Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae

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For the modern world, the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of Augustan Peace) has come to symbolize the artistic, political, and social achievements of the early Roman Empire, just as the Parthenon at Athens has for Classical Greece.1 Constructed between 13 and 9 B.C.E. in the northern Campus Martius in Rome, the altar was closely associated with a giant sundial, the Horologium-Solarium (Fig. 1). Architecturally, the Ara Pacis conflates two types of structure: a Greek form of altar raised on a high podium, and an enclosing rectangular screen wall that resembles a Roman janus with doorways in its east and west facades.2 Beginning in the sixteenth century, the remains of the monument were excavated in several campaigns; since the 1930s the reconstituted structure has been on public display in its own protective shell, now being replaced by a new one, designed by Richard Meier, which should be completed late in 2002.3 Because of its relatively complete state of preservation and the high quality of its extensive sculptural decoration, the Ara Pacis has overshadowed other monuments, like the Forum of Augustus, that perhaps have an equal or better claim to represent Augustus’s principate.4 Nevertheless, we use the Ara Pacis confidently as one of the primary structures for viewing Augustan Rome, even though our understanding of the monument is far from secure.

In 1907, Johannes Sieveking proposed that the southern panel relief on the west end of the screen surrounding the Ara Pacis represented the sacrifice of a brood sow by the Trojan hero and Roman ancestor Aeneas, following his arrival in Latium (Fig. 2).5 Three ancient authors, Virgil, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, and Varro, provide versions of this story that seem to correspond with details presented on the relief. For nearly a century, archaeologists and historians of ancient art have accepted this identification almost without question and have used the scene as a keystone in attempts to discover the meaning of the monument.6 The composition, carved over two joining blocks, focuses on a rustic garlanded altar in front of a tree. At the right are two adult men, both holding staffs,7 at the left are two younger individuals, one of whom leads a sow toward the altar. In the background at upper left we can see a small temple whose open end frames two seated male divinities within. The adult nearest the altar is usually identified as the sacrificant, Aeneas, preparing to offer the animal to the Penates, accompanied by the second adult figure, either his son Iulus/Ascanius or his companion Achates.

The purpose of this article is to question the traditional identification of the scene. I will then propose a new and different interpretation of the way this one relief relates to the sculptural program of the Ara Pacis as a whole, to Augustus’s use of art and history, and to modern art historical theory and methodology.

The Composition and Iconography of the Panel

In general, the composition on the Ara Pacis relief conforms to an established Roman type, derived from Hellenistic representations, with a central altar flanked by one or more sacrificants along with the animal victim and attendants, who enter from one side.8 The altar may be cylindrical or cubical or stand on tripod legs; the officiating individuals usually have their heads veiled (capite velato) and hold a shallow offering bowl (patera) for pouring libations; at least one assistant leads or urges on the animal victim while others carry trays of offerings or hold ritual equipment. The presence and number of spectators vary. Architectural elements, vegetation, or other landscape features are sometimes added in the background to suggest generic settings or specific locations. So standard is this iconography that it can be considered an artistic topos, whose specific meaning depends on the identity of the “cast of characters” and other details.9

Since much recent discussion of the Ara Pacis panel has proceeded from the premise that its subject has already been determined, it seems worthwhile to begin instead with a closer examination of the relief itself before moving on to wider interpretations (Fig. 3). The visual focus of the relief is the central rustic altar in the foreground, carved to represent rough, unworked stones that have been piled up and draped with a garland of laurel leaves. The trunk of an oak tree with foliage rises behind the altar, dividing the scene into two unequal parts. Within each part, the compositional elements differ: the two foreground figures to the right of the altar are nearly as tall as the relief is high, they do not overlap one another, and together they occupy more than half the width of the panel. To the left of the altar the elements are compressed and set in at least three overlapping planes of relief: in the foreground a sow, in the middle distance the two attendants, and in the background a low hill surmounted by a temple.

Of the four human figures on the relief, the sacrificant to the right of the altar is the most prominent because of his position near the center and the frontal pose of his body. He is a mature, barefoot, and bearded man in archaic costume, the toga sine tunica, which leaves most of his chest and right shoulder and arm bare. Pliny tells us that the statues of the early kings of Rome erected on the Capitoline were similarly garbed.10 The sacrificant wears the toga capite velato over a laurel wreath, traits shared on the other remains of the monument only by Augustus in the south frieze. Although he possesses a muscular, classicizing body, his torso has begun to thicken, indicating that he is middle-aged.11 His deep-set eye and pronounced naso-labial fold agree with this assessment.

Stylistically, the loose, shaggy locks of the sacrificant’s hair, including the beard, and slightly parted lips are features that seem characteristic of Hellenistic sculpture; like much Augustan art, this figure draws from several sources. Similar
features characterize the relief head of Aion (Eternity) on the slightly earlier Zoilos Monument from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor (Fig. 4). Since representations of middle age are uncommon on the Ara Pacis, where youthful and idealized faces are the rule, the maturity of our figure seems a distinct characteristic of his identity.

In the crook of his left arm he cradles a long staff, probably a scepter, since a spear would be inappropriate for a *toga.* Instead, he extends his right hand (now missing) over the altar. Originally, he may have been pouring a libation from a *patera,* as is common in similar sacrifice scenes belonging to this iconographic topos. A number of other *paterae* appear elsewhere in the decoration of the Ara Pacis.

Although Virgil’s Aeneas was once instructed to veil his head for a sacrifice, the rest of the sacrificant’s representation on the relief is inconsistent with the usual iconography of Aeneas in the late Republic and early Imperial period as young, armored, and often beardless. The characteristic depiction of Aeneas shows the pious warrior who carries his aged father and leads his young son out of Troy on the night it fell. This iconography, already well established throughout central Italy by the fourth century B.C.E. in a variety of media, continued well into the Roman Imperial period. He was represented in this guise, for example, in one of the sculptural assemblages in the hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus; this statue has not survived, but a wall painting from Pompeii and several sculptural copies or adaptations allow us to imagine how it may have looked. A similar sculptural group served as an *acroterium* atop the major temple of Augustus’s cult in Rome, the *templum novum divi Augusti,* begun by Tiberius after his predecessor’s death in 14 C.E. and dedicated by Caligula in 37 C.E., at which time the building was also depicted on coins.

To explain the differences between the standard iconography of Aeneas and the individual on the Ara Pacis relief,
connection of the sacrifice with his arrival (ventus) in Italy and with a foundation myth. Erika Simon and Paul Zanker have argued instead that the rendering of our figure is an attempt to show pater Aeneas as precursor of Augustus, as the Trojan hero is described in the Aeneid. Virgil’s epic poem was nearly finished when he died in 19 B.C.E., but Augustus did not actually assume the honorific title of pater patriae until 2 B.C.E., the year in which the Forum of Augustus was dedicated—seven years after the Ara Pacis was completed. Although iconographic experimentation is a hallmark of Augustan art generally, the princeps’s own mention of the title pater patriae as the last honor in his autobiographical Res gestae makes it clear that he regarded it as the culminating award of his principate, not one he would have assumed earlier. It seems unlikely that such a “paternal” image of Aeneas as stand-in for Augustus would have been anticipated on a state relief a decade earlier.

At the far right of the scene stands another individual carved in high relief, usually identified as Achates, the companion of Aeneas, or as Iulus/Ascanius, Aeneas’s son. Achates is seldom represented artistically, but Iulus/Ascanius consistently appears in art as a small child in Phrygian costume and cap, holding a short shepherd’s staff (pedum) with a curved end. The relief figure on the Ara Pacis, only partially preserved, wears a long-sleeved tunic with a mantle fastened on the preserved right shoulder; the sensitively rendered fingers of the right hand support another long staff with a slightly knotty surface where small branches have been trimmed away. The long sleeve indicates that he is not a Roman, and the position of his shoulder—almost level with that of the sacrificant—shows that he must be an adult. Moreover, the staff is too long to be the pedum of Iulus/Ascanius; instead, it complements the long staff or scepter that the sacrificant holds. The two figures are adults, therefore, and equals rather than father and son.

On the left side of the panel, two barefoot attendants approach the altar, clad in short tunics and wearing laurel
wreaths. The figure on the far left bends forward slightly and urges on a sow, the sacrificial victim.\textsuperscript{28} Closer to the center, slightly overlapped by the altar, stands a second attendant with a fringed napkin, or \textit{manutele}, draped over the left shoulder. His left hand supports a fluted tray (\textit{talis}) with offerings of fruit and cakes near shoulder level, and his right hand holds a pitcher (\textit{guttus}) carved with crisp flutes that suggest metalware. All three ritual appurtenances have parallels elsewhere on the Ara Pacis,\textsuperscript{29} thus indicating that this ceremony is specifically Roman.

Because of their costume and attributes, the two attendants have been identified respectively as a \textit{victimarius} (male sacrificial attendant who leads the animal victim) and a \textit{camillus} (youthful male assistant at a sacrifice who holds the ritual equipment).\textsuperscript{30} The sculptors have indicated that the two youths are not identical: the individual on the left has a noticeably square, blocky head on a thick neck with a pronounced Adam’s apple and wears a tunic unfastened in the \textit{exomis} fashion, leaving the right shoulder bare and exposing part of the chest, now mostly sheared away. The attendant on the right has a more rectangular head with a higher forehead and delicate features, lacks an Adam’s apple, and wears a short-sleeved tunic that covers the entire chest area. Over the top of the head, long locks of hair are plaited together in a braid that falls in a loop behind the occiput, with its end secured to the rest of the braid by a small band or fillet. If untied, the long tress of hair at the back would fall well below the shoulders. This braid, seen sometimes in Hellenistic sculpture, is also characteristic of Roman \textit{camilli}.\textsuperscript{31} Such locks presumably would be cut late in adolescence as a rite of passage.\textsuperscript{32}

The \textit{camillus} in the relief has sometimes been identified as Aeneas’s son, Iulus/Ascanius, assisting his father.\textsuperscript{33} But Roman religious law of Augustus’s time required that a \textit{camillus} have two parents living, which would exclude Ascanius, whose mother died in the sack of Troy. Such rules were often projected anachronistically into the mythological past. Because the garlanded and veiled figures of the sacrificing male on the panel and Augustus in the south frieze share certain similarities, it has also been suggested that the \textit{camillus} also could allude to Gaius Caesar, Augustus’s adopted son and presumed heir, who was born in 20 B.C.E. The heights and facial features of both youths in the sacrifice scene, however, suggest that they are adolescent; therefore, it is unlikely that either serves as a reference to Gaius, who was only seven when the altar was founded and eleven when it was completed.\textsuperscript{34}

In the foreground, the sow moves toward the altar from the left, as is standard in sacrificial scenes.\textsuperscript{35} Despite damage to the surface of the relief at this point, the outline of her teats shows clearly against the background,\textsuperscript{36} and surviving traces of the trotters show that the animal is on her feet, being urged forward, as in depictions of sacrifice like the \textit{suovetaurilia} (triple sacrifice of a boar, ram, and bull) on the late Republican Domitius Ahenobarbus Monument (perhaps a statute base)\textsuperscript{37} and the Julio-Claudian \textit{suovetaurilia} relief in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.\textsuperscript{38} Like all creatures on the Ara Pacis, the animal is relatively small in relation to the people, but as she lacks her thirty piglets, this cannot be the immense sow (even if scaled down) that was prophesied to Aeneas. Several early Imperial reliefs, including the Belvedere Altar in the Vatican (Fig. 5), include litters of piglets and demonstrate that sculptors were capable of depicting them.\textsuperscript{39} Moreover, we should distinguish between the sacrifice scene in literature, where the recumbent sow and her piglets are the focus, and this sacrificial scene, in which an animal is accessory, advancing toward a central altar that is the main focus.

We know of relatively few sacrifices of single pigs or sows that would be appropriate for depiction on a state monument;\textsuperscript{40} the \textit{suovetaurilia} sacrifice combines the offering of a boar, a ram, and a bull. During the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 B.C.E., Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow to the earth goddess, Terra Mater, as part of his ceremonial inauguration of a new cycle (\textit{saeculum}) in Rome’s existence,\textsuperscript{41} and a coin of 16 B.C.E. depicts two men wearing toga\textit{e velata} holding a small sow over an altar, as a reference to the archaic peace treaty between Rome and the town of Gabii during the time of the Etruscan kings (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{42} We will come back to this last occasion.

In the background on the Ara Pacis relief above the animal victim and attendants is a small temple on a hill, containing
the seated divinities that we assume are to be recipients of the sacrifice (Fig. 7). Two sides of the shrine are visible, rendered in perspective as if the building were set in the distance.43 Considerable attention was devoted to its architectural details: one long side wall of ashlar blocks, three visible corner pilasters with Corinthian capitals (like those that actually frame the corners and doorways of the Ara Pacis enclosure), the tiled roof, front pediment (decorated with a patera and a pair of litui, the short staffs with curved ends held by augural priests), and floral acroteria.44 The highly detailed and sophisticated architecture of the building stands in marked contrast to the rustic altar in the foreground of the panel. Nevertheless, there is a garland draped across the open facade of the shrine in the same manner as the garland draped across the altar, creating a thematic and visual link between the two constructions.

The opening at one end of the shrine is closed not by the paneled doors characteristic of temples but by a pair of low gates carved to represent wickerwork and surmounted by a row of inverted dentils.45 Behind these gates we can see two seated figures holding long staffs. Despite their small scale it is clear that the figures have drapery around their thighs but bare, muscular chests; the preserved head of the figure on the left turns slightly toward the center, as if the pair are conversing. Although the head is worn, a detail (Fig. 8) shows that the lower part of the face extends down to the trachea at the base of the neck; this roughened area, too massive to be simply a prognathous jaw, must instead represent a full beard. These traits indicate conclusively that these individuals cannot represent the divinities mentioned in our three main literary sources. According to Virgil, Aeneas’s sacrifice is to the goddess Juno; in Varro it is to the household gods; and in Dionysios it is to the Penates, in a shrine erected after the sacrifice took place. In any case, the Penates typically are represented as two youths, like the Dioscuri, in military garb, holding spears.46 These mature seated figures with bare upper bodies more likely represent major male deities such as Jupiter and Dis/Pluto, who are often depicted in this manner. Even though the details described here may have been too small for most Augustan viewers to appreciate from ground level in front of the Ara Pacis, it is obvious from the careful work that the sculptors knew what they intended to represent, and in antiquity the addition of paint might have enhanced the contrast between exposed flesh and drapery.

Scholars have usually argued that the occupants of the temple are observing the sacrifice at the altar, a simile for the gods observing sacrifices at the inner altar of the Ara Pacis. Recently, Jás Elsnner has devoted two long discussions to this issue, and he has stated that the sacrifice on the panel is the same as the one that actually took place on the inner altar of the Ara Pacis.47 This is certainly incorrect, for Augustus specifies in the Res gestae that the magistrates, priests, and Vestals were to participate in an annual sacrifice (anniversarium sacrificii) at the Ara Pacis,48 and the frieze of the inner altar, even in its present fragmentary state, depicts the Vestals and some male figures along with two bovids and a sheep; no pig is preserved.49
The Textual Evidence

Although several literary sources for the sacrifice of Aeneas belong to the Augustan period, the story was well known at least from the late Republic. It is worth examining these texts in detail.

Virgil refers to the sacrifice of the sow three times in the Aeneid. As noted earlier, this epic was nearly complete at the time of the poet’s death in 19 B.C.E.; thus, his version of the story was presumably well known when the Ara Pacis was conceived and constructed between 13 and 9 B.C.E. Before reaching Italy, the Trojans landed in Illyria, where a colony of fellow refugees had already settled. There, the seer Helenus warns Aeneas that in the future he will discover an animal that is to be a portent for the foundation of the town of Lavinium (Aeneid 3.388–93).51

I will give you signs: keep them firmly in mind. When you are in distress, by the water of a secluded stream, you will find a huge sow recumbent on the shore under the oaks, just delivered of thirty piglets. She is white and white the newborn piglets—there will be your city, and a secure rest from your labors.

On their subsequent arrival in the peninsula, Aeneas sends peaceful envoys to all the Latins, but Juno stirs up hostilities that ultimately lead to war. Tiberinus, the god of the river Tiber, appears in a dream to the restless and troubled Aeneas and repeats verbatim Helenus’s earlier omen concerning the sow and her brood (Aen. 8.36–48). The next day the hero finally discovers the animal with her litter and offers all of them to Juno (Aen. 8.81–85):52 “But behold the marvelous portent that suddenly appears before your eyes, shining white through the woods with her brood the same white color, stretched out on the green bank. Pious Aeneas offers them to you, great Juno, placing her and the young on your altar.”

The narrative of Dionysios of Halikarnassos is somewhat different, perhaps following an annalistic tradition and not Virgil’s source.53 In this account, Aeneas is ordered by a sibyl on Mt. Ida to sail west; on landing in Italy he is to follow an animal until it wearies and there found a city.54 Aeneas and his forces land at Laurentum on the Italian coast and offer a sacrifice to Helios (Sol) for the fresh water they find there. After a meal, Aeneas sets up the images of the Trojan gods and prepares to sacrifice a gravid white sow to them. She
escapes, however, and flees inland; Aeneas, recognizing the omen, follows her for twenty-four stades with a few of his men. Eventually she lies down and the next day gives birth to thirty piglets. Aeneas then sacrifices them all (Dion. Hal. 1.57.1): “And Aeneas sacrificed the sow, together with her brood, to his paternal gods in the very spot where a shrine now stands. The Lavinians consider this shrine sacred, and prevent all from entering it except themselves.”

Finally comes Varro’s account (De lingua latina 5.144):66

Lavinium is the first fortified settlement of the Roman race which was founded in Latium: for there are our Penates. This town was named after Lavinia, the daughter of Latinius, who married Aeneas. From here another fortified settlement was founded thirty years later: it takes its name from the white [alba] sow. She had escaped to the site of Lavinium from Aeneas’s ship and there bore her piglets; from this portent a second city was created thirty years after Lavinium and called Alba Longa, because of the sow’s color and the [elongated] shape of the site.

Clearly, the literary accounts do not match what we see on the Ara Pacis relief. All three versions include the sow with thirty piglets, and the latter are important because they foreshadow the founding of Alba Longa after Lavinium.57 It can hardly be argued that the piglets have been omitted for lack of space on our panel,58 since other smaller early Imperial reliefs include at least some of them, like one face of the Belvedere Altar, mentioned above, which may illustrate Helenus’s prophecy to Aeneas (Fig. 5).59

Furthermore, Aeneas’s sacrifice has no clear association with peace, and no direct connection even with Rome. In the literary versions of the story, the landing of Aeneas was connected with the foundation of Lavinium, where the portent of the sow and her young foretells the creation of Alba Longa thirty years afterward. Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, came from Alba many generations after its establishment, but her relation to Aeneas’s sacrifice is remote at best. Finally, Aeneas’s arrival signaled the beginning of long battles between the newcomers and the native populations of Italy. His advent brought war, not peace. So strong is Aeneas’s connection with war, in fact, that Weinstock once used the traditional identification of our relief to suggest that the monument to which it belonged could not be the Ara Pacis.60

A New Interpretation
The iconography of the sacrificant is not consistent with that of the early Imperial Aeneas. His non-Roman adult associate is represented as an equal, not a subordinate or even a youth, let alone a child. The sow lacks her thirty piglets. The deities observing the sacrifice are not the gods mentioned in the literary accounts of Aeneas’s sacrifice. The sacrificial attendants, a victimarius and a camillus, indicate that this is a typically Roman sacrifice, but neither individual makes a convincing Iulus/Ascanius. And, finally, Aeneas’s sacrifice has nothing to do with peace and everything to do with the founding of cities other than Rome. Thus, on the grounds of both iconography and text, an identification of the scene as the sacrifice of Aeneas seems untenable.

What else could this panel relief represent? Here I think we need to consider the details the panel actually presents: two sceptered kings, one an archaic Roman by costume and the other non-Roman, offering a sow in the presence of a pair of mature male divinities, assisted by a victimarius and a camillus, and thus a Roman ritual. All the human figures are barefoot, suggesting a simpler, less sophisticated era than the Augustan age. A scene involving Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, fits all of these requirements.61

According to tradition, Numa (r. 715–673 B.C.E.) was the great civil and sacred lawgiver of regnal Rome. His prominent role as the founder of the original temple of Janus to serve as an “indicator of war and peace” (index belli pacisque) immediately suggests an obvious link with the janiform shape of the Ara Pacis enclosure.62 In addition, two of Numa’s important religious acts can be located in the Campus Martius, not far from where the Ara Pacis stood: a sacrifice to Mars to confirm the concordia between the Romans and Sabines,63 and his establishment of the Fetial Law, which provided specific rules for waging a just war (bellum iustum) against foreign enemies and for framing terms for the establishment of peace.64 Dionysios of Halikarnassos even cites a specific occasion: when Numa was about to go to war with the nearby town of Fidenae he averted the hostilities and thus was able to preserve an unblemished record of peace during his reign.65

Under the Republic, the Fetiales constituted a priestly college charged with overseeing declarations of war and establishments of peace. Before Rome declared war against an enemy, restitution (rerum repetitio) was demanded in a formal procedure, which allowed the opponent thirty (or thirty-three) days to respond.66 If no satisfactory answer was forthcoming, the Fetiales convened and one member acting for the rest threw a spear into or toward the hostile territory, and war was declared. This ceremony, which originally took place at the border, later was located at a freestanding war column, the columna bellica, in the precinct of Bellona outside the pomerium (sacred boundary of the city) in the southern Campus Martius, where a small plot of land had been designated as “foreign territory” in perpetuity.67 If reparations were made in time, war was averted, and peace could be established. To seal a treaty of peace, the Romans sacrificed a sow, as is depicted on the coin of 16 B.C.E. mentioned above, which commemorated the archaic treaty between Gabii and Rome (Fig. 6).68

Although the Fetial Law was invoked a number of times during the Republic, the practice seems to have fallen into desuetude before Octavian revived (and perhaps reshaped) the tradition in 32 B.C.E. before the Battle of Actium. To establish the justness of his war against Antony, Octavian staged the fetial ceremony in the Campus Martius; since he mentions in the Res gestae that he was a fetial priest, perhaps he himself threw the traditional spear over the columna bellica on behalf of the confraternity.69 An important aspect of Octavian’s propaganda at the time was the representation of Antony as “foreign” and “non-Roman,” even though Cleopatra was the official enemy.70 There is, however, no evidence that the college was actually sent to Alexandria to demand rerum repetitio, as tradition demanded; Octavian’s ceremony was a symbolic gesture to impress the people of Rome.71
With the final defeat and deaths of Antony and Cleopatra in 30 B.C.E., Octavian gained control of the Roman world and closed the doors of Janus as a sign that peace had been restored. Since Numa was the original founder of the temple of Janus and because he had set out the rules for establishing peace, his was a model to follow and emulate.

I propose that the Ara Pacis panel shows King Numa, originator of the Fetal Law, sacrificing a sow with a foreign king to guarantee peace. Since the emphasis is on Numa’s role as peacekeeper, the other king is relegated to a position behind him, rather than facing him on the opposite side of the altar. To seal the pact an oath is sworn to the celestial and infernal gods as witnesses, a pantheon here represented by just a pair of divinities, Jupiter and Dis, the two mature male figures in the small temple on the relief. The gods are guarantors of the oath, not the recipients of the sacrifice. Most important, the rustic altar that serves as the compositional focus at the center of the scene would be the first Roman “altar of peace”—that is, a forerunner to the Augustan monument. If this interpretation is correct, then the two young sacrificial attendants could even be the children of the two kings, though this interpretation does not depend on it.

This identification of Numa and the sacrifice of peace is congruent with the rest of the sculptural program of the Ara Pacis. At the west end of the monument two panel reliefs flank the central entrance (Fig. 2); the south panel depicts Numa, while the north panel apparently showed the infants Romulus and Remus being discovered by their adoptive father, Faustulus, in the presence of their real father, Mars, the eponymous god of the Campus Martius. It is clear that the two panels on the west end of the monument are meant to be understood as a pair, not only because of their structural symmetry flanking the doorway but also because of their thematic symmetry: Romulus the warrior was the first king of Rome, and Numa the peacemaker the second. Although the Romans abominated the memory of the later Etruscan kings of Rome, a long tradition approved of both Romulus, who was renowned for the arts of war, and Numa, renowned for the arts of peace. Together they offered a model for effective governance.

Thus, in a sense the west front of the Ara Pacis becomes the visual expression of Virgil’s description in book 6 of the Aeneid, where Augustus appears framed between Romulus and Numa as part of the poetic vision of Rome’s future empire (imperium) granted to Aeneas when he visits the underworld. First comes the description of Romulus as son of Mars, followed by Augustus himself, with Virgil’s famous description of his world rule, and then Numa:

A son of Mars will join his grandfather’s line—Romulus, whom his mother bore to the family of Trojan Assaracus. Do you see how double plumes rise upon his helmet, and how his father himself designates him for life on earth? My child, under his auspices renowned Rome will enclose her empire [imperium] on earth and her pride by heaven, and one city wall will enclose the seven hills, fortunate in her family of men. (description of Romulus, 6.777–83)

Now cast your eyes over here; behold this people, your own Romans. Here is [Augustus] Caesar, and all the descendants of Iulus who are destined to come beneath the great dome of heaven. Here, here is the man whom you have heard promised so often, Augustus Caesar, the son of a god [Julius Caesar], who will establish the golden age again among the fields where Saturn reigned once, and extend his empire [imperium] beyond the Garamants and Indians, a land that lies beyond the stars, beyond the paths of the year and the sun, where sky-bearing Atlas turns the vault of heaven, burning with stars, upon his shoulders. Even now the kingdoms beyond the Caspian Sea and the Maeotian land shudder in response to these heavenly oracles: the sevenfold mouths of the Nile roar in terror. (description of Augustus, 6.788–800)

But who is he, standing apart, bearing the sacrifice with his head wreathed in olive twigs? I recognize the long locks and gray chin of that Roman king, who built our city on laws, when he was sent from the poor land of insignificant Cures to take control of a great power [imperium magnum]. (description of Numa, 6.808–10)

The Image of Numa

Because we have accepted a blanket view from Roman authors that monarchy is “bad,” almost no attention has been paid to the possible appearance of a king of Rome on the Ara Pacis apart from Romulus, who is shown as a child. Numa has also been neglected as a candidate because his image seems relatively unknown to modern scholarship, in contrast to Romulus and Aeneas, both of whom have strongly developed iconographies—and, in the case of Aeneas, the authority of the Aeneid to bolster him.

Romulus and Aeneas were also considered ancestors of the gens Julia to which Augustus belonged. Nevertheless, the princeps could claim descent from Numa as well as through Julius Caesar; on his mother’s side, Caesar was descended from King Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter. In addition, a well-defined tradition about Numa goes back at least to the epic poet Ennius in the third century B.C.E., as well as to an iconographic type represented by the statue of the king on the Capitoline Hill, thought to have been erected during the regal period (before 509 B.C.E.). As a counterpart to Romulus, Numa features prominently in the writings of Cicero, including his works De republica, De oratore, and De natura deorum, all of which were composed near the middle of the first century B.C.E., well before Augustus’s rise to power. About the time that Octavian assumed the title “Augustus” (January 17, 27 B.C.E.), Livy had recently published the first book of his history of Rome, in which the portrait of Numa as peaceful king and “culture hero” is very clearly defined as a foil to the warlike Romulus.

In addition, Numa acquired an iconography that consistently presents him as a mature bearded man. While we do not know in detail what his statue on the Capitoline Hill looked like, he appears on a number of coins of the first century B.C.E. A denarius minted by L. Pomponius Molo (ca. 97 B.C.E.?) depicts a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and on the reverse a sacrificial scene carrying the legend NVM N B M (Fig. 9). The composition includes a togate Numa holding an augural lituus to the left of a flaming altar while a victimarius introduces a goat from the right. The
asses and denarii minted by C. Marcius Censorinus (ca. 87 B.C.E.) show him in profile as a bearded and diademed man. On a coin of Pompey the Great (49 B.C.E.) the bearded head of Numa appears in profile, wearing a diadem inscribed NVMA (Fig. 10). In the Augustan period, the tresviri monetales (the board of men responsible for minting coins) issued an unusual as in 23 B.C.E. that showed the head of Augustus on one side and the bearded head of Numa on the other, stressing the connection between the two individuals. These last two coins are important because they were struck under the authority of Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso and his son, respectively; like Augustus, the Calpurnii could claim descent from Numa, and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has tentatively hypothesized that the introduction of the “new” Augustan coinage was meant to recall Numa’s putative creation of the first Roman money. While it is easy for us to neglect the value of ancient currency as a means of disseminating official images, these minted pieces of metal passed repeatedly through the hands and under the gaze of the public.

Numa and Augustus: Parallel Lives

Thus, Numa served as a plausible and acceptable model for Augustus to follow. Here we can concentrate on a few of the more important points of contact between the two rulers. Numa was reluctant to rule, and when he was invited by the Senate and people to become king of Rome, he accepted only when the gods confirmed his right to rule. Appropriately, with his head veiled he had the omens taken on the Capitoline Hill, accompanied by augurs and priests, and received the requested signs. Octavian also made a show of his reluctance to rule on a number of occasions, and in 27 B.C.E. when he adopted the title Augustus in January he was careful to emphasize that he was doing so with human and divine approval. As a number of studies have pointed out, his title is connected with the terms augur and augury, and also with the verb augere (to increase, enrich, bless). This occasion also illustrates Augustus’s antiquarian interests and his careful attempts to legitimize himself by appealing to tradition, for a famous quote by the poet Ennius describes how Romulus had founded Rome by “august augury.” Furthermore, Augustus and Numa, as well as Romulus, came to be considered city founders.

As mentioned earlier, Numa founded the temple of Janus in the Roman Forum, whose doors were closed during peace and open in times of war. Significantly, Janus remained closed throughout the king’s reign. Augustus emphasizes in the Res gestae that the Senate voted to close the temple of Janus three times during his principate, the first time after the Battle of Actium, when he also took the most important Roman augury, the augurium salutis; this is also the only place in the document where he mentions his own birth, a point that will become meaningful when we turn below to the broader meaning of the Ara Pacis.

Ancient sources also credit Numa with establishing all the major priesthoods of the Roman state religion. Some of the earliest coins of Octavian label him pontifex and augur as princeps, he went on to accumulate more priesthoods than any other Roman up to his day, culminating in his assumption of the role of pontifex maximus in March of 12 B.C.E., while the Ara Pacis was under construction. Eventually, Augustus linked himself with many aspects of the state religion; within the grounds of his house on the Palatine Hill he set aside plots of land for the temple of Apollo Palatinus and a shrine of Vesta, and his name was included in the Hymn of the Sallii, the dancing priests of Mars. He created a new priest, the flamen lulialis, to supervise the cult of the deified Julius Caesar, just as Numa had created the flamen Quirinalis for the worship of Romulus as a god after his death. As if to underscore the importance of Augustus’s religious and political affiliations, the south frieze of the Ara Pacis places him after the licent, among men who may represent the pontifices, and at the head of the flamines, not among the members of his family.

Under the direction of the pontifex maximus, the pontifices were also responsible for the maintenance of the calendar, and Augustus played an active role in instituting the calendrical reforms that Julius Caesar had proposed before his assassination. Similarly, Numa was said to have reformed the calendar established by Romulus; he made January the beginning of the year and inserted the intercalary month to create a cycle that repeated itself every twenty years.

Numa created and reformed civic institutions, divided the country into districts, and established overseers and patrols, foreshadowing Augustus’s division of Rome into fourteen districts (regiones), supervised by the vicomagistri who
maintained city services and attended to the new cult of the Lares and Genius Augusti, created in the years immediately after the construction of the Ara Pacis. The city with major buildings, including the Regia and the temple of Quirinus; Augustus restored the latter, and after becoming pontifex maximus in 12 B.C.E. he had the right to reside at the Regia, even though he chose not to. Even the anachronistic Pythagoreanism of Numa has some interesting points of contact with Augustus’s circle of intimates, including the poet Virgil.

Following the lengthy wars of Romulus, which increased the territory of Rome, Numa instituted peace and promoted agriculture, the rearing of children, and the proper worship of the gods. These ideal goals are very similar to the objectives of Augustus’s social and moral legislation, which stressed the importance of farming and increasing the size of Roman families. These are always considered the tangible benefits of peace.

The Ara Pacis as a Representation of Augustan Rule

With these links between Augustus and Numa in mind, the decorative program of the Ara Pacis can be better understood. As the panels of the west end flank the central doorway and form a pair depicting Romulus and Numa, so the panels on the east end form another pair, with the well-known seated figures conventionally called Tellus (probably Pax herself) on the south side and Roma on the north side facing one another across the back entrance (Fig. 11). Pax and Roma function as allegories of Peace and War. Thus, on the southern half of the monument, the peaceful king Numa at the west end corresponds with Pax at the east end, and on the northern half the warlike Romulus at the west end corresponds with Roma on the east end.

The peaceful panels with Numa and Pax thus frame the south procession frieze, which includes Augustus with priests and lictors, followed by members of the imperial family. To strengthen this connection, Numa and Augustus are the only male figures on the altar who are garlanded and veiled, and Livia in the south frieze and Pax on the east end panel are the only women who are garlanded and veiled.

A similar arrangement obtains on the north half of the enclosure wall. The end panels with Romulus and Roma frame the north processional frieze, in which the figures move parallel to those in the south frieze, perhaps representing the same procession as if seen from the opposite side. The procession of the north frieze is often said to include senators, but very few of the togate individuals wear the distinctive senatorial shoes (calki senatorii), and at least two camilli are present, carrying aceraria, or boxes for incense. Thus, the north frieze likely depicts more priests, followed by additional members of the family of Augustus. Richard Billows has argued in detail that the long processions constitute a supplicatio, or solemn religious celebration, offered on July 4, 13 B.C.E., the date of Augustus’s return to Rome from the western provinces and the occasion for consecrating the Ara Pacis.

While Augustus embodies aspects of both Romulus and Numa, his location in the south frieze rather than the north makes it quite clear that the balance on the monument tips in the direction of peace. Underscoring this aspect are the togate depictions of Augustus and many other figures on the north and south friezes, including several children; only one individual on the monument appears in military garb, the figure identified as Livia’s son Drusus (S-39) in the south frieze. The extensive floral panels under the figural friezes and end panels on the exterior of the precinct wall reinforce the theme of peace of the monument, while on the interior the frieze of garlands suspended between the skulls of sacrificed bulls (bucrania) highlights the importance of the proper observance of religion in the new order of Augustus. The fragmentary female figures from the base of the inner altar may represent pacified provinces.

Therefore, this reidentification of the “Aeneas” panel as Numa permits a much simpler, but potentially more nuanced and unified, interpretation of the figural friezes and panels around the exterior wall of the Ara Pacis. If this interpretation is acceptable, then many earlier proposals become untenable. The panel reliefs cannot reflect foundation myths linking the origin of Rome (Romulus) with the origin of the Julian gens (Aeneas), a reading that is prompted largely by statues of these individuals displayed in the “portrait galleries” of the hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus. The Forum Augusti and the Ara Pacis, however, are different monuments with different purposes; it would be simplistic to expect that all Augustan buildings repeat the same message. Nor can the Ara Pacis panels illustrate beginnings of Roman institutions, in the sense that Peter Holliday has suggested, with the city represented by the wolf in the Romulus panel and the sacrificial sow standing for the Julian family in the “Aeneas” panel. And although Mars may be represented as pater in the Romulus relief, there is no corresponding figure of pater Aeneas, if our bearded male represents the paternalistic Numa instead. Without the presence of Aeneas, the identification of the peaceful goddess on one end panel as his mother Venus, rather than Pax, becomes unlikely; further-
more, there is no need to connect the Ara Pacis with the theme of Trojan origins or the descent of Augustus from Aeneas. The pairing of Romulus and Numa, however, would illustrate Rome’s original founding kings whose lives served as paradigms for Augustus’s own career—a career that included an earlier warlike phase followed by a more peaceful mature phase.

This simpler, more balanced message is appropriate to the intimacy of the Ara Pacis. But art historians and archaeologists have generated complicated and obscure messages for this building demanding exegesis on the highest and most abstruse intellectual level, as if it were a complicated literary text written in marble and not a monument to be understood with the eye. Surely the opposite is true: in order to communicate with the public, public monuments (especially in a capital city) have to convey their messages as directly as possible so that common people and foreign visitors can understand them. This is especially true of a relatively small and accessible structure like the Ara Pacis, embellished with architectural sculpture set so close to eye level that spectators are encouraged to approach, to walk around it, and to consider and reflect on the princeps and his accomplishments in a way that they could not without a larger building. The message of the Ara Pacis is about the exercise of power and the creation of a valid status quo. It concerns not only the balance of war and peace as personified by Romulus and Numa but also the continuity of that balance as personified by Augustus. Moreover, unlike an imperial forum, which creates a closed environment within its surrounding walls and colonnades, the physical setting of the Ara Pacis encouraged the viewer to look outward and consider the other Augustan buildings in the northern Campus Martius.

This is not to say that the Ara Pacis had only a single message to convey. Recent scholarly theory has focused on the various ways in which visual narratives in sculpture serve programmatic purposes, and often these images suggest multiple levels of interpretation. Although the end panels of the Ara Pacis are often compared to Hellenistic reliefs, their form and subject matter also bring to mind the famous mythological panel paintings, executed by noted Greek artists, that decorated many buildings of Augustan Rome. Virgil describes similar large pictures decorating the temple of Juno in Carthage in book 1 of the Aeneid that move Aeneas to tears when he views them. The Ara Pacis reliefs play off the traditions of ekphrasis in part by introducing change; its panels, after all, are not paintings but sculpture, they are Roman creations rather than Greek imports, their mythological or allegorical themes are Roman, not Hellenic, and they decorate the exterior walls of an altar precinct honoring Augustus’s peace, not the interior of a building.

The Ara Pacis as a Monarchical Statement

Modern scholarship has also accepted at face value Augustus’s public characterization of himself as nonmonarchical. But surely such a view is naive: the Ara Pacis, with its themes of peace and war, refers to King Numa and Romulus and is part of a larger building program in the northern Campus Martius whose major components emphasize the unique position of Augustus with respect to contemporary Romans and to cosmic time.

The altar was built in a section of the Campus Martius that Augustus had developed privately, probably beginning as early as 30 B.C.E. (Fig. 1). In the distance, viewers could also see the mausoleum of Augustus, the largest Roman tomb built at that time and a clear dynastic statement, with two granite obelisks from Egypt flanking its doorway; later, after the death of Augustus in 14 C.E., they could read the Res gestae, inscribed at his request on bronze columns or tablets and set up there as well, perhaps attached to the bases of the obelisks. Next to the Ara Pacis, and constructed at the same time, stood the Horologium-Solarium, a giant sundial. The sundial contained a political dimension, since the granite obelisk that served as its gnomon (pointer) was a royal monument of pharaonic Egypt, here the private possession of the princeps. To reinforce this point, the obelisk was dedicated in 10 B.C.E. to Sol as part of the spoils of Egypt. Sol was equated with Helios/Apollo; as Augustus’s patron divinity, Apollo had helped him to victory at Actium, and Sol/Apollo was also the god of the new saeculum. These elements carry perhaps a veiled claim to divine status as well, for Apollo was considered the father of Augustus, a tradition that has roots in Hellenistic ruler cult.

In addition, Sol had a specifically Italic connection, since the god was considered the ancestor of the Latin race, following a tradition as old as the seventh century B.C.E. According to Hesiod (Thogony 1011–16), Circe, the daughter of Helios (Sol) bore two sons to Odysseus, Agrius and Latinus; the latter became the eponymous ancestor of the tribes of Latium. At Laurentum the Trojans established two altars to Helios when they landed in Italy (Dio 1.55.2). In addition, Varro considered Sol a Sabine god originally and equated him with Apollo (5.68). Augustus’s dedication, therefore, accommodated the traditions of several Mediterranean cultures.

While it might seem strange to us that the west facade of the Altar of Augustan Peace faced the obelisk that commemorated Augustus’s greatest military accomplishment, Stefan Weinstock and Erich Gruen (among others) have shown that for the Romans, “peace” really meant pacification: the successful outcome of war against one’s enemies. Thus, peace and war are complementary, not diametrically opposed, concepts, and as a result, it was entirely appropriate in Roman terms that the Ara Pacis and Horologium-Solarium were linked.

The sundial marked the winter solstice under Capricorn, the sign under which Augustus had been conceived (64 B.C.E.) and had assumed the title of Augustus (January 17, 27 B.C.E.). Edmund Buchner has also argued that on September 23, the birthday of Augustus and the approximate date of the autumn equinox, the shadow of the gnomon would trace a line across the pavement of the sundial from west to east, pointing at sunset toward the open doorway framing the inner altar of the Ara Pacis, an opening flanked by the reliefs depicting the infant Romulus and the mature Numa. Augustus’s birthday had already become a public festival and the occasion for a supplicatio after the conquest of Egypt, so the creation twenty years later of a cosmic clock that marked this date was both a scientific and a religious triumph celebrating a day that was
already special.\textsuperscript{137} Given these emphases on significant dates, it may not be coincidental that the Ara Pacis was begun during the year in which Augustus reached the climacteric age of fifty.

What has not been emphasized in previous discussions, however, is that there are two equinoxes during the year, one in March as well as one in September, and that the shadow of the gnomon would have traced the same line across the pavement on each occasion. Ancient astrollogers calculated that Romulus, too, had been born on one of the equinoxes, and thus the shadow of the gnomon marked his birthday as well as that of Augustus.\textsuperscript{138} But Numa may also have had an equinocial birthday. According to tradition, Numa was born on the day Romulus founded Rome, and thus he was the first child of the first \textit{saeculum} of Rome’s existence.\textsuperscript{139} While the city’s foundation date is traditionally considered to be the Parilia festival on April 21, the most learned of the Augustan calendars, the \textit{Fasti Praenestini}, gives Rome’s foundation as March 23, the approximate date of the spring equinox.\textsuperscript{140} If so, then Numa’s putative birthday on Rome’s foundation date also coincides with an equinox—three founders and rulers of Rome whose birthdays are marked by the march of the sun’s shadow toward the Ara Pacis. We must not forget that Augustus’s wife Livia, too, had a place among these special births: the Ara Pacis was dedicated in 9 B.C.E. on her fiftieth birthday, January 30, a date that was also celebrated by a \textit{supplicatio} to the \textit{imperium} of Augustus as “guardian of the Roman people and the world.”\textsuperscript{141} Further manipulation of the calendar allowed Augustus symbolically to “erase” the existence of his greatest enemy, Antony: after 30 B.C.E. his birthday was declared a \textit{dies vittosus}, when no public business could be transacted.\textsuperscript{142}

It would seem, therefore, that the pairing of Numa and Romulus on the west side of the Ara Pacis was deliberately designed to make three points. First, these individuals illustrate two models of rulership, one militaristic and the other pacific. Second, they serve as foils to Augustus, individually presenting important qualities that are fully integrated in the career and personality of Augustus.\textsuperscript{143} Finally, the circumstances of their births connect with the birth of Augustus and bring cosmic time full circle to the return of the golden age, a central message of the Ara Pacis and of the Augustan principate in the years following the Secular Games of 17 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{144} As Livy puts it in his history of early Rome (1.21.5):\textsuperscript{145} “Thus, two successive kings, each in his own way, one by war, the other by peace, increased the nation . . . a nation not only strong, but tempered by the arts of war and peace.” If Romulus and Numa represent the flip sides of war and peace, these two ancient city founders merge in the Ara Pacis in the figure of Augustus.

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Frequently Cited Sources

\textbf{ANRW:} \textit{Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt} (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–).


LIMC: \textit{Lexicon Iconographium Mythologicae Classicae} (Zurich: Artemis, 1981–).


Notes

This study grew out of two seminars on Roman imperial sculpture in 1998 and 1999. I am grateful to all the students for their insights and lively discussion, and especially to Eleni Eliades, who first seriously raised questions about the traditional interpretation of the “Aeneas” panel. I also thank Lawrence Rich- ardson Jr. for subsequently allowing me to read a copy of an unpublished departmental paper in which he proposed the identification of Numa inde- pendently. Amy Vyas provided valuable research on the Roman calendar through a Dannenberg Fellowship from Duke University. Elizabeth Barton, Mary T. Boattwright, Peter Burian, Nancy de Grummond, Melanie Gronow, Gerhard Koeppel, Nancy Ramage, Lawrence Richardson Jr., Brunilde S. Ridgway, Erika Simon, Steven Tuck, Annabel Wharton, John G. Younger, and the referees for the \textit{Art Bulletin} made a number of helpful suggestions, although they do not necessarily agree with all my conclusions. Any errors of fact or interpretation are mine. The numbering of figures on the Ara Pacis follows Koeppel. An earlier version of this paper was presented under the same title at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Dallas, December 1999. Texts are from the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press); translations are my own.


2. Mario Torelli notes the iconographic shape: \textit{Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs} (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), 32.


Bild-Programm des Apollo-Tempels auf dem Palatin, Xenia, 24 (Konstanz: Univer-
sitätsverlag Konstanz, 1989); and Manuel Royo, Domus Imperatoriae: Topogra-
phie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin, Bibliothèque des
Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 303 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles
Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1999), passim.
5. The original dimensions of the relief were 61 inches (1.55 meters) in height and
96 inches (2.44 meters) in width. In its left half was discovered in 1859, the right in 1903. Unlike some Ara Pacis reliefs recovered earlier, these
fragments were not subjected to excessive folding, leading some scholars to
suggest that a subsequent thought of as Aeneas the Genius Senatus, with the
Genius Populi Romani behind him: “Funde,” Römische Mitteilungen 18 (1903):
332–33. For the earliest interpretation of the two halves of the relief as the
sacrifice of Aeneas, see Johannes Sieveking, “Zur Ara Pacis Augustae,” Jah-
resberichte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien 10 (1907):
175–99, fig. 58, esp. 187.
6. Discussions of the relief include Franz Studniczka, “Zur Ara Pacis,” Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig 27 (1999);
Lily Ross Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Middletown, Conn.: American Philological Association, 1931); Domenico Mustilli, “L’arte Augus-
tea,” in Augustus: Studi in occasione del Bicentenario Augusteo (Rome: Acca-
demia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1988), 320–21, pl. between 322 and 323; Giu-
seppe Moretti, Ara Pacis Augustae (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 153–57, 21, pl. B (left half of scene), 35, pl. C (right half), pls. xv (above), xxxix
(detail of body of “Aeneas”), xix (detail of head), xx (detail of head of “Achates”); Inez Scott Ryberg, “The Procession of the Ara Pacis,” Memoirs of the American
Academy in Rome 19 (1949): 80–81, fig. 1; Jocelyn Toomey, “The Ara Pacis Augustae; Roman Imperial History in Art,” Apollo: A Journal of the Institute of
Arts 39 (1955): 77–78, pl. 3v; Ryberg, The Rites of the State Religion in Ro-
(Terracina); Scott, “The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Upper Purple Robe.”
7. In his discussion of the relief, C. Brian Rose identifies the head and neck of
the bearded figure as those of Augustus, and he notes that the figure is
depicted with a diadem, purple tunic, and purple stole. Like many other
interpretations, Rose’s is based on the presence of a diadem. Green-Wooley,
Ancient Art and the Poetics of Power (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992),
11. 8. The identity of the bearded figure as Augustus is a matter of some dispute,
though the presence of the diadem and purple tunic is generally accepted.
Green-Wooley suggests that the presence of a diadem is evidence of Augustus’s
military prowess, and that the presence of purple suggests that Augustus is
being depicted as a divus. However, other scholars have raised questions about
the presence of a diadem on the relief, and have suggested that the figure is
depicted as a divus, rather than as Augustus. For a more detailed discussion of
these issues, see Green-Wooley, Ancient Art and the Poetics of Power, chap. 3.
9. The identity of the bearded figure as Augustus, or Aeneas, has been disputed,
as some historians have suggested that the presence of a diadem and purple
robe is evidence of either Augustus’s divinity or his military prowess. For a
discussion of these issues, see Green-Wooley, Ancient Art and the Poetics of
Power, chap. 3.

19. Via dell'Abbondanza painting at Pompeii: Zanker, 202, fig. 136; Jean-Claude Gage, "Romulus-Augustus," Mittelalterliche Kunst, Phase I (1970): 141–42, fig. 3. A painted parody of the group exists; for recent discussion, see Mariette De Vos, "La fuga di Enea in pittura del I secolo d.C.", Köln, Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 24 (1991): 115–23. Here, a distinctly youthful Augustus, in an armure of anachronistic patinated Roman shoes carries his old father and leads his small son, the latter dressed as a Phrygian shepherd and holding the pelēm (shepherd's staff). The base of a (missing) statue of Aeneas, one of a pair of pendant works discovered at the Eumachia Building in Tarentum, probably also showed the same composition as that in the Forum of Augustus because the base reproduces the elogium from the Forum of Augustus in Rome: Johannes A. Overbeck, Pompeji (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1866), vol. 1, 132. This group was duplicated in the Julio-Claudian period for a sculptural ensemble in the forum at Mérida, Spain, the decoration of which is based on that of the Forum of Augustus in Rome: José Luis de la Barrera Anton and Walter Trillmich, "Eine Wiederholung der Aeneas-Gruppe vom Forum Augustum samt ihrer Inschrift in Spanien," Römische Mittheilungen 30 (1961): 105–108.


22. Jay Sh. Ford, "Romulus-Augustus and the Ara Fortunae Reducet before it both commemorated returns of Augustus to Rome after extended absences in the provinces. These returns are not really parallel to Aeneas’s initial arrival in Italy. In 1986, 1986 (as in n. 6), 23; Zanker, 204, concurs.

23. Augustus, Res gesta 6.35; "While I was in the process of administering my thirteenth consulship, the senate and the equestrian order and all the Roman people gave me the title 'father of the country' and decreed that it be inscribed on the vestibule of my residence and in the Senate House and in the Forum Augustus."

24. Julia Cassius: Weinstock, 57; Simon, 1968 (as in n. 6), 23; Torelli (as in n. 2, 37); La Rocca (as in n. 6), 40; and Klein, 95, notes that he is an adult, but refers to him as Iulius/Ancylius Torelli (as in n. 1, 7); "Aeneas sacrificing to the Fates (Statilius Flavianus)," in F. Naumann and E. Freytag, Die antiken bronzenen Statuen der Spätantike in Berlin: Der Kupferhändler Augustin, und Hermann Helbig, Aeneas and the Fates (as in n. 14, 18), 193–95; "Laocoon and his Sons," 195–98.

25. Achates: Studnička (as in n. 6, 925; Moretti (as in n. 6), 153; Toyne (as in n. 6), 78; Koeppel, 111, no. 4; and Richard Billows, "The Religious Procession of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Augustus' Supplicatio in 15 B.C.," Journal of Roman Archaeology 6 (1993): 89–102, esp. 97 n. 25.

26. Iulius/Ancylius: Weinstock, 57; Simon, 1968 (as in n. 6), 23; Torelli (as in n. 2, 37); La Rocca (as in n. 6), 40; and Klein, 95, notes that he is an adult, but refers to him as Iulius/Ancylius Torelli (as in n. 1, 7); "Aeneas sacrificing to the Fates (Statilius Flavianus)," in F. Naumann and E. Freytag, Die antiken bronzenen Statuen der Spätantike in Berlin: Der Kupferhändler Augustin, and Hermann Helbig, Aeneas and the Fates (as in n. 14, 18), 193–95; "Laocoon and his Sons," 195–98.

27. For the position of the staff, cf. the figure of a hero on a relief panel of the Memmius Monument at Ephesus: Mario Torelli, "Il monumento efeusense di Memmius: Un capolavoro dell’ideologia nobiliare della fine della repubblica," Il sorgere e il tramonto dell’immagine: Atti del Convegno internazionale storia Romana (Milan: Electa, 1997), 152–74, esp. 157, fig. 37.

28. No pig has survived among the animals depicted on the inner altar frieze; however, see Koeppel, 138–41.

29. Another attendant in a tunic in the north frieze, N-24, holds a similar gautus and has a manile draped over the left arm: Koeppel, 131–32, no. 24, 133, fig. 26; Koeppel (as in n. 3) suggests that this foreground youth with frontal body may be a member of the imperial family. On the inner altar frieze: cf. "comitatus" gautus (Koeppel, 131, no. 1); a gautus (Koeppel, 131, no. 2). Two more attendants on the right frieze: Koeppel, 131, no. 1; a gautus (Koeppel, 131, no. 2, fig. 27). Another attendant from this frieze holds a gautus and carries an aevra (Koeppel, 141, no. 15, 142, fig. 31). cf. The youth with a tray of offerings on the Telephos frieze of the Pagamon Altar: Evamartha Schmidt, The Great Altar of Pergamon (Leipzig: VEB, 1962), pl. 67.

30. Five other figures on the Ara Pacis have been identified as possible camilli, one in the south frieze (S-10), three in the north frieze (N-7, N-24, N-27), and one on the frieze of the inner altar. On camilli, see esp. Fles (as in n. 8).

31. La Rocca (as in n. 6), 42; Koeppel, 106, mentions the braid (Zapf). For comprehensive discussion, see Fles (as in n. 8), 38–43; "Long-haired minis-
68. See above at n. 42. The emperor Claudius, who was scrupulous about observing Roman religious traditions, sacrificed a sow in the Roman forum when he was made a peace offering with a foreign king: Sabinos Romanus, Claudius 25.12.1: "cum regibus foedus in foro iuri, porca caesa, ac vetere feitalium praefatione adhibita.
69. Dio Cassius 50.4.4: "καὶ τρίος τὸν Ἴννοικόν ἐξέστρατον παρά τὴν τεύχος ἐν πλευράς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τούτῳ, ὥστε τὸν καλόν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐνθυσίαν τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀρετής τοῖς ἱερεῖσιν παρά τοὺς ἱερεῖς." See also Cicero, De divin. 2.28-32.
70. The renovation of the State House and the Egyptian temple of Horus, in the Augusian period, was a part of the wider cultural and religious revival of the period, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
71. The temple of Isis was an important center of worship for the Egyptian community in Rome, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
72. The temple of Isis was a place of pilgrimage for tourists, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
73. The temple of Isis was a place of pilgrimage for tourists, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
74. The temple of Isis was a place of pilgrimage for tourists, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
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120. The temple of Isis was a place of pilgrimage for tourists, as noted by Augustus himself: Suet. Aug. 40.2.
71. There may be another symbolic aspect to Octavian's casting of the feetal spear. A long tradition of "conquest by spear" was known to the Romans from the Greek world. When Alexander the Great invaded Asia, one of his first acts on landing was to throw a spear into the continent as a symbol of his aspirations. Justin 11.5.10: "cum delati in continentem essent, primus Alex- ander iaculum velut in hostis terram icit." Cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.17.2. See now Michael Zabinn, "Alexanders Übergang über den Hellespont," Chiron 26 (1996): 129–47.

72. Various traditions exist about Numa's children—that he had a single daughter, or a daughter and four sons: Dion. Hal. 2.70.5; Plut., Numa 8.9, 21–2. See also Timothy P. Wiseman, "Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome: The Roman Rites," Römische Mitteilungen 21 (1968): 153–64, esp. 155–59. We might suggest that Faustulus in the relief is really King Numitor, founder of Remus and Romulus. See also Danielle Porter, "Romulus-Quiquius, prince and dieu, dieu des princes: Étude sur le personnage de Quirinus et sur son évolution, des origines à Auguste," in AMW, vol. 2 (1981), fasc. 17, sec. 1, 300–342.

73. Romulus: "Quin et avo comitem see Mavortius addidit / Romulus, As- saraci quem sanguis illa mater / educat. viden, ut geminate stant verice cristan / et pater ipse su pra superum iam signant hospes? / in huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma / imperium terris, animos aquabilis Olympyo, / septemque una sibi muro circumdat arces, / felix prole virum. . . ."

Augustus: "huc gemina nunc flecte actes, hanc aspicie gentem / Romanosque tuos hic, et omnes terrae progenies, magnum carili ventura sub aequo, hirc vi, hic est, tibi quem promitti saecus auditis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saccula qui rursus Latino regnata pra / Saturno quondam, super et Garamantos et Indos / profect imperium (iacet extra sidera tellus, / et cum ceres, ubi caeleri Augusti, / aequo uxor imperator, / ardentibus aptum); / huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspa regna / responsor horrent divum et Maeotia tellus, / et septemgennium turbant trepidia est Nili."

Nili: "Quis procul, ille autem ramos insignis olive / sacra ferens? nosco crisiis canacque menta / regi Romani, primam qui legibus urbem / fundaverat, curibus parvis et paupere terrae / missis in imperium magnam."

75. In discussing this passage by Virgil (but without reference to the Ara Pacis), K. Scott, "The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quiquius," Transac- tions of the American Philosophical Association 56 (1925): 97, noted, "Virgil has tried to get Romulus closely with Romulus. But not as the king. To present them as all as founder of Rome and its greatness, Romulus as the builder of the walls and the warrior, Numa as the legislator, and Augustus as the founder of the Golden Age of peace and prosperity through the virtues of both Romulus and Numa. If we then also find Livy assigning to Numa the honor of being called the second founder of Rome because of his legal and moral services, did not this act help to prepare the public mind for giving to Augustus the same title for the same merit?"

76. Suet., Divus Julius 6.1: "For the family of the Marci Reges [are descend- ed] from Ancus Marcius, whose name was my mother’s, while our Julian family [was descended] from Venus [nam ab Ancio Marcius sunt Marci Reges, quo nomen aliter famula, si quis hac, putem genus ita est nostrum]."


13.1–7. The name of Augustus is included in the Salian Hymn, and the Salii celebrated their rites in the Forum Augusti: Dion. Hal. 51.22.1; Res gestae 10. The camelii: Plut., Numa 7.5. Numa obedient to divine will: Dion. Hal. 2.6.4; Florus, 1.2.2. Both Numa and Romulus were credited with the creation of Vestal Virgins and the establishment of a temple in the Forum Romanum to the goddess: Dion. Hal. 2.6.4–5–2.6.5; 1 Flus 1.2.3; Liv. 1.20.3; Plut., Numa 9.5, 11.1. Flamen Quirinalis for Romulus: Dion. Hal. 2.6.3.3. Caesar’s priest, the flamen Iulialis: Weinstock (as in n. 63), 305–8. Vesta: Liv. 1.20.3. the goddess and her temple appear in a Palatine setting, for example, on the Sorrentine bowl by Titian E. Romulo, the last member of the House of the Quirini. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: in Kai er Augustus, 375–78; Aicher (as in n. 18); and Klein, 88, fig. 68. A procession of Vestal Virgins decorates the inner altar of the Ara Pacis.

95. Velleius Paterculus 2.59.4. See Gross (as in n. 42), 31. His earliest priesthood was given by his adoptive father, Julius Caesar, before his assassination: Vell. Pat. 2.59.4. When Augustus introduced his grandsons and heirs into public life, their first priesthoods were the augurate and pontificate. The coin abbreviates augur as AVG, an abbreviation subsequently used for the title Augustus as well.


96. In 14.1–2. Both Nebra and the establishment of a temple in the forum of the deified godness is established: Dion. Hal. 2.6.3.3; 2 Dionysius, 145.1.2.7. Dion. Hal. 2.6.3. Augustus was credited with the establishment of the Temple of Jupiter (16 B.C.E.) and built a temple to divus Julius in the Forum Romanum. Numa built the Regia and lived there, although he also maintained a house on the Quirinal Hill, just as Augustus maintained his home on the Palatine even after he became pontifex maximus: Plut., Numa 14.1–2. In the Regia, Numa preserved the bucklers (anxula) fallen from heaven for the preservation of the city, which were guarded by the Salii: Liv 1.20.4; Dion. Hal. 2.71.1–2; Plut., Numa 13.1–4; Florus 1.2.3.

105. Numa was identified as a philosopher-king and was often considered a pupil of Pythagoras, even though authors in antiquity recognized that they lived at different times: Livy 1.18.1–3; Plut., Numa 1.2–3, 8.4–10; Dion. Hal. 2.59.1–4. For context, see Elizabeth Rawson, Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). A prominent Neoplatonist and the last century of the Augustan age, Plutarch foretold a wonderful future for October when he was born (Sept., Aug. 94). Another Neoplatonist, Aréus, was a companion of Octavian and influenced him heavily (Dio 51.16.4). Also, Pythagorean elements have been detected in Virgil’s Second Eclogue, and in the Metamorphoses of Ovid. Jérôme Carron, Virgile et le mystère de la Névé épique (Paris: L’Artisan du Livre, 1943); and Pierre Boyané, La religion de Virgile (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965).

110. Augustus was the godde Augustus: Numa 7. Urban augurs guided and determined the Romulus valuable to the government, peace, agriculture, nature, rearing of children, and worship of the gods” (Plut., Numa 19.3), which recalls the goals of Augustus social legislation. The Social Law. Although Numa himself imitated his character spontaneously, and other nations thought it was sacrilegious to injure a divinity, he wore a toga when, as a social officer, he stood pompously with the toga (a). Galinsky describes Numa’s policies as a magical “peace potion (sermes philumus)” that encouraged agriculture and promoted peace: Plut., Numa 16.

in n. 6), 219, 226, also identifies "Troyan" and "Roman" halves of the Ara Pacis. Spaeth, 1994 (as in n. 106), 83, argues that the "Aeneas" and Romulus panels reflect "the dual origin of Rome: her foreign origins from the Trojan Aeneas, and her native origins from the twins Romulus and Remus."


See, for example, the papers in Jäts Elsner, ed., Art and Text in Roman Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).


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139. Plut., Rom. 3.4: ἡμέρα δὲ γενενός κατὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεῖαι τύχην ἐν ἦ τῷ Ἱούλιον ἐκτιθέναι οἱ περὶ Ἱούλιαν.


141. Livia’s birthday: Fasti Praenestini for January 30. Anthony A. Barrett, "The Year of Livia’s Birth," Classical Quarterly 49 (1999): 630-32, argues that she was born in 59 B.C.E., not 58, as is usually assumed. The Fasti Praenestini record a series of important dates connected with the imperial family. Augustus mentions in the Res gestae that this dedication date was marked by an annual sacrifice (see n. 48 above). The Feriale Cumanum records the supplicatio: "[ae die Ara Pacis Aug. dedicata] est. supplicatio imperio Caesaris Augusti cost[edis civium Romanorum orbisque terrarum]."


143. Strabo 17.3.25: ἡ πατρίς ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἡμερολογίας καὶ πολέμων καὶ μάλλον κατέφηκε κατόπιν κύριος διὰ βίου." [His (Augustus’) country entrusted to him the preeminent position of authority, and he became established as the lord (kurios) for life of war and peace].

144. Cf. Marta Sordi, "L’idea di crisi e di rinnovamento nella concezione romana-etrusca della storia," in ANRW, vol. 1, fasc. 2, 781-93. See also Holliday (as in n. 6).

145. "Iua duo deinceps reges, alias alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt . . . cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas." Note Livy’s use of auxerunt, from augo, the verb connected with the title "Augustus."