.1-7; Ramsay, A Manual of Roman Antiquities: 333; Dumezil, Archaic Roman Religion: 146, 276; Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals: 41.
338 Cic. De or. 3.197; Livy 1.20.4.
“O Planter God, arise. Everything indeed have I committed to (you as) the Opener. Now are you the Doorkeeper, you are the Good Creator, the Good God of Beginnings. You will come especially, you the superior of these kings.” 340

Varro’s repeated attempts to explain the meaning of these fragments indicate that the Romans had forgotten the original meaning of the Salian hymn by his time,341 but, as noted, the inclusion of “treaty” among the words of the hymn recorded by Varro suggests a connection with the practices of the fetial priests, which would be in keeping with a priesthood guiding the city from peace to war and back again.342 For the larger fragment recorded by Varro, Hempl adapted corrections to the text, so that it becomes:

“Come forth with the cuckoo! Truly all things do you make open. You are Janus Curiatius, the good creator are you. Good Janus is coming, the chief of the superior rulers.” 343

Both translations link the Salian rites with fertility and the beginning of spring, rather than the opening and closing of the war season. This reflects the view that Mars was originally a god of vegetation.344 If the Salii celebrate Mars in this guise, their creation by Numa makes better sense, as his reign was believed to provide plenty through an agricultural focus rather than through war. According to Varro, the Salii Agonenses, otherwise known as the Salii Collini, kept records in which the day of the Liberalia was called the Agonia.345 Although this college was established by Tullus, its association with written religious records points to the tradition of Numa.

340 Varro Ling. 7.26.
341 Varro Ling. 6.49.
342 Varro 7.27; Dumezil, Archaic Roman Religion: 276.
345 Varro Ling. 6.14.
How important was this priesthood in the Republican period? The annual festival gave priests a chance to demonstrate their religious commitment and military ability in a visible display before the voting public, and this is one reason for their continued prominence. Polybius reveals that Publius Scipio was a Salian priest, and that he performed in the rituals of March in 190 BC, which delayed him from joining the army against Antiochus.\(^{346}\) This demonstrates that it was common for members of prominent patrician families to belong to the Salian colleges and suggests that a level of prestige was attached to the priesthood in the middle Republican period.

As we have observed, the Salii were important priests during the Republic, and they included members of the most prominent families, such as the Scipiones.\(^{347}\) Their prominent presence in annual festivals made holding this priesthood attractive to magisterial candidates, and their war-like emphasis earned the respect of the people. Despite this, the meaning of the song sung in the festival each year was lost, as evidenced by attempts to explain it, but this failure to understand the words became evidence for the antiquity of the cult. The antiquity with which the Romans regarded the Salii partly explains why they attributed the creation of the first college to Numa. Although the Salii became associated with war, the references to fertility in the surviving fragments of their song are suggestive of an earlier role as agricultural priests in an era of peace and prosperity, which makes sense of the tradition that assigns their origins to Numa.

**Conclusion**

The evidence for Numa from the Republican period is extensive, and creates a consistent image of the second king. This image was based on the histories and

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\(^{346}\) This is the cause of some confusion, as Polybius indicates that Publius was the consul when, in fact, the consul for that year was his brother, Lucius. It is not clear which of these brothers was the Salian priest, as Polybius clearly claims both Publius and the consul for the year and there is no way to find the answer. Polyb. 21.13; Scullard, *A History of the Roman World: 753 to 164 BC*: 418-19; Smith and Lawrence, *The History of Rome: From Early Times to the Establishment of the Empire*: 81.

\(^{347}\) Polyb. 21.13.
genealogies of aristocrats and appeared on their monuments and coins. The face of Numa appeared, in a fixed form, by 97 BC, and it depicted him with the full beard and longer hair which had consistently come to represent the rustic ideal of the Sabines, who were viewed as frugal and religious. This ideal is reflected in the literary depiction of Numa. The repeated reference to specific religious institutions attributed to Numa, such as the pontiffs, Vestals and Salii, combined with elements such as his relationship with Egeria and connection with Pythagoras, suggests that these traditions were established early, probably by Ennius, and that they contained elements that were expected in any later treatment of this king. He is portrayed as a man of religious practicality and Sabine frugality whose main contributions to the development of Rome were the institution of a wide range of priesthoods, festivals and religious practices, and the establishment of an era of peace and prosperity. His religious authority was largely attributed to his relationship with divine and mythical beings, especially the nymph Egeria. The reign of Numa was used to reflect the values of the Romans, expressing virtues such as *virtus*, *sapientia* and *pietas*. The consistent dismissal of the story that Numa studied under Pythagoras reflects national pride and rising anti-Greek sentiment of the Romans, as well as historical awareness of the problem.

Although key elements were expected within accounts of Numa, his life and actions were open to interpretation. Cicero adjusted the image of Numa to suit his philosophic or political needs, playing on the antipathy of the Romans towards monarchy, while simultaneously presenting a positive impression of the king in his philosophical works. Livy focuses on the elements of Numa’s reign that present a morally upright image of the king and emphasise the establishment and maintenance of peace. Despite the changing emphasis of these accounts, the reports of Numa’s reign remain consistent.

The major institutions attributed to Numa, as they are represented in the Republican period, promote the ideals of peace and war celebrated by the Romans,
which were firmly connected to the reign of Numa. The association of these institutions with Numa formed part of the consistent image of the king and the ideals they embody will be established here in order to provide a deeper comprehension of the ‘Republican’ character of Numa. The consistent image of these institutions creates a basis for comparison with ‘Augustan’ accounts. The Vestals, who were established officially in Rome by Numa, were connected with internal concord and the safety of the city. Their purity symbolised physical protection for Rome, and instances of their impurity were linked with those of discord among the citizens. Their prominence and the central placement of their temple, also built by Numa, visibly demonstrated the continuity of their cult and was evidence of the forethought of their founder. The literary portrayal of the Vestals is as consistent as the portrayal of Numa himself.

The temple of Janus in the Forum has also been dated to the earliest settlement of the site, serving as the gate of the inner wall of the early city. The importance of war in the Republican period, which served to assist men in their political ambitions, is reflected in the function of the temple, believed to have been built by Numa, as an indicator of war and peace. The temple was closed only once in the Republican period. Janus’ position as a god of transition was also implied by his placement, by Numa, at the beginning of the Roman year. The proximity of the gates of Janus to the temple of Vesta, and his appearance in the hymn of the Salii associate three of these priesthoods, reinforcing their foundation under the reign of a single king. The connection of all three with the transition to, or maintenance, of peace demonstrates the importance of this concept for the reign of Numa.

Like the Vestals, the Salii, however, pre-date the regal period and were obviously a cult of the earliest settlement. It is clear that they originally served an agricultural role which, as their main festivals coincided with the beginning and close of the war season, developed into a celebration of military prowess. The Romans had, however, forgotten this early agricultural role, and the extensive attempts to reconstruct
their meaning demonstrate both their significance and their antiquity. Despite the obscurity of their origins, the *Salii* remained an important cult of the Republic, with prominent men holding membership of the priesthood.

The fetials represented a similar balance of war and peace in the Republic, although they were not as prominent as the Vestals, the Salii or Janus. Their rites were impractical for the declaration of war once the borders of Rome expanded beyond the Italian peninsula, which led to a decline in the viability of the priesthood as a means of declaring war, reducing its political significance. The priesthood survived and its exclusivity maintained its prominence. Although Republican sources do not link this cult directly with Numa, the early date of its institution allows room for linking it with this king.

The consistent image of Numa is matched by the consistent accounts of the Vestals, Salii and Janus and likely date to the earliest histories of the Romans. These accounts were, however, open to manipulation and interpretation and were used for the promotion or denigration of politicians. As such, the image of Numa and the cults associated with him were a potentially powerful political tool.
Chapter Two: The Literary Tradition of Numa in the Augustan Age

Although the literary tradition surrounding the reign of Numa remained largely unchanged in the Republican period, imperial accounts developed greater detail and adaptations. Modern scholarship has neglected to chart these changes and no attempt has been made to explain the cause of the development of the literary image of Numa Pompilius. In this chapter, accounts of Numa from the Augustan principate are compared with those of the Republican era. Where changes are identified, historical events of the period are examined in order to suggest motives for the variation of what was a long established tradition.

The main authors of this period to deal with Numa are Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Publius Ovidius Naso. Dionysius claims that he reached Rome in 30 BC, and began research for his historical text that year.348 His work on Rome, Roman Antiquities, fits into the pre-existing literary fashion at Rome, since other authors such as Varro and Livy, also demonstrate an increased interest in the origins of the city.349 Although Dionysius lived in Rome during the formation of the Augustan principate, there is no evidence to support a direct connection between Dionysius and the princeps, and his work cannot be viewed as “conformity or flattery.”350 Dionysius repeatedly provides Rome with Greek origins, which has led to the belief that he was attempting to persuade a Greek audience to accept Rome’s dominance, but this idea has been challenged by H. Hill, who argues that these repeated insertions of Greek origins reflect Dionysius’ reaction to the anti-Greek sentiment he found in Rome.351 This must be kept in mind when reading his account of Numa’s reign, which has the potential to include Greek practices or ideals.

351 Hill, "Dionysius," 90-93.
What influence did the events Dionysius witnessed have on his account of Numa? Dionysius uses events he witnessed, or were still recent and under discussion, to embellish the account of Numa. He states that “many different stories concerning” Romulus’ death exist and focuses on one he finds “more plausible,” that the senators killed Romulus in the senate-house and proceeded to remove his body in pieces hidden within their clothes and secretly buried them.\(^{352}\) Dionysius accredits the murder of the beloved leader of the city to the senators who feared his tyranny, and this emphasis suggests that Dionysius was using the assassination of Julius Caesar by senators who feared the power he had accumulated as a model for his account of the death of Romulus. In addition, he attributes the worship of the deified Romulus, under the name of Quirinus, to Numa “by the creation of a temple and by sacrifices throughout the year.”\(^{353}\) In a similar way, Octavian arranged for the deification of his predecessor, Julius Caesar, using the appearance of a comet at his funeral games as a sign of his apotheosis.\(^{354}\) Dionysius states that the Romans were so impressed by Numa that they met him along the road as he approached the city and conducted him into the city with honours and salutations.\(^{355}\) This addition is also appears based on recent events, as it is recorded that upon Octavian’s return to Rome in 29 BC, he was met by a procession of citizens, led by the Vestals, who then escorted him into the city in thanks for the end of the civil war.\(^{356}\) These examples suggest that Dionysius was strongly influenced by the events of the early principate.

Ovid wrote political satire of Augustus’ legislation and the *principate*.\(^{357}\) As a well-educated man of equestrian rank and Italian background, Ovid had considerable

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\(^{352}\) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.56.1, 3-5.
\(^{353}\) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.63.3.
\(^{354}\) Suet. *Iul.* 88; Cass. Dio 45.7.1.
\(^{355}\) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.60.3-4. Plutarch follows this tradition, stating that the Senate and people met him with cries of joy and sacrifices of thanksgiving. Plut. *Num.* 7.1.
knowledge of Rome’s past, and his use of Numa Pompilius cannot be dismissed as pandering to the Augustan regime, although his works are undoubtedly influenced by it.

The physical image of Numa was established on the coins of the Republic, by a statue on the Capitol and, arguably, on the Basilica Aemilia among the friezes of Roman-Sabine legends, where Numa is seemingly depicted as an older man with a full beard. Virgil includes Numa in his parade of heroes in *The Aeneid*, but Numa is not referred to by name but is instead described in such a way that there is no doubt as to his identity. Before being recognised, *procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae sacra ferens* “he is apart, crowned with sprays of olive, offering sacrifice.” This is apparently enough for Virgil’s audience to identify Numa, whose religious nature is reflected in the many religious institutes he is associated with founding. Virgil adds to the description, having Anchises state, *nosco crinis incanaque menta regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem fundabit, Curibus parvis et pauper terra missus in imperium magnum*, “Ah, I recognise the hoary hair and beard of that king of Rome who will make the infant city secure on a basis of laws, called from the needy land of lowly Cures to sovereign might.” Virgil emphasises Numa’s legislative contribution to Rome’s foundation – he protects the city through law – and the foreign nature of the king, who comes to Rome from Cures. He is describing a figure he expects his audience to easily recognise from the few features mentioned – the hair and beard, the act of sacrifice, laws and his connection with Cures. Virgil’s audience, including the educated of Rome, and especially Augustus and his family, must have been able to recognise the figure from these snippets. This ready recognition arises from promotion of Numa by

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359 For analysis of these images, see Chapter One, page 38-43.


361 Verg. Aen. 6.809-12.

Augustus through his religious restoration and his stress on the peace he brought to Rome.

The Vestal Virgins

As observed in Chapter One, only a few references to the origins of the Vestals, their duties and punishments appear in extant Republican sources, but knowledge of the priestesses was common and needed no explanation. Republican sources consistently attribute the establishment of their practice to the reign of Numa, and this notion continues in Augustan literature, as even Dionysius of Halicarnassus claims that the Vestals were the fifth religious act of the second king. Ovid, too, notes that the Vestal practices were introduced forty years after the city was founded, by the peaceful king. In addition, both Dionysius and Ovid, following Republican tradition, attribute the building of the temple to Vesta in the Forum to Numa. Varro argued that the origin of Vestal practices was Sabine, and Livy states that they originated in Alba Longa. Ovid continues this tradition, stating *iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos* “Now pious Aeneas will bring the *sacra* and, no less sacred, his father. Vesta, admit the gods of Ilium.” Ovid has Vesta accept the gods of Troy, implying that Vesta was already present in Italy prior to Aeneas’ arrival. Dionysius explicitly claims that Aeneas introduced Vesta to Italy. Dionysius implies a further Trojan connection by claiming that the Palladium of Ilius or other holy objects

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363 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.5.


366 Varro Ling. 5.74; Livy 1.20.3.


368 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.65.2. Dionysius also acknowledges the origins as portrayed by Livy. This is an understandable contradiction, as Dionysius traces the founding of Alba Longa to Aeneas’ Trojan son, Iulus/Ascanius and so the worship of Vesta is a Trojan influence on Alba Longa.
carried from the city by Aeneas were stored in the temple of Vesta. Why did the origins of the worship of Vesta come to be associated with Aeneas?

Julius Caesar stressed the descent of the Julian family from Aeneas and Venus, culminating in his dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix in 46 BC. This line of mythology was continued by Augustus and used by Virgil to develop the Roman sense of nation pride, which found expression in his poem, *The Aeneid*, in 19 BC. The Trojan origins of the worship of Vesta are, therefore, a reflection of the nationalism sweeping Rome in the Augustan age which aimed to promote and explain the supremacy of their state over the Mediterranean world, but it also put Augustus in the forefront of the cult, as his ancestor was the one to bring the cult to Italy.

Dionysius explains why Romulus, who had experience of the cult of Vesta at Alba Longa, did not establish the priestesses and their sacred fire in Rome. Although “nothing is more necessary for men than a public hearth” and the cult had been preserved by his ancestors, Romulus instead established hearths for each of the thirty *curiae*, according to Greek custom, because his own mother had been a defiled Vestal. This explanation does not appear in any Republican account, and this suggests that Dionysius was attempting to explain the oversight for his Greek audience.

Dionysius also outlines the length of service of a Vestal Virgin and how her time was spent, reporting that the Vestals were required to remain “undefiled” for thirty

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years, with their service divided into decades – the first spent learning their duties, the second performing them and the third teaching. This is the first time that expansive details appears in the literary accounts about the Vestals, and this level of detail is also found in his account of the punishments inflicted on the Vestals for misdeeds, as defined and overseen by the pontiffs. For lesser errors, the Vestal would be beaten with rods, but for loss of virginity, the convicted Vestal was ritually buried alive. Ovid confirms that unchaste Vestals were to be buried, although he predicts that none would need such punishment under the supervision of Augustus. Dionysius further provides examples of occasions on which miracles occurred to redeem falsely accused priestesses: when a cold fire reignited for Aemelia; and when Tuccia was able to carry water in a sieve from the Tiber to the Forum. These examples and the other material provided by Dionysius suggest an increased amount of information available on the role of the Vestals in Rome, indicating a new interest. What could have sparked this interest?

Additional details regarding the festivals of the Vestals begin to appear too. Ovid states that “Vesta’s day,” the day of celebration in her honour, occurred between the 28th and 30th of April each year. This was in addition to the rites of Vesta celebrated in June. He gives the Vestals a role at both the Fordicalia, where they burn the calves taken from sacrificed pregnant cows, and the Paralia, where the ashes of the calves are used to purify the city. These two festivals were also, according to Ovid, initiated by Numa, in response to the failure of crops. Despite this overt connection to fertility, I have argued (p65) that the role of the Vestals was in fact one of purification. Ovid builds on this to create a connection between the purification rites of

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373 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.67.2.
380 Ov. Fast. 4.641-42.
the Vestals and the Tiber. He reports that the debris collected during the annual cleansing of the temple of Vesta, which occurred on 15\textsuperscript{th} July, was thrown into the Tiber.\textsuperscript{381} In addition, at the conclusion of the festival of the Argei, the Vestals threw straw men into the river.\textsuperscript{382} The prominent appearance of the Vestals in these festivals is further evidence of their increased prominence in the ritual life of the Augustan Age.

The increased attention paid to the Vestals led to further exploration of the goddess Vesta herself. Dionysius and Ovid state that Vesta and Tellus were the same, occupying the centre of the universe,\textsuperscript{383} and she is named the daughter of Ops and Saturn, sister to Juno and Ceres. Unlike her sisters, however, she allegedly refused marriage, which Ovid claims was the reason that she was represented as “undying fire,” a flame that provides no life.\textsuperscript{384} In addition, Ovid records that an attempt to defile Vesta by the god Priapus was prevented by the braying of a donkey, and he uses this to explain why these creatures became sacred to Vesta.\textsuperscript{385} These stories emphasise the virginity and purity of the goddess Vesta, which was reflected in the virginity of her priestesses, and they suggest that Vesta was unbreachable.

Why was the cult of Vesta and the role and history of her priestesses being given prominence? What was their historical development in this period? In 35 BC, according to Dio, Octavian arranged for his wife, Livia, and his sister, Octavia, to be declared sacrosanct, like the tribunes, and to be given the right to manage their own affairs, without a guardian.\textsuperscript{386} It has been noted that the phrasing used by Dio in regard to this protection is most likely to be merely “analogous to that enjoyed by the

\textsuperscript{381} Ov. Fast. 6.227-8, 711-14.
\textsuperscript{382} Ov. Fast. 5.621-22.
\textsuperscript{383} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.66.3; Ov. Fast. 6.459-60.
\textsuperscript{384} Ov. Fast. 6.283-95.
\textsuperscript{385} Ov. Fast. 6.319-48.
\textsuperscript{386} Cass. Dio 49.38.1.
tribunes,” but since Susan Treggiari claims that these honours were unprecedented for women, the ‘tribune-like’ privileges given to Livia and Octavia were in many ways like those accorded to the Vestal Virgins, who had the right to manage their own affairs and to write their own wills. In addition, Vestal Virgins were sacrosanct, as Plutarch reveals when he explains their burial alive, if they were found guilty of defilement. So by conferring sacrosanctity and the right to manage their affairs, Octavian placed both Octavia and Livia on the same standing as Vestal Virgins.

Why did Octavian want these rights to be given to his closest female relatives? In 35 BC, Octavian was subverting the remaining power of his erstwhile triumviral partner, Lepidus who had been promoting his religious authority. Lepidus, as pontifex maximus, had previously advertised his connection to the Vestal Virgins, over whom he had supervisory control from his priestly office. In 36 BC, for example, he issued an aureus which emphasised this association, featuring his portrait on the obverse and the

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389 Cic. De re pub. 3.17; Plut. Num. 10.3-4; Gell. NA 1.12.9. This link to the Vestals has been noted by Scheid, see: Scheid, “Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism and Innovation,” 179.
391 Alfredo De La Fe, "The Coin Project," Crawford 494/1.
Vestal Aemilia, a member of Lepidus' family, on the reverse. Lepidus had been clearly promoting his relationship, both through family connections and through his role as pontifex maximus, with this cult which was associated with the continued safety and dominance of Rome. Although Octavian had no personal connections with the Vestal Virgins, except that he was a pontifex and perhaps wanted at this time to be pontifex maximus, he was forced to find an alternative way to promote his authority. By obtaining the rights of the priestesses for Octavia and Livia, Octavian essentially connected the Vestals, and the protection of Rome, to his family. More than this, he placed women of Vestal status under his care and protection in the same way that these priestesses were traditionally under the care and protection of the pontifex maximus, and in this way Octavian usurped the role held by Lepidus. The statues of Octavia and Livia, which were decreed at the same time that they gained these rights, must have further promoted their status, since few women had ever been accorded statues in the city.

When Augustus received the position of pontifex maximus in 12 BC, he assumed a position of supreme authority over the Vestal Virgins previously held by Lepidus. Tradition dictated that he move into the Regia, the ancient palace of Numa, located beside the temple of Vesta in the Forum. Instead, he moved the office of the pontifex maximus to his own home on the Palatine and passed possession of the Regia to the Vestal priesthood. In addition, he established a shrine to Vesta within his house, opening up that area to the public and firmly linking himself and his domus to the worship of the goddess. By establishing this second place of worship, in his home, Augustus strongly associated himself and his family, the domus Augusta, with

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392 See Figure 9.
393 Cass. Dio 49.38.1.
394 The authority of the pontifex maximus over the Vestal Virgins had been emphasised by a series of aureus in 42 BC featuring the Vestal Aemilia and Lepidus, the pontifex maximus. See: Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 494.1.1.
395 Ov. Fast. 4.945-50; Cass. Dio 54.27.3.
the Vestal Virgins and the continuation of their cult practices. This established the
dominance of his household over this aspect of Roman religion.

Among his social reforms, Augustus issued legislation which imposed penalties
on men and women who were not married or had no children, the *Lex Julia de
maritandis ordinibus* in 18 BC, which was followed by the more lenient *Lex Papia
Poppaea* in AD 9. The main consequence of these laws was to impose limits on the
right to any inheritance willed to men who were unmarried and to men and women who
had no children, in order to encourage marriage and procreation among the upper
classes.397 Political advancement was extended to legitimate fathers, allowing them to
stand for public office earlier than the expected age and exempting them from certain
onerous legal duties.398 Augustus also granted privileges to women who had given birth
to three living children, removing the legal requirement that required them to have a
guardian to approve their independent legal transactions.399 The right to conduct their
own business affairs, without a guardian, had already been a long-standing right of the
Vestal Virgins, but Cassius Dio reports that Augustus in AD 9 granted the Vestals the
privileges enjoyed by women who had borne children.400 This exemption had already
been awarded to Livia in 9 BC, following the death of her son, Drusus.401 These
changes indicate that the original law of 18 BC had not provided exemptions from its
exacting criteria, and so inadvertently had included the Vestals in the restrictions that
were imposed on unmarried and childless women, and so at this time it removed their
previous privileges. These priestesses were of such importance to the image of his
regime and family which Augustus sought to promote that it is doubtful that he would

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397 Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: iusticoniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian*
399 Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*: 69; Andrew Lintott, *The Romans in the Age of Augustus* (United
Kingdom: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2010): 98.
400 Cass. Dio 56.10.2-3.
401 Cass. Dio 55.2.5; Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," 17; Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*: 79;
have wanted to enforce these restrictions on the Vestals. In 9 AD, by means of a revised edition of the law and in his new role as pontifex maximus, Augustus conferred appropriate exemptions from the legislation. With his religious image in mind, Augustus officially extended the exemption to the Vestals, symbolically promoting his wife in a position which would invite direct comparison with the Vestals, reinforcing the existing ties between the essential hearth of Rome and his family, the domus Augusta.

The priesthood of Vesta, like a number of the early cults, had originally been restricted to the patricians but had been opened to plebeian girls during the Republic. The exclusivity of membership was one of the ways in which the sanctity of the colleges was maintained, but Augustus was to change this. Sometime after 12 BC, Augustus encountered difficulty filling a vacant position that arose in the priesthood upon the death of a Vestal. Augustus found freeborn Roman citizens to be reluctant to offer their eligible daughters for the vacancy, despite the privileges and respect attached to membership in the priesthood. In order to increase the number of candidates presented for the post, he decreed that it was now open to the daughters of freedmen. Augustus used this as a threat to motivate the highborn citizens of Rome to submit their own daughters for the post.

The literary accounts of the cult of Vesta composed during the principate add significant detail to the traditions. The depiction of the establishment of the cult in Rome remains consistently linked with the reign of Numa, but its practices were traced back to Aeneas, increasing their antiquity and importance to the city and linking them firmly to Rome.
to the Julian family. By focusing on the details of Vestal practice, these accounts highlight the role of the Vestal Virgins in safeguarding Rome and that this had ultimately derived from Aeneas. These literary developments reveal a relationship to the significant reforms to the cult of Vesta in Rome that Augustus initiated – giving Vestal-like status to his wife and sister, establishing a second hearth for the public worship of Vesta in his home, increasing the prestige of the priestesses by claiming to increase their honours and opening their ranks to the lowest citizens in the city in order to maintain their numbers. Although his initial interest was perhaps motivated by his rivalry with Lepidus, Augustus used his association with the cult to tie himself and his family to the ideals of purification and safety that the Vestal Virgins represented, going far back into Rome’s mythical past to make connections between Vesta and his Aenean family.

The Fetials

The literary tradition surrounding the origins of the fetial priesthood in Rome shows a marked change in interpretation from the Republic to the *principate*. In the Republic, although some ambiguity is found in the account of Livy, the general belief was that the fetials had been introduced to Rome by Tullus Hostilius. In contrast, Dionysius attributes the institution of the college to Numa Pompilius. He claims that Numa, on the brink of war with Fidenae, created the fetials in an attempt to avert the conflict, an outcome that he achieved. To avoid a complete schism with earlier traditions, however, Dionysius claims that *fetiales* and their practices existed in Latium prior to their establishment in Rome by Numa, and that Numa based the Roman incarnation on the practices of the Aequicoli or the city of Ardea. It would seem too that Dionysius has redirected the stress placed on the use of fetials in war, which is

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405 Cic. *De re pub.* 2.31; Livy 1.22, 1.32.
strongly emphasised in the Republican accounts, to the use of fetials in the creation of peace.

These developments in the traditions about the fetiales perhaps arose in response to events in Rome in this period. Both Octavian and Antonius had engaged in a rivalry of self-promotion which involved erecting public buildings, the issue of coins and the publication of orations as pamphlets. Octavian promoted his claim to be the son of the divine Julius Caesar, and he exploited with the patronage of the god Apollo. In response, Antonius claimed Dionysus as his patron, and Hercules as an ancestor.408 The programs of the pair reveal opposing ideologies, as well as opposing political forces. Antonius represented those who embraced the pleasures, luxuries and culture of the east, while Octavian portrayed himself as a man of order and exemplary morals, promoting the traditions of Rome.409

The conflicting programmes of the two politicians reached its height in 32 or 31 BC, as Octavian sought support for a direct action against Antonius in order to consolidate the power of Rome in his own hands. Antonius was portrayed as totally corrupt, bewitched by Cleopatra and as having abandoned Rome and Rome’s gods in favour of the East.410 Antonius’ will, which included instructions for his burial beside Cleopatra in Alexandria, was read aloud to the public in an effort to support Octavian’s negative propaganda.411 In contrast, Octavian, though still young, began construction of an immense mausoleum within sight of the city and publically behaved in a modest and traditional manner, demonstrating his entirely Roman leanings.412 In particular, he

408 Levick, Augustus: 15.
409 Cass. Dio 50.3; Zanker, The Power of Images: 57f; Levick, Augustus: 44.
promoted the traditions and gods of Rome. It is at this point that Octavian allegedly turned his attention to the fetiales.

Cassius Dio tell us that, when Antonius’ will, taken from the care of the Vestal Virgins, had been read out, its contents caused outrage among the Romans, because he left money and territory to his children by Cleopatra and ordered his body buried with her at Alexandria. Although the Romans were offended by Antonius’ will, he still maintained supporters among the patricians who would be tarnished by any action against him. It was for this reason that war was declared upon Cleopatra, and Octavian, having resorted to the fetial priesthood and acting as a member of that college, cast a spear into the land designated foreign territory before the Temple of Bellona. Thomas Wiedermann argues that Octavian did not revive the practice but, instead, created the tradition of spear-throwing, which he then promoted as an antiquarian practice. However, as John Rich notes, Octavian’s other ‘revivals’ were based on existing practices and it is implausible that Octavian completely fabricated the rite and its accoutrements. This included tracing his reforms and developments to an older tradition, including the alleged role played by Numa Pompilius. Through this ‘revival’, Octavian achieved two goals. First, he emphasised his position as protector of the traditions and religious practices of Rome. This particular practice had become largely obsolete, as Varro reveals, and its revival reflected an extensive knowledge of the fetials, and it demonstrated the depth of Octavian’s knowledge of the traditional practices and history of Rome. The restoration of this tradition, believed to be among

413 Wardman, Religion and Statecraft: 71.
414 Cass. Dio 50.3.4.
416 Wiedermann, "The Fetiales," 481-83. He points to the dearth of examples of a spear being hurled in pre-Augustan accounts of fetial practice, as well as its absence from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and to the legal problems associated with the story of the Pyrrhic soldier, who could not have been a) captured before war was declared or b) purchased land as a non-citizen.
the oldest in Rome, would have returned the Romans to their proper relationship with their gods.\textsuperscript{419} The fetial practice would have called upon Jupiter and Quirinus to witness and judge the actions of Cleopatra, and it would have been expected that they would support Roman efforts to hold Egypt accountable. This belief in the support of their gods would also have provided the officers of Octavian’s legions with a psychological advantage over those of Antonius. Secondly, this action focused the coming war efforts on a foreign enemy, allowing the civil nature of the conflict to become secondary to the primary target, Cleopatra. It created the legal fiction that the future war was solely against an Egyptian force, without opposition by Roman soldiers.\textsuperscript{420} This was reinforced by the fact that Antonius had, according to Cassius Dio, been stripped of all authority.\textsuperscript{421} For these reasons, any who fought with Antonius were, therefore, no longer under Antony’s command and could be given the option of changing sides to Octavian.

The traditions surrounding the \textit{fetiales} underwent significant change between the end of the Republic and the Augustan age. In particular, the establishment of their practices, like those of the Vestal Virgins, was pushed further back into the past, and became firmly associated with Numa instead of with Tullus Hostilius. This change necessarily altered their practical focus, from declarations of war, to maintenance of peace, which no doubt followed the victory at Actium. The fetials were the first religious institution of Numa ‘revived’ by Octavian for his own political purpose. The visible act of declaring war on Cleopatra by throwing a spear into a plot of soil designated foreign territory would have made a visible and public impact on the citizens of Rome and served as effective propaganda. It allowed Octavian to claim his war against Antonius to be a foreign war instead of it being the civil war that it clearly was.

\textsuperscript{419} de Souza, "\textit{Parta victoriis pax}," 81.  
\textsuperscript{420} Watson, \textit{International Law}: 60.  
\textsuperscript{421} Cass. Dio, 50.4.2-3.
The God Janus

The visible ending of war, as symbolised by the closing of the temple of Janus in the Forum, became an important point in the literature of the Augustan period. Ovid attempts to explain how the temple worked: *ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto, tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera. Pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit* "My gate, unbarred, stands open wide, that when the people have gone forth to war, the road for their return may be open too. I bar the door in times of peace, lest peace depart." This has been interpreted to mean that the gates release war when they are open and await its return, but capture or hold peace when closed, creating ambiguity. In addition, Ovid claims that Janus stated: *cum libuit Pacem placidis emittere tectis, libera perpetuas ambulat illa vias: sanguine letifero totus miscebitur orbis, ne teneant rigidae condita bella serae* "When I choose to send forth peace from tranquil halls, she walks the ways unhindered. But with blood and slaughter the whole world would welter, did not the bars unbending hold the barricaded wars." While the origins of the practice were undoubtedly lost by the time of Ovid’s writing, his explanation touches on the more important concept of war and peace. The Roman world held the concepts of war and peace to be intertwined, the two sides of a single coin or the blades of a double-edged sword. Originally, Roman *pax* 'peace' described the end of a war by submission, friendship or alliance as presided over by the gods. Over time, *pax* became further entwined with war, as the Romans consolidated their power and encountered foreign entities, clearly not considered equals, who were expected to submit to Rome in return for the continuation of a peaceful life. This peace was established by the Roman army, since war ended with the total defeat and

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423 Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*: 3; Green, "Multiple Interpretations," 302-03.
subjugation of the enemy. Reading Ovid’s passage with this in mind, we find that his conceptual basis becomes clearer. War is used to create peace, and so, while the army is away, there is no peace. Peace can only exist when the army is ‘home,’ allowing the gates through which they leave and return to be closed. However, the dual nature of war and peace requires that they exist together at all times. When the Temple of Janus is closed, both war and peace are locked inside for the benefit of Rome.

Janus himself receives special and more complex attention in the literature of the principate. In the Republican tradition, Lucilius gives Janus a single title, pater, while Varro calls him the Good Creator and god of beginnings. In contrast, Ovid, for example, has Janus claim to be Chaos, existing in the world as a god from the moment that order was established, so that all things could be opened and closed by his hands. Here we observe recorded his ancient function, as the guardian of transitions and doorways. Further, Ovid explains, *me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi* “the guardianship of this vast universe is in [Janus’] hands alone.” Ovid also has Janus associated with the sun, time, creation, travel and fields, all of which have a connection with change and transition. These multiple facets of the one being are signs of his continuing and developing importance in Roman religion.

What inspired these authors to explore and exploit the power and persona of Janus in literature? In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claimed that the Senate ordered the temple of Janus to be closed on three occasions. The first closure took place in 29 BC, following Augustus’ return to Rome, after defeating Cleopatra and his triple triumph

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426 Greene, “Some Ancient Attitudes toward War and Peace,” 531; Weinstock, “Pax and the 'Ara Pacis’,” 45.
427 Lucil. 1.1.20-23; Varro Ling. 7.26.
428 Ov. Fast. 1.103-118.
429 Ov. Fast. 1.119.
430 Ov. Fast. 1.120-284; Holland, Janus and the Bridge: 3.
through the city. The temple was closed again in 25 BC, following the success Augustus had achieved in Spain and Germany, but the date of the third closure is unconfirmed. Simpson, for one, has argued that the gates were closed in 10 BC, basing this claim on a comment by Dio, but, Dio states that the gates were not closed in 10 BC, as further rebellion by the Dacians and Dalmatians occurred. Syme, in contrast, dates the third closure as late as 2 BC, and Evans places this in the period between 23 and 15 BC, as marked by a series of asses featuring Numa and Augustus, minted in 23 BC. A more plausible date for the third closure, however, is 12 BC, since Agrippa returned to Rome from the eastern provinces in the previous year, closely followed by Augustus from the west, after he had again established, however temporarily, peace throughout the Roman Empire. These events created the kind of widespread peace required for the Temple of Janus to be closed, and they as well coincided loosely in time with the Senatorial decree for the building of the Ara Pacis Augustae and Augustus’ new role as pontifex maximus following the death of Lepidus.

The shrine of Janus in the Forum enjoyed increased attention from Octavian/Augustus which led to literary speculation regarding when and why the temple was closed. This in turn led to reflection on the nature of the god who presided over the opening and closing, raising his profile among the educated Romans, and indirectly increasing the connections between Janus and Numa. The closing of the Temple of Janus became an important aspect of Augustus’ promotion of the success of his reign. The gates, signifying war and peace to the Romans, had been closed only

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434 Simpson, "Where is the Parthian?," 88.
435 Cass. Dio, 54.36.2.
twice in the history of the city and they signified a period of peace and prosperity for a populace that had survived the civil wars and threats from external foes. The three closures by Augustus secured his position as the bringer of peace, a feature which this was celebrated in the literature of the period.

**The Salii**

The *Salii* during the *principate* received more detailed attention under Augustus than during the Republic, as shown in the account by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. According to Dionysius, the *Salii* were said to have been created specifically to care for a shield which fell from heaven and the copies of it Numa ordered made by a certain Mamurius. The Romans had concluded that the original shield was sent by the gods because it appeared in Numa’s palace, which no one had entered, and it was designed in a way alien to the Romans, which Dionysius identifies as ‘Thrachian.’ Dionysius here is referring to the shape of the shield, which had an oval shape with indented sides, like a figure-of-eight.

Ovid provides an alternative account, however, for the origin of the shield. In this case, Numa and the Roman people were fearful of lightning believed to be sent by Jupiter and sought, on the advice of the nymph Egeria, the means of expiating this display of anger. First, having captured local deities, Picus and Faunus, Numa granted them freedom when they agreed to bring Jupiter, to a place where Numa would be able to engage him in conversation. Ovid adds that Numa used witty banter to negotiate a process of expiation without the need for human sacrifice which Jupiter at first had demanded, and Numa then replaced the head of a man to be sacrificed with an onion, human hair and fish. In Ovid’s account, Numa demonstrates diplomacy and composure when dealing with Jupiter, whose presence caused the king great fear – his “heart

throbbed” and “his hand stood stiff.”\textsuperscript{441} The same story is repeated in Plutarch, with the same reference to banter between Numa and Jupiter, which allowed Numa to negotiate the terms for the expiation of thunderbolts.\textsuperscript{442} The reiteration of this narrative suggests that Plutarch used Ovid’s account as the basis for his own or that both authors used the same source. After this Jupiter promised to send a sign of his acceptance of these sacrifices, as compensation for any offences the Romans had committed to cause him to send his thunderbolt against them, but the Romans doubted Numa’s account until the following day, when a shield, \textit{ancile}, fell softly from the sky.\textsuperscript{443} The incident corresponds with Piso’s belief that Numa possessed the power to summon the gods for consultation but the fragmentary nature of the source prevents us from firmly establishing Piso as the source for Ovid.\textsuperscript{444} The rest of Ovid’s account accords with the other traditions: Numa arranged for the blacksmith, Mamurius, to make eleven copies of the \textit{ancile} to hide the original, and he entrusted these to the \textit{Salii}, and these priests thereafter included Mamurius in their hymn as his reward.\textsuperscript{445} In this literary tradition, the inclusion of Mamurius’ name as a reward for his work set a precedent for the inclusion of other names in the Salian hymn. A further parallel can be found in the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, which Octavian dedicated following a close encounter with lightning.\textsuperscript{446}

As we discover from Dionysius, the introduction of both colleges of Salian priests to Rome was linked to the Sabines, suggesting that this priesthood originated among indigenous Italian cults,\textsuperscript{447} and Virgil claims, too, that the priesthood pre-dates its introduction at Rome, reporting that Aeneas, while feasting with Evander, witnesses

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ov. \textit{Fast.} 3.331-32.
\item Plut. \textit{Num.} 15.5-6.
\item Plin. \textit{HN} 28.14: see Chapter One, footnote 72.
\item Ov. \textit{Fast.} 3.349-92.
\item Suet. \textit{Aug.} 29.
\item Following the Republican tradition, Dionysius states that in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, to prevent a drawn-out war against the \textit{Salii}, a second group of \textit{Salii} was created and dedicated to Quirinus, called the \textit{Salii Collini}. Livy 1.27.7; Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.70.1.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Salian priests singing hymns about the deeds of Hercules.  

Like the Salii of later Rome, these Salii appeared in two groups, one of young men and one of old. For Dionysius and Virgil, the priests are native to Italy but are connected to the Aeneas myth cycle and, therefore, to the Julian family. In this way, these authors allow that Augustus has appropriated the origins of Salii to his family, as he has also done with the cult of Vesta.

The emphasis on the antiquity of the Salii by Dionysius and Virgil fits the ideal of Roman religious recreation that Augustus was showing, by restoring and increasing the prestige of this order by the addition of his' name to their song. Despite dispute about the origins of the Salii, their garb suggests their antiquity. Dionysius describes their costume, stating that the priests wore embroidered tunics with a bronze girdle or belt, covered by the trabea, reflecting the status of the Salii. The trabea, with its scarlet stripes and purple border, was worn by Romans of distinction and had been associated with royalty. Although the trabea is often assumed to be simply a toga, the fastenings mentioned by Dionysius and the activities attributed to the priests make it more likely that the garment worn by the Salii was in the form of a cloak. These priests also wore apices, conical hats or helmets, which were also worn by the flamines as a sign of their connection to divinity, and their similar use by the Salii also suggests a an equivalent religious standing for these priests.

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449 The use of bronze in the form of limited armour is evidence of the antiquity of the cult, placing its creation in the Bronze Age.
450 Dion. Hal. _Ant. Rom._ 2.70.2.
452 Dion. Hal. _Ant. Rom._ 2.70.2-3.
Dionysius also reveals that the *Salii* were athletic men of patrician status, of Roman descent, with both parents living at the time of co-option.\(^{453}\) Dionysius’ connection between the Roman *Salii* and the Greek *Curetes* suggests a further requirement not directly listed by Dionysius, youth.\(^{454}\) It is entirely plausible that an age limit existed for the *Salii* of Rome, which possibly coincided with the age or position of the consul. Such a requirement makes sense in the context of the activities of the *Salii*, who, wearing armour, were required to leap and dance at different locations throughout the city. This would have required a level of stamina and physical fitness associated with youth. This emphasis on youth finds parallels within the *principate*, as Augustus took a special interest in the youth of Rome. Suetonius tells us that he encouraged the sons of senators to attend Senate meetings and to familiarise themselves with the administration of the empire, as soon as they came of age.\(^{455}\) In addition, Suetonius says … *et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum*, “besides he gave frequent performances of the game of Troy by older and younger boys.”\(^{456}\) These public displays by young boys of different ages would have called attention to any age restrictions applied to the *Salii*.

In contrast with other religious orders, colleges and cults restored by Augustus at this time, the *Salii* had not lost their prestige or popularity over the course of the Republican era. One of the reasons for their continuing usage was the visibility of their cult activities. The priests could display their piety towards the state, and yet their celebration allowed a measure of relaxation and fun into the religious landscape of Rome. The *Salii* could expect to be recognised, despite the possible obscuring of features caused by their helmets, by the general populace, and this no doubt assisted them when they became candidates for political office. In addition, the restriction of the

\(^{453}\) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70.1, 71.4.
\(^{454}\) Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70.4-5, 71.2-3.
\(^{455}\) Suet. *Aug.* 38.
\(^{456}\) Suet. *Aug.* 43.
Salii to the patrician class helped to maintain its popularity. Other colleges, such as the Vestals, had admitted plebeian members to their ranks during the Republic, either to ensure membership or as part of the resolution of the conflict of the orders, but the Salii maintained their patrician criteria.

The importance of the Salii suggests why the Senate used this priesthood as a means of awarding honours to Augustus. In 29 BC, the Senate ordered that Octavian’s name, (at the time Gaius Julius Caesar,) be included in the Salian hymn. Later, upon their deaths, the names of his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, and his grandson-in-law, Germanicus, were also added to the hymn by the Senate. Unlike many of the honours awarded to him by the Senate, Augustus proudly accepted this one, stating in his Res Gestae, nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in saliare carmen, “by decree of the senate my name was included in the Salian hymn.” Although the surviving fragments of the hymn from the Republican era refer to fertility, the Romans, as we have seen, had forgotten the original purpose of the rites. By associating the inclusion of Octavian’s name with his victories in Egypt and Asia, the Senate suggested a connection between the Salian rites and the military act of saving Rome. Augustus was careful regarding the honours he accepted, refusing any that directly raised him to the status of a god in Italy, but the Salii align with the image of peaceful restoration that Octavian attempted to disseminate in post-Actian Rome. The visibility of the Salii and public awareness of their song made this a significant step in the promotion of the

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459 Res Gest. 10.
460 Littlewood, "imperii pignora," 186.
special nature of Octavian’s person, while he continued his policy of refusing honours that directly deified him in Rome and Italy. 461

The links between the princeps and the Salii continued. In 17 BC, two series of denarii were minted in Rome by the moneyer Publius Licinius Stolo, featuring on the reverse two ancilia, shields, flanking an apex, cap, which were the accoutrements of the Salii. The obverse features a portrait of Augustus, in one series a bust of the princeps, and in another he is portrayed on a horse. 462 The image of Augustus as an equestrian statue promotes him as a military victor, but these coins are suggestive of the importance of these honours to Augustus which were minted in his name.

The Salii were important priests during the Republican period, and they included, as we have seen, members of the most prominent families, such as the Scipiones. 463 Their prominence in annual festivals made the priesthood a valuable springboard for further honours, especially during the principate. That the Romans regarded the Salii as an extremely old priesthood partly explains why they attributed the creation of the first college to Numa. Octavian’s acceptance of the inclusion of his name in their song no doubt led to the expansion of the story of the creation of the Salii. As Mamurius, was accorded a mention within their hymn, although not a god, so the addition of Octavian’s name was not a direct sign of deification, making the honour acceptable to the Romans. In addition, Augustus’ interest in promoting the youth of Rome made the priesthood one of continuing importance to the State.

463 Polyb. 21.13.
Numa and Augustus in Augustan Literature

More significant than Virgil's description of Numa (see above) is his placement of the king within the parade of Rome's greats. The list begins with the Alban kings descended from Aeneas directly, leading to Romulus and so creating a link between the Trojan king and the foundation of Rome. Behind Romulus is Caesar, of the line of Iulus, following the tradition promoted by Julius Caesar, that the Julian family were direct descendants of Aeneas' son Iulus, and next is Augustus, who *aurea condet saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva Saturno quondam* "will once again establish a golden age in Latium amid fields once ruled by Saturn."⁴⁶⁴ Numa comes behind Augustus, framing the two prominent men of the late Republic between the first two kings, or founders, of Rome. This also creates parallels, as Augustus follows Caesar in the same way that Numa follows Romulus. It, therefore follows that Caesar is to be viewed as a Romulus, a warrior-king, while Augustus is a second Numa, establishing peace and religion.

Further descriptions of Numa reinforce this successive theme. Ovid opens *Metamorphoses* 15 with the question *quis tantae pondera molis sustineat tantoque queat succedere regi*, "who can sustain the burden of so great a task, who can succeed so great a king."⁴⁶⁵ His answer is Numa, and Ovid describes his power, not as *regnum* as it appears in the case of Romulus, but as *imperium*.⁴⁶⁶ This creates a connection with the power of Augustus and his status as *imperator*. At the end of the book, Ovid places Augustus in a similar succession to Julius Caesar, creating parallels with the opening and Numa, having Jupiter state *qui nominis heres inpositum feret unus onus caesique parentis*, 'he as successor to the name share bare alone the

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burden placed on him."\textsuperscript{467} Numa’s reign is described in terms of religious rites and the arts of peace,\textsuperscript{468} and Augustus is similarly placed as having bestowed peace on all the world.\textsuperscript{469} This connection between Augustus and Numa is viewed as “outright criticism of the Augustan regime.”\textsuperscript{470} Despite this analysis, Ovid still makes a strong correlation between the two figures and his use of Numa to critique Augustus implies a desire by Augustus to be viewed as a second Numa.

According to Dionysius, when the Romans first approached Numa to replace Romulus in the kingship, Numa “for some time refused it and long persisted in his resolution not to accept royal powers. But when his brothers kept urging him insistently and at last when his father argued that the offer of so great an honour should not be rejected, he consented to become king.”\textsuperscript{471} Although no reason for this reluctance is provided by Dionysius, Numa’s willingness to follow the advice of his father demonstrates a character trait highly regarded by the Romans, pietas. This reluctance is reiterated by Plutarch, who provides the king with a speech declining the offer of the Roman crown based on his contentment with his life and on the fact that he considered that his nature was in direct contrast with the needs of the city, whose wars required a “warrior’s experience and strength.”\textsuperscript{472} Plutarch also has Numa yield to the arguments of his father, displaying the pietas admired by the Romans.\textsuperscript{473} The idea that an aversion to leadership could be considered an attribute of a good ruler appears to be Greek in origin, since it does not occur in earlier Latin texts, but, it finds a reflection in events in Rome. Augustus claimed that he retained power only at the urging of the Senate and people of Rome, who refused to allow him to relinquish it.\textsuperscript{474} This alleged reluctance to

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\textsuperscript{467} Ov. Met. 15.819-20.  \\
\textsuperscript{468} Ov. Met. 15.483-4.  \\
\textsuperscript{469} Ov. Met. 15.832-35.  \\
\textsuperscript{471} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.60.1.  \\
\textsuperscript{472} Plut. \textit{Num.} 5.5.  \\
\textsuperscript{473} Plut. \textit{Num.} 6.1-7.1  \\
\textsuperscript{474} Zanker, \textit{The Power of Images}: 91; Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?", 198.
\end{flushleft}
rule became a central part of Augustus' propaganda, and it was picked up by Dionysius, and later Plutarch, but incorporated into their accounts of Numa.

Dionysius adds that the Romans were so impressed by Numa’s reluctance to reign that they met him along the road as he approached the city and conducted him into the city with honours and salutations.⁴⁷⁵ This addition is, as previously, based on events witnessed by Dionysius himself, who had come to Rome in c. 30 BC, when Octavian had returned to Rome.⁴⁷⁶ It is recorded that, upon his return to Rome in 29 BC, Octavian was met by a procession of citizens, led by the Vestals, who then escorted him into the city in thanks for the end to the war.⁴⁷⁷ The addition of this second detail to Dionysius’ account of the reign of Numa creates a stronger connection between the peaceful king and the new victor of Actium, as seen through the eyes of a contemporary historian.

Dionysius reflects contemporary events in other ways through the tradition of Numa. Cicero, in De Re Publica 2.10, states that Romulus “disappeared during a sudden darkening of the sun” before being declared a god.⁴⁷⁸ Later he suggests that the proclamation of Proculus Julius was made at the instigation of the senate, as the senators wanted to “free themselves of all suspicion in regard to Romulus’ death.”⁴⁷⁹ While he goes into depth about why Proculus’ version of events was believed by the people, he provides no further details regarding the death of Romulus, no motive for the senators, no outright claim that they had any part in the death. Livy adds more detail, stating that Romulus was mustering troops in the Campus Martius when a sudden storm hid him from sight and he was never seen again, causing the senators who had been standing nearby to assert that he had been swept away by the wind and,

⁴⁷⁵ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.60.3-4. Plutarch follows this tradition, stating that the Senate and people met him with cries of joy and sacrifices of thanksgiving. Plut. Num. 7.1.
⁴⁷⁸ Cic. De re pub. 2.10.
⁴⁷⁹ Cic. De re pub. 2.10.
following this, the troops declared Romulus a god.\textsuperscript{480} Some, Livy states, even then believed that the senators had torn Romulus to pieces with their hands and they then used Proculus Julius to hide their crime.\textsuperscript{481} Again, no motive is accredited to the senators, although Livy does state that they may have killed him. Dionysius’ account contains a further difference. He states that “many different stories concerning” Romulus’ death exist.\textsuperscript{482} The first, which he calls “fabulous” or “incredible,” has Romulus disappear from the camp in a sudden storm during which he was “caught up into heaven by his father.”\textsuperscript{483} He continues with the “more plausible” account, that the senators killed him in the senate-house, and removed his body in pieces hidden within their clothes and then secretly buried them.\textsuperscript{484} Dionysius accredits the murder of the beloved leader of the city to the senators who feared his tyranny. While it is clear that sources from the Republic first suggested this theory, the detail and emphasis Dionysius places on the role of senators suggests that relatively recent events in Rome, specifically, the assassination of Julius Caesar by senators who feared the power he had accumulated, have coloured his accounts. Dionysius has even moved the location of the murder of Romulus, which Livy and Cicero have placed in the Campus Martius, to the senate-house itself, more in line with death of Caesar.

In addition, Dionysius attributes the worship of the deified Romulus, under the name of Quirinus, to Numa “by the creation of a temple and by sacrifices throughout the year.”\textsuperscript{485} In a similar way, Octavian arranged for the deification of his predecessor, Julius Caesar, using the appearance of a comet at his funeral games as a sign of his apotheosis.\textsuperscript{486} This use of recent events to connect the death of Julius Caesar with the death of Romulus sets up the precedent to connect Augustus to Numa Pompilius.

\textsuperscript{480} Livy 1.16.1-3. 
\textsuperscript{481} Livy 1.16.4-5. 
\textsuperscript{482} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.56.1. 
\textsuperscript{483} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.56.2. 
\textsuperscript{484} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.56.3-5. 
\textsuperscript{485} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.63.3. 
\textsuperscript{486} Suet. Iul. 88; Cass. Dio 45.7.1.
Numa is the successor for the deified Romulus/Quirinus in the same way that Augustus is the successor for the deified Julius.

Numa’s religious characteristics are emphasised repeatedly in the Imperial tradition. Ampelius states “Numa founded religious observances” in the city, as a summary of the significant developments of his reign.487 The religious institutions attributed to Numa in Republican accounts are re-stated as such in Imperial literature. The establishment of the flamines and pontifices, the Vestals and Sali and the cult of Janus are attributed to Numa by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ovid, Plutarch, Florus, Suetonius and Servius.488 Greek authors add an explanation of the role and responsibilities of the flamines and pontifices, providing a context for their Greek audience in order to enhance their understanding of the Roman institutions. These added details reflect the Augustan concern for the preservation of the State religion. Augustus claims to have restored eighty-two temples in the city and built new temples to Jupiter Feretrius, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Libertas, Quirinus, Minerva, Juno, the Lares, the Di Penates, Juventas, Magna Mater, Apollo, Mars Ultor and Divus Julius.489

Augustus claimed pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimvirum sacris faciundis, septemvirum epulonum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titii, fetialis fui, “I have been pontifex maximus, augur, a member of the fifteen commissioners for performing sacred rites, one of the seven for sacred feasts, an Arval brother, a sodalis Titus, a ferial priest.”490 Although he refused the title of pontifex maximus while Lepidus lived, he accepted the position in 12 BC, following Lepidus’ death in late 13 BC or early 12 BC.491

Dionysius indicates that a great number of laws and institutions were created by Numa – too many to include in detail in his account, stating “I fear the length of such a

487 Lucius Ampelius Liber Memorialis 17.1.2.
488 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2, 5, 70.1, 72.1, 73.1; Ov. Fast. 3.285-92, 6.257-60; Plut. Num. 9.1, 5, 12.3, 20.1; Flor. 1.1; Suet. Rel. Reiff. 178; Serv. 1.294, 7.607.
490 Res Gest. 7.
491 Res Gest. 10.
discussion," suggesting that the majority of cult activity in Rome was then traced back to Numa. He identifies eight institutions of prime importance from this reign: the curiones, the flamines, the celeres, the augurs, the Vestals, the Salii and the pontiffs, adding the curiones, the celeres, the fetials and the augurs to those included in Republican accounts. The curiones were appointed to perform religious rites on behalf of the curiae which were established by Romulus. The curiae were an important part of the military and political organisation of the city, as reflected by their continued role as the comitia curiata, which granted imperium. Although the creation of the curiae was widely attributed to Romulus, their religious role was assigned to Numa, as part of his role as the founder of religion in Rome. Plutarch claims that Numa found the city divided into two tribes who remained separate bodies. In order to unite the citizens, Numa artificially divided them into groups according to their professions and therefore created a harmonious citizenry. Although Plutarch does not call these divisions curiae, these groups are clearly similar. Dionysius has, by including the curiones as the first religious reform of Numa, emphasised Numa's role in improving the religious foundation of the city as he found it. This emphasis suggests a parallel to the actions of Augustus, who claimed to re-establish a number of religious practices and restored temples throughout the city. Further, both Dionysius and Plutarch attribute a reorganisation of the city to Numa, and Suetonius tells us that Augustus made similar redistributions, dividing the city into wards and districts. Perhaps Dionysius and Plutarch used Augustus in these instances as their model for the reign of Numa.

493 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2-5, 70.1, 72.1, 73.1.
494 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2.
Dionysius states that Numa assigned religious rites to the commanders of the *celeres*, implying that he kept the bodyguard intact.\textsuperscript{498} Plutarch, however, claims that Numa’s first act was to disband the *celeres*.\textsuperscript{499} These developments demonstrate the ways in which different authors interpret the character of Numa. The religious duties assigned to the *celeres* by Numa in the account of Dionysius fit with the amendments he has Numa make to the *curiae*, emphasising his role as a man of religious reform and reflect Augustan concern for religious reformation. In contrast, Plutarch emphasises the peaceful nature of the king, making the demobilisation of the armed bodyguard his first priority, reflecting the Augustan emphasis on the return to peace.

The idea that Rome allegedly experienced a shift in foreign policy under the rule of Numa is emphasised in the imperial tradition. Dionysius states that his reign was free of war and allowed the state to be “excellently governed,” while Plutarch states that Rome had been in a “feverish state” and Numa “tamed their fierce and warlike tempers.”\textsuperscript{500} This is in direct contrast with the Rome that Numa found upon his arrival. The patricians were divided between those of Alban origin who had first joined the city with Romulus and those of Sabine descent who had followed Tatius to Rome, each demanding honours and respect from the other.\textsuperscript{501} This had an impact on the clients of the patricians, further dividing the city. In addition, there was a faction of new citizens among the plebeians who had not received largess from Romulus and so found

\textsuperscript{498} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.3.  
\textsuperscript{499} Plut. Num. 7.4. Both Dionysius and Plutarch believed the *celeres* to be a military force of three hundred young men who acted as a bodyguard for the kings, but later authors believed them to be an early form of the *equites*. See: Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.13; Plut. Num. 7.4; Plin HN 33.35; Serv. 9.368, 11.603; Lydus De Mag. 1.9; Pompon. Dig. 1.2.2.15, 2.15.9. Hill places the commander of the *celeres* as the king’s second in command and claims the confusion in the sources arises from the fact that the *celeres* were part of the *equites*. See: H. Hill, “Equites and Celeres,” Classical Philology 33, (1938): 283-90. Koptev claims that the *celeres* developed over time, becoming part of the *equites* in the Republican period and suggests a correlation between the number of *celeres* and the number of days in the calendar of Romulus. Alexander Koptev, "'Three Brothers' at the Head of Archaic Rome: The King and His 'Consuls',' Historia 54, (2005): 382-423.  
\textsuperscript{500} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.60.4; Plut. Num. 8.1-3.  
themselves destitute and homeless, causing problems for the city. 502 Despite the factions and dissatisfaction that Dionysius describes, Numa was able to rule without external or internal war for forty-three years, earning the respect and admiration of the Romans and their neighbours. 503 Although Plutarch does not provide an exact length for his reign, merely stating that Numa was forty when he took the throne and in his eighties when he died, he claims that peace spread throughout Italy as a result of Numa’s reign. 504 The emphasis on the creation of this internal concord, which occurs in the accounts of Dionysius and Plutarch, also finds reflection in the creation of the principate. Rome had experienced twelve years of civil wars – between Pompeius and Caesar, between Octavian and Caesar’s assassins, between the Triumvirate and Sextus Pompeius and between Antonius and Octavian. Augustus claims to have per quem rem publicam (do)minatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindica “restored liberty to the Republic, which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.” 505 The victory of Octavian against Antonius at Actium secured the Roman empire under the control of one man and his extended family.

There is a wealth of evidence that shows that the peaceful and religious actions of Augustus had an impact on the literature of his time. His religious restoration led to an increased interest in the origins of the cults he restored, and an effort to establish these cults within the historical framework of the city led to an increase in the number of cults identified, and these were soon attributed to Numa. In addition, comparison between the two was inevitable, given their lengthy reigns and the accounts of Numa began to contain embellishments, based on events of Augustus’ principate, such as his reluctance to reign and a celebration of his arrival in the city. These events

502 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.62.3.
504 Plut. Num. 5.1, 10.2-4, 21.4.
505 Res Gest. 1.3.
demonstrate the development of a connection between Augustus and Numa in the literature of the principate.

Conclusion

From a comparison of the literature of the Republican and Augustan era, we can see that significant developments in the traditions of Numa Pompilius occurred. In their discussion of the establishment of the Vestal Virgins by Numa, Augustan authors included increased information about the activities of Vestals, their punishments and miracles. The tradition of the fetiales was clarified however, their establishment was relocated from the reign of Tullus Hostilius to that of Numa, and their role was subsequently changed from the declaration of war to the establishment and maintenance of peace. The temple of Janus, too, gained increased emphasis during the reign of Augustus. This became a key component of the peace of Numa’s reign and included speculation about the workings of the temple and the nature of Janus himself. The Salii developed a detailed origin story which incorporated the inclusion of a living Roman within their hymn. The character of Numa was also developed, including a new reluctance to rule and a welcoming parade into Rome upon his arrival. The religions attributed to Numa accumulated and his personal relationship with a number of divine creatures, including Jupiter, was further explored. All of this was exploited by Octavian/Augustus to link significant religious cults to his family, either his ancestors, himself or the women of his family. Dominance of religion by the domus Augusta seems to have been the reason for Augustus’ promotion of Numa.

Each of these developments in the literary tradition can be traced to actions by Octavian/Augustus. The sacrosanctity unique to the Vestals was exploited for personal use by Octavian in his rivalry against Lepidus, and the Vestal Virgins received further attention in order to link Augustus and his family to the protections of the state provided by Vesta through the continued service of the priestesses. The fetiales were
resurrected by Octavian in order to ensure his war against Cleopatra was seen to be under the benevolence of the gods of Rome. Augustus was able to close the gates of the temple of Janus in the Forum on three separate occasions, and his name was included in the hymn of the Salii. Like Numa, Augustus expressed reluctance to rule, instead claiming to be the first amongst equals. Upon his return to Rome in 29 BC, Octavian was met by the citizens, senators and the Vestals, in the same way that later accounts claim Numa was met upon his arrival in the city.

From the way in which the developments in the tradition of Numa Pompilius are mirrored in the actions of Octavian/Augustus, they likely formed the basis for the embellishment, suggesting that a strong link between the king and the princeps existed in the public conception of Augustus.
Chapter Three: Numa in Augustan Archaeology

It has been established that significant development of the tradition surrounding Numa Pompilius occurred in the literature of the *principate*, which mirrored the actions of Octavian/Augustus. It is not clear, however, where the impetus for this originated. This chapter aims to use the physical evidence of the Augustan period to question whether the association of Octavian/Augustus came purely from the literary world or originated directly from the propaganda of the *princeps*. This is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of Augustan art and architecture, and a distinction between public, official imagery and private, unofficial works must be made in order to concentrate on the evidence most likely to have impacted the authors of the age. Public iconography includes the numismatic evidence, statues erected in public places, shrines such as the Ara Pacis Augustae and the Augustan Forum.

The Triumviral Period

In 42 BC, Octavian minted a series of *aurei* which included an image of an equestrian statue, presumably of Octavian, holding a *lituus*, to celebrate his membership in the college of augurs. As the youngest triumvir, Octavian was competing against men of experience who already held priestly office, Lepidus as *pontifex maximus* and Antonius as augur. Octavian had been made a pontiff by Julius

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506 For a more comprehensive survey, see: Zanker, *The Power of Images*.
507 Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 69.
508 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 497.1.1.
509 See figure 10.
Caesar in 48 BC and had also become an augur prior to 42 BC. There was no way for Octavian to promote his position as pontiff and remain on equal footing with Lepidus, but he could try to put himself on a par with Antonius. In 43 BC, Antonius had minted coins featuring his head on the obverse, with a lituus behind him. These coins had depicted Octavian’s face on the reverse, but without any priestly accoutrements. This firmly established Antonius’ seniority and superiority over Octavian, and Octavian’s coins of 42 BC seem to have appeared in response to this lack of clear definition of his priestly office. Similar emphasis on the inequality of Octavian to Lepidus also occurs in the coins of Lepidus in 42 BC, which feature Lepidus on the obverse with the inscription LEPIDVS•PONT•MAX•III•VIR•R•P•C and the bust of Octavian on the reverse, simply reading CAESAR•IMP•III•VIR•R•P•C. These were followed, in 41 and 40 BC, by denarii featuring the head of Octavian with a lituus behind it. This promotion of augury continued until the death of Lepidus in 13 BC, which then made vacant the position of pontifex maximus for Augustus so, from 42 BC to 13 BC, Octavian/Augustus’ coins featuring augural symbols worked as a means of promotion, in competition with the various positions held by Lepidus and Antonius. The highlighting of the augurate also finds expression in the literature of the period, in which Dionysius of Halicarnassus, listing the priesthoods created by Numa, places the creation of the augural college prior to that of the pontiffs, thus giving the augurate priority.

510 Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome* 1: 186. Beard et al claim that Octavian became augur in 41-40 BC, but the appearance of coins featuring Octavian and the *lituus* in 42 BC strongly suggest an earlier date.
511 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 492.1.1. Another series of coins from the same year feature the same images, on the opposite sides of the coins. See: Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 493.1.1.
512 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 495.2.1-5.
513 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 517.8.1-4 and 526.3.1.
514 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.4, 72.1.
A number of coins from the 40s also promote Octavian as the heir to Julius Caesar. Coins in 43 BC depict the head of Octavian on the obverse and the head of Caesar on the reverse, both heads featuring inscriptions detailing political and religious roles. Caesar's position as dictator is paralleled by Octavian's role as consul. Similarly, Caesar's rank as pontifex maximus is paralleled by Octavian's co-option as both pontiff and augur. Although Octavian has not obtained the same exalted position as Caesar, he is clearly indicating his continuation of family service to Rome. These coins were contemporaneous with those of Antonius, featuring himself and Octavian and promoting Antonius as augur. It is clear that Antonius had been promoting himself as the political heir to Caesar, and Octavian was highlighting his adoption in response to this. Octavian focuses on his role as the political heir of Caesar again in 42 BC, when he mints coins with his head on the obverse and curule chairs inscribed with CAESAR•DIC•PER on the reverse. In 42 BC, P. Clodius minted denarii with the head of Octavian on the obverse and Pietas on the reverse. Also in that year, L. Livineius Regulus produced aurei with the head of Octavian on the obverse and the image of Aeneas carrying Anchises on his shoulder on the reverse. This iconic image represented the pietas of the Julian family, who claimed descent from Aeneas.

516 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 490.2.1-2. In addition to these, which include the inscription C•CAESAR•COS•PONT•AVG around the head of Octavian and C•CAESAR•DICT•PERP•PONT•MAX around the head of Caesar, a series of denarii in 43 BC feature the head of Octavian on the obverse and the laureate head of Caesar on the reverse. See: Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 490.4.1.
517 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 497.2.1-5.
518 See figure 11.
519 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 494.3.1-2.
but *pietas* also personified the Roman sense of duty towards the gods and the State, as well as to the family. Octavian’s role as the avenger of Julius Caesar was being emphasised in the lead-up to Philippi, as well as his role as Caesar’s heir. This connection between Octavian and Julius Caesar was essential for Octavian’s political career. Both Lepidus and Antonius had played public roles as supporters and lieutenants for Caesar and could expect to inherit his political position. Octavian had not received such public opportunities before Caesar’s assassination and so needed to promote his personal connection and right to follow in Caesar’s role. This emphasis also finds a resonance in the literature surrounding Numa, whose role as the religious founder of Rome established the duties towards the gods by the citizens on behalf of the state. More importantly, Dionysius and, later, Plutarch emphasise Numa’s respect for his father, as he accepts the crown of Rome only on the advice and urging of his father. This reluctance to reign and the urging of his father only appears in Imperial traditions, suggesting that its inclusion dates from this period.

In 40 BC, Q. Salvidienus Rufus issued *denarius* with the head of Octavian on the obverse and a thunderbolt on the reverse. The thunderbolt was an attribute of Jupiter that required expiation by an augur, perhaps further promoting Octavian’s ability to interpret the signs of the gods as an augur. Although this is an attribute of Jupiter, it

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523 See figure 12.
also raises associations with the tradition of Numa, who, through conversations with
divine beings, learned how to appease the wrath of Jupiter indicated by lightning.524
The connection between Octavian and Numa in these coins is allegorical and not the
purpose of Octavian's promotion of his augurate, which occurred as part of his self-
promotion in competition with Antonius and Lepidus. However, the groundwork for a
future connection was established and it may have been at this time that Octavian
began to contemplate utilising the image of Numa more explicitly for his own ends.

![Figure 13: aureus, 36 BC](image)

The promotion of Octavian as the heir to Caesar continued as seen in coins of
38 BC. A series of aurei minted by Agrippa feature the laureate head of Caesar, with a
star to indicate his ascension, and the inscription
IMP•DIVI•IVLI•F•TER•III•VIR•R•P•C.526 *Denarii* of the same year feature the heads of
Caesar and Octavian facing each other.527 In 36 BC, Octavian combined promotion of
the augurare with his role as the heir of Caesar by minting a series of *aurei* with Caesar
depicted inside his temple, dressed as an augur, on the reverse.528 The head of
Octavian on the obverse is accompanied by the inscription
IMP•CAESAR•DIVI•F•III•VIR•ITER•R•P•C, signalling Octavian once again as the son of
Caesar.

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525 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 540.1.1.
526 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 534.1.1.
527 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 534.2.1-3.
528 See figure 13.
Following the exile of Lepidus in 36 BC, denarii issued by Octavian featured his two priestages, featuring a simpulum, to symbolise his role as pontiff, and the lituus, to represent his role as augur, as seen in Figure 14. Notice of his dual membership of the two most important priestly colleges recurs on coins of 16, 13, 9 and 8 BC. In 37 BC, coins were minted featuring a figure inside a temple, veiled and holding a lituus, (shown in Figure 15). The arch of the temple contains the inscription DIVO IUL and is, no doubt, the temple of the deified Julius Caesar, who is represented within as an augur. Caesar, like his adopted son, had also been a member of both colleges, a relatively rare honour. Both colleges were allegedly established by Numa a feature emphasised in the accounts of his reign. Octavian’s references to his membership of these priestly colleges creates a subtle link between himself and their founder, Numa. By creating this connection, Octavian was establishing his own religious authority and associating himself with the traditions of the city.

529 Ghey and Leins, “Roman Republican Coins,” 537.1.1-3.
530 See Figure 14. For the use of simpulum and lituus, see: Jones, A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins: 252-53.
531 See: De La Fe, "The Coin Project." RIC 368, RIC 367, RIC 410, RIC 402, RIC 421 and RIC 424.
532 Since the end of the third century BC, the accumulation of priestages had been rare, and Caesar had been the first to obtain dual membership since T. Otacilius Crassus in 211 BC. See: G. J Szemler, "The Dual Priests of the Republic," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neur Folge 117, (1974): 76.
533 Cic. De re pub. 2.14.26; Livy 1.20.5-7; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.4, 73.1-4; Plut. Num. 9.1-5.
Octavian in this period developed his a strong image of himself as a protector of Roman tradition and religion. As a result, it is possible that the figure of Numa, indirectly referred to in the coins of the 40s and again the 30s, became more attractive to the young Caesar in this period, as a direct result of his campaign against Antonius.

The **Principate**

Cn. Calpurnius Piso (son of the consul of 23 BC), with his fellow moneyers Surdinius and Rufus, minted coins featuring Augustus on the obverse and Numa Pompilius on the reverse. Although the inscription on the reverse refers to the moneyer, the image is clearly that of Numa, corresponding to the image presented in

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534 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 540.2.1-9.
535 De La Fe, "The Coin Project," RIC 394.
coins of 88 BC and 49 BC, which show Numa with beard and diadem. This is one of the earliest identifiable coins of the principate, most likely dating to 23 BC, and it demonstrates a growing awareness of the similarities between Augustus and Numa. These double-headed coins no doubt carried multiple messages. The first, and most commonly accepted of these was the use of Numa to promote the family of Piso who claimed descent from the king. In 49 BC, Piso’s father, had issued a series of denarii for Pompey the Great, which featured had the same image of Numa on the obverse which his son used in 23 BC. However, the use of Numa on the later coin could reflect Pompeian sympathies or the replacement of Pompey with Augustus in the Pisonian loyalties, but both ideas rely on the public remembering and even comparing the issue from 49 BC with the newly minted coins, which appears unlikely. The use of Numa, however, may also be fortuitously linked to the achievements of Augustus in this period, who undertook the closure of the temple of Janus, both in 29 BC and again in 25 BC. This makes any image of Numa topical, matching other iconography displayed on Augustan coins. Numa had created religious traditions in order to ensure the peace and prosperity of Rome and, under Augustus’ guidance, Rome was returning to more traditional religious practices. Piso was creating a physical connection between the princeps and the second king of Rome through these coins, and this connection must have been approved by Augustus who, despite returning control of the

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537 For analysis of these coins, see Chapter One. Also see: Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 346.1.1, 46.3.1, 446.1.1-5; Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage: 360-61.
538 In 23 BC, Cn. Calpurnius Piso was consul and so in position to appoint his son of the same name as moneyer. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," The Journal of Roman Studies 76, (1986): 82. Wallace-Hadrill posits this as the year in which the magistracy of tresviri monetales was restored in Rome, making these coins among the first minted after the mint was returned to senatorial control.
539 Galinsky, Augustan Culture: 35.
541 Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 446.1.1-5.
542 Galinsky, Augustan Culture: 35.
544 Livy 1.21.1; Plut. Num. 20.
mint to the Senate, no doubt maintained some right of veto for any coinage issued. This suggests that Augustus was the driving force behind the creation of this association between himself and Numa, fully in line with earlier coins demonstrating a subtle allusion to the second king of Rome.

The statue of Augustus found at Prima Porta was created after AD 14, as suggested by the divine attributes of the statue, but it appears to have been based on a bronze original from c. 20 BC.545 This original bronze work is believed to have been

545 The question of original or copy regarding this statue has yet to be satisfactorily proven, but it is generally accepted to be a copy. Fred S. Kleiner, A History of Roman Art (California: Thomson Higher Education, 2007): 68. Toynbee summarises the arguments, stating that Kähler’s belief that the statue was a posthumous original work is inconclusive and subjective, suggesting instead that the statue was the deification of an earlier, less divine, model, erected in the decade following his Parthian victory. J. M. C. Toynbee, "Review: Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta by Heinz Kähler," Gnomon 35, (1963): 511-12. C. J. Simpson claims a strong link between the dedication of the Ara Pacis Augustae and the creation of the Prima Porta statue, placing its creation in 9 BC. Simpson, "Where is the Parthian?," 87-88. The similarities he identifies in iconography are more likely due to the evolution of Augustan propaganda, rather than a similar creation date. Holland connects the statue with key passages from Virgil’s Aeneid and her theory that the statue represents an early attempt to propagandise the peaceful recovery of the standards to a city expecting the spoils of war seems plausible. Louise Adams Holland, "Aeneas-
publicly erected in Rome, and so serves as public imagery, rather than private. Since only the copy has survived, this means that its decoration cannot be presumed to be identical to the original, although the image of the Parthians returning Roman standards suggests that this ‘topical’ imagery was part of the bronze work. This statue of Augustus who is wearing a breastplate depicting a victory over the Parthians is celebrating Augustus’ success without resorting to abstract symbols, as the central image on the cuirass depicts a Parthian barbarian passing over Roman standards to a fully armoured Roman figure. Augustus celebrated the return of standards by the Parthians as a military victory in Rome. Livy, when explaining the origins of the temple of Janus, indicates that Numa secured peace through alliances and treaties, implying that the king used a diplomatic approach, and Dionysius reports that Numa himself acted as an arbitrator in the disputes of Rome’s neighbours, again implying an ambassadorial role was used between warring nations. In a similar way, Augustus claimed to have received embassies from kings of India, Sarmatia, Albani, Hiberi and Medes and from the Bastarnae and Scythians. The image of the Parthians returning standards found on the cuirass of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, which depicts the Parthian as on equal standing with the Roman, is suggestive of these

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546 In 53 BC, Crassus had suffered a terrible defeat against the Parthians, who had kept the standards of his army. Antonius’ campaign against the Parthians in 36 BC had been similarly unsuccessful, leaving behind a second Roman standard. In 20 BC, Tiberius undertook negotiations with the Parthians and arranged for the return of the Roman standards lost by Crassus. See: Res Gest., 29; Vell. Pat., 2.46.3-4, 2.91.1; Zanker, The Power of Images: 186; Eck, The Age of Augustus: 125-26.

547 See Figure 18. Rose attempts to argue that this figure represents Roma, see: Charles Brian Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," American Journal of Archaeology 109, (2005): 25-26. It is clear, from examination of the figure, that this is not the case. The figure appears in complete military uniform, in essentially the same costume worn by the statue. There are no signs of femininity at all — no hint of breasts, no hair trailing from the base of the helmet. In addition, other images of Roma portray her with a Corinthian helmet and full length skirt. See: the Altar of the Julian Family in Carthage, now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis. http://cdm.reed.edu/ara-pacis/altar/related-material/related-sculpture-2/. See also, the Gemma Augustae, http://ancientrome.ru/art/artwork/glyptics/cameos/c0246.jpg.

548 Livy 1.19.4.

549 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.76.3-4.

550 Res Gest. 31.
diplomatic negotiations conducted by Numa. The method of Augustus' victory finds historical precedent in the reign of Numa.

Figure 18: Central scene on cuirass, statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, Vatican Museum

Augustus' 'victory' over the Parthians, and the return of the lost Roman standards, symbolically signified the return of the favour of the gods. The crushing defeat of Crassus in 53 BC had been blamed on the fact that Crassus had ignored bad omens, reported by the tribune Ateius before his departure from Rome in 54 BC. Mattern-Parkes has noted that the moral reasons for Crassus' defeat are more important to the ancient authors than the tactical, and ancient sources even call his war on Parthia unjust. The victory of Ventidius, for which Antonius received some credit, drove the Parthians back in 38 BC, and appeared as Roman revenge for the death of Crassus. The military losses of the wider campaign, which Antonius allegedly attempted to hide, were seen as proof of his failing character, caused by his

551 Cic. Div. 1.16. Velleius Paterculus makes passing reference to a curse but still places the blame on the bad omens. Vell. Pat. 2.96.3. Plutarch adds a detailed scene including the tribune cursing Crassus as he left the city. Plut. Crass. 16.3-5. The curse has been argued to be a late addition to the narrative, see: Adelaide D. Simpson, "The Departure of Crassus for Parthia," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 69, (1938): 532-41.
553 Vell. Pat. 2.78.1; Plut. Ant. 33.
association with Cleopatra. In 32 BC, Octavian resurrected the rites of the fetial priests for the declaration of war against Egypt, throwing a spear into territory declared foreign in the Campus Martius in order to ensure the favour of the gods in his conflict with Egypt. The other traditional role of the fetiales, in addition to the declaration of ius bellum, was as ambassadors, negotiating the terms of peace with foreign entities and this role is emphasised in the accounts of the principate. Augustus’ successful negotiation with the Parthians reflected the restoration of this traditional practice and marked a return to the correct relationship between the gods and Rome. As established in Chapter Two, the literature of the Augustan era demonstrates a variation to the tradition of the establishment of the fetiales as a priesthood in Rome, pushing their creation back from Tullus Hostilius to Numa. As a direct result of this, the association of the fetials in these later traditions was with the maintenance of peace, rather than the declaration of war, as suited the reign of Numa. This is one of the most significant developments in the literary tradition and correlates to both the resurrection of the spear-throwing ceremony and the negotiation of peace.

A direct association between Augustus and Numa began in this same period, as the closure of the temple of Janus, on two separate occasions, allowed Octavian/Augustus to further promote himself as a restorer of Roman religion and tradition. The return of the Roman standards by the Parthians in 20 BC, for which Augustus also claimed credit, marked the return of pax deorum through religio. This correct relationship with the gods and its maintenance had its foundation in the reign of Numa and its restoration recalled his image.

555 Res Gest., 1.7; Cass. Dio, 50.4-5.
556 Varro Ling. 5.86; Cic. De re pub. 2.17; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.72; Gell. AN 16.4.1; Plut. Num. 11.3.
The creation of images of Augustus veiled in a toga performing sacrifices or prayer became a popular form for the depiction of the *princeps*. According to Zanker, this style was the preference of Augustus from the 20s BC and was, therefore, likely created soon after the original statue of Augustus of the Prima Porta.\(^{557}\) It is clear, therefore, that this prevailing image was, if not commanded, at least approved by Augustus.\(^{558}\) The most famous of these images is a full size statue of Augustus in a religious role, attributed to 12 BC and now located in the Terme Museum. This statue uses the same portrait type seen on the Augustus of the Prima Porta but shows Augustus in a toga with his head veiled for the performance of religious rites.\(^{559}\) A second statue in this style is found in the Vatican Museum, called “Genius of Augustus”. As with that located in the Terme Museum, Augustus appears togate, with his head veiled for the performance of religious rites.


\(^{558}\) Levick notes that sculptors were, for the most part, Greeks, dependant on Augustus and other patrons for commissions and so under the tightest control. Levick, *Augustus*: 254.

\(^{559}\) Kleiner compares the image to that of a priest offering sacrifice on the “Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus.” Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art*: 69.
As with many of the images in ancient Roman art, multiple interpretations of these figures are possible. Augustus’ usage of a veiled image associated him with the protection and continuation of his family, and it portrayed Augustus’ role as civil model. Its use also calls to mind sacrificial and religious ceremonies and signifies the pietas and appreciation of religious tradition in the wearer. The nature of the image presented connects Augustus with the religious rites of the city, particularly with the augurs and, therefore, creates a connection to their founder, Numa. This veiled image of the emperor appears as a conscious effort to emulate the religious founder of the city.

In these images, established in the period after Augustus had consolidated his civic powers, correlations to the traditions about Numa can be drawn, and these would have been evident to the Romans. They create a symbolic connection to the ideals of

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560 Fejfer notes that the earliest use of togate capite velato appears in the context of domestic worship, where the Genius of the paterfamilias was so depicted. Jane Fejfer, Roman Portraits in Context (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008): 91.
561 Zanker, Roman Art: 71.
563 For Numa as the founder of religious rites, see: Cic. De re pub. 2.26; Livy 1.20.1, 20.5-6; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2, 5, 70.1, 72.1, 73.1; Ov. Fast. 3.285-92, 6.257-60; Plut. Num. 9.1, 5, 12.3, 20.1; Flor. 1.1; Suet. Rel. Reiff. 178; Serv. 1.294, 7.607. For Augustus as both pontiff and augur, see: Res Gest. 7.
peace and religion that Numa embodied and were undoubtedly part of the design of Augustus when he planned their execution.

In 19 and 18 BC, Augustus is connected with a number of divine beings, on a series of coins, perhaps increasing his authority as a religious leader. The first featured a satyr holding two flutes (Figure 21), and the second a winged siren, also holding a flute, (Figure 22). The presence of the flute with these mythical beings associate them with Apollo, the god of music and Augustus’ patron deity. By establishing a connection between these creatures and Augustus, the moneyer created a stronger link between Augustus and Apollo. These coins are redolent of the tradition surrounding Numa, in which there is a relationship between the king and the nymph Egeria, and in which Numa is said to have had conversations with other divine beings, including Fauns and

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564 De La Fe, “The Coin Project.” RIC 295.
Jupiter himself. Given the similarity in imagery, a connection is further emphasised between Numa, the founder, and Augustus who restored peace in Rome.

In 17 BC, P. Stolo issued denarii which associated images of Augustus, on the obverse, with the attributes of the Salian priests, including their ancilia and apex, on the reverse. That these are the ancilia of the Salii is attested by their distinct shape, which Varro describes as ‘incised at right and left.’ This priesthood had been established by Numa in order to preserve the state (see page 98ff) and in 29 BC, the Senate decreed that Octavian’s name should be added to their song. The coins of Stolo emphasise the connection between Augustus and preservation of Rome, as advertised by the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 BC, marking the beginning of a new age. The use of the ancilia on these coins recalls the traditions then restored, which were being celebrated as the beginning of a new age. They are suggestive of the original founder of the Salii, Numa, and the restorer of the tradition, Augustus.

The Ara Pacis Augustae was an altar located in the northern Campus Martius, along the Via Flaminia and beside the Solarium Horologium of Augustus. It was decreed, with annual sacrifices, by the Senate in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and

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566 Ennius Ann. 2.1 fr. 113(119); Varro Ling. 7.42; Livy 1.19.5, 21.3-4; Ov. Fast. 3.289-96, 4.669-70; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.60.5; Plut. Num. 4.1-2, 8.6.
567 De La Fe, "The Coin Project." RIC 343, RIC 344.
568 Varro Ling. 7.43.
569 For their establishment by Numa, see: Cic. De re pub. 2.14.27; Livy 1.20.4. For the inclusion of Augustus’ name, see Res Gest. 10; Cass. Dio 51.1.
570 Levick, Augustus: 152.
571 Platner, Topographical Dictionary: 31; Coarelli, Rome and Environs: 299.
Publius Quintilius, 13 BC, in honour of Augustus’ return from successful campaigns in Spain and Gaul.\textsuperscript{572} This return to Rome was met with a parade of welcome, including Livia, Octavia and the Vestal Virgins. This return was mirrored in the traditions surrounding Numa, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who states that the people of Rome “met [Numa] upon the road and with great applause, salutations and other honours conducted him into the city.”\textsuperscript{573} In 13 BC, Agrippa, Augustus’ son-in-law and heir, returned from the eastern provinces, closely followed by Augustus from the west. Both had temporarily established peace throughout the Roman Empire. The death of Lepidus, freeing the position of *pontifex maximus* for Augustus to claim in 12 BC, almost certainly occurred at the end of this year as well.\textsuperscript{574} This confluence of events has led to the theory that the temple of Janus, closed for a third time, was closed in this year as well.\textsuperscript{575}

The Ara Pacis was built on land privately owned by Augustus in the Campus Martius and was situated about thirty metres west of the Via Flaminia.\textsuperscript{576} This area was largely devoid of major buildings, particularly in comparison with the southern Campus Martius, which had become an area of intense aristocratic architectural competition by this time.\textsuperscript{577} In addition to the fact that the site offered space, it was no doubt chosen for its proximity to the road by which Augustus returned to Rome in 13 BC, for which the

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\textsuperscript{572} *Res Gest.* 12.2.
\textsuperscript{573} Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.60.3-4. For further discussion of this development, see page 81.
\textsuperscript{575} For the debate regarding the date of the third closure, discussed in Chapter Two, see: Syme, “Problems about Janus,” 198; Evans, “The Legends of Early Rome,” 138; Simpson, “Where is the Parthian?,” 88.
\textsuperscript{577} Although few buildings existed in the area, it was used for military and electoral activity, including the training of troops for war and the election of consuls and censors. See: Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 9; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*: 264. Aristocratic competition in the southern Campus began with colonnaded porticoes in the second century BC, the earliest known example of which is the Porticus Octaviae dated to 167 BC. It had expanded to include the right of burial there, granted to Lucullus in 56 BC, Julia in 54 BC and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa in 43 BC. It was also in this region that Pompey built his theatre with the temple of Venus Victrix within it. Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 15, 18-19, 26. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*: 264-65; Zanker, *Roman Art*: 54.
Senate had ordered the Ara Pacis to be built.\textsuperscript{578} Augustus already dominated this landscape with his monumental mausoleum, situated north of the site chosen for the Ara Pacis. With no other buildings nearby, standing at forty-seven metres high, the white, marble-coated mausoleum, topped by a colossal statue of Augustus, would have been the first thing travellers saw when approaching the city from the north, and it would have been visible from the city walls, about two kilometres distant.\textsuperscript{579} The only other building near the Ara Pacis was the Horologium of Augustus, constructed in 10 BC, the year before the Ara Pacis was finally dedicated.\textsuperscript{580}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure24}
\caption{Location of Ara Pacis Augustae\textsuperscript{581}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{578} Res Gest. 12.
\textsuperscript{579} Platner, \textit{Topographical Dictionary}: 332; Rehak, \textit{Imperium and Cosmos}: 36; Coarelli, \textit{Rome and Environ}: 265.
\textsuperscript{581} This plan is based on the work of Haselberger and Romano. See: Haselberger, "Mapping Augustan Rome," Map 2.
The Ara Pacis was a small rectangular building with two entrances, one on the western side, which looked over the Campus Martius, and the other on the eastern side, which faced the Via Flaminia.\textsuperscript{582} The building was open to the sky and closely resembles the design of the Temple of Janus located in the Forum Romanum.\textsuperscript{583} Of the Temple of Janus Virgil refers to the ‘twin’ gates of War, and Plutarch mentions ‘double doors, which they call the Gates of War.’\textsuperscript{584} When combined with Martial’s epigram 10.28, which notes that Temple of Janus was ‘open to all, and through which the busy crowd of Rome wore their constant way’, it is clear that the temple of Janus in the Forum featured two doors.\textsuperscript{585} The use of this structural device of a ‘throughway’ was perhaps meant to reflect the Gates of Janus, the third closure of which coincided with the decree to build the Ara Pacis. Comparisons between Augustus, as the focus of the Ara Pacis, and Numa, as the creator of the original Temple of Janus, were deliberately suggested by the use of this building design.\textsuperscript{586} As has been established in Chapter Two, the Temple of Janus had come to embody the dual concept of war and peace – that is, peace established through war. This theme is fully utilised in the iconography of the Ara Pacis, which was decorated, inside and out, in an extensive series of images that, when taken both individually and as a whole, promotes the peace and prosperity of the Augustan principate.

\textsuperscript{582} Platner, \textit{Topographical Dictionary}: 31; Coarelli, \textit{Rome and Environs}: 299.
\textsuperscript{583} For the location of the temple, see: Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.165; Livy 1.19.2; Ov. \textit{Fast.} 1.279-82; Plut. \textit{Num.} 20.1; Dumezil, \textit{Archaic Roman Religion}: 332; Wissowa, \textit{Religion und Kultus}: 104.
\textsuperscript{584} Verg. \textit{Aen.} 7.607; Plut. \textit{Num.} 20.
\textsuperscript{585} Martial 10.28. For the design of the temple of Janus, see: Wright, "Janus Shrine," 79; Platner, \textit{Topographical Dictionary}: 279-80; Stern, "Women, Children and Senators on the Ara Pacis Augustae," 158.
\textsuperscript{586} For the connection between Numa and the temple of Janus, see: Livy, 1.19.2; Plut., \textit{Num.}, 20.1; Dumezil, \textit{Archaic Roman Religion}: 332; Wissowa, \textit{Religion und Kultus}: 104; Rehak, \textit{Imperium and Cosmos}: 100.
Figure 25: Plan of the Ara Pacis Augustae

The north and south walls of the Ara Pacis depicted parallel religious processions. The eastern wall showed two goddesses on either side of the entry, while the western entrance was flanked by two scenes from mythical Rome. In this section of my thesis, I will focus on the south-western panel and southern processional scene. Other panels of this building will only be analysed in conjunction with these external images.

587 Fragments of the Ara Pacis began surfacing in the 1500’s and the shrine was reconstructed between 1937 and 1938, but thousands of residual fragments remain in storage and the reconstruction of the Ara Pacis remains largely speculative. For the reconstruction of the Ara Pacis, see: Inez Scott Ryberg, "IV. The Procession of the Ara Pacis," MAAR 19, (1949): 79-83; Orietta Rossini, Ara Pacis (Rome: Electa, 2007): 14-17.

The south-western panel survives in two large, adjoining pieces. On the right, a middle-aged man with a full beard and curled hair wears the *toga exigua*, an archaic costume, which he has draped over his head in his role as sacrifice. (Figure 27), in much the same manner as surviving depictions show Augustus with veiled head. Behind the bearded man appears the arm of a man holding a staff. These two approach a simple stone altar depicted as a pile of rough stones decorated with grain (Figure 28).

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From the opposite side, two identical youths approach, wearing wreaths and bearing the accoutrements of sacrifice (Figure 29). They bring with them a sow, the sculptural remains of which have been broken off in part, but which was clearly to be the sacrificial victim of the upcoming rite (Figure 30). Above the two youths, a small, simple temple is shown, inside which sit two small figures, the divinities overseeing or receiving the offering.
It was first suggested in 1907 that the panel depicted the legend of Aeneas sacrificing a sow upon his arrival in Italy.\(^{590}\) According to the myth of the Laurentian sow, Aeneas had, upon his arrival in Italy, founded the city of Lavinium in Laurentia and then successfully waged war against the local Latin tribes. The location of Lavinium was linked to the discovery of a pregnant, white sow on the banks of the Tiber, which gave birth to a litter of thirty white piglets.\(^{591}\) It is this sacrifice which some scholars believe to be depicted on the Ara Pacis Augustae.\(^{592}\) Ancient authors offer various versions of this legend. Varro (\textit{De Latina Lingua} 5.144) uses the tale as the etymological basis for the name of Lavinium and of Alba Longa. He states that Lavinium, the home of the Penates, was named for the daughter of King Latinus,

\(^{590}\) Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?," 190; Rossini, \textit{Ara Pacis}: 30.
\(^{591}\) Varro \textit{Ling.} 5.144; Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 1.55-56; Verg. \textit{Aen.} 8.38-117.
Lavinia, who married Aeneas, and that it was the first town of the Roman line. Alba Longa, he continues, was built thirty years later and was named for a white sow which had escaped from Aeneas’ ship and given birth to thirty young. The number of young corresponds with the number of years before the new city of Alba Longa would be built. In Varro’s version of events, however, there is no mention of sacrifice of the sow or her piglets in this account. This version uses the incident as a foundation myth for cities historically connected with Rome and also follows the arrival of the Penates. Although the figures within the temple have been argued to have represented the Penates, no other details match the Ara Pacis scene.

In the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Roman Antiquities 1.55-56), it is reported that the Trojans accompanying Aeneas had received a prophecy that they were to sail west until they reached a place where they would consume their table, a prediction that was fulfilled upon their arrival in Italy, when the Trojans used either parsley or wheat cakes as a table. The prophecy stated that when this had occurred they would follow a four-footed beast to the site of their new city. The Trojans attempted to sacrifice a pregnant sow to the Trojan gods in thanksgiving for the fulfilment of the first half of the oracle, but the sow broke free and led the Trojans to a poor area far from the sea on the banks of the Tiber. Aeneas was confused by the poor quality of the region, which would not allow for the development of a prosperous city, and he was debating whether or not to obey the prophecy when a mysterious voice reassured him that this would be only the first city of his people in their new land. It explained that after a number of years, matching the number of piglets born to the sow, a second prosperous city would be founded. The following day, thirty piglets were born, and Aeneas sacrificed the sow and her young to his household gods. Thirty years later, Alba Longa was established by his son Ascanius. Again, despite the embellishments to the legend, this is a foundation myth for the two early towns, and for the worship of the Penates.
According to Virgil (Aeneid 8.38-117), the sow and piglets came from a different context. Virgil states that the town of Lavinium had already been founded and the war with the Latin tribes was continuing, when Aeneas was war-weary and saw no end to the fighting. The god Tiber appeared to him and provided advice and encouragement, advising Aeneas that he would come upon a white sow with thirty piglets and the number of piglets would indicate the number of years before the founding of a new great city. Aeneas is reported to have sacrificed both sow and piglets to Juno, and Tiber cleared the way for the Trojans’ next move by calming the river. This version comes closest to the message of the Ara Pacis, mentioning the on-going conflict faced by Aeneas, as well as his desire for peace. Ultimately, however, the story is again a foundation story for Alba Longa, the religious mother-city of Rome, not for Rome herself.

Recent scholarship regarding the Ara Pacis, however, has admitted to dissatisfaction with this interpretation, based on analysis of the scene and its comparison with the literary accounts of Aeneas and the sow. The sow on the Ara Pacis Augustae, for example, is not depicted with any piglets, let alone the requisite thirty of the tradition, and although the scene is fragmented, the rounding of the edges of the body of the sow suggests instead a pregnant pig, not one that had recently given birth. This does not automatically rule out the Laurentian sow, as another statue of a sow, dated to c. 1 AD (Figure 31), shows a fully rounded pig, as does a later relief (Figure 32). However, both of these images include piglets, and the various literary traditions of the myth emphasise the significance of her litter. It is the piglets which identify the sow as part of this tradition, not her pregnant state, and they appear as an integral part of the iconography of the legend. As there is no room either beneath the

593 Weinstock, "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis';" 57; Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?.; Rehak, Imperium and Cosmos.
594 Rehak, Imperium and Cosmos: 117.
sow on the Ara Pacis Augustae, or behind her, for the piglets to have been included, this is not the Laurentian sow.

![Figure 31: The Laurentian Sow c.1-2 AD.](image1)

Figure 31: The Laurentian Sow c.1-2 AD.

![Figure 32: Bas-relief of the Laurentian Sow, 1st century AD.](image2)

Figure 32: Bas-relief of the Laurentian Sow, 1st century AD.

There are other problems too. The young attendants, identified as the sons of Aeneas, also throw doubt upon the traditional interpretation of the scene. The literary tradition is unclear. Varro does not mention by name attendants with Aeneas in his account of the Laurentian Sow, let alone his sons. Dionysius reports that Aeneas’ eldest son, Ascanius, had been sent with allies to Dascylitus before returning to Troy to restore the city, and that he never travelled to Italy. Dionysius then adds an unnamed son of Aeneas among the Trojans who landed in Italy with Aeneas and who witnessed the sacrifice of the Laurentian Sow and her piglets, although he was not given a role. This son appears to have been named Euryleon, although he changed his name to

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596 This relief is currently housed in the Musei Capitolini, Rome. [http://en.museocivitaromana.it/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/sezioni_storiche/sala_v_vi_leggende_rome_e_civita_primitiva_le_origini_di_roma/bassorilievo_con_la_cosiddetta_scrofa_laurentina](http://en.museocivitaromana.it/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/sezioni_storiche/sala_v_vi_leggende_rome_e_civita_primitiva_le_origini_di_roma/bassorilievo_con_la_cosiddetta_scrofa_laurentina)
597 Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?" 192.
599 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 1.47.5-6.
600 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 1.55.3.
Ascanius during the voyage from Troy to Italy, and he succeeded Aeneas as king over the Latins and Trojans. A third son of Aenas, Silvius, was born to Aeneas by his Latin wife, Lavinia, after Aeneas’ death. This tradition provides Aeneas with three sons, although only two were with Aeneas in Italy. However, these sons are too old to be represented as youthful attendants, and the third was yet to be conceived when the sow was sacrificed. Livy further complicates the issue by implying that Aeneas possessed only one son, called Ascanius, who was either his child by Creusa, who had accompanied him from Troy, or by Lavinia, raised as a Latin. In Livy’s account, the number of sons again does not correspond with the number of attendants on the frieze of the Ara Pacis. Virgil reports two sons for Aeneas: the first, Ascanius, born in Troy, who founded Alba Longa, and the second, Silvius, born of Lavinia and raised in the woodlands. Although the elder son was likely in attendance when the Sow was sacrificed, the younger was again not yet conceived. Upon closer inspection of the figures on the frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae, the youthful attendants have a similarity in appearance and height, which is apparent despite the fact that one is portrayed bending down, apparently attending to the sow, suggesting that they are twins rather than companions. This further discounts the sons of Aeneas. Pollini has recently theorised that the attendants are generic priestly assistants, which would fit into the iconography of prosperity and continuity promoted by Augustus elsewhere.

A closer look at the adult male figure also raises doubts over his identification as Aeneas. Although Pollini has recently argued again that the use of the *toga exigua* in this scene denotes the antiquity of the legend portrayed and is evidence for the

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601 Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.65.1
603 Livy 1.1.11, 1.3.2-3.
605 Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 243. Pollini has also argued that the figure standing behind the bearded man is the grown up Iulus. (Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 242.) There is not enough of this figure remaining to use as an argument and his identification relies on the interpretation of the rest of the scene.
identification of this figure as Aeneas. However, the toga was a symbol of Roman citizenship and Aeneas was not Roman, although he was credited with founding the Roman line, but as a Trojan, however, he would never have been depicted in the traditional Roman toga. Other depictions of Aeneas dress him in military cuirass and cloak, with a simple loin cloth or even naked. The most common image of Aeneas shows him carrying his father from the defeated city of Troy, followed by his son, as seen on coins of Julius Caesar and Octavian commemorating this, and in this image Aeneas is naked. In other depictions of the sacrifice of the Laurentian sow (see Figure 35), Aeneas wears military dress, and, in fact, on no occasion is he depicted wearing a traditional Roman toga. This is in keeping with Augustus’ restoration of Roman tradition, who had even ordered citizens entering the Forum to wear a toga, and also encouraged its use during religious festivals, but as such, it is unlikely that he would have allowed Aeneas, a Trojan, to have been portrayed in a toga at all.

Figure 33: silver denarii, 47-46 BC.

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606 Pollini, From Republic to Empire: 243.
608 Hope, Costumes of the Greeks and Romans: Plate 104.
609 See Figures 33 and 34.
610 Suet. Aug. 40; Edmondson, "Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome," 23.
611 This coin was minted in Africa by Julius Caesar. It features the head of Venus on the obverse and Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy on the reverse. Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 458.1.1-21.
Paul Rehak has gone a step further, suggesting a radical reinterpretation of the panel. Instead of accepting the label of Aeneas for the figure in question, he has argued for its identification as Numa Pompilius. A key to his argument is the costume of the adult male figure, given that his toga is folded in a style appropriate for a Roman, not for a Trojan, and the *toga exigua* depicted is of sufficient antiquity to be associated with an early king. Pollini has pointed out, however, that the figure lacks the diadem which would indicate kingship, but this is a minor objection, since other images show him without a diadem (see Figure 4).

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612 This coin was minted at Rome by Octavian and features the head of Octavian on the obverse and Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy on the reverse. Ghey and Leins, "Roman Republican Coins," 494.3.1-2.

613 A copy of this scene is currently in the Museum of Roman Civilization in Rome. See: Barbara F. McManus, "Aeneas sacrificing the white sow (replica)," in *McManus Images Index VIII* (2003).


615 Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?," 196.

616 Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 242.
Although the myth of Aeneas is connected to the founding of the city, Rehak claims that the myth itself does not have any attachment to the concept of peace, which is clearly the central theme of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, and he stresses that the reign of Numa was renowned for its lack of war: Numa built the first temple of Janus, the opening and closing of which was an indicator of war and peace in Rome, and he established the fetial priesthood and the laws by which a just war, favoured by the gods, could be declared.\(^{617}\) One of his first ‘religious’ acts was to hold a sacrifice of thanks for the end of the conflict between the Roman and Sabine elements of the city, a sacrifice which was performed in the Campus Martius.\(^{618}\) The fragmentary figure located behind the extant adult male appears in non-Roman garb, leading Rehak to suggest that this scene depicts the sacrifice of a sow undertaken to guarantee peace with a foreign king at Rome’s first altar of peace.\(^{619}\) Pollini has argued that in such a sacrifice, the pig, most likely a piglet, would be held over the altar by the signatories as its throat was cut.\(^{620}\) However, in the fetial practice, when the terms of a treaty were agreed upon, a pig would be sacrificed to Jupiter using a flint knife.\(^{621}\) In such circumstances, an adult pig would be appropriate. However, Pollini counters by saying that Rehak’s interpretation, which labels the gods appearing in a small temple above the youths as Jupiter and Dis or Jupiter and Janus Quirinus,\(^{622}\) is incorrect, as their lack of beards indicates that they are *penates*.\(^{623}\) An alternative interpretation is required here. According to Plutarch, sacrifices were offered in thanks when Numa accepted the kingship of Rome.\(^{624}\) These sacrifices likely took the form of *supplicatio*, and find a parallel with the decree of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, which was decreed, in connection

\(^{617}\) Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?", 196; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 118.
\(^{618}\) Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 118.
\(^{619}\) Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?", 196; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 118-19.
\(^{620}\) Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 247.
\(^{621}\) Livy 1.24.6-9.
\(^{622}\) Rehak, "Aeneas or Numa?", 194; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 118.
\(^{623}\) Pollini, *From Republic to Empire*: 246.
\(^{624}\) Plut. *Num.* 7.1.
with sacrifices, in thanks for Augustus’ safe return. Rather than a guarantee of peace, this sacrifice can be seen as a *supplicatio*, possibly performed to the *Penates*. For these reasons, it is quite likely that the figure on the frieze of the Ara Pacis is Numa.

Interpretation of the corresponding frieze at the opposite end of the shrine has an impact on our understanding of the shrine too. The eastern entrance of the Ara Pacis has a smaller door that sits behind the inner altar, facing the Via Flaminia and, like the western wall, has two panels flanking the entryway. These panels depict two distinct goddesses.

![Figure 36: South-eastern panel of the Ara Pacis](image)

The southern panel of the eastern entrance is remarkably intact. It depicts the three female figures demonstrating the iconography of plenty. The identification of the central goddess has caused much debate, as the iconography of the scene can be connected with several deities. The earth goddess Tellus is the traditional classification of the figure. However, without an explicit inscription, her attributes can also be

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625 *Res Gest.* 12.2. Billows argues that it is this *supplicatio* that is depicted in the processional friezes of the altar. See: Billows, "The Religious Procession," 88f.

626 Tellus was an earth goddess often depicted with representations of land and sea, often showing the fecundity of offspring, crops and beasts in her lap, hair and by her feet respectively. Galinsky, "Venus in a Relief," 227-29; Zanker, *The Power of Images*: 172; Holliday, "Time, History and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae," 550; Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos*: 109.
associated with other deities of Rome, and Galinsky has argued that a range of associations was in fact intended by this ambiguous figure. As such, no specific identification can be deduced, and our study needs to focus on the general message of the panel. Her generic attributes emphasise the benefits of peace as fertility, seen in the twins she holds, the ox and sheep at her feet and the grains and fruits in her lap. According to Ovid, Numa ensured the continued fertility of the land through sacrifice to Tellus, and this would link this panel with that of 'Numa' on the western side of the altar. This bounty comes from both land and sea, represented in the female figures flanking the goddess, one seated on a swan over a field of grains, and the other on a dragon with waves below. This figure of peaceful plenty corresponds with the south-western panel, where 'Numa' offers a sacrifice to seal of thanks at his own shrine of peace. Both friezes feature the iconography of abundance, through the presence of fruits and grains and through the appearance of twins. The connection is clear. In a period free of strife and full of religious renewal comes the prosperity and abundance of peace. This message is directly connected to Augustus through the processional scene, which links bountiful peace with the religious traditions established by Numa.

The north and south sides of the outer wall of the shrine depict parallel processions, both heading west, of the people and officials of Rome. The source of

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629 Ov. Fast. 4.665-72.

630 The north side contains generic figures, few of which have been identified as representing specific individuals known to us from the time of construction. This side represents the Senate, led by sacrificial officials and lictors to a sacrifice at the shrine of the Augustan peace. They connect the victorious goddess on the east with the scene of Romulus and Remus on the west, representing the foundation of
these processions has been argued as based on an actual event, accurately recorded, or, alternatively, as representing an idealised religious ceremony.\textsuperscript{631} The inclusion of women and children in these scenes supports the conclusion of Billows, who claims the procession to represent an idealised \textit{supplicatio} in honour of the safe return to Rome of both Augustus and Agrippa.\textsuperscript{632} The southern frieze runs from the scene of the ‘bountiful earth mother’ to the scene of ‘Numa Pompilius’ performing sacrifice, connecting the concept of plenty to the concept of peace and to the religious traditions of Rome. The scene highlights the connection to religious practice by depicting the official sacrificial party, with the four major \textit{flamines}, sacrificial attendants and Vestals, followed by the family of Augustus. Augustus has been identified as the fifteenth figure in the procession, preceded only by his lictors.\textsuperscript{633} The top half of his head suggests that it carried a wreath, while the rear bottom half of the head has the suggestion of draped fabric, as would have occurred if the subject had his toga over his head. As we have seen, Augustus was often depicted with his head covered in preparation for sacrifice, and this would have been an appropriate style for this monument, as the procession approaches the altar in order to offer a sacrifice. This creates a visual connection between Augustus and the image of Numa on the south-western panel, who similarly appears with his toga draped over his head. By appearing in the same style, Augustus is creating a direct comparison between himself and Numa.

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\textsuperscript{632} Billows, "The Religious Procession." It is possible that the processions, in a similar way to the goddess scenes, were used to suggest more than one event – not just a \textit{supplicatio} but also the annual sacrifice decreed by the Senate and the \textit{constitutio} of the altar, with symbolism suggestive of each of these themes apparent in the frieze.
\textsuperscript{633} For the identification of Augustus, see: Rose, "Princes and Barbarians," 454; Elsner, "Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae," 81; Rossini, \textit{Ara Pacis}: 48.

The positioning of Augustus so prominently, leading the procession around the shrine, emphasises his personal importance in the creation of peace and prosperity. On the frieze, he is positioned as though he moves from the goddesses who are at the heart of the concept, towards legendary ancestors who showed the Romans how to establish peace. Augustus is here not directly associated with Romulus, who does appear at the end of the northern procession, but instead, Augustus approaches Numa. The significance of this seems clear. With this panel, Augustus is aligning himself with the goddess of peaceful fertility, from whom he moves away, and with the peaceful, religious king whom he faces.

Another connection between Augustus and Numa appears on the shrine in the form of the presence of Vestal virgins. The foundation of the cult of Vesta, her priestesses and the construction of their temple were attributed to Numa Pompilius, and it has been demonstrated that Augustus took a particular interest in these
priestesses. In the procession following Augustus, a Vestal appears as the thirty-first figure, following that identified as Agrippa. Inside the Ara Pacis, around the top of the altar itself, a sacrificial procession was also depicted and the figure of a Vestal recurs here. Her inclusion suggests a connection with the annual sacrifice vowed to Augustus by the senate, which was to be performed by “pontiffs and the Vestal virgins.”

Figure 39: Southern frieze panel, Ara Pacis Augustae - figure identified as a Vestal Virgin

Figure 40: Altar frieze, Ara Pacis Augustae - Vestal Virgin

634 Varro Ling. 5.74; Cic. De re pub. 2.27.14; Livy 1.20.3; Cass. Dio 54.27.3; Ov. Fast. 4.945-50.
635 Res Gest. 11.
This examination of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* has revealed a physical correlation between Augustus and Numa. With the reinterpretation of the figure on the south-western panel as 'Numa,' the role of Augustan peace is further emphasised, and the benefits of peace are highlighted by the goddess of bountiful earth. The placement of Augustus and the use of the same costume as that employed on the figure of Numa creates a solid connection between the two figures.

The centrepiece of Augustus' visual propaganda, however, was the Forum Augustum and its great Temple of Mars Ultor. If Numa played an important role in the propaganda of Augustus, does he also have a place in this important monument? The location of the Forum, which was built perpendicularly adjacent to the Forum Iulium, maintained, through proximity, the connection between Augustus and his divine, adoptive father while, at the same time, creating a clear distinction between the two men, but Augustus also modelled elements of his Forum on that of Caesar.636 The central feature of both Fora was a Temple to a divine ancestor. The Forum Iulium contained an immense building dedicated to the worship of Venus Genetrix, the divine ancestor of the Julian family, as planned by Caesar before his assassination.637 Similarly, the divine ancestor of the Roman people, Mars, was honoured in the Augustan Forum.638 Both temples were placed in such a way that they dominated the respective Fora, sitting at the ends of long, enclosed spaces. Both were long rectangular structures enclosed by walls, with open central spaces and colonnaded paths around the outer edge. The Forum of Augustus added an extension to the design of the Forum Iulium in the form of four exedras to the sides at either end of the rectangle, creating alcoves to showcase larger-than-life statues.639

In addition to the physical similarities, there was a symbolic relationship between the divinities that the two men chose to honour in such distinctive, noticeable ways. Venus Genetrix, the mother of Aeneas, was chosen because she was the mother of the *Gens Iulia*, which claimed descent from Aeneas' son, Ascanius/Iulus. Julius Caesar had a direct claim to being under the protection of this goddess as a descendant, a claim that Augustus could also make through his adoption. Mars, who appears in Augustus' forum as an avenging god, was the father of Romulus and Remus, who were also descendants of Aeneas. This creates an association between the Forum Iulium and the origins of the Julian family, and the Forum Augustum and the beginning of the Roman family, of which Augustus was declared *pater patriae* in 2 BC.\(^{640}\) This link to his father legitimized Augustus' own dynastic ambitions, as he literally built on the achievements of his adoptive father in a way that suggested a similar continuity through his own adoptive heirs, if they were his grandsons or his step-son.

The statues of great Romans and the Julian family were set up before the Temple of Mars Ultor, like a symbolic sacrifice, and are a well-known feature of the Forum of Augustus. Their purpose has been examined from a number of points of view, but previous studies have failed to recognise the importance of the statue of Numa Pompilius in the Augustan Forum, and so, as part of Augustan propaganda.  

The identity and placement of the statues in the Forum Augustum remains largely speculative, although some figures are definitely known, for example, Romulus who was positioned in the exedra to the right of the temple, and Aeneas, to the left. Modern scholars divide the other statues into two groups: members of the Julian family, and men who had made a great contribution to the development of Rome. The apparent connotation of these groupings demonstrates the important role played by the Julian family in the development and success of Rome, a role equal to the combined contribution of all other noble families. Given the layout of the Forum, it seems likely that the statues were placed at intervals down both sides of the square, in front of the columns, acting as a guard of honour for the Temple. The statues would have stood out from the walls, making their display more prominent. It was only by walking past these *exempla* from Rome’s history that one could have reached the Temple of Mars

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641 Zanker first studied them for archaeological and reconstructive purposes. See: Zanker, *Il Foro di Augusto*. Geiger considers them an unacknowledged modern cultural heritage, with roots in both Greek and Roman practice. See: Geiger, *The First Hall of Fame*. Neither work has made more than cursory connections to the wider framework of Augustan iconography and propaganda. Zanker later explores the wider message and links the symbolism of the Forum with Augustus’ iconography. See: Zanker, *The Power of Images*.

642 Ov. Fast. 5.563-65. The majority of statues from the Forum Augustum were moved, replaced over time, or lost, especially during construction of the Forum of Trajan, which required the removal of one of Augustus’ south-western exedra. All that remains now of the whole site are a few walls, one carrying the outline of a temple, and a couple of columns that remain standing in the area (Figure 42). Other evidence, including statues and inscriptions, has been fragmentary and is to be found scattered across a number of museums in Europe, making reconstruction of the whole difficult. Without accounts listing and detailing the placement of these statues, there can be no definitive list of included figures, but other literature and Augustus’ intentions can be used to attempt reconstruction. See: Zanker, *Il Foro di Augusto*: 7; Geiger, *The First Hall of Fame*: 107-9.

Ultor. Thus, those who had business in the Forum, foreign visitors and young men, would all be reminded of the majesty and might of Rome.

Figure 42: The remains of the Forum of Augustus

The heroes of Rome are alluded to by Virgil in *The Aeneid*, in his parade of heroes, and this list serves as a starting point for the reconstruction of Augustus’ selection of statues. From Virgil we get a list of Alban kings, including Silvius, Procas, Capys, Numitor and Aeneas Silvius, establishing the connection between legendary Aeneas and the line of Alban kings.⁶⁴⁴ Romulus is prominently placed at the end of this list, since he connects Alba to Rome and therefore, Aeneas, and he is closely followed by Julius Caesar and Augustus, as descendants of Aeneas.⁶⁴⁵ Numa, identified by his “hoary hair,” is placed in close proximity to Augustus.⁶⁴⁶ Only two more Roman kings are included, Tullus and Ancus, as the Tarquins were seen to embody tyranny and were, therefore, perhaps deemed inappropriate for a parade of heroes embodying the glory of Rome.⁶⁴⁷ The remaining figures largely embody those whose actions improved

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⁶⁴⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 6.788-93. For the significance of this placement, see Chapter Two.
⁶⁴⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6.813-16. The Tarquins represented Etruscan domination of Rome, as seen in Cicero, *De re pub.*, 1.62, 2.52. See further: Dunkle, “The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late
or preserved the *res publica*: Brutus, executing his own sons for plotting to restore the Tarquins; Lucius Mummius, who destroyed Corinth; Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who defeated the last king of Macedon; Cato the Elder; Cossus, who won the *spolia opima*; the Gracchi; and the Scipios for their role in defeating Carthage.⁶⁴⁸ Suetonius explains that Augustus placed the statues in his forum to honour the memory of the men who had established the glory of Rome and would serve as a standard to which Augustus and his successors could aspire.⁶⁴⁹ With this motive, it seems possible to argue that the Romans listed by Virgil also appeared in Augustus’ forum. In addition, surviving inscriptions from the Forum itself focus on actions which had shaped the *res publica*, suggesting that the men represented there were chosen to represent the foundations upon which Augustus ‘dis-armed’ Mars, that is, brought peace to Rome, as seen in the pediment of the Temple. The attributes of war, which was the province of Romulus, and peace, the specialty of Numa, were celebrated in the statues presented to the people in the Forum of Augustus. Surviving fragments of statues have shown that the men portrayed had their peaceful attributes listed: that is, those whose achievements had shaped Roman society in a fundamental way, along with the political positions they had obtained. Many too were also militarily successful, wearing the clothing of a triumphator. While these men had made such a strong contribution, they had also been renowned for their military success on behalf of Rome. The statue of Appius Claudius Caecus (c. 340 BC – 273 BC), the builder of the Via Appia, is one such. As an old man who was nearly blind, Appius Claudius Caecus prevented peace with Pyrrhus of Epirus, and his determination to resist led to Rome’s eventual victory.⁶⁵⁰ Another is that of M. Furius Camillus (446 BC – 365 BC), who prevented the emigration of Romans to

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⁶⁴⁹ Suet. Aug. 31.5.
Veii after the Gallic sack of Rome, and he had also been dictator in 396 BC.\textsuperscript{651} M. Aemilius Lepidus (c. ? – 152 BC) appears too, based on his election to the position of \textit{princeps senatus} on six occasions. This ‘hero’ also appears because, as a child, he had killed an enemy to save the life of a Roman citizen.\textsuperscript{652} Claudius Marcellus (c. 268 BC – 208 BC) became the third general of Rome to receive the \textit{spolia opima}, for killing Viridomarus, the Gallic chief.\textsuperscript{653} These contrasting ideals of war and peace were embedded in the history of the city, and Rome had achieved her success through their contributions.

The founding of Rome began with the first king of Rome, Romulus, but it was not fully realised until the reign of his successor, Numa Pompilius.\textsuperscript{654} The young warrior king, Romulus, encouraged his people to fight for their place in a long-established and populated region, and the Romans were constantly at war with neighbouring tribes. Romulus had a reputation for violence and aggression, as indicated by the murder of his brother, Remus, the rape of the Sabines, his continuous military victories and the conflict between him and the aristocrats, which led to their accusing him of tyranny and to speculation that he was assassinated by senators.\textsuperscript{655} In contrast, Numa came to the throne at a more advanced age, 40, and was renowned for the peace of his reign.\textsuperscript{656} Upon becoming king, he made peace with the neighbouring nations through diplomacy, and he finally settled the conflict between opposing factions within the populace of Rome, both between the Sabines and the followers of Romulus, and between the patricians and the plebeians.\textsuperscript{657} In fact, neighbouring tribes allegedly came to rely on Numa as a mediator for their own conflicts, leading to the establishment of Rome as a

\textsuperscript{651} Cornell, \textit{The Beginnings of Rome}: 311; Scullard, \textit{A History of the Roman World: 753 to 164 BC}: 177; Geiger, \textit{The First Hall of Fame}: 140-41.
\textsuperscript{652} Geiger, \textit{The First Hall of Fame}: 150.
\textsuperscript{653} Scullard, \textit{A History of the Roman World: 753 to 164 BC}: 307-08; Geiger, \textit{The First Hall of Fame}: 146-47.
\textsuperscript{654} Plut. \textit{Num.} 5-6.
\textsuperscript{656} Livy 1.19.4; Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.58.3; Plut. \textit{Num.} 5.1, 20.2.
\textsuperscript{657} Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 2.62.2-5; Plut. \textit{Num.} 17.1-3.
peaceful influence on her allies\textsuperscript{658} and the beginning of the tradition of spreading Roman ‘civilisation’ to other peoples. Whereas Romulus had established Rome’s credentials in war, which was an essential element in the establishment of peace, Numa initiated many religious innovations that were treasured throughout the Republic, establishing a civilised Rome. It is no co-incidence that both Romulus and Numa are said to have ruled for about 40 years each, demonstrating the equal weight given by the Romans to the contribution of these two men.\textsuperscript{659} Both were considered essential for building the strong foundation upon which Rome became a powerful and successful empire. Given the balance of the Forum Augustum and the significant role assigned to both war and peace here, Numa must have occupied an important visual position. The extant exedrae, located at the north-eastern end of the Forum, housed oversized statues of Romulus, representing the foundation of Rome, and of Aeneas, as the legendary ancestor of Romulus and the Roman from whose line in particular the Julians claimed descent. Given the symmetry of the Forum, it seems likely that the exedra in the still buried south-western end of the Forum would have contained similar statues. Taking into account the prominence given to Numa by Virgil, combined with the need to ensure a balanced display of war and peace, it seems likely that Numa was placed prominently at the start of the wall that runs out of the exedra in which Romulus stood. This would have ensured that his statue was not overshadowed by the oversized statue of Romulus and still place him in prominence amongst the great men displayed in the Forum. This allows the balance between the contrasting ideals of Romulus and Numa to be displayed.

Augustus was the culmination of these contrasting ideals. His reign maintained the delicate balance between the dual virtues aspired to by the Romans. His association with Rome’s military successes of the time, even those in which he had not

\textsuperscript{658} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.76.3.
\textsuperscript{659} Livy 1.22.6; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.58.2-3, 12.5; Plut. Num. 2.1; Zonar. 7.5.
featured centrally, leaving much of the strategy and actual fighting to his comrades Antonius and Agrippa - over Brutus and Cassius, Sextus Pompey and Marcus Antonius, in Spain, Gaul and Asia – left him the sole figure of power within the city of Rome, supported by Agrippa. He added to his military standing with further victories in Parthia, Gaul and Spain, extending the borders of an already large empire and continuing the tradition of Roman military dominance initiated by Romulus.\(^660\) Within the city, Augustus focused on the cultural and civilising aspects of Roman tradition, restoring temples and religious practices.\(^661\) He established ‘peace’ throughout the Roman Empire through careful diplomatic manoeuvring and pacification among Rome’s allies, in much the same way as was attributed to Numa.\(^662\) He recreated the idea of Rome as the civilised centre of the peaceful world.

This balance between war and peace, and between Romulus and Numa, is reflected on the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum. Mars stands in the centre with his weapons sheathed, suggesting a readiness for future war, while he enjoys momentary peace.\(^663\) To his right is Venus, with winged Cupid on her shoulder, the mother of the Julian family and protectress of Aeneas, and to his left is Fortuna, who smiles on Rome and Augustus alike and carries a cornucopia, representing plenty from the land.\(^664\) Inside the temple, according to Pliny, Augustus had placed an ivory statue of Apollo.\(^665\) Beyond Venus reclines Romulus, bearing a club but apparelled as an augur. This image represents the augury performed by Romulus and Remus which allowed Romulus to claim the privilege of founding and naming the newly established site.\(^666\) The figure beyond Fortuna is unfortunately fragmented. Given the symmetry of the Forum and its representation of the competing


\(^{662}\) Livy 1.19.4.

\(^{663}\) Zanker, Il Foro di Augusto: 14; Zanker, The Power of Images: 196.


\(^{665}\) Plin. HN 7.53.183.

and integrated values of Rome, it is likely that the 'second' founder of Rome, Numa, was portrayed here, creating a balance between the warrior and the priest.

From the limited physical evidence remaining of the Augustan Forum and given the lack of detailed descriptions in the literature of the period, no definitive model can be recreated. However, based on the literary traditions and themes of the period and other iconography employed by Augustus, a place for Numa in the Forum, with some prominence, is plausible. Similarly, the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor gains balance in its message when the figure of Numa is included. Augustus would have needed to include Numa in order to express the careful balance of external war and internal peace he wished the Forum to embody.

Conclusion

The physical evidence demonstrates an increasing promotion of the image of Numa on the part of Augustus, suggesting that the impetus for the link between the principate and the king did originate in Augustus. In the triumviral period, Octavian created indirect references to Numa with his coins. These allusions appear unintended, as the coins of this period demonstrate a programme to promote Octavian as a superior successor to Caesar. Octavian was, in part, responding to the propaganda of his fellow triumvirs, but it is plausible that his later use of Numa was conceived in this period.

In the 30’s BC, Octavian positioned himself as the Roman traditionalist as part of his campaign against Antonius. By taking on this role, he placed himself in opposition to the luxury and lax morals represented by the east and would naturally have looked to Rome’s history for guidance. Although only indirect references to Numa appear in the coins at this time, the increased emphasis on Octavian, in his role as pontiff and augur, began the process of using the king to help make his period of dominance more traditional.
This comparison culminated in 23 BC, with a coin featuring Numa on one side and Augustus on the other. Although it cannot be conclusively proven that Augustus was directly involved in the design of this coin, it is likely that he had some input into its development. As such, Augustus perhaps approved this direct association between himself and Numa and encouraged its dissemination in Rome. The coin was undoubtedly prompted by the closures of the temple of Janus in both 29 BC and again in 25 BC. The restoration of *pax deorum*, represented through the return of the Parthian standards in 20 BC, put the finishing touches on the image of Augustus as the protector and restorer of the religions and traditions of Rome, inaugurated by Numa which had ensured Rome’s continued dominance in the past.

The statues of Augustus which depict the *princeps* in a toga, with his head covered for religious rites, demonstrate the importance of the role of religion in the ongoing imagery of the principate. These images, *capite velato*, appear to create a dialogue with the religious foundations of Rome, and they promote Augustus’ civic role. Direct associations between Augustus and Numa, however, appear on the Ara Pacis Augustae, the iconography of which suggests the dual nature of war and peace, as without war, Rome cannot have peace. This duality finds further reflection in the parade of heroes in the Forum Augustum, where both civic and military achievements are celebrated and suggests a place for Numa on the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor. The placement of Numa on significant Augustan monuments further emphasises the civic and ‘peaceful’ role played by Augustus in maintaining the dominance and security of the city.

The impetus for association between Augustus and Numa, therefore, came from the *princeps*. Although the association appears to have been unintended originally, it was clearly promoted by Augustus as he consolidated his power base following his victory at Actium.
Conclusion

A consistent image of Numa was established during the Republican period, with the literary tradition largely set in place Ennius (239-169 BC). This development followed the full enfranchisement of Sabinum in the third century BC, when the Sabine stereotype began to incorporate positive aspects and provide moral and religious examples for Rome. The earliest surviving visual image of Numa appears on coins from 97 BC and reappears, unchanged, in 88 BC and 49 BC, indicating that this image, like the literary tradition, had been standardised by the first century BC. The portrayal of Numa in these images is in keeping with the Sabine stereotype developed following the incorporation of Sabines into the Roman citizenry and is indicative of the development of the character of Numa, as a positive example of Sabine stock.

By the late Republic, key elements from the traditions about Numa were expected, or even required, for any detailed account of his reign or portrait of the king. A relationship between the king and the nymph Egeria was a core feature of these legends, as was speculation regarding his education by Pythagoras. The establishment of specific religious institutions was continually attributed to Numa, particularly the pontificate, the Vestal virgins and the Salii, although limited contexts were provided for their creation. This created the impression of Numa as a man of religious practicality, whose main contribution to Rome was the institution of priesthoods and religious practices which served to maintain the pax deorum. Within this established framework, authors such as Livy and Cicero were able to emphasise or manipulate elements of the tradition to suit their own purpose, demonstrating the political potential of the characterisation of Numa.

The major institutions attributed to the king were also linked with the concept of war and peace, connecting the maintenance of peace with the reign of Numa. The

667 Dench, From Barbarians to New Men: 91-93; Farney, Ethnic Identity: 4.
purity of the Vestal virgins was linked to internal concord and cases of unchaste priestesses were connected, by Livy at least, to disharmony and conflict between citizens. Their origin in Rome is consistently attributed to Numa and the central placement of their temple and house in the Forum, as well as their religious role, ensured their continuity and prominence. Physically placed in close proximity to the Temple of Vesta, the temple of Janus in the Forum served as an indicator of Rome’s external status: when the Gates were open, Rome was at war, when closed, at peace. Republican sources date the building of this structure to the reign of Numa. Janus, as the god of transitions, also played a role in the rites of the Salii, whose foundation was attributed to Numa as well. For the Romans of the late Republic, the meaning of the song of the Salii had been lost and attempts were made to reconstruct its significance. The connection between their rites and the opening of the war season was emphasised by their appearance in armour with antique shields and suggests that they had come to represent the military prowess of Rome. Their connection with Numa had been firmly established and appears to rely on their role in helping the transition of Rome from peace to war in March, and from war to peace in October. The reference to Janus in surviving fragments of the Salian hymn emphasises their responsibility for change. All three of these institutions were of importance for the concepts of war and peace and possess connections beyond their establishment by Numa.

The fetial priesthood, with its role in declaring war and creating and maintaining treaties, displays a similar connection with ideas of war and peace. However, the Republican accounts of fetial origins are ambiguous and open to interpretation, and they link their establishment in Rome to the reign of Tullus Hostilius or Ancus Marcius. The confusion found in the Republican texts allowed for later re-interpretation.

The literary tradition of these institutions received serious attention in the Augustan period, with important developments occurring. The origins and traditions of
the fetials underwent significant change in the Augustan literature, with their origins virtually rewritten. In this period, Numa is credited with the foundation of the college of fetials and with establishing the rites by which they negotiated and created treaties and declared war. In the process of re-interpreting the origins of these priests, a motive was required for Numa. This motive set the tone for the role of the fetials – to prevent war. This is in contrast with the emphasis in Republican texts – to ensure just wars, with the gods on the side of the Romans. It is also at this time that the rite of casting a spear into enemy territory in the Campus Martius becomes part of the activities allegedly undertaken by the fetials. This rite was ‘resurrected’ by Octavian in 32 BC, when he used the ceremony to declare war on Cleopatra and Egypt and so avoid the appearance of civil war with Antonius. The argument that Augustus created the ritual and then created an origin for it in antiquity is possible, but seems unlikely, as the authors of the period were not, for the most part, directly influenced by the princeps.\footnote{For this argument, see: Wiedermann, “The Fetiales,” 478-90.} It is plausible, however, that the revival of this ritual brought attention to the priesthood, and it is for this reason that more detailed accounts of their rites appear. The ambiguity present in Republican accounts has been ‘clarified’ by those of the Augustan period, and these priests became yet another institution established by Numa.

The accounts of the institution of the Vestal virgins at Rome, still attributed to Numa, began to include details of their selection and duties. These details promoted the importance of the Vestals to Rome and highlighted the prestige of their position. The increased importance of the priestesses emphasised in these accounts reflected on the family of Augustus, whose wife, Livia, and sister, Octavia, were granted the privileges and status equivalent to the Vestals in 35 BC, and further honours were bestowed on Livia in 9 BC. The origins of the worship of Vesta also received attention in the Augustan literature, which were traced to Aeneas, who met Vesta when he brought the Penates to Italy from Troy. This development coincides with the promotion
of the Julian family and their ancestry, traced to the son of Aeneas, Iulus. The Vestals were, therefore, linked more firmly with the ancestral family of Augustus and this reflects the fact that Augustus had established a public shrine to Vesta in his home, placing the State cult in the care of his *domus*.

While examples of fallen Vestals and their punishment are still maintained in Augustan accounts, occasions on which priestesses who had been falsely accused were saved by a miracle, supposedly performed by Vesta herself, appear, keeping the emphasis of the account on the maintenance of their purity. This is further stressed by the explanations of their roles in various religious rites, which worked to purify the city, and in myths of Vesta, which portray the goddess as pure. This focus on purity surrounding the Vestals can be linked to the legislation regarding marital status which Augustus attempted to enforce in 18 BC and again in 9 BC. Augustus carefully created a strong association between himself, and his family, and the continuation of the Vestal virgins and their practice, beginning as early as 35 BC and strengthened by his assumption of the office of *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC. The connection between Vestal purity and internal harmony in Rome, established in Republican literature, was now secured by the person and relations of the *princeps*.

The Temple of Janus in the Forum, while remaining a feature of the reign of Numa, received increased prominence in the Augustan literature. Its role as an indicator of the state of Rome’s external politics, an important feature in Republican accounts, was surpassed by historic accounts of its closure. This led, in Ovid, to an exploration of how this indicator functioned. Interest in the temple was clearly generated by its closure by Augustus – the second time the temple had been closed since the reign of Numa. Augustus was proud of the fact that the temple had indicated Rome to be in a state of peace on three separate occasions within the time he led the city as *princeps*, closing the Gates in 27 BC, 25 BC and, arguably, in 12 BC or just after
the exploration of the workings of the Temple of Janus presented by Ovid reveals important philosophical understandings of the concept of war and peace as the Romans perceived it and highlights the duality of this concept – war and peace are inseparably one idea, with peace frequently created through war. Literary interest in the temple of Janus also generated speculation regarding the nature of Janus, whose nature is further expounded in the Augustan literary tradition. He becomes, in addition to his traditional role as guardian of doorways and transition, the embodiment of change. As such, he is associated with the sun, time, creation, travel and fields, all areas which involve constant change and transition. Augustus, through the very visible closure of the Temple of Janus in the Forum, created circumstances in which direct comparison between himself and Numa, as the founder of the temple, was natural. As in the case of Numa, Augustus could now be presented as a bringer of peace.

Augustan accounts of the Salian priesthood contain increased detail and explanation, giving rise to contradictions in the form of two opposing accounts of their creation. Despite this, the general outcome of the events remains the same. A shield, unlike any wielded by the Romans, fell to earth or miraculously appeared, and was treated as a sign from the gods. In order to protect its power, copies were made and the shields were given to twelve priests of Mars, whose duty it was to protect them and to dance with them through the streets of Rome during the month of March. The shields appear as a sign of the end of famine or to mark the ways by which Jupiter can be appeased. In both cases, the citizens of the city were protected from an external threat to the stability of the city – death by hunger or the wrath of Jupiter for their actions – linking the Salii with the safety of the city’s populace. A common addition to these accounts in this period revolved around the blacksmith, called Mamurius, who copied the shield for its safety and, as a reward for thus protecting this symbol, had his name included in the hymn of the Salii. This addendum was undoubtedly motivated by the Senatorial decree declaring that “Octavian” be included in the song. The Romans
had clearly forgotten the meaning of these lyrics by the late Republic, and the addition of a story which also placed the name of a living person in the song of the *Salii* created a historic precedent for the inclusion of Octavian’s name.

While the literary developments in the origins of these institutions demonstrate an impact on the writing of this period by the contemporary events. Indirect comparisons between Augustus and Numa were created through the additional depth provided in accounts of the reign of the second king of Rome. Specific cases in which Numa reformed existing religious practice in Rome appear in the Augustan accounts of the king. Numa either provided the bodyguard of Romulus, the *celeres*, with religious duties to change their purpose or disbanded them. These changes to existing practice also appeared in the religious reforms of Augustus, particularly the improvement of existing cult structures as he “found Rome built of clay and [left it] in marble.”

The addition of a reluctance to reign on the part of Numa finds parallels in Augustus’ proclaimed restoration of the Republic and his claims to have only retained power at the urging of the Senate. Likewise, the inclusion of a welcoming parade for Numa’s entry into Rome is likely based on the procession which met Augustus’ return from the East in 29 BC. A similar indirect comparison occurs in the restructuring of the city attributed to Numa by Plutarch and Dionysius, which is comparable to the restructuring of Rome undertaken by Augustus.

Numa’s relationship with the divine is also further developed in Augustan accounts, with his relationship with Egeria formalised and the inclusion of repeated contact with Jupiter and Faunus. These demonstrate a history of divine dealings on the part of Rome’s rulers which was used in the political promotion of Republican leaders, who claimed to be under the protection and guidance of patron gods – Sulla, Pompey and Caesar under Venus, Antonius under Hercules and Dionysus and Augustus under

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Apollo. In addition, the formalisation of a personal relationship between Egeria and Numa reflected the divine kinship claimed by Augustus through his adopted father, which allowed him to use the inscription DIV. IUL. FIL. (son of the divine Julius) on coins.

In addition to the indirect comparisons generated by these accounts, a more direct relationship is also apparent. Virgil’s placement of Numa in his parade of heroes creates a physical connection between Augustus and the second king, where the princeps following Julius Caesar in the same way that Numa followed Romulus. This idea of succession is utilised by Ovid in Book 15 of Metamorphoses, where the heir to Romulus, Numa, begins the book and the heir to Caesar, Augustus, closes it.

An emphasis on the creation of internal harmony appears in the Augustan accounts of Numa Pompilius. Numa was elected king when the Roman and Sabine elements of the city could not choose among themselves and his redistribution of the curiones led to a blending of the citizenry. In a similar way, the Augustan period saw an end to a period of recurring civil conflict.

While the actions and policies of Augustus created indirect comparison with the literary accounts of the reign of Numa, further comparisons occur, directly and indirectly, in the surviving physical evidence. Indirect and unintentional connections with Numa appear in the coins of the 40’s BC and 30’s BC, as Octavian began to take part in political competition against Antonius and Lepidus. Many of these connections occur through his promotion of his religious offices – as augur and pontiff, and similar religious roles held by Antonius and Lepidus also appear in this period. Despite this indirect link in the physical evidence, the actions of Octavian in this period demonstrate an exploration of the potential use of Numa, as he arranged for Vestal status for Livia and Octavia and revived the practices of the fetiales.
Direct comparison between the two begins to appear in the 20’s BC, with coins of 23 BC featuring Augustus on the obverse and Numa on the reverse. Further indirect comparisons appear in the promotion of the return of the Parthian standards and the use of veiled statuary. It is not, however, until the construction of the Ara Pacis Augustae that a direct connection between Augustus and Numa can be traced with any certainty to the design of the princeps. In this structure, which symbolically displayed the concept of war creating peace, Augustus is positioned approaching a scene in which an adult male performs a sacrifice. While considerable debate surrounds the identification of this man, the conceptual focus of the temple, combined with the dress and bearded appearance of the figure make a plausible argument for his identification as Numa. In addition to Augustus’ approach, both Numa and Augustus appear togate with their heads veiled, evoking further comparison of the two figures. The appearance of Numa on this Augustan monument creates reasonable grounds for the suggestion that Numa also appears on the pediment of the altar of Mars Ultor, located in the Forum of Augustus. The inclusion of Numa in this monument would create a balance and formally symbolise the connection between war and peace celebrated in Rome, that is, the idea that peace is created through military victory.

It is evident that the literary tradition of the reign of Numa Pompilius underwent considerable development during and following the principate of Augustus. The authors of these later accounts drew not only on the traditions of Numa which had been established in the Republican period but also on the events of the principate for their inspiration. At least part of this assimilation occurred as a direct result of Augustan policy and propaganda, which directly created this comparison for the people of Rome. In addition, many of the religious restorations undertaken by Octavian/Augustus appear to be inspired by the traditions of Rome established by Numa. Stern argues that Augustus began to associate himself with Numa after failing to assume the name
However, the ancient evidence suggests that this association began as early as 35 BC, long before Octavian considered changing his name and suggests that Octavian never considered Romulus, either as a name or as his only model. Instead, he combined the best elements of the examples he had from Rome’s past to create an image of himself as a bringer of peace and civic harmony.

When we consider this evidence, it can be concluded that Augustus made a concerted effort to associate himself with the tradition of Numa, inviting comparison between his actions and those of the second king of Rome. While many of these connections appear indirectly, they were picked up by the authors of the period, who were influenced by the events which they witnessed. This impacted on their accounts of Numa, which came to reflect the characteristics of the Augustan *principate*. This culminated in the later account of Numa by Plutarch, and suggests that Plutarch drew inspiration for his biography not just from Augustan traditions but from the life of Augustus himself.

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