

Egypt and the Augustan Cultural Revolution : an interpretative archaeological overview

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EGYPT AND THE AUGUSTAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION An interpretative archaeological overview

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door

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ii. THESIS SUMMARY

As part of the VIDI project 'Cultural innovation in a globalising society: Egypt in the Roman world' at Leiden University, this PhD research explores manifestations of Egypt in the material culture of the city of Rome during the Augustan period. This period was a crucial turning point for the urban landscape of Rome, which was characterised by cultural diversity. Previous studies focus primarily on Greek influences on the development of Augustan material culture, while Egypt remains neglected or simply categorised as exoticism or Egyptomania. This research, in contrast, set out to investigate whether or not 'Egypt' constituted an integral part of Augustan material culture during this period. By comprising for the first time a comprehensive and interpretative overview of manifestations of Egypt in Augustan Rome – including public monuments, paintings, and architectural elements as well as pottery, gems, and jewellery from private contexts—a wide variety of case studies could be conducted, among which object reappraisals as well as new finds and contextual analyses were featured. By focusing on the archaeological data, this study demonstrates that Egypt was not an exotic Outsider in Rome, but constituted a remarkably diverse part of Roman material culture and the Augustan urban landscape, and played an integral role in the inherently flexibile Augustan material culture repertoire.

iii. RESEARCH PROJECT

This doctoral thesis is part of the project 'Cultural innovation in a globalising society. Egypt in the Roman world', initiated by Miguel John Versluys. Taking archaeological, textual-historical and archaeometric perspectives, this interdisciplinary project aims to gain more insight into the functioning of Roman (material) culture by means of research on the appropriation of Egypt. Studies on the Roman perception of Egypt, concerning both textual and archaeological sources, generally approach Egypt from fixated and normative concepts. For example, Aegyptiaca have traditionally been interpreted within a framework of 'culti orientali' or Egyptomania. This research project, in contrast, demonstrates that Egypt is a constituent of what we call 'Roman'. This implies that the dichotomy Rome versus Egypt should be approached with care. Briefly put: Egypt is not merely the stereotypical Other, but also the Self.

This dissertation contributes to the project by examining the role of Egyptian material culture in Augustan Rome in particular. The Augustan period was a crucial turning point for the urban landscape of Rome, which was characterised by cultural diversity. The majority of studies tend to focus on Greek influences on the development of Augustan material culture, while Egypt remains neglected or simply categorised as exoticism or Egyptomania. This research, in contrast, set out to investigate whether manifestations of Egyptian were in fact an integral and diverse part of the Augustan urban landscape.

1

Of the other three doctoral studies in the project, Maaike Leemreize studies the Roman representation of Egypt in the literary discourse. By emphasising the diversity of Roman perceptions of Egypt, she demonstrates how Egypt had both a positive and negative effect on Roman self-representation.² Eva Mol examines Egyptian objects from Roman house contexts in Pompeii. She analyses how so-called Aegyptiaca could integrate in a Roman context and how these objects were subsequently used and experienced in a much wider scope than that which we call 'Egypt'.³ Sander Müskens investigates the material properties of Egyptian objects in Rome. In contrast to previous research, he does not emphasise the representative aspect of objects but rather their material aspects, and to this purpose he has set up a comprehensive characterisation of materials used for Aegyptiaca in Rome.⁴

Over the past years, in the framework of the project 'Cultural innovation in a globalising society. Egypt in the Roman world', Miguel John Versluys has developed a new approach towards understanding Egypt and Egyptian material culture in the Roman world, as explored throughout a number of recently published

¹ See also: Van Aerde, M.E.J.J. 2013. 'Concepts of Egypt in Augustan Rome: Two case studies of cameo glass from The British Museum', in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* (BMSAES) 20: 1-23.

² See also: Leemreize, M.E.C. 2014. 'The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present', in: J. Ker & C. Pieper (eds.) *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World*. Leiden/Boston: 56-82.

³ See also: Mol, E.M. & M.J. Versluys, 2014. 'Material culture and imagined communities in the Roman world: group dynamics and the cults of Isis', in: R. Raja, J. Rüpke (eds.), *A companion to the archaeology of lived religion*. Malden & Oxford, in press.

⁴ See also: Müskens, S. 2014. 'A New Fragment of an Architectonic Hathor-Support from Rome: Aegyptiaca Romana Reconsidered', in: L. Bricault, R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III. Toulouse, in press.

articles.⁵ In summary: by analysing the main (conceptual) problems, Versluys argues that 'Egypt' is not so much an ethnic or geographical concept, but rather a cultural concept that develops over time all across the Mediterranean and Near East: in other words, every context got the 'Egypt' it needed. Building on that perspective, Versluys furthermore focuses on the Roman world in particular, and demonstrates that Egypt was (made) part of the Roman *koine*, through case studies provided from the Flavian and Hadrianic periods. Through this it becomes clear that Egypt had already gained strength as a concept in both the Hellenistic *and* Roman world, with one of the characteristics of the concept of Egypt being its inherent Orientalism. Versluys shows how this was used and functioned –in specific contexts and for specific reasons– in relation to the cults of Isis and the Egyptian gods, and demonstrates how Egypt functioned as a frame within the Roman world in terms of on material culture. Subsequently, the concept of the invention of tradition becomes a point of departure in Versluys' conclusion that, besides an invented tradition Egypt was also an important haunting tradition within the Roman world, and that material culture played a crucially important role in that process.

Versluys, M.J. 2012. 'Making meaning with Egypt: Hadrian, Antinous and Rome's cultural renaissance', in: L. Bricault, M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Egyptian gods in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean: Image and reality between local and global.* Palermo: 25-39.

Versluys, M.J. 2013. 'Orientalising Roman gods', in: C. Bonnet & L. Bricault (eds.), *Panthée. Religious transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world 177). Leiden & Boston: 235-259.

Versluys, M.J. 2014. 'Egypt as part of the Roman *koine*: Mnemohistory and the Iseum Campense in Rome', in: J. Quack, C. Witschel (eds.), *Religious flows in the Roman Empire* (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 12). Tübingen, in press.

Versluys, M.J. 2015. 'Haunting traditions. The (material) presence of Egypt in the Roman world', in: A. Busch, D. Boschung, M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Reinventing the invention of tradition? Indigenous pasts and the Roman present*. München, in press.

Versluys, M.J. 2016. 'Aegyptiaca and their material agency throughout world history: a phylogenetic approach', in: T. Hodos et. al. (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Globalisation & Archaeology*. Oxford, in press.

⁵ Versluys, M.J. 2010. 'Understanding Egypt in Egypt and beyond', in: L. Bricault, M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Isis on the Nile. Egyptian gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.* Leiden & Boston: 7-36.

iv. AUGUSTAN CHRONOLOGY

Main sources: Syme 1939, Wallace-Hadrill 1993, Galinsky 1996, Galinsky 2012.

BCE

- 63 Gaius Octavius is born in Rome or Velitrae.
- His father Octavius dies. His mother Atia, niece of Gaius Julius Caesar, re-marries Lucius Marcius Philippus.
- Gaius Julius Caesar is assassinated in Rome. Gaius Octavius is posthumously named Caesar's heir, inheriting his property and name: Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Octavian).

 Octavian leads Caesar's veterans against the consul Mark Antony, who was to be Caesar's heir until Caesar's final appointment of Octavian.
- Octavian defeats Antony at Munda. A new alliance is made: the triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus.
- Brutus and Cassius are defeated at Philippi. Octavian is set to govern the West of the Roman world, Antony the East, and Lepidus Africa.
- 41 Antony meets Cleopatra in Tarsus. Octavian distributes land to the Caesarian veterans.
- Antony marries Octavian's sister Octavia. Octavian marries Scribonia, sister of Sextus Pompeius, to appease Pompeius' threat to the food-supplies of Rome.
- 39 Octavian and Scribonia's daughter Julia is born.
- Octavian divorces Scribonia to marry the young Livia Drusilla. Livia had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, a supporter of Antony. She already had his child Tiberius, and was still pregnant with Drusus.
- Octavian and Marcus Agrippa defeat Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus. Lepidus' role in the campaign is considered dubious. Antony invades Parthia with Cleopatra's support, but fails.

 Octavian takes residency on the Palatine Hill.
- 35-34 Antony and Cleopatra claim the East and name their sons kings. The 'propaganda war' between Antony and Octavian begins. Octavian and Marcus Agrippa are on campaign in Illyria.
- 32 Antony divorces Octavia.

- Antony prepares an invasion fleet, but Octavian defeats them at Actium (Sept. 2). Antony and Cleopatra flee back to Egypt.
- 30 Octavian enters Alexandria (Aug. 1). Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide. Egypt becomes an official province of Rome, albeit with unique status.
- Octavian celebrates a triple triumph in Rome for Actium Alexandria and Illyria (Aug. 13-15).
- Octavian restores many temples in Rome, and builds his Mausoleum at the Campus Martius. The Apollo Palatinus temple is completed and dedicated on the Palatine Hill, situated besides Octavian's house.
- An official Senate meeting (Jan. 13) confirms Octavian's 'restoration of power to the Senate and the people of Rome' and celebrates the return of the institutional government. Octavian is named 'Augustus'.
- 27-24 Augustus campaigns in Gaul and Spain. Marcellus, son of Octavia, marries Augustus' daughter Iulia.
- Augustus resigns his consulship and reorganises his influence to tribunician power and an *imperium* veto. Marcellus dies.
- Augustus campaigns in Sicily and the East.
- Julia re-marries Marcus Agrippa.
- 20 Augustus' victory over the Parthians.
- Augustus returns to Rome and celebrates his victories by means of building an altar and triumphal arch. Death of Vergil and publication of the *Aeneid*.
- Passing of *leges Juliae*, Augustus' new laws on marriage and conduct.
- 17 Augustus adopts his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar as heirs.
- 16-13 Augustus campaigns in Gaul and Germany. Upon victory and return he celebrates by means of building the Ara Pacis Augustae, an altar of peace.
- 13 Augustus has two obelisks erected at the Caesarium in Alexandria.
- Augustus becomes Pontifex Maximus. Lepidus and Marcus Agrippa die.
- 11-10 Augustus returns to Gaul. Julia re-marries Augustus' stepson Tiberius.
- Augustus has two obelisks from Heliopolis transported to Rome, to be erected at the Circus Maximus and as part of the Horologium on the Campus Martius.
- 8 Reorganisation of the city of Rome into fourteen Regions.

- Tiberius is made to share in Augustus' tribunician power after his victories in Germany, but leaves for Rhodes without Augustus' permission and falls out of favour.
- 2 Augustus is named *pater patriae*. The Forum of Augustus is inaugurated. Julia is exiled because of adultery.

CE

- 2 Tiberius returns from Rhodes. Lucius Caesar dies.
- 4 Gaius Caesar dies. Tiberius is named Augustus' heir and regains tribunician power.
- 6-9 Banishment of Marcus Agrippa' son Agrippa Postumus. Rebellion in Pannoia, which Tiberius strikes down.
- 9 Three legions are lost in Germany. Augustus revises his marriage laws.
- 10-12 Tiberius campaigns in Germany.
- Augustus dies (Aug. 19). He is decreed *Divus Augustus* by the Senate (Sept. 17). Tiberius is appointed as Augustus' successor.