

# The King Who Would Be Prefect: Authority and Identity in the Cottian Alps

HANNAH CORNWELL

## ABSTRACT

*This paper examines the language of power and authority in the Italian Alps, after the Roman pacification of the area in 14 B.C. The focus of the examination is an arch set up at Segusio to Augustus by a local dynast named Cottius, which allows us to consider how the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire was perceived and presented from a 'local' point of view, and how we might use our interpretations to construct ideas of identity and power relationships integral to early imperial provincial administration.*

**Keywords:** Cottian Alps; Augustan provincial administration; client kings; Cottius; Segusio (Susa); Roman arch; inscription

## I INTRODUCTION

In the fourth book of his *Geography*, Strabo details the topography and ethnography of the western Alpine regions. In it, he refers to 'the land of Cottius' (ἡ Κοττίου γῆ),<sup>1</sup> subtly marking the area as somehow distinct from others, which he defines by tribal names and ethnics.<sup>2</sup> That this territory is seen to fall under the ownership of a particular individual is striking since Strabo was writing after the pacification of the Alps, and the reorganization of the area into various administrative districts.<sup>3</sup> The territory assigned to Cottius in the reorganization had previously been perceived as his kingdom: Vitruvius, writing prior to the pacification, refers to a *Cotti regnum*.<sup>4</sup> The continued association of the area with the person of Cottius indicates the importance of this individual in the identification and characterization of the territory, even once it had formally come under Roman control.

The centrality of Cottius to the definition of this area of the western Alps hints at the integral rôle of local élites within the imperial system of provincial administration in the early Principate. Certainly, Augustus himself stresses the relations that existed between himself and various kings and dynasts, which enabled him to claim their inclusion

<sup>1</sup> Strabo 4.1.3; 4.6.6; 5.1.11. See Nenci 1951b for a discussion of the different textual readings of Strabo 4.6.6.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Strabo 4.1.3: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ Οὐοκοκτίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου ('by the other road, the one through the territory of the Vocontii and that of Cottius').

<sup>3</sup> Strabo was probably writing between A.D. 17/18 and 23, see Dueck 2000: 145–54; Potchecary 2002. Augustus' military campaigns in the Alps were drawn out over more than two decades, with initial campaigns in 35/34 and 28/27 B.C. (Strabo 4.6.6–7; Dio 53.25.3–5), and the final campaigns in 16–14 B.C. under the legateships of P. Silius Nerva and then Tiberius and Drusus (RG 26.3; Dio 54.20.1, 54.22.1–4; Vell. Pat. 2.95.1–2; Flor. 2.22; Gruen 1996: 169–71; Cooley 2009: 222).

<sup>4</sup> Vitr. 8.3.17. Fleury 1990: xvii–xxiv suggests a date range of 35–25 B.C. for various editions of the treatise; see also Granger 1983: xiv for a date prior to 27 B.C.

within the scope of Rome's *imperium*.<sup>5</sup> Provincial administration during this period rested on a series of relationships at different levels, both within an administrative area, and between that area and the imperial centre.<sup>6</sup> Cottius' rôle within the Roman reorganization of the Alpine region may be plausibly understood, in certain senses, as parallel to the relationships created and maintained with eastern monarchs, yet Cottius explicitly abandons the title of king for one that designates him as a Roman administrator.



FIG. 1. View from Mont Justicier, looking towards the Alpine Trophy at La Turbie, and the end of the Alpine chain. (Photo: H. Cornwell)

Unlike the Salassi, who were subjugated and enslaved, and the 'barbaric' Ligurians, who came under the control of a Roman governor, Cottius adopted an active rôle in maintaining his position of authority in the Alps, by providing infrastructure that testified an acceptance of Rome's involvement in the region. This activity is most clearly demonstrated through the comparison of Rome's presentation of the pacification of the Alps and Cottius' own response. A commemorative trophy, set up in 7/6 B.C. at the end of the Alpine chain at La Turbie near Monaco (Fig. 1), recorded the subjugation of forty-five Alpine peoples and the extent of Roman *imperium* over the Alps from the Adriatic to the Ligurian sea.<sup>7</sup> This image of Alpine subjugation to the *imperium populi*

<sup>5</sup> RG 26–7; 30–3. Suet., *Aug.* 48 similarly stresses that kingdoms restored to their local rulers were still perceived as part of Rome's *imperium*.

<sup>6</sup> Bowman 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *NH* 3.136–7; the reconstructed inscription has 144 original fragments set in it: Casimir 1932; Formigé 1949: 51–61; Formigé 1955; Binninger 2009. See also RG 26.3 for a similar rhetoric.

*Romani* and Augustan victory has left a lasting impression on later interpretations of the pacification of the area. An eighteenth-century engraving of an arch at Segusio, modern-day Susa,<sup>8</sup> reflects the belief that the monument must have been erected to commemorate Augustus' victory in the Alps (Fig. 2). The drawing gives the dedicatory inscription of the arch over six lines, as opposed to the actual four, with the word VICTOR clearly visible in the sixth line. This reading reflects a desire to see in an arch to Augustus a triumphal monument commemorating his victorious achievements. The actual arch presents the conquest over the Alps in quite a different light.<sup>9</sup> The language of integration rather than that of subjugation is employed.

The arch was erected at the western limits of Segusio, in the Italian Alps, over a north-south road linking Italy to Gaul (Fig. 3). The single free-standing arch of local white marble,<sup>10</sup> with the base and column plinths made of grey limestone, was dedicated to Augustus in 9/8 B.C. by Marcus Iulius Cottius and the communities under his control. Three-quarter columns with Corinthian capitals stand at each corner, supporting the entablature on which a frieze was carved on all four sides, 0.52 m in height and a total of 33.2 m in length.<sup>11</sup> On the north and south sides, a frieze depicts a sacrifice (*suovetaurilia*), and on the west side what has been interpreted as a *foedus* ceremony,<sup>12</sup> or census.<sup>13</sup> The east side is badly damaged, but appears to depict a similar scene to that on the west side. This is the only extant example of a narrative frieze on an Augustan arch.<sup>14</sup> Above the entablature, on both the north and south faces, is the inscription dedicating the arch to Augustus. The original bronze inlaid letters were lost in the Middle Ages, but although some sections of the stone have fallen away, it is possible to reconstruct the inscription from the countersunk letters:

Imp(eratore) Caesari Augusto Divi f(ilio) Pontifici Maxumo Tribunic(ia) Potestate XV Imp(eratore) XIII / M(arcus) Iulius regis Donni f(ilius) Cottius praefectus ceivitatium quae subscriptae sunt Segoviorum, Segusinorum, / Belacorum, Caturigum, Medullorum, Tebaviorum, Adanatum, Savincatum, Egdiniorum, Veaminiorum, / Venismorum, Ieriorum, Vesubianorum, Quadiatum et ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt.<sup>15</sup>

For Emperor Caesar Augustus son of the deified (Julius), Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 15th time, Emperor for the 13th time, Marcus Iulius Cottius, son of King Donnus, *praefectus* of the communities which are written below — the Segovii, the Segusii, the Belaci, the Caturiges, the Medulli, the Tebavii, the Adantii, the Savincates, the Egdini, the Veamini, the Venismi, the Ierii, the Vesubiani and the Quadiates — and the communities that were in his charge as *praefectus* (dedicated/gave this).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The ancient name Segusio is used in preference to the modern name.

<sup>9</sup> Calvi 1976: 121–2 argues that the arch did not carry a trophy because it did not celebrate a triumph. Mercado 1993: 95 suggests that marble fragments found near the arch, including a hand holding a rein, may be part of the attic statuary of the arch.

<sup>10</sup> De Maria 1988: 329 states that the marble is Foresto; see Ferzini 1997 for an overview of the quarry and the stone it produces. Barello 2008: 431 and n. 2 states that the marble is Chianocco. These marbles are very similar in appearance, having undergone the same metamorphic evolution: Borghi *et al.* 2009. The quarry at Foresto is perhaps the more likely site being nearer to Segusio than Chianocco, and also producing marble for a dedicatory inscription to Agrippa (AE 1996, 971) found c. 60 m from the arch: Barello 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Prieur 1982: 454. The frieze measures 10.75 m in length on the north and south sides, and 5.85 m on the east and west sides.

<sup>12</sup> Felletti Maj 1961: 135–6; De Maria 1977: 329; Calvi 1976: 121–2 describes the scene as a negotiation of *amicitia*.

<sup>13</sup> Prieur 1982: 456.

<sup>14</sup> Calvi 1976. The frieze is discussed in Section IV below.

<sup>15</sup> CIL V.7231.

<sup>16</sup> Translation adapted from Levick 1985: 20; see Ferrero 1901 for plates of the inscription.

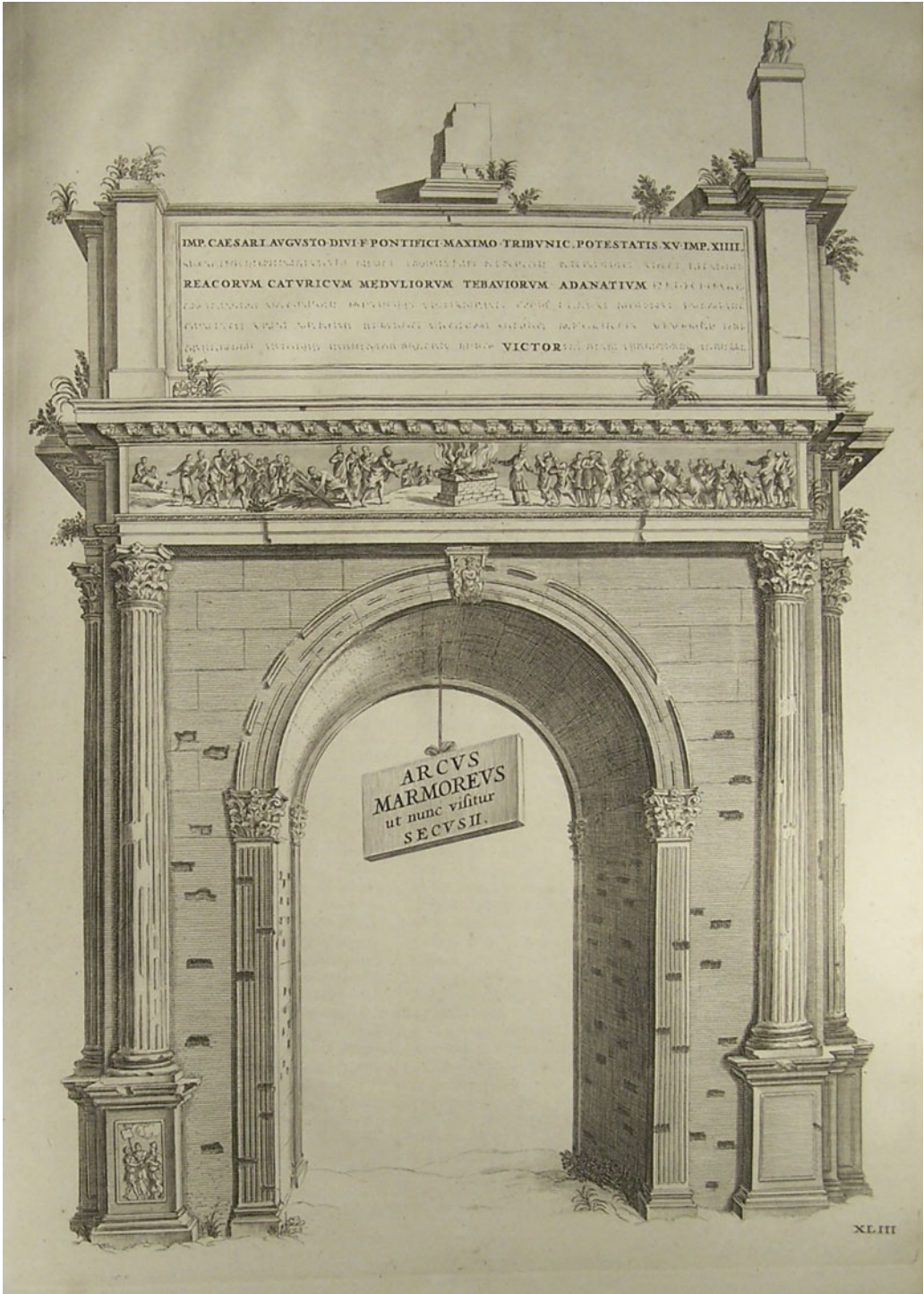


FIG. 2. Drawing of the arch at Segusio published in the fourth volume of *Novum Italiae Theatrum* (Blaeu 1726: tome 4, pl. XLIII) incorrectly showing the inscription as comprising six lines, with the word VICTOR in the last line. (H. Cornwell with permission from the British School at Rome).



FIG. 3. Arch at Segusio over the road through the Alps, viewed from the north (left) and south (right) with a view of the Alps (Rochemelon) in the background. (Photos: H. Cornwell)

The inscription raises several questions about the position of the dedicants and the administrative arrangements of the Alpine region involved in the commemoration. This paper examines the arch set up to Augustus by the local dynast in order to understand how the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire was perceived and presented from a local/regional viewpoint, and how we can then construct ideas of identity and power in the region during the Augustan Principate. This view from the local élite is important to stress in contrast to the viewpoint presented from the centre. The Trophy monument at La Turbie, which is virtually contemporary in date to the arch at Segusio, is a commemoration of the subjugation of the Alpine tribes.<sup>17</sup> The act of subduing the Alpine peoples by Augustus' leadership and auspices is reminiscent of his own account of his triumphs and state honours: 'ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas quinquagens et quinquies decrevit senatus supplicandum esse dis immortalibus.'<sup>18</sup> The arch at Segusio tells a different story. Augustus' rôle in the inscription serves to qualify the position of Cottius as *praefectus* and the communities 'sub eo praefecto'.

<sup>17</sup> The levelling of the mountain, in order to create an artificial platform for the trophy monument (dedicated in 7/6 B.C.), may plausibly be understood as part of the monumentalization of the Via Iulia Augusta, which was begun after the pacification of the western Alps in 14 B.C.; see Casimir 1932; Formigé 1949: 43. The site was clearly a point of articulation in the landscape prior to the Augustan monument, as is illustrated by the existence of an earlier monument above the flank on which the trophy was set: see Formigé 1951; Formigé 1949: 44 argues that the remains pre-date the Alpine trophy. Binner 2004 states that the remains are at present being excavated; see also Binner 2006; 2009.

<sup>18</sup> RG 4.2: 'On account of these things successfully achieved by me or through my legates with my auspices, by land and sea, the senate decreed that there should be fifty-five supplications to the immortal gods.'

This paper presents the geopolitical concerns of Rome's involvement in the Alps, before turning to focus on the language of the arch's inscription and the insights it allows us into the interplay between hereditary, pre-existing power structures in the Alps and Roman constructions of authority and governance. It then turns to examine the inscription in relation to the arch's frieze in order to further explore the viewpoint of the dedicants and the message they wished to set out. Through the examination of the arch, I will demonstrate that the pacification and subsequent reorganization gave Cottius the opportunity and the means to emphasize his position within the Roman Empire and within his own sphere of authority.

Control over the Alpine passes was ultimately the driving factor behind Rome's activities in the region, and the example of Cottius illustrates how a local leader engaged with Rome's concerns and view of 'empire'. Cottius found a way to integrate himself into Roman power structures and to transform his pre-existing position of authority into something palatable to Rome. When viewed within the wider context of the imperial system of administration, the history of the Cottian dynasts,<sup>19</sup> who governed their territory first as kings, and then as *praefecti civitatum* under the auspices of Rome, before Nero annexed the area, illustrates the malleability of provincial administration in the early Principate.<sup>20</sup> As with other areas of the Empire, onto which Rome's power was indirectly imposed through 'client' polities, the case of the Cottian Alps illustrates the vital importance of the position and authority of local rulers who wielded power prior to Rome's conquest. No blueprint existed for Augustan provincial administration, rather the diplomatic relationships of power between Rome and the local élites at the periphery were negotiated and articulated according to the needs of the situation. How Cottius chose to react to and interact with Rome is tantamount to understanding the reception and transmission of imperial control in the Augustan period.

## II THE *REGNUM COTTI*: GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand Cottius' relationship with Rome a brief discussion of the geographical and strategic position in the Alps is necessary. The territory over which Cottius governed exemplifies the importance and necessity of understanding how social spaces were created and dictated by the geomorphology of the mountain range. The Cottian kingdom comprised three main mountain passes in the western Alps: the Maddalena in the south (on the French-Italian border), and the Montgenèvre and the Mont Cenis passes in the north, and covered several valleys from the area of what is now the Gran Paradiso National Park above Turin, down to the French-Italian border (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> Not only did the dynasty benefit from control of these Alpine passes, but also from the inaccessibility afforded to their settlements, due to the depth and narrowness of the valleys. These characteristics are highlighted in a description of the area by Ammianus:

In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum initium a Segusione est oppido, praeclsum erigitur iugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile. Est enim e Galliis venientibus prona humilitate devexum pendentium saxorum altrinsecus visu terribile praesertim verno tempore, cum liquente gelu nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum per diruptas utrimque angustias et lacunas pruinarum congerie latebrosas descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et iumenta

<sup>19</sup> Four generations of the Cottian dynasty can be reconstructed through limited epigraphic and literary evidence: Donnus I, Cottius I, Donnus II, Cottius II. For the genealogy of the Cottian dynasty see Letta 1976; 1994; Roncaglia 2013.

<sup>20</sup> On the flexibility of provincial administration see Bowman 1996.

<sup>21</sup> Prieur 1968: 21–6, 92–107; Barruol 1969: 60–9.

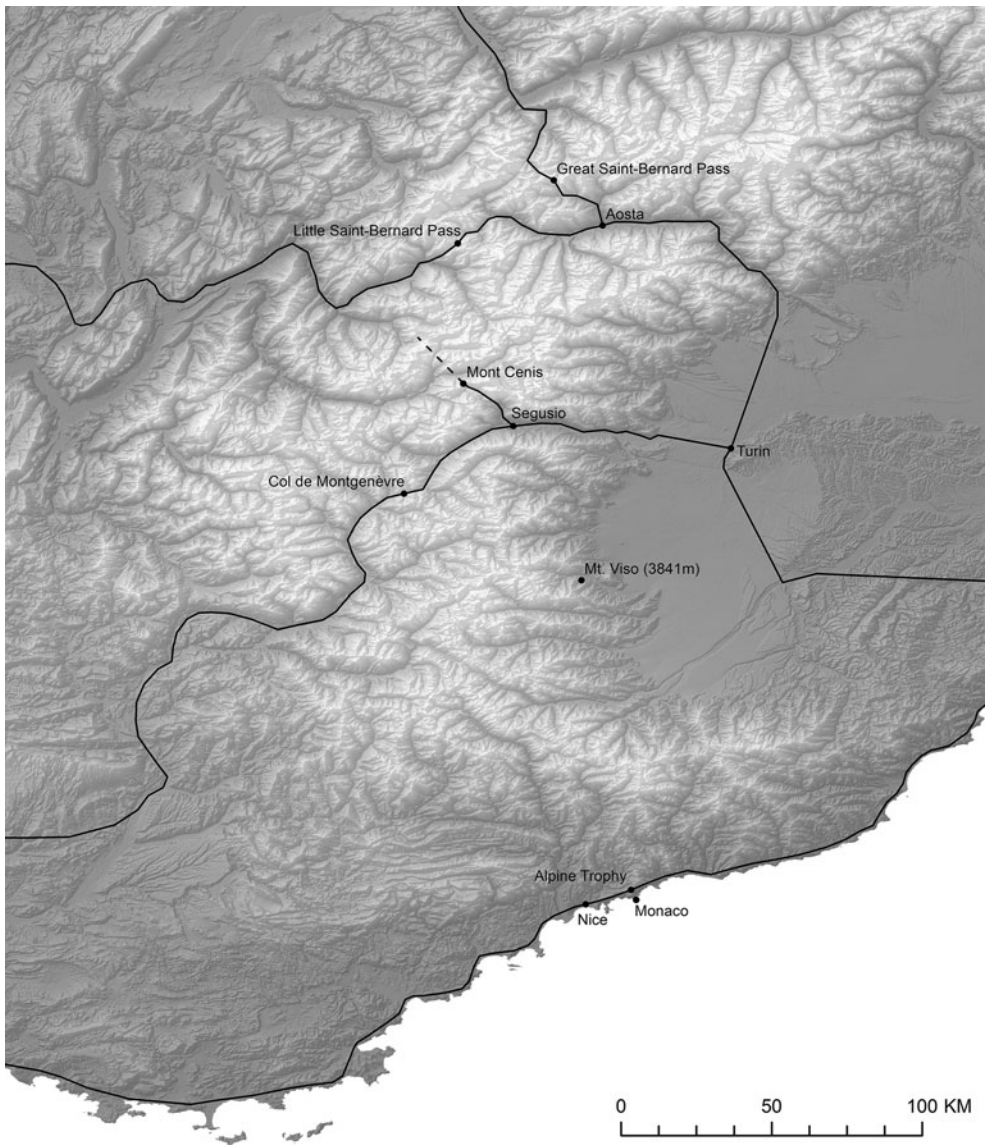


FIG. 4. Map showing the routes (indicated by the black lines), passes (the Little and Great Saint-Bernard passes, Mont Cenis and Col de Montgenève), and main civic centres in the western Alps. The broken black line indicates a possible route, whose exact path is uncertain. (H. Cornwell, using A. Jarvis, H. I. Reuter, A. Nelson and E. Guevara 2008, *Hole-filled SRTM for the globe Version 4*, available from the CGIAR-CSI SRTM 90m Database (<http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org>))

procidunt et carpenta; [...] A summitate autem huius Italici clivi planities ad usque stationem nomine Martis per septem extenditur milia, et hinc alia celsitudo erectior aegreque superabilis ad Matronae porrigitur verticem, cuius vocabulum casus feminae nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter sed expeditius ad usque castellum Brigantium patet.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Amm. Marc. 15.10.3–6.

In these Cottian Alps, which begin at the town of Segusio, the mountain ridge rises on an extremely sharp incline, scarcely penetrable for anyone, without distinction. For those coming from Gaul, from a low incline it rises steeply, with the terrifying sight of overhanging rocks on either side, particularly in spring, when the ice and snow melt due to the warmer winds, men and baggage trains descend with cautious steps through sheer passes and hidden hollows with accumulations of hoar-frost. [...] But from the summit the plain of this Italian slope extends for seven miles as far as the station-post named Mars, and here another height, even loftier and barely scalable, stretches to the top of Matriona, named after the fall of a noble lady. From here the route certainly slopes, but is a less encumbered descent until the stronghold of Brigantia.

The landform of the Alps provided strategic points, enabling dominant communities and tribes control over the region,<sup>23</sup> with Segusio, the main seat of the Cottian dynasty, clearly commanding a suitable position over the passes of the western Alps dividing Italy from Gaul.<sup>24</sup>

The topographical composition of the Alps not only afforded the Alpine communities dominant positions and control over accessible routes, but it also played an important rôle in Rome's conception of the mountain range. The mass of the western Alpine chain, which stretches roughly 300 km from southern France up into Switzerland, was perceived in antiquity as a uniform, continuous barrier to human movement: μέχρι μὲν γὰρ δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς Λιγυστικῆς συνεχῆ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων διέτεινε καὶ ἐνὸς ὄρους φαντασίαν παρεῖχεν.<sup>25</sup> Accounts of the Alps in Roman authors from Cato the Elder onwards emphasize the mountains as a wall (*murus/moenia*), a barrier protecting Italy from threats beyond.<sup>26</sup> The Alps, through their size and scale, captured the imagination of Rome as an insurmountable object.<sup>27</sup>

Yet beyond the conception of the mountains as a barrier, the landforms of the region are articulated by valleys, gorges, rivers and passes influencing and directing human activity.<sup>28</sup> As Rome began to extend her control over Spain and Gaul, more permanent access routes were required: the Alps were a passageway of connectivity. Rome's interest in the Alps was, first and foremost, a strategic one, providing access to the world beyond.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See Scott 2009: 1–39 for *nonstate spaces* and resistance to statecraft and its relationship to geographically inaccessible areas.

<sup>24</sup> The Celtic name 'Segusio' derives from *segu*, which means 'a closed and inaccessible crook or bend', Prieur 1968: 60. Another site in the area mentioned by Ammianus, *Brigantia* (modern-day Briançon) derives from the Celtic *briga*, meaning 'high'.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo 4.6.9: 'from Liguria up to this point [the Danube], the lofty peaks of the Alps run in an unbroken stretch and present the appearance of one mountain'; cf. Amm. Marc. 15.10.3. On the geography and physical composition of the Alps see Prieur 1968: 21–5; Manino 1975–1976; Nangeroni 1975–1976; Jourdain-Annequin *et al.* 2004: 18–27.

<sup>26</sup> Serv., *Aen.* 10.13: 'Alpes immittere apertas ... quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam' ('Piercing the Alps ... which, according to Cato and Livy, protected Italy like a wall'); see also Livy 21.35: 'moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romae' ('[he showed them] they were crossing the walls not only of Italy but even of the city of Rome'); Poly. 3.54.2: ἀκροπόλεως φαίνεσθαι διάθεσιν ἔχειν τὰς Ἄλπεις τῆς ὅλης Ἰταλίας ('The Alps seem to have the rôle of acropolis for the whole of Italy'), where he is describing Hannibal's crossing; see also Livy 21.32.6–37.6; Flor. 1.22; Prieur 1968: 54–9; Barruol 1969: 65; Manino 1975–1976; Berchem 1982: 189–90; Jourdain-Annequin *et al.* 2004: 100–1. Cic., *In Pis.* 81 refers to the Alps as a *vallum*, cf. Cic., *Pro. Cons.* 34; Flor. 1.38 refers to them as a 'claustra Italiae'; Herodian 8.1.5 as the τείχος Ἰταλίας; Petron., *Sat.* 1.22 and Joesph., *BJ* 2.16.4 both describe the Alps as hemming or walling in the Gauls, and excluding them from Italy. Harris 1989: 118 notes that this concept of Italy, bordered by the Alps, must likely post-date Rome's conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.

<sup>27</sup> Prieur 1968: 26; Berchem 1982: 191–2; Jourdain-Annequin *et al.* 2004: 23. See also Scott 2009: 1–3 on the perceived geographical frustrations of would-be conquerors.

<sup>28</sup> Florus twice uses the term *fauces* (1.19, 1.22) to describe the Alps in relation to Italy. The term is more commonly used architecturally to refer to the entrance of a *domus*: Vitruvius 6.3.6. On the influence of Alpine geography on human movement see Berchem 1982: 185–90; Jourdain-Annequin *et al.* 2004: 18–27.

<sup>29</sup> Prieur 1968: 28 notes that the convex curvature of the mountains on the French side causes troops to become widely dispersed as they descend, whilst the concave curvature of the Italian slopes provides invading forces with the concentration of troops onto the Po valley; Berchem 1982: 185–217, esp. 190–204.



In this context, it is not difficult to see why securing the Cottian territory, with its control over three mountain passes, was of interest to Rome. Prior to the agreement between Cottius and Augustus, Rome had sought to gain control over the western Alps through a series of protracted campaigns over the course of the first century B.C. against the Salassi, οἱ τῶν παρόδων κύριοι (Str. 4.6.7: ‘Lords of the passes’), controlling as they did the Great and Little Saint Bernard passes. The final defeat of the Salassi in 25 B.C. gave Rome control over the North-Western Alps. Indeed, Strabo presents the peace (εἰρήνη) achieved in relation to the passes through the mountain (τῶν ἄκρων ὑπερβολῶν τοῦ ὄρους).<sup>30</sup> Although the sources for Cottius’ own opposition to Rome are limited to an account by the fourth-century author Ammianus Marcellinus, it is striking that he emphasizes not only Cottius’ strategic position, but also the key importance of road-building as part of the alliance with Rome:

aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum: quas rex Cottius, perdomitiis Gallis solus in angustiis latens in viaque locorum asperitate confisus, lenito tandem tumore in amicitiam Octaviani receptus principis, molibus magnis extruxit ad vicem memorabilis muneris, compendiaras et viantibus oportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas.<sup>31</sup>

It gave way to the mass of the Cottian Alps, where, at the time when the Gauls had been subdued, King Cottius alone lay hid in the mountain passes and put his faith in the harsh inaccessibility of the location. Finally, when his pride was placated, he was received into the friendship of the princeps Octavianus and with a great amount of work he built, as a memorable gift, short cuts and routes that were convenient for travellers, midway between other ancient Alpine passes.

This imagery fits well with the picture of Augustus’ activities in the Alps during the period; indeed, Strabo emphasizes his desire to make the routes as passable as possible.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the Salassi, 40,000 of whom were subjugated and sold into slavery,<sup>33</sup> or the Ligurians, who were governed by a Roman equestrian prefect once they were subdued,<sup>34</sup> Cottius’ strategy of playing to the Roman need for accessible routes through the mountains secured his continued position. One way in which he expressed that position was through the dedicatory inscription on the arch at Segusio.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo 4.6.7. See Dueck 2000: 98 for Strabo’s emphasis on the beneficial outcome of conquest; see also Dio 53.25.3–5; RG 26; Cooley 2009: 222–3.

<sup>31</sup> Ammianus 15.10.2, see also 15.10.7: ‘quem itinera struxisse rettulimus.’

<sup>32</sup> Strabo 4.6.6: νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐξέφθαρται, τὰ δ’ ἡμέρωται τελέως ὥστε τὰς δι’ αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους, πρότερον οὐσας ὀλιγὰς καὶ δυσπεράτους, νυνὶ πολλαχόθεν εἶναι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εὐβάτους, ὡς ἔνεστι, διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν. προσέθηκε γὰρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ τῇ καταλύσει τῶν ληστῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὁδῶν, ὅσην οἷόν τ’ ἦν (‘As it is, some of the tribes have been wholly destroyed, while others have been so completely subdued that the passes which lead through their territory over the mountain, though beforehand were few and hard to get through, are now numerous, and safe from harm on the part of the people, and easily passable — so far as is possible. For, in addition to putting down brigands, Augustus built up the roads as much as he possibly could’). See also Strabo 4.1.12, 4.6.3, 4.6.7, 4.6.10, 4.6.11 on the routes through the Alps linking Italy to Spain and Gaul.

<sup>33</sup> Strabo 4.6.7; Dio 53.25.3–5; see Laffi 1975–76: 392. On the subjugation of the Salassi as a case study of humanitarian crisis see Matthews 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo 4.6.4: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὄρεινους πέμπεται τις ὑπαρχος τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλους τῶν τελέως βαρβάρων (‘whereas a prefect of equestrian rank is sent to those Ligurians of the mountains, as is done in the case of other peoples who are complete barbarians’); Potchecary 2005: 170. See also Laffi 1975–76: 394–401.

## III PRAEFECTVS CIVITATIVM

In the second line of the inscription Cottius presents himself as a Roman citizen (using *tria nomina*)<sup>35</sup> with the title of *praefectus c(e)ivitatium*, and his use of this terminology is important for our understanding of his self-presentation. Furthermore, he distinguishes himself in his titulature from his father, whom he names as *Donnus rex*.<sup>36</sup> A brief consideration of King Donnus' position in the Alps will provide the context within which Cottius is playing with titles and positions of power.

There is little evidence of King Donnus' interactions with Rome, although he appears much later in Ovid's poems from exile as the progenitor of an Alpine dynasty.<sup>37</sup> It is possible, however, to suggest some connection or interaction between Donnus and Caesar during the latter's Gallic campaign. In his *de bello Gallico*, Caesar outlines the quickest route from the Alps to Gaul through the high territories of the Cautriges, Graioceli and Ceutrones, down into the territory of the Allobroges; a route which would have taken him up through the Cottian Alps and likely through the Montgenèvre pass.<sup>38</sup> Donnus' possible interactions with and reactions to a Roman presence within the Alps are suggested by numismatic evidence from Lyon and the area around the Drôme.

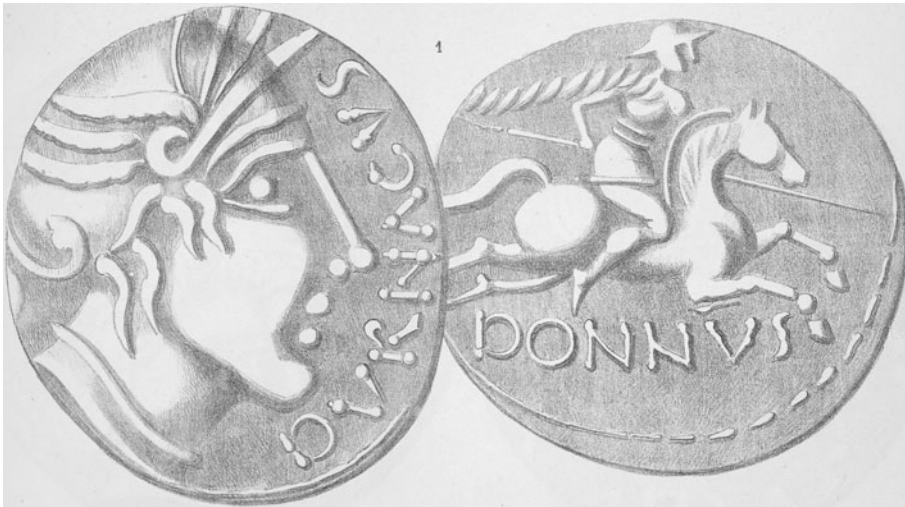


FIG. 5. Drawing of a silver Celtic coin of Donnus, found near Lyon, depicting a helmeted female head with the legend DVRNACVS on the obverse, and a galloping cavalryman carrying a spear with the legend DONNVS on the reverse. Diameter: 16 mm, weight: 1.90 g. (After Hucher 1868–1874: I, pl. 64)

<sup>35</sup> Marcus Iulius Cottius: Prieur 1968: 84, 117–18; Cresci Marrone 2004: 52–3 suggests that Cottius took his *nomen* from Augustus and his *praenomen* from M. Agrippa, who was also honoured in Segusio with a dedicatory inscription by the sons of Cottius: AE 1996, 971; Letta 1976: 44–52.

<sup>36</sup> Donnus rex is also referred to in an inscription from Turin: see n. 51 below. See Braund 1984: 111 for the side-by-side use of local dynastic names and the *tria nomina*.

<sup>37</sup> Ov., *Ex Ponto* 4.7.29: 'progenies alti fortissima Donni'; 4.7.6: 'Alpinis iuvenis regibus orte'. See Helzle 1989: 157–8; Syme 1978: 82. Oberziner 1900: 162 and Braund 1984: 40 have assumed that Donnus received the citizenship during Caesar's Gallic campaigns based on an inscription of a freedman and freedwoman of C. Iulius Donnus, however the inscription may equally refer to Cottius' son Donnus, known from an inscription at Segusio, see n. 50 below.

<sup>38</sup> Caes., *BG* 1.10.3–4; Berchem 1982: 81–2, 192–4; Prieur 1968: 68 identifies the pass that Caesar took as the Little Saint-Bernard.

From an analysis of the legends, which contain names and ethnics, the silver coins appear to have been minted by several chieftains, Donnus included, from the region of the Rhône valley and the western Alps (Fig. 5).<sup>39</sup> The coins imitate a Roman denarius type depicting Roma on the obverse and the Dioscuri on the reverse, which was common from the introduction of the denarius at the end of the third century.<sup>40</sup> The Celtic coinage differs in the adoption of a single rider in place of the Dioscuri. This alteration of the Roman image is indicative of the importance of the rider as a symbol of power and kingship in Celtic society.<sup>41</sup> Evidence from coin hoards in the region indicates that a mixture of late Roman Republican and Celtic coins was in circulation, which offers a context for these stylistic imitations.<sup>42</sup> The influence of the gold Macedonian coinage of Philip II on Celtic coinage is well attested, and the images became deeply embedded and stylized.<sup>43</sup> By contrast the ‘rider coins’ are not heavily stylized, but copy the style of the Roman prototype relatively faithfully.<sup>44</sup> This may represent a recent introduction of the images into the Celtic coinage,<sup>45</sup> and the adoption of the image may indeed indicate a growing awareness of Rome as a power base to either align or compete with. Caesar’s Gallic campaign offers one point of contact. In the wake of the Gallic war, gold coinage in the region disappeared, to be replaced by various series in silver and bronze. Scheers assigns the variety of new coins in the Belgic Gallic region to the break-up of the *civitas* into *pagi*, a process which had already begun during the war, with the Meldi declaring their independence from the Suessiones and the right to mint their own coins in 57 B.C.<sup>46</sup> The new minting practices during and after the Gallic war may suggest a political context within which the Celtic copies were produced.

Bertrandy has stressed the relationship between this adoption of *romanité* in the coinage and the control being asserted over the peoples of the region, in terms of a unification of the area by Rome in the mid-half of the first century B.C.<sup>47</sup> The coins clearly attest a growing awareness of Rome as a power base in this period, yet the positions of local authorities were also asserted through the names of chiefs and ethnics,<sup>48</sup> as well as the image of the single rider. The adoption of the coinage amongst several chieftains might also imply a

<sup>39</sup> La Tour and Fischer 1992 catalogue the coins as ‘de la Vallée du Rhône’; Long 1849: 357; Hucher 1868–1874: II, 77 and 86; Rey 1898: 234 for the different hordes and findspots, and possible dates. A chronological order of the named individuals can be established, based on the gradual debasement of the silver content: Comanus (2.20–2.15 g); Calitix (2.12 g); Ebuovix (2.10 g); Auscrocos (2.00 g); Donnus (1.90 g). Whilst a variety of different ethnics appear on the obverse throughout the series, the legend DVRNACOS becomes prominent only on later issues, being used on the coins of three different chieftains: Ebuovix (who is connected with the area of the Ambarres, through the ethnics RIGANT (Brigantii) and AMBILL (Ambilliareti) on his coins), Auscrocos (no ethnics appear on his coins), and Donnus.

<sup>40</sup> Hucher 1868–1874: II, 86; Bertrandy 2001: 133; for Republican examples see RRC 861, index of Types, s.v. ‘Dioscuri’.

<sup>41</sup> Creighton 2000: 22–8.

<sup>42</sup> See Bertrandy 2001 for an analysis of Roman coinage in the western Alps at the end of the Republic. From a total of seven hoards, two contain a mix of Gallic and Republic coins.

<sup>43</sup> Scheers 1981; Fischer 1991; Creighton 2000: 26–8.

<sup>44</sup> Bertone 2001: 15.

<sup>45</sup> See Pautasso 1975–76 for pre-Roman coinage from the area of the Rhône and western Alps with the Lepontian alphabet.

<sup>46</sup> Scheers 1981: 20; Bertrandy 2001: 136.

<sup>47</sup> Bertrandy 2001: 135.

<sup>48</sup> See n. 39 above for the names of the local rulers that appear on the coinage. Ethnics are abbreviated. Given that the legend DVRNACOS appeared on the coinage of three individuals from different geographical areas (see n. 39), including a different spelling on the coinage of Donnus (DVRNACVS), Hucher 1868–1874: II, 83–5 thought it might be a title referring to a confederation. Bertrandy 2001: 135 argues that, in fact, the legend refers to another local ruler. Bertone 2001: 16 suggests that the ‘latinized’ form of DVRNACVS on the coinage of Donnus indicates a greater Roman influence, and so dates the coin to after the Gallic war. Whether a title or name, the appearance of the legend on three different issues of the coin suggests some form of shared relationship between Ebuovix, Auscrocos and Donnus.

standardization and common identity: a redefinition of their identity in the wake of the continued Roman presence.

That Cottius assumed the position and title of king after his father seems highly plausible based on the testimony of Vitruvius.<sup>49</sup> Yet, by 9/8 B.C., when he erected the arch to Augustus at Segusio, Cottius clearly defined himself not as *rex* (despite his filial association with the title), but as *praefectus*. This title continued to be used by Cottius' successor, his son Donnus,<sup>50</sup> as an inscription from Turin illustrates:

[C(aius) Iulius Cotti f(i)lius D]onni re[gis n(epos) Donnus] praef(ectus) [ci]v[itati]um omnium quibus pa[ter] eius praefuit / [M(arcus) Iulius Donni f(i)lius C]otti n(epos) [Cottius port]icum [c]um [suis ornamentis et do]mus dederunt.<sup>51</sup>

C. Iulius Donnus, son of Cottius, grandson of King Donnus, *praefectus* of all the communities over which his father presided / [and] M. Iulius Cottius, son of Donnus, grandson of Cottius, gave this porticus with its ornaments and building.<sup>52</sup>

Donnus II emphasizes the continuity between the territorial extent of his father's praefecture and his own ('civitatum omnium quibus pater eius praefuit'), whilst still maintaining links to the dynastic monarchy he could claim descent from.<sup>53</sup> It is also notable that this inscription was a dedication at the theatre in Turin, a Roman colony (Augusta Taurinorum), and thus suggests to us how the title of *praefectus civitatum* was used by the Cottian dynasty to confirm their position of administrative authority and benefaction to a Roman audience.

The title of *praefectus civitatum* was used for other administrative areas during the early Principate, notably the Maritime Alps, Moesia and Trebellia, parts of Pannonia, and even certain communities in Sardinia.<sup>54</sup> Besides the instance of Sardinia, which had become a Roman province along with Corsica after the First Punic War, *praefecti civitatum* appear to have been assigned to areas newly brought under Roman administrative control in the Augustan period. Even in the case of Sardinia, the appointment of a

<sup>49</sup> See n. 4 above. Ammianus refers to Cottius as *rex* in the context of his alliance with Augustus (15.10.2) and also gives him the title *regulus* in the context of his tomb (15.10.8).

<sup>50</sup> Cottius is known to have had at least two sons, Donnus and Cottius, attested in a dedication at Segusio to M. Agrippa: 'M. Agrippa L. f. / [cos III tr]ib potest / - - - - - / Don[nu]s et Cotti[us] / Cotti f.' (Letta 1976: 44–50; AE 1996, 971). Letta 1994 and Vota 2004: n. 26 restore *Donnus* as the son of Cottius in the Turin inscription (n. 51 below), whilst Mennella 1978 argues for the identification of Cottius II.

<sup>51</sup> AE 1994, 753; Letta 1976: 53–6, 62–5; Letta 1994.

<sup>52</sup> Letta 1976: 63–5 argues that the *domus* might refer to the stage-building, suggesting a restoration of *actorum domus*.

<sup>53</sup> The continuity and affirmation of the Cottian territory is also illustrated by Dio 60.24.4: καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κοττίῳ τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν τῶν ὁμωνύμων εἶχε, προσεπηύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτὸν τότε πρῶτον ὀνομάσας ('and he increased the ancestral domain for Marcus Iulius Cottius, which lay in the part of the Alps which bears his family name, and he named him king for the first time').

<sup>54</sup> C. Baebius Atticus was *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae* and *praefectus civitatum in Alpibus Martimis* (CIL V.1838, 1839), most probably under Tiberius, and probably acted as some form of *praefectus* under the *legatus Moesiae* C. Poppeus Sabinus: see Sutherland 1941: 78; L. Volcacius Primus is attested as *praefectus ripae Danuvii et civitatum duarum Boiorum et Azaliorum* in Pannonia (CIL IX.5363); Sex. Iulius Rufus was a *praefectus civitatum barbariae* in Sardinia in the early Principate (CIL XIV.2954), see Brunt 1983: 56. An inscription from Queyras (CIL XII.80), in the French Alps, gives the title of *praefectus* followed by the names of four tribes/communities (the Capillati, Sauncati, Quariati, and the Briciani) to 'Albanus Buss[ull]i f(i)lio'. His territory appears to overlap with the area administrated by Cottius I, which might suggest a subordinate prefecture to the Cottian administration. Albanus' praefecture is thought to coincide with the reign of Cottius II: Laffi 1975–76: 403–4; Roth-Congès 1993–1994; Letta 2001.

*praefectus I cohortis Corsorum et civitatum barbariae* under Tiberius<sup>55</sup> involved the administration of a particular area of Sardinia — the interior — which had been far from willing to be subjected to Roman control, and provided a less urbanized area for administrative purposes.<sup>56</sup> The appointment of *praefecti civitatum* suggests a means of overseeing the management of areas containing a number of different tribes, as opposed to colonies and municipalities.<sup>57</sup>

An examination of the careers of C. Baebius Atticus, L. Volcacijs Primus, and Sex. Iulius Rufus indicates military men (Volcacijs Primus and Iulius Rufus were *praefecti cohortis et civitatum*), with prefectures held for a fixed term; indeed, Baebius held both the positions of *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Trebelliae* and *praefectus civitatum in Alpibus Maritimis*. Although the system of administration was flexible and evolving during the early Principate, the duration of administrative appointments was fixed-term, even with prolongation of office.<sup>58</sup> It seems plausible, by contrast, that the Cottian prefecture was permanent, and hereditary: Donnus II is *praefectus* over the communities which his father governed, and Cottius II governed his *πατρώα ἀρχή*,<sup>59</sup> although he received a different title (that of ‘king’) and recognition from Rome. This hereditary aspect of a Roman administrative position is striking and almost unique, although Caesar appears to have intended the title of *ethnarch* of the Jews to be passed on in a similar manner.<sup>60</sup> What is important in the representation of power by the Cottian dynasty is the hereditary aspect of authority (‘*filius Donni regi*’; ‘*praefectus civitatum ... quibus pater eius praefuit*’; *την πατρώαν ἀρχήν*), combined with the usual aspect of Roman prefecture: that of administrative and territorial control. The integrity of the Cottian territory is stressed in the inscription at Turin.

The importance of territorial control is emphasized by Cottius listing the communities which comprise his prefecture. He defines his prefecture through the communities under his control. Indeed, the section of the inscription which reads ‘*quae subscriptae sunt Segoviorum ... Quadiatum*’ is a clause dependent on ‘*praefectus civitatum*’. In the latter half of the inscription the co-dedicants are defined by their position within that prefecture: ‘*civitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt*’. Both sets of dedicants (Cottius and his communities) are defined by their respective relative clauses. The main dedicatory phrase should simply read: ‘*Imp. Caesari Augusto Divi f. Pontifici Maximo Tribunic. Potestate XV Imp. XIII/M. Iulius regis Donni f. Cottius praefectus civitatum et civitates <dederunt>*’.

The final relative clause (‘*quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt*’) does, however, present a problem for the interpretation of the inscription and the definition of Cottius’ prefecture. Previous scholars have argued that the second relative clause refers not to the communities already named and listed as the *civitates* of Cottius’ prefecture, but instead to another group of communities, who were under Cottius’ prefecture before the dedication of the arch, but who had at the time of dedication become ‘former’ Cottian communities.<sup>61</sup> Letta has argued that when the verb of dedication is in the perfect,

<sup>55</sup> *CIL* XIV.2954: ‘Sex(tus) Iulius S(puri) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Rufus / evocatus divi Augusti / praefectus [I] cohortis / Corsorum et civitatum / Barbariae in Sardinia’; Devijver 1976: 482.

<sup>56</sup> Zucca 1988: 349–57.

<sup>57</sup> Bowman 1996: 351–7. On the application of *civitas* to a non-Roman community and its relation to Rome see *Der Neue Pauly* 2.1224; *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 335.

<sup>58</sup> Bowman 1996: 346–8.

<sup>59</sup> See n. 53 above.

<sup>60</sup> Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* 14.194 for Caesar’s bestowal of the title of *ethnarch* on Hyrcanus II and his sons; Sharon 2010: 481–85. See Sharon 2010: 486–8 for the title as a unique Roman view of the Jews.

<sup>61</sup> This reading has been perpetuated by attempts to solve an anomaly between the number of communities listed on the arch and the number of Cottian communities cited by Pliny as not listed on the Alpine Trophy, since they were ‘non hostiles’ (Plin., *NH* 3.138), when six of those listed on the arch do appear on the trophy at La Turbie. There are two manuscript traditions which give the number of ‘non hostiles Cottiae civitates’ as twelve or fifteen

relative clauses that refer to action contemporary to the act of dedication never use the perfect, but exclusively the present.<sup>62</sup> This viewpoint has plenty of support in the epigraphic corpus: Letta himself points to the clear distinction in use of *cui praeest* and *cui prae fuit*,<sup>63</sup> whilst comparable examples may be found in the military diplomas issued under Claudius and Nero, distinguishing between those who were still serving ('qui militant') at the time of receipt of their diploma, and those who had completed service and received discharge ('qui miliaverunt ... honesta missione').<sup>64</sup>

Temporal distinctions between the point at which a document had originally been inscribed, and that at which it was re-inscribed/copied are clearly marked by *scriptum fuit* and *scriptum est* respectively: 'descriptum et recognitum ex tabula prof(es)sionum quibus liberi nati sunt / quae tabula proposita erat in foro Aug(usti) / in qua scriptum fui<t=D> id quod infra scrip(tum est'.<sup>65</sup> This juxtaposition of the perfect and pluperfect tense of *scribere* serves to indicate a distinction between an action contemporary to the inscription (perfect) and an action that preceded the inscription (pluperfect).<sup>66</sup> *Subscriptae sunt* clearly indicates an action contemporary to the inscription; could we then imagine supplying *scriptae* to the second relative clause to create a sense of 'those who have been listed within that prefecture', and so referring back to the Cottian communities listed in the first relative clause?

This does, however, lead to the question as to why *scriptae* has not simply been included in the clause. Indeed, the use of just *sub praefecto* with *esse* was a common enough phrase, particularly in military diplomas, to determine the position of various units under a commanding officer; the present tense is consistently used, even when the individuals receiving diplomas have completed their service (*qui militaverunt*).<sup>67</sup> However, an inscription from Glanum may offer a potential parallel to the Segusio inscription:

Votum susceptu(m) / Herculi Victori pro / salute et reditu G(ai) Licini(i) / Macri trib(uni) et centurio(num) et militum Glanico(rum) qui sub vexillo fue(runt) Cn/aeus Pomp(eius) Cornutus / opt(io) ex stipendis et hon[o]/rario quod ei d(onum) const(ituerat) / l(ibens) m(erito).<sup>68</sup>

(see Nenci 1951a). Obviously on either reading of Pliny's text, the numbers do not add up — only eight of the communities on the arch can be termed 'non hostiles', since they are not on the trophy. Scholars have argued that Pliny's reference includes not only the eight communities from the arch, but an additional number of the 'ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt', which were 'former' communities: see Nenci 1951a; Laffi 1966: 176–7; Prieur 1968: 74–5; Letta 1976: 157–60; Roth-Congès 1993–1994: 87; Letta 2001: 157–8; Letta 2004. The passage of Pliny has provided scholars with an argument for understanding *fuerunt* as referring to a past state and detracted from the study of the inscription in the context of the arch and the frieze.

<sup>62</sup> Letta 1994: 117–18; see also Letta 2004: 538.

<sup>63</sup> Letta 1994: 118; Letta 2004: n. 6, citing *ILS* 1355 ('qui praeest') and *AE* 1997, 1778 ('qui prae fuit').

<sup>64</sup> Mann 1996: 233–4. Originally, the use of *qui militant* and *qui militaverunt* appears to have served to distinguish between auxiliaries (for whom the present tense and a specified length of service was indicated) and the fleet (for whom only one extant example survives, which used the perfect tense and *honesta missione* to indicate the termination of service). See also Beutler 2007: esp. 10–12. The use of both *qui militant* and *qui militaverunt* continued under the Flavians, but without a clear distinction between diplomas for *auxilarii* and *classicii*.

<sup>65</sup> *AE* 1939, 309, ll. 5–8.

<sup>66</sup> Similarly *CIL* VI.18079 juxtaposes *scripti sunt* and *scripti fuerunt* to distinguish between the original funerary text, and the new inscription set up after the repair of the monument: '[D(is)] M(anibus) / [T(itus) F(lavius) Her]aclida Senior qui fuit / [inter empt]iores XII loco VII [i]ique] qui fuerunt / [soci eiu]s monumenti s(upra) s(cripti) in titulo maio[r] / [re ita u]lt s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) eis donaverunt singula loca qui / fuerunt infra scripti / [F(lavius) Hera]clida Iunior emptoris f(ilius) / [eius qui e]xuperaver(at) de titulo maiore mon<u=I>men[tum] / [dila]psum ex vetustate refecit cum maceri(i)s / [et refugi]um fecit et s[i] qua alia intra eum mon<u=I>men(tum) [fecit] / [pa]riter Fl(avia) Flaviane Heraclid[is] emptoris [filia].'

<sup>67</sup> See Mann 1996: 242, table III.

<sup>68</sup> Christol 2001: 158; Lamoine 2009: 337; for other readings of the text see Le Bohec 1999: 294; *AE* 1954, 102.

The vow undertaken to Hercules Victor on behalf of the safety and return of Gaius Licinius Macer, tribune, and of the centurions and of the soldiers of Glanum, who were under the banner. Cnaeus Pompeius Cornutus, *optio*, willingly fulfilled the vow from the wages and the *honorarium*, which constituted a gift to him.

The relative clause defines the soldiers of Glanum as specifically being *sub vexillo*, which seems to imply a secondment for an operation.<sup>69</sup> One issue is that the discharge of the vow to Hercules Victor for a successful operation may imply that the soldiers' position *sub vexillo* has been completed. However, a plausible way of understanding this use of *fuertunt* is that it works naturally as a historical statement. Such a reading is equally applicable to the second relative clause at Segusio in that it describes the state of those who were under Cottius' prefecture when he was *praefectus*.<sup>70</sup> The first relative clause can, on the other hand, be read as expressing a state that is permanently present as it concerns the inscription itself.

Whilst debate has persisted over the reading of the text, this has traditionally been founded solely on an examination of the language. I would propose that a more comprehensive reading of the monument as a whole would allow for the dedicating *civitates* to be identified, not as a separate group of unlisted communities, but as those already listed in the genitive: they do not need to be listed when they are presented (again) as the dedicants.<sup>71</sup> If the phrase 'sub eo praefecto fuerunt' were to refer to, in some way, ex-Cottian communities, their rôle with the monument, beyond their place in the inscription, has never been fully explained.<sup>72</sup>

The traditional reading of the inscription not only fixates on a literal reading of the perfect tense, but also places undue focus on the inscription in isolation, without considering how it relates to the rest of the monument. In his study of Roman historical reliefs, Hölscher noted the importance of coin legends for the identification of abstract concepts, particularly during their introduction into the artistic canon, in order for the meaning of the image to be understood — the verbal provides elucidation for the understanding of the visual.<sup>73</sup> Whilst at Segusio we are not dealing with personifications of abstract concepts, but instead quite formulaic scenes of sacrifice and administration, Hölscher's point about the interrelation of the visual and the verbal is still applicable to a monument such as the arch. We do not have an inscription in isolation nor a frieze without a verbal reference tag. The spatial relationship between the inscription on the attic and the frieze on the entablature is clear and points to a unison of the two for the reading of the monument (Fig. 6).<sup>74</sup> To have a group of *civitates* who are not named, following a group of *civitates* who are, is odd, particularly if we are claiming that they are co-dedicants of the arch. Furthermore, based on a reading of the frieze (see Section IV below), it is extremely difficult (indeed implausible) to find a rôle for these so-called former communities within the visual narrative.

If we take the inscription not simply as a dedication to Augustus, but also as an opportunity for Cottius and his communities to express their position within the Roman world, the very act of listing the *civitates* that comprise the prefecture is relevant. It is notable that the list of the names of the fourteen communities comes within the first

<sup>69</sup> For the interpretation and dating of this inscription see Le Bohec 1999; Christol 2001; Lamoine 2009: 337–41.

<sup>70</sup> Février 1975–1976: 275 n. 23; 'Le *fuertunt* me paraît entraîné par l'habitude quasi constante des dédicaces au passé.' See also Barruol 1969: 42; Berchem 1982: 197; Roncaglia 2013: 359.

<sup>71</sup> Février 1975–1976: 275; see also Barruol 1969; Letta 2004: 538.

<sup>72</sup> Prieur 1968: 75, esp. n. 2; Letta 1976; Letta 2001; Letta 2004.

<sup>73</sup> Hölscher 1980: 279–80, 297–309, esp. 303–4; 'Visuelles Bild und Begriff stehen also vielfach in einem Verhältnis reziproker Ausdeutung zueinander.'

<sup>74</sup> See McGowen 2010: 72. Brilliant 1984: 17 argues that the frieze at Segusio is not a 'truly visual narrative', as it has 'visual text to which it must defer'.



FIG. 6. The inscription and frieze on the south side of the arch at Segusio. (Photo: H. Cornwell)

relative clause, presenting them as subjects of Cottius, rather than in their position as co-dedicants of the monument. The listing of the communities delineates Cottius' territory, and confirms the position of those communities under Cottius by the very act of inscribing their names (*subscriptae sunt*), similar to the way that inscribing the names of the conquered *gentes* at La Turbie, or the names of the sixty Gallic tribes on the altar to Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum, acts as a confirmation of Roman control over those tribes and their position as subjects of Rome. In 12 B.C. an attempted census of the Gallic communities resulted in an uprising. Drusus invited the leading men of the communities to Lugdunum to resolve the tensions.<sup>75</sup> The altar which was set up recorded both the names and the images of the sixty tribes: ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐξήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰκόνες τοῦτων ἐκάστου μία.<sup>76</sup> Although the census was the root of the trouble in Gaul, the representation of the tribes in word and visual display upon the altar acted as confirmation of that census, and of Roman control over the area. It is worth noting that the act of census is also suggested in the visual display of the frieze at Segusio. In this respect, Cottius has appropriated Roman imperial discourse, which articulates control through the state's ability to list, arrange, classify and measure, as the cases of La Turbie and the altar at Lugdunum

<sup>75</sup> Livy, *Per.* 138–9.

<sup>76</sup> Strabo 4.3.2: 'and there is a noteworthy altar, which has an inscription of the tribes, sixty in number, and images of these tribes, one of each tribe.' Tac., *Ann.* 3.44 records sixty-four tribes; Fishwick 1987: 101 suggests that the discrepancy in number might to be owing to the later addition of Germanic tribes.



illustrate.<sup>77</sup> It should be noted, however, that whilst the conquered *gentes* appear to be listed at La Turbie in a rough geographical order from the Adriatic coast to the Ligurian sea,<sup>78</sup> there is no obvious geographical ordering of the Cottian communities.<sup>79</sup>

It is also notable that six of the Cottian *civitates* are also listed as conquered *gentes* at La Turbie.<sup>80</sup> Some scholars have sought to explain their presence on the two monuments by a revolt between 9 and 6 B.C., in which the six communities were involved.<sup>81</sup> This explanation however seems a little tenuous, particularly given the narrow chronological gap. Indeed, if the trophy at La Turbie was planned at the same time as the building of the Via Iulia Augusta, it is plausible to assume that those listed on the trophy were subdued prior to 13/12 B.C.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, it ignores the fact the Cottius himself was initially resistant to Rome, even continuing to fight after the Gallic tribes had been conquered.<sup>83</sup> What the scholarship has failed to fully articulate is that we are dealing with two quite different representations of these communities — the six communities labelled as *gentes devictae* by Rome at La Turbie were in no way marked out as distinct amongst the *civitates* at Segusio. The presentation at Segusio, irrespective of the reality of the situation, was that of a cohesive group of communities, along with their governor, who presented themselves in terms of Roman power structures, and as being integrated into a Roman system, rather than being subjugated to it. The language that Cottius chose to define his and his subjects' position both precludes any concept of subjugation, and further redefines their identity within a Roman worldview in order to confirm and strengthen his own position within the Alps.<sup>84</sup>

#### IV THE VISUAL NARRATIVE

The relationship between the frieze and the inscription illustrates the rôle of the fourteen communities listed as part of both Cottius' prefecture and the Roman Empire. Indeed, for a full understanding of the commemorative function of the arch it is necessary to see how the inscription relates to the monument, most notably the narrative frieze below it. I now turn to examine the visual narrative of the frieze and its rôle as part of the monument.

As stated above the north and south friezes show scenes of a *suovetaurilia* sacrifice, depicting victims, attendants, musicians, cavalry and infantry, and priest processing from either end of the frieze towards a central altar (Fig. 6). The two friezes are not, however, identical in composition. The south side includes, at both ends, a standing figure of a naked youth holding the reins of a horse, generally identified as the Dioscuri. These two figures are absent from the north side. The other distinction is that, whilst on the north side there is a single bull, pig and sheep, on the south there are two bulls, one pig and

<sup>77</sup> See Carey 2003: 36 for Pliny's account of the Alpine trophy and the importance of delineating the landscape through listing as an expression of *imperium*; see also Purcell 1990.

<sup>78</sup> Arnaud 2004: 537.

<sup>79</sup> Prieur 1968: 75–83 for the locations of each of the *civitates*. There may be some geographical groupings of certain *civitates*, such as the Savincates, Quariates and Brigiani, who would later be assigned to a separate, or perhaps subordinate *praefectura* (CIL XII.80; Letta 2001). It is also notable that the Segusini are not named first.

<sup>80</sup> The Caturiges, Medulli, Adanates (Edenates), Egdinii (Ecdini), Veamini and Vesubiani.

<sup>81</sup> Laffi 1966: 176, n. 529; Nenci 1951b also see this revolt as an explanation for Pliny's 'XII Cottianae civitates non hostiles', in that only four of the six revolting communities were restored to Cottius.

<sup>82</sup> See n. 17 above.

<sup>83</sup> Amm. Marc. 15.10.2.

<sup>84</sup> On the uses of epigraphy for analysing aspects of 'romanization' see Häussler 2008; see also Häussler 2002; 2013: 184–7.

one sheep. The west side has been interpreted as a scene celebrating the *amicitia* between Cottius and Augustus, or a scene of census.<sup>85</sup> Notably all figures on the west side wear togas. As with the north and south sides, the action moves from both sides towards a central altar, at which two figures sit on curule chairs. The balance of two equal individuals either side of the altar suggests the equality of an act or oath undertaken. The frieze also contains fourteen togate figures holding scrolls and tablets, six lictors (three each side), and a figure seated at a table receiving documents, at each far end of the frieze (Fig. 7). The togate figures plausibly represent the fourteen named *civitates* in the inscription.<sup>86</sup> Of these *civitates*, one stands behind the altar, whilst two on either side touch the togas of the two central seated figures, demonstrating their inclusion, along with those who follow them, in the agreement. A reading of the east side is made problematic owing to damage and weathering on the stone; however it is plausible, based on a reconstruction given below, that the east side depicts a similar scene to the west, as the north and south friezes likewise depict, in essence, the same narrative units.



FIG. 7. The west frieze, depicting a procession, from both sides, towards a central altar. The procession appears to depict fourteen togate individuals carrying scrolls and tablets, as well as officials, and may be interpreted as the fourteen Cottian communities listed in the inscription. (Photo: H. Cornwell)

Despite this symmetry of composition between the north and south, and east and west sides of the arch, previous studies have sought to identify a successive series of events unfurled in the narrative frieze.<sup>87</sup> Prieur's interpretation reads the east frieze as the

<sup>85</sup> See nn. 12–13 above. We might imagine that the agreement between Cottius and Augustus was formalized by a verbal act, such as that mentioned by the jurist Gaius, *Inst.* 3.94: 'Pacem futuram spondes'; Millar 2004: 208.

<sup>86</sup> Prieur 1968: 197; Prieur 1982: 456; De Maria 1988: 329; Cavargna Allemano 2004: 117.

<sup>87</sup> Prieur 1982: 456–7; De Maria 1988: 329; Cavargna Allemano 2004: 115 (following Felletti Maj 1961 and beginning the reading of the frieze on the north side) all argue for two different *suovetaurilia* taking place. Cavargna Allemano 2004: 122 notes that the friezes are not a continuous narrative.

submission of the Cottian Alps in 14/13 B.C.; the north frieze as a sacrifice offered on that occasion; the west, the census ceremony creating the prefecture; and the south, a sacrifice ratifying that ceremony and closing the lustration.<sup>88</sup> This reading of the frieze is problematic for several reasons: first, Prieur's identification of the east side as an act of submission is based on only two figures at the far right end of the frieze, and therefore cannot be accepted. Secondly, his wish to see a submission represented is at odds with the message of the inscription, where integration is stressed. Figs 8 and 9 give partial reconstructions of the narrative units of the east side, based on autopsy.<sup>89</sup> The scene clearly shows the procession of figures from the right side towards what may be interpreted as a central altar with a figure standing behind it. Furthermore, at the right end of the frieze a figure seated at a table is discernible, and it is plausible to draw parallels between this scene and the scene at both ends of the west frieze.



FIG. 8. The east frieze of the arch (top) with definition lines added by author, which appears to depict a scene comparable to the west frieze of the arch (bottom), depicting the procession of figures from the right side towards the central altar with a figure standing behind it. (Photos: H. Cornwell)

Another problem with Prieur's interpretation is that it would require the audience to start on the east side, which seems strange when one considers that the arch is set on a

<sup>88</sup> Prieur 1982: 456; Prieur 1968: 196–9.

<sup>89</sup> Examination of the east side was undertaken in January 2010; see also Cavargna Bontosi 1994: esp. 64 for a similar reconstruction of the east side frieze.



FIG. 9. Right-hand corner of the east frieze of the arch (top) with definition lines added by the author, depicting a scene comparable to the left-hand corner of the west frieze of the arch (bottom), showing a figure seated at a table and figures with tablets. (Photos: H. Cornwell)

north–south axis over the road. Felletti Maj, who like Prieur understands the frieze as a successive series of scenes (from left to right), argues the narrative begins on the north side.<sup>90</sup> However, as the north and south sides both carry the inscription, these two sides should be understood as two individual starting points from which an audience is to view the arch. The very fact that the arch was set up over a road is an indication that the frieze has more than one starting point; more than one way from which to approach it. Moreover, on each side the frieze draws the eye to the centre of the scene, and does not lead the viewer around the corner to the next frieze.<sup>91</sup> The central focus of each side is an altar and the participants around it.<sup>92</sup> As opposed to a progressive narrative across four sides of the arch, these separate, self-contained scenes offer two individual scenes (of a sacrifice and of a census), on the main and lateral axes, that must, in some way, be read together with the inscription. The involvement of the fourteen communities of Cottius' prefecture emphasizes the relationship between the inscription and the frieze in conveying the message of the monument. Indeed, the presence of these communities on both the inscription (north and south) and frieze (east and west) means they are

<sup>90</sup> Felletti Maj 1961: 132; see also Calvi 1976: 117.

<sup>91</sup> An example of a frieze leading the viewer around an arch is that on the lateral sides of the Arch of Constantine, where the action of the frieze moves from left to right, and actually begins and ends at the extreme ends of the long sides of the arch, separated from the action of the long side friezes by a pillar and column.

<sup>92</sup> McGowen 2009: 41; McGowen 2010: 16–17; Prieur 1982: 459.



FIG. 10. The *suovetaurilia* procession and census scene from the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus.

depicted on all sides of the arch, either in text or image. The frieze is a visual testimony of relations recorded in the inscription.<sup>93</sup>

An examination of the particular narrative units of the frieze, in relation to Roman historical reliefs, will provide further insight into the message of the monument at Segusio. The scenes at both ends of the west side are reminiscent of the scene of census on the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus (Fig. 10).<sup>94</sup> Despite their stylistic differences the two friezes comprise similar thematic units. The left side of the altar frieze depicts, moving towards the central altar, a cavalryman, infantry, victims, attendants, lictors and musicians. The same units are used on the north and south sides of the arch, although the central altar is approached from both sides. On the right side of the altar frieze a scene of census is depicted, showing a seated administrator collecting documents, which again comprises the same units as the west and east sides of the arch. The frieze at Segusio uses narrative patterns that a Roman audience would have been familiar with, both in terms of the actual practice depicted and the visual narrative tradition of the display. Whilst the inscription on the arch represents the communities as under the command of Cottius (who himself defers to the power of Augustus), the visual display, as with the altar at Lugdunum, represents the communities as part of the Roman world in their togas participating in some form of registration.<sup>95</sup> The frieze articulates the iconography of the Roman world, through which Cottius defined and supported his position and that of the communities under him.<sup>96</sup>

The visual display of the frieze further emphasizes a strong Roman ideology, not only with the togate figures, but also through the lictors (who are often assumed to be symbols of Cottius' prefecture),<sup>97</sup> and even the Dioscuri on either end of the south

<sup>93</sup> Cavagna Allemano 2004: 115.

<sup>94</sup> The monument is agreed to come from a statue base in the Campus Martius and comprises four relief panels three of which (one long and two lateral sides) are a reused Greek relief depicting the marriage of Poseidon, whilst the other long side is a Roman historical relief depicting a scene of Roman census: Coarelli 1968; Hölscher 1979: 337–42; Kuttner 1993; Wünsche 1994; Stilp 2001. The possible date of the monument ranges from the mid-second century to the mid-first century B.C.: Hölscher 1979: 340–2 argues for a date after the Marian reforms of 107 B.C. and based on a stylistic analysis of the togas, dates it to the first half of the first century B.C., favouring a monument of M. Antonius, censor in 97 B.C. (although he does not exclude the possibility of the censors of 70 B.C.); Kuttner 1993 similarly gives a strong argument for M. Antonius, but Stilp 2001: 92 concludes that it is not possible to attribute the monument to 'un individu précis'.

<sup>95</sup> RG 8 gives the dates of three censuses of Roman citizens held by Augustus: 28 B.C., 8 B.C. and A.D. 14. A census of the three Gauls was carried out in 27 B.C. by Augustus (Livy, *Per.* 134), and again in 12 B.C. by Drusus (Livy, *Per.* 138).

<sup>96</sup> The *civitates* are depicted in togas emphasizing their position as Roman citizens. However, their actual political status is unclear, although by Pliny's time they had *ius Latii* (Plin., *NH* 3.135), which may have been granted at the time of the *foedus*: Prieur 1968: 132.

<sup>97</sup> Prieur 1968: 119; Cresci Marrone 2004: 55. The Lex Ursonensis 62 gives provision for two lictors each for the colony's *duoviri*. See also Stevenson 1934: 215 on inclusion of lictors on the governor's staff.



FIG. 11. Relief from the left-hand corner of the south frieze from the arch at Segusio, depicting one of the Dioscuri.  
(Photo: H. Cornwell)

frieze. It is notable that they are the only mythological aspect of the frieze (Fig. 11). Felletti Maj has suggested that the two bulls on the south frieze were to be sacrificed to the Dioscuri, as protectors of the equestrian order, of which Cottius was plausibly a member, as well as the guardians of treaties.<sup>98</sup> Mars is shown overseeing the *lustratio exercitus* in the Domitius Ahenobarbus relief, and the Dioscuri may fulfil a similar function, overseeing the ratification of alliance between Rome and Cottius, as well as illustrating Cottius' entry into the equestrian order as *praefectus*.<sup>99</sup> Yet the Dioscuri may also stand in relation to the *castellum*, situated on the higher southern slope near the arch (Fig. 12), which is thought to be the seat of the local dynasts both prior to the Roman conquest, and afterwards.<sup>100</sup> The horseman was an important symbol of authority and power for the Celtic peoples, and it is possible to understand a more 'local' reading of the naked horsemen on the arch, in relation to the seat of local authority.

Whilst the arch's visual display stems from the same narrative tradition as the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, its stylistic presentation is very different.<sup>101</sup> The altar frieze has a

<sup>98</sup> Felletti Maj 1961: 138–9; McDonnell 2006: 185, 187–9 for the special rôle of the Dioscuri for the equestrian order.

<sup>99</sup> Cavargna Allemano 2004: 117. See Strabo 4.6.4 for the equestrian status of the *praefectus* of the Maritime Alps: ὑπαρχος τῶν ἵππικῶν ἀνδρῶν. On another level the presence of the Dioscuri may also allude to Cottius' two sons Donnus and Cottius and their own entry into the Roman equestrian order.

<sup>100</sup> Carducci 1941; Prieur 1968: 204–5; Mercado 1993: 62.

<sup>101</sup> See Barpi 2004: 154 on the different labels given to the artistic style of the frieze.

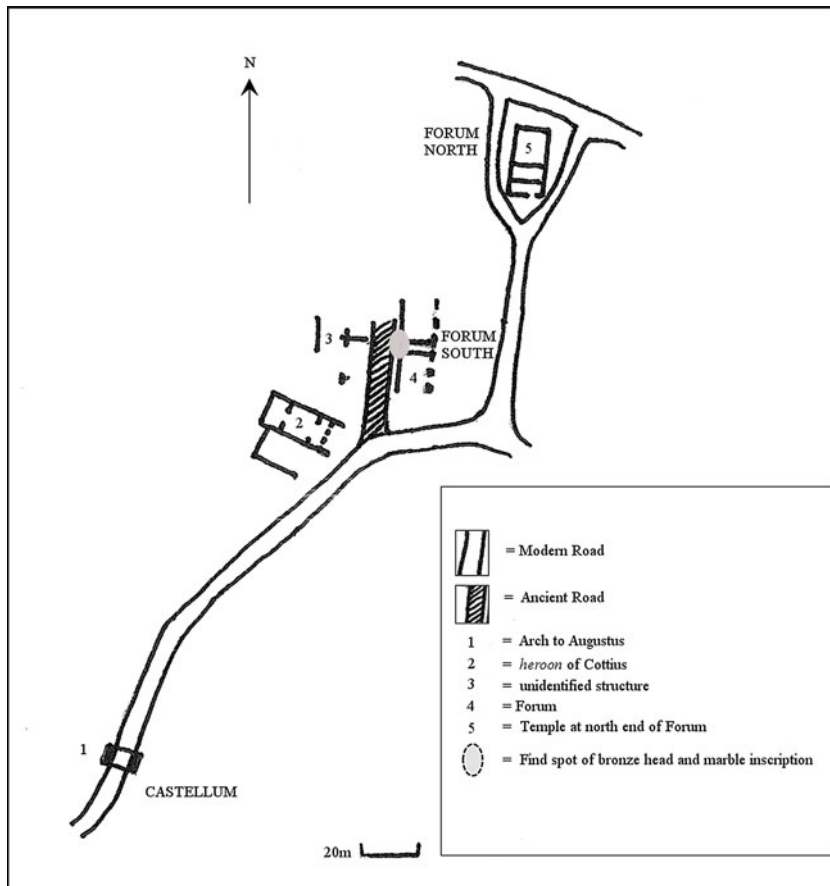


FIG. 12. Map of the building structures from the arch to the forum space, in relationship to the road through Segusio. (H. Cornwell)

dynamic composition and proportional figures. The frieze of the arch is highly schematic, with disproportional figures, deep linear carving, symmetry of composition and isocephaly.<sup>102</sup> This is all the more striking given the well-proportioned, elegant dimensions of the arch itself.<sup>103</sup> Some scholars have argued that the arch's frieze was the work of local artisans, who had come into contact with Gallic workmanship,<sup>104</sup> whilst more recently McGowen has drawn comparisons with Italic freedmen's funerary reliefs, and suggests that the sculptors of the arch's frieze may have come from such a background. She argues that the schematic style at Segusio gave 'narrative clarity' and helped to articulate the message of the frieze more clearly than a more naturalistic style, such as the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus presents.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Prieur 1982: 459; Cavargna Allemano 2004: 121.

<sup>103</sup> McGowen 2009: 41; 2010: 16. MacDonald 1986: 94, however, describes the attic as 'perhaps a little low'.

<sup>104</sup> Cavargna Allemano 2004: 130–4; see also Prieur 1968: 199–200; Calvi 1976: 124; De Maria 1977: 50; Prieur 1982: 459.

<sup>105</sup> McGowen 2009: 138–9; 2010: 107–8; see also Barpi 2004: 158–60. For schematic styles in narrative reliefs of the late Republican period see Wilson and Schörle 2009 for a recently published funerary relief from Rome in

The contrast between the narrative aspects of the frieze and the artistic realization illustrates how a typically Roman narrative formula was utilized for the purposes of the monument. This exemplifies Hölscher's arguments regarding the language of imagery, where what are of fundamental importance in the visual communication of ideals are the static, commonplace formulae, which are not dependent on the stylistic execution of the artwork.<sup>106</sup> Through the use of a 'universally' understood visual language, realized through a simplified and graphical style, the frieze at Segusio should be understood as a 'historical' relief in a strict sense, in that it appears to represent the agreement between Cottius and Rome, along with the creation of his prefecture and the enrolment of communities under him. Yet at the same time, the frieze can be read as an idealized abstraction, which serves to continually assert the fidelity and position of Cottius and his communities under the aegis of Rome. Not only does the relief call upon standardized narrative units, comparable to those of the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, but the depiction of the *civitates* as togate figures may also suggest idealized representations. At the time of the dedication of the arch, the political status of the Cottian communities named and depicted thereon is unclear. Pliny the Elder, writing some seventy years later, notes that the communities had *ius Latii*,<sup>107</sup> although when this right was bestowed is uncertain.<sup>108</sup> Are the togas instances of *detaillierender Realismus* or *ideelle Motive*?<sup>109</sup> At the very least the frieze represents the *civitates* using a distinctly Roman visual vocabulary to express status.

The frieze at Segusio expresses both the historical realities of the *foedus* and also the ideological importance of employing Roman scenes.<sup>110</sup> Integration into the Roman world is ultimately articulated through the cohesion of Roman (the narrative) and local (stylistic realization) elements of the arch's frieze at a particular turning point in the history of the area.<sup>111</sup>

#### V ROUTES TO INTEGRATION

The inscription and frieze articulate the position and rôle of Cottius and the communities under his authority within a Roman prefecture. It is, however, the monument in its totality and its location that fully communicate how Cottius positioned himself in relation to Rome. The choice of a single free-standing arch, spanning the road through Cottius' territory, monumentalized the route that ran from Turin to Embrun, in Southern France, by way of Montgenèvre.<sup>112</sup> The arch's axis deliberately emphasizes the route *through* the Alps, framing Rochemelon to the north (Fig. 3). In a similar fashion, the arch at Aosta, which was placed in clear relation to the town through its position on the axis of the *decumanus*,<sup>113</sup> also articulated the route through the Alps by providing access through the St Bernard passes.<sup>114</sup> The importance of Cottius' creation and maintenance

travertine (dated by the authors to between the mid-first century B.C. and late first century A.D.), especially 107–8 for a discussion of the schematic delineation of the hair.

<sup>106</sup> Hölscher 1980, 2004: 113–27. See also Torelli 1982: 119–35; Barpi 2004: 159.

<sup>107</sup> Plin., *NH* 3.135.

<sup>108</sup> Letta 2001 would see the frieze as representing the receipt of *ius Latii*; for a possible date of A.D. 46 see Prieur 1968: 132–3; Laffi 1975–76: 401–5; see also Roth-Congès 1993–1994.

<sup>109</sup> Hölscher 1980: 312–13.

<sup>110</sup> Hölscher 1980: 287: 'Die realen historischen Vorgänge sind hier also nach zwei abstract-gedanklichen Konzepten gefiltert.'

<sup>111</sup> McGowen 2009: 43, on how the use of sculpture illustrates the local ruler's reaction to the 'changing historical circumstances'; see also McGowen 2010: 18 and 86–7 on the choice of iconography; Dall'Aglio 2007.

<sup>112</sup> See MacDonald 1986: 74–110 for the rôle of arches as part of urban armature and as passage architecture.

<sup>113</sup> Prieur 1968: 189; 1982: 451; McGowen 2009: 41.

<sup>114</sup> Cooley 2009: 222–3.



of a route through the Alps for his relationship with Augustus is emphasized in Ammianus' account.<sup>115</sup> As discussed above, Rome's interest in the Alps during the late Republic and early Principate was primarily strategic, in terms of providing access to Gaul and Spain. In the Cottian Alps, the response to these concerns was the continued articulation of the route in the civic space of Segusio (Fig. 12).

An ancient paved road<sup>116</sup> was discovered in 1904–1905 along with the remains of three structures, and various bronze articles, some 65 m north of the arch during the construction of the Palazzina Ramella.<sup>117</sup> Among the finds was a bronze head together with the remains of a bronze cuirassed statue, and an inscription, made of Foresto marble,<sup>118</sup> dedicated to Marcus Agrippa by the sons of Cottius. Although the inscription is fragmentary, it is generally agreed to date after the pacification of the Alps, and before Agrippa's death in 12 B.C.,<sup>119</sup> and suggests the interaction between the rulers of the Cottian Alps and Rome in the wake of the conquest of the Alps. Whilst the bronze head has frequently been attributed to Agrippa and linked to the inscription,<sup>120</sup> it has also been identified as Drusus Maior.<sup>121</sup> The possible identification with Drusus lends support for a larger display of the Imperial family or Augustus' generals.<sup>122</sup> These finds contribute to a picture of the monumentalization of the road (most likely at its inception or a short time thereafter) through a display of relations with the imperial centre.<sup>123</sup>

The display of the road as a *monumentum* is further emphasized by the flanking structures (Fig. 12). The development of a forum space with a temple dominating its north end, in the modern-day Piazza Savoia, is dated by terracotta to the mid-Augustan period.<sup>124</sup> Cottius' road is set alongside the contemporary monumentalization of the civic centre of Segusio. On the other side of the road is a prostyle tetrastyle temple and adjoining structure, which Brecciaroli Taborelli has suggested is the *heroon* of Cottius, recorded by Ammianus as being situated 'moenibus proximum'.<sup>125</sup> Within the adjoining structure a square stone base and stone urn, similar to cinerary urns from the region preserved in the Museo di Antichità di Torino, were found.<sup>126</sup> The location of the

<sup>115</sup> Amm. Marc. 15.10.2.

<sup>116</sup> Measuring 4.30 m wide, with kerbs of 0.45 m and 0.37 m: Prieur 1968: 103.

<sup>117</sup> Mercado 1993: 69–71, 79.

<sup>118</sup> Barello 2011; see n. 10 above.

<sup>119</sup> See n. 50 above.

<sup>120</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 14.130.2). Romeo 1998: 84, 184 dates the portrait to the Tiberian period, and argues that the inscription could be of the same date; however, as Barello 2011: 28 points out 'una dedica ad Agrippa sotto il regno di Tiberio sia poco probabile', and Romeo herself argues Agrippa's image was scarce in the Tiberian period.

<sup>121</sup> Agrippa: Evangelisti 1995: 59–63; Slavazzi 1996; Romeo 1998: 84, 184; Drusus Maior: Denti 1991: 217; see Rosso 2006: 493–4 for a bibliography of the debate. The disagreement over the identification is made further problematic by the fact that Romeo 1998: 89–90, 184–5 identifies a statue from Caere (Vatican Museum inv. 9951) as Agrippa, whilst Rose 1997: pls 69 and 70 identifies it as Drusus Maior.

<sup>122</sup> Denti 1991: 218. Notably it was Tiberius and Drusus who were celebrated for their campaigns in the Alps in 15/14 B.C.: Hor., *Carm.* 4.4, 4.14; Strabo 4.6.9; Vell. Pat. 2.95.1–2; Dio 54.22.

<sup>123</sup> The remains of three marble statues (ranging in date from the Julio-Claudian period to the first half of second century), found in 1802 reused in the late antique city wall near the Porta Savoia and now in the Museo di Antichità di Torino, suggest a continuous commemoration of relations with the Imperial family at Segusio: Slavazzi 1996: 161; Rosso 2006: 495–504. Although reused, the findspots of the statues make an original location in or near the forum space (see n. 124 below) plausible.

<sup>124</sup> Barello 2007; 2008; 2011.

<sup>125</sup> Amm. Marc. 15.10.7: 'huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse rettulimus, Segusione est moenibus proximum manesque eius ratione gemina religiose coluntur, quod iusto moderamine rexerat suos et adscitus in societatem rei Romanae quietem genti praestitit sempiternam' ('the tomb of this petty king, whom we have recalled to have built routes [through the Alps], is at Segusio right up against the walls and his spirit is solemnly tended to for two reasons: because he had ruled his people with justice and having entered into an alliance with the Roman state, he procured for his race eternal peace').

<sup>126</sup> Brecciaroli Taborelli 2004: 79–81; Barello 2011: 28 highlights the lack of adequate documentation.

building, next to the forum area and the road leading to the arch, certainly indicates its significance. Indeed, when Ammianus records the existence of Cottius' *sepulcrum*, he emphasizes Cottius' rôle as road-builder and securer of alliance and peace with the Romans. The possible placement of his *heroon* at the side of the road would certainly articulate Cottius' rôle in the creation of the road and its links with Rome, as the dedication to Agrippa and the bronze cuirassed statue of a member of the Imperial family across the road also imply.

The arch, set over the road, demonstrates a control over the landscape, as does the Augustan trophy monument at La Turbie, by the implementation of a route through the landscape (Fig. 1). The framing of the mountains through the archway illustrates this point well. However, unlike at La Turbie, the display is not a commemoration of conquest in terms of Augustus' victory; rather it utilizes the moment of conquest to assert the integration of the Cottian communities into a Roman framework.<sup>127</sup>

Yet we can still read a 'local' element into the context of the arch, through which Cottius may have been drawing links to his ancestral seat of power at Segusio. The south side of the arch stands in relation to the new Roman forum and imperial display. The arch is, however, in close physical relation to the *castellum*, the possible seat of the Alpine dynasts prior to the Roman conquest.<sup>128</sup> The elevated location of the site, which dominated the slope above the town, further emphasizes the importance of the site for the Alpine dynasts. If the site continued to be used as the seat of the Cottian dynasty (finds indicate that it was at least still in use during the first and second centuries A.D.),<sup>129</sup> the arch would have had a further dimension in emphasizing the position of Cottius within his own community — the presence of the Dioscuri solely on the south frieze may be intended to emphasize the *castellum* as the seat of local authority, as well as potentially alluding to an equestrian, Roman status. The visual tie between the older structure of the *castellum* and the new arch, and the subsequent monumentalization of the road in the direct vicinity serve a similar function to Cottius' reference to his father's title of *rex*, in juxtaposition to his own title of *praefectus civitatum*. The continuation, and yet transformation of hereditary, local power is integrated into the power structure of Roman provincial administration.

The fate of the dynasty following Cottius allows us further insight into how this area of the Alps was integrated into Roman provincial administrative structures. As the inscription from Turin, discussed above, demonstrates, Cottius' son, Donnus II, received the same title and position as his father. His son, Cottius II, regained the title of king under Claudius.<sup>130</sup> On his death, the kingdom was annexed by Nero.<sup>131</sup> Nero's decision to annex the territory after it had remained in the hands of the Cottian dynasty under the auspices of Rome for nearly seventy years may, in part, be due to concerns regarding tax-collection and the general fiscal problems the Empire faced in the early 60s, as once annexed the Cottian territory would be required to pay imperial taxation.<sup>132</sup>

During the period during which Rome exercised 'diplomatic control' over the Cottian Alps, the rôle of the Cottian dynasts may be viewed along similar lines to the so-called 'client kings' in the East and Britain. This is perhaps most clear in Claudius' recognition of the status of Cottius II as king, although the *amicitia* between Augustus and Cottius, recorded by Ammianus, may

<sup>127</sup> Cottius' building activities are reminiscent of other 'client kings' in this period, such as Herod the Great: Braund 1984: 112–15; Häussler 2013: 184.

<sup>128</sup> Finds, including a Neolithic serpentine axe, and a 13 cm high limestone female head, possibly part of a capital or an architectural detail, are used to assign the site to a pre-Roman period: Carducci 1941; Prieur 1968: 204–6; Mercado 1993: 62.

<sup>129</sup> Prieur 1968: 205.

<sup>130</sup> See n. 4 above.

<sup>131</sup> Suet., *Nero* 18.2; see Laffi 1975–1976: 403; Laffi 2007: 93; Roncaglia 2013: n. 13.

<sup>132</sup> Luttwak 1979: 27; Bowman 1996: 364–5. See Wiedemann 1996: 248–52 for the fiscal problems during Nero's reign.

reflect the appellation of *socius et amicus*, used to denote those in a diplomatic relationship to Rome, and described in the scholarship as client-states.<sup>133</sup>

Whilst the concept of the ‘client/friendly king’ is a well-recognized position and status within both the republican and imperial administrative systems, it is also a notoriously fluid and imprecise one.<sup>134</sup> Despite this, the diplomatic relations such an arrangement afforded enabled Rome to claim power over a vast extent of territories and peoples, without having to exercise direct control or expenditure of resources.<sup>135</sup> Such relationships, an articulation of ‘soft power’ on the part of Rome, produced a ‘dual sovereignty’, whereby the position and authority of a local ruler rested on the power of the imperial system and was expressed through symbolic language.<sup>136</sup> The deferral on the part of Cottius I to the power of Augustus, whilst also emphasizing his continued hereditary position of authority over the Alpine region, is clearly attested in the arch erected at Segusio.

Cottius (together with his successors) is perhaps a unique individual amongst the friendly kings, who worked with Rome in terms of provincial administration and control, yet rejected the title of ‘king’ in favour of a Roman administrative title. A possible comparable, although quite different, scenario is the use of the title of *ethnarch* for the rulers of Judaea. However, the unique nature of the term *ethnarch* serves to define the official authority ethnically and non-territorially,<sup>137</sup> as opposed to the territorial definition achieved through the title of *praefectus civitatum*. Moreover, the characterization of the Cottian Alps by imperial authors is perhaps unique for regions of the western provinces. Although officially a prefecture, the Cottian territory is not clearly defined as such, nor is it characterized as the territory of a particular ethnic group or tribe. Instead it is consistently, both before and after the pacification, characterized as ‘Cottian’; defined not just by the name of its local dynast, but also as a *regnum*. As mentioned above, Vitruvius had referred to a *Cotti regnum*, and Strabo refers to the area as ἡ Κοττίου γῆ.<sup>138</sup> The area continued to be associated with the kingdom and the person of Cottius: although under Tiberius the territory was a prefecture, Suetonius reports a cohort sent by Tiberius from the *regnum Cotti* to deal with a riot in Pollentina.<sup>139</sup> Even after the annexation this association with the Cottian dynasty appears to remain, as the accounts of Ammianus suggest, as well as the use of Cottius’ name to create descriptors for the Alpine area and communities: *Cottiae Alpes/Cottianae civitates*.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Braund 1984: 23–37, esp. 26–7 for the procedure of recognition under the Principate. Claudius recognized a number of local administrators as kings: Marcus Iulius Cottius, Marcus Iulius Agrippa (Dio 60.8.2–3), and Tiberius Claudius Cogidumnus. Tac., *Agr.* 14 names Cogidumnus king over certain *civitates*, without specifying an actual *regnum*: ‘quaedam civitates Cognidumno regi donatae’. An inscription from Chichester (RIB 91) was thought to show that Cogidumnus held the titles of both *rex* and *legatus Augusti*, however Bogaers 1979 has convincingly shown that the inscription should read ‘Reg(is) Magn(i) Brit(annorum)’, rather than ‘R(egis) Leg(ati) Aug(usti) in Brit(annia)’. See also Luttwak 1979: 21–40 for the rôle and management of client states in the Julio-Claudian period.

<sup>134</sup> Braund 1984; Burton 2003; 2011; Millar 2004: 195–245; Roncaglia 2013.

<sup>135</sup> RG 35; Strabo 17.3.25; Suet., *Aug.* 48. See Luttwak 1979: 7–49 for the idea of economy of force.

<sup>136</sup> Brunt 1990: 271; Millar 2004: 229; Crone 1989: 36–45, on the ruler’s power in pre-industrial societies, and 53 on indirect rule in hard to access areas.

<sup>137</sup> Sharon 2010: 474, 481–8.

<sup>138</sup> See nn. 4 and 1 above, respectively.

<sup>139</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 37; Braund 1984: 84; Potheary 2005: 170. Cic., *Agr.* 2.40 refers to the *regnum Bithyniae*, although Bithynia had, by this time, already become a province (Vell. Pat. 2.42). See Luttwak 1979: 27 for the contribution of client states to internal security.

<sup>140</sup> Plin., *NH* 3.135, 138; Tac., *Hist.* 1.87.1; Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 5.2; Amm. Marc. 15.5.29, 15.10.2; Eutr. 7.14.5.

## VI CONCLUSION

The arch at Segusio offers a viewpoint on the Roman pacification of the Alps that does not directly reflect the concepts of conquest and subjugation, but rather utilizes the moment of pacification to assert the integration of the Cottian communities into the Roman world: both with the road through the mountains and the declaration of ‘being Roman’ which is embodied in the arch. But more than that, it takes the Roman rhetoric of administrative power and the organization of subject states to promote a message of the continuity of local dynastic power. Although Cottius had fought against Augustus, his acceptance of *amicitia* allowed him to reinforce his own position and create a new identity for himself and his communities, which denied any concept of conquest or subjugation. Whilst Cottius enforces his new position as *praefectus civitatum*, he also affirms his hereditary position of power and authority in the area through his father Donnus *rex*. Cottius’ son carried on the dynastic line of Roman *praefecti* of the Cottian Alps, and whilst the area continued to be governed by the Cottian dynasty, under Claudius the title of king, instead of *praefectus*, appears to have been resumed.

The pacification of the Alps and the subsequent organization of Cottius’ kingdom as a *praefectura* illustrate the adaptation made by the local dynast in order to present his position and authority in Roman terms. Yet the identification of the area as the ‘land’ or ‘kingdom’ of Cottius, from prior to the pacification of the Alps and beyond its annexation, demonstrates how ingrained and embedded Cottius’ own sphere of influence was, even within a Roman framework. The activities of Cottius, both in terms of road-building and the monumentalization of the route through the Alps, illustrate the adaptability of certain local élites, who worked within the sphere of Roman imperial control, to both maintain positions of authority and also to redefine those positions in relation to a hegemonic empire, in acceptance of Augustan ideals.

Trinity College, Oxford  
[hannah.cornwell@trinity.ox.ac.uk](mailto:hannah.cornwell@trinity.ox.ac.uk)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnaud, P. 2004: ‘La Turbie, i populi alpine dall’iscrizione dedicatoria’, in de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 537
- Banzi, E. 1999: *I miliari come fonte topografica e storica: l’esempio della XI regio (Transpadana) e delle Alpes Cottiae*, Rome
- Barello, F. 2007: ‘Archeologia urbana a Segusio’, in Brecciaroli Taborelli 2007, 261–6
- Barello, F. 2008: ‘Segusio, nuovi dati archeologici sulla nascita di una capitale’, in L. Appolonia, F. Wibl  and P. Framarin (eds), *Alpis Poenina. Grand-Saint-Bernard: une voie   travers l’Europe. 11–12 Avril 2008. Fort de Bard [Vall e d’Aoste]*, Aosta, 431–8
- Barello, F. 2011: ‘Il foro di Segusium e la nascita di una nuova citt ’, in S. Maggi (ed.), *I complessi forensi della Cisalpina romana: nuovi dati*, Florence, 27–42
- Barpi, S. 2004: ‘Il fregio dell’arco di Augusto a Susa: interpretazioni storico-artistiche’, in *La Biblioteca di Segusium: Romanit  valsusina*, Segusium - Societ  di Ricerche e Studi Valsusini, 139–60
- Barruol, G. 1969: *Les Peuples pr romains du sud-est de la Gaule:  tude de g ographie historique*, Paris
- Berchem, D. van 1982: *Les Routes et l’histoire:  tudes sur les Helv tes et leurs voisins dans l’empire romain*, Geneva
- Bertone, A. 2001: ‘Il “caso” Donnus ai margini dei contrafforti alpini. Considerazioni numismatiche’, in *Segusium - ricerche e studi valsusini* 40, 11–24
- Bertrand, F. 2001: ‘Recherches sur les relations entre l’Italie et les regions alpines occidentales   la fin de la r publique romaine: les t moignages mon taires’, in Giorelli Bersani and Bertrand 2001, 125–48

- Beutler, F. 2007: 'Claudius und der Beginn der Militärdiplome – einige Gedanken', in M. A. Spiedel and H. Lieb (eds), *Militärdiplome: Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004*, Stuttgart, 1–14
- Binninger, S. 2004: 'Il monumento della Turbie', in de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 539
- Binninger, S. 2006: 'Le Tropaeum Alpium et l'Héraclès Monoikos. Mémoire et célébration de la victoire dans la propagande augustéenne à La Turbie', in M. Navaro Caballero and J.-M. Roddaz (eds), *La Transmission de l'idéologie impériale dans l'occident romain*, Paris, 179–203
- Binninger, S. 2009: *Le trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie*, Paris
- Bogaers, J. E. 1979: 'King Cogidubnus in Chichester: another reading of RIB 91', *Britannia* 10, 243–54
- Borghi, A., Vaggelli, G., Marcon, C., and Fiora, L. 2009: 'The Piedmont white marbles used in antiquity: an archaeometric inferred by a minero-petrographic and c-o stable isotope study', *Archaeometry* 51.6, 913–31
- Bowman, A. K. 1996: 'Provincial administration and taxation', in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott 1996, 344–70
- Bowman, A. K., Champlin, E., and Lintott, A. (eds) 1996: *Cambridge Ancient History Volume 10: The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69* (2nd edn), Cambridge
- Braund, D. 1984: *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship*, London
- Brecciaroli Taborelli, L. 2004: 'Un passo di Ammiano Marcelliano e il probabile heroon di Cozio', *La Biblioteca di Segusium: Romanità valsusina*, Segusium - Società di Ricerche e Studi Valsusini, 75–82
- Brecciaroli Taborelli, L. (ed.) 2007: *Forme e tempi dell'urbanizzazione nella Cisalpina (II secolo a.C.–I secolo d.C.): Atti delle Giornate di Studio, Torino 4–6 maggio 2006*, Florence
- Brilliant, R. 1984: *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*, Ithaca
- Brunt, P. A. 1983: 'Princeps and equites', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73, 42–75
- Brunt, P. A. 1990: 'The Romanisation of local ruling classes in the Roman Empire', in P. A. Brunt, *Imperial Themes*, Oxford, 167–82
- Burton, P. J. 2003: 'Clientela or amicitia? Modelling Roman international behaviour in the Middle Republic (264–146 BC)', *Klio* 85, 333–69
- Burton, P. J. 2011: *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353–146 BC)*, Cambridge
- Calvi, M. C. 1976: 'Osservazioni sul fregio dell'arco di Susa', *Archeologia Classica* 28, 115–25
- Carducci, C. 1941: 'Susa – scavi nell'area del "Castrum"', *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 19, 20–8
- Carey, S. 2003: *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford
- Casimir, P. 1932: *Le Trophée d'Auguste à La Turbie: ses rapports avec la fondation de la Provence, les campagnes romaines dans les Alpes, les 44 peuples de son inscription, la restauration par les monuments historiques de la paix d'Auguste pour le monde*, Marseille
- Castelli, G. 1997: *Voies romaines du Rhône à l'Ebre: via Domitia et via Augusta*, Paris
- Castelli, G., Nolla, J. M., and Rodà, I. 2008: *Le Trophée de Pompée dans les Pyrénées (71 avant J.-C.): Col des Panissars, Le Perthus Pyrénées-Orientales (France), La Jonquera, Haut Empordan (Espagne)*, Paris
- Cavargna Allemano, A. M. 2004: 'Il fregio dell' arco di Susa espressionale locale di arte provinciale romana', in *La Biblioteca di Segusium: Romanità valsusina*, Segusium - Società di Ricerche e Studi Valsusini, 113–38
- Cavargna Bontosi, M. 1994: 'Una ricostruzione del fregio est dell'arco di Susa', in *Segusium - ricerche e studi valsusini vol. speciale: Susa Bimillenario dell'Arco. Atti del Convegno (2–3 Ottobre 1992)*, 64–9
- Chevallier, R. 1997: *Les Voies romaines*, Paris
- Christol, M. 2001: 'Nouvelle réflexions sur les milites Glanici', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 34, 157–64
- Coarelli, F. 1968: 'L' "ara di Domizio Enobarbo" e la cultura artistica in Roma nel II secolo a.C.', *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 2, 302–68
- Cooley, A. E. 2009: *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge
- Creighton, J. 2000: *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain*, Cambridge
- Cresci Marrone, G. 2004: 'Segusio e il processo d'intergrazione nella romanità', in *La biblioteca di Segusium: Romanità valsusina*. Segusium - Società di Ricerche e Studi Valsusini, 51–62.
- Crone, P. 1989: *Pre-Industrial Societies*, Oxford

- Dall'Aglia, M. 2007: 'Susa tra Cozio e Augusto: urbanistica e ideologia politica', in Brecciaroli Taborelli 2007, 340–1
- De Maria, S. 1977: 'Apparato figurativo nell'arco onorario di Susa. Revisione critica del problema', *Rivista di Archeologia* 1, 44–52
- De Maria, S. 1988: *Gli archi onorari di Roma e dell'Italia Romana*, Rome
- De Marinis, R. C., and Spadea, G. (eds) 2004: *I Liguri: un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo*, Milan
- Denti, M. 1991: *I Romani a nord del Po: archeologia e cultura in età repubblicana e augustea*, Milan
- Devijver, H. 1976: *Prosopographia militarium equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Leuven
- Dilke, O. A. W. 1971: *The Roman Land Surveyors: an Introduction to the Agrimensores*, Newton Abbot
- Dueck, D. 2000: *Strabo of Amasia: a Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London
- Evangelisti, E. 1995: 'Ritratto di Agrippa da Susa', in G. S. Chiesa (ed.), *Augusto in Cisalpina: ritratti augustei e Giulio-Claudi in Italia settentrionale*, Bologna, 57–64
- Felletti Maj, B. M. 1961: 'Il fregio commemorativo dell'arco di Susa', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 33, 129–53
- Ferrero, E. 1901: *L'Arc d'Auguste à Suse*, Turin
- Ferzini, F. 1997: 'Nella valle di Susa in Piemonte si estraeva il Marmo di Bussoleno', *L'informatore del Marmista* 427, 28–32
- Février, P.-A. 1975–1976: 'Géographie historique des Alpes Méridionales', *Atti. Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana* 7, 271–301
- Fischer, B. 1991: 'Les différents monétaires des premières imitations du statère de Philippe II de Macédonie', *Études Celtiques* 28, 137–56
- Fishwick, D. 1987: *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, vol. I.1*, Leiden
- Fleury, P. 1990: *Vitruve. De l'Architecture*, Paris
- Formigé, J. 1943–44: 'L'inscription du trophée des Alpes à la Turbie', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1943–1944, 360–7
- Formigé, J. 1949: *Le Trophée des Alpes*, Paris
- Formigé, J. 1951: 'Restes supposés d'un sanctuaire préromain La Turbie', *Revue Archéologique* 38, 58–9
- Formigé, J. 1955: 'La dédicace du Trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)', *Gallia* 13.1, 101–2
- Giorcelli Bersani, S., and Bertrand, F. (eds) 2001: *Gli antichi e la montagna: ecologia, religione, economia e politica del territorio: atti del convegno, Aosta, 21–23 settembre 1999* = *Les Anciens et la montagne: écologie, religion, économie et aménagement du territoire*, Turin
- Granger, F. 1983: *Vitruvius. On Architecture*, London
- Gruen, E. 1996: 'The expansion of the empire under Augustus', in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott 1996, 147–97
- Harris, W. V. 1989: 'Roman expansion in the West', in A. E. Astin et al. (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 8 (2nd edn), Cambridge, 107–62
- Häussler, R. 2002: 'Writing Latin – from resistance to assimilation: language, culture and society in N. Italy and S. Gaul', in A. E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, Portsmouth, RI, 61–76
- Häussler, R. 2008: 'Signes de la "Romanisation" à travers l'épigraphie: possibilités d'interprétations et problèmes méthodologiques', in R. Häussler, *Romanisation et Epigraphie: Etudes interdisciplinaires sur l'acculturation et l'identité dans l'empire romain*, Montagnac, 9–30
- Häussler, R. 2013: *Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy*, Walnut Creek, CA
- Helzlsouer, M. 1989: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Epistularum ex Ponto liber IV*, unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge
- Hölscher, T. 1979: 'Beobachtungen zu römischen historischen Denkmälern', *JDAI* 94, 337–48
- Hölscher, T. 1980: 'Die Geschichtsauffassung in der römischen Repräsentationskunst', *JDAI* 95, 265–321
- Hölscher, T. 2004: *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, Cambridge
- Hucher, E. 1868–1874: *L'Art gaulois, ou, les gaulois d'après leurs médailles*, Paris
- Jourdain-Annequin, C., Maillardet, J., le Berre, M., and Barruol, G. 2004: *Atlas culturel des Alpes occidentales*, Paris

- Kuttner, A. 1993: 'Some new grounds for narrative: Marcus Antonius' base (The Ara Domitii Ahenobarbi) and Republic biographies', in P. J. Holliday (ed.), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, Cambridge, 198–229
- Laffi, U. 1966: *Adtributio e contributio: Problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello stato romano*, Pisa
- Laffi, U. 1975–1976: 'Sull'organizzazione amministrativa dell'area alpine nell'età Giulio-Claudia', *Atti del Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana* 7, 391–420
- Laffi, U. 2007: *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano*, Rome
- Lamoine, L. 2009: *Le Pouvoir local en Gaule romaine*, Clermont-Ferrand
- La Tour, H., and Fischer, B. 1992: *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, Paris
- Le Bohec, Y. 1999: 'Les milites Glanici: possibilités et probabilités', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 32, 293–300
- Letta, C. 1976: 'La dinastia dei Cozii e la romanizzazione delle Alpi occidentali', *Athenaeum* 54, 37–76
- Letta, C. 1994: 'Postille sulle iscrizioni della dinastia Cozia', in *Segusium - ricerche e studi valsusini vol. speciale: Susa: Bimillenario dell'Arco. Atti del Convegno (2–3 Ottobre 1992)*, 112–27
- Letta, C. 2001: 'Ancora sulle civitates di Cozio e sulla praefectura di Albanus', in Giorcelli Bersani and Bertrand 2001, 149–66
- Letta, C. 2004: 'L'arco di Susa e il suo rapporto con il "Tropaeum Alpium"', in de Marinis and Spadea 2004, 538–9
- Levick, B. 1985: *The Government of the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook*, London
- Long, J.-D. 1849: 'Recherches sur les antiquités romaines du pays des Vocontiens', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Mémoires présentés par divers savants etc. sér. 2. tom. 2. 1843, etc. 4<sup>e</sup>. 2.*, 278–482
- Luttwak, E. 1979: *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third*, Baltimore
- MacDonald, W. L. 1986: *The Architecture of the Roman Empire. II., an Urban Appraisal*, New Haven and London
- Manino, L. 1975–1976: 'Alcune considerazioni sulle Alpi occidentali nell'antichità tra leggende erudite e realtà archeologica', *Atti del Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana* 7, 439–45
- Mann, J. C. 1996: *Britain and the Roman Empire*, Aldershot
- Matthews, L. forthcoming, 2015: 'A man-made humanitarian crisis: Augustus and the Salassi', in D. Gómez-Castro, T. Naco del Hoyo and R. Riera-Vargas (eds), *Ancient Disasters and Crisis Management in Classical Antiquity*, Gdańsk
- McDonnell, M. 2006: *Roman Manliness*, Cambridge
- McGowen, S. L. 2009: *Sacred and Civic Stone Monuments of the Northwest Roman Provinces*, unpub. DPhil thesis, University of Oxford
- McGowen, S. L. 2010: *Sacred and Civic Stone Monuments of the Northwest Roman Provinces*, Oxford
- Mennella, G. 1978: 'Ipotesi sull'iscrizione dei re Cozi nel teatro di Augusta Taurinorum', *Rendiconti (Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere: Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche)* 112, 96–100
- Mercando, L. 1993: *La Porta del Paradiso: un restauro a Susa*, Turin
- Millar, F. 2004: *Rome, the Greek World, and the East. Volume 2, Government, Society and Culture in the Roman Empire*, Chapel Hill and London
- Nangeroni, G. 1975–1976: 'Le Alpi', *Atti del Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana* 7, 1–36
- Nenci, G. 1951a: 'Le Cottianae civitates in Plinio NH III 20', *La parola del passato* 18, 213–15
- Nenci, G. 1951b: 'La Terra di Cozio e la terra di Ideonno', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8.6, 299–305
- Oberziner, G. 1900: *Le Guerre di Augusto contro i popoli alpini*, Rome
- Pautasso, A. 1975–1976: 'Le monetazioni preromane con leggende in alfabeto leponzio emesse da popoli delle regioni alpine', *Atti del Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana* 7, 471–500
- Pothecary, S. 2002: 'Strabo, the Tiberian author: past, present and silence in Strabo's "Geography"', *Mnemosyne* 55.4, 387–438

- Pothecary, S. 2005: 'The European provinces: Strabo as evidence', in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay and S. Pothecary (eds), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: the Making of a Kolossourgia*, Cambridge, 161–79
- Prieur, J. 1968: *La Province romaine des Alpes cottiennes*, Villeurbanne
- Prieur, J. 1982: 'Les arcs monumentaux dans les Alps occidentales: Aoste, Suse, Aix-les-Bains', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.12.1, 442–75
- Purcell, N. 1990: 'Maps, lists, money, order and power', *Journal of Roman Studies* 80, 177–82
- Ramage, E. S. 1997: 'Augustus' propaganda in Gaul', *Klio* 79, 117–60
- Ramage, E. S. 1998: 'Augustus' propaganda in Spain', *Klio* 80, 434–90
- Rey, L. M. B. R. 1898: 'Le Royaume de Cottius et la province des Alpes cottiennes d'Auguste à Dioclétien', *Bulletin de L'Academie Delphinale* 11, 237–486
- Romeo, I. 1998: *Ingenius Leo: l'immagine di Agrippa*, Rome
- Roncaglia, C. 2013: 'Client prefects? Rome and the Cottians in the Western Alps', *Phoenix* 67, no. 3/4, 353–72
- Rose, C. B. 1997: *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Cambridge
- Rosso, E. 2006: *L'image de l'empereur en Gaule romaine: portraits et inscriptions*, Paris
- Roth-Congès, A. 1993–1994: 'Inscription des Escoyères dans le Queyras', *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 59–60, 72–101
- Scheers, S. 1981: 'The origins and evolution of coinage in Belgic Gaul', in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul: Some Current Problems*, London, 18–24
- Scott, J. C. 2009: *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven and London
- Sharon, N. 2010: 'The title *ethnarch* in Second Temple period Judaea', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 41, 472–93
- Slavazzi, F. 1996: 'Agrippa a Segusium: su una statua loricata bronzea da Susa', *Acme* 49, 153–64
- Stevenson, G. H. 1934: 'The imperial administration', in S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 10. The Augustan Empire 44 B.C.–A.D. 70*, Cambridge, 182–217
- Stilp, F. 2001: *Mariage et suovetaurilia: étude sur le soi-distant 'Autel de Domitius Ahenobarbus'*, Rome
- Sutherland, C. H. V. 1941: 'C. Baebius and the coinage of (?)Dium under Tiberius', *Journal of Roman Studies* 31, 73–81
- Syme, R. 1978: *History in Ovid*, Oxford
- Torelli, M. 1982: *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Ann Arbor
- Vota, D. 2004: 'L'occupazione romana della Alpi Cozie: Ipotesi sul processo d'intervento', in *La Biblioteca di Segusium: Romanità valsusina. Segusium - Società di Ricerche e Studi Valsusini*, 15–50
- Wiedemann, T. E. J. 1996: 'Tiberus to Nero', in Bowman, Champlin and Lintott 1996, 198–255
- Wilson, A., and Schörle, K. 2009: 'A baker's funerary relief from Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 77, 101–23
- Wünsche, R. 1994: 'Ara di Domizio Enobarbo', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale, secondo supplemento 1971–1994 II.*, Rome, 393
- Zucca, R. 1988: 'Le Civitates barbariae e l'occupazione militare della Sardegna: aspetti e confronti con l'Africa', in *L'Africa Romana. Atti del V convegno di studio Sassari, 11–13 dicembre 1987 Sassari (Italia)*, Sassari, 349–73