

Sarah Haugene Wentworth

Emperor Augustus' and Tsar Nicholas II's use of history in visual propaganda

Bachelor's thesis in History
Supervisor: Jan Frode Hatlen
May 2023

Sarah Haugene Wentworth

Emperor Augustus' and Tsar Nicholas II's use of history in visual propaganda

Bachelor's thesis in History
Supervisor: Jan Frode Hatlen
May 2023

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Historical and Classical Studies



Content

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE COMPARATIVE METHOD.....	3
2.1. OVERVIEW	3
2.2. CHALLENGES	4
2.3. COMPARABILITY	5
2.4. COMPREHENDING THE PAST AS UNIQUE	7
3. AUGUSTUS	7
3.1. BACKGROUND.....	7
3.2. FAMILIAL COIN	9
3.3. VIA LABICANA AUGUSTUS	13
3.4. RELIEF CARVING IN TEMPLE OF KHONS.....	15
4. NICHOLAS II.....	19
4.1. BACKGROUND.....	19
4.2. CORONATION MANTLE AND UNIFORM JACKET	21
4.3. ROMANOV TERCENTENARY MEDAL OF 1913.....	23
4.4. COSTUME BALL OF 1903	26
5. COMPARISON	31
6. CONCLUSION	34
7. SOURCES	36
7.1. PRIMARY SOURCES	36
7.2. SECONDARY SOURCES	37

1. Introduction

History can be an effective tool of persuasion, though it can also be employed in dangerous and harmful ways. A current day example might be Donald Trump claiming he can “Make America Great Again”. In addition, Vladimir Putin using the fact that Russia and Ukraine through some parts of history have been one country, as a part of his justification of the invasion of Ukraine.¹ Hence, it is important to examine prior examples of utilization of history to learn to recognize it and to avoid being manipulated by it.

This paper will thus focus on how Emperor Augustus and Tsar Nicholas II employed the history of their families and countries in their visual propaganda, and in turn, how this history affected them in their use of propaganda. Three works of art from each of the two ruler’s repertoire of visual propaganda will be explored. The propaganda expressed in art and visual mediums will be the focal point due to visual rhetoric’s capacity to affect a large number of people, among them the illiterate parts of a population. Through this comparison, the different motives and priorities of Augustus and Nicholas, and to some degree the effectiveness of their propaganda, will be illuminated. Furthermore, the notion of continuity they created between their present rule and previous reigns as a means to create legitimacy of power will be explored. Lastly, their ability to adapt their visual expressions will be analyzed.

Augustus will in this comparison function as an example of effective use of propaganda, as he succeeded in acquiring and maintaining sole power over the Roman Empire.² Hence, Nicholas can function as a contrast to Augustus due to the loss of power he experienced through his reign, ending with his execution.³ Moreover, for the sake of simplicity, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus will continually be called Augustus in this paper. This applies even when discussing periods of time where he went under a different name than Augustus unless stated otherwise. Due to the same reason, Gaius Julius Caesar will primarily be called simply Caesar. Thus, when the name Caesar is mentioned, this alludes to Julius Caesar and not Augustus, even though he also shared the same name.

To legitimize his power, Augustus utilized his connection to Caesar and his heritage, for instance in some of the coins Augustus’ minted. Moreover, Augustus was affected by the history of Rome’s kings and the assassination of Caesar, apparent in the portraits made after he gained sole rule, for instance in the statue *Via Labicana Augustus*. In addition, Augustus

¹ Schwirtz, Varenikova, Gladstone, 2022

² Ødegård 2019: 153

³ Kramer et al. 2020: 762-764

learned from the mistakes made by Marcus Antonius. Hence, he utilized the artistic style rulers of Egypt historically had been presented in, rather than in the Roman style, in the propaganda produced in Egypt. This is discernible in the relief carvings at the temple of Khons.

Nicholas employed his family's history by referencing other monarchs, such as Peter the Great and Alexander III, in addition to the Byzantine Empire. This could create a notion of legitimacy through the association to their greatness, illustrated by the uniform jacket he wore at his coronation and his coronation mantle. However, I was unable to locate where Nicholas' coronation mantle currently resides. Hence, I have utilized Alexandra's coronation mantle instead as I have been able to determine where this artifact resides, at the Moscow Kremlin Museums.⁴ Moreover, when comparing Alexandra's coronation mantle with pictures and illustrations of Nicholas' coronation outfit and the coronation, the two mantles appear to be identical.⁵

Additionally, Nicholas highlighted his familial connections and the longevity of the dynasty he belonged to as a way of legitimizing his rule. An example might be his utilization of the image of Michael I of Russia on a commemorative medal from the Romanov tercentenary of 1913. Furthermore, Nicholas was affected by the history of 17th century Russia, Peter the Great and the previous two monarchs before himself, in his choice of costume to the St. Petersburg bicentenary ball of 1903. This costume in turn made references to Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich and the dress of 17th century Russia.

Lastly, Augustus' and Nicholas' use of history and how it affected them will be compared. This paper proposes that Augustus was affected by history in a way that made him more adaptable. To him, it was more important to succeed in gaining the favor of his audience, rather than to display his ideology and intentions. Thus, he modified the historical references in his visual propaganda according to what would be most effective in gaining and maintaining power. Nicholas on the other hand, arguably saw it as more important to demonstrate his ideology rather than focusing on the effectiveness of his propaganda and maintaining power.

⁴ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

⁵ Royal Collection Trust n.d. *Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II*, Wikimedia Commons 2020: *File:Nicholas II coronation robes.jpg*, Wikimedia Commons 2022: *File:Maria Fedorovna's mantle (1896, Kremlin) by shakko 01.jpg*, Wortman 2014: 25

2. The comparative method

2.1. Overview

Knut Kjeldstadli defines comparison as looking at two or more units of the same character side by side. He also considered the comparative method to have three main purposes: finding contrasts, explaining causes, and testing theories and their validity.⁶ However, there are various interpretations of what the comparative method comprises of. Others view it as a device historians can use to elicit new ideas.⁷ Moreover, John Stuart Mill divided comparison into two types, called “method of difference” and “method of agreement”.⁸ This interpretation, that the comparative method mainly is concerned with similarities and differences, is a notion that has persisted.⁹

Of the four main functions to the use of comparative history according to Leidulf Melve and Teemu Ryymin; to contrast, to be heuristic, to distance and to analyze, this text will utilize contrast and analysis the most. When comparing to contrast, the distinctive character of the different units are highlighted to show their individuality. The analytical function of comparative history entails separating elements of the object of study, potentially making it easier to determine explanatory causes.¹⁰

This paper will analyze Augustus and Nicholas mainly on an individual level, namely on a microlevel. Furthermore, only a few samples of artworks from the two figures will be examined, primarily to allow for a deeper dive into each of the items within the limits of a bachelor’s thesis. Hence, this comparison will be based both on primary and secondary sources, though most of the sources belong to the latter category. Nevertheless, I will use primary sources when possible, for example when analyzing the artifacts in question. However, the analysis of the primary sources will be based on pictures of the items, rather than an in-person study of the artifacts. Thus, there are arguments in favor of both calling these sources primary or secondary sources as they exist in a border area.

Though this analysis will take on a longer time period, as the two examples analyzed are separated by almost 2000 years, it will not utilize a diachronic perspective. Hence, this analysis will not be a chronological review of a linear development, examining the progression of how rulers have created a sense of continuity in visual mediums throughout

⁶ Kjeldstadli 1999: 263-265

⁷ Cohen, O’Connor 2004: xii

⁸ Melve, Ryymin 2018: 74

⁹ Cohen, O’Connor 2004: xv, 25

¹⁰ Melve, Ryymin 2018: 72-73

history.¹¹ Making any claims in this regard would not be expedient as the paper concerns merely two historical figures. There are nonetheless many benefits of analyzing two subjects separated by a larger time interval. For instance, by looking at a longer timeline one might be able to avoid looking at something too closely and get a better perspective of the situation.¹² Furthermore, Marta Petrusiewicz maintains that when presented with something out of the ordinary and we compare things that are markedly different from each other, it can provoke us to view things in new and unforeseen ways.¹³

2.2. Challenges

There are many critics of the comparative method however, and one disadvantage they see with comparing is that it is a strenuous endeavor. Deborah Cohen states that comparative history can be challenging as it is a demanding process to obtain the adequate amount of knowledge of all the subjects presented in the comparison. Though this is a problem not restricted to only the comparative method, it is particularly apparent here. Furthermore, Susan Pedersen points out additional administrative difficulties of working comparatively, namely being able to speak, preferably, more than one language, travelling to different archives and being able to secure grants for the research.¹⁴

Due to the large workload when studying more than one subject, there is less opportunity to study primary sources, thus making us depend on secondary literature to a greater extent. A danger of using secondary sources is that it necessitates relying on the works of others, and their conclusions might not be correct. Moreover, there arise an unequal distribution of attention when the examination of one of the units compared is based on primary sources, while the analysis of the other unit is based upon secondary sources. This might make the research superficial and trivial.¹⁵

Michael Miller further criticizes comparison's pursuit of breadth, as the attention to depth is then lost in his opinion. However, he does not think that it is impossible to do comparative research that excels in both, just that it is difficult. Others counterargue that this lack of depth

¹¹ Melve, Ryymin 2018: 74-75

¹² Kjeldstadli 1999: 219

¹³ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 147

¹⁴ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 60, 91

¹⁵ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 25, 48-49

is not a problem inherent to comparisons, but of the topic of study. Peter Baldwin in contrast, asserts that depth is not always essential as it can lead to superfluous details.¹⁶

Though there are pitfalls to comparisons that can make the work of lesser academic quality, others argue that the comparative method can help history contend its status as a science. For something to be considered a science it needs to explain something, which comparing helps historians do.¹⁷ Baldwin for instance, argues that the comparative method is the closest the study of history can come to scientific experiments in a controlled environment.¹⁸ Thus, by comparing, we can test out hypothesis for explanations.¹⁹ Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka further argue that the comparative method can help increase the degree of academic precision through a diligence to examination and theory. Cohen additionally writes that the comparative method can give a counterfactual insight into what could have been if different choices had been made.²⁰

2.3. Comparability

The comparative method requires making choices about what is to be included in the analysis. Hence, it is based on a belief that we can confine a facet of something and that removed from its entirety we can still comprehend it in a meaningful way. Cohen on the other hand, questions if it is even possible to disconnect different elements from each other and also understand an aspect of something when detached from its context.²¹

Contrariwise, others contend that we always have to make choices, regardless of whether or not we utilize the comparative method when studying history. Hence, comparing might be beneficial as it makes us more aware of the choices we make. Marc Bloch for instance, a prominent figure within the field of comparison, believed that when examining only one unit, there is the danger of ascribing a disproportionate amount of significance to explanatory factors that in reality were of less relevance. The comparative method can provide the perspective necessary to examine things relatively, making it a tool to evaluate the pertinence of different aspects.²²

¹⁶ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: xvi-xvii

¹⁷ Kjeldstadli 1999: 269

¹⁸ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 18

¹⁹ Kjeldstadli 1999: 265

²⁰ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 28, 64

²¹ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 25, 62

²² Cohen, O'Connor 2004: ix, 26, 42, 98-99

Different units, however, might be hard to compare to one another, as pointed out by for instance Miller. The sources we have access to from different locations might be of disparate nature for example. Additionally, he argues that it can be challenging to fully convey the context of a particular place in a historical inquiry that is comparative. Moreover, the connotation of various words might have changed over time or vary in meaning in different places.²³

Nonetheless, by comparing an increased number of aspects of the unit become apparent. This might lead to new insights and illuminate various patterns, that would not have emerged if the units had been studied separately, thus expanding our perspective. Bloch further argued that similarities between units that did not originate from the same source or through shared exposure to each other can be uncovered this way. Petruszewicz additionally maintains that the use of comparisons can help us dismantle the generalizations we possess, making one able to see beyond presumed truths. When juxtaposing, we must expound what previously was taken for granted.²⁴ Hence, by comparing Augustus and Nicholas, two people from immensely different time periods and cultures, aspects that otherwise would have gone unnoticed might be enlightened.

Some historians, Bénédict Zimmermann and Michael Werner for instance, have further criticized comparisons of nation-states as hazardous. They believe that it might reinforce the concept of the static nation-state, neglecting connections across national borders. In addition, the juxtapositions that comes with comparisons might amplify the perception of differences between countries.²⁵ Others, like Henri Pirenne and Geoffrey Barraclough, believed that the national perspective that dominates a lot of history research can be challenged by using the comparative method as the researcher then has to widen their perspective.²⁶ When we have nothing to compare ourselves to, the perception of one's own noteworthiness has the opportunity to prosper. Thus, Haupt and Kocka argue that the comparative method can lessen national biases. Moreover, Nancy Green asserts that comparisons do not necessitate the use of nation-states. Other units, such as cities, institutions, and corporations, might also be utilized in a comparison.²⁷ For instance, this paper examines two individuals, Augustus and Nicholas, instead of comparing their respective empires.

²³ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: xvii, 50

²⁴ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: xix, 15, 36, 42, 48, 97

²⁵ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 45, 59

²⁶ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 42, Melve, Ryymin 2018: 81-82

²⁷ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 28, 46, 61

2.4. Comprehending the past as unique

In the study of history, the past is viewed as different from our own time and most historians agree that we have to understand the past on its own premises. However, some argue that the comparative method does not respect this principle, because some perceive it as a gateway to generalization, meaning it misrepresents the idiosyncrasy of history. Raymond Grew for instance, asserts that we risk over-emphasizing uniformity and homogenizing our subjects of study when comparing. This can happen if details are subdued to create units that are in accordance with each other.²⁸

Kjeldstadli on the other hand, argues that rather than erasing the uniqueness of its subjects, the comparative method accentuates it as the aim is to understand what makes the individual case unique.²⁹ Because the comparative method helps us recognize the units' distinctiveness and variedness, it can be utilized to counteract generalizations. Pedersen further asserts that the comparative method is not used to compose universal laws, but rather to account for the causes of the specific case. Therefore, the risk of comparisons eradicating the belief in the uniqueness of different eras in the field of history, is arguably a minimal one.³⁰

The comprehension of the past as unique and different from our own time furthermore necessitates the comparison of the past with the present. To be able to detect these differences, for instance when a historical context is explained, the past is implicitly compared to the present. Hence, many historians have been utilizing the comparative method without even realizing it.³¹ As a result, one might argue that comparisons are an intrinsic part of historical studies and should thus not be shunned. Consequently, this paper will employ the comparative method in the analysis of Augustus and Nicholas.

3. Augustus

3.1. Background

Augustus is regarded as the first Roman emperor as he was the one to accomplish the task of devising a structure of rule centered around one person.³² One of the reasons why he managed to rise to power in such manner was because he was Julius Caesar grandnephew. Caesar adopted Augustus in his testament, hence making Augustus his main heir. Though born with

²⁸ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 1, 3, 7, 29, 49

²⁹ Kjeldstadli 1999: 264

³⁰ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 11, 37, 99

³¹ Cohen, O'Connor 2004: 6-7, 47

³² Ødegård 2019: 141

the name Gaius Octavius, he changed his name to Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus after being adopted.³³

The reason why being adopted by Caesar was instrumental in Augustus rise to power, was due to Caesars own accumulation of power. Caesar rose in the ranks of the Republic through his offices. First, he was elected consul in 59 B.C.E. Following this, he became proconsul of Gallia Cisalpina in 58 B.C.E. Under his command, the entirety of Gallia became a Roman province. Moreover, he was part of the first triumvirate along with Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Licinius Crassus.³⁴ In 49 B.C.E. civil war broke loose, with Caesar on the one side and Pompeius on the other. Caesar, through his skills as a politician and general, won the war and gained sole power over the Roman Empire by the 40s B.C.E.³⁵ First he was named dictator for a period of ten years in 46 B.C.E., and in 44 B.C.E. for life.³⁶ However, his immense power displeased the senate, who wanted to reinstate the republic as it had functioned before. As a result, Caesar was killed 15th of March 44 B.C.E.³⁷

After Caesar's death there were mainly three competitors to the command of Rome.³⁸ There was Augustus, the appointed heir, who was about eighteen years old at the time of Caesar's death.³⁹ Secondly, there was the consul in office at the time, Marcus Antonius. Lastly, there was Aemilius Lepidus, who when Caesar was still alive was the second in command of the military, thus giving him militant strength. In 43 B.C.E. the three of them joined forces in a second triumvirate. However, by 36 B.C.E. Lepidus no longer constituted a part of this. Furthermore, Antonius joined forces with Cleopatra, the ruler of Egypt. In 31 B.C.E. there was a final struggle between Antonius and Augustus, at the battle of Actium, which Augustus won.⁴⁰ This conquest of Egypt was Augustus' main contribution to the expansion of the Roman Empire.⁴¹

By 31 B.C.E., Augustus had annihilated his competitors and became the only ruler of the Roman Empire. After becoming supreme ruler however, his approach to his public image changed. Instead of staying supreme ruler, he chose to reinstate the old republican system in

³³ Ravnå 2006: 148

³⁴ Ødegård 2019: 145-146, 148

³⁵ Ravnå 2006: 144

³⁶ Ødegård 2019: 149

³⁷ Ravnå 2006: 145

³⁸ Ravnå 2006: 148

³⁹ Ravnå 2006: 148, Zanker 1988: 33

⁴⁰ Ravnå 2006: 148, 150

⁴¹ Ødegård 2019: 165

27 B.C.E.⁴² In gratitude of him reestablishing the old republic, he was the same year awarded the title Augustus by the senate, meaning something similar to the Venerable or the Great.⁴³ Moreover, Augustus also used the title princeps, signifying him as the first citizen among his peers. As a result, the administrative structure Augustus created has been named the Principate.⁴⁴

Augustus was a proficient politician. He managed to create harmony between the new practices of the Principate, while also paying tribute to the practices and establishments of the Republic. Additionally, his long-lasting reign, which gave the system time to stabilize, are some of the reasons why this style of government managed to endure.⁴⁵ When Augustus died on the 19th of August 14 C.E., at the age of 75, the power transferred to his chosen heir.⁴⁶ His successor was the son of Livia, Augustus' third wife, Tiberius, who Augustus had adopted as his own son in 4 C.E.⁴⁷

3.2. Familial coin



Coin, 19–18 B.C.E. Silver, The British Museum, London. Images copyright © The Trustees of the British Museum. Used under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

This coin, made of silver, is a denarius and was minted sometime between 19 B.C.E. and 18 B.C.E. It was minted in Aragon in Spain, possibly in a city called Caesaraugusta in Latin, now

⁴² Zanker 1988: 33

⁴³ Ravnå 2006: 151, Ødegård 2019: 141

⁴⁴ Ravnå 2006: 151

⁴⁵ Ødegård 2019: 164

⁴⁶ Ravnå 2006: 154, Ødegård 2019: 162

⁴⁷ Ødegård 2019: 162

called Zaragoza.⁴⁸ It is currently in the possession of the British Museum, which it came to be after it was donated to them in 1860 by Count John Francis William de Salis, a collector of Roman coins.⁴⁹ The obverse side of the coin depicts a young man with his face turned towards our right. The Latin words “CAESAR AVGVSTVS” are inscribed along the edge of the coin, counterclockwise.⁵⁰ The figure is a portrait of Augustus, and he is wearing an oak-wreath. On the reverse side, there is a dot at the center of the coin, with eight rays protruding from the dot. The ray in the middle in the upper part of the coin is engulfed in flames. Level across the coin the Latin words “DIVVS IVLIVS” are inscribed.⁵¹ The design on the reverse side is a comet with a tail and the writing refers to Julius Caesar.⁵²

Caesar minted coins in 44 B.C.E. decorated with his own portrait, being the first Roman to do so while they themselves were still alive. As a result, he created a tradition of utilizing coins in propaganda to highlight the greatness of oneself and one’s achievements.⁵³ Augustus and his allies also actively utilized coins, as this visual medium was an effective way of spreading propaganda.⁵⁴ Firstly, it was something relatively easy to make. Though more importantly, a lot of people in different parts of the vast empire would have the opportunity to interact with these coins in their everyday life.⁵⁵ The emperor was a distant and inaccessible character to many of the empire’s inhabitants.⁵⁶ Hence, these everyday objects might have constituted an important part of a ruler’s propaganda by segmenting his authority.

When first rising to power, Augustus’ connection to Caesar, being his adoptive son and heir, contributed to his success and was his most influential asset.⁵⁷ By employing the image of his adoptive father, Augustus gained the loyalty of the plebeians and veteran soldiers who had supported Caesar.⁵⁸ The soldiers who had fought under Caesar’s command reckoned Augustus as their best prospect of getting paid for their efforts after the death of Caesar. Having the approval of an adept military force gave Augustus more leverage and a better chance of gaining absolute power.⁵⁹

⁴⁸ The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁴⁹ The British Museum n.d. *Count John Francis William de Salis*, The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁵⁰ The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁵¹ The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁵² The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁵³ Kleiner 2020: 189

⁵⁴ Warrior 2006: 108-109, Zanker 1988: 35

⁵⁵ Warrior 2006: 108-109

⁵⁶ Ødegård 2019: 160

⁵⁷ Zanker 1988: 34, Ødegård 2019: 162

⁵⁸ Zanker 1988: 34

⁵⁹ Ravnå 2006: 148, 150

Partly to utilize the image of Caesar to its fullest potential, Augustus and his supporters championed the case of making Caesar a god. In 44 B.C.E., Augustus arranged the games *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, which previously had been dedicated to the goddess Venus by Caesar. At this event a comet was visible as it crossed the sky, which Augustus claimed in the accounts of his own life that it continued to be for a week worldwide. The comet was perceived as evidence of Caesar having become a god. However, other sources record that the conviction that the comet was a manifestation of Caesar was heavily cultivated by Augustus himself. Nevertheless, in 42 B.C.E. Caesar was officially incorporated into the Roman state's religion by the efforts of Augustus. Hence forward Augustus was regarded as the son of a god, in Latin; *divi filius*.⁶⁰

Augustus frequently utilized the comet, called the *sidus Iulium*, as an emblem. A star could also function as a representation of this comet. Thus, Augustus decorated most statues of Caesar with the *sidus Iulium*, and stars were used to decorate seals, rings, and coins.⁶¹ Therefore, the figure on the reverse side of this coin is a reference to the divine Caesar. Religion is a useful tool in propaganda because it has the potential to be people's main source of knowledge and it can be utilized to legitimize power.⁶² This Augustus knew to utilize, as he also made his connection to the deified Caesar clear on the obverse side of the coin, depicting his own face along with the name "CAESAR AVGVSTVS".⁶³

Though being the son of a god could help Augustus in his pursuit of power, Caesar's family, the gens Julia, had divine connections long before Julius Caesar officially became a god in 42 B.C.E.⁶⁴ Caesar's family was connected to Venus by claiming Aeneas, a son of the goddess, as their ancestor. Aeneas fled Troy as a result of the mythical Trojan War and was the supposed ancestor of Romulus and Remus. One of the sources to Aeneas' story is the epic *Aeneid* written by Virgil, who was strongly prompted by Augustus in his work. Thus, one might argue that this divine connection to Venus, in addition to the formal deification of Caesar, was intentionally advanced by Augustus. Nonetheless, by utilizing the name "Caesar" and "Julius" on the coin, Augustus further legitimizes his rule through his connection to the founders of Rome and to the goddess Venus.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Zanker 1988: 34-35

⁶¹ Zanker 1988: 34-35

⁶² Bentzen, Gokmen 2022: 7-8

⁶³ The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁶⁴ Zanker 1988: 35

⁶⁵ Ødegård 2019: 159

As Augustus gained sole rule in 31 B.C.E., the period where he had to fight his claim to authority through his connection to Caesar had passed by the time this coin was minted in 19 - 18 B.C.E.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, an extensive amount of the visual propaganda Augustus utilized in the beginning of his career employed his connection to Caesar.⁶⁷ Thus, one might argue that the coin can serve the function of a general representation of how Augustus employed the image of Caesar to gain power.

The *sidus Iulium* however, was also utilized on coins when advocating Augustus' intended heirs, Gaius and Lucius.⁶⁸ Augustus wanted someone with a familial connection to himself to inherit the position as ruler of Rome.⁶⁹ He had two grandsons through his daughter Julia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, that were deemed fit to rule and intended to be his successors.⁷⁰ However, they both died, Lucius in 2 C.E. and Gaius in 4 C.E., resulting in Augustus being succeeded by Tiberius. Nonetheless, at the time the coin was minted, Augustus considered Gaius, who was born in 20 B.C.E., as a possible successor. Moreover, the same year as Lucius was born, in 17 B.C.E., they were both adopted by Augustus as his own sons.⁷¹ Thus, his intended successors' births coincided with the time around which this coin was minted. Consequently, Augustus' motive in choice of historical references might have been to persuade the public of his family's divine lineage in order to legitimizing the hereditary succession of power.

The comet depicted on the coin was furthermore interpreted as harbingering the dawn of a new era comprised of peace.⁷² Throughout his reign Augustus presented the time under his rule as a new golden age of affluence, as a result of an adherence to the gods and time-honored practices. Moreover, Augustus putting an end to the period that came before his sole rule held significance due to this preceding period being abounded with civil wars and unrest.⁷³ Thus, the prospect of the peace this comet represented must have been appealing. Therefore, Augustus arguably utilized the history of Rome to caterer his visual propaganda to his audience.

⁶⁶ The British Museum n.d. *Coin*, Zanker 1988: 33-34

⁶⁷ Zanker 1988: 36

⁶⁸ Zanker 1988: 35

⁶⁹ Ødegård 2019: 162

⁷⁰ Lott 2012: 339-340, Ødegård 2019: 162

⁷¹ Lott 2012: 339-340

⁷² The British Museum n.d. *Coin*.

⁷³ Ødegård 2019: 157, 159

3.3. Via Labicana Augustus



Via Labicana Augustus, ca. 12 B.C.E. Marble, 206 cm, Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome. Photo: Wikimedia Commons. Credits: Public domain.

The statue *Via Labicana Augustus* is made of marble and is dated to approximately 12 B.C.E. Moreover, it is around life size at 2.06 meters. It was found at the Via Labicana in Rome, and currently resides at the Museo Nazionale Romano Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. Furthermore, the sculpture was made in a style meant to resemble the art of Classical Athens, meaning the time period around fifth century B.C.E.⁷⁴

Augustus is portrayed as Pontifex Maximus, the highest esteemed religious post in the state, by the statue.⁷⁵ This is discernible because he is portrayed wearing a toga with a veiled head.⁷⁶ Being depicted in this manner was called *capite velato*, signifying a religious occasion and that Augustus most likely was carrying out a sacrifice.⁷⁷ He was appointed Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C.E., and he held many other religious offices, thus making him the highest religious authority in the Empire.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Tuck 2021: 126

⁷⁵ Ravná 2006: 142, Tuck 2021: 126

⁷⁶ Zanker 1988: 128

⁷⁷ Tuck 2021: 126

⁷⁸ Zanker 1988: 126

Before beating Marcus Antonius, Augustus' main strategy had been to portray himself as the son and heir of Julius Caesar.⁷⁹ But after gaining sole rule in 31 B.C.E., his strategy changed.⁸⁰ Though powerful, he still had to please the republican aristocrats. This was necessary to avoid being deposed, as some historians like Per-Bjarne Ravnå for instance, reckon that Caesar was killed because he affronted the aristocracy by not concealing that his power was absolute. Hence, Augustus evaded this fate by, in theory, maintaining the republican structures. In 28 – 27 B.C.E., he introduced the concept of *Res Publica Restituta*, meaning that he would, on paper, surrender his complete authority. According to his own propaganda the power was thus reinstated in the people. Subsequently, the senate's power, and other republican offices and practices, for instance elections, were to be reestablished.⁸¹

Though Augustus formally denounced his power, he was still in control. For example, the senate reacquired their former power, howbeit every decision they made thereafter was now in accordance with Augustus' preferences. Hence, the republican assemblies and the governmental administration in reality held little authority. As a result, Augustus developed an innovative political system by modifying the previous system. This new system allowed the upper class to pretend that they still retained their previously held prestige and influence. Thus, Augustus created a structure that made it appealing for the aristocracy to comply, which in addition to his military strength, were the main reasons why he was able to maintain his power.⁸²

The need to appease the aristocracy and the supporters of the republic is also evident in the title Augustus bore. The Romans condemned kings following the ejection of the last king in 509 B.C.E. Hence, Augustus awareness of the republican spirit made him refrain from taking this title.⁸³ Instead, he held many offices at the same time to legitimize the power he obtained. For instance, for many years he held the office of consul, and he held the same powers as a tribunicia potestas and censor. In addition, he was appointed proconsul in all provinces with substantial military forces.⁸⁴ Moreover, Augustus held the office of princeps senatus, the most important individual among the senators, thus taking on the title of princeps.⁸⁵ The awareness demonstrated by the choice of his title is further reflected in his visual propaganda.

⁷⁹ Zanker 1988: 126, Ødegård 2019: 153

⁸⁰ Ravnå 2006: 150, Ødegård 2019: 153

⁸¹ Ravnå 2006: 150-151, 153

⁸² Ravnå 2006: 151-153

⁸³ Ødegård 2019: 154

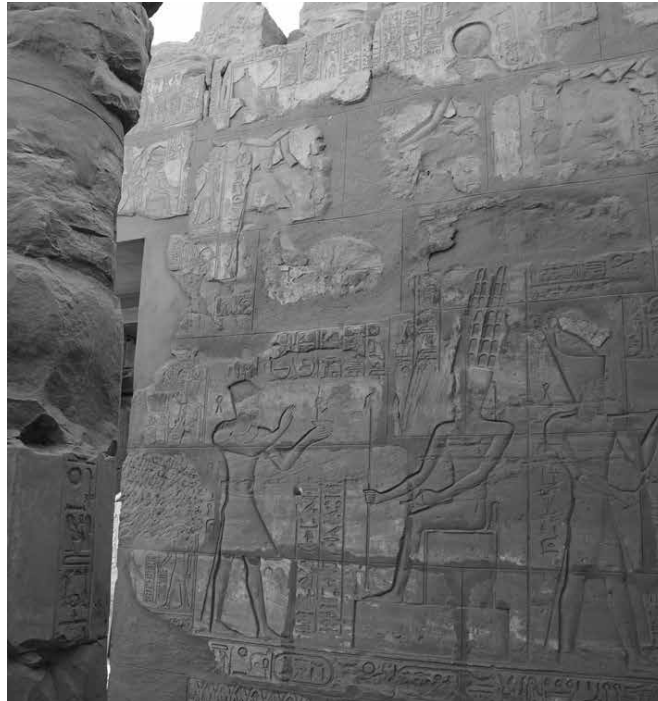
⁸⁴ Ravnå 2006: 152

⁸⁵ Ravnå 2006: 151, Ødegård 2019: 154

Augustus was heavily involved in how he was portrayed to the public.⁸⁶ Possibly from the 20s, but indisputably from 17 B.C.E., Augustus urged the portraits meant to pay tribute to him to be clad in a toga and in the act of worship. Thus, illustrating his wish to be known for his religious office, a principle *Via Labicana Augustus* adheres to.⁸⁷ He is here depicted in the conventional manner, and the statue expresses his reverence and modesty, illuminating his stylistic tendency of downplaying his unprecedented powers.⁸⁸

The statue does not depict Augustus as a dictator nor an absolute monarch, but rather as an elected official. Hence, the sculpture might function as a representation of his strategy of recreating the Republic and claiming his authority stemmed from the offices he held, in this case the post of Pontifex Maximus. Once again, Augustus awareness of history arguably incentivized him to appease his audience by modifying his visual propaganda. In addition, it illustrates his ability to change according to different audiences, in this case by adapting to the elites.

3.4. Relief carving in temple of Khons



Relief carving, ca. 1 century B.C.E. - 1 century C.E. Sandstone, Khons temple, Karnak. Photo: E. Peters, from *The Ancient Art of Transformation : Case Studies From Mediterranean Contexts* page 119. Used under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

⁸⁶ Ødegård 2019: 159

⁸⁷ Zanker 1988: 127

⁸⁸ Tuck 2021: 126, Zanker 1988: 127

This relief carving of Augustus is located on the right side of the doorway on the southern wall of the tetrastyle hall in the temple of Khons. The Khons temple is situated in the southwest corner of a greater compound, the precinct of Amun-Ra. This precinct is further a part of the Karnak Temple Complex, which is located near Luxor, Egypt.⁸⁹ Khons, whom the temple was dedicated to, was a moon god.⁹⁰ He was the child of Amun-Ra and Mut, and all three of them were worshiped at Karnak.⁹¹ The temple is made mostly out of sandstone.⁹² Many of Karnak's buildings were constructed between the 16th and 11th centuries B.C.E. during the New Kingdom, though the building of the Khons temple started during the reign of Ramesses III (ca. 1187–1156 B.C.E.).⁹³ However, the temple has been expanded multiple times after it was first built.⁹⁴

When Egypt became a Roman province in 31 B.C.E., after the battle of Actium where Augustus defeated Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, Augustus became the ruler of Egypt.⁹⁵ During Augustus' reign the decorative work done to the tetrastyle hall was focused around the area where this relief carving is located, and Augustus was depicted numerous places in the temple. This relief carving is placed on the lower register to the right of the doorway and depicts two scenes. In both scenes two figures are depicted. The person to our left in both scenes is offering something to the figure on our right. Both figures standing to the left are portrayals of Augustus.⁹⁶

Portraits were important pieces of propaganda in the Roman provinces and were made to be highly visible.⁹⁷ In all the other Roman provinces, partially except Egypt, Augustus was depicted in the Roman art style.⁹⁸ During the Roman Empire, the main function of portraits was to impart the character of the emperor and his family lineage.⁹⁹ Moreover, the portraits of Augustus were often glorified, for instance making him appear more youthful, and in accordance with Roman beauty standards. In addition, Alexander the Great was used as a model and inspiration in the designs of many portraits of Augustus.¹⁰⁰ He was furthermore

⁸⁹ Peters 2019: 111-112, 117-119

⁹⁰ Deaver, Garvey 2014: 67

⁹¹ Deaver, Garvey 2014: 67, Peters 2019: 113

⁹² American Research Center in Egypt n.d.

⁹³ Kleiner 2020: 58, Peters 2019: 112-113, 117-118, "Ramses III" 2020

⁹⁴ Peters 2019: 117-118

⁹⁵ Ødegård 2019: 153

⁹⁶ Peters 2019: 107, 118-119

⁹⁷ Ødegård 2019: 190

⁹⁸ Kleiner 2009: 196

⁹⁹ Ødegård 2019: 190

¹⁰⁰ Kleiner 2009: 196-197, Ødegård 2019: 190

recognizable due to normally being depicted without facial hair and with his characteristic hairdo.¹⁰¹

Images portraying Augustus as a pharaoh or imitating portraits of the Ptolemies, would not have been accepted in Rome.¹⁰² Though Augustus is portrayed with a Roman imperial style in some of the depictions at Karnak, he was nevertheless illustrated with an Egyptian art style in many of his other portrayals there.¹⁰³ In this relief carving for instance, he was illustrated in profile and with little similarity to his appearance or facial features, in contrast to his Roman styled portraits.¹⁰⁴ Egyptian portraits of the royals were not meant to be identical to the individual, but idealized versions.¹⁰⁵ Though Augustus is also idealized when portrayed with a Roman style, he still retains more individualistic traits than when depicted with the Egyptian style.¹⁰⁶

The relief carving at the Khons temple additionally showcase Augustus intention to maintain the pre-established practices of Egypt by him being illustrated venerating the customary Egyptian gods.¹⁰⁷ In the scene to the left, he is making offerings to the deity Amun-Ra, and to the right to a god who is most likely Osiris.¹⁰⁸ To the former he offers maat, which is the sacred order originating from the beginning of time and that is reinstated each time a new monarch takes the throne.¹⁰⁹ To the latter, libation and incense. These offerings were tasks which constituted some of his responsibilities as the pharaoh. Hence, these two scenes portray Augustus as the pharaoh of Egypt through his actions.¹¹⁰

Augustus was further indicated to be the pharaoh in the carving through multiple artistic manners. His likenesses were for instance supplemented with cartouches, an oval figuration encircling hieroglyphs that convey names.¹¹¹ These figurations signified Augustus as the pharaoh. In addition, Augustus abided by the Egyptian customs by being depicted in befitting Egyptian attire, which identified him as the pharaoh. For example, he is dressed in royal kilts. In the depiction to the left he attires a shorter kilt that reaches above his knees. It has a

¹⁰¹ Kleiner 2009: 196

¹⁰² Kleiner 2009: 197

¹⁰³ Kleiner 2009: 196, Peters 2019: 126

¹⁰⁴ Kleiner 2009: 189

¹⁰⁵ Kleiner 2020: 66

¹⁰⁶ Kleiner 2009, Ødegård 2019: 190

¹⁰⁷ Kleiner 2009: 189

¹⁰⁸ Peters 2019: 118

¹⁰⁹ “Maat” 2020, Peters 2019: 118

¹¹⁰ Peters 2019: 118

¹¹¹ “Cartouche” 2020

triangular shape and has been starched. The kilt Augustus wears in the depiction on the right is a bit longer and is a double kilt.¹¹²

The relief carving moreover illustrate Augustus adorning crowns indicative of a king. In the scene to the left he attires the khepresh, also known as the war crown. The top of the headdress is curved like an oval arch, which in the back ends at an angle. Furthermore, in the depiction to the right he wears the double crown consisting of the Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt crowns.¹¹³ The headdress that has the contour similar to a cone is the crown of Upper Egypt and was usually colored white. The headdress that is shorter on the frontside and increases in height towards the back is the crown of Lower Egypt and was usually colored red. These two crowns were commonly worn together, hence becoming an allegory of the consolidation of the two realms joined together under the king.¹¹⁴

A possible reason why Augustus was presented in this way might have been that Egypt was claimed by the emperor as one of his personal possessions, which none of the other territories conquered by the Romans were. In addition, it might have been a result of Augustus taking notice of the errors of Marcus Antonius's ways and the importance of not making a bad name for oneself.¹¹⁵ During the triumvirate, Augustus mainly resided in Rome.¹¹⁶ Antonius on the other hand, was based in Egypt and worked to solidify his standing in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.¹¹⁷ Due to his relationship with Cleopatra, the ruler of Egypt, Antonius also received monetary aid from Egypt and assistance from their armed forces.¹¹⁸

Augustus hence presented himself as the champion of the Roman culture and customs. Moreover, he managed to convince the public and the senate that Antonius had forsaken Rome for Egypt.¹¹⁹ As a result, he could present the strife against Antonius not as yet another civil war, but rather as a battle between Rome and Egypt.¹²⁰ This experience with the importance of image might have made Augustus realize the value of adapting to his audience. Thus, to succeed in Egypt, he modified his communication in accordance with the Egyptian customs and portrayed himself as a pharaoh.¹²¹

¹¹² Peters 2019: 118-119

¹¹³ Peters 2019: 118

¹¹⁴ "Crowns of Egypt" 2020

¹¹⁵ Kleiner 2009: 196-197

¹¹⁶ Ravnå 2006: 150

¹¹⁷ Ravnå 2006: 150, Ødegård 2019: 153

¹¹⁸ Ødegård 2019: 153

¹¹⁹ Ravnå 2006: 150, Ødegård 2019: 153

¹²⁰ Ødegård 2019: 153

¹²¹ Kleiner 2009: 196-197

Another possible reason behind Augustus willingness to adapt to his audience might be related to the source of his authority, namely being Julius Caesar's heir and adoptive son. Due to Caesar having a biological son with Cleopatra, named Caesarion, Augustus had a competitor who could also claim the title of being Caesar's heir through familial bonds. This impending threat might have felt pressing when Antonius around 33- 34 B.C.E. installed Caesarion as Cleopatra's co-regent of Egypt. The potential risk Caesarion presented resulted in him being killed after Augustus conquered Egypt.¹²² Caesarion being a possible heir to both the Roman Empire and Egypt might therefore have incentivized Augustus to adapt to the Egyptian art style. It was necessary to persuade the Egyptians of his legitimacy and that his usurpation of power was the right order of things.¹²³ Hence, he conformed to the Egyptian customs of how to depict a ruler in order to convince them of this message.¹²⁴

In conclusion, Augustus demonstrated a considerable willingness to adapt the historical references he employed, evident in both the coin, *Via Labicana Augustus* and the relief carving at Khons temple. He learned from the past that it was necessary for the sustainability of his reign to readjust and conform his visual language to the one his audience preferred. One might further argue that this ability played a significant part in the successfulness of his visual propaganda.

4. Nicholas II

4.1. Background

Nicholas II was the last tsar of Russia belonging to the Romanov dynasty.¹²⁵ He was born in 1868 and was the son of Maria Feodorovna and Alexander III. Following the death of his father, Nicholas ascended the throne in 1894. The same year he married Alexandra Feodorovna, formerly known as Alix of Hesse.¹²⁶ Nicholas ruled Russia from then on to March 15, 1917. The country had been ruled by the Romanov's since the 17th century.¹²⁷ Throughout this period Russia developed as a stronger power, and during the latter half of the

¹²² Ødegård 2019: 153

¹²³ Kleiner 2009: 189

¹²⁴ Kleiner 2009

¹²⁵ Kramer et al. 2020: 763

¹²⁶ The British Museum n.d. *Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia*.

¹²⁷ Kramer et al. 2020: 206, 723

1800s it became more industrialized.¹²⁸ However, during the reign of Nicholas II Russia's financial position was lesser than that of many other European countries.¹²⁹

Nicholas fully believed in the principles of autocracy and that it constituted an important part of the Russian culture.¹³⁰ He has further been characterized as a reactionary militarist, meaning he resisted change and reforms, and that he wanted a strong military which should be used to achieve one's economic and political goals.¹³¹ Moreover, the tsar was head of the orthodox church in Russia. Nicholas had in addition been educated by leading members of the Russian Orthodox Church, which might have been the cause of his worldview. He for instance viewed Great Russian nationalism and the Orthodox church as important elements of Russia's heritage.¹³² Furthermore, his Russian chauvinism led him to discriminate other groups and harbor antisemitic views.¹³³

In 1905 there was an uprising in Russia, however it failed. Nicholas managed to stay in power by conceding to some of the oppositions demands. Nevertheless, these efforts did not resolve the problems that had caused the uprising. Russia was caught in a transitional stage between a feudal structure and a capitalistic and industrialized society, thus causing economic and social issues. As the industry owners grew more dominant, they pressed for more power. The lower classes on the other hand, consisting of industry workers and peasants, demanded more rights.¹³⁴

Russia entered the First World War when it began in 1914, a decision disliked by the Russian people.¹³⁵ In 1917, the February revolution occurred and the tsarist regime was overthrown by the Bolsheviks the same year.¹³⁶ On March 17, two days after Nicholas' abdication, Russia officially transformed into a republic. In 1918, Nicholas, his wife and children were killed by the Bolsheviks.¹³⁷ Subsequently, civil war arose between 1918 and 1921, which was ended by the Bolsheviks gaining sole power.¹³⁸

¹²⁸ Eriksen 2010: 185, Kramer et al. 2020: 201

¹²⁹ Waage 2013: 288

¹³⁰ Kramer et al. 2020: 758

¹³¹ Eriksen 2010: 185, "Militarism" n.d., "Reactionary" n.d.

¹³² Kramer et al. 2020: 230, 758

¹³³ Eriksen 2010: 185-186

¹³⁴ Waage 2013: 68

¹³⁵ Kramer et al. 2020: 762-763

¹³⁶ Waage 2013: 30

¹³⁷ Kramer et al. 2020: 763-764

¹³⁸ Waage 2013: 31

4.2. Coronation mantle and uniform jacket



Coronation uniform of Nicholas II, 1896. Cashmere, wool, silk. Moscow Kremlin Museum. Images copyright © 1997-2023 The Moscow Kremlin State Historical and Cultural Museum and Heritage Site, 103132 Russia, Moscow, Kremlin. Used under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.



Nicholas II coronation robes, 1896.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons.
Credits: Public domain.



Maria Fedorovna's mantle, 1896. Silk, fur, gold, satin.
Moscow Kremlin Museum. Photo: Wikipedia / Shakko.
Used under CC BY-SA 4.0.

Nicholas utilized his family's history by referencing previous Romanov rulers through his coronation jacket and the mantles he and his wife Alexandra wore. He and his wife were coronated on May 14th, 1896. The coronation took place at the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.¹³⁹ The uniform jacket Nicholas wore at the coronation was blue, with red

¹³⁹ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Coronation of Nicholas II.*

and gold details. It was made of cashmere, wool and silk and decorated with embroidery and silk trimming. The garment is now in the possession of the Moscow Kremlin Museum.¹⁴⁰

There are references to several of Nicholas' predecessors in the uniform jacket. For instance, his father Alexander III is referenced in the form of his monogram on the epaulettes of Nicholas' uniform. Furthermore, the uniform belonged to one of the oldest regiments in the imperial guard of Russia. This regiment was established in 1691 by Peter the Great, hence making it a reference to him too.¹⁴¹ Peter the Great ruled Russia from 1682 until he died in 1725, and is arguably one of the most well-known Russian monarchs.¹⁴² Under his reign, Russia evolved from a tsardom to an empire.¹⁴³ Moreover, he impelled Russia to become a contributor to Europe's affairs to a larger extent than before, both politically and socially.¹⁴⁴

A possible motive for referencing his predecessors and creating associations to Peter with the uniform jacket, might have been in the hope of their reputable greatness being imparted onto Nicholas himself. Moreover, it had been customary to consider Peter as the establisher of the dynasty. Thus, by referencing Peter, Nicholas followed in the tradition of the prior tsars of alluding to Peter.¹⁴⁵ As a result, one could argue he conformed to what would have been anticipated of a Russian emperor and he created consistency between his own and his predecessors' reigns.

The coronation mantle worn by Empress Alexandra, also in the possession of the Moscow Kremlin Museum, is floor length and has a train behind it. It is in the color gold and the edge of the mantle is decorated with white fur with black speckles. In addition to fur, materials such as silk, threads of gold and satin ribbons were used in the mantle. Furthermore, it was decorated with brocades and embroidery.¹⁴⁶

The mantle was moreover decorated with emblems consisting of a two-headed eagle. The double headed eagle was a symbol used to represent the Russian Empire.¹⁴⁷ However, it was also a Byzantine symbol. The Romanov dynasty had some family connections to the Byzantine imperial family.¹⁴⁸ By highlighting their familial connection through the usage of

¹⁴⁰ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁴¹ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Coronation of Nicholas II*.

¹⁴² Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁴³ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Crowning and Coronation*.

¹⁴⁴ Kramer et al. 2020: 236

¹⁴⁵ Wortman 2013: 271

¹⁴⁶ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁴⁷ Facos 2011: 393

¹⁴⁸ Majeska 2009: 61

shared symbols, Nicholas continued the idea that the Romanovs stemmed from an ancient dynasty, with roots back to the Roman Empire. This imparts the family with a long and grand history. Moreover, the symbol creates an impression of continuation of power from these empires to Russia. Hence, the references to the Byzantine Empire in the coronation mantle might have helped to legitimize Nicholas' reign due to the longevity of the dynasty.

The utilization of their historical connection to the Byzantine rulers could additionally strengthen the Romanovs' legitimacy of rule through religion. The Byzantine Empire had viewed themselves as defenders of the Christian Orthodox faith. When this empire fell, the Russian tsars considered themselves successors to this role.¹⁴⁹ Consequently, the emperor evolved to become the head of the Russian Orthodox Church.¹⁵⁰ Hence, the references to the historical reigns of the Byzantine rulers might also have played a part in justifying their power as the will of God.

4.3. Romanov tercentenary medal of 1913



St. Petersburg Imperial Mint, *Romanov tercentenary medal*, 1913. Gilt bronze, silk, 3.2 x 2.8 cm. Images copyright Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2023. Used by permission.

Photograph to the right: cropped from original.

This medal was made to celebrate the 300-year rule of the Romanov dynasty in 1913. The medal consists of a disk made of gilt bronze and a ribbon made of silk. Altogether the whole object measures 3.2 x 2.8 cm. The design of the medal was created by Anton Feodorovich Vasyutinsky, and it was produced by St. Petersburg Imperial Mint. Although now in the

¹⁴⁹ Majeska 2009: 61

¹⁵⁰ Kramer et al. 2020: 230

procession of the Royal Collection Trust, the medal might have been given to king George V of Great Britain by Nicholas II.¹⁵¹

The ribbon has three vertical stripes. From left to right the stripes are black, orange, and white, though the Royal Collection Trust categorizes the orange stripe as being the color gold. The plate depicts two men, both looking to our right. They are both bearded and the man in the background is wearing a headdress. The man in the foreground is identified as Nicholas II, and the man hindmost is Michael I.¹⁵² The headdress Michael adorns is a Monomakh cap.¹⁵³ Nicholas is dressed in an imperial uniform.¹⁵⁴ The reverse side of the plate is ingrained with words written with Cyrillic script, celebrating the tercentenary of the Romanov dynasty.¹⁵⁵ Written with Latin letters, the words read “V PAMYAT / 300 - LTIYA / TSARSTVOVANIYA / DOMA ROMANOVUIX / 1613 -1913.”¹⁵⁶

The first Romanov tsar to rule Russia was Michael. He became tsar as a consequence of the power struggle that arose after the first tsar of Russia, Ivan the Terrible, died in 1584. Shortly after this occurrence, the Times of Trouble began in 1604. It ended when Michael Romanov was elected by a national assembly to be tsar of Russia in 1613. Michael was 17 years old at the time and was chosen due to his young age as the congregation believed he would not have an allegiance to any of the parties involved in the strife.¹⁵⁷

The occasion in which the medal was made, to celebrate the 300-year rule of the Romanovs, highlights the longevity of the dynasty’s rule. Furthermore, by utilizing the image of Michael in the double portrait, Nicholas created a connection between himself and the origin of the dynasty. The virtues of Michael and the merit of the earlier Romanovs might thus have been associated with Nicholas. This utilization of history was possibly employed to create a notion of competence as the earlier Romanov rulers had the capability to stay in power through the previous 300 years. Consequently, Nicholas tried to strengthen the legitimacy of his right to rule and create an impression of his proficiency as a monarch through the historical references in this article of visual propaganda.

¹⁵¹ Royal Collection Trust n.d. *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*.

¹⁵² Royal Collection Trust n.d. *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*.

¹⁵³ Wortman 2014: 73

¹⁵⁴ Royal Collection Trust n.d. *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*.

¹⁵⁵ Royal Museums Greenwich n.d.

¹⁵⁶ Royal Collection Trust n.d. *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*.

¹⁵⁷ Kramer et al. 2020: 227-228

The design of the medal on the other hand, and the coins produced with the same design, were heavily criticized for their esthetic qualities. Furthermore, many of the coins minted with the same image were of poor quality, resulting in the illustration of Michael being flattened due to the minting process. As Michael thus was more faded than Nicholas, Richard Wortman for instance describes Michael as resembling a ghost.¹⁵⁸ Made evident by the critique the medal's design brought forth, the effectiveness of associating Nicholas with the founder of the dynasty was reduced.

During the celebration of the jubilee in 1913, many other items decorated with the images of the tsar and his family were also issued and advertised to the public. However, this was a deviation from the norm, as depicting the imperial family as a rule had not been allowed before. When postage stamps with portraits of previous Romanov monarchs were issued in 1913, they were heavily opposed. As a result, the postage stamps were discontinued for a period of time.¹⁵⁹ Legitimizing one's rule through commemorative items with illustrations of historical Romanov rulers did arguably thus not work as intended due to the Russia's customs regarding visual mediums.

The Romanov tercentenary medal of 1913 might be interpreted as demonstrating Nicholas' willingness to adapt and disregard traditional customs to some degree in an effort to improve his visual propaganda. Nonetheless, the unsuccessfulness of his attempt is simultaneously illuminated. Moreover, it arguably illustrates Nicholas' lack of ability to preconceive what his audience would react favorably to, and thus adapt his propaganda accordingly.

¹⁵⁸ Wortman 2014: 73-74

¹⁵⁹ Wortman 2014: 74-75

4.4. Costume ball of 1903



Emperor Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna in masquerade costumes, 1903. Images copyright © 1997-2023 The Moscow Kremlin State Historical and Cultural Museum and Heritage Site, 103132 Russia, Moscow, Kremlin. Used under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.



Lower kaftan of the masquerade costume of Emperor Nicholas II, 1903. Silk, gilded velvet, satin. Moscow Kremlin Museum. Images copyright © 1997-2023 The Moscow Kremlin State Historical and Cultural Museum and Heritage Site, 103132 Russia, Moscow, Kremlin. Used under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.



Upper kaftan of the masquerade costume of Emperor Nicholas II, 1903. Brocade, gold, damask. Moscow Kremlin Museum. Images copyright © 1997-2023 The Moscow Kremlin State Historical and Cultural Museum and Heritage Site, 103132 Russia, Moscow, Kremlin. Used under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

On the 11th of February 1903, Nicholas and Alexandra hosted a masquerade ball in commemoration of the founding of St. Petersburg two-hundred years earlier. The theme of the costume ball was the 17th century and Nicholas was dressed as Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich in

an outfit imitating Alexei's parade dress.¹⁶⁰ The costumes of the tsar and his family were fashioned by the former director of the imperial theatres and the, at the time, current director of the imperial Hermitage. Some of these garments, such as the two kaftans encompassed in Nicholas' costume, are now in the possession of the Moscow Kremlin Museum.¹⁶¹

A kaftan is a garment similar to a coat, which opens in the front and is most often worn by men. The sleeves of the coat are usually large, both in width and length.¹⁶² However, the sleeves could be fitted too, through the gathering of fabric into folds.¹⁶³ Both of Nicholas' kaftans are quite long, though only the lower kaftan has sleeves, which are fitted. The lower kaftan is red and gold, while the upper kaftan consists of various shades of gold. Materials used in the garments are satin, silk, gold, brocade, gilded velvet, and damask. Decorative techniques used on the materials are embossing, braids, casting, and embroidery.¹⁶⁴

St. Petersburg was founded in 1703 and hence became the country's new capital.¹⁶⁵ Although it was founded in the 18th century, the theme of the costume ball was the 17th century.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, even though the ball was meant to celebrate the capital's bicentenary, Nicholas was not dressed as the city's founder, Peter the Great.¹⁶⁷ St. Petersburg was a symbol of Peter's goal of westernizing Russia, reinforced by the geographical location of the new capital as it faced westwards, whereas the former capital, Moscow, faced more eastwards.¹⁶⁸

Being a part of what was considered "the East" was looked down upon by Western Europeans.¹⁶⁹ Lloyd Kramer, Robert Palmer and Joel Colton defines the line between Western and Eastern Europe, with regards to economic and social differences, as following "roughly along the Elbe River and the Bohemian Mountains to the head of the Adriatic Sea."¹⁷⁰ Some social and cultural dissimilarities that separated Russia from the rest of Europe during the 17th century consisted of the rights and liberties of peasants. In addition, how the populations dressed, gender norms, religious practices and their relationship to violence also differed.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁰ Dixon 2016: 31, Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁶¹ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁶² "Caftan" 2020

¹⁶³ Bartlett, Smith 2010: 335, 434

¹⁶⁴ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁶⁵ Facos 2011: 59

¹⁶⁶ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁶⁷ Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁶⁸ Kramer et al. 2020: 232-233

¹⁶⁹ Facos 2011: 390

¹⁷⁰ Kramer et al. 2020: 201

¹⁷¹ Kramer et al. 2020: 201-202, 226-227

Some of the differences between Russia and other European countries might have occurred as a result of who Russia historically had been influenced by. Regarding religion, Russia was Greek Orthodox while many European countries were Catholic. Consequently, Russia was more influenced by Constantinople than Rome in cultural and religious matters. In addition, Russia had been under the influence of the Mongol Empire, which they were governed by from 1240 to 1480. On the other hand, Russia had been less influenced by Western European countries in general as forging contacts and trading had been hindered by Russia's geography.¹⁷²

To attain approval from Westerners, one had to emulate their culture and norms.¹⁷³ Peter detested "the old Russia", thus he tried to cultivate a more Western European culture in the country. Moreover, he aspired to establish Russia as an even stronger state and military power. Hence, he wanted to make Russia more westernized so it could develop to be equally as powerful as the leading European countries at the time.¹⁷⁴ Thus, between 1698 and 1725 many revisions based on Western European approaches were implemented by Peter, for instance with regards of education, etiquette, the church and architecture.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, French culture was held in high regard, resulting in the Russian court being made to speak, eat and dress in accordance with French manners.¹⁷⁶ Consequently, the 17th and 18th centuries may be described as a period of "Europeanization" due to the modifications enforced on the Russian culture.¹⁷⁷

The trend of steering Russia towards the West was continued, to differing degree, by the subsequent monarchs after Peter, for instance by Tsar Alexander II. He adhered to the Europeanizing approach due to Russia's losses during the Crimean War, which had reflected badly on the Romanov dynasty.¹⁷⁸ However, Alexander II was killed in 1881 by the People's Will, a revolutionary organization who wanted change to happen more rapidly.¹⁷⁹ His successor, Alexander III, reacted to the assassination of his father by impeding any form of critique targeted towards the regime. In addition, the state introduced a policy of systematic Russification, which concurrently caused ethnic and religious minorities living in Russia to

¹⁷² Kramer et al. 2020: 224

¹⁷³ Facos 2011: 390

¹⁷⁴ Kramer et al. 2020: 230, 235

¹⁷⁵ Facos 2011: 390, Kramer et al. 2020: 227, 235

¹⁷⁶ Facos 2011: 390

¹⁷⁷ Kramer et al. 2020: 224

¹⁷⁸ Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁷⁹ Dixon 2016: 31, Kramer et al. 2020: 751

suffer from discrimination and intolerance.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, the assassination of Alexander II contributed to evoke the Muscovite revival.¹⁸¹

This policy was carried on by Nicholas II when he succeeded his father, Alexander III. Nicholas additionally wanted to reestablish a pure autocratic rule authorized by God. Moreover, he aspired to rewrite the prevailing conception of Russia's history, which only went back to Peter the Great and the Europeanized empire he created. Nicholas on the other hand, desired to venture further back to the Muscovite tsardom before Peter. This ideology is apparent in Nicholas' costume at the ball in 1903.¹⁸²

Instead of dressing as Peter the Great at the costume ball, Nicholas was dressed as Muscovite Tsar Alexei, the father of Peter.¹⁸³ Hence, Nicholas was wearing a costume of the father of the founder of the city of which the ball was commemorating, instead of a costume of the founder himself. A possible reason behind this might be Nicholas' ambition of being an absolute monarch and to emulate the Muscovite tsars from the 17th century, or rather what he perceived this kind of ruler to be. Furthermore, he understood the character of Russia as best embodied by an idealized version of Alexei and his rule.¹⁸⁴ As the father of Peter the Great, Alexei ruled before Peter started to Europeanize Russia. He can thus be interpreted as a symbol of the old Russia. Therefore, by wearing an Alexei Mikhailovich costume, Nicholas illustrated his desire to break from the traditional telling of Russia's history, which emphasized the westernized Russia.¹⁸⁵

Wearing an attire inspired by 17th century Russian fashion held particular significance because Peter's endeavor to acculturate Russia to Western Europe was heavily reflected in his clothes. He forsook the traditional Russian clothing style and embraced the fashionable style of the upper-class in Western Europe.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, he published a decree in 1700-1701 which further propelled the shift from the national Russian style of dress to the European fashion.¹⁸⁷ Thus, all non-serfs were obliged to dress in accordance with the French style of clothing.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ Kramer et al. 2020: 751

¹⁸¹ Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁸² Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁸³ Dixon 2016: 31, Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Nicholas II*.

¹⁸⁴ Wortman 2013: 277, 279

¹⁸⁵ Dixon 2016: 31

¹⁸⁶ Kramer et al. 2020: 231

¹⁸⁷ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Hall 6*, Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Showcase 45*.

¹⁸⁸ Facos 2011: 391

Traditional Russian clothing were hence altered to fit in with this new fashion. For example, kaftans, which traditionally were quite long, were now shortened.¹⁸⁹ However, Nicholas wore a long kaftan as a part of his costume. The kaftan was introduced in Russia by the 1200s and originated from Mesopotamia.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, the garment was also worn all over the Middle East at the time.¹⁹¹ As a result, wearing a more traditional kaftan strayed away from Peter's westernizing ideals by its associations to the East.

If dressed according to Peter's westernized fashion, Nicholas might still have worn a kaftan, though in a more European style. However, he would most likely also have worn a lace trimmed shirt, shorter breeches, and stockings, as became the custom dress of 18th century Russia.¹⁹² Moreover, Nicholas facial hair might also be interpreted as defiance against Peter's ideology. Peter had implemented restrictions on growing facial hair, thus making being clean shaven the standard. As a consequence, the beard became an emblem for the old Russia.¹⁹³ Although Nicholas usually adorned a beard, having a beard particularly at the ball meant to commemorate Peter's founding of the western capital might hold some significance.

Through his choice of costume to the ball of 1903, Nicholas communicated his opposition to Peter and his westernizing ideals. Instead, Nicholas clearly stated his ideology of embracing a more "Russian" or "Eastern" version of the Russian culture through the historical references to Tsar Alexei and the 17th century. However, by promoting his own worldview through the costume, forsaking Peter as the founder of the nation and instead adopting Michael I and Alexi, Nicholas broke with continuity. As a result of expelling Peter from the canon, all other monarchs following his example and the deeds they had done in an effort to westernize Russia, were dismissed. By trying to change the people's perception of Russia's history so radically, Nicholas' Russification might be labeled as an attempt to create a paradigm shift.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, by highlighting his ideology in the visual propaganda, thus eradicating the greatness of his ancestors and Russia's history, his headstrongness and a false sense of security in his own popularity is arguably demonstrated.

In conclusion, Nicholas' main way of utilizing history in these three examples of his visual propaganda is through references to his family. By employing these historical characters

¹⁸⁹ Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Showcase 45*.

¹⁹⁰ Goncu-Berk 2020: 204

¹⁹¹ "Kaftan" 2020

¹⁹² Moscow Kremlin Museums n.d. *Showcase 45*.

¹⁹³ Kramer et al. 2020: 235

¹⁹⁴ Wortman 2013: 271

Nicholas legitimized his right to rule by virtue of the longevity of the Romanov dynasty and through the association to his ancestors' achievements and abilities. Moreover, he tried to stage a historical paradigm shift. In this matter Nicholas was affected by the history of Peter the Great's westernization of Russia and the assassination of his grandfather, Alexander II. Lastly, one might argue that the effectiveness of the historical references utilized in his visual propaganda was not always successful, nor Nicholas' highest priority.

5. Comparison

Both Augustus and Nicholas utilized the image of their predecessors, for instance in Augustus' coin and Nicholas' coronation clothes and commemorative medal of 1913. Nevertheless, there is a difference in the amount of time separating them and the previous ruler depicted in the artworks. Augustus referenced Julius Caesar, the previous ruler that came directly before Augustus himself. Hence, the public had this figure fresh in memory and the association between the two individuals was possibly quite strong. Most of the rulers Nicholas referenced in contrast, were historical figures from different centuries. Thus, the association between Nicholas and them was arguably weaker due to the long period of time separating them. Moreover, the monarchs who reigned closer to Nicholas lifetime were not attributed with the same amount of greatness as the earlier historical figures referenced. Therefore, despite both Augustus and Nicholas utilizing the image of their predecessors, the effectiveness of the tactic might have differed.

How powerful the two emperors aspired to portray themselves also diverged. In the coronation outfit and the Romanov tercentenary medal, Nicholas' use of history was meant to make him appear more powerful and strong through the association to great rulers. One might argue that this goal is the opposite of Augustus' aim with the statue depicting him as Pontifex Maximus. This sculpture portrays Augustus as of lesser power and in a more humble way, instead of emphasizing his strength. As a result, he became more palatable to the leading members of the just recently dissolved republic. This illustrates how Nicholas accentuated his authority in his visual propaganda, whereas Augustus prioritized the wishes of his audience and thus understated his power.

The most significant difference between Augustus and Nicholas however, one might argue is their willingness to adapt and to conceal their ideology for the benefit of the effectiveness of their propaganda. This contrast is best exemplified through their different approaches in

Augustus' relief carving at the Khons temple and Nicholas' costume at the ball of 1903. At the temple of Khons, Augustus utilized the art styles historically used in Egypt and employed their customs regarding how a ruler should be portrayed. The purpose of this strategy was a smooth transition of power and to legitimize Augustus' claim to the throne. Hence, he adapted his usual preferences of portrayal to the style of portrait his audience preferred. Though Augustus had previously vilified, been at war with and conquered Egypt, he was nevertheless not depicted as a conqueror, but as respecting his defeated opponents.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, one might argue that Augustus utilized history in his visual propaganda in any way best suited to his goal of gaining and maintaining power, thus making him vary his employment of historical references.

Nicholas in contrast, was not equally as skilled in adapting to his audience. The inhabitants of Russia clearly rejected the idea of an autocratic rule, as for instance indicated by the peasantry continuously requesting further rights and privileges since serfdom was deinstitutionalized in 1861.¹⁹⁶ Nicholas on the other hand, wanted to reinstate his absolute powers as a tsar and reestablish the Russia of the 17th century.¹⁹⁷ This ideology was represented in the tsar Alexei costume he wore to the ball of 1903. Instead of ensuring his political standing through alienating his visual propaganda and how he presented himself in accordance with the peoples wishes, he prioritized promoting his autocratic ideology.

This contrast might stem from the different roles Augustus and Nicholas played in the history of their respective empires. Augustus was the first emperor of his dynasty, whereas Nicholas was the last. Due to Augustus being the founder of his dynasty, he had to convince his subjects of his right to rule. His authority and survival thus depended on the opinion of the people. Hence, he was willing to adapt the historical references used in his propaganda in accordance with what appeared to be the most effective tool of persuasion to different audiences. Consequently, the visual language utilized in the statue *Via Labicana Augustus* and the relief carving at the temple of Khons differ from each other as the art styles were tailored to their respective audiences.

Nicholas, in contrast to Augustus, came from a long line of absolute monarchs and believed it was his birthright to rule, a privilege given to him by God. In addition, he was convinced the people of Russia admired and were deeply loyal to him as an individual. This despite the

¹⁹⁵ Kleiner 2009: 190-192, 197

¹⁹⁶ Kramer et al. 2020: 751-753

¹⁹⁷ Kramer et al. 2020: 758, Wortman 2013: 279-280

mounting evidence, for instance the many revolts, indicating otherwise.¹⁹⁸ As a result of this belief system, it is possible that Nicholas did not give the same amount of thought as Augustus did in ensuring the successfulness of his propaganda. If Nicholas presumed the people to sincerely believe in his right to rule, persuading them of his legitimacy was a mission already accomplished. Hence, the need to adapt his visual expressions and hide his intentions and ideology dissipated.

If entertaining a counterfactual historical thought experiment, one might wonder what would have happened if Nicholas had been more mindful of the people's preferences regarding the historical references utilized in his visual propaganda. Would he then have been forced to abdicate and later executed? Or would he have been able to stay in power if he had adapted to his audience and hidden his true agenda, like Augustus? These questions are impossible to answer. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Russia in the beginning of the 20th century have proven to both have the motivation and the means to revolt against those in power.

Consequently, one might argue that to appease the people, it would have been necessary for Nicholas to conform to the people's wishes regarding subjects beyond merely his visual propaganda. Hence, he arguably would have needed to adapt his ideology and modified his political actions accordingly.

Nicholas' resistance to modify his ideology, however, can be proven by his actions during the revolution of 1905. Through the course of this revolution, the people of Russia voiced their wishes for better working conditions and equality between the social classes by way of civil disobedience, strikes and revolts. This resulted in Nicholas partly adapting to the will of the people by publishing the October Manifesto, granting the people further rights and civil liberties. However, Nicholas did not uphold these concessions and refused to surrender much control to the Duma, deposing it multiple times in the period between 1906 to 1917.

Furthermore, his unwillingness to adapt was arguably the reason why he was deposed during the revolution of 1917.¹⁹⁹ Thus, simply modifying the historical references and the visual expressions in his propaganda would arguably not have been enough to change the course of history.

¹⁹⁸ Wortman 2014: 71

¹⁹⁹ Kramer et al. 2020: 757-764

6. Conclusion

To summarize, in the beginning of his career, Augustus used his familial connection to Julius Caesar on the coins he minted. The continuity he created through history might have been effective in legitimizing his right to rule, as Caesar had chosen him as his heir and due to the divinity of Augustus' family lineage. In addition, the coin might have been intended to promote his successors and to ensure that his family would be able to inherit his power.

Augustus moreover demonstrated how he was affected by Rome's history with hereditary kings and the assassination of Caesar. This motivated him to accommodate and cater his visual propaganda, for example in the *Via Labicana Augustus* statue, to the elites wishes to be able to stay in power. Thus, he directed attention to the power he gained through the posts he assumed within the governmental system, the office of Pontifex Maximus in this statue for instance.

Another example of Augustus ability to adapt can be found in the relief carvings depicting him as pharaoh at the temple of Khons. Here he employed the art style historically utilized in Egypt, and Augustus is portrayed as a pharaoh in accordance with the Egyptian customs of depicting a ruler. Moreover, this was done despite the art style being decidedly different from the Roman portraits of Augustus made elsewhere in the empire. This adaptability might have stemmed from his victory over Marcus Antonius or due to the threat Caesarion represented, creating a need to legitimize through continuity.

As Nicholas power was hereditary and stemmed from the previous Romanov monarchs, he utilized the history of his family in his visual propaganda. This is for instance evident in the uniform and mantle he wore during his coronation, where he made references to Alexander III, Peter the Great and the Byzantine Empire. The image of Michael I, another historical figure from Nicholas' family, is employed in the Romanov tercentenary medal of 1913. In both examples, history is utilized to legitimize Nicholas' right to rule due to continuity and the longevity of the dynasty. Additionally, it might have been utilized to persuade the people of his own greatness through the association to other great rulers. However, the effectiveness of the artworks in achieving this goal is debatable due to the amount of time separating Nicholas and the previous great Romanov rulers. In addition, due to Nicholas lack of skills in anticipating and to accordingly adapt to the people's opinion.

The historical westernizing and de-Russifying processes enforced by Peter the Great during the 18th century and the assassination of Alexander II, affected the historical references

Nicholas chose to utilize in his costume at the ball of 1903. Thus, he broke continuity by defying the historical custom of tracing Russia's grandeur back to Peter the Great and instead highlighted the Russian culture of the 17th century. However, one might argue that this was an ineffective use of history due to Nicholas not adapting his visual propaganda in accordance with the people's wishes of progress and more liberty. Hence, Nicholas prioritized his own ideology and aspirations of a feudal Russia higher than persuading the people of the legitimacy of his power.

In conclusion, a similarity between Augustus and Nicholas was their use of their family's history to create continuity in an attempt to legitimize their rule. However, the effectiveness of this strategy varied due to the difference in time separating themselves and the grandeur of their predecessors. In addition, their opinions on how powerful they should be portrayed also differed. Nevertheless, the major difference between Augustus' and Nicholas' use of history in their visual propaganda was their ability to adapt to their audience in an effort to stay in power. This difference was possibly caused by Augustus having to create a dynasty, while Nicholas came from a long line of hereditary monarchs. Consequently, their history affected their priorities, and thus their use of and the effectiveness of their propaganda differed.

7. Sources

7.1. Primary sources

Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *NICHOLAS II*. Retrieved February 12, 2023, from

<https://www.kreml.ru/en-Us/exhibitions/virtual-exhibitions.kostyum-rossiyskikh-imperatorov-i-imperatrits-iz-sobraniya-muzeev-kremlya/nikolay-ii/>

Peters, E. (2019). Octavian transformed as pharaoh and as Emperor Augustus. In R.M. Gondek & C.L.S. Weaver (Ed.), *The Ancient Art of Transformation: Case Studies from Mediterranean Contexts* (p. 107 - 134). Oxbow Books.

https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2201896&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Cover

Royal Collection Trust. (n.d.) *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from <https://www.rct.uk/collection/441624/romanov-tercentenary-medal>

The British Museum. (n.d.) *Coin*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1860-0330-21

Wikimedia Commons. (2020). File:August Labicana Massimo Inv56230.jpg. In *Wikimedia Commons*. Retrieved May 5, 2023, from

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:August_Labicana_Massimo_Inv56230.jpg

Wikimedia Commons. (2020). File:Nicholas II coronation robes.jpg. In *Wikimedia Commons*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nicholas_II_coronation_robes.jpg

Wikimedia Commons. (2022). File:Maria Fedorovna's mantle (1896, Kremlin) by shakko 01.jpg. In *Wikimedia Commons*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maria_Fedorovna%27s_mantle_\(1896,_Kremlin\)_by_shakko_01.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maria_Fedorovna%27s_mantle_(1896,_Kremlin)_by_shakko_01.jpg)

7.2. Secondary sources

- American Research Center in Egypt. (n.d.). *Conservation Field School at the Temple of Khonsu*. <https://arce.org/project/conservation-field-school-temple-khonsu/>
- Bartlett, D., Smith, P. (2010). *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion : Vol. 9 : East Europe, Russia, and the Caucasus*. Berg.
- Bentzen, J.S., Gokmen, G. (2022). The power of religion, *Journal of economic growth* (Boston, Mass.) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10887-022-09214-4>
- Caftan. (2020). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.
<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/caftan/18538>
- Cartouche. (2020). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.
<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/cartouche/20561>
- Cohen, D., O'Connor, M. (Ed.) (2004). *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*. Routledge.
- Crowns of Egypt. (2020). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.
<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/crowns-of-Egypt/28035>
- Deaver, J., Garvey, B. (2014). Khons. In *Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (p. 67-70). Britannica Educational Publishing : Rosen Publishing.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=718065&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Cover
- Dixon, S. (2016). THE ASSASSINATION OF STOLYPIN: September 1911. In T. Brenton (Ed.), *Historically Inevitable?: Turning Points of the Russian Revolution* (p. 30 - 38). Profile Books.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1368781&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EK&ppid=Page-__-1
- Eriksen, T.L. (2010). *Globalhistorie 1750-1900: en sammenvevd og delt verden*. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Facos, M. (2011). *An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Art*. Routledge.
- Goncu-Berk, G. (2020). The Ottoman Kaftan: Designed to Impress. In J. Grayer Moore (Editor), *Patternmaking History and Theory* (p. 201-214). Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2196165&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_a

- Kjeldstadli, K. (1999). *Fortida er ikke hva den en gang var: en innføring i historiefaget* (2nd Edition). Universitetsforlaget.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. (2009). *Cleopatra and Rome*. Harvard University Press.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=282557&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Front_Cover
- Kleiner, F.S. (2020). *Gardner's Art through the Ages: The Western Perspective, Volume I* (16th Edition). Wadsworth Publishing Co Inc.
- Kramer, L., Palmer, R.R., Colton, J. (2020). *A history of Europe in the modern world*. (12th Edition). McGraw Hill.
- Lott, J. B. (2012). *Death and Dynasty in Early Imperial Rome: Key Sources, with Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge University Press.
https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=473231&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Cover1
- Majeska, G. (2009). Rus' and the Byzantine Empire. In A. Gleason (Ed.), *A Companion to Russian History* (p. 51-65). Wiley Blackwell.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ntnu/reader.action?docID=4956379&ppg=1>
- Maat. (2020). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.
<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/Maat/49586>
- Melve, L., Ryymin, T. (Ed.) (2018). *Historikerens arbeidsmåter*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Militarism. (n.d.). In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/reactionary>
- Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *CORONATION OF NICHOLAS II*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from <https://www.kreml.ru/en-US/exhibitions/virtual-exhibitions.koronatsii-v-moskovskom-kremle/koronatsiya-nikolaya-ii/>
- Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *CROWNING AND CORONATION*. Retrieved April 10, 2023, from <https://www.kreml.ru/en-US/exhibitions/virtual-exhibitions.regalii-russkikh-tsarey/venchanie-na-tsarstvo/>
- Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *HALL 6. CHURCH VESTMENT, PICTORIAL AND ORNAMENTAL EMBROIDERY OF THE 14TH - 18TH CENTURIES. RUSSIAN ROYAL GARMENT IN THE 16TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURY*. Retrieved May 7, 2023,

from <https://armoury-chamber.kreml.ru/en-Ur/first-floor-plan/view/dragotsennye-tkani--litsevoe-i-ornamentalnoe-shite-xivxviii-vekov-svetskiy-kostyum-v-rossii-xvi-nachala-xx-veka/>

Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *NICHOLAS II*. Retrieved February 12, 2023, from

<https://www.kreml.ru/en-Ur/exhibitions/virtual-exhibitions.kostyum-rossiyskikh-imperatorov-i-imperatrits-iz-sobraniya-muzeev-kremlya/nikolay-ii/>

Moscow Kremlin Museums. (n.d.) *SHOWCASE 45. SECULAR DRESS IN RUSSIA OF THE 18TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURY*. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from

<https://armoury-chamber.kreml.ru/en-Ur/exposure/view/vitrina-45-nachalo-svetskiy-kostyum-v-rossii-xviii---nachala-xx-vekov/>

Peters, E. (2019). Octavian transformed as pharaoh and as Emperor Augustus. In R.M.

Gondek & C.L.S. Weaver (Ed.), *The Ancient Art of Transformation: Case Studies from Mediterranean Contexts* (p. 107 - 134). Oxbow Books.

https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2201896&site=ehost-live&scope=site&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Cover

Ramses III. (2020). In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*.

<https://academic.eb.com/levels/collegiate/article/Ramses-III/62621>

Ravnå, P.B. (2006). *Gresk og romersk politisk historie*. Cappelen Damm Akademisk

Reactionary. (n.d.). In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/reactionary>

Royal Collection Trust. (n.d.) *Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II. 1899*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/14/collection/1060000/coronation-of-tsar-nicholas-ii>

Royal Collection Trust. (n.d.) *Romanov tercentenary medal 1913*. Retrieved February 13,

2023, from <https://www.rct.uk/collection/441624/romanov-tercentenary-medal>

Royal Museums Greenwich. (n.d.) *Medal commemorating the tercentenary of the Romanov Dynasty*. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from

<https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-39698>

Schwartz, M., Varenikova, M., Gladstone, R. (2022, last updated 27. August). *Putin Calls Ukrainian Statehood a Fiction. History Suggests Otherwise*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/world/europe/putin->

ukraine.html?unlocked_article_code=mVz-_0FDgvgKXjx6AqkzKrxYOvJJvLlxnrWTMnkZZOfkD1MRHhkMZIEHoTzoY4-IEHdovM0iysDsle1LBIsiynxOSlvoCpK1pCyZ1-i4FvRHPxZ_Gf-syumCA4gD3yIIn3AZmNJMOBEEzxKKVtJ0fgKR9-33-vMC8kfu_c_v4mbUVgYoJy4X3f0552ELOigb8fENxIhYZ10wOTT3DBMSPsy4NxGz6BDE3vg8RV6NQTBN7-NXMKfy5_z_3v8NNpSy2IsMcJywLOB62hYGhKZNiDABZ5cPQfegoNf1Is3r4olmgDtfKHqOEELb0Z09NXG1Kuva76-NpWnGfVOtWg&giftCopy=2_Explore&smid=url-share

The British Museum. (n.d.) *Coin*. Retrieved February 13, 2023, from

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1860-0330-21

The British Museum. (n.d.) *Count John Francis William de Salis*. Retrieved April 9, 2023,

from <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG89751>

The British Museum. (n.d.) *Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia*. Retrieved April 10, 2023, from

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG112781>

Tuck, S. (2021). *A History of Roman Art* (2nd Edition) Wiley Blackwell

Waage, H.H., Tamnes, R., Vik, H.H. (2013). *Krig og fred i det lange 20. århundre*. Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Warrior, V. (2006). *Roman religion*. Cambridge University Press.

Wortman, R. (2013). *Russian monarchy : representation and rule : collected articles*.

Academic Studies Press.

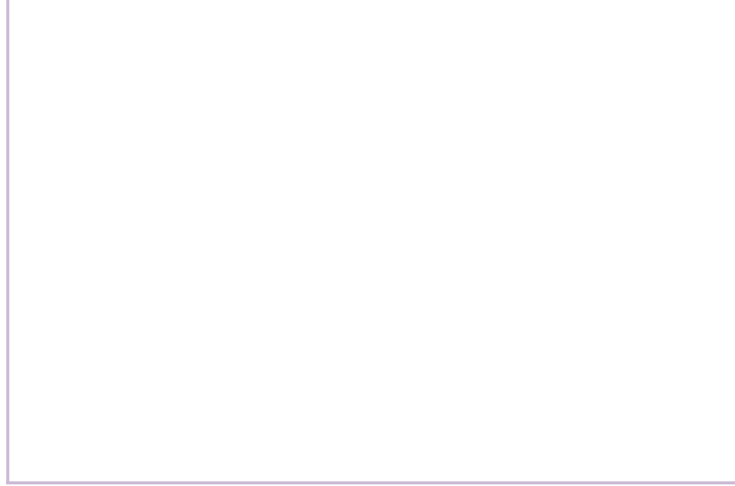
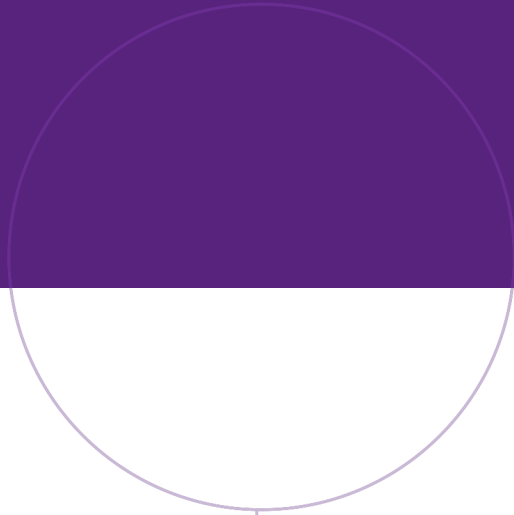
<http://static1.squarespace.com/static/54132b01e4b0f5bf7ad3ed92/t/57a0e23ec534a57eb07a1c26/1470161477306/Russian+Monarchy.pdf>

Wortman, R. (2014). *Visual texts, ceremonial texts, texts of exploration : collected articles on the representation of Russian monarchy*. Academic Studies Press.

https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/20.500.12657/45808/1/external_content.pdf

Zanker, P. (1988). *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. University of Michigan Press.

Ødegård, K. (2019). *Gresk og romersk historie. En innføring*. Pax.



Norwegian University of
Science and Technology