

## “Brass” Instruments and Romanization: *Tubae* and *Cornua* on the Arch at Susa

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In Susa, Italy (called Segusio in Antiquity), in the foothills of the Alps, stands an arch, sparsely decorated in the typical Augustan manner of “austerity and classical proportions” and adorned with a frieze panel on each of its four sides (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> The regional ruler Marcus Iulius Cottius ordered the construction of this arch, dedicating it in 9 BCE in commemoration of a treaty he had made with the Roman emperor Augustus.<sup>2</sup> Under the terms of the agreement, Cottius voluntarily relinquished his kingship over fourteen Celtic tribes in the Cottian Alps to become a Roman citizen, while retaining local authority as a Roman *praefectus* (regional or provincial magistrate).<sup>3</sup> The arch’s north and south friezes depict a figure identified by scholars as Cottius seeking the protection of the gods through blood sacrifice, and within these scenes, three pairs of “brass” musicians appear as participants in the ritual.<sup>4</sup> While the images of brass instruments on certain other monuments like the Column of Trajan have been considered rather extensively by modern scholars



**Figure 1:** The Arch at Susa, as seen from the South. Photo by author.

studying ancient Roman brass instruments, the reliefs of the Arch at Susa largely have been overlooked.<sup>5</sup> This essay will argue that the depictions of brass instruments in these reliefs were meant to consolidate Cottius's political authority by sending a symbolic message to the Gallic peoples over whom he ruled: "Romanize or else!"

### The *tuba* and *cornu*

Before proceeding to a discussion of the reliefs themselves, it is helpful to review the two types of brass instruments that appear among the reliefs of the Arch at Susa—the *tuba* and the *cornu*.<sup>6</sup> Arguably the simplest in shape of all the known Roman brass instruments, the *tuba* resembles the various types of straight trumpet already in use in the Mediterranean world centuries before the advent of Roman civilization (Figure 2).<sup>7</sup> It consists of a long, straight, "evenly conical" tube of bronze that flares outward near the bell, which resembles that of a modern trumpet.<sup>8</sup> The *cornu*, in contrast, consists of a bronze tube of conical bore, shaped into a curve often compared by modern scholars to the letter "C" (Figure 3).<sup>9</sup> To provide structural support for this potentially unwieldy instrument and to facilitate the player's grip on it, a wooden crossbar was attached to the pipe.<sup>10</sup> Marcus Terentius Varro, a Roman scholar writing in the first century BCE, describes the instrument as originally having been made from cow horn; later this material was replaced by bronze.<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 2:** *Tuba* player, as depicted in a frieze from the Temple of Apollo Sosianus. Rome, Museo Centrale Montemartini. Photo by author.

Several studies by modern scholars document the history of the *tuba* and *cornu*.<sup>12</sup> Significant for our purposes is the distinctive shape of the Etruscan/Roman *cornu*, which has almost no parallels among civilizations outside the Italian peninsula.<sup>13</sup> Many appearances of the straight trumpet (called *salpinx* by the Greeks) are to be found in Greek art, and Roman depictions of spoils taken from Celtic and Dacian opponents frequently feature



**Figure 3:** *Cornu* players, as depicted on the Column of Trajan. Rome. Photo by author.

the *carnyx*, an instrument of quite different shape.<sup>14</sup> Few instruments resembling the *cornu* have been found in any of these contexts, though *cornu*-like instruments appear as early as the sixth century BCE in the art of the Italian peninsula.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the *cornu* was specific to the Romans and to ancient Italian cultures, such as the Etruscans, that were assimilated by the Romans. As a result, artists working in the Roman Empire were able to employ depictions of the *cornu* as a means of identifying an otherwise generic battle scene to be Roman—a practice noted by the classicist Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.<sup>16</sup> As we will see, the status of the *cornu* as the most distinctively Roman brass instrument also enables it to suggest Roman military strength when it appears on the Arch at Susa.

### Monumental architecture and imperial propaganda

The Arch at Susa is an example of Roman “monumental” architecture, whose purpose was to commemorate some event. Most commonly, this type of architecture took the form of an arch or column that featured relief sculpture depicting the event that the monument memorialized. Often the recorded event was the military conquest of a foreign people, which the Senate allowed the victorious general and his troops to celebrate by leading a triumphal procession through the city of Rome.<sup>17</sup> In many instances the reliefs document historical events. The literal accuracy of such documentation, however, is a matter of some debate. Whatever the extent to which we accept the validity of monumental architecture as a source of historical information, we can certainly consider the symbolic role monuments played within Roman culture. For all who viewed the Arch of Constantine or the Column of Trajan—Romans and foreigners alike—the sheer grandeur of these monuments embodied Roman greatness, military dominance, and command of engineering.

Many monuments feature decorative schemes that reinforced these messages. For instance, some triumphal arches are adorned with friezes depicting the triumphal procession itself. Other reliefs display Roman military dominance more directly by showing Roman soldiers conquering their foes in battle, while still others demonstrate Roman piety through depictions of Romans seeking the favor of the gods through sacrificial ritual. The symbolic function of monumental architecture took on an additional dimension during the imperial period, when monuments’ decorative schemes often reinforced whatever image the current Roman emperor wished to present to the world.<sup>18</sup> Brass musical instruments feature prominently on a number of such monuments, forming an imperial tradition of which the Arch at Susa can be viewed as an early member.<sup>19</sup> In order to understand the full import of such imagery, it is necessary to consider Roman monuments not just as mementos of military glory, but as part of a broad redefinition and reassertion of Roman culture initiated by the first emperor, Augustus, and imitated by his successors.

In 31 BCE, following a bloody series of civil wars that had lasted more than fifty years, Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus, the heir of Julius Caesar, defeated his adversary Mark Antony in the Battle of Actium, becoming *de facto* ruler of the Roman state.<sup>20</sup> The years of bloody civil wars had deeply divided and demoralized Romans, so Augustus undertook a program of cultural reform with the goal of bolstering national unity and revitalizing the Roman identity that the civil wars and the end of Republican government had called into question. He engaged in public works projects and infrastructural improvements on a large scale.<sup>21</sup> He implemented laws supporting traditional institutions of Roman religion and family life, which he later mentioned prominently in his *Res gestae divi Augusti*, a list of his achievements that he compiled to be published after his death. “By new laws carried with me as sponsor,” he writes, “I revived many ancestral models which were falling into disuse in our age, and myself handed on many model practices for posterity to imitate.”<sup>22</sup> He also patronized the arts lavishly, especially promoting literary figures such as Horace, Vergil, and Ovid, whom he and his government encouraged to create works that drew upon or expanded traditional Roman identity.<sup>23</sup> Central to the Augustan literary and cultural

movement was Vergil's *Aeneid*, a work that proved such a resilient component of Roman cultural self-definition that Augustine, writing some 400 years later, could still cite the following famous lines as a snippet of the traditional Roman, nationalistic, pagan worldview: "You, Roman, remember to rule the nations with your power and to establish the custom of peace, to spare the conquered and to overthrow the proud: these will be your arts."<sup>24</sup>

The nationalistic literary culture of which the *Aeneid* was the most eloquent articulation was paralleled by imperial developments in the visual arts: Augustus and subsequent emperors cultivated the construction of monumental architecture, chiefly commemorative arches and columns, as another means of articulating Roman cultural identity. Such monuments celebrate Roman military glory by depicting Roman soldiers in a variety of contexts. Among the reliefs, soldiers march in disciplined formation, participate in battle, receive foreign dignitaries, take part in triumphal processions, and engage in sacrificial processions meant to purify the Roman army's encampment. In all of these contexts, brass instruments appear in close association with the soldiers, contributing to the array of images that celebrate the Romans' military prowess and religious piety.

The significance of the brass instruments on the Arch at Susa lies in their ability to tap into this dual military and religious connotation to communicate a subtle, multifaceted message of Romanization to the people who viewed the arch's reliefs. While no military conquest was involved in the Roman assimilation of the Cottian Alps, brass instruments work with other visual cues on the arch to convey a strong sense of Roman *cultural* dominance parallel to the martial vision articulated by Vergil in the lines of the *Aeneid* quoted above. Specifically, as already noted, the instruments depicted in these monuments are the *cornu* and the *tuba*.

### The Arch at Susa: symbolic domination of the Cottian Alps

The entire decorative scheme of the Arch at Susa alludes to the Romanization of the Alpine tribes under Cottius's rule. The east and west sides of the decorative frieze commemorate the establishment of the treaty between Augustus and Cottius, though most of the east frieze has worn away.<sup>25</sup> Every figure on the better-preserved west side of the frieze wears a toga, the formal garment of the Romans that distinguished them from their neighbors.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, these figures include *lictors*, attendants who are responsible for carrying the *fasces*, bundles of rods that symbolized the authority of a magistrate. *Lictors* and *fasces* appear traditionally in Etruscan and subsequently Roman but *not* Celtic or Gallic civic symbolism. On the north and south sides of the arch, each of the friezes depicts a procession that precedes a *suovetaurilia* sacrifice, identifiable by the presence of the sacrificial animals, a pig (*sus*), a sheep (*ovis*), and a bull (*taurus*) from which this particular sacrifice gets its name.<sup>27</sup> It is in the context of this ritual that the brass musicians appear: two *cornicines* (*cornu* players) participate in the ceremony on the south frieze, while the north frieze features another pair of *cornicines* and a pair of *tubicines* (*tuba* players) approaching the sacrificial altar from opposite directions (Figures 4–6). All this imagery combines to communicate the reality of Romanization in the Cottian Alps.



**Figure 4:** *Cornu* players, visible on the left, participate in the *lustratio*, as depicted on the southern frieze of the Arch at Susa. Photo by author.



**Figure 5:** Detail of *tuba* players participating in the *lustratio*, as depicted on the northern frieze of the Arch at Susa. Photo by author.

In order more fully to understand the socio-political implications of the imagery on the Arch of Susa, it is necessary to examine the nature of the *suovetaurilia* and the ritual processions in which these brass instruments appear. The *suovetaurilia* was offered, generally to Mars, as part of various religious rites performed for the purpose of purifying something that needed divine protection, such as an agricultural field or the Roman army.<sup>28</sup> The sacrifice was often preceded by a ceremonial procession called *lustratio* or *lustrum*, anglicized as “lustration.”<sup>29</sup> An early description of this ceremony being performed in conjunction with a *suovetaurilia* appears in Section 142 of Cato’s *De agri cultura*, where he cites a formula to be recited during the rite: “I have directed the *suovetaurilia* to be driven around my land, earth, and farm.”<sup>30</sup> The *lustratio* and *suovetaurilia* were often performed in conjunction with the census, during which the sacrificial procession was led around the Roman people, who assembled in the Campus Martius.<sup>31</sup> The agricultural and political associations of the threefold sacrifice are very ancient: both sets of associations likely stem from much earlier Indo-European ritual.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the close association of the *suovetaurilia* and *lustratio* in many depictions and literary accounts, the scholar Roger D. Woodard has identified them as distinct ritual



**Figure 6:** Detail of *cornu* players participating in the *lustratio*, as depicted in the northern frieze of the Arch at Susa. Photo by author.

elements inherited separately by the Romans from early Indo-European forbears.<sup>33</sup> Citing examples from such ancient literary works as Vergil's *Georgics*, where the poet records a lustration but makes "no mention of the *suovetaurilia* commonly associated with such a lustration," Woodard concludes convincingly that the specifics of the Roman *lustratio* and the sacrifice that followed were subject to "ritual, and perhaps regional, variation," thus not always associated with the particular trio of victims that characterizes the *suovetaurilia*.<sup>34</sup> Under the Roman emperors, however, the *suovetaurilia* appears repeatedly in monumental architecture, identifiable in each case by the three standard sacrificial victims and always preceded by a *lustratio*. In this context, the ceremony came to be associated with the emperor himself.<sup>35</sup>

The imperial standardization of *suovetaurilia* and *lustratio* imagery had much to do with the promotion of the emperor as religious leader. This aspect of the imperial persona was certainly cultivated by Augustus, who assumed seven different priesthoods over the course of his reign—an honor that broke with Republican custom, in which one individual rarely held more than a single priestly office.<sup>36</sup> As noted above, part of Augustus's program of cultural reform included the revival of ancient religious rituals. Augustus seems to have promoted the combined *suovetaurilia* and *lustratio* as an example of this type of ritual. Indeed, he considered worthy of inclusion among his *Res gestae* the fact that he "performed a *lustrum* [i.e. *lustratio*] in the forty-second year after the last had been held."<sup>37</sup> In this case, the *lustrum* is conducted in connection with a census of the Roman people conducted by Augustus during his sixth term as consul (28 BCE).<sup>38</sup> The fact that Augustus mentions the ceremony among his accomplishments indicates that he desired to be associated with the traditional purificatory rite of the *suovetaurilia* and *lustratio*.

Moreover, the *suovetaurilia*, in the standardized form that appears on monuments, is unique to the Romans. The consistency in the three victims involved in the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice distinguishes this rite from its counterparts, the Greek τριτύς (*trittys*) and the Vedic *Sauvāmanī*, which frequently include a goat instead of one or another of the standard *suovetaurilia* victims.<sup>39</sup> This detail makes the imperial *suovetaurilia* depictions distinctly Roman, placing them within the larger narrative of a national Roman cultural identity that Augustus promoted as a means of consolidating the Roman people in the wake of the divisive civil wars.

Brass instruments combine with the characteristically Roman *suovetaurilia* within the decorative scheme of the Arch at Susa to convey implicitly a political and cultural message to the peoples formerly under Cottius's rule: henceforth, Roman law and custom will hold sway. On both the north frieze and the south frieze, it is not a Roman but the former king Cottius who stands at the altar, preparing to preside over the sacrifice.<sup>40</sup> The Alpine leader is thus shown subjecting himself to the Roman custom of seeking divine protection through this particular ritual. The inclusion of brass instruments in the *lustratio* reinforces the Roman-ness of the ceremony. After all, it was in their brass instruments—especially the Etruscan-derived *cornu*, which appears four times within these two friezes—that the Romans differed the most from the musical practice of their contemporaries. This use of the *cornu* to anchor the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice in a Roman cultural context parallels Alexandrescu's observation that the same instrument was used on sarcophagi to mark battle scenes as Roman.<sup>41</sup> The implication of the arch's imagery is that adhering to Roman customs, such as the performance of Roman religious rituals with Roman musical instruments, will result in protection, the benefit the *suovetaurilia* was intended to confer, and thus prosperity. The appearance of other Roman features, such as toga-clad figures and *lictiores*, reinforces this central idea that the future lies with Rome.

The depiction of Roman brass instruments serves an additional purpose, however, by reminding the arch's non-Roman viewers of what they might need protection *from*: the Roman army. As many passages from Latin literature attest, brass musical instruments played a critical role within the army. The instruments also feature prominently in military imagery on later monuments, such as the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. It is almost certain that the people under Cottius's rule would have been familiar with the Roman military use of the *cornu* through their interactions with Julius Caesar when his army passed through Cottian territory to reach Gaul during the Gallic Wars of 58–50 BCE.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the impact of such imagery must have been greatly amplified by the recent (25 BCE) Roman military conquest of the Salassi, a people inhabiting the Western Alps (and thus quite near Cottius's lands) who had offered resistance to Roman incursions.<sup>43</sup> An inhabitant of the Cottian Alps viewing these depictions of the Roman *cornu* might follow a line of thought from the *cornu* to the Roman army to the conquest of the Salassi. A natural response would be fear and a desire to avoid the same fate by appeasing rather than angering the Roman powerhouse. The use of brass instruments in the imagery of the Arch at Susa thus sends a more forceful and emotionally loaded message than would have been possible through the depiction of the *suovetaurilia* alone. As long as the Alpine tribes



are willing to adhere to certain practices and policies of the Romans, they will be able to live in the state of secure prosperity that is the desired outcome of the *suovetaurilia*. If they dare to defy the Romans, however, they will have to contend with the full force of Roman military might. The representation of brass instruments in the arch's decoration thus allows the menace of the Roman army to lurk within what appears at first to be benign and conciliatory imagery.

One might well wonder why an arch dedicated not by the Romans but by the Gallic king Cottius would incorporate imagery so supportive of Romanization. An answer may be found by considering the nature of Romanization itself. Surveying scholarly thought on the subject in his essay "Romanization and the Hispaniae," Simon Keay notes a general lack of scholarly agreement upon a common definition for the word "Romanization."<sup>44</sup> In general, the term refers to the process by which populations within Rome's sphere of influence experienced cultural change, becoming culturally Roman to an extent. Until quite recently, scholars tended to assume that Romanization was a direct result of Roman agency—in other words, that the Romans actively imposed themselves, generally by military conquest, upon a population, which became Romanized as a result.<sup>45</sup> This view certainly colors early attempts to read the Arch at Susa as "triumphal," celebrating a Roman victory over the peoples of the Cottian Alps.<sup>46</sup> As Hannah Cornwell observes, this view of the arch fails to note the language of the inscription and the visual language of the reliefs, which is that "of integration rather than that of subjugation."<sup>47</sup> In contrast, the Tropaeum Augusti, another Alpine monument erected by the Roman Senate in 6 BCE, explicitly commemorates Augustus's conquest of forty-five Western Alpine tribes, including the Salassi.<sup>48</sup> The Tropaeum Augusti serves the relatively straightforward triumphal purpose typically associated with Roman monumental architecture and aligns with an understanding of Romanization as imposed by the Romans upon the conquered. The Arch at Susa, on the other hand, presents a more complicated scenario for which such a "top-down" model of Romanization is inadequate.

A number of recent scholars have begun to assign a greater degree of agency in the Romanization process to subjugated peoples—an approach in keeping with the observed tendency of non-Romans to "self-Romanize."<sup>49</sup> In particular, Keay proposes a model in which Romanization is understood as "a symbiotic but unequal process of cultural exchange" in which certain Roman cultural paraphernalia "were deployed as public acts of loyalty to the Emperor and State by [local] elites as a means of self-empowerment."<sup>50</sup> The arch's decorative scheme, including its depictions of brass instruments, can best be understood as an instance of this type of Romanization in pursuit of "self-empowerment." As a part of the terms of the treaty between Cottius and Rome, the former king was allowed to keep his authority over the tribes listed on the arch, provided he relinquished the title of king in favor of the Roman office of *praefectus*. The arch's inscription formalizes this arrangement by presenting Cottius in a clear position of authority over the groups listed—an authority that rests upon the acceptance of Cottius's own (nominal, at least) subordination to Augustus and participation within the Roman government. Presumably, the alternative to accepting Roman supremacy in the Cottian Alps would

have been a Roman conquest similar to that inflicted upon the Salassi—a conquest that almost certainly would have meant the end of Cottius’s political power and probably his life. Cottius instead chose to preserve his regional authority by embracing the central political and cultural authority of the Roman state—a decision in keeping with Keay’s model of Romanization.

The friezes of the Arch at Susa fit into this model as a conscious effort on the part of Cottius to make Romanization culturally acceptable to his people. The Roman brass instruments (*cornua*), Roman ritual (*suovetaurilia*), Roman dress (*toga*), and Roman political symbolism (*lictors* bearing *fascēs*), placed prominently on such a public monument, all contribute to the visual mainstreaming of Roman culture. Personal connections between Cottius and Augustus are strongly emphasized within this framework. The personal significance for Augustus of the pact commemorated by the arch is attested by the fact that he alludes to this treaty in his *Res gestae*, stating, “I pacified the Alps from the region nearest to the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea without making war unjustly on any nation.”<sup>51</sup> Augustus is also omnipresent on the arch itself, both as its dedicatee and as a possible figure in the scenes of the frieze.<sup>52</sup> The decision to represent the *suovetaurilia* in the arch’s decoration is remarkable since, as we have seen, the *lustratio/suovetaurilia* was a distinctively Roman ritual with which Augustus associated himself. The depiction of this scene is hardly “formulaic,” as Cornwell suggests, given the non-Roman cultural context in which it appears.<sup>53</sup> Rather, from the perspective of Celtic culture, the exceptionality of the *suovetaurilia* and its *cornu*-playing and *fascēs*-bearing participants serves to emphasize the personal connection between Cottius and Augustan Rome. By portraying Cottius’s authority as based on the political and cultural models of the Roman machine, the arch legitimizes him as ruler. From the Roman perspective, he operates, nominally, within the Roman system, and thus poses little to no threat to the Roman state. From the perspective of Cottius’s subjects, his personal alliance with Rome constitutes both protection from the military force implicit in the depictions of *cornua* and the possibility of Roman military intervention on Cottius’s behalf in the case of a rebellion. Thus, by embracing Roman cultural norms, Cottius was able “to consolidate—and perhaps even expand—his authority” in the Alps, as Ralph Haeussler writes.<sup>54</sup> In sum, then, my analysis of the imagery of the Arch at Susa agrees with those of Haeussler and Cornwell in that it reads the arch as an attempt by Cottius to augment his personal power. The military implications of the *cornua* depicted on the arch, however, allow for the reading in the arch’s imagery of an underlying Roman threat that neither writer acknowledges.

Depictions of brass instruments on the Arch at Susa serve a double symbolic purpose, simultaneously embodying the benefits available to the Alpine peoples through Romanization and the military threat posed by the Romans should these peoples resist Romanization. Through such dual symbolism, these depictions of instruments project Roman strength and dominance to anyone—especially Cottius’s subjects—who viewed these images. By emphasizing his close ties to this Roman power, Cottius was able to utilize the visual scheme of the arch to augment his own regional political authority despite abandoning the title of king for that of a Roman prefect. Arguably more than any other element of the arch’s

decoration, the depictions of Roman *tubae* and especially *cornua* convey concisely and effectively both cultural Roman-ness and Roman military might and articulate an image of Rome consistent with Cottius's political goals.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Fred S. Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art*, 2nd edn. (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2018 [sic]), 123. Accessed on *Google Books* on 12 June, 2017. Like some other writers, Kleiner refers to the arch as the "Arch of Augustus at Susa." This appellation is misleading because arches often have been named after the emperors whose victories they commemorate or under whose auspices they were constructed. (Consider, for example, the Arch of Titus at Rome and the Arch of Trajan at Benevento.) Because there is no evidence that Augustus played any direct role in the construction of the Susa arch, I will refer to this arch simply as the "Arch at Susa." All photographs are my own, taken during a research trip to Italy during the summer of 2016, and I am deeply grateful to the Paul K. Richter and Evalyn E. Cook Richter Memorial Funds, the Wake Forest University Richter Scholars Program, and the Wake Forest University Department of Music for sponsoring this research.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* For the dedication to Augustus, see the transcription of the arch's dedicatory inscription in Ralph Haeussler, *Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013), 186. The "Cottian Alps," in fact, derive their name from this Cottius. During the reign of Nero, the region lost its semi-independent status and became a Roman province that retained the name of its former king. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), s.v. "Alps."

<sup>3</sup> Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art*, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1955), 105. See also Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*, 185. I place "brass" in quotation marks here because the instruments were actually made of bronze. See Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940), 145–48. Henceforth, I will omit the quotation marks. For more on the distinction between brass and bronze, see Geert Jan van der Heide, "Brass Instrument Metalworking Techniques: The Bronze Age to the Industrial Revolution," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 124–27. Whereas brass is a mixture of copper and calamine, bronze is an alloy of copper and tin.

<sup>5</sup> An extensive consideration of the arch and its reliefs has been undertaken by the classicist Hannah Cornwell in "The King Who Would Be Prefect: Authority and Identity in the Cottian Alps," *Journal of Roman Studies* 105 (2015): 41–72. Discussion of the arch and its reliefs also appears in Haeussler,

*Becoming Roman?* Neither author, however, considers the role of the musical instruments in the arch's decorative scheme.

<sup>6</sup> *Lituus* and *bucina* also sometimes appear in ancient and modern literature as terms for Roman brass instruments. The nature of these instruments—particularly the *bucina*—is still hotly debated among scholars. See, for example, three differing views in Don L. Smithers, “A New Look at the Historical, Linguistic, and Taxonomic Bases for the Evolution of Lip-Blown Instruments From Classical Antiquity Until the End of the Middle Ages,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 1 (1989): 3–64; Renato Meucci, “Roman Military Instruments and the *Lituus*,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 42 (August 1989): 85–97; and John Ziolkowski, “The Roman *Bucina*: A Distinct Musical Instrument?,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 14 (2002): 31–58. A detailed consideration of these instruments is beyond the scope of this essay, however.

<sup>7</sup> Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 145. For a more detailed account of the history of the straight trumpet in the ancient Mediterranean, see Smithers, “A New Look,” 14ff. For documentation of the straight trumpet's use even earlier among the ancient Sumerians, see Philip Bate, *The Trumpet and Trombone* (London: Ernest Benn, 1978): 94–95.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Ziolkowski, “The Roman *Bucina*,” 36.

<sup>10</sup> Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 147.

<sup>11</sup> *De lingua Latina* 5.117. Varro states, “Cornua, quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu” (“*Cornua* [were so named] because they which are now made of bronze, then were made from cow horn”). This text is provided online by the Packard Humanities Institute at <http://latin.packhum.org/> (accessed 15 August, 2017). Smithers proposes the use of the term “*cornu* I” for the early animal-horn instrument, reserving the name “*cornu* II” for the later bronze type. See Smithers, “A New Look,” 9, n. 8.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the studies cited in n. 6 above.

<sup>13</sup> See Smithers, “A New Look,” 29.

<sup>14</sup> The *carnyx* is a “brass” instrument with a dragon-shaped bell that curves outward through an angle of approximately 90 to 120 degrees from the straight main pipe. For a more thorough discussion of this instrument, see Peter Holmes, “The Cumae Frieze: an Iron-Age Band or a Roman Folly?,” *Liranimus* 1 (2012): 79–84. See also Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, 146 and Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 66. Sachs notes a similarity in the shape of the *carnyx* to that of the Roman *lituus*. His discussion includes a faint suggestion that these two instruments come from the same line of organological development.

<sup>15</sup> For examples of such early *cornu*-like instruments, see Daniela Castaldo, *Musiche dell'Italia antica* (Bologna: Ante Quem, 2012), 19, 37–39, 47–48.

<sup>16</sup> Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, “The Iconography of Wind Instruments in Ancient Rome: Cornu, Bucina, Tuba, and Lituus,” *Music in Art* 32, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 39.

<sup>17</sup> Lesley Adkins and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome* (New York: Facts on File, 1994), 91–92. See also *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Triumph.”

<sup>18</sup> Inez Scott Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius* (New York: Archaeological Institute of America, 1967), vii.

<sup>19</sup> Later monuments whose decorative schemes feature brass instruments include the Arch of Titus, the Column of Trajan, the Arch of Trajan (Benevento), the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Arch of Constantine.

<sup>20</sup> Pat Southern, *Augustus* (London: Routledge, 1998), 96–100.

<sup>21</sup> W. K. Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate: The Evolution of the System* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1996), 11.

<sup>22</sup> [Augustus], *Res gestae divi Augusti* 8.5, transl. B. W. J. G. Wilson, in *The Age of Augustus*, ed. M. G. L. Cooley (London: The London Association of Classical Teachers, 2003), 29. The Latin text Cooley uses for this passage is “legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi.” This text, the 1967 Oxford UP edition of the *Res Gestae* by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, is available in the Perseus Digital Library at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/> (accessed 29 August 2017). For more on Augustus’s revival of traditional religious practices and use of religion to further his own political goals, see *The Age of Augustus*, ed. Cooley, 258ff. For more on Augustus’s legislation in support of traditional marriage, see the same volume, 353ff.

<sup>23</sup> For a good introduction to the complex relationship between Augustan “court” poets and Augustus’s government, see Cooley’s introduction to the section on “Augustan Poetry” in *The Age of Augustus*, 95 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Aeneid* 6.851–53. In Latin, “tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.” This text is provided online by the Packard Humanities Institute (see n. 11 above). For the reference by Augustine, see *The City of God*, ed. and transl. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

<sup>25</sup> Ryberg, *Rites*, 104.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the toga-clad figures and some other specifically Roman aspects of the reliefs, see Cornwell, “The King Who Would Be Prefect,” 61. Though Cornwell does not consider the brass instruments depicted in the relief, they can be read as a part of the array of symbolism she discusses here.

<sup>27</sup> Roger D. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 103.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>29</sup> See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “lustration.”

<sup>30</sup> Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space*, 103. This translation of Cato is Woodard’s. He also provides the Latin, which reads, “agrum terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi.”

<sup>31</sup> See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Census.”

<sup>32</sup> See Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space*, 103–06. Here, Woodard discusses a very ancient Vedic ritual, the *Sautrāmanī*, with similar agricultural and political associations.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 140–41.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>35</sup> Ryberg, *Rites*, 104.

<sup>36</sup> See M. G. L. Cooley, “Religion,” in *The Age of Augustus*, 258.

<sup>37</sup> *Res gestae* 8.2, transl. Wilson in *The Age of Augustus*, 29. The word *lustrum* is an alternate form of *lustratio*. The Latin text reads, “Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragensimum feci.”

<sup>38</sup> The *lustratio* was a traditional element of the Roman census. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Census.”

<sup>39</sup> Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space*, 105.

<sup>40</sup> Ryberg, *Rites*, 105.

<sup>41</sup> Alexandrescu, “Iconography,” 39.

<sup>42</sup> See Cornwell, “The King Who Would Be Prefect,” 50.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>44</sup> Simon Keay, “Romanization and the Hispaniae,” in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, ed. Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 122–24.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. Keay presents British classicist Ronald Syme's 1988 reaction to this predominant view: to abandon the term "Romanization" altogether.

<sup>46</sup> For an example of such an attempt, see Cornwell, "The King Who Would Be Prefect," 42–44. The creative license taken in the 1726 drawing reproduced by Cornwell is especially alarming to modern scholarly sensibilities.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>48</sup> Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*, 182.

<sup>49</sup> Keay, "Romanization and the Hispaniae," 122.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>51</sup> *Res gestae* 26.3, transl. Wilson in *The Age of Augustus*, 33.

<sup>52</sup> Ryberg identifies one figure in the southern side of the frieze as Augustus himself. See Ryberg, *Rites*, 105. Augustus may also be depicted with Cottius as the two sign their treaty on the east and west segments of the frieze. Haeussler, however, identifies this figure simply as a Roman general. See Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*, 185.

<sup>53</sup> See Cornwell, "The King Who Would Be Prefect," 55.

<sup>54</sup> Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*, 186.