In 22 BCE, an as was minted bearing the image of Augustus Caesar on the obverse and Numa Pompilius on the reverse. Discussion of this coin in the context of Augustan ideology has been limited. Although one aspect of the coin’s message relates to the promotion of the moneyer’s family, a closer analysis of its iconographical and historical context provides important evidence for the early public image of Augustus, particularly in regard to religion. To that end, this paper intends to establish the traditional use of kings in Republican coins and the development of religious iconography in early Augustan coinage. By ascertaining this framework, the full significance of the as of 22 BCE becomes clearer.

Augustus Caesar, born Gaius Octavius, was the nephew and adopted son of Gaius Julius Caesar. Following the assassination of Caesar in 44 BCE, he co-ruled with Marcus Lepidus and Mark Antony. Over the years that followed, he amassed support and power until, after defeating Mark Antony in battle at Actium, he became the sole power in the city and the first official emperor of Rome. He was inarguably adept at manipulating his public image through a range of visual imagery, from the subtle to the overt. One important aspect of his visual imagery is his use of numismatic iconography, which he began to develop and experiment with in the triumviral period, and continued to utilise into his principate. Many of the images he employed focus on religious iconography which promoted Augustus as a restorer of Roman tradition. In 22 BCE, an as was produced that featured the image of Augustus on the obverse and Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, on the reverse. Numa was the quasi-legendary second king of Rome, following Romulus. He is credited with establishing the major religious practices of the city as well as its first peaceful period. As one of the earliest coins of the principate, it offers important evidence for the early public image of Augustus and the direction he intended to take at that time. His propaganda was fluid, changing to meet the demands of the times, but this coin appears as the culmination of a careful iconographic campaign. In order to fully understand the significance of this particular coin, it must be placed into its iconographical context. To that end, this paper intends to establish the traditional use of kings in Republican coins, in order to highlight

1 This paper was first presented at the Amphorae conference in Melbourne, 2014. The material also appears in part in my Master of Philosophy thesis: A. Turner, ‘Re-writing Numa: The political usage of Numa Pompilius in the Age of Augustus,’ (University of Newcastle, 2014). I would like to thank Dr Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides at Monash University for her assistance in preparing this paper for publication.

2 See Evans, (1985), 137-38; Grant, (1953), 103.

3 Although this article deals with coins minted before he acquired this religious title, to avoid confusion I have referred to him as Augustus throughout the article.

4 There are numerous accounts of Augustus’ rise to power. For example, see: Eck, (2007); Everitt, (2006).


6 Augustus’ interest in numismatics is evidenced not only by the coins he minted and the iconography he imposed (Evans, (1985), 39; Grant, (1972), 5; Levick, (2010), 208f.), but also by the reforms he introduced in materials and denominations (Sutherland, (1984), 3).


8 Cic. De re pub. 2.25; Livy 1.18.5-10; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.58; Plut. Num. 3.3-4, 5.1. For the debate regarding the historicity of the king, see Carter, (1906), 5; Cornell, (1997), 119-20; Hooker, (1963), 97-99; Ogilvie, (1978), 88; Smith and Lawrence, (2010), 20-21.

9 He established the pontifices (Ennius Ann. 1.2 fr.115; Varro Ling. 7.45; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.73.1; Plut. Num. 9.1), and the flamen Quirinus (Ennius Ann. 1.2 fr.115; Varro Ling. 7.45; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.2-3; Plut. Num. 7.4-5), introduced the Vestal Virgins (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.5; Ov. Fast. 6.257-60; Plut. Num. 9.5-10.2), the fetiales (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.72.1; Plut. Num. 12.3-7) and the Salii (Cic. De re pub. 2.26; Livy 1.20.1-5; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.70.1; Ov. Fast. 3.361-92; Plut. Num. 13), and increased the number of augurs (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.64.4). For a complete survey of his life and religious reforms, see Hooker, (1963), 87-132.
the numismatic traditions that Augustus was drawing on, and the development of religious iconography apparent in early Augustan coinage, that is, during the triumvirate. This paper limits its focus to coins minted for use in Rome, not the provinces. By ascertaining this framework, the full significance of the as of 22 BCE becomes clear.

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, as represented by the British Museum collection, reveals that only four kings were regularly used: Romulus and the three Sabine kings (including Numa).

The British Museum Republican Coin Collection contains six coin types identifying the iconography of Romulus. The earliest is a series of silver didrachm, as in Figure 1, dated between 269 BCE and 266 BCE, 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 BCE, on the reverse of a series of asses from 169-158 BCE, on a series of triens from 169-158 BCE and on a series of denarii from 115-114 BCE, all authorised by unidentified moneyers. The anonymity of these coins suggests that the moneyers wished to avoid a direct association between themselves and the first king of Rome—likely a result of the Romans’ professed distrust of monarchy. The series of sextans feature further details from the legend of Romulus’ survival, which includes a bird feeding the twins, revealing that the legend had not achieved a fixed iconographic form in the third century BCE. This suggests that other early myths were also not fixed at this time, including the stories and representations of Numa. The asses, triens and denarii featuring Romulus also use traditional iconographical features on the obverse of their respective coin types, with Janus and Minerva appearing in 169-158 BCE and Roma in 115-114 BCE.

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10 Those of the Imperial period, in contrast, advertised the achievements and political aims of the emperors. Grant, (1958), 11, 14-16; Foss, (1990), 1.


12 See Figure 1. Didrachm coins 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. Mattingly, (1980), 10; Crawford, (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. Jones, (1990), 135; Cornell, (1997), 162.

13 Varro, Ling. 5.54; Livy 1.4.6-7; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.77-80; Plut. Rom. 2.5-6; Cass. Dio 1.5.1.


15 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 39.3.1-6, 183.1.1-3, 183.3.1, 287.1.1-12.


17 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 39.3.1-6. 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. Curran, (1973), 26; Jones, (1990), 106.

18 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 183.1.1-3, 183.3.1, 287.1.1-12.
The addition of the she-wolf suckling twins, incorporating the foundation of Rome into the numismatic iconography without altering the original markings, represents the beginning of a deviation from the standard archetypes of the bronze and silver denominations previously employed.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig2.png}
\caption{Denarius 137 BCE\textsuperscript{20}}
\end{figure}

In 137 BCE, 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{21} This is the only coin featuring the iconography of Romulus with an identifiable moneyer. Mattingly claims this coin is one of the first instances of a moneyer promoting their family, believing that Sextus Pompeius claimed descent from Faustulus.\textsuperscript{22} The obverse depicts the traditional image of Roma.\textsuperscript{23} In all six coin types the she-wolf holds the same pose, as do the twins, suggesting that they were based on an image their audience would immediately recognise, such as the previously mentioned Ogulnian statue of 296 BCE.\textsuperscript{25} The detail of the \textit{denarii} of Pompeius further suggests 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.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig3.png}
\caption{Denarius 89 BCE\textsuperscript{24}}
\end{figure}

Numa and the other two kings recorded on coins are of Sabine origin, indicating the esteem with which these kings were held by Roman families who could claim Sabine ancestry; they represent the rising popularity of claiming Sabine descent, which began in the third century BCE.\textsuperscript{26} In 89 BCE, for example, three series of \textit{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.\textsuperscript{27} The first two types are representations of the legends of the early city which bring the Sabine element

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\textit{sextans} of 217-215 BCE has the twins on the obverse and an eagle holding a flower, with the inscription ROMA on the reverse. Ghey and Leins, (2010), 39.3.1-6. This fits the traditional iconographic pattern.


21 See Figure 2. Faustulus was the shepherd who discovered the boys as they were being suckled and he became their foster father. Crawford, (2001), 267.


26 Cornell, (1997), 75-77.

27 See Figure 3. Also, Ghey and Leins, (2010), 344.1.1-14, 344.2.1-11, 344.3.1-74; Crawford, (2001), 352.
into Rome. The moneyer Titurius claimed descent from Sabine stock, and these coins celebrate the antiquity of the Sabine connection with Rome and the achievements of early Sabines. In 70 BCE, 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. In all four coin-types of Vettius, Tatius is presented, as he was on the earlier coin, 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.

Numa Pompilius is represented on coins from 97 BCE, when L. Pomponius Molo, who claimed descent from Numa through a son called Pompo, minted a series of denarii. 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. This coin establishes the religious character of the king through sacrificial acts. This is paralleled by the extant literary tradition of this time.

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32 See Figure 4.
Cassius Hemina notes that Numa placed several restrictions on the offering of sacrifice in Rome, including banning wine from unpruned vines, introducing the use of corn and mola salsa, instructing that emmer wheat be roasted, and banning certain types of fish. In addition, this coin creates a connection between Numa and the worship of Apollo in Rome not previously apparent.

In c. 88 BCE, 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 both Numa and Ancus on the obverse. The denarius, as shown in Figure 5, has a desultor, wearing a cap and holding a whip, on the reverse, while the asses, seen in Figures 6 and 7, depict harbour scenes. The image of Apollo on the denarius of 97 BCE and the desultor of 88 BCE are both referring to the ludi Apollinares, creating a connection between the minter’s family and their founding. 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. It is evident that the religious nature of the king remained his most important feature. This is also apparent in the literary tradition of Numa, of which the earliest surviving reference is in the fragmented Annales of Ennius (239-169BCE), where Numa appears solely in a religious context. Following in this tradition, Cassius Hemina (146BCE) focuses on Numa’s role in defining sacrificial practice, while L. Calpurnius Piso (120BCE) reported on the rituals and rites written down by the king and buried with him. Lucilius (180-102BCE) adds a supernatural element to the account, claiming Numa created monsters to ensure men followed correct practices. It is from these early literary traditions that Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy and later Plutarch develop their accounts of the religious king.

In 49 BCE, 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

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36 The work of Cassius Hemina has survived as fragments in Pliny’s Natural History: Plin. HN 14.88, 18.7-8, 32.20.
37 Apollo was first introduced in Rome in response to an epidemic, after consultation of the Sibylline Books (Livy 4.25.3) in about 433 BCE, as a god of healing (Hill, (1962), 125-26).
38 Plut. Cor. 1; Crawford, (2001), 357, 360-61; Farney, (2007), 85, fig. 7B.
39 For the denarii, see Figure 5. For the asses, see Figures 6 and 7. Crawford, (2001), 357, 360; Farney, (2007), 85, fig. 7B.
40 Crawford, (2001), 361; Farney, (2007), 84, fig. 7A. The harbour scenes of the asses refer to the founding of Ostia, which was attributed to Ancus Marcius. Crawford, (2001), 357, 360; Farney, (2007), 85, fig. 7B. The ludi Apollinares were established in Rome in 211 BCE, featuring games in the circus, animal games and theatrical performances, and became an annual event from 208 BCE as a way of fending off disease. Augue, (1994), 212; Olivova, (1984), 168; Scullard, (2007), 614.
41 Reproduced with permission of the British Museum. Ghey and Leins, (2010), 446.1.1-5.
42 Enn. Ann. 1.2 fr. 115, 2.1 fr.113(119).
43 Plin. HN 14.88, 18.7-8, 32.20.
45 Lucil. 15.484.
47 See Figure 8.
Pompey, as indicated by the inscription MAGN and PRO COS, featuring the use of a prow, which promotes his naval dominance, demonstrated by his victories over pirates in 68 BCE and his position as augur.

In all of these images, Numa appears as a mature, bearded man, revealing his stereotypical depiction 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. 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. Although his Sabine background certainly became a feature of Roman literature, the bearded, unkempt image of Numa and Tatius on coins demonstrates that the stereotype had found physical expression by 97 BCE. 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, in the same way that the imagery of Romulus appears based on existing imagery.

The increased appearance of identifiable moneyers connected with their regal ancestors coincides with a shift in the Roman political landscape. With the unprecedented consulships of Gaius Marius (107-100BCE) a precedent was set for powerful individuals to wield control of both the Senate and, more importantly, Rome itself. In addition, the conclusion of the Social War and passage of the lex Iulia in 90BCE saw the enfranchisement of many Italian allies, who were slowly enrolled in the voting tribes over the following years. The increased use of Sabine imagery in coins may have arisen from a desire to promote the antiquity of a family’s connection with Rome, an important element in political elections of the city.

Numa’s name and deeds were preserved in the traditions of the great patrician gentes who claimed either descent from Numa himself or Sabine origin – the Marcii, the Aemilii, the Pomponii, the Calpurnii and the Pinarrii; and evidence of these family traditions have survived in the archaeological record, in the form of monuments. One of the most significant is the Basilica Aemilia, located in the Forum Romanum, which was erected, maintained and restored by the Aemilian family over a number of generations, and which contained friezes depicting Sabine legends. 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, which we have seen present on the Titus Tatius coin types. It is plausible, therefore, that incidents from the reign of Numa appeared among the missing scenes of the frieze. Such scenes may well have served as the basis for the Numa coin types.

The later Sabine king Ancus Marcius who appears on three coins in conjunction with his grandfather Numa does not follow this Sabine stereotype, instead appearing beardless.

56 Albertson, (1990), 806-08; Coarelli, (2007), 50.
57 Albertson, (1990), 801; Coarelli, (2007), 48-50; Platner, (1926), 72-73.
There is only one series of denarii in which he appears alone, from 56 BCE, produced by the moneyer L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of the later Augustus. Again, the same beardless face of Ancus is used, but he is wearing a diadem as a symbol of his kingship.\textsuperscript{59} Since Ancus does not represent the same elements of the Sabine stereotype as Titus Tatius and Numa, it is evident that the stereotype of each king was unique in the coins of the Republic, and relied on the legends surrounding the figure as much as their genealogical background.

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 and further suggests that there were an accepted number of stories about Numa, which possibly developed at the same time. At this point, it is important to examine what Augustus was trying to achieve through his intense interest in coinage.

In 42 BCE, Augustus minted a series of aurei which included an image of an equestrian statue, presumably of Augustus, holding a lituus, to celebrate his membership in the college of augurs.\textsuperscript{61} As the youngest triumvir, Augustus was competing against men of experience who already held priestly office, Lepidus as pontifex maximus and Antonius as augur. Augustus had been made a pontiff by Julius Caesar in 48 BCE and had also become an augur prior to 42 BCE.\textsuperscript{62} There was no way for Augustus 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 BCE, Antonius had minted coins featuring his head on the obverse, with a lituus behind him.\textsuperscript{63} These coins had depicted Augustus' face on the reverse, but without any priestly accoutrements. This firmly established Antonius' seniority and superiority over Augustus, and Augustus' coins of 42 BCE seem to have appeared in response to this lack of clear definition of his priestly office. Similar emphasis on the inequality of Augustus to Lepidus also occurs in the coins of Lepidus in 42 BCE, which feature Lepidus on the obverse with the inscription LEPIDVS•PONT•MAX•III•VIR•R•P•C and the bust of Augustus on the reverse, simply

\textsuperscript{59} Ghey and Leins, (2010), 425.1.1-23. The lack of beard symbolises the integration of the Sabines into Rome – Ancus is no longer foreign and rustic but now urbanised. Crawford, (2001), p.448; Farney, (2007), 98-99. This is also true of the diadem, which reflects increased contact with the Hellenic form of kingship.

\textsuperscript{60} Reproduced with permission of the British Museum. Ghey and Leins, (2010), 497.1.1.

\textsuperscript{61} See figure 10.

\textsuperscript{62} Beard, North and Price, (2008), 186. Although Beard et al. claim that Augustus became augur in 41-40 BCE, the appearance of coins featuring Augustus and the lituus in 42 BCE strongly suggest an earlier date.

\textsuperscript{63} Ghey and Leins, (2010), 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, (2010), 493.1.1.
reading CAESAR • IMP • III • VIR • R • P • C. These were followed, in 41 and 40 BCE, by denarii featuring the head of Augustus with a lituus behind it. This promotion of augury continued until the death of Lepidus in 13 BCE, which then made vacant the position of pontifex maximus for Augustus. From 42 BCE to 13 BCE, Augustus’ coins featuring augural symbols worked as a means of promotion, in competition with the various positions held by Lepidus and Antonius.

A number of coins from the 40s also promote Augustus as the heir to Julius Caesar. Coins in 43 BCE depict the head of Augustus 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 Augustus’ role as consul. Similarly, Caesar’s rank as pontifex maximus is paralleled by Augustus’ co-option as both pontiff and augur. Although Augustus has not obtained the same exalted position as Caesar, he was clearly indicating the continuation of his family’s service to Rome. These coins were contemporaneous with those of Antonius, featuring himself and Augustus and promoting Antonius’ augurate. It is clear that Antonius had been promoting himself as the political heir to Caesar, and Augustus was highlighting his adoption in response to this. Augustus focuses on his role as the political heir of Caesar again in 42 BCE, when he mints coins with his head on the obverse and curule chairs inscribed with CAESAR • DIC • PER on the reverse. In 42 BCE, P. Clodius minted denarii with the head of Augustus on the obverse and Pietas on the reverse. Also in that year L. Livineius Regulus produced aurei with the head of Augustus 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, but pietas also personified the Roman sense of duty towards the gods and the State, as well as to the family. Augustus’ 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 Augustus and Julius Caesar was essential for this stage of Augustus’ political career. Both Lepidus and Antonius had played public roles as supporters and lieutenants for Caesar and could expect to inherit his political position. Augustus had not received such public opportunities before

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64 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 495.2.1-5.
65 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 517.8.1-4, 526.3.1.
66 Augustus did not limit promotion of his religiosity to the coinage. The prominence of the augury also appears in the depiction of Julius Caesar, togate and bearing a litus (Pollini, (2012), 137-38). Augustus promoted a personal connection between himself and Apollo, dedicating part of his own house to the god when it was struck by lightning (Vell. Pat. 2.81, 3; Suet. Aug. 18, 29; Cass. Dio 49.15) and thanking Apollo for his victory at Actium (Hor Carm. 1.2; Prop. 4.6.69). Horace connects them in ridding Rome of hunger, plague and war (Hor. Carm. 1.21). For other aspects of Augustus’ claims of religious restoration, see: Beacham, (2005), 159-160; Scheid, (2005), 177; Wallace-Hadrill, (2005), 55; Zanker, (1988), 50-57.
68 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 490.2.1-2. In addition to these, which include the inscription C•CAESAR•COS•PONT•AVG around the head of Augustus and C•CAESAR•DIC•PER-

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70 See figure 11.
71 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 494.3.1-2.
72 For analysis of the concept of pietas, see: Lind, (1992), 15-20.
Caesar’s assassination and so needed to promote his personal connection and right to follow in Caesar’s role.

In 40 BCE, Q. Salvidienus Rufus issued *denarii* with the head of Augustus 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 Augustus’ ability to interpret the signs of the gods as an augur. Although this is an attribute of Jupiter, it also alludes to the tradition of Numa, who, through conversations with divine beings, learned how to appease the wrath of Jupiter indicated by lightning. The connection between Augustus and Numa in these coins arises from Augustus’ 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 Augustus began to contemplate utilising the image of Numa more explicitly for his own ends.

The promotion of Augustus as the heir to Caesar continued as seen in coins of 38 BCE. 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•I•I•VIR•R•P•C. Reproduced with permission of the British Museum. Ghey and Leins, (2010), 534.1.1-8.

Following the exile of Lepidus in 35 BCE, denarii issued by Augustus featured his two priesthoods, featuring a *simpulum*, to symbolise his role as pontiff, and the *lituus*, to represent his role as augur, as seen in Figure 14. It is also worth noting his dual membership in the two most important priestly colleges recurs on coins of 16, 13, 9 and 8 BCE. In 36 BCE, Augustus combined promotion of the augurate 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. The head of Augustus on the obverse is accompanied by the inscription IMP•CAESAR•DIVI•F•I•I•VIR•I•T•R•R•P•C, signalling Augustus once again as the son of Caesar.

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75 See figure 12.


77 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 534.1.1.

78 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 534.2.1-3.

79 See figure 13.

80 See Figure 14. For the use of *simpulum* and *lituus*, see: Jones, (1990), 252-53.

Augustus in this period developed 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.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso (son of the consul of 23 BCE), with his fellow moneysers 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 coins of 88 BCE and 49 BCE, which show Numa with beard and diadem. This is one of the earliest identifiable coins of the principate, most likely dating to 22 BCE, 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

84 Since the end of the third century BCE, the accumulation of priesthoods had been rare, and Caesar had been the first to obtain dual membership since T. Otacilius Crassus in 211 BCE. See: Szemler, (1974), 76.
85 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.
claimed descent from the king. In 49 BCE, Piso’s father, had issued a series of denarii for Pompey the Great, which featured the same image of Numa on the obverse which his son used in 22 BCE. However, the use of Numa on the later coin could reflect Pompeian sympathies or, more likely, the replacement of Pompey with Augustus in the Pisonian loyalties. This is not the only space in which Pompey was being publically replaced with Augustus. Augustus’ restoration of the Theatre of Pompey created an association between this public space and the emperor’s family, and denarii issued in the thirties by Augustus usurped Sextus Pompey’s association with Neptune. There are, however, additional meanings that arise from this coin. The use of Numa may also be fortuitously linked to the achievements of Augustus in this period, who undertook the closure of the temple of Janus, allegedly founded by Numa, both in 29 BCE and again in 25 BCE. 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. Augustus, too, could claim a Sabine background through his adopted grand-mother, Aurelia. The Aurelii had long promoted their Sabine ancestry and Julius Caesar’s mother is noted in our sources as providing a strict upbringing for her children in the Sabine tradition. 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 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 subtle allusions to the second king of Rome.

What does this mean for this image of Numa? First, the image of Numa in 22 BCE follows the traditional imagery of the king established in the Republican period. As such, the image would recall the values embedded within that iconographic framework – the regard for traditional religious practice and the idea of peace following war. Second, the coin fits within the established practice of Augustan numismatics, as it is topical and draws on the iconography of the state religion. Although primarily reflecting the shifting loyalties of the Pisonian family, the coin also fits with the Augustan usurpation of Pompeian public identity and further connects Augustus to the ideas of Numa. It is likely that Augustus approved or authorised, and possibly even played a role in designing, the coin of 22 BCE. This indicates that, at this time at least, Augustus had an interest in promoting himself in connection with the tradition associated with Numa. This was a tradition of peace and of the establishment of many of the religious practices that were the core of the Roman experience, and may have arisen from a desire to distance himself from the turmoil and bloodshed of the triumvirate and civil war period.

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90 For this interpretation, see Evans, (1985), 133; Farney, (2007), 114; Grant, (1953), 102.
91 Ghey and Leins, (2010), 446.1.1-5.
92 Galinsky, (1996), 35.
95 Livy 1.21.1; Plut. Num. 20.
96 Cass. Dio 44.38.6; Farney, (2007), 122.
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