

**AUGUSTE A TRAVERS LES AGES : RECEPTIONS, RELECTURES ET APPROPRIATIONS DE LA FIGURE DU PREMIER EMPEREUR ROMAIN**  
**AUGUSTUS THROUGH THE AGES: RECEPTIONS, READINGS AND APPROPRIATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL FIGURE OF THE FIRST ROMAN EMPEROR**

Bruxelles, 6-8 novembre 2014  
Royal Sky Room 1 (6<sup>e</sup> étage)  
Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

**PROGRAMME / PROGRAM**

**PREMIÈRE JOURNÉE / FIRST DAY**

9h10-9h30 : Accueil des participants.

9h30-10h10 : Mot de bienvenue de **Patrick LEFEVRE**, directeur général de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique ; introduction du Comité organisateur.

Conférence inaugurale

1. 10h10-10h50 : **Giovanni BRIZZI**, Tra due anniversari: Augusto e la nozione di pax tra fascismo ed età moderna.

10h50-11h10 : coffee break ☕

Première session – Président : **Marco CAVALIERI**

2. 11h10-11h50 : **Godefroid DE CALLATAÏ**, *Augustus Messianicus*: une relecture de la *Quatrième Bucolique* de Virgile.
3. 11h50-12h30 : **Simone FORESTA**, L'Augusto di Prima Porta: un'immagine antica per il mondo contemporaneo.

12h30-14h00 : lunch 🍔

Deuxième session – Président : **Pierre ASSENMAKER**

4. 14h00-14h40 : **Matteo CADARIO**, La memoria di Augusto nelle immagini antiche.
5. 14h40-15h20 : **Martin GALINIER**, Auguste à l'époque de Trajan : l'exemple surpassé.
6. 15h20-16h00 : **Diederik BURGERSDIJK**, Augustus' Fame in Late Antiquity (4th Century AD). From Constantine to Theodosius.

16h00-16h30 : coffee break ☕

Troisième session – Président : **Mattia CAVAGNA**

7. 16h30-17h10 : **Marco MAULU**, La tradition manuscrite médiévale du « Cycle d'Octavian » : du *Romanz d'Othevien* (XIII<sup>e</sup> s.) à l'*Othovien* en prose (XV<sup>e</sup> s.).
8. 17h10-17h50 : **Jelle KOOPMANS**, Octovien et la scène : histoire et drame à la fin du Moyen Âge.
9. 17h50-18h30 : **Jeroen REYNIERS**, Representation of Emperor Augustus during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Period in the Netherlands. An Overview.

## DEUXIÈME JOURNÉE / SECOND DAY


### Première session – Président : Matteo CADARIO

10. 9h30-10h10 : **Susanna DE BEER**, The Memory of Augustus and Augustan Rome in Humanist Latin Poetry.
11. 10h10-10h50 : **Ida Gilda MASTROROSA**, Augustus' Clemency in 16th Century European Culture.

10h50-11h10 : coffee break 

### Deuxième session – Président : Costantino MAEDER

12. 11h10-11h50 : **Andrea M. GÁLDI**, A Role Model Twice Removed? – Cosimo I de' Medici as New Augustus.
13. 11h50-12h30 : **Paul BOUISSAC**, Augustus as Reference, Metaphor, and Parody in Classical and Popular Culture.

12h30-14h00 : lunch 

### Troisième session – Président : Ida Gilda MASTROROSA

14. 14h00-14h40 : **Flavio SANZA**, Augustus and Shakespeare, from History to Theatre.
15. 14h40-15h20 : **Nathalie LOUIS-ROUX**, La monarchie d'Auguste selon Montesquieu.
16. 15h20-16h00 : **Agnieszka FULIŃSKA**, "Nuovo Alessandro in guerra, in pace Augusto". Napoleon Bonaparte as the New Augustus.

16h00-16h30 : coffee break 

### Quatrième session – Président : Jörg FÜNDLING

17. 16h30-17h10 : **Jan NELIS**, De Jules César à Auguste : *antichistica*, propagande et culture populaire sous le fascisme italien.
18. 17h10-17h50 : **Klaus TRAGBAR**, Square, Politics and Propaganda. The Redesign of the Piazza Augusto Imperatore in Rome, 1934–1938.
19. 17h50-18h30 : **Michel SOMMER**, Das „neue“ Bild von Augustus: Der Ort des Prinzipats in der NS-Althistorie.

19h00-21h00 : banquet 

### TROISIÈME JOURNÉE / THIRD DAY

#### Première session – Président : Jan NELIS

20. 9h30-10h10 : **Andrzej GILLMEISTER**, Augustus Polonus. The Image of the Emperor in Polish Cultural History.
21. 10h10-10h50 : **Elna PYY**, The Many Faces of Augustus: Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* and the Exploitation of Augustus' Memory in Modern Ideological Polemics.

10h50-11h10 : coffee break ☕

#### Deuxième session – Président : David ENGELS

22. 11h10-11h50 : **Jörg FÜNDLING**, First Citizen in the Empire of Ruthlessness? Images of Augustus in Popular Fiction and on Screen.
23. 11h50-12h30 : **Julie GALLEGRO**, « Pourvu qu'Octave ne se prenne pas désormais pour un phénomène ! ». Octave-Auguste, de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte dans les bandes dessinées *Alix* et *Alix Senator*.
24. 12h30-13h10 : **Aleksandra KLĘCZAR**, *Videsne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?* Augustus, Homosexuality and the Reception of Suetonius, Aug. 68.

## RÉSUMÉS / ABSTRACTS

### Tra due anniversari: Augusto e la nozione di *pax* tra fascismo ed età moderna

**Giovanni BRIZZI** (Full Professor in Roman History at Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna, Italy)

Sono settantasei gli anni intercorsi tra i due bimillenari augustei – quello della nascita e quello della morte, che ricorre quest'anno – e molte situazioni sono, ovviamente, assai cambiate: la nuova ricorrenza appare di gran lunga meno inquietante di quella che, nel 1937, poco avanti la pubblicazione del suo *The Roman Revolution*, tanto preoccupava Ronald Syme («A memorable and alarming anniversary looms heavily upon us: ...now all Italy will conspire to acclaim the *Princeps* who was also *Dux*»), in coincidenza evidente con il ritorno dell'impero fascista («sui colli fatali di Roma»).

Sembra invece resistere, attorno al personaggio, quell'apatia dei *media* che, d'altra parte, neppure il favore mussoliniano aveva saputo scuotere: cinema, soprattutto televisione, fumetto hanno per lo più ignorato le sue realizzazioni e la sua vita, limitandosi a render protagonisti alcuni dei contemporanei (Cesare, Cleopatra, Antonio) o a gettar sguardi periferici ad alcuni degli eventi dell'età sua (le battaglie di Filippi e di Azio). Cosa è rimasto, di questo politico immenso? Una risposta si può almeno proporre: tempi recenti (e non del tutto provvidi...) hanno forse riesumato una delle sue più decisive costruzioni ideologiche, quella della *pax Romana*.

### *Augustus Messianicus* : une relecture de la *Quatrième Bucolique* de Virgile

**Godefroid DE CALLATAÏ** (Professeur à l'Université catholique de Louvain, Belgique)

Virgile écrit sa *Quatrième Bucolique*, «l'églogue messianique», en l'an 40 avant Jésus-Christ, sous le consulat d'Asinius Pollio. Quelques années auparavant, en juillet de l'année 44, une brillante comète rapidement interprétée comme le signe de l'apothéose de Jules César était apparue dans le ciel à l'occasion des jeux que le jeune Octavien avait organisés pour célébrer la mémoire de son père adoptif.

Dans ce contexte très particulier de l'histoire romaine, et à partir d'indications fournies par le poète dans cette églogue ainsi que dans son *Énéide*, nous proposons une relecture de la *Quatrième Bucolique* selon laquelle le futur empereur Auguste est le mystérieux «enfant naissant» (v. 8: «*nascenti puero*») du poème, censé incarner le retour de l'Âge d'Or.

Notre exposé visera à montrer comment, chez Virgile, ce message s'inscrit dans une conception symbolique et numériquement signifiante d'une histoire romaine remontant à la Guerre de Troie et s'achevant, onze siècles plus tard, avec Auguste, considéré comme un nouvel Énée. Plus spécifiquement, l'exposé s'attachera à démontrer que ce grand cycle est lui-même découpé en trois périodes de 365 ans, confirmant ainsi, en les complétant, les analyses autrefois émises par le latiniste belge Jean Hubaux au sujet de ces «Grandes Années d'années» que l'on rencontre ici et là dans la littérature latine.

### L'Augusto di Prima Porta: un'immagine antica per il mondo contemporaneo

**Simone FORESTA** (Post-doc in Roman Archaeology at Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Italy)

Nel 1863 presso la villa di Livia, l'abitazione privata della moglie di Augusto a Prima Porta, fuori Roma, fu portata alla luce una statua in marmo, alta più di 2 metri, che ritrae l'imperatore nell'atto di chiedere il silenzio prima di parlare all'esercito. L'Augusto per l'appunto detto di Prima Porta, è attualmente conservato nei Musei Vaticani, nella Città del Vaticano. Dal momento della scoperta, l'imperatore corazzato ha avuto una straordinaria fortuna a Roma, in Italia, in Europa e in varie parti del mondo. Non solo reperto archeologico, ma rappresentazione simbolica di un'epoca: nel corso del tempo così la statua è stata espressione dell'arte augustea secondo la lettura data da F. Franz Wickhoff nella *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna 1895), arredo scultoreo nei dipinti del pittore Lawrence Alma Tadema, punto di riferimento per l'attività goliardica degli studenti che nei giardini della Brown University a Providence (USA) dal 1906 ammirano una copia dell'Augusto, solo per citare alcuni esempi. Nel momento di massima popolarità del Fascismo, Mussolini volle celebrare il suo apogeo e lo fece associando la sua figura a quella di Augusto. Tra le numerose iniziative messe in campo per celebrare i duemila anni della nascita di Augusto ci fu anche la Mostra Augustea della Romanità, l'esposizione organizzata dal governo fascista che si tenne al Palazzo delle Esposizioni di Roma dal 23 settembre 1937 al 23 settembre 1938. L'immagine dell'Augusto di Prima Porta fu ampiamente diffusa per sostenere le iniziative fasciste: fu riprodotta su francobolli, manifesti, copertine di libri e diffusamente copiata in bronzo per essere donata a varie città italiane. Le statue bronzee sono ancora oggi visibili per esempio a Roma, Napoli, Nola.

La Mostra "Augusto" svoltatasi a Roma (2013/2014) in occasione del Bimillenario della morte dell'imperatore ha visto la statua ancora protagonista assoluta. Il contributo vuole recuperare l'uso e i significati dati all'immagine dal momento della sua scoperta fino ai nostri giorni. Ciò permetterà di comprendere il ruolo svolto nell'immaginario collettivo nel corso del tempo dalla figura più o meno stereotipata del primo imperatore di Roma.

## La memoria di Augusto nelle immagini antiche

**Matteo CADARIO** (Visiting Assistant Professor in Roman Archaeology at Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy)

L'intervento intende ricostruire il ruolo di Augusto come modello per i suoi successori e l'importanza della memoria delle immagini legate alla sua figura. L'intento è quello di prendere in considerazione in primo luogo il dato concreto e diretto delle numerose statue postume del Divo Augusto e del loro inserimento nei cosiddetti cicli statuari perlopiù giulio-claudi, così da ricostruire la sua fortuna immediata e quanto a lungo furono effettivamente commissionate sue nuove statue. Vanno considerati a parte anche i numerosi ritratti che furono trasformati in Augusto per effetto di una rilavorazione indotta di solito dalla *damnatio memoriae* di un successore. In questo caso infatti la scelta di Augusto poteva essere determinata anche dalla relativa facilità di trasformazione del volto precedente in quello del *princeps*. In ogni caso stabilire l'effettiva durata di entrambi i fenomeni sarà utile a capire fino a quando si è concretamente conservato il bisogno di produrre nuove immagini del fondatore dell'impero.

Accanto a questo percorso è utile riflettere, dove possibile, sulla conservazione delle immagini di Augusto nei monumenti i cui programmi decorativi furono rinnovati da suoi successori o ancora sul loro inserimento in collezioni create ex novo come quella ospitata dalla villa di Chigaran. Sarà poi riesaminata la citazione dell'immagine del *princeps* in quella dei suoi successori, avvenuta mediante allusioni di tipo anche molto diverso, da quelle del ritratto nella costruzione dell'immagine di Costantino all'adozione di attributi ormai specifici di Augusto, come la corona radiata nel ritratto di Nerone. Sarà infine importante mettere a confronto le citazioni di Augusto come modello di suoi successori ricostruibili dalle fonti storiche (per esempio nel caso di Vespasiano e Settimio Severo) con la loro reale incidenza sulle immagini del tempo.

## Auguste à l'époque de Trajan : l'exemple surpassé

**Martin GALINIER** (Professeur d'histoire et d'histoire de l'art romains, Université de Perpignan, France)

Auguste est resté dans la mémoire politique des Romains comme le fondateur du Principat, et nombre de ses successeurs se sont rattachés à son exemple : Vespasien et Hadrien sont de bons représentants de cette tendance. Diverses sources du règne de Trajan montrent cependant que, sous le règne de l'*optimus Princeps*, un discours comparatif, favorable à l'Antonin, fut instauré vis-à-vis du fondateur. Les sources littéraires (Pline le Jeune, Tacite, Florus), les monnaies de restitution, les choix urbanistiques (Forum de César restauré et inauguré le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 112, en même temps que le Forum de Trajan) et artistiques (le décor du Forum de Trajan, les frises historiées de la colonne et de la Grande Frise) témoignent de la volonté de Trajan d'établir sa supériorité sur Auguste en affirmant avoir réussi, lui, la synthèse du « principat et de la liberté » (Tacite, *Agricola* 3.1).

Le *Panegyrique* de Pline le Jeune exprime avec force cette idéologie, portée par le sénat (88, 10) : « De même que le surnom d'Auguste nous fait toujours penser à qui l'a eu le premier, de même cette appellation d'*Optimus* ne reviendra jamais à la mémoire des hommes sans qu'ils songent à toi (...) ». L'entreprise idéologique réussit, ainsi qu'en témoigne la formule utilisée par le sénat au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle selon Eutrope (8, 5, 3) : *Felicio Augusto, melior Traiano*.

Pour analyser ce dispositif rhétorique proche de la *diaphora* (répétition d'un mot qui, par répétition, prend un sens différend : d'après Ennius, *Fragments* 417), seront utilisés, outre les sources littéraires citées, l'ouvrage d'E. Lyasse, *Le Principat et son fondateur* (Bruxelles 2008), les découvertes récentes des Forums d'Auguste et de Trajan (R. Meneghini, *I Fori imperiali e i Mercati di Traiano*, Rome 2009), et la publication de B. Woytek sur le monnayage trajanien (*Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98-117)*, Vienne 2010).

## Augustus' Fame in Late Antiquity (4th Century AD). From Constantine to Theodosius

**Diederik BURGERSDIJK** (Post-doc Researcher in Latin Literature at Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Nederland)

After his life-long reign, opinions about the legacy of Octavianus Augustus have not always been equally positive, witness the negative representations of his power by Pliny in his *Panegyricus* to Trajan, or the history of his contemporary Tacitus. It has even been stated that his fame dwindled by the fourth century (Syme 1971, 98-112: 'The Fame of Trajan' in *Emperors and Biography*). At a closer inspection, however, it appears that Augustus' name and fame are omnipresent, though sometimes in more indirect ways than might be expected. In the *corpus panegyricorum*, emperors are addressed as *Augustissime imperator* in *Augustissimae laudes*, expressions that clearly hint to the founder of the empire and the first bearer of the name. Augustus has turned into the *exemplum* to be beaten. This usage concurs with artistic expressions such as encountered in the Arch of Constantine, on which imperial virtues such as *clementia*, *liberalitas* and *iustitia* serve as *exempla* for the emperors to emulate. Furthermore, Augustus' promise of the return of a golden age, represented in so many arts in his own time - not the least Augustus' own *Res Gestae* -, had a great following, most importantly by Constantine.

In the latter part of the fourth century, in the works of Latin authors such as Ausonius and Ammianus Marcellinus, Augustus appears in a more neutral and antiquarian way as an important figure of the Roman past. An

interesting case is provided by the *Historia Augusta*, which pretends to have been written in the earlier fourth century - and therefore links to the panegyric discourse - but actually stems from Theodosian times. In this work, both sides of Augustus' mixed reception are reflected.

In this paper, the fate, name and fame of Augustus in the fourth century will be traced, leading to the conclusion that Augustus can never be erased from the Roman record, in spite of attempts made in classical literature and modern research.

[La tradition manuscrite médiévale du « Cycle d'Octavian » :  
du \*Romanz d'Othevien\* \(XIII<sup>e</sup> s.\) à l'\*Othovien en prose\* \(XV<sup>e</sup> s.\)](#)

**Marco MAULU** (Chercheur en philologie et linguistique romanes à l'Università degli Studi di Sassari, Italie)

Considéré par les critiques tantôt comme roman tantôt comme chanson de geste, *Florent et Octavien*, dont la première version date de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, raconte les aventures de l'empereur Auguste et de ses enfants.

Le récit repose sur une chronologie tout à fait imaginaire, juxtaposant la figure légendaire d'un empereur assez mal connu au roi Dagobert, et constitue un important jalon de ce que l'on appelle « cycle mérovingien ».

La chanson a une tradition textuelle et manuscrite tout à fait remarquable, étant donné qu'elle existe en deux versions en vers, l'une en octosyllabes, l'autre en alexandrins, et une version en prose. Notre contribution porte sur l'analyse des manuscrits même dans leurs aspects matériels, y compris les rubriques : ceci nous permettra de mieux comprendre les implications du passage du *Romanz d'Othevien* à la chanson de *Florent et Octavien*, puis d'approfondir les rapports avec des autres célèbres cycles narratifs médiévaux, notamment de la *Chanson de Florence de Rome*.

Enfin, l'analyse de la rédaction en prose inédite nous offrira l'opportunité d'introduire dans la discussion le manuscrit KBR 10387, qui en représente l'un des témoins les plus fiables et mieux conservés.

[Octovien et la scène : histoire et drame à la fin du Moyen Âge](#)

**Jelle KOOPMANS** (Professeur à l'Université d'Amsterdam, Pays-Bas)

Dans l'imagination de la fin du Moyen Âge, l'empereur Auguste est avant tout considéré comme celui qui a établi la paix dans l'Europe occidentale - le "Temps Octovien" est proverbial et est synonyme de richesse et de pacification (ce qui répond à des aspirations de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle). À la fin du Moyen Âge, "Octovien" est aussi présent dans les mystères dramatiques. Ces mystères, qui entendent mettre en scène l'histoire dans une symbolique tantôt globale, tantôt locale, ont une mission identitaire, mais doivent aussi conférer un sens à l'ensemble de l'histoire. Et c'est dans ce contexte, notamment, que la figure d'"Octovien" prend une grande importance. Cette communication cherchera à détailler les caractéristiques du personnage sur la scène.

[Representation of Emperor Augustus during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Period  
in the Netherlands. An Overview](#)

**Jeroen REYNIERS** (Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, Brussels, Belgium)

During the advanced Master in Medieval and Renaissance Studies course at the KU Leuven (2012-2013), I prepared a study about the iconography of the Tiburtine Sibyl during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period. In the Early Netherlandish works of arts she is mostly depicted with the first ruler of the Roman Empire, Emperor Augustus. The iconography of the Tiburtine Sybil with Augustus evolved from a group of twelve Sibyls to an alone standing iconography.

The depiction of both figures was invented in Italy and had a widespread interest in our western tradition. Most of the time this representation is connected to the birth of Christ and it is characterized by a depiction of a kneeling Augustus with a standing sibyl next or behind him. The iconography was probably known in our countries since 1400 and evolved over the following decades. The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus da Voragine and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* promoted this theme in the Low Countries. The legend was also popular at the court and for high-ranked men and women, so it is obvious that the iconography was associated with power and recognition as well.

The lecture will focus on the depiction of the Emperor and the Tiburtine Sibyl in the Low Countries and will give a general overview from its origin to the representation of independent figures, focusing on the function and the idea of authority.



## The Memory of Augustus and Augustan Rome in Humanist Latin Poetry

**Susanna DE BEER** (Assistant Professor in Renaissance Latin at University of Leiden, Nederland)

My paper will focus on the memory of Augustus and Augustan Rome in humanist Latin poetry (ca. 1350-1550). Renaissance humanists worshipped Rome as the symbol of Antiquity at large. As the cradle of Latin literature, politics, and culture, it functioned as a common heritage they all felt entitled to. Their interest regards both the physical aspects of the eternal city, and the cultural and political symbolism stored in ancient literature. Within their visions of Rome Augustus plays a prominent role, because in his turn he symbolizes many, if not all, aspects of Roman culture that appealed so much to the humanists and their audience.

Typical of their literary reception of Augustus is that they do not seem too interested in the person of Augustus himself, but rather in employing him as a model for contemporary rulers. For this purpose Augustus appeared to be the ideal example, because as the 'prototypical' ruler of the ancient Roman Empire, he unites at least three different characteristics that were readily appropriated by humanist authors and Renaissance princes alike. To show how and to what purpose humanist authors employed these images I will discuss three case studies, each focusing on a different aspect of the memory of Augustus.

First, as the addressee and supporter of authors like Virgil, Horace and Propertius, Augustus functioned as the prototypical patron of art and literature. Although he has to share this honor with Maecenas, it is largely Augustus who is held responsible for the flourishing literary climate in his days. This aspect of his rule will be the focal point of the first case study, which concerns the elegiac poetry by the German humanist Conrad Celtis. In these poems Celtis equates the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian with Augustus as supporter of the German Muses.

Secondly, since Augustus in the words of Suetonius 'found the city in brick and left it in marble', he is also regarded as the primary embellisher of physical Rome. This image will be explored in a collection of epigrams by Aurelio Brandolini (*Ad Sistum IV Pontificem Maximum De urbe ab eo instaurata liber*), in which he hails pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) as the new Augustus, focusing primarily on his activities as the Renaissance *Restaurator Urbis*.

Finally, Augustus' long and peaceful reign is also characterized as the period in which the *Pax Augusta* was established and the Golden Age restored. The third and last case study will discuss the use of this image in a metrical letter (1.2) by Francesco Petrarca dedicated to Pope Benedictus XII, in which his return to Rome is advocated and likened to the *Pax Romana* that Augustus brought about.

By analyzing which elements of Augustus' legacy these poets selected, by means of what literary devices they interpreted them, and to what purpose they appropriated them, this paper will contribute to a richer understanding of the Augustan heritage in Western culture and the processes by which it has been created.

## Augustus' Clemency in 16th Century European Culture

**Ida Gilda MASTROROSA** (Associate Professor in Roman History at Università degli Studi di Firenze, Italy)

According to a famous passage by Cassius Dio (*Roman History* 55, 14-22), when faced with the supposed conspiracy of Cn. Cornelius Cinna (cos. 5 CE) Augustus decided to spare his life following the suggestions of his wife Livia who persuaded him that it was more judicious to spare conspirators than to execute them. Despite more recent general critical doubts as to the authenticity of this special conjugal dialogue recounted by Cassius Dio, often considered to be a fictitious and oratorical exercise on the part of the historian, the episode seems to have been accepted and proposed as real by some 16<sup>th</sup> century political writers, theorists and intellectuals whose works contain quotations or extracts showing different adaptations of both Augustus' and his wife's speeches.

In this respect, the comparative analysis of some passages from their treatises such as, for instance, the *Orationi in materia civile et criminale tratte da gli storici greci et latini, antichi e moderni* (1561) by Remigio Nannini, the *Six livres de la République* (1576; 1586) by Jean Bodin, the *Essays* (1580-88) of Michel de Montaigne, the *I Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito* (1594) by Scipione Ammirato, etc., enables us to throw light upon the exploitation in the Modern Age of the dialogue between Augustus and his wife in order to pragmatically promote the importance of clemency not merely as an ethical quality but more particularly as a political virtue useful for a more functional exercise of power.

Moreover, the modern use of the portrait of Augustus as clement toward conspirators, also found in other ancient sources (Seneca, *clem.* 1, 9), as an historical *exemplum* still to be recommended to governors and monarchs of the 16<sup>th</sup> century deserves to be evaluated in comparison with the above mentioned authors' interest in further aspects of the prince's political personality and behaviour. In this respect, it is worth noticing, among others, some observations by Jean Bodin concerning Augustus' ability in transforming democracy into monarchy while assuring at the same time peace and respect for the institutions, in promoting restoration of the *mores*, and more generally his conduct in legislative matters.

A Role Model Twice Removed? – Cosimo I de' Medici as New Augustus  
Andrea M. GÁLDI (Post-doc in Archaeology and Art History at Universität Trier, Germany)

At least since the 1970s, the political imagery of Duke Cosimo de' Medici has been under investigation. His adoption of the guise of a new Augustus has long become an acknowledged fact and fits with the biography, collecting practices, politics as well as portraiture of a duke who came to power in the wake of the murder of a close relative.

Duke and "capo della repubblica" at the same time, Cosimo could hardly find a better role model. He had himself portrayed as Augustus in painting and sculpture and even decided that the Foundation of Florence had taken place during the days of the Second Triumvirate and in the presence of a young Octavian. Cosimo owned a copy of Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*; he was also a collector of portraits of Julius Caesar and of Augustus, which were displayed together with his antiquities in the Florentine ducal residences.

But is this the full picture? Why does Cosimo-Augustus usually wear a beard? Does this refer to Suetonius's *Life of Augustus* which describes the emperor's beard as sometimes clipped and sometimes shaved or is it the result of early modern fashion influencing the sixteenth-century view on Antiquity?

A clue may be offered by the frequent mention of the star sign of Capricorn which Cosimo apparently shared with Augustus and also with Charles V. My recent research into sixteenth-century collections seems to suggest that today's definition of the Renaissance still largely follows nineteenth-century ideas and that these theories all too often miss (at least part of) the point. Therefore, I propose to revisit ducal Florence and ducal imagery in my paper. Ancient traditions will still play an important role in my investigation but I suggest a different reading of role models and *personae* adopted by some of the key people of sixteenth-century politics.

Augustus as Reference, Metaphor, and Parody in Classical and Popular Culture  
Paul BOUISSAC (Professor Emeritus in Semiotics at University of Toronto, Victoria College, Canada)

This paper proposes to take a post-colonial perspective on the symbolic presence of the Roman Emperor Augustus in European culture. On the one hand, Augustus is idealised in the curricula and on the stage, where he serves as a metaphor designed to honor the royal power of the day; on the other hand, this name came to generically designate the lowest kind of circus clowns, the "auguste". It is generally acknowledged that the Roman colonization of the western part of the Eurasian peninsula left a long-lasting imprint on the minds and material culture of its populations, an influence which later spread to the Americas. This haunting colonial past is still perceptible today in Europe as the present conference indicates.

The first part of this paper will probe the use of Augustus as a character in Pierre Corneille's tragedy *Cinna* (1643), a play which cannot be taken at face value given its political context. Augustus's ambiguous discourse is sustained by a hidden agenda which covertly refers to contemporary events while suggesting the own ambiguities of the model, a bold move which could be called "the queering of Augustus". This interpretation can only emerge from a post-colonial approach which provides the necessary cultural distance and analytic conceptual tools. Other tragedies by Corneille, *Sertorius* (1662) for instance, can be understood from this point of view.

The name of Augustus, in its German and French versions respectively "*august* or *ajust*" and "*auguste*", appears in the context of the circus of the mid-nineteenth century. It designates a clown of the lowest kind which is the butt of jokes on the part of another, more sophisticated clown. The origin of this generic name for silly, clumsy, or stupid clowns seems to be a word of the Berlin slang in which *august* or *ajust* meant a drunken, awkward, ridiculous person. Nowadays, it is in this sense that the name of Augustus as *auguste* is used in French and English in the language of the performing arts, an inversion of value from proper name to generic which may lead to an interesting post-colonial interpretation.



## Augustus and Shakespeare, from History to Theatre

**Flavio SANZA** (Visiting Researcher at Callaghan Centre for War Studies at Swansea University, United Kingdom)

My paper has a clear goal, showing you how Shakespeare had been able to explain the 'real' Augustus, and how of the 'historical' Augustus was lost. I will have three steps to develop my investigation. Firstly, I will present you Augustus from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599), a play written to discuss the 'right' murder of a tyrant (Caesar). Secondly I will introduce you Augustus from *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1606-7), another play Shakespeare wrote to show the rising of an emperor (Octavian). Finally, I will compare and contrast these two very different 'kinds' of Augustus Shakespeare built to demonstrate his own political ideas to the audience of his times (Is it right to kill a tyrant? Is it right to found an empire by wars?).

So, paradoxically, Augustus is a key-point to comprehend Shakespeare and his times. In *Julius Caesar*, Augustus is a border character, invisible and untouchable, far from the plot and from the audience. But, for this reason, he is fundamental. Augustus closes the play speaking words of love and hate, of compassion and cruelty. He knows to be the winner, the man who will lead the Roman Empire, so he does not need to speak a lot. Few sentences from him are enough to understand what Shakespeare needs to explain to his audience: Caesar has been killed because he was a tyrant, but Augustus soon will substitute him becoming something of worse, an emperor. In *Antony and Cleopatra* this is reversed. Augustus is present everywhere because he must explain his project of empire to his audience. His opponents Anthony and Cleopatra are nothing near him and his ideas of greatness. Also in this case Shakespeare is behind Augustus: to found an empire it is necessary using the war, to destroy the enemies, to impose the 'perfect peace'. A parallelism between the lost Roman Empire and the rising British Empire is evident and is the key-point of this play.

## La monarchie d'Auguste selon Montesquieu

**Nathalie Louis-Roux** (Chargée de cours et docteur ès Lettres à l'Université du Sud, Toulon-Var, France)

La personne et l'action politique d'Auguste ont fait à toutes les époques l'objet d'appréciations variées voire contradictoires. Tacite note les réactions opposées qui se font jour dans le peuple à la mort du *Princeps* : Suétone, tout au long des *species*, indique- même s'il n'y accorde que rarement confiance- les arrière-pensées prêtées à Auguste dans nombre de rumeurs. Cette diversité d'opinions est due à l'opposition souvent établie entre Octave conquérant le pouvoir et Auguste l'exerçant, mais surtout à l'ambiguïté du « pouvoir des Césars » qui reste, selon Suétone, longtemps mal défini. La postérité a fait de même dans l'appréciation du personnage et de son action : par exemple alors que Saint Evremond montre les bienfaits du gouvernement d'Auguste qui a utilisé ses pouvoirs, certes nombreux, pour le bien de l'Etat, Montesquieu dans *Les Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* ne voit en Auguste, replacé dans l'histoire politique romaine, que le patient destructeur de la République. L'auteur est en effet sensible à l'importance des structures et systèmes politiques, et notamment à ce qui les « corrompt ». Auguste est ainsi identifié à celui qui, en corrompant le régime des libertés, a entraîné sa disparition (la liste des arrière-pensées, des faux semblants est longue).

Mais se borner à cette analyse serait fausser la pensée de Montesquieu car les *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* ont un lien étroit avec *L'Esprit des Lois* dont elles devaient à l'origine faire partie. Dans cette œuvre célèbre, l'auteur établit une typologie des régimes (il s'intéresse notamment au pouvoir monarchique) analysant leurs fondements, leur nature et leurs principes. Or le pouvoir d'Auguste, mais aussi celui de Sylla et de César, sont considérés par Montesquieu comme des « pouvoirs monarchiques ». Ils diffèrent donc des autres « pouvoirs » par leurs caractéristiques propres, mais également par une spécificité essentielle : la présence du souverain qui en est la clef de voûte et donne au régime par l'exercice du pouvoir son vrai visage. Plus que dans tout autre régime, il faut donc tenir compte, à propos des institutions, non seulement de la lettre, mais aussi de l'esprit qui préside à leur fonctionnement. L'on voit alors qu'une monarchie n'est pas identique à une autre. De la monarchie dans laquelle les « mœurs du prince contribuent autant à la liberté que les lois », il découle-et cela rappelle quelque peu les propos de Suétone sur Auguste- des conséquences appréciables pour les sujets, notamment la paix et le bonheur, car le monarque qui gouverne selon les lois n'est pas le despote qui le fait selon ses fantaisies.

Il est donc intéressant de se demander s'il en est ainsi à propos d'Auguste en envisageant la qualification du régime d'Auguste à la lumière des indications de Montesquieu concernant la monarchie (I), sans laisser de côté l'importance du « souverain », et en tenant compte de la spécificité de l'homme en charge de l'Etat(II).

**"Nuovo Alessandro in guerra, in pace Augusto". Napoleon Bonaparte as the New Augustus**  
**Agnieszka FULIŃSKA** (Classical archaeologist at Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland)

The transition from the French Republic to the first Empire was modelled on the Augustan 'revolution' in terms of political terminology, execution and character of power change. This fact is quite well known, even if it has not yet been thoroughly analysed in the existing scholarship from the point of view of Classical studies and reception of ancient models. In my paper, however, I do not intend to focus on the political aspects, but on the visual and textual reception thereof, as far as the use of imagery referring directly to Augustus is concerned.

Despite its apparent attractiveness, the subject of ancient models and inspirations in the self-representation and propaganda of Napoleon Bonaparte is surprisingly absent from scholarship, and its Augustan face is almost entirely neglected. And yet, even though Napoleon is in the first place remembered as the military leader, in contemporary literature and art consistently compared to Caesar, Hannibal, Scipio and Alexander, his own ambition was to become the new Augustus: peacemaker and legislator, patron of arts and sciences and urban designer.

Panegyric poetry from the years of his early campaigns, as well as from the periods of consular and imperial rule, the memoirs written during the exile, and also the eulogies written after Napoleon's death in 1821, abound in direct comparisons and veiled allusions to the Augustan model, and this literary image is supplemented by iconography, both official and unofficial. In my paper I would like to survey in the first place the *topoi* of Napoleon as the 'new Augustus', and of his rule as the 'Saturnia regna'. I intend to focus not on the well known documents such as the memoirs, but rather on far more obscure poetical texts and pamphlets belonging to the sphere of 'popular' literature, epitomized by the verse from a poem by Vincenzo Jacobacci quoted in the title of the proposed paper. The literary examples will be illustrated with visual material corresponding with the main ideas.

**De Jules César à Auguste : *antichistica*, propagande et culture populaire sous le fascisme italien**  
**Jan NELIS** (Collaborateur scientifique du Centre interdisciplinaire d'étude des religions et de la laïcité de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgique)

Cet exposé s'attachera à montrer que, malgré le considérable intérêt médiatique dont bénéficia Octavien-Auguste sous le fascisme pendant le bimillénaire de 1937-1938, ce fut d'abord et avant tout Jules César qui fascina l'Italie de l'époque; on sembla en effet discerner en lui une sorte de proto-*duce*, et ce jusque dans les années 1930. Mussolini lui-même ne fut pas étranger à ce phénomène, au contraire: il suffit de consulter les *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini*, ou encore la célèbre interview du *duce* avec le journaliste Emil Ludwig (1932), pour avoir une idée de l'attachement personnel du dictateur fasciste à son 'prédécesseur' romain.

Cette recherche sera basée sur des écrits d'*antichisti*, mais elle présentera aussi des sources destinées au grand public (littérature pour la jeunesse, manuels scolaires,...). Si le but premier est ainsi de dresser un bilan général de la réception de César et d'Auguste sous le fascisme, l'angle d'approche, à savoir l'étude combinée des discours sur ces deux personnalités, nous permettra en outre de développer une réflexion sur les frontières entre propagande, culture populaire et discours scientifique.

**Square, Politics and Propaganda. The Redesign of the Piazza Augusto Imperatore in Rome, 1934–1938**  
**Klaus TRAGBAR** (Professor, Architect and Architectural Historian at Leopold Franzens-Universität, Innsbruck, Austria)

The Piazza Augusto Imperatore with the monumental tomb of emperor Augustus in the centre, finished in 14 AD, the churches S. Rocco (1499) and S. Girolamo degli Illirici (1588) and with the square's margins, build between 1937 and 1941, is not only a prime example for the close sequence of historical layers and the density of monuments in Rome, but as well for their use for political propaganda, especially in Fascist era. Beginning in 1934, the surrounding structures of the tomb and both the churches were demolished, new buildings – inspired by the architecture of the roman emperor's era, but not very compelling – formed a new, regular and wide open square within the densely built quarter. On the west side fascist architect Vittorio Morpurgo designed the Museo dell'Ara Pacis as a showcase for Augustus' famous – and freshly excavated – altar of peace.

On the emperor's 2.000 birthday in 1938, the new square was inaugurated, even though works on it were finished not until 1952. With the redesign of the Piazza Augusto Imperatore and the enduring evocation of *latinità* and *romanità* as a collective Italian heritage, fascist propaganda primarily intended to merge the first, antique Rome and the second, Christian one with the third, fascist one into a transtemporal, literally eternal model and to celebrate Mussolini like a reborn Augustus as *pater patriae* and savior of the nation. In 2006 the new Museo dell'Ara Pacis, designed by Richard Meier and rare example of contemporary architecture in Rome's historic centre, was inaugurated. During his campaign in 2009 Rome's far-right mayor Gianni Alemanno insulted it as "not Roman" and promised it's demolition – an indication of that the Piazza Augusto Imperatore sets the scene for political propaganda till this day.

Das „neue“ Bild von Augustus: Der Ort des Prinzipats in der NS-Althistorie  
**Michel SOMMER** (Professor in Ancient History at Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, Germany)

"Damals wie heute vollzieht sich der Aufbau eines neuen Reiches auf dem Fundament alter, zeitweise verschütteter sittlicher und geistiger Kräfte", schrieb mit Blick auf den augusteischen Prinzipat im Kriegsjahr 1942 der später in Köln lehrende Greifswalder Ordinarius Hans Volkmann. Sein Aufsatz „Mos maiorum als Grundzug des augusteischen Prinzipats" wurde als Teil des von Helmut Berve herausgegebenen Bandes „Das neue Bild der Antike" veröffentlicht - jener berüchtigten Sammlung, die als Beitrag der Altertumswissenschaften zum von dem Juristen Paul Ritterbusch initiierten „Kriegseinsatz" der deutschen Geisteswissenschaften erschien. Wie für die italienischen Faschisten, so bot sich auch für die deutschen Nationalsozialisten Augustus als Identifikationsfigur an, der auf den Trümmern einer moralisch verkommenen, vom Geltungsstreben übermächtiger Individuen überschatteten Republik eine neue Ordnung errichtete, die der Althistoriker Wilhelm Weber in seinem Fragment gebliebenen „Princeps" (1936) prompt zur Herrschaft schlechthin stilisierte. Der Vortrag fragt nach dem spezifisch nationalsozialistischen Blick auf den Prinzipat, so wie Weber und Kornemann, aber auch Paul Strack und Ernst Kornemann, ihn popularisierten.

Augustus Polonus. The Image of the Emperor in Polish Cultural History  
**Andrzej GILLMEISTER** (Adjunct Professor in Humanities at University of Zielona Góra, Poland)

The figure of the first Roman emperor in many ways has had an impact on the Polish culture, especially in historiography and literature.

In my paper I would like to focus on some issues connected with the subject. My choice will be limited to a few aspects from modern history. Mainly I would like to concentrate on the image of Augustus in Polish historiography in the interwar period. I will discuss the ideas presented by Tadeusz Zieliński, one of the most eminent researcher of the ancient world in Europe in the first part of 20<sup>th</sup> century. This great scholar devoted a significant part of his *opus* to present his own vision of Augustus seen as the reformer of the Roman state religion. Zieliński built the emperor's image as the saviour of the Roman world in the face of „the end of time". This term played significant role in Zieliński's thinking about Roman history at the end of the Republic. For a Polish scholar celebration of the secular game in 17 BC was the final task done by Augustus. This task Zieliński defined as the *sacred mission* and connected with the figure of Sibyl and the impact of the Etruscan theory of *saeculum*. For Zieliński, Augustus belonged to the most important men of providence in Roman history.

In my presentation I would also like to discuss the political and cultural using of the figure of Augustus in the Polish humanities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this context two things are very interesting: the political use by some conservative politics as an example of the traditional virtues and the novel written by Kazimierz Kumaniecki, who is commonly known as the expert in ancient rhetoric and the author, *inter alia*, of the vast monographic work on Cicero. Kumaniecki was writing the novel about Augustus but he died before finishing it. The unfinished version was published some years ago.

I am going to answer the question in which way the figure of Augustus was utilized and transformed in Polish culture, especially in the 1<sup>st</sup> decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Many Faces of Augustus: Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* and the Exploitation of Augustus' Memory in Modern Ideological Polemics  
**Eliina Pyy** (Post-doc at University of Helsinki, Finland)

Of all the figures in Roman history, Emperor Augustus is the one who most often has been represented as the face of the change that took place in the Roman society in the late first century BC. Considering his pivotal position in the breaking of the Republic and the formation of the new regime, it is not surprising that Augustus' memory has through ages been exploited for the most varying political and ideological purposes.

In Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s novel *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater or Pearls Before Swine*, published in 1965, the multiple ways of exploiting Augustus' memory are made obvious. Vonnegut, who is known as an apt critic of the American society of his own time, takes a page from the Roman history in order to parody the hypocrisy and jingoism present in the United States in the 1960s. In the novel, Senator Rosewater, a moralist and a patriot, delivers a speech where he discusses the moral decay of America, comparing it to the Roman late Republic, and offering as a solution "the sink-or-swim justice of Caesar Augustus". Senator Rosewater presents a free enterprise system as a cure for the moral decline of the society, offering to the Americans a Golden Age comparable to that established by Augustus.

Vonnegut's narrating voice is characteristically ironic; he represents Rosewater as a jingo and a moralist who ransacks the memory of Augustus to make it suit his own political purposes – this is obvious by the many historical inaccuracies of the speech. At the same time, however, the author reveals the next level of the appropriation of Augustus' memory: While Senator Rosewater exploits Augustus to rally his party members behind the American capitalism and patriotism, Vonnegut himself uses Rosewater's misinterpretation of Augustus to ridicule this very ideology that Rosewater is promoting. For both purposes, reducing a historical

figure into a mere symbol is essential. Neither Rosewater nor the narrator care about Augustus *per se*, but he becomes a myth through which to present an agenda. For one of them, it is the endorsement of the American patriotism and conservative moralism – for the other, the ridiculing of this idea.

Primarily, Senator Rosewater's speech is supposed to reflect the American culture of Vonnegut's day. For a classical scholar, however, the most intriguing part of the episode is how it reflects the modern ways of thinking about Augustus and the period of time he stands for. In my paper, I use Vonnegut's novel as a starting point to discuss Augustus' position as a historical figure that inevitably encourages the exploitation and re-interpretation of his memory. I examine how Augustus, due to his great renown and his exceptional position in Roman history can, in the modern political and ideological polemic, be used as a symbol of most varying and differing ideas.

### First Citizen in the Empire of Ruthlessness? Images of Augustus in Popular Fiction and on Screen

**Jörg FÜNDLING** (Post-doc in Ancient History, at Historisches Institut  
der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule Aachen, Germany)

Mobsters recommend his leadership abilities, normally disrespectful detectives know better than to provoke him. Augustus is still a force to be reckoned with, as far as historical crime fiction or TV mini-series are concerned. On its way from *I, Claudius* to *Rome* (or even *The Sopranos*) the persona of the *princeps* has been growing both deeper and darker. Quite the same applies for his shadow on Rome's future in the SPQR novels by John Maddox Roberts - and even more for glimpses of the Augustan past as caught by Lindsey Davis and David Wishart. In order to keep Augustus topical, media-generated traditions are amalgamated with re-readings of our familiar sources.

« Pourvu qu'Octave ne se prenne pas désormais pour un phénomène ! ». Octave-Auguste, de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte dans les bandes dessinées *Alix* et *Alix Senator*

**Julie GALLEGRO** (Maître de conférences de latin à l'Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, France)

C'est une séquence initiale marquante pour tout lecteur de la série *Alix* : le prodige de l'aigle jupitérien, désignant « le maître du monde », dans *Le Tombeau étrusque*. Du portrait de l'empereur Auguste par Suétone, Martin avait retenu cette anecdote hagiographique, pour montrer le destin qui attend le jeune compagnon d'Alix mais que la série, centrée à l'origine sur la période césarienne, ne peut chronologiquement pas raconter. Néanmoins, le caractère du futur *princeps* y est esquissé par diverses notations textuelles ou graphiques : « Un Romain doit apprendre à demeurer insensible » affirme-t-il, le visage fermé, à Alix devant un cadavre. Mais la signification même de l'épisode est altérée dans l'un des albums suivants. Le « curieux [...] manège de cet aigle » qui se fait aussi vengeur au nom de Jupiter, semble-t-il, à la fin du premier album, est présenté dans *Le Spectre de Carthage*, par un Brutus défiguré et amer, comme « une farce sinistre et terrible » : quelle est alors la crédibilité du jeune Octave s'il n'est pas l' élu désigné par le premier vol du rapace ? Il ressort de l'épisode et de sa réécriture un doute sur la légitimité du premier dirigeant de l'empire, mais la série ne fait que le sous-entendre, s'en tenant malgré tout à l'image traditionnelle et exclusivement positive du premier grand empereur romain, comme dans l'hommage que Chaillet fait à son maître dans *La Dernière Prophétie 1*. Tout autre apparaît Auguste dans le *spin-off* très récent de Mangin et Demarez, *Alix Senator* : manipulateur, pragmatique, menteur... mais toujours ami avec Alix ! Et dans cette histoire plus violente et pour un lectorat plus adulte, des aigles aux serres métalliques prennent leur envol pour tuer Auguste, mais toujours, d'après les hommes, selon « la volonté du plus grand des Olympiens ». Une nouvelle fois, l'épisode fondateur de la naissance d'Octave comme futur Auguste est réécrit dans la série : il n'est « qu'un homme ordinaire, pas l' élu des immortels ». Une manipulation politique de César parmi d'autres pour s'assurer de son successeur... Valérie Mangin avait déjà mis en scène Auguste dans *Le Dernier Troyen* (2004-2008), une série de science-fiction que l'on peut percevoir alors comme un intermédiaire dans cette réécriture de la figure d'Auguste dans la bande dessinée historique, depuis la série originelle *Alix*, dont elle était lectrice, à la série dérivée *Alix Senator*, dont elle est devenue la scénariste.

*Videsne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?*  
Augustus, homosexuality and the reception of Suetonius, Aug. 68  
**Aleksandra KŁĘCZAR** (Associate Professor at Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland)

In my presentation I would like to look into a passage of Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 68, where the biographer briefly treats the allegations of Antony concerning Octavian's possible seduction by Caesar and the accusations of prostitution and effeminacy directed at the future *princeps*. Not trying to assess any historicity of the events discussed, I would like to look at Suetonius' text from two complimentary points of view. On one hand, I would like to place Antony's accusations of homosexuality, effeminacy and prostitution in their current cultural context and to analyse them against the background of Roman ethical tradition (and the changes therein, occurring in late Republican/Augustan times and discussed, among other, by Eva Cantarella) as well as Greek cultural influence. On the other, I would like to look at the reception of this motif in modern popular culture. An analysis of two instances when the motif of Octavian's seduction is used (these are season I of HBO's TV series *Rome* and Neil Gaiman's, Stan Woch's and Dick Giordano's graphic short story, *August*) would provide an insight into the actualizing, subversive and selective readings and reinterpretations of classical tradition by modern popular culture.

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