

THE CENTURY OF THE BRAVE & STOLJEĆE HRABRIH

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ROMAN CONQUEST AND  
INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE  
IN ILLYRICUM DURING  
THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS  
AND HIS HEIRS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
HELD IN ZAGREB  
22-26.9.2014.



RIMSKO OSVAJANJE I  
OTPOR STAROSJEDILACA  
U ILIRIKU ZA VRIJEME  
AUGUSTA I NJGOVIH  
NASLJEDNIKA

RADOVI MEĐUNARODNOG  
SKUPA ODRŽANOG  
U ZAGREBU  
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Kip cara Augusta iz Nina (*Aenona*), Arheološki muzej u Zadru, fotografirao Ivo Pervan  
Statue of the emperor Augustus from Nin (*Aenona*), Archaeological museum in Zadar, photo by Ivo Pervan

THE CENTURY OF THE BRAVE

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STOLJEĆE HRABRIH

Edited by

Marina Milićević Bradač

Dino Demicheli



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## PREDGOVOR

**M**eđunarodni znanstveni skup održan u Zagrebu u rujnu 2014. godine hrvatski je doprinos obilježavanju 2000. obljetnice smrti prvog rimskog cara Augusta, a tijekom iste godine diljem je svijeta upriličen niz sličnih znanstvenih skupova, izložbi i predavanja. Ova okrugla obljetnica potakla je na Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu ideju o razmjeni novih znanstvenih promišljanja o zbivanjima na području budućih rimskih provincija Dalmacije i Panonije za vrijeme Augustove vladavine i nakon nje. Otud i naziv skupa *Stoljeće hrabrih*. Njime se željelo objediniti otprilike jedno stoljeće, od Oktavijanova pohoda na Ilirik 35. god. pr. Kr. do smrti cara Nerona 68. godine, s kojim je i završila julijevsko-klaudijevska dinastija. Kao *hrabri* iz naslova mogu se podjednako prepoznati Rimljani, koji su tijekom tih stotinjak godina dolazili boriti se i živjeti u nepoznatu zemlju, i domorodački narodi i zajednice prostora poznatog kao Ilirik, koji su uporno pružali otpor rimskim osvajačima. Iako rimsko osvajanje Ilirika ima svoje korijene u ranijoj povijesti, razdoblje od Oktavijana/Augusta do Nerona bilo je za ovo područje od presudne važnosti. Tijekom ovog perioda teritorij Ilirika je, nakon konačnog osvajanja, dobio rimski infrastrukturni i administrativni oblik. Osim što je podijeljen na Gornji i Donji Ilirik (uskoro provincije Dalmacija i Panonija), taj je period donio i sve preduvjete za potpuni ekonomski razvoj ovih provincija. Nakon Velikoga rata, poznatijeg kao *bellum Batonianum*, Dalmacija, ali i dio Panonije, bili su premreženi sustavom magistralnih cesta bez kojih se nije moglo zamisliti funkcioniranje nekog rimskog teritorija. Osim arheoloških potvrda ovih cesta, o silnoj aktivnosti rimske cestogradnje govore tzv. *tabulae Dolabellae* koje su nekoć bile izložene u Saloni kao trajni spomen Dolabelinih infrastrukturnih poduhvata. Radi se o barem 850 kilometara cesta izgrađenih uz pomoć VII. i XI. legije, čuvara mira i stabilnosti na prostoru Dalmacije.

Rasponom prohujala vremena, danas smo emocionalno odvojeni od gledanja na Rimljane kao na bezobzirne osvajače. Istina je da je Rim u procesu osvajanja novih teritorija postepeno poništavao društvene norme koje su ondje bile stoljećima prije uspostavljene te je nametnuo svoj vid gledanja na pravo, pravdu, hijerarhiju, religiju, jezik, umjetnost, novčani sustav, trgovinu i druge društvene te-

## FOREWORD

**T**he international scientific conference held in Zagreb in 2014 was Croatian contribution to the marking the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Rome's first emperor Augustus, and many similar scientific conferences, exhibitions and lectures were held that same year all over the world. This big anniversary inspired the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb to exchange new scientific theories on the events which occurred in the area of the future Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia during the time of Augustus' reign and in the following periods. This is why the conference was given the title *The Century of the Brave*. The idea was to encompass an entire century, from Octavian's campaigns in Illyricum in 35 BCE until the death of Emperor Nero in 68 CE, which marked the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The term *the brave* in the title refers to the Romans who continuously came to fight and live in this foreign land for 100 years, as well as the indigenous peoples and local communities living in the area known as Illyricum, who continuously resisted Roman invaders. Even though the Roman conquest of Illyricum had its roots in earlier historical events, the period from the reign of Octavian/Augustus until the reign of Nero was of crucial importance for this region. During this time the territory of Illyricum underwent massive infrastructural and administrative changes after the eventual conquest, all of which were based on Roman principles. Apart from being split into Illyricum Superior and Illyricum Inferior (soon to become the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia), this period also saw the fulfillment of all prerequisites for a complete economic transformation of these provinces. After the great war known as *bellum Batonianum*, a system of cross-linked main roads was introduced all across Dalmatia and a part of Pannonia. These roads were crucial for the management and operation of any Roman territory. This massive road construction carried out by the Romans has not only been confirmed by archaeological evidence, but by the so-called *Tabulae Dolabellae* as well, which used to be on display in Salona in order to commemorate Dolabella's capital infrastructure enterprises. This road network was at least 850 kilometers long and built with the help of *Legio VII* and *Legio XI*, keepers of peace and stability in Dalmatia.



kovine. Budući da sve od navedenog u pravilu donosi za sobom drugačiju životnu praksu, ove promjene danas razumijemo prepoznavajući i tumačeći arheološki materijal. Nepotpuna je slika prisutnost nekog naroda u određenom vremenu i prostoru gledati isključivo preko materijalnih ostataka, ali za velik broj naroda koji su živjeli prije Rimljana materijalna je kultura jedina poveznica po kojoj možemo spoznati da su nekoć nastavali određeno područje. Prostor Ilirika obiluje materijalnim ostatcima domorodačkih zajednica i prije i u vrijeme Rimljana, no dokazi o njihovom etničkom identitetu do nas nisu došli preko njih samih. Da nema antičkih književnih i epigrafskih izvora, možda bi imena ovih naroda i njihova onomastika za nas bila nepoznata. Prihvatanjem rimske epigrafske prakse, domorodačko je stanovništvo barem djelomično razotkrilo, a time i sačuvalo svijet autohtonog onomastičkog sustava, a posredno i jezika.

Nije čitav Ilirik podjednako osjetio rimsku vlast u infrastrukturi i ekonomiji. Govoreći o Dalmaciji, arheološki dokazi intenzivne urbanizacije, koja je započela u Cezarovo doba, najbrojniji su na obalnome dijelu, posebice u Liburniji. S vremenom rimski gradovi nastaju i u unutrašnjosti, no sve do kraja Carstva urbanistička je slika ostala takva da se velika većina rimskih gradova nalazila na dalmatinskoj obali. Politička i društvena zbivanja unutar ovog stoljeća rezultirala su velikom fluktuacijom Rimljana i drugih stranaca u Ilirik, bilo da se radilo o kolonistima i italiskim trgovcima, bilo o pripadnicima vojske. Ovakva je migracijska dinamika omogućila svim tekovinama rimske uljudbe ući na velika vrata u Ilirik. Osim po spomenutom urbanizmu, to se jako dobro vidi po sitnom arheološkom materijalu, po vrstama i količini epigrafskih spomenika, pogotovo monumentalnih stela u 1. pol. 1. st.

Uz simbolično obilježavanje ove obljetnice, cilj skupa bio je podastrijeti nove znanstvene doprinose i pristupe u istraživanju antičkog Ilirika u vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika. Rezultat je našeg zajedničkog truda ovaj zbornik koji broji 33 članka, od kojih većina obrađuje teme iz arheologije ili prvi put ili iz nove perspektive, a nekoliko njih tematikom nadilaze okvire same arheologije i povijesti. Radi se o kulturološkim temama u kojima je Augustovo doba uzeto kao primjer perioda čiji trag i dalje živi, ponekad namjerno, a ponekad sasvim slučajno, u mnogim poljima ljudskog kulturnog djelovanja, u arhitekturi, u filmu, u književnosti... Danas se taj zanimljivi fenomen korištenja

After two millennia we have inevitably become desensitized to the ruthless Roman invasions. It is true that during their conquest of new territories, the Romans would gradually abolish social norms which had been in place for centuries before their arrival and impose their own outlook and understanding of law and justice, hierarchy, religion, language, art, the monetary system, trade and other social inventions. Since all of the above generally entails a change in lifestyle as well, these shifts can be understood today by recognizing and interpreting archaeological finds. It is, of course, an incomplete picture that we paint of a people from a bygone time and place by using only the material remains that they left behind. However, for the numerous peoples who used to live in these areas before the Roman conquest, their material culture is the only thing that remained which we can use to recognize their presence in a particular area. The territory of Illyricum abounds in material remains of indigenous communities from the time of the Roman invasion and before it, but evidence of their ethnicity did not reach us directly through them.

Without literary and epigraphic sources from Antiquity, their names and onomastics would have been lost to us. By embracing the Roman epigraphic habit the local population at least partly unveiled, and in doing so also preserved, their native onomastic system, and thus indirectly their language as well.

Not everyone in Illyricum was equally exposed to the presence of Roman infrastructure and economy. In the context of Dalmatia, most archaeological evidence of intense urbanization, which began during the time of Caesar, comes from the coastal area, especially Liburnia. After a while, Roman towns began to appear in the hinterland, but still most were built and located on the Dalmatian coast for the entirety of the Roman imperial period. Political and social events during this century resulted in a large influx of Romans and other foreigners into Illyricum, whether as colonists, Italic traders or military personnel. This kind of migration dynamics made it possible for every invention of the Roman civilization to be introduced in the Illyricum. This is most visible, apart from the aforementioned urban planning, in small archaeological finds, the type and amount of epigraphic monuments, especially monumental stela from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

The objective of this conference was not just to symbolically mark the anniversary, but to introduce new scientific contributions and approaches to the research of ancient

motiva iz antičkog svijeta u postantičkom svijetu rado interdisciplinarno obrađuje pa nas veseli čitati o njemu i u ovom zborniku.

Tijekom kongresa koji je trajao pet dana posjetili smo jedan od najvažnijih lokaliteta ovog razdoblja, Naronu/Vid, odnosno arheološki muzej koji je nastao nad ostatcima naronitanskoga hrama u kojem se štovao carski kult. Nakon Narone vidjeli smo i arheološki muzej u Zadru, čiji je obilazak završio uz prekrasne kipove iz Enone/Nina, od kojih svakako valja istaknuti kip cara Augusta koji krasi naslovnicu ovog izdanja.

Kao i svaki skup, i ovaj je zahtijevao dobru i pravovremenu organizaciju koja ne bi bila moguća bez pomoći kolega s Odsjeka za arheologiju i studenata te im svima ovom prilikom zahvaljujemo. Za financijsku i materijalnu pomoć organizacije zahvalni smo Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i Hrvatskom arheološkom društvu. Tisak ovog zbornika ostvaren je potporom Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja i Zaklade Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti te im na ovome mjestu iskreno zahvaljujemo.

Urednici

Illyricum during the time of Augustus and his successors. Our combined efforts resulted in this conference proceeding containing 33 academic papers. Most of them deal with archaeological topics that are brand new or they offer an entirely new perspective on a topic. Some also go beyond the scope of archaeology and history, dealing with culturological topics that use the time of Augustus' reign as an example of a historical period whose influence is still present today, sometimes on purpose, sometimes by coincidence, in many areas of culture, architecture, film, literature... This phenomenon of using motives from Antiquity in the Post-Antiquity Era is often the subject of interdisciplinary work and it is with great interest and joy that we publish it here.

During the congress which lasted for five days we visited one of the most important sites from this period, Narona/Vid, i.e. the archaeological museum built on the remains of the Narona temple dedicated to the Imperial cult. After Narona, we visited the archaeological museum in Zadar and ended the tour by visiting the beautiful sculptures from Aenona/Nin, one of which - the statue of Emperor Augustus - graces the cover of this publication.

As with any event, good and timely logistical support was essential, and the conference would not have been possible without the help of our colleagues and students from the Department of Archaeology whom we would like to sincerely thank for all their work. We would also like to thank the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb and the Croatian Archaeological Society for their financial and material support in the event organization. This conference proceedings were published thanks to the support of the Ministry of Science and Education and the Foundation of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts for which we would like to offer our sincere gratitude.

The Editors



AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI – THE FORTUNES OF  
AUGUSTUS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 2000<sup>TH</sup>  
ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH<sup>1</sup>

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“Augustus died in the same room as his father Octavius. That was 19<sup>th</sup> of August 14 A.D, at about 3 p.m, the Consuls of the year being Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius. Before the close of the following month he would have attained the age of seventy-six”, wrote Suetonius in his *The Twelve Caesars*. His life and deeds almost immediately became the stuff of legend. The ambivalent picture of his character started already in Antiquity and persisted throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern times: notably the villain Octavian and the noble Augustus. Different authors compared him to contemporary kings and leaders and he became the paragon of all emperors. His rule was perceived as one of piece when the Savior was born. With the discovery of the numerous manuscripts of ancient historians during the renaissance his figure became less elevated and more devious. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century he was the primary example of leadership in fascist Italy, and Ronald Syme detected the dangers lurking from the huge celebration of the 2000<sup>th</sup> year of his birth led by Mussolini.

**Keywords:** Octavian, Augustus, Roman history, 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Augustus’ death

“Augustus died in the same room as his father Octavius. That was 19<sup>th</sup> of August 14 A.D, at about 3 p.m, the Consuls of the year being Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius. Before the close of the following month he would have attained the age of seventy-six”, wrote Suetonius in his *The Twelve Caesars*.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions corroborate the fact: *Fasti Amiternini* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum*

*Domus Augustae* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, and *Fasti Ostienses* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>3</sup>

Medieval historians transformed the date into the Christian mode of reckoning, for example: *Post natiuitatem domini nostri ihesu christi. Octauianus augustus. imperauit. annis XI-III...* as written in the *Chronicon Martini Poloni* in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> A little later he added: *Mortuus est autem ottauianus*

<sup>1</sup> This work has been fully supported by Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia in the frame of the project Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum quae in Croatia repertae et editae sunt and Croatian Science Foundation under the project 6505 *Between the Danube and the Mediterranean. Exploring the role of Roman military in the mobility of peoples and goods in Croatia during the Roman Era*.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. Aug. 100.1: *Obiit in cubiculo eodem quo pater Octavius, duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIII kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V et XXX minus...* Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1957.

<sup>3</sup> *Fasti Amiternini: a.d. XIV Kal. Sept. Dies/ tristissi(mus)/[---]/VINALIA*. Degrassi 1963: 190-191, 499, T. LXII. *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae: Augustus excess(it)*; Degrassi 1963: 201, 499, T. LXV. *Fasti Ostienses: ad a.p.c.14: [XI]V k. Sept. Augustus [excessit]*; Degrassi 1963: 499.

<sup>4</sup> Martinus Polonus, *Codex saec. XIII. Teplenus, collatus cum codice Nicolai Hane, Editio per Joannem Caesar, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1616. Evulgatusque...* a P. Philippo Klimeš, Pragae, Sumptibus A. Credner, C. R. Aulici Librarii, 1859, 7. Facsimile of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France can be seen on the site <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078297q/f6.highres> 23.7.2014.

*augustus anno vite sue. LXXVII. apud attelam ciuitatem campanie. et sepultus est in marcio campo. Tempore augusti computata sunt. ciuium romanorum CCCC<sup>a</sup> et LXX<sup>a</sup> Millia (ibid. 8).*

His death occurred, not unexpectedly, two thousand years and a month before our present gathering, a little more than a month before his seventy-sixth birthday, fourteen years after the birth of Christ. At the moment when he ceased to exist a legend of the emperor and the man began. True facts can endure three generations only, and after that the picture is formed by stories, gossip, legends and people's needs for heroes and villains. History should discern between facts and legends, but it is not always easy. We either can believe or not, but everything we know is what has been transmitted, everything we debate about has been transmitted. Our view depends solely on the views of writers of the past – right or wrong, they shape our ideas. If we are to talk about the picture of Augustus after his death, in Late Antiquity, in the Middle-Ages, or Renaissance, we must take into account the status of the Roman historians at that time. Everything we say and think about Augustus today is shaped by the same authors preserved in medieval manuscripts. Our views and knowledge are shaped not only by what is preserved, but by what has been omitted and lost as well.

Problems of writing history were well known to ancient historians, as stated in the well-known passage of Cassius Dio (53.19). He said that at the republican times all records were known and could be verified, but later "... things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and even though some things are perchance made public, they are distrusted just because they cannot be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates." He was very much aware of the doubtful truthfulness of his reports and said that he would write in accordance

with his reports, but his own opinion would be given that differed from the common views when seen fit.<sup>5</sup>

The moment of Augustus' death was the moment of crisis in his empire. Velleius Paterculus describes the fear and panic among the people and adds that he would like to describe it in more details, but must hurry along. Only the greatness of the man himself prevented people from destroying in fear everything that has been created during his reign.<sup>6</sup> Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio pay more attention to the gossip, at the time, how Livia and Tiberius poisoned Augustus, although Suetonius does not believe all that. We are prone not to believe Velleius simply because he speaks positively of the Augustus and Tiberius – he is a panegyrist, if not an outward liar. But, he was a contemporary of the fateful event of Augustus' death and probably he witnessed fear and panic that pervaded Rome and the rest of the Empire; saw it better than e.g. Tacitus, remote in time from these events.<sup>7</sup>

Augustus was cremated on the Campus Martius and buried in his Mausoleum. After that an ex-praetor swore in front of the Senate that he saw the spirit of Augustus ascend to Heaven through flames (Suet. *Aug.* 100). To confirm this superhuman event, an eagle was released above the funeral pyre to carry the emperor's spirit (Cass. Dio, 56. 42). Consequently, the emperor was immortalized, deified through ascendance. Cassius Dio (56. 46) mentioned additional details from the sphere of gossip: that certain Numerius Atticus (said ex-praetor) received two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas from Livia to see what he claimed to have seen. Livia was, naturally, the first priestess of the cult of immortal Augustus, already proclaimed *Julia* and *Augusta* (Beard, North & Price 1998: 209; Janowitz 2001: 75-77.). On the September 17<sup>th</sup>, 14 C.E. Senate decreed that Augustus should be given *honores Caelestes*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cassius Dio, translated by Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library, I-IX, Harvard University Press, 1914-1927.

<sup>6</sup> Vel. Pat. 124.1: *Quid tunc homines timuerint, quae senatus trepidatio, quae populi confusio, quis orbis metus, in quam arto salutis exitiique fuerimus confinio, neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere vacat neque cui vacat potest. Id solum voce publica dixisse satis habeo: cuius orbis ruinam timueramus, eum ne commotum quidem sensimus, tantaque unius viri maiestas fuit, ut nec pro bonis neque contra malos opus armis foret.* Gaj Velej Paterkul, *Rimska povijest /C. Vellei Paterculi Historiae Romanae*, preveo i priredio Josip Miklić, Zagreb, Latina & Graeca, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> On the death of Augustus: Tac. *Ann.* 1.5-6; Suet. *Aug.* 98; *Tib.* 21, 22; Cass. Dio 56.30.1-3; cf. Plin. *NH* 7.150; Plut. *De Garrulitate* 1.1. Charlesworth 1923: 147; Syme 1978: 48; Starr 1981: 170; Gabba 1984: 81-82.

<sup>8</sup> As attested on inscriptions: *Fasti Viae dei serpenti*, after year 23 C.e.: *feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)/[quo]d eo die honores caelestes diuo Augusto/[a se] nato decreti sunt Pompeio et Appuleio co(n)s(ulibus)*. Degrassi 1963: 214, 510, T. LXVII. *Fasti Amiternini*, after year 20 C.e.: *fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q(uod) e(o) d(ie)/ divo Augusto honores caeles/tes a senatu decreti/Sex(to) Appul(eio) Sex(to) Pomp(eio) co(n)s(ulibus)*. A. Degrassi 1963, 192, 510, T. LXII, LXIII.



We can see how Augustus, on the very day of his funeral, became distanced from the human race, and became the “stuff of legend”. On the other hand, rumor started that he was far from divinity – not only that Livia poisoned him, but she paid to make him a god. God and villain began their parallel lives. And historians in modern times often neglected the personality of Augustus as if his character was not of decisive importance in the great movements of history (Yavetz 1990: 27).

Official religion accepted the new god and official astrology accepted a new star among the constellations. That was nothing new: Octavian’s place among the stars was to be expected since Virgil wrote *Georgics* in 29. b. C. e. He would find his place between Virgo (Erigone) and Scorpio in the sign of Libra in which he was born.<sup>9</sup> Contemporary historians and poets knew the man and treated him as a god, later writers knew the god and tended to treat him as a man, with all his weaknesses.

Nicolaus of Damascus wrote his *Life of Augustus* between c. 25 and 20 b.C.e. (Jacoby FGrH 90 F 125, 126.1-2) and we have only a fragment left, praising Augustus, his wisdom and his loftiness (Egger 1844: 10 f, 104; Gabba 1984: 62-63).

Nothing is left of other historians, like T. Labienus (who supported the Pompey’s cause<sup>10</sup>) and Cremutius Cordus (condemned in 25 C.E. because he called Brutus “the last of the Romans” and severely condemned the authors of the proscriptions).<sup>11</sup> Asinius Pollio allegedly did not think well of the emperor, but was tolerated by Augustus (Gabba 1984: 77.). Contrary to the majority of afore mentioned his-

torians, Philo of Alexandria joined the panegyrist (Gabba 1984: 63-64).

In short, of all the writers contemporary to Augustus and his Rome, very few survived, Livy being one of them. He shared a friendship with Augustus, yet did not feel obliged to adjust his historical judgment because of that friendship. Augustus himself teased Livy for his sympathy for Pompey (Tac. *Ann.* 1.35.3) and that was considered to be some kind of assurance in his veracity and objectivity (Chatelain 1857: 25; Syme 1959: 51; Gabba 1984: 61; Yavetz 1990: 25.). But it seems that Livy’s grandiose work was too extensive to be read and quoted: it originally had 142 books but today only 35 are extant (1-10, 21-45) and some of them are incomplete. The note about the book 121 in the *Periochae* suggests that books from that one on were published after the death of Augustus but it does not necessarily mean that the content of those books was unfavorable to Augustus. Most of his writings were lost and forgotten and only Censorinus (*De die nat.* 17.9) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century quotes from him and cares about his opinion (Chatelain 1857: 23; Sandys I, 1921: 659-660; Syme 1959: 75; Reynolds & Wilson 1969: 88).

Objectivity, veracity, detailed exposes, and numerous quotes were not in high demand – gossip, juicy stories and scandals were much more read.

Velleius Paterculus with his *Historiae Romanae* stands between Livy and Tacitus and is a witness to the politics and ideologies of the Augustan and Tiberian times, but he was not extensively read after his time, if read at all. Very

Fasti Antiatres Ministrorum Domus Augustae, between years 23 and 37 C.e: [*Aug(usto) hon(ores)/cael(estes) d[ecreti]*], A. Degrassi 1963, 209, 510, T. LXV, LXVI.

See P. L. Gatti 2008, 32.

<sup>9</sup> Verg. *Georg.* 1. 32-35:

Anne nouum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,  
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes  
panditur: ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens  
*Scorpios, et caeli iusta plus parte relinquit...*

*L’Énéide de Virgile, traduction nouvelle par M. de Pongreville, suivie des Bucoliques et des Géorgiques, traduction nouvelle par M. Ferdinand Collet*, Paris, chez Lefèvre librairie, 1843.

Bayet 1939: 141, 165. Octavian’s return to the stars is predicted by Horace (*Carm.* 1.2.45) and Ovid (*Met.* 15. 868-870, *Trist.* 5.2) as well.

<sup>10</sup> We have Pliny’s statement that the last ten years of Augustus’ reign were not exactly prosperous and ugly things were happening (Plin. *NH* 7.149), so Senate ordered books on history to be burned, among them the works of Labienus, who took his manuscripts and killed himself (Seneca, *Controv.* 10, *praef.* 5). Syme 1959: 72.

<sup>11</sup> They say that Augustus was present when Cremutius Cordus read his histories and did not object, but Tiberius was not so magnanimous. Tacc. *Ann.* 4.34.1; Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 26.1; Suet. *Tib.* 61.3; Cass. Dio 57.24.3; Syme 1959: 64; Gabba 1984: 61.

few quotes are left and current estimate is that circa 40% of his text is lost, although it is severely mutilated in only two places.<sup>12</sup> A generation after Livy we find increase in flattery and decrease in volume. He did not evade the dark and unfortunate details of the Augustus' reign, but insisted on the positive aspects of his character as well: that he was merciful after the battle of Actium, that he was merciful in Alexandria, that he had mercy even for the Julia's lovers (Syme 1959: 70; Syme 1978: passim; Miklić 2006: 10-12).

Ronald Syme (1978) accused him of intentional lying because he was ingratiating himself to Tiberius and consequently to his adoptive father Augustus. As a proof he quotes Tacitus and Cassius Dio who stated the opposite. Details discarded by Velleius as unimportant were accented by Tacitus as vital signs of the emperor's bad character. Velleius and Tacitus entered the modern history approximately at the same time – Velleius as a second rate historian and panegyrist, Tacitus as the great mind. Generations of thinkers in fear of terror and dictatorship saw in emperors of the past only bad things.

Pliny the Elder did not write history, but a number of chapters in his *Naturalis Historia* (7. 147-150) are a well-known instance in defaming Augustus. In there he wrote everything bad that he could collect on Augustus from earlier histories. Julio-Claudian dynasty was gone, and new dynasty did not care much for their dignity. There was no one left who knew Augustus and his time personally and their knowledge depended on the reports of writers and historians and on their own choice of topics. So, Pliny said that Octavian was insincere, treacherous and lusted for power, but that Augustus deserved his place among the gods since he brought peace to the empire, though the price paid for that peace was bloodshed (Carter 1983: 25; Gabba 1984: 83-84.). We wonder if we can discern here the dichotomy of Augustus' character, a "split personality" that will be accented in future histories – the villain Octavian and the positive Augustus.

The great Tacitus did not like Augustus at all. He did not like those who had positive opinion of the Julio-Claudians either. He was intensely opposed to those among the senators who did not oppose the new regime. In his eyes the Principate was the end of freedom, real political interaction

and decency. Augustus deceived them all with cunning calculations and corruption, seduced them with peaceful life and promises of wealth; those who could stand up to him perished in proscriptions. Tacitus formulated that everlasting motto of all historians that he would write *sine ira et studio* – *Ann. 1.1: Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.* But he did not abide by his own rule (Martin 1981: 108-109, 115; Gabba 1984: 80-83; Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xi-xii). But before condemning him of partiality let us remember again that he also depended on what was transmitted and there were quite a few writers hostile to Augustus in his own time, like Cremutius Cordus, T. Labienus, Aufidius Bassus, M. Servilius Nonianus and others (Charlesworth 1923: 146-147).

Suetonius, at the time of Emperor Hadrian, on the first glance, took another path. His aim was to entertain the reader with gossip and scandals. He took various sources, truthful and not, biased and not, and used them all as long as they were thrilling. He obviously felt admiration for Augustus, but was aware of all his flaws (Rolfe 1913), and, after all, scandals made much better reading than qualities. On the other hand, he left the physical description of Augustus, found in his sources, but considered unimportant by the "great histories": fair, with thin hair, "with shoes little higher than common to make him appear taller than he was" (Suet. *Aug. 71*). We are informed that he lived reasonably modestly and his eating habits were simple: he loved coarse bread, small (fried?) fishes, cow's cheese and green figs (Suet. *Aug. 76*). It is not surprising that Suetonius was much more read than Tacitus.

Approximately at the same time as Suetonius, Appian from Alexandria wrote "serious" history and presented the reign of Augustus as despotic, but knew well enough that despotism kept the empire going. He had favorable and unfavorable sources and often tried to reconcile them, although generally he did not paint Augustus in bright colors. Part of his work is lost so we do not know if he divided the life and character of Augustus as the "Octavian the mischievous" and "Augustus the good *princeps*" (E. Gabba 1984: 70). Let us not forget that Appian lived in close proximity to

<sup>12</sup> Even the title is unknown since the present title *Historiae Romanae* was made up by Beatus Rhenanus. Starr 1981: 162; Miklić 2006: 17-18.



Hadrian who, perhaps, tried to revive the image and person of Augustus by putting the sign of Capricorn on his coins. That would suggest that defaming the first emperor would not be quite welcome. Otherwise the general public in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century was not particularly interested in Augustus, apart from historians (Carter 1983, 25-26.).

Next great chapter in the history of the image of Augustus belongs to Cassius Dio. He said that, with the lapse of time, many secrets became known and became historical data, sometimes distorted, but discernible. Dio was sufficiently distant in time from the early Principate not to grieve for the lost republic and did not feel the need to scold those who had abolished it. He inherited the double personality of the bad Octavian and the good Augustus. Octavian was portrayed as ruthless on his way to absolute power and the Triumvirs were treated equally realistically. The good Augustus, when he found himself alone in power, did great things and introduced the new reign disguised in old forms and he did not succumb to temptations of tyranny. In Dio's eyes Augustus was a positive person and monarchy was a positive achievement. Since a lot of historical works are lost today, Cassius Dio is our most detailed source for the Augustan period (Syme 1959: 63, 75; Gabba 1984: 71-74; Reinhold & Swan 1990).

When leaving the 3<sup>rd</sup> and entering the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and 5<sup>th</sup>, we must allow for the new element in the picture of Augustus – Christianity. A new factor is creating his person now. Eutropius considered Augustus a great emperor but knew that he ruled despotically and had a lot of faults (Paragon of princes: Kalmey 1978: 286).

Paulus Orosius, on the other hand, promoted the stories that would shape the person of Augustus through the Middle Ages. Not all of his data were entirely true, but he considered them essential for the picture of the coming of Christ and new era. He missed for two years the date when Octavian assumed the title *Augustus* and connected that event with the Christian feast of Epiphany. He refused the title *Dominus* and satisfied himself with the title *Augustus* because he knew that the real *Dominus* is about to come. So he closed the temple of Janus on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, on the day of Epiphany (Oros. *Historiarum*, 6.20; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7; Cens. *De die nat.* 21; Cass. Dio 53.16). That was very important because the whole world was in peace when Christ was

born (A. E. Egger 1844, 322; A. Graf 1923, 245; J. M. Carter 1983, 26). Sacred visions and events became the main facts of the emperor's life. Orosius (*Historiarum*, 6.20) describes the vision he had of the circle of light around the Sun which announced his own greatness, but was connected with the vision of the Virgin as well.<sup>13</sup>

The second portent was even more important: when Octavian returned to Rome, after he defeated Sextus Pompeius, a fountain of oil burst from the tavern in Transtiberim and flew all day – the irrefutable sign that our Lord and Savior will be anointed. The fact that oil flew from the place where poor workers were meeting, meant that Church should accept the poor and the slaves, as well as rich and the masters (Oros. *Historiarum* 6.20). That fountain of oil is not found before Orosius, but after him will be mentioned throughout the Middle Ages, as e.g. in Martini Poloni *Chronicon* (p. 5) (Egger 1844: 323.).

So the main achievement of the reign of Augustus became the coming of Christ. Aurelius Augustinus connected new Christian notions with Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, as the announcement of the Christ's coming – in the words of the Cumaean Sybill (August. *Epistolae ad Romanos*.1.3) (Jones 1951: 115.). Augustin speaks of Sibylline oracles again in *De civitate Dei* (18.23).

Sulpicius Severus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century stated that the Augustan times would be almost entirely forgotten had he not been the emperor during whose reign Christ was born (*Chronicon* 2.27 – PL 20.144). Universal peace engulfed the world (Egger 1844: 333). It is quite possible that Sulpicius Severus used the history of Velleius Paterculus and Velleius was transcribed in Gallia on his authority during the late antiquity and early Middle Ages (Miklić 2006, 17-18).

Visions, prophecies, portents – those were the important facts from late antique life, so Augustus entered the corpus of "Sibylline oracles", dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Different Sibyls prophesied future events, among them the coming of the very first lord who "from the western sea/ shall be of Rome the ruler" (12. 16 ff) and then of the star at the birth of Christ, Tiberius and so on. Sibyl does not say that the ruler coming from the western sea is Augustus, but the context of the 12<sup>th</sup> Book is clear. In the same way in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Book a comet announces the coming of the new god Octa-

<sup>13</sup> His vision is already found in Suet. *Aug.* 95; Plin. NH 2.28; Cass. Dio 45.4; Vell. Pat. 2.59. Graf 1923: 250, n. 23.

vianus.<sup>14</sup> Pliny (NH 2. 93-94) claimed that, when the comet appeared in 44 b.C.e. Octavian was convinced that it came for him, but was persuaded to attribute it to his father Julius Caesar (Jacobs 2011: 151).

Byzantine writer Malalas in the 6<sup>th</sup> century added some new details to the story of Augustus and Christ. He said that Augustus consulted Pythia on who would be his successor, but she sent him out of the temple because a Jewish boy ordered her to Hades. After that the emperor elevated an altar in Rome to the “Firstborn god” (*Deo Primogenito*).<sup>15</sup>

On the threshold of antiquity and entering the Middle Ages we can for a moment turn back on the person and image of Augustus in general. Historians varied among themselves: those who thought of him positively insisted on the difference between Octavian who fought for power and empire, and Augustus who gave peace to the empire, reformed institutions, pronounced *res publica restituta*, as if atoning for the sins committed during the Civil wars, notably for the infamous proscriptions; and those who thought ill of Augustus, thought of him as integrated (bad) personality. There was no turning point; he was the same unscrupulous despot from the beginning to the end in 14 C.E. (Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xi).

All of them, their position notwithstanding, gave a rather colorless picture of the man: he is boring, bland, dull, insipid, simple (or simplified?), nondescript, inconspicuous, not particularly brave, not much of a soldier or general, modest in everything – “too normal”, as Yavetz said (1990, 30-31). His *dicta* (Malcovati 1969) are a secondhand tradition, although very humorous, but we can never be sure that they are really his. One trait is common to all sources which spoke of him – his unsurmountable self-control. We hear that the teacher Athenodorus taught him to chant through all the 24 letters of the alphabet before acting in anger (Plut. *Apophthegmata Caes. Aug.* 7 = *Moralia* II, p. 96 = Malcovati 1969: xvii, p. 158. Yavetz 1990: 33). We should ask ourselves: was he really so dull a person? Or his iron self-control did not allow his intimate feelings to be shown, self-control of the monarch

which had goal and purpose, though he might look to the public like a wooden actor on stage?

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People of the Middle-Ages accepted the world they lived in as part of the Roman Empire founded by Augustus. He brought peace, prosperity and witnessed the birth of Christ. They firmly believed that they lived in the Fourth Kingdom, embodied in the Roman Empire, which would end with the coming of Antichrist (Heckscher 1938: 205; Aikin 1985: 214). The Empire presented a model for the universal kingdom that could be so clearly seen in the kingdom of Charlemagne and in the Holy Roman Empire, with Augustus as the primary model (Quilici 1983: 17). Writers of the day were obsessed with the transmission of that power onto the Frankish and German emperors and commentators took Roman emperors either as the paragons of virtue or as the examples of vice. Augustus was beyond everyone else because he created the peace which greeted the birth of Christ (Schramm 1929: 9 ff; Matthews Sanford 1944: 40). What Middle-Ages thought and knew of Augustus depended solely on how well and in what extension they knew the ancient historians. As an example: a manuscript in Vatican (Vat. Lat. 3852) contains a collection of different texts including excerpts from Orosius. Compiler took what he considered the most important: the signs and portents like the rainbow around the sun when Augustus entered Rome in triumph which meant that the emperor was the most famous man in the world in whose reign Christ would come, or when he entered Rome in triumph for the second time and a fountain of oil flew all day from a tavern (Lozovsky 2006).

Livy’s work as a whole was early lost.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the first epitome was made during the reign of Tiberius (Syme 1959: 28-29). Livy’s last books (those pertaining to the age of Octavian Augustus, supposedly from the book 109 to the book 142; summaries of the lost late books are found in

<sup>14</sup> Terry 1899: 70-71; Graf 1923: 247; Jacobs 2011: 4, 95, 151. Cf. Charles Alexandre, *Excursus ad Sibyllina vel tanquam earum carminibus profanis judaicis, christianisve dissertationes VII*...Paris, Didot, 1856. [http://openlibrary.org/books/OL23298775M/Excursus\\_ad\\_Sibyllina](http://openlibrary.org/books/OL23298775M/Excursus_ad_Sibyllina) 16.4.2014.

<sup>15</sup> Ioann. Malala, *Chronographia*, 10, p. 231-232. Cedrenus repeated that story: Georg. Cedrenus ed. Bonn 1838, I, p. 320. Others repeated it after them, like Suda, s.v. Augoustos. This is the first mention of the story, although Malalas quotes certain Timotheus, and Cedrenus certain Eusebius, not the famous one, but one not known to us. Egger 1844: 329-330; Nichols 1899: 35-36, n. 87; Graf 1923: 246; Carter 1983: 27.

<sup>16</sup> The whole *Ab urbe condita* was divided in decades but that division was made by copyists who copied ten by ten books and consequently Livy’s texts circulated in decades, which was probably why most of the work was lost, since only the most interesting decades were in demand. Chatelain 1857: 23.

*Perioche*, and part of summaries of the books 48-55 is found among the Oxyrhyncus papyri) are missing today and it is quite probable that they were already missing in the late antiquity.<sup>17</sup> One of the most beautiful manuscripts is *Puteanus* from the 5<sup>th</sup> century which contains Livy's third decade (Parisinus Latinus 5730. Chatelain 1857: 26; Billanovich 1951: 147; Syme 1959: 37; Reynolds & Wilson 1969: 32, T. XI – Puteanus). That is a signal that he was read and quoted in that period, but not much.<sup>18</sup> Our knowledge of Augustus received another heavy blow from the pope Gregory the Great who had all manuscripts of Livy that he could find burned because he thought that *Ab urbe condita* supported pagan ideas and religions. The Carolingian Renaissance gave new life to Livy and other historians. *Puteanus* was copied c. 800 at Tours (Vat. Reg. Lat. 762) and around the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century at Corbie (Laur. 63.20), which suggests interest for Livy at the Carolingian court (Reynolds & Wilson 1969: 88, T. XIII.).

Other historians, like Cornelius Nepos, Sallust, Caesar, Suetonius, Justin, Florus were much read in the Middle-Ages. Florus used epitome of Livy, so did Orosius and they became much more popular than the original author (Sandys I, 1921: 658 ff; Syme 1959: 29). Tacitus, so great a mind, did not hold interest of readers for long. Emperor Tacitus (275-276) ordered historian's work to be copied so he shouldn't disappear due to the indifference of readers (SHA 10.3). He might have saved the works of Tacitus who continued to be read in Gallia well into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but Cassiodorus in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (*Var.* 5.2) was not quite sure who he was. For a short period, Tacitus was known during the Carolingian times. He was among the texts copied in Fulda c. 794 and in the 9<sup>th</sup> century he was known in the Benedictine monasteries of Fulda, Corvey and Hersfeld. Einhard, the famous biographer of Charlemagne, had access to Tacitus in Fulda. Whether he knew the first part of the *Annales*, remains unanswered. There are some indications that Rudolphus of Fulda knew the early books of the *Annals*, and he definitely knew

*Germania* (Ramorino 1898: 90 n. 38; Hauerfeld 1916: 196, 200; Martini 1981: 236-237).

Middle-Ages lost greater part of the works of Tacitus and, what is important for us now, lost for a very long time the first six books of the *Annals*, those dealing with Augustus, where all the bad feelings of the emperor were concentrated (Ramorino 1898: 31-32; Sandys I, 1921: 662; Martin 1981: 236). The result of such losses can be seen e.g. in the Byzantine writer Georgius Syncellus in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, who thought that Cicero was poisoned and that Octavian killed Lepidus (I, ed. Bonn 1829, 577-579) (Egger 1844: 330).

Suetonius, on the other hand, was much loved and read, especially in France. Einhard, educated at Fulda, read Suetonius extensively.<sup>19</sup> He wrote the *Life of Charlemagne* (*Vita Caroli Magni*) between 817 and 825, under the Charlemagne's successor Louis the Pious. His model for the biographical writing was Suetonius (with visible influences of Caesar, Livy and Cicero) and his model for ideal emperor was Augustus. Charlemagne was represented as the new Augustus (Sandys I, 1921: 464, 661; Conte 1994: 550; Innes 1997: 266-267, 277-279).

Once again Augustus was the model and protector of the new Roman Empire which was being born under Charlemagne: the only emperor worthy of the founder of the Holy Roman Empire was the founder of the Roman Empire. Charlemagne was the new Augustus, and what they really knew of Augustus depended on the body of ancient historians.

Our most important historians continued to be read into the 11<sup>th</sup> century, although in reduced form. Catalogue of the library in Pompose from the 11<sup>th</sup> century mentioned one Livy, brought down to ten books only. We know also that they were eagerly searching for the rest of the texts. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century Livy is found in the catalogue of Corbie (Chatelain 1857: 25-26). Manuscripts of Suetonius, dated to 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> centuries are very numerous, but not a single one derives

<sup>17</sup> The library of Hippo Regius allegedly had a complete Livy in the times of St. Augustin, but that information stays in the sphere of speculation. Rumors of the complete *Ab urbe condita* still existing in a certain place around Lübeck, and still available in Renaissance, cannot be confirmed. Chatelain 1857: 25; Sandys I, 1921: 659-660.

<sup>18</sup> Sandys I, 1921: 659-660: list of the late writers who had data from the lost books.

<sup>19</sup> We have the famous instance of Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrière, who c. 850 borrowed the manuscript of Suetonius from Fulda, and the same manuscript was copied in Tours at the end of the same century. It still exists like the *Codex Memmianus* (ix, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), the best of the Suetonius' manuscripts that survived. The first excerpt of Suetonius was made by Heiric of Auxerre and that became very popular reading at the end of the Middle Ages. Of the 200 known manuscripts of Suetonius only one has survived from the Dark Ages. Sandys I, 1921: 661; Reynolds & Wilson 1969: 94-95; Rolfe 1979: xvii, xxi; Conte 1994: 550.



from *Memmianus* (Rolfe 1979, xxiii-xxv). In Constantinople, on the other hand, Joannes Xiphilinus, at the request of Michael VII (1071-1078) composed epitome of Cassius Dio (books 36-80) and saved the knowledge of the Dio's history that would be lost otherwise, notably the part dealing with the age of Augustus (Sandys I, 1921: 417).

A good part of the serious history of the Augustan period was lost in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the other part was shaped according to the ideas of the day, so was the person of Augustus. He was still the point of reference for every duke, leader and self-proclaimed king. Alphanus of Salerno compares Gisulf of Salerno to Augustus (more precisely: to Augusti) and other great Romans<sup>20</sup> and he did it in such a grand scale because he had classical education (seen after all in lyric meters he used).

*Graphia aurea urbis Romae*, in its final version, was probably composed after the 1143 coup in Rome, when a group of people seized Capitol and took the name *Sacer Senatus Populi Romani*.<sup>21</sup> Book II of *Graphia aurea* – the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* – describes Octavian in divine terms: he was so beautiful that no one could look him in the eyes, he brought peace and prosperity and they wanted to honor him like the god.<sup>22</sup> But he was reluctant and consulted Sibyl of Tibur who prophesied of the King in Heaven. Suddenly the Heavens opened and he saw in great light Virgin standing on the altar and holding a child in her arms. He heard a voice saying that she was Virgin who would bear the Son of God and then the second voice said that this was the altar of the Son of God. Octavian was stupefied and decided to honor Christ. The

text gives precise location: vision occurred in the Octavian's chamber where today the church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli stands (Nichols 1889, 35-38; Graf 1923: 247; Carter 1983: 27). This will be the most important information on Octavian Augustus in the medieval tradition – his vision of *Ara Coeli*. So Gottfried of Viterbo (c. 1120-1196) in *Speculum regum* (vv. 861-884) identified Augustus through the vision of *Ara Coeli*, (Graf 1923, 249 n. 17) although not everyone followed the story or Latin grammar quite so well and consequently in *Libro imperiale* the *Ara Coeli* became the name of the Sybil (Graf 1923: 248). Mistakes were even more numerous – the fewer ancient historians in circulation, the more strange stories going around in their place. *Chronique abrégées des empereurs romains* took Enea to be Octavian's mother.<sup>23</sup>

*Graphia aurea* describes the imperial iconography with eagle and the golden globe as something installed by the emperor Octavian, meaning in fact that the contemporary emperors inherited Octavian's empire together with Octavian's symbols.<sup>24</sup> Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) formulated perfectly the image of Augustus in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century: his glory sprang from two sources – prosperity, wealth and peace reigned at his time and Savior was born. Then the Sixth age of the world began. Neckam identified peace and the Savior.<sup>25</sup>

One very important monument can be dated to this time, at the turn of the millennium. That is the Lothar Cross (Lotharkreuz), *Crux gemmata*, made in Germany, probably

<sup>20</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 147. 1256: Alphani Salernitani episcopi, *Carmina*, XXIV. Ad Gisulfum principem Salernitanum:

*Tu virtute animi, corporis et vi  
Augustos sequeris, nulla Catonis  
Te vincit gravitas, solus haberis  
Ex mundi dominis rite superstes.*

Matthews Sanford 1944: 28 n. 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Graphia aurea urbis Romae* consists of three books: *Historia Romana a Noe usque ad Romulum*, *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and *Libellus de ceremoniis*. *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, an antiquarian document, was probably composed by Benedict, papal expert on the antiquities of Rome, few years before these events, so the *Graphia aurea*, in all its parts, is generally dated between 1030 and 1155. Heckscher 1938: 206.

<sup>22</sup> *Tempore Octaviani senatores videntes eum tantae pulchritudinis quod nemo in oculos eius intueri posset, et tantae prosperitatis et pacis quod totum mundum sibi tributarium fecerat...* Graf 1923: 246-247.

<sup>23</sup> *Et sa mere fut appellee Enea...* Cod. della Naz. di Torino L. IV.17.f.117<sup>v</sup>, quoted by Graf 1923: 244.

<sup>24</sup> *Graphia aurea urbis Romae*, c. 13: *Habet autem imperator cum aquila et pallam auream in manibus suis, sicut constituit Octavianus imperator propter nationes sibi in cuncto orbe subiectos, ut malum figuram orbis designet.* Quoted by Schramm II, 1929: 99.

<sup>25</sup> *De laud. div. dap. dist. V<sup>a</sup>*, vv. 209-210:

*Salvator voluit sub tanto principe nasci,  
Nam pax sub pacis principe nata fuit.*

Graf 1923: 244.

in Köln. Today it is kept in Aachen and is famous for 102 gems and 32 pearls embedded in the cross. The centerpiece is sardonyx cameo showing the portrait of Augustus with the laurel wreath, scepter and an eagle. This is one way of showing that the emperor Otto III, for whom the cross was probably made, was imperial successor of Augustus and iconography of the cameo responded to the image of the emperor as described in *Graphia aurea urbis Romae*.<sup>26</sup>

The first great historian of the 12<sup>th</sup> century was John of Salisbury (c. 1110-1180), educated in Chartres and Paris. He wrote his *Policraticus* c. 1159 and he quoted there ancient historians, like Frontinus, even Plutarch and his phantom political manual composed for Emperor Trajan. In the last book he mentioned *Trogus Pompeius, Iosephus, Egesippus, Suetonius, Q. Curtius, Cornelius Tacitus, T. Livius, Serenus* (who ever that may be), *Tranquillus* (he was already mentioned) and other historians. It is obvious that he knew historians firsthand, even Tacitus and Livy, which is a sign of the 12<sup>th</sup> century scholarly revival (Ramorino 1898: 90-91, n. 38). Augustus' self-control specially captured his attention and he dedicated quite a few lines to his ascetic way of life, taken directly from Suetonius, whom he quotes, as we have seen (Liebeschütz 1943: 38; Reynolds & Wilson 1969: 100). What became the very important fact of Augustus' life? That he loved small fries!<sup>27</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> century saw new popularity of the great Romans. Ancient poets and historians were read and quoted. *Li faits des Romains*, biography of Julius Caesar, composed c. 1213-1214, contains loose translations of Suetonius, Lucan, Caesar and Sallust. Sibylline oracles about the coming of Christ are naturally mentioned, although Cumae became an island (fol. 128<sup>b</sup>), but that is a minor distortion. More interesting is the description of Romans who comprised French, German

and Flemish knights. Vestal Virgins became nuns, Caesar became bishop, the Romans became knights. The reader could not learn anything useful, but reading it was fun, and this book had enormous success at the time (Meyer 1885: 5, 16; Matthews Sanford 1944: 39).

Popularity of the Caesar's adoptive son and the founder of the empire grew correspondingly. Maitre Rigord or Rigot, monk in Saint Denis, at the time at its peak under abbot Suger, c. 1190, began the chronicle of Philipp II, king of France (1165-1223, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*). He finished his chronicle at the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Philipp's reign. Maitre Rigord was the first who gave Philipp II title *Augustus*. He said why: because writers generally give title *Augustus* to those who augmented the state, from Latin *augeo*, and Philipp deserved that title since he enlarged the state, increased the income and was born in the month of August.<sup>28</sup> Through twists of popular etymology Augustus became great because he augmented his state.<sup>29</sup>

This is the time of Martinus Polonus (Martin of Opava), Dominican, bishop, historian, who died in 1278. He had a lot to say about Augustus, besides the date and circumstances of his death: he said that *ihesus christus. filius dei* was born during his reign, that on the same day fountain of oil burst from the tavern in Transtiberim and flew the whole day, and pope Calixtus I built the church in that place (p. 4, 8); the rainbow circle appeared around the sun, and golden statue in Romulian palace broke (p. 4). Augustus called Sybil of Tibur (Martin really couldn't leave that out) who prophesied that the land would sweat (the prophecy found in Augustin. *De civ. Dei* 18.23) and Augustus had vision of Virgin with the child in her arms standing on the altar (p. 8). Vision happened on the place where the church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli stood. Martin could not leave this out either, but adds some "new" details to the picture of Augustus: not only that he was the

<sup>26</sup> The cross might have been made for Otto III c. 1000. Lothar's name is found on the gem made of green quartz: +XPE ADIVVA HLOTARIVM REG, and that is why the cross bears his name.

<sup>27</sup> *Policraticus*, lib. V, cap. 7: ...Augustus Caesar minimi cibi erat atque uulgaris. Fere secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bibulum manu presum et ficus biferas uiride maxime apatabat, uescebaturque ante cenam, quocumque tempore et loco stomachos desiderasset;... ed. Webb 1909, p. 313.

<sup>28</sup> *Augustus enim vocare consueverunt scriptores, Caesares qui rempublicam augmentabant, ab augeo, auges, dictos: unde iste merito dictus est Augustus ab aucta republica. Adiecit enim regno suo totam Viromandiam quam predecessores sui multo tempore amiserant et multas alias terras; redditus etiam regum plurimum augmentavit. Natus est enim mense Augusto, quo scilicet mense replentur horrea et torcularia, et omnia temporalia bona redundant.* Prologus, ed. F. Delaborde 1882, p. 6. French translation can be found in: Rigord, *Vie de Philippe Auguste*, u M. Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, Paris, Brière, 1824. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/historiens/rigord/philipp.htm> 14.5.2014.

<sup>29</sup> This etymology will appear again in *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine (1230-1298), ch. VI: *Hic dictus est Octavianus a prima impositione, Caesar a Julio Caesare cuius fuit nepos, Augustus ab augmento rei publicae, Imperator a dignitatis honore, qui ad differentiam aliorum regum fuit primo hoc nomine insignitus.* Ed. Graesse 1850, p. 41.

offspring of Aeneas on his mother's side and that he united the whole world in one monarchy, but he was a fornicator, who served his libido without measure with twelve girls at a time.<sup>30</sup>

Sexual scandals notwithstanding, if we are looking for the image and prestige of Augustus in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, we can find it, above all, at the court of Friedrich II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250). He was the Holy Roman Emperor, educated, literate, talented, wise, enemy of the popes and excommunicated four times. He held three Roman emperors in high esteem: Julius Caesar, Justinian and, of course, Augustus (Kantorowitz 1957, 223). He respected Augustus because he was the ruler of peace and of only *aurea aetas* after the Eden. Son of God chose to be born during his reign and emperor accepted him and thought of him as Savior (Kantorowitz 1957, 224). Christ would return to this Earth and the people of the 13<sup>th</sup> century were convinced that the Second coming and the End of the World were near and that the peace and prosperity of the new Augustus were the sign of the new Coming (Kantorowitz 1957: 225). Friedrich thought that it was his mission to revive the *pax Augusta*, and with it revive the reign, the image, and iconography of the Roman rule. *Imitatio Caesaris* is the main trait of his political propaganda which included the idea of *translatio* or *renovatio imperi*, from antiquity, through the Frankish kingdom, the crowning of Charlemagne in 800, until his days. *Imitatio Caesaris* should confirm his conviction that he was the direct heir to the Roman Empire (Fengler & Stephany 1981: 146; Buoncuore, de Lachenal & Vitez 2008: 48; Vagnoni 2008: 151). Bartholomaeus of Neocastro, writer, chronicler and official of the Aragon court, in his *Historia Sicula* (1250-1293) calls him *felix caesar semper augustus*.<sup>31</sup>

Image and iconography of Friedrich II was in accordance with his political and cultural ideas. Representations and portraits made between 1231 and 1250 show him with symbols and attire of the Roman emperor, one of his favorite symbols being the Roman imperial eagle. The statue of Friedrich stood in the central niche of the Capuan Gateway, triumphal arch built between 1234 and 1239. He was dressed

in Roman clothes (unfortunately the statue is severely damaged, but is known by the drawing of Seroux d'Agincourt before 1799, when French troops destroyed the head) (Fengler & Stephany 1981: 146, with figure; Buoncuore, de Lachenal & Vitez 2008: 49, with figure; Vagnoni 2008: 142, 146-147). His portrait on a jasper gemma is completely Roman in appearance (Buoncuore, de Lachenal & Vitez 2008: 52, with figure).

The distinct chapter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century art are the famous *augustales*, gold coins of Friedrich II, minted in Sicily (mint of Messina) between 1231 and 1250, by far the most beautiful coins of the Middle Ages. Their name speaks for itself. They had the bust of Friedrich with imperial mantle and diadem of laurel leaves or sun-rays on obverse, with the legend IMP ROM CAES AUG. On reverse was the perfect Augustan eagle and legend FRIDERICUS (Kantorowitz 1957, 225-226).

Friedrich's *imitatio Caesaris* did not stop at iconography and visual arts. He called his book of laws *Liber Augustalis*. The Book was published in August of 1231, with very significant title: *Imperator Fridericus Secundus Romanorum Caesar Semper Augustus Italicus Siculus Hierosolymitanus Arelatensis. Felix Victor ac Triumphator* (Kantorowitz 1957: 224-227; Buoncuore, de Lachenal & Vitez 2008: 52).

The ties of Friedrich II with Augustus were not limited to political, administrative and iconographical level, they stretched to astrology. He paid great attention to astrology and appeared accompanied by his court astrologer Michael Scot, while Master Theodor composed the emperor's horoscope. Friedrich was born on the 26<sup>th</sup> of December 1194 in the sign of Capricorn. Octavian Augustus represented himself under the sign of Capricorn, although born in the sign of Libra, and treated Capricorn as the symbol of the empire; Friedrich was born as the genuine Capricorn and treated it as a sign of his connection with the Caesars.<sup>32</sup>

Legends of Augustus flowered in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, besides political iconography and classical allusions. One of these legends said that Augustus built the Temple of Peace which was destroyed in the very night when Christ was

<sup>30</sup> Martinus Polonus, ed. Kilmeš 1859, p. 7: *Neque vir tantus vicijis caruit seruebat enim libidini. nam inter. XII. cathamitas. totidemque puellas accubare solitus erat.*

<sup>31</sup> Bartholomaei de Neocastro *Historia Sicula*, in *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani II*, 1868, p. 627, quoted by Vagnoni 2008: 151.

<sup>32</sup> Kantorowitz 1957: 341-343; horoscope of Friedrich II can be found on the site [http://www.astrotheme.com/astrology/Frederick\\_II\\_Holy\\_Roman\\_Emperor](http://www.astrotheme.com/astrology/Frederick_II_Holy_Roman_Emperor) 22.5.2014.



born. Jacopo da Voragine (*Legenda Aurea*, ch. VI) told the story how Romans decided to celebrate the twelve years of peace, so they built a temple and put the golden statue of Romulus inside, but the Apollo's oracle told them that the temple would stand until Virgin gave birth to a child. They thought that the temple would stand forever, but...<sup>33</sup>

August found his place in chronicles and epics, in prose and verses. Jans der Enikel, or Enenkel (died after 1302) of Vienna wrote *Weltkronik* c. 1280 in verses, and he had something to say about Augustus (Manuscript Wien, 2921: quoted by Graf 1923: 243):

*Er was der gewaltigist man  
Von dem ich gehort han,  
Das nam Augustus hiez,  
An gewalt er da nyemant liez,  
Im was die weltg gar  
Undertan, das ist was.*

Jean d'Outremeuse (or Jean des Preis, 1338-1400) spoke of Augustus' great beauty and wealth. He ruled 13 years after the birth of Christ, 43 years before that, in all 56 years, he ruled over all the corners of the world, over the all of ocean circle, over all nations and peoples.<sup>34</sup> And then he numbers the lands he ruled over: *empire de Romme, royalems de Egypte, de Calabrie, Dalmatie, Pannonie, Acquitaine, Yliricum, Gresse, Wandalicos* (vol. I, p. 351). Augustus made Rome great and prosperous and that is why Romans adored him. He was ten feet high, radiating, with eyes shining brighter than Sun (vol. I, p. 351) (Graf 1923: 251). He, naturally, points out the most important event of Augustus' reign: the birth of Christ, and accordingly tells of Sybil of Tibur and Ara Coeli and so on (vol. I, p. 352). Jean paid attention to some inti-

mate scandals: Augustus left his wife, named Scriboine, and took another wife named Labia or Lalia and had two sons by her, Tyberius and Druse.<sup>35</sup>

Every story of enormous wealth is impossible to resist. Such stories can only grow, and Hans von Bühel (1400-1412) retold the medieval legend that the immense treasure of Augustus lied buried under the city, that it was guarded by ghosts and beings created by magic. He said<sup>36</sup>:

*Ze Rome auch ein keiser sas  
Der vast rich und mechtig was  
Es hat vil goldes und wite lant  
Er was Octavianus genant.*

\*\*\*\*\*

The spirit and ideas of the Middle Ages lasted well into the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century, but a parallel development took place, bringing about the new age and new reflection of the world and the new birth of knowledge of the Classical Antiquity. We can say that the new spirit started already with Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). He said in *Paradiso*, 6.90 ff:

*Con costui corse infino al lito rubro,  
con costui puose il mondo in tanta pace  
che fu serrato a Giano il suo delubro*<sup>37</sup>

These verses paint the picture of peace – the most important of all the Augustus' achievements in the eyes of the Middle Ages (besides of the coming of Christ, of course). Combination of such ideas, peace and Christ, is seen in Vergil's words in *Inferno* 1.70-72:

*Nacqui sub Iulio, anchor che fosse tardi  
e vissi a Roma sotto l'buono Augusto  
nel tempo de li dèi falsi e buggiardi.*<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Iacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ch. VI: ...*Sed in ipsa nocte qua virgo peperit, templum funditus corruit et ibi est modo ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Novae...* ed. Graesse 1850, p. 43. Graf 1923: 254-255; Le Goff 2014: 52 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors: Chis Octovian astoit à chi temps sire de tout le monde de orient en occident, de medis en septentrion et par tout le cercle oceaine; et toutes les nations des gens le tenoient à sain gnour, tout en pais sens contradiction nuls...* vol. I, p. 350, ed. Borgnet 1864.

<sup>35</sup> Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des Histors:... et si tollit une altre femme à son marit, qui avoit nom Labia, laqueile Lalia...* vol. I, p. 351, ed. Borgnet 1864.

<sup>36</sup> Hans von Bühel, *Dyocletianus Leben*, ed. Keller 1841, vv. 2051-2054; quoted by Graf 1923: 136, n. 44.

<sup>37</sup> *With him it ran even to the Red Sea shore;*

*With him it placed the world in so great peace,*

*That unto Janus was his temple closed.*

Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, An Electronic Classic Publication, The Pennsylvania State University, <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/dante/dante-longfellow.pdf> 1.8.2104.

<sup>38</sup> *'Sub Iulio' was I born, though it was late,*

*And lived at Rome under the good Augustus*

Dante held, like the whole Middle Ages, that Vergil prophesied the coming of the Savior in his 4<sup>th</sup> Eclogue, and in his eyes that was only a part of the picture of Rome as the universal power chosen by God (together with the whole Italy) to rule the world peace. Only once the universal peace was established – under Augustus and that is why Christ chose his reign to come to this world. Dante’s age hoped for the new Augustus, and his rule would announce the end of time, as foretold by the Sibyl of Tibur (Davis 2000: *passim*). He should be the perfect ruler, whose main qualities must be restraint and temperance; he must be above all passions and model for that ideal is by all means the Divine Augustus, ruler of the perfect monarchy (Born 1928, 497-498, n. 3). Dante said in *Monarchia* (lib. I, cap. xvii): *...non troveremo mai el mondo essere stato quieto se non sopto Cesare Aughusto, che ffu monarcha di monarchia perfetta. Et che allora la humana generatione fusse felice nella tranquillità della universale pace ne danno testimonianza tutti gli storiografi et gli inlustri poeti...* (trad. di Marsilio Ficino, 1468).<sup>39</sup> This description of the restrained ruler reminds us so much of the ancient reports on Augustus’ famous self-control. There are no indications that Dante had a concrete ruler in mind when speaking of the second Augustus, but for a time he had great hopes in Henry VII (Davis 2000, 255).

The 14<sup>th</sup> century saw the adoration of Augustus not only in political theory, but in everyday strife and politics as well. We are talking about the famous endeavor of Cola di Renzo (Cola Rienzi, Cola di Rienzo, 1313-1354) in Rome (Voigt 1894: 5 ff; Rollo-Koster & Holstein 2010: 149 ff). Although of humble origins, he was well educated and during his career served as notary in Avignon in 1343. He detested the aristocracy of Rome and dreamed of restoring the power and freedom of the people of Rome. So on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1347 he proclaimed the restored Republic on the Capitoline hill. He assumed the title of tribune (*Nicolaus, severus et clemens, libertatis, pacis justitiaeque tribunus, et sacrae Romanae Reipublicae liberator*). He knew very well the works of Livy,

Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Cicero, and they were the sources of his republican ideas (Voigt 1894: 53). Allegedly he collected, interpreted and described in writing the inscriptions of Rome and composed the first description of Roman antiquities after the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, but there is no definitive proof that it is true (Voigt 1894: 54, n.1).

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1347 Cola assumed the title *Augustus*, together with the title of *tribunus* (the new title being *Candidatus Spiritus Sancti miles, Nicolaus severus et clemens liberator Urbis, zelator Italiae, amator Urbis et Tribunus Augustus*). The date was chosen because Augustus triumphed over Antony and Cleopatra on that day. He admitted that he took the title *...ob vanitatem meam ego coronatus mense Augusti volui dici Augustus*.<sup>40</sup> The second reason for imitating Augustus might have been his conviction that he was the illegitimate son of the German emperor Henry VII. Cola was obsessed with antiquity and he could not resist the temptation to act like an emperor. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of August he took the rite of immersion in the baptistery of Constantine. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of August he was crowned with six crowns – of oak, laurel, myrtle, olive, ivy and gilded silver (Voigt 1894: 57). His vanity and greed for power were his downfall. After a number of turmoils and tribulations he was murdered in Rome in 1354. His dead body was dragged through the streets of Rome from Capitol to the Mausoleum of Augustus and there was finally burned: humiliation reserved for heretics and criminals during the Middle Ages (Rollo-Koster & Holstein 2010: 160-161). It was the final irony and ultimate symbolism of Augustus and imperial glory that Cola di Renzo so cherished.

Cola knew Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) and shared with him the sense of the Roman legacy. Petrarch was deeply moved when he visited Rome in 1341. He was crowned on the Capitoline hill with laurel wreath as *poeta laureatus*. He thought of how Augustus, in the same place, accompanied by Sibyl, saw the baby Christ. Augustus’ visions were as much part of the ancient inheritance as emperor’s historical figure (Carter 1983: 27). Petrarch was avid reader of

<sup>p</sup>during the time of false and lying gods.

Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, An Electronic Classic Publication, The Pennsylvania State University, <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/dante/dante-longfellow.pdf> 1.8.2104. Kleinhenz 2012.

<sup>39</sup> Lib. I, cap. xvii: Come Cristo nel suo avvenimento elesse al tempo della tranquilla pace overamente la dispuose. [http://wikisource.org/wiki/Monarchia/Libro\\_I/Capitolo\\_XVIII](http://wikisource.org/wiki/Monarchia/Libro_I/Capitolo_XVIII) 15.3.2014.

<sup>40</sup> In the letter to the archbishop of Prague. Quoted by Rollo-Koster & Holstein 2010: 161.

ancient historians. He loved Suetonius (of the ten known manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, two were in Petrarch's possession, as well as one from the 12<sup>th</sup> century) (Conte 1994, 550). He even said that in his youth he saw once a book of poems and epigrams attributed to Augustus. After Petrarch that book was never again heard of (Egger 1844: 13). He loved Greek culture and tried to learn Greek but never mastered it. He met with Boccaccio in 1350 and they shared their love for Greek literature (Woodward 1943, 1). Petrarch was also obsessed with Augustus, more precisely with finding the new Augustus who would bring new *aurea aetas* to Italy. He believed at one time that Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, scholar and patron of writers, was the new Augustus. When Charles IV crossed the Alps in 1354 Petrarch greeted him as the savior, but in the end was disappointed because his champion did not want the world empire and everlasting glory (Voigt 1894: 66-68; Sandys II: 1908, 251; Mommsen 1952: 98).

During that time Petrarch was working on the major historical treatise, *De viris illustribus*, written under the influence of ancient biographical works like that of Suetonius (although he took only four emperors of those appearing among the twelve Caesars). That book will be very influential even during his lifetime mostly because it incited the whole series of paintings of *uomini famosi* (Mommsen 1952: 95; Rubinstein 1958: 195 and n. 104; Joost-Gaugier 1976: 184-185). Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, Petrarch's patron, ordered a series of frescoes, inspired by Petrarch's work, for his palace in Padua in 1370-ties. Unfortunately, the paintings from the 14<sup>th</sup> century are lost today, painted over in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Mommsen 1952: 95-96; Joost-Gaugier 1976: 186). These frescoes exist today in the famous *Sala dei Giganti*, painted from 1539 or 1540 on by Domenico Campagnola and Stefano dell'Arzere. Giovanni

Cavazza composed *eulogia* which were painted under the figures.<sup>41</sup> Among the emperors is Augustus, shown young and beardless, with black hair. His special deed, painted under him, is the closing of temple of Janus (Mommsen 1952: fig. 2). Text of eulogium in Zabarella has the sentence: *Vniuersi Orbis Imperium adeptus Templum Iani clauit*. During the Renaissance the closing of the temple of Janus became one of his most important feats (J. Zabarella, *Aula Heroum*, p. 108). We know that Augustus was represented also on the 14<sup>th</sup> century frescoes, today lost (Mommsen 1952: 103 – in *Sala virorum illustrium* as it was known then).

Famous were *uomini famosi* painted by Giotto for the king Robert of Naples, or the *uomini famosi* in Siena (Joost-Gaugier 1976, 186-187), but for the moment let us stop only for one more example – the frescoes of *uomini famosi* in the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno (Umbria), painted between 1413 and 1424 by Ottaviano Nelli in the *La sala dei imperatori (Sala dei Giganti)*. There were twenty great Romans, from Romulus to Trajan, accompanied by painted epigrams composed by Francesco di Fiano. These frescoes might be closest to Petrarch's writing, and among them stands out the figure of Augustus. It is partly preserved and mostly visible as the sketch-drawing in red. This Augustus is an old man, with white hair, beard, and laurel wreath. The position of his right hand looks like benediction, but is an imitation of the *adlocutio* pose.<sup>42</sup> Mario Salmi published the epigram of Octavianus Augustus; and the last line of that epigram is: *Clauisti reserata diu sua limina Iano*.<sup>43</sup> Once again we see how impressed the Renaissance scholars were by Augustus' universal monarchy and world peace.

A number of illustrated codices can be dated approximately to this same period, but they refer to some other, probably Florentine, model. Octavianus Augustus in one of these codices is young, beardless, with armor and cloak, and

<sup>41</sup> Allegedly the eulogia found in the book by Jacobus Zabarella, *Aula Heroum*, Padova, 1673, p. 107 ff, are copies of the said eulogia in *Sala dei Giganti*. The text in Zabarella is nothing remarkable; information is collected from the known sources. Cf. Mommsen 1952: 101-103 and esp. 104 n. 71.

<sup>42</sup> Salmi 1919: 161; Mommsen 1952: 116. Newly restored fresco, promoted for the *bimillenario* of Augustus, can be seen on the Facebook profile of Palazzo Trinci.

<sup>43</sup> Salmi 1919: 177. The whole epigram is as follows:

*Quae mihi sancta dabit, grandes depromem laudes  
Musa tuos iam pauca canam: tu Caesaris alti  
Vultus es indignam memorando nomine mortem:  
Actiaco et phasios domuisti in gurgite classes:  
Pacatumque tuis facitas uirtutibus orbem  
Clauisti reserata diu sua limina Iano.*



with the sphere and scepter in his arms.<sup>44</sup> We showed Petrar-  
ch's influence in subsequent pictorial cycles and we should  
turn back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Augustus had his place in the historical works of a series  
of writers in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The great Giovanni Boccaccio  
(1313-1375) is among them. He compiled *Zibaldone Ma-  
gliabechiano* (today accepted as his work). *Zibaldone* had the  
career of Julius Caesar and *Historia imperialis* and a number  
of excerpts from ancient texts (Hankey 1958: 208-209).  
Boccaccio was the first to discover Tacitus after a long time  
and saved him from oblivion. During the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>  
centuries Tacitus was virtually unknown. Petrarch, for exam-  
ple, did not know Tacitus. The story goes that Boccaccio dis-  
covered manuscript of *Histories* and later books of *Annals* in  
Monte Cassino. That manuscript had a very exciting history  
(although it is not still clear whether Boccaccio's manuscript  
is the same as the Mediceo 2) until it's printing in 1470.<sup>45</sup>

We can give a short survey only of the 14<sup>th</sup> century  
writers on the history of the world. Riccobaldo da Ferrara  
(1243/45-1318?) wrote a lot of books, among them a *Com-  
pilatio Chronologica* and a book known as *Historia Romana*  
(or *Compendium Historiae Romanae*, c. 1318). This history  
was translated in Italian by Boiardo, who included his own  
interventions (Hankey 1958: 211; Shumilin 2013: 16;  
Tristano 2013: 83-84). Zono (Ciones) de' Magnalis, in the  
first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, wrote a commentary on *Aeneid*  
and on Lucan and, when talking of Roman history, he used  
*Compendium* of Riccobaldo da Ferrara (Shumilin 2013).  
Giovanni de Matociis (called also Giovanni Mansionario),  
deacon of the Verona cathedral, wrote *Historia imperialis*,  
between 1306 and 1320, chronicle of emperors from Au-  
gustus to Charlemagne. He read and quoted a lot of ancient  
and contemporary authors, but mostly San Zeno, Isidor of  
Seville and Pliny, although he did not know which Pliny,  
since Pliny the Younger was unknown to him and he con-

sidered two Plinys to be one person. Only after he finished  
*Historia* he discovered Pliny the Younger's letters (Sabbadini  
I, 1905: 2-3). Guglielmo da Pastrengo (died in 1363) wrote  
*De originibus Rerum* c. 1363, and the first part of the work  
is about famous men, politicians, army leaders, writers, po-  
ets. He used many authors but badly, quoting incorrectly;  
so he misquoted Tacitus (he obviously did not know him  
firsthand) but knew that emperor Tacitus had had a copy of  
his works (wherever he got that information from). He very  
likely did not know Caesar's writings firsthand, but he knew  
the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of Livy, probably the 4<sup>th</sup> as well;  
he knew *The Lives of Caesars* of Suetonius.<sup>46</sup> Niccolò da Fer-  
rara (died in 1400) wrote *Polystorio*, the huge history of the  
world, concentrated on the Roman history and Biblical fig-  
ures. He often quotes Riccobaldo da Ferrara (Tristano 2013:  
85-86). Domenico di Bandino (1335-1418) wrote *De viris  
claris* and a *Chronica* c. 1400-1418. He said that Riccobaldus  
Ferrariensis composed a book on Caesars from the first Gai-  
us Caesar perpetual dictator, to Henry VII, 116 caesars in  
all. He used Boccaccio's *Zibaldone*. The result being that the  
picture of Roman history and the period under discussion  
looked almost the same in all these authors. When it came to  
the history of Augustus they quoted their contemporaries,  
the above mentioned ancient writers, Florus, Valerius Maxi-  
mus. Their Augustus was great monarch who waged five civil  
wars, who saw the birth of Christ, made peace with Herod,  
instituted *monarchia* as the rule of one man, and he closed  
the gate of the temple of Janus, open for two hundred years.  
This was the third closure, first being under Numa Pompil-  
ius, second after the Second Punic War (Hankey 1958: 213-  
216, Appendices 222-224).

Writers and historians read a lot, respected each other,  
quoted each other, had damaged and corrupt manuscripts  
of the same ancient authors (as so nicely described by Gug-  
lielmo da Pastrengo), so their picture of Augustus is fairly

<sup>44</sup> Salmi 1919: 164; *Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti V*, 1897-1902, tav. IX; facsimile can be seen on the Heidelberg web-site: [http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/gallerie\\_nazionali\\_italiane1897\\_1902/0495](http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/gallerie_nazionali_italiane1897_1902/0495) 29.8.2014.

<sup>45</sup> Ramorino 1898: 32-34; Sandys II, 1908: 33; Hauerfield 1916: 201. Ramorino (1894: 93, n. 43) quoted the text of Benvenuto da Imola, who in the *Commento a Dante*, ad *Inf.* Canto VI, said: *...quoniam Cleopatra adulterata est cum omnibus regibus orientalibus, ut dicit Cornelius Tacitus*. That raises a difficult question because Tacitus, as we know him, nowhere speaks of Cleopatra. Either Benvenuto had some unknown manuscript, or made a mistake quoting Tacitus. Ramorino thought that the second option was more likely.

<sup>46</sup> Sabbadini I, 1905: 6-8, 12-13. Sabbadini (I, 1905: 6-7, n.21) quoted a charming text on the fate of manuscripts by Guglielmo (f. 3<sup>v</sup>): *Minime, inquam, sed animadvertens quod scripturae vetustate conusmantur, tinearum et soricum morsibus corroduuntur, naufragio, incendio atque negligentia facile depereunt, ignorantia lacerantur aut abraduntur, superfluo humore putrescunt, dignum putavi illustrium illorum et scriptorum suorum nomina scriptis tradere, ne si quo forte casu absumerentur volumina, conditorum tamen et operum non obliterant memoriam*.

uniform. At that time the search for Livy was still going on. Coluccio Salutati (1330-1406) was tireless in his pursuit of the lost books of Livy and other authors. He obtained the manuscript of Catullus from Verona (Sandys II, 1908: 17). Livy's star was rising at this time and, at the incentive of the king John II, Pierre Bersuire (Bechoire) translated Livy into French in 1341 (Chatelain 1857: 26; Sandys I, 1921: 660). The 4<sup>th</sup> decade seemed lost during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century and resurrected in the 14<sup>th</sup> when a lot of manuscripts were produced and a part of book 91 was saved in Vatican (*Vaticanus Palatinus* 24) (Billanovich 1951: 149 and n.3). Plutarch's *Lives* arrived in Italy before 1400, since Coluccio Salutati in his letter from 1392 said that the manuscript of *Lives* was translated in Modern Greek, then Spanish (Enguita Utrilla 2010: Juan Fernández de Heredia translated 39 of Plutarch's *Lives* into Spanish c. 1380. That manuscript is in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), then Toscan. And Domenico di Bandino allegedly had a copy of Plutarch's *Lives* (Sabbadini I, 1905: 36, 39; Woodward 1943: 5-6). Unfortunately, Plutarch's *Lives*, complete or not, were missing the life of Augustus, at least *Lives* written by Plutarch himself.

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The contribution of the Renaissance thinkers to our knowledge of classical antiquity, and Augustan age in particular, is almost impossible to assess, but we can try to present some of the events. Love for the ancient Rome and antiquity in general was the common denominator of the majority of the historical and antiquarian writings of the period. Idea of history as scientific method and proven facts began in the Renaissance. Their history was concentrated on antiquity and humanists considered themselves heirs to ancient men, forgetting the period in between (Weisinger 1945: 415-417, 426; Stempel 1956: 62; Rijser 2006: 80). They collected and read Roman inscriptions, described the ruins, searched for manuscripts, searched for any new information on antiquity they could get. One of the greatest searchers for manuscripts was Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). Born near Arezzo, he was educated in Florence and was employed as pope's secretary at the council of Konstanz (1414-1418). From Kon-

stanz he travelled to Cluny, St. Gallen and other places where he thought that the manuscripts could be found (Sabbadini I, 1905: 72 ff; Voigt 1894: 229 ff; Sandys II, 1908: 25). He discovered a lot of important manuscripts, but never found the missing books of Livy. The legend of the complete work of Livy was the talk of the day. Poggio heard of the complete Livy in a Benedictine monastery near Lübeck, but never found it; the same was true of the rumors of a manuscript in Denmark (Sandys II: 1908, 32). The first five books of the 5<sup>th</sup> decade will have been found in 1527<sup>47</sup> but what Livy had to say on the Age of Augustus was still missing. Poggio knew that there were some unknown works of Tacitus in the abbey of Hersfeld (*aliqua opera nobis ignota*) (Martin 1981: 237).

In the meantime the humanists were learning Greek. After centuries of learning Greek history from Latin summaries and translations (most of them bad and distorted), they had access to original sources. They thought that Greek had been forgotten around 690, so Italy did not understand it for seven centuries. The story of Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1350-1415) who taught Greek in Florence is well known (Sandys II, 1908: 19-20; Woodward 1943: 8). The pupils of Chrysoloras went to the East and brought Greek manuscripts to Italy, so Guarino da Verona brought more than 50 manuscripts in 1408, but Giovanni Aurispa (1376-1459) was unsurpassed in that field. He brought 238 manuscripts to Venice in 1423, all of them of Greek classics (Voigt 1894: 254 f; Sandys II, 1908: 36-37). Greek historians found their way into the Renaissance learning and the figure of Augustus has been reshaped accordingly. Bibliotheca Laurentiana possesses the codex with the Pier Candido Decembrio's Latin translation of Appian made at the order of Pope Nicolas V (1397-1455). The manuscript was originally intended for the king Matthias Corvinus, but was finished only after his death. The translation of the *Civil wars* was finished only after the death of the Pope Nicolas V. It was printed in Venice in 1472 (Wendelin of Speyr) and again in 1477 (Ratdolt, Venice).<sup>48</sup> So Appian's history of the Civil wars became part of the history of the Augustan age, and Appian said of Octavian that he was successful and dreaded by all and that he abolished all forms of election and pretention of election, but his government lasted (App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.5.1).

<sup>47</sup> Simon Grynaeus found the only existing manuscript of these books, dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the abbey of Lorsch. It is known as Vin-dobonensis Lat. 15. Billanovich 1951: 149.

<sup>48</sup> Woodward 1943: 8; facsimile of the codex can be found at the site <http://dl.wdl.org/11613/service/11613.pdf> 12.6.2014.

Although his character was acquiring new shades with every new published manuscript, Augustus and his age was the highest model to be looked up. Rome was at its peak at the time of Augustus and again in the Renaissance. Pope Sixtus IV (1414-1484) appreciated the city full of monuments and history and considered them to be proof of Christian revelation in the pagan past. Pope's rule was universal as was the rule of Augustus who united the title of *augustus* with the title *pontifex maximus*, and the symbol of the universal power was universal language – Latin (Rijser 2006, 93-94, 166). Pope Julius II (Giuliano della Rovere, 1443-1513) adored Augustus and his age, his political mission and his patronage of arts. Pope saw himself as new Augustus and was collecting classical art in the Belvedere palace. Even his chosen name *Julius* showed what were his aims and wishes (Rijser 2006, 150).

Another classical art was gaining popularity during Renaissance – astrology. The birth sign was of the overall importance and since Augustus represented himself as Capricorn and since Augustus was the ruler of the last *aurea aetas* known to mankind, Capricorn came to be the sign of the great ruler and the sign of the Golden age. Lorenzo il Magnifico, the great ruler of Florence, was born on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1449 – another genuine Capricorn who saw himself as the heir of the age of Augustus and Florence as the heir to the glory of Rome. the same way as the poets of antiquity glorified Augustus, Capricorn and the sickle bearing Saturn (god intimately connected with the sign of Capricorn) and the Golden age, so the poets ingratiating themselves to Lorenzo evoked images of *Saturnia tempora, aurea saecula*, like e.g. Aurelio Lippi Brandolini:

*Aurea falcifero non debent saecula tantum,  
Nec tantum Augusto saecula pulchra suo  
Quantum nostra tibi, tibi se debere fatentur  
Aurea, Laurenti, munera facta tuo...*<sup>49</sup>

Lorenzo's horoscope meant a lot to another original thinker, astrologer and adventurer – Galeotto Marzio da Narni (1423-1494/97). He believed in astral determinism distinctive for stoicism and neo-paganism of the later 15<sup>th</sup> century. He found excuses for the use of astrology in great theological authors like Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great (Békés 2012: 215; Federici Vescovini 2014: 115) but

all excuses did not help him against the judgment of Inquisition after the publishing of his work *De incognitis vulgo* (*Galeotti Martii Narniensis tractatus de incognitis vulgo*, man. Torino, Bibliotheca Nazionale Universitaria, cod. E IV 11, sec. XV, membr. 145) or “On the ignorance of the people”. He was imprisoned in Venice in 1477 and escaped the death penalty probably at the intervention of Ivan Vitez, ambassador of the Hungarian court. He went with Vitez to the court of Matthias Corvinus, and in 1489 returned to Italy where he finished *De doctrina promiscua*, dedicated to Lorenzo il Magnifico.<sup>50</sup> In *De doctrina* Galeotto wrote with pride that in his previous work *De incognitis vulgo* he had cast the horoscope of Augustus. He probably said that because Lorenzo was born under the sign of Capricorn and very sensitive to any comparison with Augustus (Békés 2012: 215).

Astrological identification with Augustus was very prominent in the next century, notably at the time of Cosimo I Medici (1519-1574). Cosimo I identified himself with Augustus on multiple levels. He ordered Giorgio Vasari to build him Uffizi in Florence and works took place between 1560 and 1580. Vincenzo Danti made the statue of Cosimo for the facade of Uffizi representing him as Augustus/Hercules. The statue stood there from 1573 to 1585. The shield of the statue showed the sign of Capricorn (Crum 1989: 241, 245-246). Cosimo was born on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 1519 in the sign of Gemini. Unlike Lorenzo (and Friedrich II long ago) and like Augustus (he was born on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September in the sign of Libra), he was not a genuine Capricorn, but his astrologers insisted that his ascendant was Capricorn. Cosimo understood that fully and adopted Capricorn as his personal sign (just like Augustus before him) (Crum 1989, 246-247). The same ideology of the Saturnian Golden age under the auspices of Capricorn can be seen in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence where Giorgio Vasari painted the fresco in 1555 with the god Saturn. The fresco contains all the symbols of the Golden age: Saturn, his sickle, Cornucopia, Capricorn and the ball as the symbol of the globe. Vasari explained the whole ideology: Capricorn is the appropriate sign for the greatness of rulers, and their ascendant, of Augustus as well as of Cosimo, and

<sup>49</sup> Gombrich 1961: 307 – quoted from Roscoe (III, 1800, 285) the verses from a very long praise in elegiac distiches: Aurelii Brandolini Florentini, Cognomento Lippi, *De laudibus Laurentii Medicis*, in Roscoe III, 1800, App. L, 272 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Frezza 1948; Maggiano 2005: 55; Békés 2012: 212; Békés 2013: 8; Federici Vescovini 2014: 115-116 – he took part in editing the manuscript of astrological poem of Manilius then only recently discovered by Poggio Bracciolini.



they are both borne under the same stars; and as Augustus was the ruler of the whole world, so Cosimo grew permanently.<sup>51</sup> Augustan astrological ideology, seen on this fresco, was defined by Augustan poets like Ovid, who in *Fasti* (5. 111-128) explained that cornucopia was in fact the broken horn of the goat which sucked baby Jupiter and was later transformed in the constellation of Capricorn (Crum 1989, 247).

At the same time Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576) described his own horoscope by comparing it to the horoscope of Augustus, knowing well that the horoscope of Augustus was the most important astrological topic of the moment. He numbered a lot of other persons born in the sign of Capricorn.<sup>52</sup> He spoke of Augustus' love for astrology and his court astrologer and how he minted coins with the sign of Capricorn, and Tiberius inherited his passion (Hieronymi Cardani, *Encomium astrologiae*, p. 728). Cardano in his own terms described the mission of different callings: the past extolled the historians, the present kings, and the future was left to the gods (Hieronymi Cardani, *Encomium astrologiae*, p. 728: *Nempe cum praeterita Historicos extollant, praesentia Reges, futura Diis relicta erant*).

History was developing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mostly because the ancient authors became widely known owing to the printing of manuscripts. On the other hand, new manuscripts were still being discovered (Sandys II, 1908: 36). Livy was among the first printed historians.<sup>53</sup> First commentaries on Suetonius were written at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and in Rome in 1470 appeared two *editiones principes*; with thirteen editions to follow before 1500 (Conte 1994, 550). Isaac Casaubon already in 1595 identified

the influence of Suetonius in Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* (Innes 1997: 270).

Velleius Paterculus was discovered at this time and after centuries of oblivion contributed his point of view to the historical studies. Beatus Rhenanus (Bilde von Rheinau) in 1515 found a manuscript in Murbach. That was the only copy of Velleius and Beatus Rhenanus had it copied, but the original manuscript was lost in the meantime. In 1520 appeared the first printed edition. Text is corrupt and damaged but was all they had and that we still have (Miklič 2006: 18-19; Lobur 2007: 211).

If discovery of Velleius Paterculus was exciting, the discovery of new Tacitus was like a novel. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Pontano wrote that they looked at Curtius and Tacitus as at damaged statues.<sup>54</sup> And then in 1509 Angelo Arcimboldo found the manuscript of the first six books of *Annals* in the monastery of Corvey in Germany (today known as Medicean 1 – Codex Mediceus, MS.plut.68.1; the manuscript was written c. 850 probably at Fulda). Pope Leo X paid 500 pieces of gold for it and gave it to his secretary Beroaldo to print it. The first edition appeared in 1515. The historians and educated public were suddenly acquainted with the unfavorable image of Augustus in the first books of the *Annals*. They discovered the tyrant, not only the bringer of the world peace (Ramorino 1898: 36-37; Sandys I, 1921: 663; Momigliano 1947: 91; Martin 1981: 238; Carter 1983: 27). They understood the text of Tacitus as a political message for themselves, so they wrote political commentaries on Tacitus, meant more for their contemporaries and rulers than for historians. One of them was Carolus Paschalis.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Gombrich 1961: 306; Crum 1989: 246, n. 49 – here the author quoted Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere VIII: Scritti minori*, G. Sansoni editore, Firenze, 1882, 65-66: *...capricorno, segno appropirato dagli astrologi alla grandezza de' principi illustri, ed ascedente loro; come fu di Augusto, così è ancora del duca Cosimo nostro, con le medesime sette stelle; e così, come egli operò che Augusto fussi monarca di tutto il mondo, così giornalmente si vede operare in sua Eccellenza, che lo ingrandisce e lo accresce...*

<sup>52</sup> Girolamo Cardano, *De vita propria in Opera omnia*, ed. C. Sponius, Lyons, 1663, vol. I, c. II: *Nativitas nostra*. W. Hübner 2014, 37, n. 103.

<sup>53</sup> Chatelain 1857: 24: the first and the rarest edition being *Titi Livii Historiarum libri qui supersunt, cum epistola Johannis Andreae episcopi Aleriensis ad Paulum II Pontificem maximum*, Romae per Conradum Swoynheim et Arnoldum Pannartz, absque nota anni. Perhaps this edition should be dated to 1469.

<sup>54</sup> Momigliano 1947: 91 – he quoted the edition of Pontanus in *Artis Historicae Penus* (1579), III. Ioan. Pontan, *de Historia*, p. 587: *Nam quanquam & Tacitus & Curtius abunde sunt laudibus ac virtutibus ornati suis, laus tamen omnis Latinae historiae penes duos putatur existere, diversoque in dicendi genere, Livium ac Sallustium. Adhaec iniquitas temporum Trogum nobis omnino abstulit, & Curtium ac Tacitum quasi mutilas videmus statuas; licetque suspicari potius ac conicere quam omnino iudicium aliquod absolutum ac certum tradere.*

<sup>55</sup> Carolus Paschalis / Charles Paschal, *C. C. Taciti ab excessu divi Augusti Annalium libri quatuor priores, et hos in obseruationes C. Paschalii*, 1581. Momigliano 1947: 93.

New spirit is visible in the work of the Spanish humanist Pero Mexía (1497-1551)<sup>56</sup>, who had very low opinion of Octavian and of Triumvirs in general. He accused Octavian of bloodshed and greed for power and that he had had sacrificed his sister for his own benefit (Kalmey 1978: 282). Very instructive in that sense are the *Ricordi* of Francesco Guicciardini (1482-1540), who said that Cornelius Tacitus taught those living under tyranny how to survive and taught others how to establish the tyranny, and who wanted to know how tyrants thought, he should read Tacitus and his description of the last conversation of the dying Augustus with Tiberius (quoted by Ramorino 1898: 39 and again by Martin 1981: 239).

Soon after the discovery of the first books of *Annals*, Cassius Dio appeared in print. Giovanni Aurispa, who brought the manuscript from the East, wrote in 1421 that whoever had Dio would not miss (still missing) Livy.<sup>57</sup> Dio's work did not exist in its original form at that time, and although his writings covered the events that would be otherwise lost, there were parts missing, entire years from 6 b. C. e. to 4 C. e. Epitome of Xiphilinus helped but could not entirely fill in the gaps (Swan 2004: 36-38). *Editio princeps* appeared in 1548 (*Τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱστοριῶν εἰκοσιτρία βιβλία. Dionis Romanarum historiarum libri XXIII à XXXVI ad LVIII usque*. Ex bibliotheca Regia, Lutetiae, Ex officina Rob. Stephani Typographi Regii, typis Regiis M.D.XLVIII) and changed the character and image of Augustus. Impression was deep and lasting and Xylander could write in 1557 that Dio diligently reported many important events for which we were deserted by other sources, like the war between Antony and Octavian, battle of Actium or the Varo's defeat.<sup>58</sup>

*Editio princeps* of another Greek historian in Greek, equally important for the Augustan period, Appian of Alexandria, appeared in 1551, printed by Charles Estienne in Paris. This was an important step toward the critical studies of history and original sources, because Latin and Italian translations were in circulation a lot earlier (Carter 1983: 27).

Good and bad, hero and villain, Augustus entered literature and drama and there are no grater examples than the plays of William Shakespeare. English translations of Plutarch's *Lives* by Sir Thomas North appeared in 1579 and it was an important development since Shakespeare took *Lives* as the main source for at least five of his plays (Honigmann 1959: 25), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607) among them.<sup>59</sup> Plutarch's *Life of Antony* presented Octavian as somewhat subdued and bland, so Octavius in the play is calculated, restrained, colorless and cruel, his virtues are doubtful, his morals are doubtful in general, and everything he does is either to gain power or to keep it. That is why he is shown with so small a number of friends – Shakespeare knew well that the absolute power was the lonely place (Stempel 1956: 62; Kalmey 1978: 275 f; Carter 1983: 27).

The repeated edition of North's Plutarch of 1603 had a lot of new material, including the life of Augustus Caesar (and a very long title) (Skeat 1875: ix-x). That is very interesting since the life of Augustus in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, although mentioned in the catalogue of Lamprias, did not reach us. We do not know who was the parallel for Augustus – maybe Philipp? (Egger 1844: 232-233; Pelling 1979: 75, n. 13). This added life of Augustus in the edition of 1603 came with the translator's name S. G. S. We do not know who that

<sup>56</sup> Pero Mexía, *Historia imperial y cesarea, en la qual en summa se contienen las vidas y hechos de todos los cesares emperadores de Roma, desde Iulio Cesar hasta el Emperador Carlos Quinto: la qual compuse el Magnifico Cauallero Pero Mexia, vezino de Seuilla*. Agora nouamente impressa con tres Tablas muy copiosas. En Anvers, En casa de la Biuda de Martin Nucio, Año de 1561. The first edition 1540.

<sup>57</sup> *Dio Nicensis omnes res Romanas centum libris descripsit, in quo sunt plurimae orationes, quem qui habet Livium non desideret*. Quoted by Botley 2004: 27.

<sup>58</sup> *At bellum contra Antonium Caesaris Octaviani, pugnam Actiacam, ac denique totum Augusti principatum, cladem Varianam, & multa alia quam exquisite noster, & diligenter? In quibus reliqui nos quasi destituerant*. Text is found in *Ad nobilem et praestantissimum virum Joannem Henricum Herwartum, patricium Augustanum, Guilielmi Xylandri Augustani praefatio in Dionem a se conversum*, Basilea, Calendis Novemb. Anno a partu Virginis 1557, in *Casii Dionis Cocceiani Historiae Romanae quae supersunt*, vol. II, Ioannis Alberti Farbricii & Hermanni Samvelis Reimari eds, Hamburgi, Svmptibvs Christiani Heroldi, 1752, p. 1384 ff. Facsimile of the book can be found on the site <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.334330011059;view=lup;seq=11> 10.7.2014. Reinhold & Swan 1990: 156, n.2.

<sup>59</sup> The Latin translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was published in Rome in c. 1470, and the first edition of the Greek text was published in Florence in 1517, and again by Aldus in 1519. Using both editions Amyot made the famous French translation in 1559 (at the house of Vascosan in Paris), and Sir Thomas North took Amyot's translation and translated it into English. It was a bestseller of his time. Let us add that Appian was translated into English in 1578. *Plutarch's Lives*, Translated from the Greek by Aubrey Stewart & George Long, Vol. I, London-New York, George Bell & Sons, 1894, Preface, p.2. Tucker Brooke I, 1909: x-xi.

was, but it is obvious that additional lives were compilations from multiple sources. That is probably why this life of Augustus is quite dry and the personality of Augustus is equally dry (Skeat 1875: x-xi, xvi-xvii). Shakespeare had that dubious life of Augustus and at the same time inherited the Elizabethan attitude towards Augustus that before Actium he was a shady character, greedy for power, plotting against his companions and inciting the civil war for his own gain; after the Actium he became the most important statesman of all times and bringer of peace and stable government. In Shakespeare's plays we find only Octavius – the villain before the battle of Actium (Kalmey 1978, *passim*).

At this point we would like to look at the generally underrated film *Cleopatra* (1963).<sup>60</sup> The part of Octavius was played by Roddy McDowall. McDowall and the film in general, although receiving some good reviews<sup>61</sup>, were mostly underrated to say the least (Hodgens 1964: 60). He was accused of being “a wooden actor”, dull and restrained, but in the light of what was said of Plutarch and Shakespeare, Octavius' life and self-control (Stempel 1956, 63-65; Booth 1985), we would like to suggest that McDowall gave an impressive part, playing Augustus as he was perceived in the sources: cold, distanced, controlled, unemotional and rational. His Octavius is pale, cold, almost transparent, as if unimportant and we daresay that he was the best Octavian on screen until today.

Interest for Tacitus was constantly growing since the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the 17<sup>th</sup> century will be known as the “Age of Tacitism”<sup>62</sup>. One of those “Tacitists”, Cyriacus Lentulus (1620-1678), wrote a book on Augustus and Tacitus<sup>63</sup> where he tried to explain the complex and often contradictory figure of Augustus. First of all, he succeeded where all before him failed – obtaining lifelong dictatorship (Marius failed, Sulla failed, Caesar failed, p. 31-32), but he used that power to give peace to Rome<sup>64</sup>, as a ruler he was better even than Pisistratus, and repeats the standard view how Augustus changed after Actium (p. 96); after all, he kept the sem-

blance of democracy, while acting like a despot (p. 131).

This double nature of Augustus was very popular, since he was the ruler with whom every monarch should be compared as bringer of peace and legislator, without evoking the despotic side. That is especially visible after the military success of Louis XIV (1638-1715) in 1667 and 1668: Paris is the new Rome, Louis is the new Augustus, his age surpasses even the age of Caesars (Bannister 2001: 50-51). It did not prevent Montesquieu (1689-1755) from calling Augustus *rusé tyran* (cunning tyrant), and Gibbon adopted it as “Subtle tyrant”, all based on Tacitus, of course (Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xii-xiii.). Voltaire (*Le grand Siècle de Louis XIV*, 1751) turned back to the greatness of Augustus: he said that there were four great periods of the human history and culture – Athens at the times of Pericles, Rome of Caesar and Augustus, Florence of the Medicis and France of Louis XIV (Gombrich 1961: 306; Carter 1983: 27; Rijser 2006: 65-66).

With the French Revolution came the new approach to everything including perception of art and aesthetics. We cannot possibly show here the whole picture of Neoclassicism (Irwin 1997), but let us say that ancient heroes and ancient ideals became the supreme model for politics and art (Mongan 1947: 2). Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) was only one among the many to treat Roman themes. Already in 1812 he painted the composition “Vergil reads Aeneis to Augustus” and that was only the first version, because he was drawing and painting the same motif for the next fifty years.<sup>65</sup>

In 1863 the Prima Porta statue was found, and quickly found its place in contemporary art. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema painted the picture “An Audience at Agrippa's” in 1875 (and another painting “After the Audience at Agrippa's” in 1879) and Prima Porta statue has a prominent place in that picture proving that Alma-Tadema was well informed of the newest archaeological achievements (Prettejohn 2002, 116).

The modern and scientific approach to the figure of Augustus began in fact with Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), although his *Römische Geschichte* did not actually reach Augustus

<sup>60</sup> Director Joseph L. Mankiewicz, screenplay Joseph L. Mankiewicz, Ronald McDougall et al; Twentieth Century Fox; starring Elisabeth Taylor and Richard Burton.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Bosley Crowther, *The New York Times*, 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1963. <http://www.nytimes.com/movie/6.6.2104>.

<sup>62</sup> Detailed list of “Tacitists” can be found in Momigliano 1947: 96.

<sup>63</sup> Cyriaci Lentuli, *Augustus sive De convertenda in Monarchiam Republicâ; Juxta ductum & mentem Taciti*, Amstelodami, Apud Ludovicium Elzevirium, 1645.

<sup>64</sup> *Pax reddit agris, negotium urbi, jus foro, securitas domibus...* Cyriaci Lentuli, *Augustus*, 1645, 105-106.

<sup>65</sup> Mongan 1947: 9-10, Pl. 4a. Ingres also left a drawing of the portrait of Augustus from his early days. *Ibid*, pl. 4d.



tus' time<sup>66</sup>, who explained his views of the emperors in *Römische Staatsrecht* (1871, 1887-1888). There he developed the theory of "diarchy" – the division of rule between *Princeps* and the Senate, what enabled Augustus to keep the semblance of the Republic. He analyzed his *auctoritas* and the functioning of enormous *clientela*. His theory was not generally accepted, but gave at least some picture of the constitutional position of *Princeps*, though it is very unlikely that Augustus ever contemplated in any form the lessening or division of his power or losing the absolute control of the legions. But he allowed the elections of the magistrates, which before him used to turn to violence, so he decided to reform the electoral procedure (Vell. Pat. 124.3), but only Tiberius fulfilled it (Tac. *Ann.* 1.15.1). Electoral procedure induced Mommsen and his followers to devise the idea of "diarchy" (Jones 1951: 112; Woodman 1975: 293; Edmondson 2009: 14-15). After Mommsen, the first great and comprehensive biography of Augustus was written by Victor Gardthausen<sup>67</sup>, who accepted Mommsen's theory of "diarchy" (Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xiii).

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Twentieth century began with the great exposition in Rome in 1911 on occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the united Italian kingdom. Italy celebrated her culture and existence through the achievements of the Roman Empire. The idea of the golden age, once had, lost and returned, pervaded the whole Italian culture and the exhibition. The last room of the exhibition, with the statue from Via Labicana, was called "Divus Augustus". The end of the whole exhibition was in the garden of the Diocletian's Bath where the precise reconstruction of the temple of Augustus and Roma was erected with the gypsum cast of the inscription known as *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Manicoli 1983: 55, 59; Quilici 1983: 17; Palombi 2009: 71, 95-97.). On the occasion of the closure of this exhibition an idea was put forward that all the exhibits

should find appropriate place in the new museum of the Roman Empire. They took the idea seriously and so on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1927, on the 2680<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Rome, the Museo dell' impero romano was inaugurated in the building of the former monastery of S. Ambrogio. The museum was finally opened in 1929 in the new location at the Piazza Bocca della Verità (Liberati Silverio 1983). All these events were just an introduction into the biggest "Roman" celebration of the century – the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Augustus' birth in 1937.<sup>68</sup> That anniversary was marked with an exhibition – "Mostra Augustea della Romanità". The exhibition was opened on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1937 and was closed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 1938.<sup>69</sup> Sala X was dedicated to Augustus (architects M. Paniconi and G. Pediconi), with the statue from Prima Porta and the great glass stele with the description of census and the birth of Christ from the Luke's Gospel (2.1-14).

It was the time of fascism and Mussolini's rule. Roman glory and imperial ideology were almost mystically evoked in the idea of *Renovatio temporum*, two thousand years after Augustus under Mussolini, the new Augustus. He presented himself as such after the conquest of Ethiopia in 1936. At the same time when the exhibition took place in Rome, Italian legionaries fought in the Spanish civil war and the official propaganda quoted Augustus' campaigns in Hispania as the model to be looked up to (Giardina 2013, passim). Mussolini looked back to the Roman Empire as incentive and justification for what he was doing. Consequently, Augustus was idealized beyond human and historical person (Carter 1983: 29; Liberati Silverio 1983a: 79-81; Quilici 1983: 17-18, 21; Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xiv).

When we see the photograph of Adolf Hitler visiting the exhibition in the company of Benito Mussolini, we cannot but think that Ronald Syme was very much right when he assumed that something sinister and scary was looming in this exhibition: "A memorable and alarming anniversary looms heavily upon us. The poet of the Italian nation was paid his

<sup>66</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, I-III, Leipzig, 1854-1856. Reconstructed book on Caesars, compiled from Mommsen's lectures, was published in 1992: Alexander Demandt & Barbara Demandt eds. Th. Mommsen, *Römische Kaisergeschichte*, München, C. H. Beck, 1992. And English translation soon followed: Th. Mommsen, *A History of Rome under the Emperors*, trans. Clare Krojzl, New York, Routledge, 1996.

<sup>67</sup> Victor Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I-II, 6 parts, 1891-1904; Bibliography 1917.

<sup>68</sup> Not only that the occasion was important by itself, they also felt the need to make up for the missed anniversary of the 2000 years of Julius Caesar in 1900 and 1901. The celebration did not take place because of the strife and problems in Italy at the time. Liberati Silverio 1983a: 77.

<sup>69</sup> The exhibition was opened in the building of the new Museo della Civiltà Romana, planned to be a part of the world exhibition in 1942. The plans were never fulfilled because of the Second World War and Museum was finally opened in 1952 and 1955. Liberati Silverio 1983a; Palombi 2009: 98.

due honors seven years ago, and now all Italy will conspire to acclaim the Princeps who was also Dux. Not Italy alone...” (Syme 1937, 194).

He wrote these words while working on his masterpiece *The Roman Revolution*<sup>70</sup>, in the shadow of the fascist regimes in Europe, and in the shadow of the fascist exalting of Augustus. Grim European circumstances left their impression on his work. He could not avoid the external influence and could not help it when describing Augustus as a dictator of the Mussolini’s or Hitler’s kind. The titles of some chapters in the book speak for themselves: “The First March on Rome” (p. 123), “The Second March on Rome” (p. 176), “Dux” (p. 294). Besides the influence of the European political circumstances, the other voice that could be clearly heard all over the *Roman Revolution* is that of Tacitus (and he ignored Velleius Paterculus, as should be expected). On the other hand, he never underestimated Augustus’ greatness and his role in Roman history. While painting the picture of the slow metamorphosis of the calculated plotter and despot into the bringer of peace and ideal monarch, Syme in fact followed the well-known pattern that pervaded the Roman history since Renaissance (Millar 1981: 146-148; Linderski 1990: 43, n. 4; Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xvii; Yavetz 1990: 27).

The second external influence on Syme’s work that is usually brought to mind is the new Constitution of the Sovi-

et Union from 1936, the so-called Stalin’s Constitution. That Constitution gave all known political and social liberties to the citizens of the Soviet Union at the time when permanent purges kept the state paralyzed in fear (Millar 1981: 146; Linderski 1990: 49). That might explain how and why Syme finally cut down Mommsen’s theory of “diarchy” and why he waxed the dictator through the “renovation” of Republic. Formulated by his own words: “The past must be understood for itself and from itself, not interpreted according to modern ideas and alien language. None the less the political and social experience of the present generation is a precious advantage – it should provoke suspicion about words, forms and formulae” (Syme 1937, 194).

*The Roman Revolution* was published on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1939, a week after the Second World War began. The war was the reason why this great book became popular only in the 1950-ties (Galsterer 1990: 2-4, 15; Raaflaub & Toher 1990: xv).

We shall leave Augustus with the work of Ronald Syme. As the conclusion we can only say that the writing of history does not take place in vacuum but in the political and social surrounding, and interaction with that surrounding is unavoidable. There is no history so remote in time as to be unaffected and we hope that our story of the fortunes of Augustus since antiquity showed precisely that.

<sup>70</sup> Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1939.

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## AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI: SUDBINA AUGUSTOVA LIKA NAKON NJEGOVE SMRTI

„August je umro u istoj sobi kao njegov otac Oktavije. To je bilo 19. augusta 14. god, oko 3 sata poslije podne. Konzuli te godine bili su Seksto Pompej i Seksto Apulej. Do kraja idućeg mjeseca imao bi sedamdeset i šest godina“, napisao je Svetonije u svom djelu Dvanaest rimskih careva. Srednjovjekovni povjesničari taj su datum pretvorili u kršćanski način računanja vremena: August je umro 14 godina nakon rođenja Krista.

U trenutku kad je August prestao postojati počela je legenda o caru i čovjeku. Istiniti podaci mogu izdržati samo tri generacije, a nakon toga sliku oblikuju priče, tračevi, legende i potreba ljudi za herojima i zlikovcima. August je kremiran na Marsovom polju i sahranjen je u svom Mauzoleju. Istog trena počele su priče da ga je Livija otrovala i da je platila golemu sumu novca jednom ekspretoru da se zakune da je vidio Augustov duh kako se kroz dim uzdiže u Nebesa. Kako bilo da bilo, 17. Septembra 14. god. Senat je odlučio da mu se moraju dati *honores caelestes*. Bog i zlikovac počeli su svoj paralelni život.

Od svih pisaca koji su bili Augustovi suvremenici i koji su poznavali njegov Rim, malo ih je ostalo, a jedan od njih je Livije. Velej Paterkul napisao je kraći traktat u čast Tiberiju, a ulagivanje Tiberiju posredno je ulagivanje i njegovom adoptivnom ocu Augustu. Veliki Tacit nije volio Augusta ni malo, a Svetonije je više volio zabavljati čitatelje tračevima i skandalima. On nam je ostavio Augustov fizički opis: svijetle puti, s tankom kosom, s postolama višim nego što je uobičajeno da bi izgledao viši nego što jest; živio je skromno i volio je crni kruh, ribice, kravlji sir i zelene smokve. Apijan iz Aleksandrije predstavio je Augustovo vladanje kao despotsko, ali je vrlo dobro znao da je despotizam održavao carstvo. Sljedeće veliko poglavlje u povijesti Augustovog lika pripada Kasiju Dionu. Dion je bio dovoljno udaljen u vremenu od ranog principata tako da nije žalio za izgubljenom republikom. On je isto naslijedio dvostruki lik – lošeg Oktavijana i dobrog Augusta. Budući da je do danas izgubljeno mnogo povijesnih djela, Kasije Dion ostaje naš najdetaljniji izvor za Augustov period.

Kršćani su naglašavali da se tijekom Augustova vladanja rodio Krist i prenosili su razne vizije koje je car imao i koje su nagovijestale dolazak Spasitelja. Tijekom srednjega vijeka nisu bili poznati mnogi izvori, pogotovo ne oni grčki, pa je i Augustov lik oblikovan prema onima koji su se čitali. Tako je Einhard životopis Karla Velikog složio po uzoru na Svetonijev životopis Augusta. Srednjovjekovni vladari vole se uspoređivati s Augustom, pa je Maitre Rigord početkom 13. st. nazvao Filipa II, francuskog kralja, Augustus. Friedrich II. Hohenstaufen uzeo je Augusta kao uzor u gotovo svakom pogledu: prikazivao se kao on, svoje je novce nazvao augustales, a svoj je zakonik nazvao *Liber augustalis*.

U renesansi najvažnije Augustovo postignuće postat će to da je zatvorio Janov hram – u cijeloj je državi vladao mir. Tada se otkrivaju novi rukopisi antičkih povjesničara, a stižu i grčki tekstovi, Apijan i Kasije Dion. August je počeo dobivati posve novi lik, naročito

nakon što je Angelo Arcimboldo 1509. god. pronašao prvih šest knjiga Tacitovih Anala. Humanisti su se sreli s nepovoljnom slikom Augusta i ona je utjecala na cijeli niz pisaca 17. st. Voltaire pak, u 18. st. kaže da su postojala četiri velika perioda ljudske povijesti: Atena u vrijeme Perikla, Rim Cezara i Augusta, Firenca Medicija i Francuska Ljudevita XIV.

Moderni znanstveni pristup počinje s Theodorom Mommsenom i njegovom teorijom o „dijarhiji“ – podjeli vlasti između Augusta i senata, čemu se, s argumentima, suprotstavio Ronald Syme, uoči Drugog svjetskog rata. U jeku fašizma u Italiji 1937. g. Mussolini je otvorio „događaj stoljeća“, veliku izložbu povodom dvije tisuće godina od rođenja Augusta i ta je izložba morala pokazati fašističku Italiju kao nasljednicu Augustovog carstva. Kad vidimo fotografiju Adolfa Hitlera u posjetu izložbi u društvu Benita Mussolinija, ne možemo se ne sjetiti da je Ronald Syme bio vrlo u pravu kad je pretpostavio da nešto čudno i strašno vreba iza ove izložbe: „Velika i godišnjica vreba nas i duboko uznemiruje. Pjesnik talijanske nacije doživio je svoje počasti prije sedam godina, a sad se cijela Italija urotila da proslavi Princepsa koji je uz to i *Dux*. I ne samo Italija...“. On je napisao ove riječi dok je radio na svom remekdjelu *The Roman Revolution*.

**Ključne riječi:** Oktavijan, August, Rimska povijest, 2000. godišnjica Augustove smrti