

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WIND INSTRUMENTS IN ANCIENT ROME: CORNU, BUCINA, TUBA, AND LITUUS*

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Although scholars of the last two centuries shared some preconceptions regarding Roman musical life and its indebtedness towards the Greeks,¹ there is still generally more interest in musical life of ancient Greeks due to the superiority and quantity of the preserved information about their musical culture.² There are, however, more ancient testimonies and modern archaeological finds of Roman musical instruments than one would at first imagine.³ The aim of this paper is to emphasize the importance of iconography in the study of Roman aerophones – the tuba, the cornu, the lituus, and the bucina – in order to identify their specific shapes corresponding to their names known from written sources, the role of various types of musicians and instruments,⁴ the symbolic meaning of the instruments,⁵ and the role of musicians in specific compositions depicting battle scenes, mythological tales,⁶ or the gladiatorial and athletic contests. For the analysis are used writings by ancient authors, inscriptions on monuments, visual sources, and archaeological finds of ancient Roman musical instruments. The written testimonies typically mention the names of musical instruments rather than referring to their players.⁷ For example, the tuba and cornu are often mentioned in sources, but references to their players, the *tubicen* and *cornicen*, appear rarely. A possible reason for this was that the names *tubicen* and *cornicen* are instrument-specific while the musicians might well have played more than one instrument, or that one of the instrument names, usually tuba, was used generically to mean any aerophone, in the way a modern author might use the word “trumpet” for a variety of brass instruments.

The gravestones of musicians preserve a special category of evidence which combines inscriptions and visual representations, sometimes even identifying the individual's name and rank or position.⁸ Funeral monuments of military musicians are a good starting point for identifying the shapes of specific instruments, since epitaphs from the late first century AD onwards mention the function of the deceased soldier helping the identification of the depicted instrument [figs. 1, 2 & 3]. On the other hand, the funeral inscriptions of civilian trumpeters usually do not mention their profession.⁹ One should also keep in mind that the circumstances under which each gravestone was made were highly diverse. The artists' tastes and skill levels, regional fashions, designs and monument shapes or iconographical schemata, all contributed to the appearance of a new gravestone, and even the obvious representation of a musician on a gravestone accompanied by an inscription mentioning the profession of the deceased has to be verified through a comparison with further iconographic sources in order to identify the specific shape of a particular instrument.¹⁰ Using this method, it is indeed possible to identify the shapes of the tuba, the cornu, and the lituus, while the shape of the bucina remains problematic.¹¹

The ancient Roman visual representations can be grouped as follows:

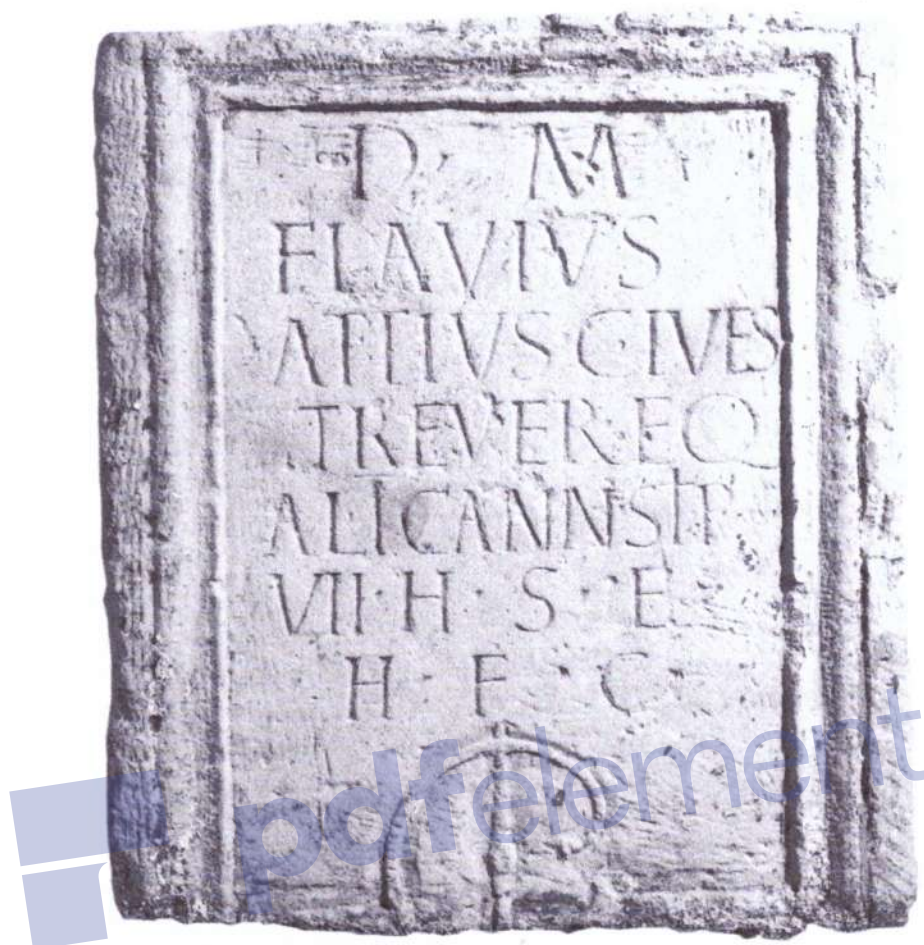
- a. representations of musicians or their instruments
- b. representations of performing musicians in the context of real events: ceremonies and official events; gladiatorial and athletic contests;¹² and battle scenes
- c. representations of myths with martial connotations (Achilles, the Amazons)



1. Gravestone of the *cornicen* M. Antonius Ianuarius. Marble, fragment, the second century AD. Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, inv. 7006.

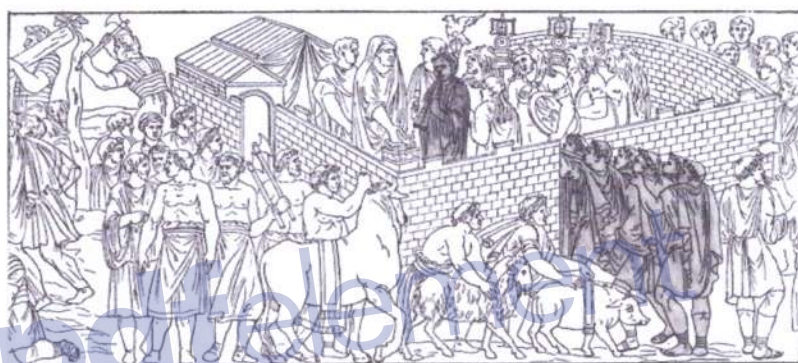
Except for gravestones where the inscription might identify the profession of the deceased [figs. 1 & 3] or his military unit [fig. 2], visual representations are generally not accompanied by any written identification of the represented instruments. Descriptions of myths can be also useful for the identification of the represented scene since they might show the played instrument.

The musicians' bodies, hands and heads are depicted in visual compositions in more or less standardized positions. Methodology of iconological analysis (especially of representations with similar or identical subjects) has established patterns which make it possible to identify musicians or even the scene represented on relief fragments.¹³ The presence of musicians can point to the overall subject (a battle, a particular myth), or even to a specific moment within the depicted story (siege, victory). This is important in scenes where several successive events are summarized in one representation. The Romans are well known for their predilection for decomposing and recomposing (in the meaning suggested by Gombrich¹⁴) the depictions of historical, mythological and everyday situations that they adopted from other peoples or older traditions.¹⁵ One example of this can be seen on the official (historical) reliefs in Rome showing a sacrificial ceremony (*suovetaurilia*). The ceremony began with a parade of the sacrificial animals and the sacrifice of incense and wine,



2. Gravestone of Flavius Attius from the *ala Cananefatium*. Limestone, the second century AD. Győr, Xántus János Múzeum, Castle Lapidarium.

and then continued with the sacrifice of the animals. Musicians led the ceremony at the head of the parade. The emperor, the principal figure in the scene, was at the focus of all the stages of the ceremony. In the scene depicted on the column of Trajan in Rome, however, he is standing near a small altar, celebrating the first, bloodless sacrifice [fig. 4 & 4a]. The fact that this sacrifice is taking place is always indicated by the figure of the tibia player, and its stages are suggested by the represented participants: the musicians leading the sacrificial animals are playing their instruments and the sacrifice personnel are shown bearing their tools. The sacrifice of the animals is not depicted and it is a scene rarely found in Roman representations. The ancient viewers were obviously familiar with the structure of the ceremony and a few details were sufficient to identify the relief's intended message. For our discussion, it is important to note that the musicians playing their instruments were part of the ceremony. From an iconographical point of view, they offer a spatial reference (they marched at the head of the parade) and a chronological one (they are playing), thereby identifying moments of the ceremony combined in the depiction. The composition of the scene as depicted on an official monument in Rome can be also found on monuments in Rome's provinces (in Italy, Britannia, etc.).



3. Left: Gravestone of the *tubicen* C. Valerius from the *legio XV Apollinaris*. Limestone, the first century AD. Bad Deutsch-Alteburg, Museum Carnuntinum. Parts of the tuba are represented below the epitaph. — 4 & 4a. Above: Column of Trajan, Rome. Scene LIII showing a sacrificial ceremony (*suovetaurilia*). The *tibiae* player is included in the center of the composition in front of the small altar. The group of the *tubicines* is leaving the procession.

The representations are the only source providing information about variations in shapes of Roman instruments and features of their players. Although supposedly all types of Roman visual objects were originally colored, musical instruments represented in color have been preserved only on the mosaics, helping us today with the identification of the materials (metal or bone) of which instruments and their parts (mouth-piece, bell) were made. The figures of musicians, their place in the visual composition, their clothing and gesture (especially the way they hold their instruments), and whether they are armed, might answer additional questions and help to differentiate between soldiers and civilians. A comparison of representations of the same subject on different monuments and produced during different periods points out that the position of the musicians within the subject was preserved over a period of time, but other elements such as the musician's clothing, or his weapons and instrument may differ. This can be taken as further evidence of the use of somewhat standardized sets of sketches in the artists' workshops, whether mosaic makers, wall painters, or sarcophagi sculptors. These sketches could have included entire compositions or only the specific figure of the musician.



5 (top): Procession of the magistrates shown on an Etruscan polychrome sarcophagus from Caere (now Cerveteri), necropolis of the Banditaccia. Marble "of Circeo", middle of the fourth century BC. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14949. — 6 & 7 (middle & bottom): Details of the mosaic floor from the villa at Dar Buk Ammera, near Zliten, Libya. A group of musicians accompanying the gladiators' contest includes two *cornicines*, a *tubicen*, and a hydraulis player. The first century AD. Tripoli, The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Museum.



8. A tubicen accompanying athletic context. Detail of the mosaic floor from the villa in Gafsa, Tunisia. The fourth century AD. Tunisia, Gafsa, Museum.

A further important aspect is the context granted by the iconography to the different instruments: The cornu is always represented with a practical, realistic connotation,¹⁶ and the tuba with practical, symbolic, and mythological qualities.¹⁷ Except for representations on the gravestones the musicians' figures were used by the artists as a kind of a tool to indicate to the viewer which stories, scenes and moments were being depicted, especially in mixed scenes showing more than one action. They may highlight, for example, the most important figure in a scene or identify a particular moment of the narrative by showing the musician playing or holding the instrument. In the literary sources such a pointer role was assigned to the name of the musical instrument. In both categories of testimony, the creators assumed that the viewer or reader was aware of the significance of the details, but since their meanings are for us often hidden, the true connotations of represented instruments remain obscure.

Among the instruments discussed here the CORNU is best documented.¹⁸ It shows little variation in shape although its length can differ and some examples were fitted with a supplementary crossbar to support the pipe. It seems that the instrument could be dismantled into three or four pieces, but unlike the tuba, it is never depicted taken apart, not even on the gravestones of musicians. The instrument is always shown alone [fig. 2] or held/played by the *cornicen* [figs. 1, 6 & 7].

In Etruscan depictions cornu is often shown together with the lituus, typically playing a role in the so-called processions of magistrates [fig. 5].¹⁹ The hypothesis that the positions of those musicians was a kind of a status symbol is confirmed by finds of instruments in graves of wealthy Etruscans. The exact Etruscan names of the instruments are not known and they are referred to by the names which instruments of similar shapes received in the Roman times.



9. Detail of the Athena balustrade from Pergamon, Turkey. The tuba is represented in the top right corner. Marble, the second century BC. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

The cornu was used by the Romans for giving signals for the movements of standards and banners in military situations.²⁰ Together with other instruments, mainly tuba and bucina, the cornu call was in military camps a part of the *classicum* signal ordered by the commanding officer and sounded every evening as a tattoo or in occasions when the commanding officer was giving orders concerning the entire unit.²¹ This is a clear adoption of an Etruscan tradition, because such a signaling was there very much bounded to the commanding officer, the *imperator*.

From at least the middle of the first century AD, *cornicines* are depicted performing in the arena, alone or together with *tubicines*, accompanying the gladiatorial games,²² and also with *tubicines* on the funerary monuments of municipal officials who organized such games even before the amphitheatres took their place in common city architecture, starting around the first century BC. Another category of representations are scenes from the arena found on the mosaic floors of *villae*, where the musicians are seen in a group consisting of *cornicines*, *tubicines*, and hydraulis players [figs. 6 & 7].²³ Athletic contests were depicted accompanied only by *tubicen* [fig. 8].

The *cornicines* are never depicted in mythological scenes and their depiction in battle scenes, especially on sarcophagi, indicates that such scenes meant to represent a real event. The presence of the *cornicen* is also specifically Roman feature and indicates that a particular battle scene is, for example, not Hellenistic. By depicting real instruments (along with items of clothing and weapons), it was possible for the artist to link a unspecific scenic composition to a specific chronological location. In other words, the presence of the *cornicen* with his instrument and a Roman military standard identifies a generic battle scene to be Roman. In conclusion, the cornu was a purely functional instrument, with no mythological or other connotations in written and iconographic evidence.

The information about BUCINA is very sparse. The instrument was used in the imperial Roman military camps to give signals, but not tactical ones.²⁴ At the beginning of the professional army in the late Republican period it was still made of animal horn (whose Latin name is also *cornu*), but the shape was later copied in bronze or silver. The instrument seems to belong to the tradition of the Italic shepherds.²⁵ Because of its secondary importance, the bucina does not seem to have been depicted often,²⁶ but the epigraphic evidence testifies to the importance of the *bucinatores* in military life.²⁷ The lack of depictions provoked some forced identifications of possible *bucinae* on gravestones of soldiers and thereby renewed discussions and theories about the shape of this instrument.²⁸



10. Detail with the *tuben* on the front of an Achilleus sarcophagus at the Musei Vaticani, formerly in the Cortile del Belvedere, without inv. no. Marble, dated to ca. 270–280 AD.

The straight-shaped trumpet-like instrument, called TUBA in Latin, was a symbol of warfare and *in extenso* of battle, contest and victory since the Hellenistic times.²⁹ Its Greek equivalent was the *salpinx*,³⁰ characterized by the bell-shaped bore, depicted on many red-figured vases played by the Greeks, Amazons and Barbarians.³¹ These depictions should be still analyzed with a regard to the clothing of the players and the position of their instruments.

The Hellenistic tradition passed down a slightly different instrument with a more or less conical bell and made of several parts fixed by rings. Such instruments are shown on representations of mythological scenes, historical battles, or on *tropaia* [fig. 9]. The Romans seem to have adopted this instrument (in its Hellenistic shape) from one of the Mediterranean peoples, perhaps the Etruscans, who probably used it although the instrument was not their invention.³² The famous “Tyrrhena tuba”, so praised in the ancient sources and considered to be an Etruscan invention,³³ is in my opinion a different instrument, whose Etruscan name we do not know. Some scholars call it a *lituus*, using an ancient Roman word, but the instrument is in fact pre-Roman and its origin is disputed.



11. The front side of an sarcophagus showing the Achilleus Penthesilea group. Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere, inv. no. 900. Marble, dated to ca. 220–230 AD.

The tuba is shown in representations of both historical battles³⁴ and mythological conflicts. It can be found, for instance, on the depictions of the well-known scene of the discovery of Achilles among the daughters of king Lycomedes on the island of Scyros, where the hero was hidden by his mother Thetis. Intending to bring him to the war of Troy, Odysseus and his companions brought presents, including some weapons, for the king and the princesses. The king's daughters were called to choose among the presents something for themselves, when Odysseus's companions gave a signal (a battle call) on the tuba. Upon hearing it, Achilles, still in his woman's attire, took up the shield and the sword from the presents and thus revealed himself as man and warrior. Odysseus was then able to convince Achilles to come to war, despite of his predicted destiny that he will die during the war. This subject was often depicted between the sixth century BC and the fifth or even sixth century AD,³⁵ its scenes decorating the most diverse objects, from walls and floors, to sarcophagi, silver plates, ceramic and glass [figs. 10 & 15].³⁶ These compositions varied greatly, but Achilles, Odysseus, and the trumpeter were always present.³⁷

Details of scenes with a *tubicen* indicate that such compositions were (partially or completely) made after earlier models. Apparently figures appearing in such scenes were interchangeable visual elements, since they may have identical clothes, armor,³⁸ gesture, or positions as in some other representations. Battle scenes on the mythological sarcophagi³⁹ (depicting subjects like Achilles and Penthesilea, the Amazons; fig. 11) were made using the same general composition as scenes on the sarcophagi showing historical battles [fig. 12] except that the figure of the musician was sometimes taken from a different tradition (such as the sportsmen's sarcophagi). The artists do not seem to have followed the examples presented to them in the so-called historical or official reliefs (the other category of realistic representations) at least with regard to the musicians.

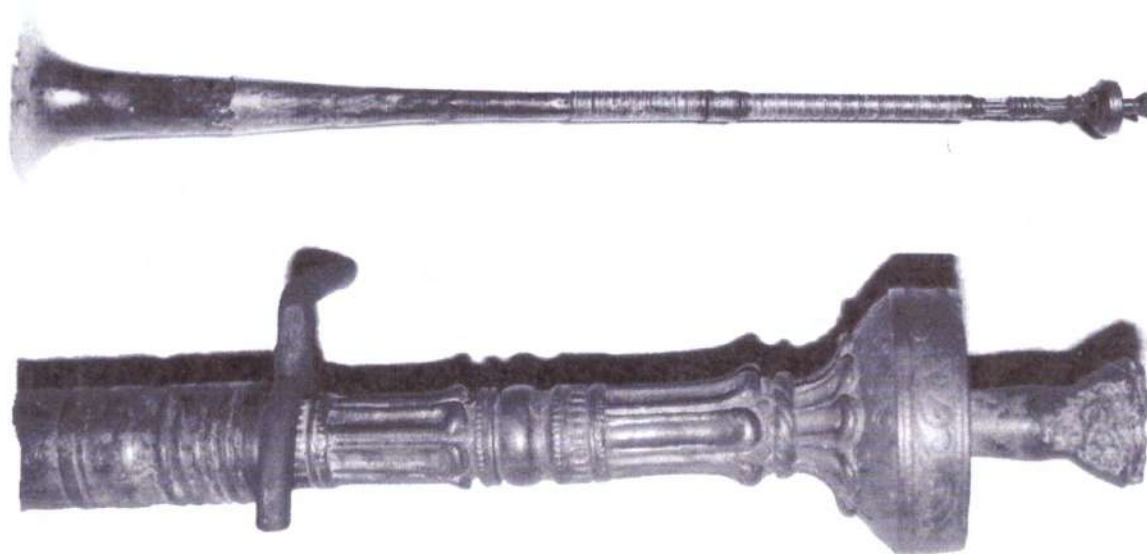
On the funerary monuments of *tubicines*, there are often shown only parts of the instrument [fig. 3] what indicates that the tuba was — like the Hellenistic trumpet — made of several parts:⁴⁰ the bell, the pipe, the mouthpiece, and the mouthpiece holder.⁴¹ This is confirmed by archaeological finds⁴² [fig. 13] and by the instruments represented on mythological or historical reliefs⁴³ of Roman date [figs. 14 & 15]. As in the case of the cornu, there is also much variety in the shape of the individual tuba instruments: varying lengths,⁴⁴ curvature of the pipe, and presence or absence of a mouthpiece holder and a cord.⁴⁵



12 & 12a. Battle sarcophagus from the Boncompagni Ludovisi Collection ("The small Ludovisi"). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Pal. Altemps, inv. 8569. Marble, dated to ca. 175–180 AD. On the left is a detail with the right-hand section of the sarcophagus front showing the tubicen.

The LITUUS does not seem to have been used by the Roman army⁴⁶ and for the time being there are only a few testimonies for its use in the early Empire, found in the context of funerary ceremonies.⁴⁷ In these depictions, it is also shown together with the cornu.

The representations of musicians and musical instruments from ancient Rome offer organological details (mostly verified by the few finds of real instruments) and information about the players' clothing and gestures. The written sources identify the moments, such as battle calls or ceremonies, marked by music and generally attest to the role the different kinds of instruments assumed. The combined analysis of the information given by all these diverse sources allows the correct interpretation of the iconography of Roman musicians and their instruments.



13. The tuba from St. Just-sur-Dive (Maire-et-Loire). Copper alloy. Saumur, Chateau-Musée, inv. 340.2. On the bottom is shown enlargement of the mouthpiece.

NOTES

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¹ For a critical survey see Günther Wille, *Musica romana: Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam: P. Schippers, 1967); and John G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 2001).

² Max Wegner, *Griechenland. Musikgeschichte in Bildern*. II/4: *Musik des Altertums* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1963); Annie Bélis, "Un nouveau document musical", *Bulletin des correspondances Helleniques* CVIII (1984), 99-109; idem, "Les hymnes à Apollon", *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes* (Paris: De Boccard, 1992), vol. 3; idem, "Organologie des instruments de musique antique: Bibliographie", *Revue archéologique* 1 (1989), 127-142; Martin Litchfield West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1992); J.G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*.

³ The research of this category of finds is at an early stage: Christophe Vendries, *Instruments à cordes et musiciens dans l'Empire romain: Étude historique et archéologique (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. - V^e siècle ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), and C.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer: Untersuchungen zu deren Benennung, Funktion und Ikonographie* (PhD diss, Universität zu Köln, Philosophische Fakultät, Archäologisches Institut, 2004). A catalogue of the finds in the dissertation includes over 100 items.

⁴ Cf. G. Wille, *op. cit.*

⁵ Cf. G. Wille, *op. cit.*, but with a focus on the Latin sources.

⁶ This matter is marginally approached in studies on sarcophagi by Bernard Andreae, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen* (Berlin: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1956); Sabine Rogge, *Die Attischen Sarkophage. I: Achill und Hippolytos. Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs 9.1.1* (Berlin: Mann, 1995).

⁷ Cf. G. Wille, *op. cit.*

⁸ For an incomplete list see Wille, *op. cit.* The funerary monuments of military musicians (about 30 examples) are the subject of a particular catalogue in my dissertation.

⁹ There is a difference in representations on the gravestones of *tubicines* and *cornicines* (military and civilian) and of *tibicines* or players of cordophones. As civilian professionals *tibicines* or their heirs are expressing their ability as artists and mention the played instrument.

¹⁰ Examples of the problems with interpretation of *bucina* iconography show that this method may fail in the most accurate study. The only gravestone of a *bucinator* found till now is depicting a *tuba*. Starting from this stele, M.P. Speidel published in 1976 an ample study on *bucinatores* and *bucina*, postulating the straight shape of this instrument, differing from the *tuba* only in the diameter of the pipe and in the shape of the bell. M.P. Speidel, "Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeters: The Eagle-Standard and Trumpets of the Roman Legion Illustrated by Three Tombstones Recently Found at Byzantium", *Bonner Jahrbücher* CLXXVI (1976), 123-163. His well-documented argumentation is based on the newest finds at that time, but some instruments were misinterpreted since one gravestone in Hungary bears the depiction of a pair of Phrygian *auloi* rather than a *tuba* and a *lituus*. See. C.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer*.



14. Detail of a plate from the so-called Parther Monument of Lucius Verus from Ephesus (AD 170). Marble. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ephesos-Museum, Inv. I-859.

¹¹ The newest theory about the bucina is that this was not a particular instrument. John Ziolkowski, "The Roman Bucina: A Distinct Musical Instrument?", *Historical Brass Society Journal* XIV (2003), 31-58; see also Yann Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine* (Paris: Picard, 1989), 54.

¹² A contest of professional *tubicines* was organized for the first time in Greece in 394 BC, and it took place among the athletic contests. For later examples from the Roman time see testimonies in Michael Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda*. Vestigia 39 (München: C.H. Beck, 1988); and representations in Jutta Rumscheid, *Kranz und Krone: Zur Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit*. *Istanbuler Forschungen* 43 (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth Verlag, 2000).

¹³ For instance, the so-called Achilles sarcophagi include a group of Greeks with a *tubicen*. The musician is here the sure hint for the identification of the scene as "Achilles on the island of Skyros". Cf. S. Rogge, *op. cit.*; Dagmar Grassinger, *Die mythologischen*

Sarkophage. I: Achill, Adonis, Aeneas, Aktaion, Alkestis, Amazonen. *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 12.1 (Berlin: Mann, 1999). Further examples are in the category of the sportsmen sarcophagi: Rita Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*. IV: *Vita privata*. *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 1.4 (Berlin: Mann, 1991), esp. 82f.

¹⁴ E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon, 1962), 99f. esp. 120f.

¹⁵ We can distinguish here also other aspects, such as shapes of musical instruments and elements of performance (whether instruments are being played by male or female musicians; situations and combinations of two or more instruments (cornu and lituus; cornu and tuba); position in the composition of the scene or in a particular group.

¹⁶ On historical reliefs in the march scenes: Column of Trajan in Rome, scenes III-IV [Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule: Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike* (Leipzig: W.



15. Detail of the left side of an Achilleus sarcophagus. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 2120. Marble, dated to the middle of the third century AD.

de Gruyter, 1926)]; on battle scenes next to the standards and banners: The Trajanic Battle Frieze reused on the Arch of Constantine in Rome [Anne-Marie Leander Touati, *The Great Trajanic Frieze: The Study of a Monument and of the Mechanics of Message Transmission in Roman Art*. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 4:XLV (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1987)]; on the depictions of gladiatorial games: the mosaic floors in Nenning, Germany [Karl-Wilhelm Weeber, *Panem et circenses: Massenunterhaltung als Politik im antiken Rom*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 15 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1994–1999), fig. 54] or in Zliten, Libya, now in Tripoli in Museum [Augusta Höhle & Anton Henze, *Römische Amphitheater und Stadien: Gladiatorenkämpfe und Circusspiele* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1981), 33, 60, fig. 8].

The only symbolic representation might be the connection between cornu and the cock, a small bronze statuette in Strasbourg [Matthieu Pinette, ed., *Le Cornu et la lyre: Archéologie musicale en Gaule celtique et romaine* (Besançon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1993), no. 86].

¹⁷ On historical reliefs, in triumph scenes and further official ceremonies: Inez Scott-Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art", *Memories of the American Academy Rome* 22 (1955); on the depictions of gladiatorial games: A. Höhle & A. Henze, *op. cit.*; on athletic games: the sportsmen sarcophagi [R. Amedick, *op. cit.*]; or the mosaic floors: the mosaic from the villa in Gafsa, Tunisia [K.-W. Weeber, *op. cit.*, fig. 1 and 127] and the Constantinian villa in Piazza Armerina on Sicily [Andrea Carandini, Andreina Ricci, Mariette de Vos, *Filosofiana: La villa di Piazza Armerina. Immagine di un aristocratico romano al tempo di Costantino* (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio, 1982)].

The mythological subjects however are in the most cases linked to battle (Amazones, War of Troy) or triumph (Dionysus triumph). The evidence is very rich, for further literature see catalogues of mythological sarcophagi in the series *Die Antike Sarkophagreliefs* (Berlin: Mann) and articles in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zürich; München: Artemis, since 1981).

¹⁸ There are numerous examples in representations, finds of instruments, and within literary and epigraphic testimonies.

¹⁹ B.M. Felletti Maj, *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana* (Roma, 1977) 88 ff. fig. 3, 4a, 6, 7a-b, 11.

²⁰ Vegetius, *De re militari* 2,22. A. Önnersfors, P. Flavii Vegeti Renati *Epitoma rei militaris* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1995).

²¹ Cf. J. Ziolkowski, *op. cit.*

²² G. Wille, *op. cit.*, 202f.; for representations see note 16. The thematic treatment of musicians in the context of athletic and gladiatorial games still awaits detailed study.

²³ They are confirmed between the first and fourth century AD.

²⁴ G. Wille, *op. cit.*, 97f.; see also J. Ziolkowski, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Günter Fleischhauer, "Bucina und Cornu", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* IX/4 (1960), 501–503; see also the depictions on mosaic floors with pastoral theme in Doro Levi, *Antioch mosaic pavements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 257.

²⁶ The Roman art, as with most of the ancient ones, was conceived as media, considering the high value of the depicted subjects and especially of the moments shown.

²⁷ M.P. Speidel, *op. cit.*; for an updated epigraphical corpus see C.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmusiker und Standartenträger im römischen Heer*.

²⁸ See also M.P. Speidel, *op. cit.*; Renato Meucci, "Lo strumento del bucinatore A. Surus e il cod. Pal. Lat. 909 di Vegezio", *Bonner Jahrbücher* CLXXXVII (1987), 259–272; B. Janda, "Zestove hudebni nástroje rímskeho vojáka", *Listy filologické* XLVI/4 (1973), 217–231.

²⁹ For example on the weapon frieze from the balustrade of the Athena temple in Pergamon/Bergama, Turkey, dated to third to early second century BC. Richard Bohn, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros. Altertümer von Pergamon* 2 (Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1885), pls. 44–46. The identification of musical instruments depicted on weapon friezes is problematic because it seems that the enemy also used such simple instruments; this trumpet was therefore also identified as a Galatian musical instrument. Cf. also G. Wille, *op. cit.*, 90f.

³⁰ P. Krentz, "The salpinx in Greek Warfare", *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*. Ed. by V.D. Hanson (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 110–120.

Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, *Iconography of Wind Instruments in Ancient Rome*

³¹ Cf. Daniel Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique: Études d'organologie* (Paris: Boccard, 1984).

³² G. Wille, *op. cit.*, 84f.

³³ G. Wille, *op. cit.*, 90f.

³⁴ B. Andreae, *op. cit.*

³⁵ A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Achilleus", *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zürich: Artemis, 1981), vol. 1, esp. 55f; P. Linant de Bellefonds, "Agyrtas", *ibid.*, vol. 1, 308f.

³⁶ Scholars are still debating the reasons why certain myths were chosen so frequently. In the case of the scene mentioned here, one may guess that the meaning was "one can not circumvent the fate".

³⁷ On the trumpeter in this particular scene see C.-G. Alexandrescu, "...cum grande tuba (...) Agyrtas insonuit (Stat. Achill. 1875f.): Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Achilleus-Mythos. Die Entdeckung auf Skyros", *Sarkophag-Corpus Symposium Marburg 2001*. Ed. by Guntram Koch (in press).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ D. Grassinger, *op. cit.* The tubicen is placed in the upper right corner (cat. no. 116, 119, 120, 122, 125, 127, 131) or in the upper left corner (cat. no. 130, 137, 142).

⁴⁰ Because of a lack of detailed studies of representations of the tuba, especially on the gravestones of musicians, confusions or misidentification of the represented instruments are frequent. Cf. Febo Guizzi, "The Oboe of Quintus Appius Eutychianus: A Rare Representation of a Roman Single Conical Reed-Pipe", *Imago musicae* XVIII-XIX (2001-02), 121-154: 142-144. Looking at the original stone allows several corrections to Guizzi's text: the stele of the tubicen Sibbaeus from the *cohors Ituraeorum*, found in Mainz and preserved in the collection of the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museum in Mannheim. The so-called finger holes are just traces of damage on the surface of the stone.

⁴¹ On this particular component of tuba, see C.-G. Alexandrescu, *Blasmmusiker und Standortenträger im römischen Heer*.

⁴² There are two finds in France, in Neuilly-en-Sullias (Loiret) (M. Pinette, *op. cit.*, no. 97), and in Saint Just-sur-Dive (Maine-et-Loire) (*ibid.*, no. 103). These two instruments were considered in

the literature to be Celtic/Gallic. Cf. Peter Holmes, "Hörner", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Sachteil*. Ed. by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1991), vol. IV, 366. In my opinion, the rich iconographic evidence of Roman date, in other contexts than the weapon friezes, supplies the counter-argument.

⁴³ For example on the so-called Parthian Monument of Lucius Verus from Ephesus, now in Vienna, Ephesos-Museum [J. Scott-Ryberg, *op. cit.*, pl. 47]; on the Achilles silver plate from the Seuso-hoard [M. Mundell-Mango & A. Bennett, "The Seuso Treasure", *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, suppl. ser. 12, part 1 (1994), 166, fig. 3-12]; on the Amazons sarcophagus at the Arthur Sackler Museum [Cornelius Clarkson Vermeule & Amy Brauer, *Stone Sculptures: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Harvard University Art Museum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museum, 1990), 132f., no. 121].

⁴⁴ The longer instruments are depicted in the context of games (cf. note 16). It is not clear if the other representations have had to be adapted to a smaller place or there were really shorter instruments used.

⁴⁵ The cord can be seen on representations with historical, mythological and athletic subjects. It seems that it has been used for holding the instrument during the playing, especially when held with one hand or if the mouthpiece had to be pressed on the lips. One of the most beautiful representations of tuba with string shown on a fragmentary preserved relief in the private collection of Duquesa de Cardona in Corduba, Spain, illustrated in M. Trunk, *Die "Casa de Pilatos" in Sevilla: Studien zu Sammlung, Aufstellung und Rezeption antiker Skulpturen im Spanien des 16. Jhs.* Madrider Beiträge 28 (Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 2002), pl. 71a.

⁴⁶ For example the grave relief from Amiternum now at the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo in L'Aquila. Günter Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom. Musikgeschichte in Bildern. II/5: Musik des Altertums* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964), 54, fig. 25.

⁴⁷ Renato Meucci, "Roman Military Instruments and the Lituus", *Galpin Society Journal* XLII (1989), 85-97.

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1994-1999), fig. 1; Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader, et al., *Image de pierre: La Tunisie en mosaïque* (Paris: Ars Latina, 2003), fig. 229 <> Fig. 9: Richard Bohn, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros. Altertümer von Pergamon 2* (Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1885) <> Fig. 10: Dagmar Grassinger, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage. I: Achill, Adonis, Aeneas, Aktaion, Alkestis, Amazonen*. Die Antiken Sarkophag reliefs 12.1 (Berlin: Mann, 1999), cat. no. 26, pl. 16/2 <> Fig. 11. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 125, pl. 111/2 <> 12. Matilde De Angelis d'Ossat, ed., *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps: Museo Nazionale Romano* (Roma: Electa, 2002), 234-235 <> 13. Matthieu Pinette, ed., *Le Carnyx et la lyre: Archéologie musicale en Gaule celtique et romaine* (Besançon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1993), cat. 103 <> 14. I. Scott-Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art", pl. XLVII, fig. 72b <> 19. Sabine Rogge, *Die Attischen Sarkophage. I: Achill und Hippolytos*. Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs 9.1.1 (Berlin: Mann, 1995), cat. no. 21, pl. 64/1.