

The emperor Augustus: cruel tyrant or enlightened despot?



Advanced Seminar 600.

Fall semester 2007.

Lecture room: Greek and Latin Reading Room (Memorial Library, 4th floor). In order to access the room you need a key. You need to pay a deposit of \$10.00 on the third floor of Memorial Library.

Time: Wednesday 11:00-1:00.

Instructor: Marc Kleijwegt, Humanities 5219; tel.: 263 2528; email: mkleijwegt@wisc.edu

Office Hours: Monday 11:00-12:00; Friday 11:00-12:00.

After eighteen years of civil war (49 and 31 BC) the youthful Octavian, the adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar, finally re-imposed order and stability on an exhausted Roman state. After his decisive victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BC, Octavian found himself alone in charge of the Roman Empire. No opponent was strong enough to challenge him. The important question that was on everybody's mind was how Octavian would rule. The answer came in the first meeting of the senate in January of 27 BC when Octavian dramatically renounced all his powers to the Roman Senate. In exchange for these powers Octavian received a new name, Augustus, and a number of titles that illustrated his unique position of power. Augustus claimed to have restored the Republican government as it had existed before the civil wars erupted with Julius Caesar crossing the Rubicon. In retrospect it appears that Augustus provided the foundations for the establishment of a new type of government, the absolute rule by a single individual. The pronounced ambivalent character of Augustus' reign - in terms of its ideology a constitutional monarchy, in actual fact an absolute monarchy - has interested scholars for generations. This seminar will research a number of aspects of Augustus' rule, including letters and the arts, in order to answer a number of essential questions: what sort of ruler was he, and how do we qualify his reign?

Required Books:

Cassius Dio, *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus*, New York 1987: Penguin Books. ISBN 0140444483.

Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993: University of California Press. ISBN 0520084470.

Werner Eck, *The Age of Augustus*, New York 2003: Blackwell. ISBN 06312229582.

Books on Reserve in Greek and Latin Reading Room

A. A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, New Haven and London 2002 (DG291.7 L5 B37 2002).

Jochen Bleicken, *Augustus: eine Biographie*, Berlin 1998. (DG279 B63 1998).

V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones (eds.), *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus & Tiberius*, Oxford 1976 (DG275 E35 1976).

Anthony Everitt, *Augustus: The Life of Rome's First Emperor*, New York 2006 (DG279 E94 2006).

K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, Princeton 1996. (DG279 G17 1996).

K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, New York 2005 (DG279 C35 2005).

Robert Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: the politics and emotions of civil war*, Ann Arbor 1995. (PA6019 G87 1995).

Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (eds.), *The Roman cultural revolution*, New York 1997. (DG279 R618 1997).

W. K. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate: the evolution of the system*, Leeds 1996. (DG279 L33 1996).

Jurgen Malitz, *Nikolaos von Damaskus, Leben des Kaisers Augustus*, Darmstadt 2003 (PA4250 N5 A46 2003).

Roland Mellor (ed.), *Augustus and the creation of the Roman Empire: a brief history with documents*, New York 2006 (DG63 M45 2006).

Fergus Millar and Charles Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: seven aspects*, Oxford 1984. (DG279 C33 1984).

Kristina Milnor, *Gender, domesticity, and the age of Augustus: inventing private life*, Oxford/New York 2005 (HQ1136 M55 2005).

Christopher Nappa, *Reading after Actium: Vergil's Georgics, Octavian, and Rome*, Ann Arbor 2005 (PA6804 G4 N37 2005).

Josiah Osgood, *Caesar's legacy: civil war and the emergence of the Roman Empire*, New York 2006 (DG279 O84 2006).

Anton Powell (ed.), *Roman poetry and propaganda in the age of Augustus*, London 1992. (PA6047 R6 1992).

Paul Rehak, *Imperium and cosmos: Augustus and the northern Campus Martius*, Madison, WI 2006 (DG66 R44 2006).

Beth Severy, *Augustus and the family at the birth of the Roman Empire*, New York 2003 (DG279 S38 2003).

David Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*, London 1991. (DG279 S47 1991).

Pat Southern, *Augustus*, London 1998. (DG279 S68 1998).

R. Winkes (ed.), *The Age of Augustus*; interdisciplinary conference held at Brown University, April 30-May 2, 1982, Providence 1985. (DG279 A44 1985).

Books on Reserve in the Art Library

Diane Favro, *The urban image of Augustan Rome*, New York 1996. (Art History: DG69 F38 1996).

Paul Zanker, *The power of images in the age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor 1988. (Art History: N5760 Z36 1988).

Other important publications on various aspects of Augustus' reign

The following articles are available for downloading and printing through JSTOR. Go to the main page of MadCat and click on TOP 10 databases. Use the title of the article or the name of the author to find the relevant article:

F. M. Ahl, 'The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome', *American Journal of Philology* 105 (1984), 174-208.

A. B. Bosworth, 'Augustus, the *Res Gestae* and Hellenistic Theories of Apotheosis', *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 1-18.

Andrew Erskine, 'Life after death: Alexandria and the body of Alexander', *Greece and Rome* 49 (2002), 163-79.

Diane Favro, '*Pater urbis*: Augustus as City Father of Rome', *Journal of the Society for Architectural Historians* 51 (1992), 61-84.

Duncan Fishwick, 'Dio and Maecenas: the emperor and the ruler cult', *Phoenix* 44 (1990), 267-75.

Suna Güven, 'Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: a monument of imperial image for all', *Journal of the Society for Architectural Historians* 57 (1998), 30-45.

Allan Klynne and Peter Liljenstolpe, 'Where to Put Augustus? A Note on the Placement of the Prima Porta Statue', *American Journal of Philology* 121 (2000), 121-128.

W. K. Lacey, 'Octavian in the Senate, January 27 B.C.', *Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974), 176-184.

Paul McKechnie, 'Cassius Dio's speech of Agrippa. A realistic alternative to imperial government?', *Greece and Rome* 28 (1981), 150-5.

Fergus Millar, 'Ovid and the *domus Augusta*: Rome seen from Tomoi', *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 1-17.

Dieter Nörr, 'The matrimonial legislation of Augustus. An early instance of social engineering', *Irish Jurist* 16 (1981), 350-64.

S. R. F. Price, 'Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult', *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980), 28-53.

Jane Clark Reeder, 'The Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the Underground Complex, and the Omen of the Gallina Alba', *American Journal of Philology* 118 (1997),

89-118.

P. M. Swan, 'Cassius Dio on Augustus. A Poverty of Annalistic Sources?', *Phoenix* 41 (1987), 272-91.

R. J. A. Talbert, 'Augustus and the Senate', *Greece and Rome* 31 (1984), 55-63.

William Turpin, 'Res Gestae 34.1 and the settlement of 27 BC', *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994), 427-37.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and authority in the coinage of Augustus', *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), 66-87.

F. M. Ahl, 'The rider and the horse. Politics and power in Roman poetry from Horace to Statius', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 32.1, Berlin 1984, 40-124.

Anthony A. Barrett, 'Augustus and the Governors' Wives', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 149 (2006), 129-147.

Richard A. Bauman, 'Tanaquil-Livia and the Death of Augustus', *Historia* 43 (1994), 177-88.

Edward Champlin, 'The Testament of Augustus', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 132 (1989), 154-65.

Harriet Flower, 'The Tradition of the Spolia Opima: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus', *Classical Antiquity* 19 (2000), 34-64.

G. K. Galinsky, 'Augustus' legislation on morals and marriage', *Philologus* 125 (1981), 126-44.

Frances V. Hickson, 'Augustus triumphator: manipulation of the triumphal theme in the political program of Augustus', *Latomus* 50 (1991), 124-38.

J. Ober, 'Tiberius and the political testament of Augustus', *Historia* 31 (1982), 306-28.

Ellen O'Gorman, 'On not writing about Augustus: Tacitus' Annals, Book 1', *Materiale e Discussioni* 35 (1995), 91-114.

Darryl A. Phillips, 'The Conspiracy of Egnatius Rufus and the Election of Suffect Consuls under Augustus', *Historia* 46 (1997), 103-112.

E. S. Ramage, 'Augustus' treatment of Julius Caesar', *Historia* 34 (1985), 223-45.

E. S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae*, Stuttgart 1987.

John Rich, 'Augustus' Parthian Honours, the temple of Mars Ultor and the Arch in the Forum Romanum', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998), 71-128.

Christopher J. Simpson, 'Where is the Parthian? The Prima Porta Statue of Augustus Revisited', *Latomus* 64 (2005), 82-90.

Peter Michael Swan, *The Augustan succession: An historical commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman history, Books 55-56 (9 B. C. - A. D. 14)*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004.

Course Aims

This course is designed as an intensive reading, discussion, research, and writing experience for advanced undergraduates. Students are expected to read and comment on the secondary literature for each seminar. They should be prepared to discuss what they have read in seminar each week. This means that students should read carefully, taking extensive notes. Before each seminar, students are encouraged to review their notes and prepare a list of questions and discussion topics they wish to raise during the class meeting. Students are expected to find additional material by using reference works, bibliographies, and internet search tools.

Students are expected to write a polished original research paper for this course. The details of this assignment are discussed below. The student research paper will focus on a specific and narrowly defined topic, but it must also reflect on some of the larger themes raised in class readings and discussions. Students will consult individually with the instructor as they formulate their research topics, collect sources, draft their papers, and revise their work for final submission. The length of the research paper is between 15 and 20 pages.

Class Participation

Class discussions are a central part of this course. Students are expected to attend every seminar. Not attending meetings will only be allowed for serious medical, personal or other circumstances and should be reported to the instructor by email, preferably before the seminar is meeting. Students should complete all of the assigned reading before each seminar meeting, and arrive prepared for a detailed and critical discussion. Seminars are designed to exchange opinions on the reading, analyze important historical questions, and compare various viewpoints. The quality of each student's class participation during the semester will comprise 5% of his/her grade.

Class Presentations

Each student will give one presentation on a week's assigned reading. The instructor will schedule these during the first meeting of the semester. In these short presentations students should offer a quick evaluation of the reading, along with 2 or 3 questions for discussion. These presentations are designed to kick-off an exchange of opinions. They are also intended to give each student some experience with presenting material before a group. Presentations should reflect detailed preparation, clear ideas, and effective organization. These presentations will start in the third week and will comprise 10% of each student's grade in total.

Essay Presentations

In addition, each student will give a ten-minute presentation on the topic they have chosen for their research paper. These presentations will take place in the final two weeks of the course. This will comprise 10% of each student's grade in total.

Research Paper Proposal and Topic Outline

On **October 24** students should submit a 2 page research paper proposal and an outline of topics in class. The research paper proposal should include the following:

1. A statement of the main research question;
2. A statement of the hypotheses and arguments that the student will make in the paper;
3. An explanation of how these hypotheses and arguments revise existing interpretations;
4. An explanation of the strengths and shortcomings in the available sources.

The research paper proposals should reflect careful and polished writing. Proofread your proposals before submission! Avoid passive voice, clichés, and awkward phrases. Check your grammar carefully. Make sure that each paragraph has a topic sentence. Each sentence should contribute to the point of the paragraph where it is situated.

Students should also include a general outline of the topics they plan to cover in their papers. The topic outline should provide a sense of how the paper will be organized, and how the student will employ his/her sources. The research paper and topic outline will count for 10% of each student's grade.

Draft of the Research Paper

On **November 21** each student should submit a completed 5-10 page draft of his/her research paper in class. These drafts should not be "rough." They should include polished prose, careful argumentation, clear organization, a creative introduction, a thoughtful conclusion, completed footnotes, and a full bibliography.

Proofread your papers before submission! Avoid passive voice, clichés, and awkward phrases. Check your grammar carefully. Make sure that each paragraph has a topic sentence. Each sentence should contribute to the point of the paragraph where it is situated.

I will read the draft papers carefully for style and substance. I will offer extensive written and oral comments for students to use in the final version of their papers. The draft research paper will account for 10% of each student's grade.

Final Version of the Research Paper

The required length of the research paper is between 15 and 20 pages. Students must submit the final version of their research papers to the instructor's office by **4:00 PM on Friday, December 14**. Late papers will not be accepted. Students should try to implement as many of the revisions suggested on the draft paper as possible. The final papers should also reflect additional proofreading for clarity, style, and overall presentation. The final paper will account for 50% of each student's grade.

Grading

Class Participation	5%
Exercise on Sources	5%
Class Presentation	10%
Essay Presentation	10%
Research Paper Proposal and Topic Outline	10%
Draft of the Research Paper	10%
Final Version of the Research Paper	50%

Teaching Program:

Week 1: 9/5/2007

There will be no meeting. Instead you will list the major sources for Augustus' reign and check their reliability. You do this with the help of the required reading. I will help you in the process with some information.

It is generally assumed that of the sources which deal with the reign of Augustus the documents that survive are the most important. They are contemporary and they appear to be reliable. These consist of personal correspondence, inscriptions and other documentary evidence. Then follow the historians. Here it is usually a matter of personal competence (who is a good historian and who is not), proximity in time (the closer to the events that are being described the more reliable a historian is considered to be) and access to reliable sources and documents. Last but not least, we have the literary sources from his reign: the poets and their works. Make a list of the main sources of information on the reign of Augustus and check whether this hierarchy of reliability is in fact correct. Is it perhaps possible that something which comes from the environment of Augustus, let's say his *Res Gestae*, is not as reliable as it appears to be at first sight?

Week 2: 9/12/2007

Introducing Augustus.

Week 3: 9/19/2007

Discussion theme: Caesar's Heir: from the second triumvirate to the battle of Actium.

Reading:

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 6-41.

Week 4: 9/26/2007

Discussion theme: The constitutional settlement of 27 BC.

Reading:

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 41-67.

W. K. Lacey, 'Octavian in the Senate, January 27 B.C', *Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974), 176-184.

Week 5: 10/3/2007

Discussion theme: Augustus and the elite.

Reading:

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 67-77.

R. J. A. Talbert, 'Augustus and the Senate', *Greece and Rome* 31 (1984), 55-63.

Week 6: 10/10/2007

Discussion theme: Governing the Empire.

Reading:

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 77-105.

Week 7: 10/17/2007

Discussion theme: Augustus and the city of Rome.

Reading:

B. A. Kellum, 'The City Adorned: Programmatic Display at the Aedes Concordiae Augustae', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 276-308.

T. J. Luce, 'Livy, Augustus and the Forum Romanum', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 123-39.

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 105-13.

Week 8: 10/24/2007

Submission of research paper proposal.

Discussion theme: Augustus and the arts

Reading:

F. M. Ahl, 'The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome', *American Journal of Philology* 105 (1984), 174-208.

Fergus Millar, 'Ovid and the *domus Augusta*: Rome seen from Tomoi', *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 1-17.

M. C. J. Putnam, 'Horace *Carm.* 2.9: Augustus and the Ambiguities of Encomium', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 212-39.

S. G. Nugent, '*Tristia* 2: Ovid and Augustus', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 239-58.

Week 9: 10/31/2007

Meet with instructor individually to discuss research paper.

Discussion theme: Man or God?

Reading:

Duncan Fishwick, 'Dio and Maecenas: the emperor and the ruler cult', *Phoenix* 44 (1990), 267-75.

J. Pollini, 'Man or God: Divine Assimilation and Imitation in the Late Republic and Early Principate', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 334-64.

S. R. F. Price, 'Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult', *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980), 28-53.

Week 10: 11/7/2007

Discussion theme: Opposition to Augustus

Reading:

K. A. Raaflaub and L. J. Samons II, 'Opposition to Augustus', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 417-55.

Week 11: 11/14/2007

Discussion theme: Augustus and the *Res Gestae*.

Reading:

W. Eck, *Augustus*, New York 2003, 131-53.

Zvi Yavetz, 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image', Fergus Millar and Charles Segal (eds.): *Caesar Augustus*, Oxford 1984, 1-36.

Week 12: 11/21/2007

Draft of research paper due in class.

Discussion theme: Judging Augustus

Reading:

Peter J. Davis, 'Since my part has been well played: conflicting evaluations of Augustus', *Ramus* 28 (1999), 1-15.

P. M. Swan, 'Cassius Dio's Assessment of Augustus', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 155-74.

M. Toher, 'Augustus and the Evolution of Roman Historiography', Kurt Raaflaub and Mark Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1993, 139-55.

Week 13: 11/28/2007

Discussion Theme: Augustus on the Small Screen

An episode from the BBC-production **I, Claudius**.
An episode from the HBO-production **Rome**.

Week 14: 12/5/2007

Presentations.

Week 15: 12/12/2007

Presentations.